INDEPENDENCE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

THE HOME AND OFFICE OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN BACHE

(AMERICA'S FIRST MODERN NEWSMAN)

322 MARKET STREET, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

by

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Preface

Benjamin Franklin had no way of knowing when he set out to build a tenant house 183 years ago on his vacant lot at Market Street what it would in time come to signify. That its precincts would become one of the testing grounds of those freedoms he had just helped to give expression to - that it would persevere through 183 seasons of heat and cold, moisture and dryness, though torn and gutted, patched and added to, to stand almost alone of the structures in which his hand can be seen - might have bemused him. He provided a little ten-by-fifteen-foot room in front for a tradesman's shop, and it became the front office of the mighty Aurora: the New York Times, Manchester Guardian, and Journal American of 1800 rolled into one. From its counter were distributed the issues that elected Thomas Jefferson President in 1800, so great did its influence become. The Aurora crusaded under the banner of freedom of the press:

> . . . any steps injurious to the public rights, hostile to the Constitution, or dangerous to personal security and the rights of discussion, . . . the people will remember them at the period when a new election will call for a consideration of men and measures.

It reached its zenith while in that office; though its reputation remained high in after years, it never again reached such a height of power.

For a building so unimpressive in appearance as the house at 322 Market to be the subject of so long a report as this may seem unwarranted. But historic event is no respecter of size nor is it of architectural appointment. The doers of history and what they do

confer historic grace upon a structure, and in the case of 322 Market Street with lavish disregard for other values. The writer believes the story should be allowed to set its own standard.

This report, prepared in response to Resource Study Proposal INDE-H-27A, builds on the earlier work of others. Since 1949 Service historians have studied Franklin Court as other work has allowed. Until recently research and writing about any and all of Franklin's properties bore the stamp of the long line of historians assigned to Independence National Historical Park. Few of them failed to contribute to the growing collection of research note cards, and their work has earned the approving interest of Franklin authorities everywhere. Martin I. Yoelson, author of the Part I report and indefatigable Franklinite, heads the list. Edward M. Riley, the historian who first recognized the site and the need to study it, should be near to top. Dennis C. Kurjack saw to it that annual programs of research carried the work forward and contributed more than a few items of importance to the files. William M. Campbell brought the eye, knowledge, and judgment wanted to see it altogether. Many others as shown in the report's footnoting contributed in various degrees to the sum total. The writer is privileged to state that he has worked with most of them at one time or another on this project.

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1. Early Associations of the House Site

The site on which Benjamin Franklin started to build his last tenant house in 1787 by then was practically the sole remaining lot in that section of town. Since building his mansion house to the rear twenty years before, he and the family had used the lot to present-day 322 Market Street as a driveway. A gateway at the lot's far end opened into the courtyard about the mansion. This driveway had neither paving nor paved footways, but it may have been graveled and its surface maintained. At any rate it presented a gap in the solid row of eighteen row houses that extended from the corner of Third Street on the east to the corner of Fourth Street on the west.

For some time the lot's value had appreciated, located as it was on High Street (since renamed Market Street), the busiest and most commercial street in Philadelphia. The street's celebrated and notorious market sheds, until then confined to the east of Third, were being extended to Fourth. A location on High Street almost invariably took on the character of trade, two houses alone of the row being listed in the first enumeration by trade solely as occupied, one by a gentlewoman, the other by a gentleman.[1] Reflecting the

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1. Mrs. Anne Tharpe, widow, at 106 High Street and Henry Graff, gentleman, at 120. Edmund Hogan, The Prospect of Philadelphia and Check on the Next Directory (Phila., 1796), p. 10. Elsewhere, Hogan notes, "High Street is remarkably Salubrious. The number of deaths in this street from the river to Ninth-street, from the commencement of the [yellow fever] epidemic in 1793, to the 25 of October, was 39." Ibid., p. 12. Hogan informs his readers that "High Street" was generally known as "Market Street" at the time. The writer will use them interchangeably as clarity demands.

prominence of the avenue on which their shops opened, these tradesmen-residents were at the head of their professions. Wealthy merchants Jacob Cox and John Fries, ironmongers, goldsmith and jeweller, coppersmith, tobacconist saddler, apothecary, skindresser, and a furrier occupied places. Most of them lived above their shops. Benjamin Carr's "Musical Repository" added tone to the row at its location, 122 High Street. A solo instrumentalist and composer, Carr sold music from this shop, capitalizing on his popularity as a performer. Side-by-side two doors away from the 322 Market Street location were Francis Bailey's and Mathew Carey's concerns at 116 and 118 High Street, respectively. Bailey, at the skull sign of "The Yorick's Head," published an important early magazine edited by Hugh Brackenridge. As official printer for Congress and the state, he published for the first time many of the age's important public papers. In the 1760s from the same address, William Goddard as front for Joseph Galloway and Thomas Wharton had published the Pennsylvania Chronicle, and here in the winter of 1767-68 he had printed John Dickinson's famous "Letters From a Farmer in Pennsylvania." Carey, prospering as a bookseller, had published the excellent Columbian Magazine and the influential American Museum. One of America's leading Catholic layman, he printed popular editions of the Bible. As an economist he was to wield great persuasive power for protectionism in the decades ahead. Adding to the number of publishers near at hand was

John Fenno, whose Gazette office received subscribers on the other side of the block at 119 Chestnut Street.[2] Elsewhere on the block stood two public structures, the Bank of North America near the corner of Chesnut and Third Streets and the Indian Queen Tavern on Fourth Street just below High. The former, this country's first bank, had recently emerged from a "bank war," during the course of which it had gone unchartered and without protection of law. The latter, well-liked by prominent visitors and free of the worst features of lesser hostels, possessed stables of landmark scale, viewed by the young Samuel Graydon after gaping at nearby whalebones over an alleyway of the same name as one last

> general object of attention, and this was to get a peep at the race horses, which in sporting seasons were kept in the widow Nichol's stables, which from her house, (the Indian Queen at the corner of Market street,) extended perhaps two-thirds or more of the way to Chestnut street.[3]

At the time in 1752 when Franklin acquired the lot at 322 Market Street for a ground rent of £10 per annum, the entire block was still largely uninhabited, for as Timothy Matlack reported later " . . . when he came to Philadelphia in 1745, [he] could readily pass diagonally

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2. This and a great deal more about residents of Market Street's 300 block can be found in Joseph Jackson, Market Street Philadelphia, The Most Historic Highway in America, Its Merchants and Its Story (Phila., 1918), pp. 42-70.

3. John Stockton Littell, ed., Memoirs of His Own Time, with Reminiscences of the Men and Events of the Revolution, by Alexander Graydon (Phila., 1846), p. 44.

from Third to Fourth street, through the square formed from Chestnut to High street; the houses being only here and there built."[4] Fifteen years later Graydon, passing over the same ground, found "the intervals took up as much ground as the buildings; and with the exception of here and there a straggling house, Fifth street might have been called the western extremity of the city."[5] Now, in 1787, the luxury of a lot serving only as a driveway was no longer to be borne.

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4. John F. Watson, Annals of Philadelphia, and Pennsylvania, in the Olden Time; . . . Enlarged, with Many Revisions and Additions, by Willis P. Hazard (Phila., 1857), 1877, I, 236. Watson must be used with caution, so much of his subject matter having resulted from interviews with older inhabitants. In this case Matlack's point is borne out elsewhere and can be documented.

5. Littell, Graydon Memoirs, p. 44.

2. Dr. Franklin Builds Yet Another Tenant House

Building the house at 322 Market Street was the final stage of a general program that had been going forward since shortly after Franklin's return from France in September 1785, one that transformed the situation of his Franklin Court properties from decay and inertia to flourishing return. Historians have generally overlooked the fact that he had long been a considerable landlord in Philadelphia, deriving steady income from owning and renting a number of small properties scattered about the city. At the time of Franklin's death on April 17, 1790, his rents totaled more than £350 per annum from the Market Street tenant houses and houses on Sixth Street, Hickory Lane, Pewter-Platter Alley, Arch Street, and the other side of Market Street. Much earlier, when during the last days of negotiation before outbreak of the American Revolution, representatives of the ministry had threatened burning the seaport towns, he admitted that "the chief Part of my little Property consisted of Houses in those Towns."[1] When he regained direction of his properties from son-in-law Richard Bache in 1785, three small, very old and decrepit houses, expensive to maintain and yielding little rent plus an unoccupied lot

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1. And added with uncharacteristic warmth "that they might make Bonfires of them whenever they pleases; that the Fear of losing them would never alter my Resolution to resist to the last that Claim of Parliament." The writer is indebted to an article by Penrose R. Hoopes for the suggestion that Franklin's rents influenced his economic planning. Quoted from Franklin's "An Account of Negotiations in London . . ." (1775) in "Cash Dr to Benjamin Franklin," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, 1956, 48-49. Cited hereafter as PMHB.

confronted him on his Market Street side of the courtyard. To convert them to paying propositions would take energy and capital. Despite having reached advanced age, his "faculties are still in their full vigor," friends reported.[2] In fact, he himself admitted that "he had not enjoyed better health for the last 30 years of his life."[3] Paris banker Ferdinand Grand held funds to a considerable amount in Franklin's name while at home Franklin was not only solvent, but, as he confided, "My own Estate I find more than tripled in Value since the Revolution."[4] He decided to go ahead and replace the three old and unprofitable houses and one unoccupied lot with three new and lucrative ones; to make a sound investment out of near liabilities.

In doing this Franklin worked within the limitations imposed by scattered properties and a strict budget of frontal footage. To build on 322 Market Street meant entering the courtyard through his other properties. This could be provided only by resort to a passageway through the buildings on those sites, and in constructing the two new tenant houses he designed them in such a way as to incorporate just such a feature.[5] He tore down the three old houses

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2. Benjamin Rush to Richard Price, October 27, 1786, quoted in Lyman H. Butterfield, ed., Letters of Benjamin Rush (Princeton, 1951), I, 409.

3. Ibid.

4. Franklin to Ferdinand Grand, January 29, 1786, Albert Henry Smyth, The Writings of Benjamin Franklin (New York, 1906), IX, 482.

5. Passageways through buildings fronting Philadelphia's streets were commonplace at the time and show in a number of the William Birch prints. Franklin's residence of several years in Passy, the Hotel de Valentincis, had a very similar feature to the one surviving at 316-318 Market Street.

on those sites to prepare the ground and ran his carriageway down the middle of the site. As soon as the work was finished there, he was in a position to excavate the ground at 322 Market Street for the cellar of the house.

Earlier History of the Title

This lot had been Franklin's since the March 25, 1752, when in consideration of yearly ground rent payments of £16 Samuel Preston Moore, "Practitioner of Physick," and his wife Hannah deeded the property to him.[6] The title the Moores deeded over to Franklin had previously passed through the hands of Pennsylvania's most illustrious early inhabitants. Principal among the three colonists who acquired it by original patent from William Penn on August 28, 1705, for 2 1/2 pence ground rent per annum was Samuel Carpenter.[7] Carpenter, in America as a resident of Gloucester, New Jersey, even before establishment of Pennsylvania, prospered as a merchant to so great an extent as to be the colony's richest man by 1700.[8] His Slate Roof

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6. Interestingly enough, son William Franklin was one of two witnesses to the indenture that recited the obligations assumed and agreement made and effected the deeding of title. MSS Deed, Samuel Preston Moore & Ux. to Benjamin Franklin, March 25th 1752, office of Recorder of Deeds, Philadelphia. Recorded in Deed Book H-7, 426-431 as well.

7. In that day and age beef sold in Philadelphia for two pence a ounce while pork brought 2 1/2 pence. William Penn, A Further Account of the Province of Pennsylvania and its Improvements. . . (London, 1685), reprinted in PMHB, IX, 72. The deed is recorded in Exemplification Records I, 611-13.

8. According to one highly respected authority Carpenter was "one of the foremost citizens of the Province, a man of great enterprise and ability, who did more to build up Philadelphia during thirty years

House sheltered the great proprietor while Pennsbury Manor's mansion was under construction. One of Penn's oldest associates, he served as an assistant to Governor Markham and for years sat in the Assembly and Council and occupied the office of Treasurer of Pennsylvania.[9] Anthony Morris, the second of the combine, and like Carpenter a merchant, was alderman and mayor of Philadelphia. Richard Hill, the third recipient and like the others a merchant, was a councillor and justice of Pennsylvania's Supreme Court. All three were close associates of Penn and were named trustees in his will.[10]

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than any other person....being a man of vigorous intellect and administrative ability, [he] was early placed in positions of trust and responsibility....Besides his trade in merchandise, Carpenter bought lands and built to an extent beyond the ability of the settlers to follow him. He therefore fell into embarrassment. Besides his improvements in the city, he had extensive mill enterprises in Bucks county.... Besides these mills, there were islands in the Delaware of about three hundred and fifty acres, land and town-lots near two thousand acres in that neighborhood. He had also five thousand acres of land on the Pennypack and Poquessing Creeks, a house and granary on his wharf in the city, warehouses, three-sixteenths of a mine, interests in the Chester mills, the Coffee-House and Globe, and other properties.... He died April 10, 1714, after an illness of two weeks, . . . and left considerable property, having in some degree recovered from his difficulties." Carpenter through the female line was forebear of Whartons, Fishbournes, Merediths, Clymers, and Reads of Philadelphia. Thompson Westcott, The Historic Mansions and Buildings of Philadelphia with Some Notice of their Owners and Occupants (Phila., 1877), pp. 38-42.

9. Ibid., p. 41. Within three years of Philadelphia's founding Carpenter had built a famous wharf "about three hundred foot square . . . to which a ship of five hundred Tuns may lay her broadside." Penn, PMHB, IX, 66. Gregory B. Keen, "The Descendants of Joran Kyn, the Founder of Upland," PMHB, III, 456n.

10. Reprinted in PMHB, XXI, 151-52.

Carpenter having died in 1714, survivors Morris and Hill in June 1, 1720, deeded title to the lot to Sanuel Preston and Anthony Morris, Jr., as consideration for which they received £75.[11] Preston, an old settler and Penn trustee, too, served at one time in the Assembly. The younger Morris was a brewer of no special attainments. They held title for only one day before deeding it back to Richard Hill.[12] Apparently, something already was afoot, for within a month Hill had divided the property and sold a parcel 16 1/2 feet by 140 feet, roughly

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11. Deed Book LRB-40, pp. 290-2, Department of Records, City of Philadelphia.

12. Ibid. Deed Book H-7, p. 426. For a ground rent of £6 per annum. "Whereas by a Certain Indenture bearing Date the Second day of June in the Year of our Lord One thousand Seven hundred and Twenty Between Samuel Preston of the said City Merchant and Anthony Morris Junior of the same Place Brewer and Phoebe his Wife of the one Part and Richard Hill of the same place Merchant of the other Part They the same Samuel Preston Anthony Morris and Phoebe his wife for the Consideration therein mentioned did grant and Confirm unto the said Richard Hill a Certain Lot Land Situate and being in High Street in the said City between third and fourth Streets from Delaware Bounded on the North with High Street on the East with a Lot therein said to be Vacant on the South with the Back of Chesnut Street Lots and on the West with Thomas Barkers Lot being in Breadth Three and thirty Foot and in Length Three hundred and Six Foot together with the Appurtenances To hold to him the said Richard Hill his Heirs and Assigns forever--Paying unto the said Samuel Preston --- and Anthony Morris their Heirs and assigns the Rent of Six pounds lawful Silver Money at the Rates appointed by the Late Act of Parliament for Ascertaining the Rates of foreign Coins in the Plantations in America on the Thirty first day of June [in margin: 30th of June] Yearly for Ever The first Payment thereof to be made on the Thirty first day of June One thousand Seven hundred and Twenty one In which Indenture there is Contained Clauses of Entry and Distress for Nonpayment of the said Rent and of Re-entry for want of Distress and a Covenant for payment thereof As in and by the said recited Indenture intended to be Recorded at Philadelphia Relation being thereunto had at large Appears." MS Deed, Samuel Preston Moore & Ux. to Benjamin Franklin, March 25, 1752, Dept. of Records, City of Philadelphia.

the upper eastern quarter of the lot at what is now 320 Market Street, to Henry Frogley, a joiner.[13] In deeding the property back to Hill, Preston and the younger Morris appear to have made the property over to Hill so he could deal with Frogley. Frogley's trade, complementing that of his new neighbor, John Read (Franklin's father-in-law to be), a carpenter makes him a likely purchaser of that section of the larger tract.[14] In time, perhaps the same year, Frogley built himself a house covering the full width of the lot he had acquired.

At Hill's death in 1729 the remaining piece passed to his grandnephew, Richard "Dickey" Hill, and grandniece, Hannah, then minors.[15] When Hannah married, her share came under the control

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13. See Historic Structures Report, Part I, on 320 Market Street, Independence National Historical Park, March 1961, Chapt. II, Sec. I, pp. 1-2, for more on development of Frogley's property. The deed is recorded in Deed Book D-18, pp. 18-20, Department of Records, City of Philadelphia. "BY FORCE AND VIRTUE of which [foregoing in footnote 17] said Recited Indenture or of some other good Conveyance or Assurance in the Law duly had and Executed He the said Richard Hill became in his lifetime lawfully seized in his Demesne as of Fee of and in the said described Lot of Land And he the said Richard Hill being so thereof Seized and haveing by Indenture of the first Day July One thousand Seven hundred and Twenty granted unto one Henry Frogley of the said City Joiner in Fee Sixteen Foot and an half of the Lot aforesaid next High Street by One hundred and Forty Feet deep next John Reeds Lot under the Yearly Ground Rent of Five pounds Lawfull Money of America payable unto the said Richard Hill his Heirs and Assigns on the Thirtyeth day of June Yearly for Ever. MS Deed, Samuel Preston Moore & Ux. to Benjamin Franklin, March 25, 1752, Dept. of Records, City of Philadelphia.

14. See Historic Structures Report, Part I, on 318 Market Street, Independence National Historical Park, March 1961, Chapt. II, Sec. 1, p. 1, and Sec. 2, pp. 1-5, for data about Read and his property.

15. Richard Hill made "his Last will and Testament in writing Bearing Date the Twenty eighth Day of August One thousand Seven -- hundred and Twenty Nine and thereby Devided the Residuary part of his Estate (of which the Piece or Lot of Ground hereby granted was Part)

of her physician husband, Samuel Preston Moore.[16] They mortgaged

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unto Richard Hill (the Son of Richard Hill the Nephew of the said first named Richard Hill) and the Nephew (she being the same Hannah who is now the wife of the said Samuel Preston Moore Party hereto). In Fee as in and by the said recited Testament since the decease of the said Richard Hill the Testator (who died seized of the Piece of Ground-hereby granted as in his Estate aforesaid) duly proved and Recorded in the Register General Office at Philadelphia in Book E Page 112 &c and appears." MS Deed, Samuel Preston Moore & Ux. to Benjamin Franklin, March 25, 1752, Department of Records, City of Philadelphia.

16. As recited in the above indenture and deed books, there is no distinguishing feature to enable a reader to tell one Hill from another. The writer will attempt to untangle them, as follows: Richard Hill, the early settler (1673-1729), had lived in Maryland before establishment of Pennsylvania, and the family dealt with here was rooted in that state. His nephew, Dr. Richard Hill, lived his life in Maryland and the island of Madeira where he became a wine exporter after failing on the American mainland. His son Richard Hill (1731-1754), whom he addressed affectionately as "Dickey" (a grandnephew to Richard Hill, the settler), became a merchant in Philadelphia after inheriting his share of the estate, but removed later to Madeira. He died unwed, and here the line ends. Hannah Hill (1723-1799)) the second of Dr. Richard Hill's twelve children, married her cousin, Samuel Preston Moore (1710-1785) at the age of 16. Moore, a native of Maryland, practiced medicine in Londongrove in that colony until his wife came into her inheritance in 1744, at which time they removed to Philadelphia. He became one of the Pennsylvania Hospital's managers and for eight years served as one of the attending physicians. He also belonged to the American Philosophical Society. He supported such enterprises as the Philadelphia Linen Manufactory, in which he subscribed during 1764. A younger brother of Richard and Hannah, Henry Hill (1732-1795) became the most celebrated member of the family. A mere boy at the time of his father's failure and removel to Madeira, he was educated in Philadelphia and Dalkeith, Scotland, and joined his father and brother in business on the island. There he made his fortune, and returning to Philadelphia, became a leading citizen. He led a battalion of Associators in the New Jersey campaign in 1777, and served after the Revolution as a member of the Supreme Executive Council when Franklin was President of Pennsylvania and while he was building the house at 322 Market Street. Franklin's will named Hill one of the trustees, and he made disbursements, received moneys, and kept the estate's accounts. He built the house at Fourth and Delancey Streets that now houses the Philadelphia Landmarks Society in 1787 and live there until he died of yellow fever during the 1799

their moiety to Charles Norris on March 18, 1744/5,[17] the transaction being completed the next day with a transfer back and forth of the property.[18] With the final partitioning of Richard Hill's estate after

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epidemic. The web of family relationships would be less than adequate if references to Samuel Preston (1663-1743), another granduncle of the Moores' and one of the young colony's magnates, and Margaret Hill Morris, one of the sisters and long a resident of 339 Walnut Street (one of the Park's reconstructed houses), were omitted. John Jay Smith, ed., Letters of Doctor Richard Hill and His Children: or The History of A Family as Told by Themselves (Phila. 1854), pp. xi-xii, xv-xvii, xli-xlii, (Cited hereafter as Smith, Hill Letters.) PMHB, XVIII, 263; XXVII, 272.

17. "AND WHEREAS by a certain Indenture bearing Date the Eighteenth day of March One thousand Seven hundred and Forty-four/5 Between the said Samuel Preston Moore and Hannah his Wife of the one Part and Charles Norris of the said City Merchant of the other part They the said Samuel Preston Moore and Hannah his Wife for the Consideration therein mentioned did grant and Confirm unto the said Charles Norris and to his Heirs and Assigns the one full Moiety or Part of the said Hannah of and in all and Singular the Lots Lands and Tenements of them the said Samuel Preston Moore and Hannah his Wife (in the Right of the said Hannah) devised unto her by the Testament aforesaid recited Together with their and every of their Appurtenances To hold to him the said Charles Norris his Heirs and Assigns for ever As in na by the said last recited Indenture recorded or intended to be recorded in Philadelphia appears." MS Deed, Samuel Preston Moore & Ux. to Benjamin Franklin, March 25, 1752, Department of Records, City of Philadelphia, Deed Book H-7, p. 426. Norris (1712-1766), a wealthy merchant, trustee of the Loan Office, and prominent supporter of public trusts, maintained a fine house and garden across Fifth Street from Independence Square on what is now the grounds of Independence National Historicl Park.

18. "AND the said Charles Norris by Indenture of the Nineteenth day of March One thousand Seven hundred and Forty-four/5 Regranted the moiety or Part and Premises so granted unto him as aforesaid recited unto the said Samuel Preston Moore To hold to him his Heirs and Assigns for Ever As in and by the said last recited Indenture Recorded at Philadelphia in Book H Vol: 3d Page 72 &c and appears." MS Deed, Samuel Preston Moore & Ux. to Benjamin Franklin, March 25, 1752, Department of Records, City of Philadelphia, Deed Book H-2, pp. 72-78. Moore's father-in-law had written to him earlier, "The time is drawing nigh when my uncle's estate will be delivered up to Dickey, I think it proper to offer you my paternal advice separately . . . avoid all occasions of misunderstanding in the division of the estate, . . . as no disputes are as dispreputable as those between relation....It's no very good

"Dickie" Hill attained his majority, the Moores received the other half of the property on March 26, 1751.[19] Finally, on March 25, 1752, they sold it to Benjamin Franklin.[20]

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sign in the eyes of the world for a young man, just come into an estate, to sell lands and houses immediately . . act cautiously, and don't begin too soon....But, if it be found necessary for thee to sell, it would be best to make a division of part of the estate (if you don't proceed to divide the whole), and then do as thou thinks proper with they part." Dr. Richard Hill to Dr. Samuel Preston Moore, Sept. 22, 1741, quoted in Smith, Hill Letters, pp. 28-29. Later letters indicate that the hoped-for harmony failed of realization and that settlement of estate had its bad moments. Writing to daughter Hannah six years later, Mrs. Hill expressed concern over developments in recent years: "It will be a great trouble to me if Richard should be prevailed on to repose more confidence in a stranger than in his near relations - . . . what thy father writes him now will make him agree to the dividing the estate amicably, and put him on examining things in a different light from what the busy, mischievous people he may look on as friends may have done . . . I hope your affairs will be settled without any disturbances to thee, my dear Hannah." Deborah Hill to hannah Moore, June 6, 1750, ibid., pp. 55-56. Her father added two days later "I have wrote both to Sammy and Richard about dividing the estate, if they or either of them should incline to it, and have earnestly recommended to them the doing it amicably, and hope they'll neither of them insist on the most advantageous conditions, which they might reasonably claim, but rather abate a little." Dr. Richard Hill to Hannah Moore, June 8, 1750, ibid., p. 57.

19. "AND WHEREAS they the said Samuel Preston Moore and Hannah his Wife, in Right of the said Hannah, and the said Richard Hill the Brother of the said Hannah being minded to make Partition of the Premises devided by the Testament aforesaid recited did by Indenture of the Twenty Sixth day of March One thousand Seven hundred and Fifty one (made or mentioned to be made between the said Samuel Preston Moore and Hannah his Wife of the one Part and her said Brother Richard Hill of the other Part) made Partition and Division thereof accordingly Whereby the Piece or Lot of Ground intended to be hereby granted, among diverse other Lots and Hereditaments, became the Several Part of the said Samuel Preston Moore And he the said Richard Hill by the same Indenture granted the same unto him his Heirs and Assigns for Ever." MS Deed, Samuel Preston Moore et Ux. to Benjamin Franklin, March 25, 1752, Department of Records, City of Philadelphia. Deed Book, H-9, pp. 70-106.

20. "NOW THIS INDENTURE WITNESSETH that the said Samuel Preston Moore and his Wife for an in Consideration of the Payment of the Rents and

Franklin thus received in exchange for £16 ground rent payments one of a row of long, narrow lots that had been acquired by one of the

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Performance of all and Singular the Covenants and Agreements hereinafter mentioned and reserved Which on the part and Behalf of the said Benjamin Franklin his Heirs and Assigns are or ought to be Observed Performed paid and kept HAVE granted Bargained sold released and confirmed and by these Presents DO grant bargain sell release and confirm unto the said Benjamin Franklin, and to his Heirs and Assigns All that the said Piece or Lot of Ground (part of the said first described Lot) Situate on the south side of High Street aforesaid Containing in breadth next the Street Sixteen foot and an half & continuing the same Breadth One hundred and forty foot deep and at that Depth Thirty three feet in Breadth continuing the same Breadth thence One hundred and Sixty Six foot futher bounded on the East partly with Henry Frogley's House and Lot and partly with John Reads Lot on the south with the back Ends of Chesnut Street Lots on the West with the Messuage and Lot now of John Eastbourn's late Benjamin Eastbourns late Thomas Barker's and Northward partly with High Street aforesaid and partly with Frogley's Lot Together also with all and Singular the Ways Waters Water Courses Lights Easments Rights Libertys Privileges Improvements Hereditaments a and Appurtenances whatsoever thereunto belonging and the Reversions and Remainders thereof TO HAVE & TO HOLD the said last described Piece of Ground hereby granted or mentioned to be Granted with the Appurtenances Unto the said Benjamin Franklin his Heirs and Assigns To the only proper Use and Behoof of him the said Benjamin Franklin his Heirs and Assigns for Ever SUBJECT unto the aforesaid Yearly Ground Rent of Six pounds so as aforesaid reserved by the said first recited Indenture as the same yearly Rent shall hereafter from time to time become due and payable AND YEILDING AND PAYING unto the said Samuel Preston Moore his Heirs and Assigns the Yearly Rent or Sum of Ten Pounds Lawfull Money of Pennsylvania On the Twenty ninth day of September and Twenty fifth day of March by even and equal Portions Yearly for Ever The first payment thereof to be made on the Twenty Ninth day of September next ensuing the Date hereof." MS Deed, Samuel Preston Moore & Ux. to Benjamin Franklin, March 25, 1752, Department of Records, City of Philadelphia. Deed Book H-7, pp. 426-31.

With the American Revolution joined and Franklin's diplomatic mission to France in the offing a five year payment was made to Moore. MS account book, B. Franklin's Domestic Accounts, 1757-1776, American

proprietor's personal favorites and then passed as a speculative property from hand to hand for half a century. It demonstrates the process by which land values appreciated in America's fastest growing city. This row of lots extended back two-thirds of the way to Chestnut Street and thus encompassed much ground of premium value. Tradesmen's homes already occupied most of them. They corresponded very neatly to Governor Thomas Pownall's 1755 description of residential Philadelphia:

> The houses are all of brick; the fronts of them precisely such as those in Cheapside [Southwark district neighborhood], London; a pent over the base story, and shops, and a little slip of a window to light a closet by the side of the chimnies.[21]

At the time Franklin assumed title to the lot, he had just consolidated the properties to the east that had passed from John Read, his wife's father, to his three children.[22] This acquisition

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Philosophical Society, Oct. 7, 1776. From a docketing entry or endorsement on the reverse side of the 1752 deed, it is clear that an effort to extinguish the ground rent by a payment of £166.13.6 miscarried: "this is not executed." Richard Bache was still making payment to Moore's heir after the turn of the century: "Belongs to Richd L. Bisset & payable by Richd Bache - 1802."

21. Reprinted from The Remembrancer, or Impartial Repository of Public Events for the Year 1777 (London, 1778) in PMHB, XVIII, 212.

22. See Historic Structures Report Part I on 316 Market Street, Independence National Historical Park, March 1961, Chapt. II, Sect. 2, pp. 1-2, and Historic Structures Report Part I on 318 Market Street, Independence National Historical Park, March 1961, Chapt. II, Sect. 2, pp. 1-5, for more on this subject. See also Leonard W. Labaree, ed., The Papers of Benjamin Franklin, XII, 283-86, for additional on circumstances and diagram of properties. From John Eastborn on September 23, 1751, Deed Book I-7, 331, 334, Department of Records, City of Philadelphia.

gave Franklin a parcel 66 feet across and 306 feet deep, excepting Frogley's 16 1/2 by 140 foot lot in the center front. The two Read houses and their outbuildings crowded the Market Street frontage, leaving a considerable expanse of open ground in the rear. Even in 1752 it was clear that Franklin had plans for the entire piece, although years were to pass before he acted upon them.

The Title in Franklin's Possession, 1752-1786

In the meantime the lot to the west of 322 Market Street and its messuage (another run-of-the-mill house in this case), came into the ownership of a Presbyterian divine, the Rev. Dr. Francis Alison, who rented it to Charles Thomson, later long-time Secretary of the Continental Congress.[23] During the 1750s and 1760s the vacant lot served as a passageway for anyone exiting from the backyard of Alison's house, presumably including Thomson himself. Bad blood developed between Franklin and Alison, and the former, examining the relationship

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23. Alison, according to Ezra Stiles "the greatest classical scholar in America," when first in possession of the lot next door as the recently appointed vice provost rector of the Academy (later University of Pennsylvania) enjoyed cordial relations with Franklin. He proved a force in the expansion of the school over the years, but as a supporter of the proprietary found himself on the other side of issues. In 1761 Alison insured a house on the property, the same one rented to Thomson. It was a three story brick house, rather plain, except for the first floor dining parlors "dentall Cornice & a Beaufet with a Scallop Shell with glass doors." Loose MS Survey, Philadelphia Contributionship, 653, Sept. 1, 1761. Thomson was teaching at the academy during this period. For more on Alison see Dictionary of American Biography (New York 1928-58) I, 181-82, and Leonard W. Labaree, ed., The Papers of Benjamin Franklin (New Haven, 1959-), X, 144n., XI, 526n., XII, 83n.

existing between the neighboring properties in 1766, wrote to Deborah Franklin "Only that his present Tenant is our good Friend Thomson, we might well object to their Back Gate opening thro' our Lot. Alison will in time want to cut off the Tail of his Lot to build on, and to have a Passage to the Street thro' ours: We may then remember his Civility."[24]

That was the lot's situation when Franklin in 1763 decided to build his mansion on the rear of the combined properties in what came to be known as Franklin Court: an undeveloped lot, flanked on the one side by the two-story house, back buildings, and fences erected by Henry Frogley and his successors and on the other by the three-story brick house, fence, and "Back Gate" of Francis Alison. While construction of the mansion house was underway, materials that went into it would have been carted into the courtyard through the lot and its back section piled high with materials. This debris

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24. The ill-feeling that had developed between Alison and Franklin cropped up when Franklin built his house and requested permission to drain the lot through or across Alison's, perhaps to the Dock Creek bed. Alison refused: "It is not amiss that the Reverand Doctor . . . refused that Privilege. We shall not want it. [And] it will be a good Reason for us to refuse him Conveniences that incommode us. Now if he should change his mind and offer the Drain, I charge you not to accest of it." Franklin to Deborah Franklin, Franklin Papers, American Philosophical Society, vol. 46, pt. 2, fol. 48, Dec. 13, 1766. Alison had in 1764 signed the memorial on behalf of the proprietors, and was suspected by Franklin's friends of having helped compose the anonymously printed pamphlet Answer to Mr. Franklin's Remarks of December 7, 1764. Leonard W. Labaree, ed., The Papers of Benjamin Franklin (New Haven, 1959-), XII, 83n., 137n.

Franklin's servant, George, picked up in August 1765, and he then began grading that area of the lot leading from the courtyard to Market Street as an alleyway.[25] The walling of the Franklin house grounds divided the lot, the wide lower portion being incorporated into the courtyard proper by the device of a brick wall running east and west about twenty feet behind the Frogley lot at 320 Market Street and the upper becoming a driveway between the enclosed area and the street.[26] At the end of the lot gate piers and presumably gates too were installed.[27] Although this work started during the summer of 1765, the wall on the courtyard's west side was not completed until the following summer. Litigation over the adjoining lot had begun, and though the Franklins were not a party to it, they cautiously refrained from putting up what might have to come down later. In the meantime, Deborah Franklin reported to her anxious husband, "as the dispute is not ended the wale is open nexte the liverey Stabel [site, Indian

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25. Deborah Franklin to Franklin, Aug. 1-8, 1765, Bache Collection, American Philosophical Society.

26. "Septr: 9th: pd: David Rose Brickmaker £10 in part of his Accot. for Bricks used in the Wall." Samuel Rhoads, Jr., "Franklin Receipt Book, 1764-1766," MS in Historical Society of Pennsylvania. For more on use of the lot's lower portion in Franklin Court and mansion construction see Franklin's House, Historic Structures Report, Nov. 29, 1969, pp. 51-56.

27. These are indicated as the tiny cubes in center left of the John Read diagram of Franklin Court (Illustration No. 1).

Queen Tavern) and everey bodey maikes a free pasaig threw it and will tel the wale is maid up."[28] At last in November she announced that the issue had been determined but it had been "seled up tell the (holding of) Corte."[29] With the onset of winter the work lanquished so not until July 1766 did they finish the wall.[30]

Even with the wall finished, much remained to be done in developing the courtyard's grounds. Not until April 1767 did Deborah Franklin get around to laying out the garden, hampered as she was by Franklin's continued absence: "I raly due all I Can but that is so verey littel that I am a shamed."[31] Carpenter Robert Smith, builder of the house, had by then put up fences and graded the courtyard to drain toward Market Street: "our Gardin that is to be is a fenesing of(f) but I have two Cartes a bring durte to rais it as the desente muste Come from the wall to go to the street."[32] Drainage

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28. The effect was felt elsewhere in the courtyard as well: "I did write you word thair was a rale fense put op a Crose the lott between us and our nabor Humpefris and we have a gaite but it Cante be keep shut tell the remainder parte of the wale id dun(.)" Deborah Franklin to Franklin, October 8-18, 1765, Bache Collection, American Philosophical Society.

29. Deborah Franklin to Franklin, Fall 1765, Bache Collection, American Philosophical Society.

30. Samuel Rhoads, Jr., "Franklin, Receipt Book 1764-1766," MS in Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

31. Deborah Franklin to Franklin, Apr. 20-5, 1767, Bache Collection, American Philosophical Society

32. "I paid to Mr. Smith laste week £30 as I did to Mr. Ervin the Carter. I am to pay this day 6 pounds od money for the seder postes and fenes. I am if I live to go to Mr. Rodises [Rhoads] plase next week and then we air to go to friend Bartrams [John Bartram, the famous horticulturist]." Ibid.

features probably were run through the lot at 322 Market Street as a step in this plan. Allison's refusal to cooperate apparently had by then become more than a minor annoyance.

Nothing more concerning the state of the lot at 322 Market Street appears on the record for several years.[33] Then, on June 7, 1783, Richard Bache charged payments totalling £2..12..6 to Franklin's account, for "halling Gravel for the Alley & Garden."[34]

Finally, on September 14, 1785, Franklin himself reappeared, following his lengthy diplomatic mission to France during the Revolution, and things began to happen again on the lot facing Market Street.

The Last of the Franklin Houses Goes Up

In deciding to build on what "formerly was the passage to my dwelling," Franklin conceded the necessity of a long-term as well as large-scale activity. He could not excavate the cellar on his vacant

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33. "Mr. [Richard] Bache has met lately with a cruel & Surprising accident --- having been nearly Killed by a thrust in the Side near the heart, from the horn of a Cow which he met in y^{e}. evening Going up to franklin Court --- the Wound was Very dangerous, but he is at present nearly recover'd & out of all danger." Better lighting doubtless proved desirable after this incident in the alleyway. John Holker to William Temple Franklin, William Temple Franklin Papers, American Philosophical Society, Vol. III, Folio 96.

34. Richard Bache's Day Book (1761-1792), MS, Franklin Institute On January 17, 1782, Bache had paid carter Robert Irvine the considerable amount of £10..8 "for halling gravel &c." Ibid.

lot until a passageway had been opened at 316-318 Market Street without closing off the courtyard. That the undertaking would extend to a second year at least was, in fact, assured by yet another factor, a suit at law concerning the boundaries of the lot at 320 Market Street and the house on it.[35] The verdict was not returned until September 25, 1786.[36] By mid-1787 three structures—an addition to his mansion and the houses at 316-1318 Market Street—stood finished and complete. The last Waste Book entry for this work is dated March 1787. Accounts later than this have all but vanished. Two stray bills alone of later vintage are still extant and while these may conceivably apply to commencement of the house at 322 Market Street, they may as easily be explained in another way. The year before, Franklin confided to Mary Hewson: "Considering our well-furnished, plentiful market as the best of gardens, I am turning mine, in the midst of which my

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35. Neighbor John Stille, owner of the house built so many years before by Henry Frogley at 320 Market Street since 1777, challenged Franklin's boundaries when he pulled down the three old houses on what is now 316-318 Market Street. Franklin stopped work at once on the new houses to allow litigation to proceed, turning instead to his mansion's addition. Deed D-17, p. 81, Department of Records, City of Philadelphia.

36. Stille's house was found to encroach on Franklin's property to the east 14 1/2 inches and the lot at 322 Market Street as laid out to encroach 5 1/2 inches on Stille's lot in its turn. Legates of B. Franklin agt John Stille, George Bryan Papers (Box 1785-1787), Historical Society of Pennsylvania. For the complete story of the accommodation reached by Franklin and Stille, see Historic Structures Report on 318 Market Street.

house stands, into grass plots and gravel walks, with trees and flowering shrubs."[37] Among the stray bills' 51 items only those for "Boards" on May 22 and "Lumber" on June 27, 1787, break the succession of payments for haulage of "Sand," "Loom," and "Dirt."

The wood could have served for fencing and gates quite as well as for house construction, while the dirt might have been brought in for garden features quite as plausibly as excavated from cellar space. The sand and loam were almost certainly being hauled in, the latter for landscaping it may be stated confidently, the former either for landscaping or building.

Whatever the preliminaries, by April 1787 Franklin let his banker, Ferdinand Grand, know of his intention to proceed forthwith to construct the house:

> The three houses which I began to build last year are nearly finished and I am about to build two others. Building is an old Man's Amusement. The Advantage is for his Posterity. Since my coming home, the Market is extended before my Ground next the Street, and the high Rents such a Situation must afford, has been one of my inducements.[38]

With time out to attend the Constitutional Convention (during which time Richard Bache doubtless acted in his stead), the work went forward so steadily that a year and a day later he could report to Grand that

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37. Franklin to Mrs. Mary Hewson, May 30, 1786, Albert Henry Smyth, The Writings of Benjamin Franklin (New York, 1906), IX, 511-12.
38. Ibid., p. 576.

"having finished my four Houses, I have done Building, and shall soon have done with public Business."[39] The years had taken their toll, and the spurt of vitality that he had experienced two years before had ended in pain and weakness. Building costs had taken another toll--this one from his financial resources. Little more than six months after penning the above he had been forced to the resort of dunning old accounts for whatever might be realized:

> After so many Years Forbearance you will not take it amiss that I now once more remind you . . . [of] having your and your good Sister's Bond for Sixty Pounds given in December 1769 of which no Part has hitherto been paid either Principal or Interest. Having lately been engaged in Building and the Expence usual far exceeding the Expectation given me for Workmen, I am constrained to collect what I can of Old Debts which through my Absense in Europe near thirty Years have been long neglected and many of them lost. I must therefore request you would be So good as to discharge this Bond without farther delay which will much oblige.[40]

Addressing a case-hardened debtor Franklin substituted insistence for the half-apologetic tone of the foregoing:

> You wrote to me . . . you would make a final Settlement of our Accounts: This was a Promise very agreeable to me,

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39. Franklin to Ferdinand Grand, April 23, 1788, Benjamin Franklin Papers, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress.

40. Franklin to Unidentified Correspondent [William Goddard], January 6, 1789, Franklin Papers, Yale University Library. Goddard (if indeed it was Goddard) became active at one point or another of a career marked by controversy in Providence, R. I., New York City, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. At the time Franklin refers to he was printing the Pennsylvania Chronicle on one of Franklin's presses, giving voice to the political views of Joseph Galloway and Thomas Wharton. Through his newspapers he enjoyed the reputation throughout the period of the Revolution as the foremost champion of freedom of the press and

> as my late heavy Expense in building five Houses (which cost much more than I was made to expect) has so exhausted my Finances, that I am now in real & great Want of Money.[41]

Although Franklin finished the house sometime during the spring of 1788, he had still not insured it at the time of his death. Whether because of slender resources or other reasons, this violated the providential tenets he held so dear. Bache had applied for insurance on the houses at 316-318 Market Street in mid-1787, and the Mutual Assurance Company trustees, meeting at the Indian King tavern on July 14, 1787, agreed to insure them.[42] Yet two years more passed before agreement

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the right of public criticism. The sister referred to would have been Mary Katherine Goddard, who from May 10, 1775, carried on the Maryland Journal, the newspaper he established in 1773. Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds., Dictionary of American Biography (New York, 1931), 7, 341-42. Though he had made his start in Philadelphia in concert with Franklin's allies there, Goddard distrusted Franklin's role in the Stamp Act Crisis, and with time his suspicions mounted, unrelieved by what he regarded as Franklin's pushing him aside in favor of son-in-law Richard Bache in the Continental Post Office. Franklin had during 1787 through a Baltimore agent attempted to collect the £60 note, and at the time Goddard acknowledged himself to be morally bound to make payment despite his having been released by the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1775 from legal responsibility. Franklin's appeal was to fall on deaf ears although he may not have been aware of Goddard's depth of feeling against him at the time. Ward L. Miner, William Goddard, Newspaperman (Durham, N. C., 1962), pp. 190, 203.

41. By "Money" Franklin meant hard cash. His resources remained large but not liquid. Franklin to Francis Childs, Apr. 27, 1789, Benjamin Franklin Papers, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress.

42. Mutual Assurance Company Minutes, July 11, 1787.

was reached on the amount of the premium, Franklin and Bache holding out for the lower rate they believed the buildings' fireproofing entitled them to.[43] Application to insure 322 Market Street appears to have been in abeyance pending action on the other houses. Before the insurance could be made, Franklin died (April 17, 1790). Bache as inheritor then applied for insurance in his own name. According to company records, the board approved insurance in the amount of £300 on July 14, 1790.[44] Actually, the policy was made for £400 on December 6, 1790.[45] And from the survey of the premises made in advance of the July 14 meeting comes the first and only contemporary description of the house now known:

> Dimensions 17 ft. 9 Inches front and 43 feet deep Lower Story back Room Breast surbase washboards Windows cased and single Cornice front Room Washboards and Windows Cased second Story Breasts Mantles surbase and Windows Cased third Story finished in like manner Garrets plaistered Trap Door Rampt stairs each Room detached from the other by a Brick partition and plaistered to the floor and under the Stairs Kitchen in the Cellar and a Sky light to the Stairs the Building new, adjoining the House of Doctor Bass to the Eastward.[46]

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43. Ibid., July 8, 1789. For more on the subject see Historic Structures Report on 318 Market Street, _____.

44. Ibid., July 14, 1790.

45. At the July 14 meeting the new house was reported to have been surveyed along with the houses at 316-318 Market Street and the mansion's addition for insurance totalling £1700. Thomas Ewing, Isaac Jones, and Jacob Baker of the trustees signed this and other Bache policies on December 8, 1790. Ibid., December 8, 1790.

46. Mutual Assurance Company Survey No. 232, Dec. 6, 1790.

What the survey depicts is a house of substantial proportions and good appointments as compared with other Philadelphia row houses of the eighteenth century. Like the houses at 316-318 Market Street, it was finished on the first floor in such a way as to enable the tenant to have an office or shop to the front, on Market Street, and a dining parlor in the more elaborate room to the rear, "Breast" indicating a fireplace of good quality but not elaborate, "surbase," a chair rail consistent in style with other architectural features, and "single Cornice" having one architrave with molding or moldings. Such features common to both rooms as the "washboards" (or skirtingboard or baseboard) and "Cased" windows (window frames with pullies, sashweights, etc.) would also have conformed to the style of moldings and other decorative features found elsewhere in the room.

On the second and third floors the rooms of the house at 322 Market Street followed the example of the first floor parlor. The enumerating of mantles in the four rooms suggests the possibility that these features were more elaborate. Its plastered garret rooms offered more bedroom space of quality, providing further indication that the upper floors were intended to serve as family quarters for the lawyer, publisher, doctor, shopkeeper, or whosoever might rent the premises as home and place of business.

Among the other amenities and design features calculated to attract the attention of prospective tenants were the ramped rails of the

staircase, possibly matched by like finish elements not here specified but adding to the appearance as well as the convenience of living there. Safety the house held forth to a fire-fearing generation ("each Room detached from the other by a Brick partition and plaistered to the floor and under the Stairs."). The effect here was to encase all interior space in a brick sheath, eliminating wooden partitions through which fires might spread. Plastering the flooring and its supports had the same effect vertically. Only a raging conflagration inside or wind-borne brands from a major disaster nearby, carried to the roof's cedar shakes, could defeat the purposes of this system. And it is a matter of record that neither this house nor the other two at 316-318 Market Street, devised as they were by the mind of the great Dr. Franklin to prevent the spread of fire, were ever so involved.

Like 316 and 318 Market Street, the house of the insurance survey is essentially the most efficiently arranged, spacious, and money-saving building possible in the market of 1787-88 and one certain to make the most advantageous use of the lot and its location. As architectural investigation and archeological excavation have shown, its arrangement was closely modeled after that of the other two tenant houses, and if the dimensions were different and the finish less expensive, they may be regarded as the products of a successful adaptation to slightly different circumstance.[47] An in-row town

47. Architectural Data Section, Historic Structures Report Part I on Benjamin Franklin Tenant House, 322 Market Street. The Archeology of Franklin Court, pp. 46, 48-52.

house with side hall on the first floor, a center stack of stairs illuminated from the overhead skylight, the kitchen in the cellar saving a kitchen addition, it is one of the more interesting products of Franklin's imagination in a field with which he is not generally associated.[48]

In later years the house was resurveyed, as required by company regulations in 1797 and 1804, and record of these actions had come down to the present--but without surveys adding to the slender description of the first survey.[49] In 1804 the policy was assigned a new number.[50] Following Bache's death the policy was reassigned

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48. As Franklin admitted in the two letters of 1789 "the Expence . . . far exceeding the Expectation given me for Workmen" and "cost much more than I was made to expect," it is probably that he practiced economies in the house at 322 Market Street not attempted in those at 316 and 318 Market Street. A situation had arisen by the time his project had developed in the Philadelphia building trades that led him into difficulty. The Carpenters Company in issuing its 1786 Rule Book, aimed at reforming the modes of pricing work, emphasized that as "buildings of convenience" succeeded those "plain simple buildings which were erected in the early times," that "many elegancies were in use" and "improvements were made in the mode of building" with price set on the "general and not on the particular parts of the work." Materials cost more and workmen 25% more. Thus, they found "many gentlemen who have had houses lately built, for want of being properly informed of the difference between such plain houses as aforesaid and such as they themselves have had built have been dissatisfied." Articles of the Carpenters Company of Philadelphia: and their Rules for Measuring and Valuing House-Carpenters Work (Philadelphia, 1786), pp. v, vi, vii.

49. MSS "Insurance Policies and Survey for Franklin Houses on High St.," Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Dec. 6, 1797; Dec. 6, 1804.

50. From 232 to 1925. Mutual Assurance Company Minutes, Dec. 12, 1804.

to heir William Bache.[51] It finally was withdrawn on February 17, 1826.[52] None of these transactions produced additional descriptive materials on the house at 322 Market Street.

The House's First Tenants, 1789-92

By 1789 the house was occupied--by a lady named Sarah Webb.[53] Richard Bache's account book, under date of February 15, 1789, shows her to have taken residence there by then:

> Cash Dr to Benjamin Franklin received of Mrs Webb for a quarters rent of the house in Market Street 20. 0. 0 [54]

Mrs. Webb's is one of those faceless names of the eighteenth century, lost to posterity save for a few scanty records. She is listed as a widow in the 1785 and 1791 Philadelphia directories.[55] The 1790 census gives her household as consisting of a son under sixteen years of age, two daughters, and herself.[56] That she had substance and

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51. Ibid., February 12, 1812. It was dated Jan. 31, 1812.
52. Notation on 1804 policy, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
53. Webbs abounded in eighteenth century Pennsylvania. Although not listed as a gentlewoman (of independent means, not dependent on trade or labor), Mrs. Sarah Webb doubtless possessed the required elements of gentility that entitled her to an address on Market Street.
54. Richard Bache's Day Book (1761-1792), MS, Franklin Institute.
55. Macpherson's Directory &c. (Phila., 1785), p. 144. The Philadelphia Directory by Clement Biddle (Phila., 1791), p. 138. She was living at 190 Second Street in 1785 and 65 Mulberry (Arch) Street in 1791.
56. Bureau of the Census, Heads of Families at the First Census Taken in the year 1790, Pennsylvania (Washington, 1908), p. 227.

standing is vouchsafed by Franklin's renting to her. That she made her livelihood as a boardinghouse keeper is indicated by the 1789 tax records identifying four male roomers as well as a servant added to the establishment.[57]

Mrs. Webb remained in residence only until the end of the year, for on February 11, 1790, a William Barton is picked up in Bache'e account book:

> Cash D^{r} to Benjamin rec^{d} of William Barton for a quarter rent due 22^{d} Jan^{y} last, - deduct^{g} 11/3 for mend^{g} windows 18. 3. 9.[58]

Although now, like Mrs. Webb, forgotten, Barton deserves a better fate as the man who devised the Great Seal of the United States. William Barton was one of the nation's genuine first-rate second-rate figures, whose ambition, according to a recent memorialist "was to be a success in his chosen undertakings."[59] This low-keyed outlook, the rational position of an essentially philosophical and scholarly man "of a contemplative turn of mind," was productive of much good and avoidance of much waste. By confining his activities

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57. By name "Sam'l Barrett," "James Bryan," "Frederick Furman," and "Mr Holtzberg," each of whom was taxed at the rate of 25 shillings per head. Mrs. Webb was also taxed for the standard 20 ounces of plate. The house's value for tax purposes was set at £700. Philadelphia County Tax Records, Middle Ward, 1789, p. 19.

58. Richard Bache's day Book (1761-1792), MS, Franklin Institute.

59. Milton Rubincam, "A Memoir of the Life of William Barton, A.M. (1754-1817)," Pennsylvania History, July 1945, 193. (Cited hereafter as "Barton Memoir.")

to fields of interest, he hit the mark repeatedly when he might have become a presumptive misfit on the fringe of greatness.

William Barton was born on April 11, 1754, in Philadelphia, the son of Thomas Barton, recently graduated from Trinity College, Dublin University, and at the time tutor in the Academy (later college) under the Rev. William Smith. His mother was David Rittenhouse's old sister, Ester. Thomas Barton that same year journeyed to England that he might receive orders as a rector of the church of England, and while there bought books for Rittenhouse's use, this helping to set him on the road to scientific achievement.[60] Returning from England, Thomas Barton settled his family in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, where he became rector of the missionary church, St. James. There William Barton grew up, leaving in 1775 for England to study law. Before returning to this country early in 1779, young Barton took the Grand Tour, starting with Holland where he identified early members of his mother's family.[61]

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60. Thomas Barton opened a school at Norriston upon his arrival in 1751 near Mathias Rittenhouse's paper mill and while there made the acquaintance of the family. Possessed of a good classical education and with an interest in scientific studies and botany specifically, Barton stimulated Rittenhouse greatly, and while teaching in Philadelphia, even before departing for England, had begun sending Rittenhouse books to feed his omnivorous intellect. William Barton, Memoirs of the Life of David Rittenhouse . . . (Philadelphia, 1913), pp. 100-5 (Cited hereafter as Rittenhouse Memoir.)

61. The first Rittenhouse in this country was William (Wilhelm Rittinghausen) from the duchy of Berg, Germany, and Amsterdam, Holland. In 1778 he found a cousin of his great grandfather still alive and residing in Amsterdam. "Barton Memoir," pp. 183-84.

Meanwhile things had gone badly for his father as the conflict with the mother country deepened. His stance as an Anglican clergyman in the heart of dissenter country led to his imprisonment when he led prayers for the King following adoption of the Declaration, and to his banishment two years later.[62] None of this rubbed off on William, whose sojourn in England had made a thoroughgoing Republican out of him.[63] Rittenhouse stood in the highest councils of the Revolutionary movement and the younger Barton gained repatriation free from prejudice. He had not been in the country for six months before he received

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62. Thomas Barton became a force among the frontier Pennsylvania populace, assuming charge of the churches at Pequea and Carnarvon as well as St. James's and serving as a chaplain with the rank of captain during the French and Indian War. As a missionary for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, he knew rough life among frontier people and Indians. The family experienced illness with loss of life. During the Paxton uprising he espoused the unpopular side and incurred the enmity of many in a population that he himself estimated to be only about two percent Anglican in persuasion. With the break in 1776 he clung to his ordination vows, refused to take the test oath, and finally was obliged to close his church as feeling mounted against him. Nor were the portents all outward. Patriot leader George Bryan, vice-president of the Supreme Executive council, wrote to Washington that he was "very instrumental in poisoning the minds of his parishioners, who are of very disaffected principles as to the present contest." Quoted from Edward Ford, David Rittenhouse, Astronomer Patriot 1732-1796 (Philadelphia, 1946), p. 90. At this point the revolutionary council placed him under confinement in his rectory, whence he slipped at night occasionally to officiate at baptisms. In 1778 he was sent behind the British lines to New York City, planning to go from there to England. But ill health detained him, and he died there in 1780--not until after being reunited briefly with son William Barton Brooke Hindle, David Rittenhouse (Princeton, N. J., 1964), pp. 195-97; Maurice J. Babb, "David Rittenhouse," PMHB, LVI, 207-08, 211.

63. From England he had written his father (October 10, 1775) "I am sorry to find that we seem to have few friends....They profess themselves extremely desirous that a Reconciliation should take place:

appointment from the Supreme Executive Council as agent for the Lancaster County Loan Office.[64] On October 2, 1779, he was admitted to the bar of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court.[65]

By 1781 Barton had moved to Philadelphia where in March he became a member of the city's bar and on June 14 married Elizabeth Rhea. They had nine children. Sometime during the year the University of Pennsylvania awarded him the honorary Master of Arts degres. Princeton followed suit in 1783.[66] Out of gratitude mixed no doubt with respect, Rittenhouse continued his patron for a decade and more after 1779. Failing to place him as secretary to Henry Laurens' mission to Holland in 1779, he wrote "I wish you could obtain some handsome thing of this kind, but there are such numbers of humble suitors to, and dependents on Congress, that everyting is snapped up, before you or I know anything of the matter."[67] Rittenhouse never stopped trying. He recommended Barton to president Thomas Willing in 1791 when the Bank of the United States was being staffed. He attempted to induce

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but say, that it cannot be effected, unless the Congress be dissolved, & the several Assemblies either petition, or make some kind of Propositions." Quoted in "Barton Memoir," p. 182. Bryan, writing to Washington on March 5, 1779, commented: "Young Mr. Barton . . .[having just returned from England] has been weaned of all attach ment to that corrupted Country, & brought to see the happiness & independence of North America in their proper light & connection." Quoted in "Barton Memoir," p. 185.

64. His appointment was dated July 14, 1779. Ibid., p. 185.

65. Ibid.; John H. Martin, Martin's Bench and Bar of Philadelphia (Phila., 1883), p. 247.

66. "Barton Memoir," pp. 185-86.

67. Ibid., p. 185.

Jefferson to appoint him an assistant secretary of state. Through Rittenhouse's influence Washington did appoint Barton one of the Northwest Territory's judges, but he resigned shortly after the Senate confirmed the nomination.[68]

As the United States passed through nearly a decade of economic and governmental groping, Barton joined the Peletiah Websters and Tench Coxes in authoring treatises of explication. Full of persuasion from his loan office experience, he issued a 40-page pamphlet in 1781 entitled Observations on the Nature and Use of Paper Credit. This he followed up at an interval of five years with The True Interests of the United States and Particularly of Pennsylvania considered; with Respect to the Advantages Resulting from a State Paper Money.[69] A decade was to pass before he published another work, this a population study published in the American Philosophical Society Transactions (1796) entitled Letter to David Rittenhouse containing observations on the probabilities of the duration of human life, and the progress of population in the United States. In 1802 he dedicated a lengthy study of neutral rights on the high seas during wartime to Thomas Jefferson: A Dissertation on the Freedom of Navigation and Maritime Commerce, and such Rights of States Relative Thereto, as are founded on the Law of Nations.

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68. In August 1789. Ibid., p. 188.
69. Ibid., p. 186.

A keen interest in public issues is evident in these writings rather more than a literary bent per se.[70]

Altogether, William Barton cut quite a figure in the Philadelphia of 1790 at the time of occupying Franklin's tenant house.[71] As his memorialist has written, "He possessed all the culture and refinement that made up the 18th century gentleman."[72] In every essential a product of the Enlightenment, he conferred on the city scene a desired quality of distinction. One of the flower of pre-revolutionary English America, he merited the "Esquire" appended to his name in the directories and other listings.[73] Spending most of the day with him on April 23, 1786, Andrew Ellicott, who himself moved in a circle of intellectuals, pronounced Barton "a most judicious gentleman and valuable citizen."[74]

The young family that Barton moved into the Franklin house consisted of one son over 16 years of age, one under 16, seven females of unspecified ages and relationship, and one servant.[75] In other words, a household decidedly feminine in composition. Judging from

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70. Ibid., p. 189.

71. One Philadelphia directory for 1785 lists him as "William Barton, Esq. counsellor at law," living on Third Street between Arch and Race Streets. He kept his office at another location on Third Street between Market and Arch Streets. The Philadelphia Directory by Francis White (Phil., 1785), p. 92.

72. "Barton Memoir," p. 180.

73. The Philadelphia Directory by Clement Biddle (Phila., 1791), p. 7; The Philadelphia Directory and Register by James Hardie (Phila., 1793), p. 8.

74. Maurice J. Babb, "David Rittenhouse," PMHB, LVI, 220.

75. Bureau of the Census, Heads of Families at the First Census Taken in the year 1790, Pennsylvania (Wash., 1908), p. 226.

his taxes, he owned good furnishings and lived well, for his personalty was valued at £148 as compared to the widow Webb's £23.[76]

Substantial as was Barton, other members of the family were as prominent if not more so. Brother Benjamin Smith Barton became the country's leading naturalist of that day and has since been recognized in the Dictionary of American Biography.[77] Benjamin's son, Thomas Pennant Barton, was to be a famous nineteenth century diplomat and bibliophile.[78] Both of William Barton's own sons fulfilled brilliant careers, William Paul Crillon Barton as botanist, academician, and first Chief of the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery of the U. S. Navy and John Rhea Barton as a famed Philadelphia surgeon.[79] Though only Rittenhouse of the intimate family circle had reached the pinnacle of his career when the family lived on Market Street,

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76. The breakdown given included the customary twenty ounces of plate, "1 Negro," and "Personal," the last in the amount of £100. Philadelphia County Tax Records, Middle Ward, 1789, p. 22.

77. Benjamin Smith Barton was born on February 10, 1766, and died on December 19, 1815. While studying medicine in London his early interest in botany (fostered by contact with his father, who was very actively involved in its study) and zoology was further stimulated by Sir Joseph Banks, the naturalist. While practicing medicine in Philadelphia he was appointed to the University's chair of natural history and botany. Later he transferred to the professorship of materia medica, and succeeded Benjamin Rush in 1813 to the chair of the theory and practise of medicine. Allen Johnson, ed., Dictionary of American Biography, II, 17-18.

78. Ibid., pp. 23-24.

79. All four Bartons are covered in the Dictionary of American Biography, more or less in detail. Ibid., pp. 21-22, 25-26.

the home milieu during get-togethers must have been among the country's most intellectual.[80]

Years before this, William Barton had performed the act and deed that was to prove his most enduring. The new nation had lacked an official seal since its beginning. Two committees had come and gone since the afternoon of July 4, 1776, when Adams, Franklin, and Jefferson had been appointed to design a seal. Their best efforts had merely been recommitted by a dissatisfied Congress. A third committee appointed in May 1782 experienced the same up to the point where Congress referred the proceedings to Charles Thomson, who, as Barton later remembered it, in the company of committee member Elias Boudinot and member of Congress Arthur Lee, "called on me and consulted me on the occasion. The Great Seal, for which I furnished these gentlemen with devices (as certified by Charles Thomson, Esq.), was adopted by Congress on the 20th of June, 1782. Mr. Thomson informed me, four days after, that they met with general approbation."[81] This

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80. William P. C. Barton was only six years old when the family moved away from 322 Market Street. John Rhea Barton was not born until 1794 when the family was living on Fifth Street. Cousin Thomas P. Barton also had not yet been born.

81. Charles A. L. Totten, Massachusetts Historical Society, Proceedings, 1866-67, p. 351. Lee, never officially a member of the committee, seems to have been consulted in much the same way Barton himself was.

modest claim masks a degree of participation far deeper and more important than the self-effacing Mr. Barton would ever have been able to acknowledge publicly. Thomson in fact wrote: "I enclose you a copy of the device by which you have displayed your skill in heraldic science, and which meets with general approbation."[82] In other words Thomson readily grants the credit to Barton, and expresses his pleasure that it had met with the desired response.

William Barton came to the task uniquely well-qualified. From youth he had cultivated an interest in heraldry.[83] While in England he made the acquaintance of Isaac Heard of the College of Arms, who encouraged him to construct and register the Barton family pedigree. Barton's sentiments were strongly patriotic; he wished for the glory of his country. Now he drafted a first design, fussy as Congress' earlier ones, whence, nevertheless, the committee salvaged the familiar pyramid found on the seal's reverse side. From his second design came the eagle, shield, with bars and other

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82. "Barton Memoir," p. 187.

83. In a letter to Washington enclosing a treatise in manuscript on heraldry, Barton admitted "When very young, I made myself acquainted with this science." He found it "pleasing & instructive, as well as innocent in its tendency." He also foresaw possible "considerable importance, in this infant nation, now rising into greatness." He sought Washington's concurrence, but discovered him wary after the outcry against the Cincinnati. Ibid., pp. 187-88; Rittenhouse Memoir, pp. 611-13.

accoutrements so well known to all Americans from their handling of dollar bills and viewing of the seal on decorations, governmental and military.[84] Thomson, from internal evidence of the committee papers, picked Barton's brain, guided his pen strokes, and added eloquence as needed to the description and explanatory remarks. Committee members Boudinot and Lee were capable of material improvements, but their role in what took place is a matter of speculation. In spite of previously voiced opinions, William Barton emerges as the man of the hour.[85] The extraordinary after-effect of Barton's handiwork could scarcely then have been imagined, yet his composition, as amended by Thomson, remains one of the most inspiring statements of the nation's destiny ever penned. The unfinished pyramid he described in the earlier draft as "A Pyramid of thirteen Strata (or Steps)....In the Zenith an Eye, surrounded with a Glory." This he explained in the "Remarks" as signifying "Strength and Duration."[86] In producing the final draft of the eagle and shield,

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84. For a guide to the manuscript materials relating to designing and adopting the national seal, see Gaillard Hunt, ed., Journals of the Continental Congress 1774-1789, XXII, 340n.

85. "The distinction of producing the arms of the United States can not justly be accorded wholly to either [Thomson or Barton], but belongs wholly to both, with the larger share of distinction to the Secretary, Charles Thomson." Gaillard Hunt, The History of the Seal of the United States (Wash., 1909), p. 37.

86. Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 23, folio 182, Library of Congress.

or as Thomson docketed it, "Mr. Bartons improvement on the Secretary's device," he worded his "Remarks" in these eloquent periods:

> The Escutcheon [shield] is composed of the Chief & Pale, the two most honorable Ordinaries: the latter represent the several States; all joined in one solid, compact Entire supporting a Chief, which unites the whole & represents Congress - The Motto [e pluribus unum] alludes to this Union. - The Colours or Tinctures of the Pales are those used in the Flag of the United States - White signifies Purity & Innocence; Red, Hardiness & Valour. The Chief denotes Congress - Blue is the Ground of the American Uniform, and this Colour signifies Vigilance, Perseverance & Justice.
>
> The Meaning of the Crest is obvious, as is likewise that of the Olive Branch & Arms.
>
> The Escutcheon being placed on the Brest of the Eagle displayed is a very antient Mode of bearing, & is truly imperial. The Eagle displayed is an Heraldical Figure; and being borne in the Manner here described, supplies the Place of Supports & Crest. The American States need no Supporters but their own Virtue, and the Preservation of their Union through Congress. - The Pales in the Arms are kept closely united by the Chief, which last likewise depends on that Union & the Strength resulting from it for its own Support - the Inference is plain.
>
> June 19th 1782 W.B.[87]

Barton's period of residence as Franklin's tenant, then Richard Bache's (1790-92), was one during which his intellectual life centered on the American Philosophical Society. He had been elected a member on January 1, 1791. This post he held until he took up duties as one of the Society secretaries in 1793.[88] In the course of his lifetime

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87. Ibid., folio 131-2.
88. "Barton Memoir," p. 188.

Barton also became a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society and the Royal Economic Society of Valencia, Spain.[89]

The other great field of interest for Barton, and one that came to occupy his last period of life was that of biographical writings. In 1813 he published the first biography of his great scientist uncle, one that stood unsuperseded for a century and a quarter.[90] Spurred on by this crowning literary achievement, he turned in 1814 to organizing the publication of a national biographical dictionary: Select American Biography, Or, An Account of the Lives of Persons, Connected by Nativity, or Otherwise With the History of North America, Since the First Discovery of that Country. But this grand design moved little beyond issuance of the prospectus and communication with possible contributors before Barton's death in 1817.[91]

By this time Barton had been inresidence for two decades in Lancaster, where he served as Prothonotary in 1800, Justice of the Peace in 1808 and 1811, and Auditor in 1810.[92] People called him

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89. See title page of Rittenhouse Memoir.

90. Jefferson in buying six copies wrote that he "salutes Mr. Barton with friendship and respect." Adams, out of patience with the book's style and no friend to the subject, confessed to Jefferson that "Mrs. Adams reads it with great delight, and reads to me what she finds interesting." "Barton Memoir," p. 191.

91. On October 21, 1817.

92. He moved there sometime between 1797 and 1800, probably in 1799 when the government of Pennsylvania took up quarters in the county court house in Lancaster.

"Judge Barton," in reference to his earlier appointment to the Northwest Territorial bench, in foundation, but in truth as a mark of deference to a respected citizen.

William Barton's memorialist, noting that he had been neglected generally, though "members of the line have attained such brilliance in their respective fields of activity that one may suppose no important Barton has been overlooked by the biographers," concluded that his "story is perhaps more interesting than that of his [more famous] brother; not more significant."[93] He concedes that his "public offices were few and of minor importance," yet that he "was a friend of many of the national leaders of his day."[94] His brand of mild and enlightened liberality made him one of the standard bearers of his day; he fully deserves a place in the history of American scholarship. In summing up his effect, memorialist Milton Rubincam finds the sum of his parts to be a considerable whole:

> We are the fortunate heirs of William Barton's ambitions and labors, for, through his study of heraldry and by his determination to earn a reputation for himself, we possess an impressive national seal, a learned exposition of a significant principle of international maritime law in wartime, a scholarly biography that occupies a conspicuous niche in the literature of our Revolutionary and early republican history, and an early comprehensive proposal for a dictionary of American biography.[95]

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93. A dissenting view is that of Brook Hindle, who believes Rittenhouse "coddled, favored, and recommended . . . William and Benjamin, far beyond their merits. He was responsible for lifting both to levels they could not have attained without his patronage." David Rittenhouse (Princeton, N. J., 1964), pp. 196-97.

94. "Barton Memoir," p. 180.

95. Ibid., p. 193.

. The circumstances of the Barton family's leaving 322 Market Street are not known. The 1792 tax records have them living there that year and the next year not. In their place appeared the little family of Benjamin Franklin Bache.

3. Exit Benjamin Franklin . . . Enter Benjamin Franklin Bache

In October 1788 Thomas Mifflin was elected to succeed Franklin as governor of Pennsylvania. Franklin wrote at that time to a friends: "Having now finished my term of being President, and promising myself to engage no more in public business, I hope to enjoy the small remains of life that are allowed me in the repose I have so long wished for."[1] Franklin's "small remains of life" was no epistolary flourish; earlier in the year he had been "very ill with a severe fit of the stone."[2] That summer he made his will, leaving the "house on the lot which fomerly was the passage to my dwelling," as well as the rest of his Philadelphia property, to his "daughter, Sarah Bache, and to her husband, Richard Bache, to hold for them for . . . their natural lives, and . . . [after them] to their heirs and assigns forever, as tenants in common, not as joint tenants."[3]

Death of the Patriarch

Even before giving up public service entirely, Franklin turned again to the last important work to be done. The autobiography he

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1. Quoted in Carl Van Doren, Benjamin Franklin (New York, 1938), p. 760.

2. Franklin to Jan Ingenhousz, Feb. 11, 1788, Albert Henry Smyth, The Writings of Benjamin Franklin (New York, 1907), IX, 633.

3. By this provision he safeguarded the interest of the grandchildren he had come to know so well, but practically ensured the obliteration of the courtyard he also had come to love. Quoted in Carl Van Doren, Benjamin Franklin's Autobiographical Writings (New York, 1945), pp. 688-89.

had brought up to his fiftieth year languished. He had tried to proceed steadily with it since April 1788, but by the end of the year had made little progress because, "interrupted by extreme pain, . . . [he had been obliged to] have recourse to opium."[4] By the following November he had pressed his grandson, Benjamin Franklin Bache into service as stenographer, where up till now Bache had applied himself to making clean copy. These last months Bache stayed in constant attendance, his grandfather's faithful amanuensis in the critical hour. Yet the fragmentary fouth part of the autobiography broke down. Franklin's greatest years went unchronicled in the end as life dwindled too soon. Too soon for him, too soon for young Bache, as so much else in the latter's short life. As Bache was to discover, nothing seemed quite to come off right.

At length the final moment came. Dr. Benjamin Rush reported the immediate cause to have been pleurisy "caught by lying with his windows open," but behind the apparent cause was the fact he "had been reduced by the stone in his bladder."[5]

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4. Smyth, Writings of Franklin, X, 32.

5. Rush went on to say that the pleurisy "terminated in an abscess in his lungs from which he discharged matter a few days before his death." From Rush's Commonplace Book, April 18, 1790, quoted in George W. Corner, The Autobiography of Benjamin Rush, His "Travels Through Life" together with his Commonplace Book for 1789-1813 (Princeton, 1948), p. 182.

With the exception of his discomfort, if the painful affliction of stone can be so termed, and the disarming affects of narcotics taken to combat it, Franklin had little in his intimate life to find fault with in the years following his return from France. Surrounded by family and friends, honored in all quarters, comfortable in his mode of living, he might well write to Madame Lavoisier "I enjoy here everything that a reasonable mind can desire."[6] Yet, from one source he suffered cruel disappointment, a disappointment so keen that it was to outlast him and enter the life of his beloved grandson, Benjamin Franklin Bache. The Lees, Adamses, and other detractors prevented Congress from settling his accounts and in other ways, as he wrote, do "honor to my posterity." He had not foreseen "such unkind treatment from Congress as their refusing . . . their thanks."[7] And in the

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6. In Franklin's words, "a sufficiency of income, a comfortable habitation of my own building, having all the conveniences I could imagine; a dutiful and affectionate daughter to nurse and take care of me, a number of promising grandchildren, some old friends still remaining to converse with, and more respect, distinction, and public honours than I can possibly merit." Smyth, Writings of Franklin, IX, 667-68.

7. Franklin felt he should have received reasonable reimbursement for expenses incurred and services performed where Congress had failed to make assistance available to him. Also, in France when his application for a secretary went unanswered, he diverted William Temple Franklin, his grandson through William Franklin, from law studies, to serve in that capacity. In time Temple became professionally equipped for diplomatic service (his most conspicuous post having been as secretary to the peace commission), but Franklin's best efforts on his behalf failed to get him such an appointment. Franklin confided to old friend and neighbor, Charles Thomson, still Secretary of Congress in 1788, that the fault, to his mind, lay as much in ignorance and

retrospective created while he struggled to complete that part of the autobiography involving the Revolution and his mission to France, the hurt rankled and spread to his amanuensis, Bache. In time this would reappear in Bache's journalistic crusades of the 1790s; he would never rest content so long as his grandfather's brilliant star might have to set behind reactionary Federalism's alien principles.

Franklin's Grandson

Benjamin Franklin Bache was the first of Sarah Franklin and Richard Bache's children. Born in Franklin's mansion in the courtyard off Market Street on August 12, 1769, his brightness as a child made him his grandmother Franklin's little "Kingbird."[8] Eager to please, the little boy drew from his mother the observation

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indifference as ill-will: "For I know something of the nature of such changeable Assemblies [Congresses], and how little successors are inform'd of the servies that have been rendered to the Corps before their admission, or feel themselves obliged for such service; and what effect in obliterating a sense of them, during the absence of the servant in a distant Country, the artful and reiterated malevolent insinuations of one or two envious and malicious persons [Arthur Lee, especially] may have on minds of members, even of the most equitable, candid, and honourable dispositions." Ibid., p. 694.

8. Deborah Franklin was one of Benny Bache's godmothers (Charles H. Hart, "Who Was the Mother of Franklin's Son," PMHB, XXXV, 311). She referred to him in his endearing fashion after he had touched her deeply by patting and kissing a miniature of her own long-dead Frankie Folger Franklin. Deborah Franklin to Franklin, June 13, 1770, Folder F to Franklin, Box Ltrs. to & from the Franklins, George S. Eddy Collection of Frankliniana, Princeton University Library.

"I look upon Ben to be of a temper that will be easy to govern. He will do a great deal out of affection."[9]

With the arrival of a brother, William, in 1773 and a sister, Sarah, late in 1774, the Bache family had grown to the point when Franklin departed on his mission to France, on October 29, 1776, where Benny Bache could be spared for the opportunity of his young life to accompany his grandfather abroad. A small boy still of seven at the time, he lived with his grandfather at the Hôtel d'Hambourg in Paris at first, finally settling into a wing of the Hôtel Valentinois, with octagonal pool, alleys of clipped lindens, and nine servants.[10]

Sometime before 1779 Franklin enrolled Benny Bache in a boarding school. The most memorable experience of that period was his withdrawal to be blessed by Voltaire during the philosopher's visit to Paris in 1778.[11] In 1779 his grandfather decided to send him to school in Geneva: "As he is destined to live in a Protestant Country,

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9. Quoted in Bernard Fay, The Two Franklins: Fathers of American Democracy (Boston, 1933), p. 10.

10. Located in Passy, this was the splendid home of M. Le Ray de Chaumont. Franklin appears at first to have occupied a pavillion on the grounds, then the Petit Hotel, and finally the left-hand wing of the hotel itself, where he had room for his official family, servants, guests, and such paraphernalia as a printing press and experimental equipment. Carl Van Doren, Benjamin Franklin (New York, 1938), pp. 635-36.

11. According to Van Doren, Voltaire "solemnly blessed Temple," pronouncing the words "God and Liberty." Ibid., pp. 605-06. Another author includes both grandsons, at different times. When it came Benjamin Bache's turn, he lifted the "boy on the bed beside him, kissed the little and and murmured, 'Liberty and Equality.'" Willis Steell, Benjamin Franklin of Paris (New York, 1928), p. 124.

and a Republic, I thought it best to finish his Education where the proper Principles prevail."[12] To Benny's mother he wrote that the boy was

> much grown, in very good health, draws a little, as you will see by the enclosed, learns Latin, writing, arithmetic, dancing, and speaks French better than English. He made a translation of your last letter to him, so that some of your works may now appear in a foreign language. He has not been long from me.[13]

On August 19 of that year Franklin wrote to his ten-year-old grandson:

> I think of you every day, and there is nothing I desire more than to see you furnish'd with good Learning, that I may return you to your Father and Mother so accomplish'd with such Knowledge & Virtue as to give them Pleasure, and enable you to become an honourable Man in your own Country.[14]

Young Bache stayed altogether four years in Geneva. There he enjoyed a celebrity's standing, a reflection of his grandfather's reputation. He attended the college, receiving a classical education. He witnessed at first hand a revolution in 1781-82 of the Representatives over the Constitutionalists that ended when the troops of France, Switzerland, and Piedmont put it down.[15] But in June 1783 he fell

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12. Franklin to John Quincy Adams, April 21, 1779, Smyth, Writings of Franklin, VII, 289. To Richard Bache he explained the move: "I have had a great deal of pleasure in Ben....He is a good, honest lad, and will make, I think, a valuable man. He had made such proficiency in his learning, as the boarding school he was at could well afford him; and, after some consideration where to find a better for him, I at length fixed on sending him to Geneva....He went very cheerfully, and I understand is very happy. I miss his company on Sundays at dinner." June 2, 1779, Ibid., pp. 345-46.
13. June 3, 1779, ibid., p. 348.
14. Ibid., p. 368.
15. Faÿ, The Two Franklins, pp. 24-33.

ill with a fever. Robert Piggott, an English Whig with a villa at Pent, near Geneva, rescued him and nursed him back to health there. Blaming the confinement of his room in town and unwholesome diet, Piggott recommended that young Bache be returned from Geneva. In July 1783 the boy returned to Passy.[16]

During the two years remaining in Franklin's mission, he took stock of the boy's prospects and decided advantage should be taken of the opportunity for vocational training. Owing to Franklin's disappointments in getting William Temple Franklin placed during this period, a change of attitude and opinion came about that proved decisive. At first he considered more academic education for him. Writing to his friend Mrs. Mary Hewson in England two months after Bache's return from Geneva, he sounded out the prospects in that country:

> My grandson Bache has been four Years at School at Geneva, and is but lately come home to me here. I find Reason to be satisfied with the Improvement he has made in his Learning. He translates common Latin readily into French but his English has suffer'd for want of Use: tho' I think he would readily recover it, if he were away at your School at Cheam, and at the same time be going on with his Latin and Greek. You were once so kind as to offer to take him under your Care; would that still be convenient to you? He is docile and of gentle Manners, ready to receive and follow good Advice, . . . He gains every day upon my Affections.[17]

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16. Robert Piggott to Franklin, June 27, 1783, Franklin Papers, American Philosophical Society, XXVIII, 193.
17. Sept. 7, 1783, Smyth, Writings of Franklin, IX, 89.

He thought better of this, but for a time had Benjamin Bache under the supervision of his cousin, William Temple Franklin. After a year he decided definitely what it would be and announced to Richard Bache that he would learn to be a printer:

> I had thoughts of bringing him up under his Cousin, and fitting him for Public Business, thinking he might be of Service hereafter to his Country; but being convinc'd that Service is no Inheritance, as the Proverb says, I have determin'd to give him a Trade that he may have something to depend on, and not be oblig'd to ask Favours or Offices of anybody. And I flatter myself he will make his way good in the World with God's Blessing. He is already begun to learn the business from Masters who come to my House, and is very diligent in working and quick in learning.[18]

The boy had already been exposed to the atmosphere of the printing shop that Franklin maintained in the Valentinois. In fact, had in 1783 struck off "An Ode in Imitation of Alcaeus," proudly inscribing at the bottom the legend "Printed by B. F. Bache." His lessons in type-setting for this experiment probably came from the compositor, Maurice Meyer, employed by his grandfather and living with them at the time.[19] He and his grandfather probably put the copy through the press together. From Philippe-Denis Pierres, printer of Versailles and member of the academies of Dijon, Lyons, Rouen, and Orleans, he received instruction in the principles of typography.[20]

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18. Nov. 11, 1784, ibid., p. 279.
19. Luther S. Livingston, Franklin and his Press at Passy (New York, 1914), pp. 9, 72.
20. Smyth, Writings of Franklin, IX, 47, 48n.

Supplementing this practical and theoretical introduction to the subject, after a year, came intensive, day-by-day instruction from a master typefounder, who lived with them from October 1784 until March 1785 and taught the youngster how to cast type.[21] Now Benjamin Bache was ready for shop experience, and Franklin made arrangements for him to be received into the best house in France, that of Francois-Ambroise Didot, the second of a famous line of printers from Lorraine.[22] The call from Congress to return home to America cut short young Bache's progressive education in the trade after a month in the workaday world of Paris, interrupting valuable lessons in type engraving.[23] But the 18 months already logged influenced his choice of a career and

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21. Livingston, Franklin and Press at Passy, p. 74. He is referred to as Mtr. Emeré in the Eddy Collection, Princeton University.

22. Ibid., pp. 74-75. Franklin expressed him admiration of Didot several years before in a letter to his friend, the London printer, William Strahan: "A strong Emulation exists at present between Paris and Madrid with regard to beautiful Printing. Here a M. Didot le jeune has a Passion for the Art and besides having procured the best Types, he has much improv'd the Press. The utmost Care is taken of his Presswork; his Ink is black, and his Paper fine and white. He has executed several charming Editions. But the 'Salust' and the 'Don Quixote' of Madrid are thought to excel them. Didot however, improved every day, and by his zeal and indefatigable application bids fair to carry the Art to a high Pitch of Perfection." Dec. 4, 1781, ibid., p. 335-36.

23. The arrangements delighted the young Bache, who confided to his diary (in French) that Didot was the "best printer of this age and even the best that has ever been seen....I take my meals at his house and sleep at the house of Mrs. Le Roy, a friend of my grandpapa; I went thither today [April 5, 1785] with my cousin and I became acquainted with his family....He combines in his house engraving, the forge, the foundry and the printing office; it is a very amiable family, . . . the meals are frugal.

his entire future development as well. He never again during his short life strayed far from the sounds of the printing press.

By September 1785 Benjamin Franklin Bache was back in Philadelphia after an absence of nearly nine years - more than half of his 16 years of age. A thoroughly Frenchified youth, he had much catching up to do with Americans in general and Philadelphians in particular. He enrolled without delay in the University "to compleat his studies."[24] During the spring of the following year his grandfather reported him still there and that he "applies close to his studies."[25] Although later in the spring he was said to be "finishing his studies at college," and in June "diligent in his Studies," a year later, in July 1787, he still had not taken his degree.[26] Franklin had already laid plans for his career after college. In October 1786 he told Dr. Benjamin Rush that one of the houses then under construction would be "for a printing office

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"April 7. Today I engraved my first punch with Mr. Didot's younger son. It was an O. They assert that I have not succeeded badly.
"April 8. Today an E."
Bache left about May 4 to help pack for the trip home. He returned to day goodby to the Didots on May 18. While in Paris he purchased "some engraving tools for types," with the help of the youngest Didot. Quoted in Livingston, Franklin and Press at Passy, pp. 74-75.

24. Franklin to Mrs. Mary Hewson, Oct. 30, 1785. Smyth, Writings of Franklin, IX, 474.

25. Franklin to Ferdinand Grand, Mar. 5, 1786, ibid., p. 492.

26. Franklin to Mrs. Mary Hewson, May 6, 1786, ibid., p. 512; Franklin to Mrs. Jane Mecom, June 3, 1786, ibid., p. 515. Apparently, all had not gone well with Bache's classwork. Writing to a friend late in the spring he stated: "I am following a complete course in Mathematics at our University which I expect to finish in the

for his grandson," whom Rush described as "a promising youth who was educated by him in France."[27] In anticipation of graduation day Franklin had promised young Bache's services, making type, to the trade: "My Grandson [he wrote in April to a customer] will cast them, as soon as he has taken his Degree and got clear of the College; for then he purposes to apply himself closely to the Business of Letter founding and this is expected in July next."[28]

Having paid what may well have been a reluctant farewell to the University, Benjamin Franklin Bache now came fully under his grandfather's dominance, a dominance compounded perhaps more than anything of the elder's determination to succeed in molding him where he failed with Temple Franklin and the young Bache's accommodating nature, verging on aimlessness. Franklin led him if he did not quite herd him into this career, in a field that for years had fascinated Franklin personally. In a city of unlimited future as then was Philadelphia, with many printers at work, and a like situation in other American urban centers, he foresaw a specialized field in which Bache might

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month of August next, with the degree of Bachelor of Arts, at least as the proverb goes he who counts with his account counts twice which cannot possibly indicate my displeasure in case I am [forced] to remain another year." Benjamin Franklin Bache to M. LeVeillard, Apr. 18, 1787, Pierpont Morgan Library.

27. Benjamin Rush to Richard Price, Oct. 27, 1786, quoted in Massachusetts Historical Society, Proceedings, 2d series, XVII, 353.

28. Franklin to Francis Childs, May 8, 1787, Smyth, Writings of Franklin, p. 580.

shine and in time make his fortune.

Franklin brought machinery and equipment enough from France to set up the business. Among the more than 120 cases shipped from Passy were a press, dismantled by Bache himself, a foundry, several founts of type, engraving tools, and various and sundry other printer's supplies. The foundry itself, around which centered their expectations, Franklin had purchased from the famous firm of P. S. Fournier, along with "a great variety of founts."[29] All this equipment presented space problems, once arrived at the house in the courtyard. The growing Bache Family overran the mansion house, and forced Franklin into enlarging it. Even the enlargement left no room for shop space. So while building the house at 322 Market Street in 1787-88, Franklin built as well a singular structure in the last reaaining space on his Market Street properties behind 316-18 Market Street to house a complete printing "office," as he called it, or in other words shop.[30] A two story, plain structure, it enclosed an arched passageway like that through the houses at 316-18 Market

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29. Franklin to Francis Childs, Oct. 1, 1785, ibid., p. 468.
30. Described in Mutual Assurance Company Policy No. 235, Jan. 15, 1791 (approved Jan. 12, 1791) in name of Richard Bache as "his Printing Office, situate in Franklin Court to the South of Market or High Street, Dimensions forty-eight feet including a ten feet Alley, by twenty feet, & two stories high."

Street, and had a room on each side of the first floor and a large room on the second floor.[31] According to one source the first floor rooms were for a foundry and bindery while that on the second floor was for a printing shop.[32]

Given urgent priority with Bache's career in the balance, this structure had taken form by August 1787. A letter of that month from New York City where Bache, already on the track of business and that of Francis Childs, who owed them much for type, had gone, shows that hopes were high and the signs encouraging: "My father's letter informs me, . . . to my great satisfaction, of the raising of the Printing Office & foundery; in all probability we shall succeed at least as well as Mrs Barrie & Son in the latter branch provided we make a few alterations in the several founts, so as to suit them a little better to the English taste."[33] These prospects of a return to his element stimulated

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31. As described by Colonel Robert Carr, who served his apprenticeship under Bache in the building: "On the North side of the house there was an open lot of the same size [as the one south of the house, 100 feet square] extending to the Printing-office, which was two stories high, built on each side, and over the court or carriageway opening on Market-street." "Personal Recollections of Benjamin Franklin" (contributed by Frederick D. Stow), Historical Magazine, IV (Aug. 1868), 59-60.

32. "The Western room, on the lower floor was a type-foundry; the opposite room on the East side of the Court was a bookbindery. The printing-office was on the second floor, and was furnished with every variety of large founts of type, from nonpareil to the largest sizes then used for posting-bills." Ibid.

33. Benjamin Franklin Bache to Franklin, Aug. 1787, Notebook, "Franklin Bache's Things," George S. Eddy Collection, Princeton Univ. Library.

Franklin, who, on receipt of Bodoni's Essai des Characteres de l'Imprimerie that fall, fired off an appraisal and critique of the designs employed therein.[34]

Despite all this bustle at the start, with 1788 almost half gone the business remained a prospect rather than a reality: "Benjamin . . . has finish'd his Studies at our University, and is preparing to enter into Business as a Printer, the original Occupation of his Grandfather," Franklin wrote to Madame Brillon.[35] On February 17 Franklin ordered a very large stock of type (to the amount of £150) from the famous London house of William Caslon, evidently catering to the "English taste" noted before. By June the business was in full swing: "I have set up my grandson B. Franklin Bache in a Printing House here, and what further Founts he may want from you, he will send Bills to pay for."[36]

Two undated type specimen sheets issued at this time by Bache illustrate and describe his wares at the business' inception.[37]

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34. Franklin to Bodoni, Oct. 14, 1787, quoted in Harry L. Gage, "Benjamin Franklin as a Typographer," Typothetae Bulletin, p. 463, from original manuscript in Bibleotheque Palatine a Parme.

35. April 19, 1788, Smyth, Writings of Franklin, IX, 644.

36. Franklin to William Caslon, June 1788, Benjamin Franklin Papers, Library of Congress.

37. John Clyde Oswald, Benjamin Franklin Printer (N.P., 1917), pp. 158-59. Since publication of Oswald's book, the specimen sheets and other Franklin materials have been deposited in the collections of Columbia University. Thomas Roy Jones, Printing in America and American Type Founders (New York, 1948), p. 11.

One sheet contains strikes of several large sizes of type and promises that other sizes, some ever larger for billboard use, "is always to be disposed of, at B. F. Bache's Printing-Office, Market Street; As also a number of typographical Cuts and a great Variety of Flowers."[38] The second, "A Specimen of Printing Types," include the Roman and Italian designs for French Canon, Double Pica, Great Primer, English, and Pica.[39] The first sheet also bears a version of the Great Seal of the United States, perhaps designed and executed by Bache himself. A talented sketcher, he had been schooled by French and Swiss drawing masters.[40]

The course of the business through the rest of 1788 is a matter of speculation. No newspaper advertisements or flyers in Bache's name are known to exist. Perhaps from the beginning, perhaps by

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38. Oswald, Benjamin Frankin Printer, p. 159.
39. Ibid., p. 158.
40. After Bache abandoned type founding, the foundry, according to Carr, was stored in the shop's loft. In 1806 William Duane gave it to the struggling young firm of Archibald Binney and James Ronaldson, who had begun Philadelphia's first successful type-foundry in 1794. Richard Ronaldson succeeded them in 1823. He later sold the business to the partnership of Johnson and Smith, who gave way to that of McKellar, Smith, Jordan, and Smith. Their firm was absorbed by American Type Founders, Inc., in 1892. The remnants of Bache's equipment for years was the company's prize possession, displayed in its Typographic Library and Museum at Jersey City, N. J. When the company moved to its present location in Elizabeth, the remaining old type faces were sent to the Smithsonian Institution. Jones, Printing of America, pp. 8-12; telephone interview, June 22, 1970, writer with Mr. Frank Hinkle of American Type Founders, Inc., 200 Elmora Ave., Elizabeth, N. J. 07202.

degrees he moved into the general business of printing. From a contemporary source appears the charge that he gave founding up.[41] He probably discovered that type-founding produced too slender an income to place sole reliance on it. Bache had noted from New York City that competition could be expected and that demand might lag: "Mr. Barrie has not sett up the business but will shortly. The printers here seem inclined to favor him, but they tell me N. York is pretty well stocked with types at present."[42] In addition, trade and commerce within the United States had not yet come under the regulation of a federal government, and New York as well as other states had set up their own business-inhibiting tariff systems. Though the Constitution had been written, it had not yet been ratified, and the time had not yet come for nation-spanning commercial enterprise. That Bache diversified his line is certain. Turning his talent for illustrating and knowledge of bookmaking to account, he tried the juvenile field: "[Bache] has printed some very pretty little Books for children....They are sold here, bound in Marble Paper at 1 [shilling] a Volume."[43] He also published a Latin grammar and one

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41. One of Bache's contemporaries claimed that he gave up founding as a business: "Bache began type-casting in Franklin Court in Market Street but soon relinquished that business for printing." William McCulloch, "Additions to Thomas' History of Printing [1812]," Proceedings, American Antiquarian Society, New Series, XXXI, pt. 1 (1921), 214.

42. See fn. 133.

43. Franklin to Jonathan Williams, Sr., Nov. 26, 1788, quoted from facsimile A.L.S. in Goodspeed's Catalogue, Dec. 1934. These books, four primers for children aged 2 to 5 and one hymnal came from the pew of Anna Letitia Barbauld. See Evans, 20945-9; 21268

in Greek and a collection of Latin texts.[44]

As the months went by, Franklin had less and less opportunity to take part in the business. His old foe among infirmities made him ill most of the time: "I have been much afflicted these 8 months past with both Gravel and Stone. I am now better but still . . . and can walk but little....I write in pain & am too much fatigu'd."[45]

Two months later he pronounced himself to be on the mend, but unoptimistically: "As to my Health, I think it is rather improving: But I cannot, considering my Age, near 83, count upon living much longer."[46] Although by now much of the time of both grandfather and grandson went into writing the last section of the Autobiography, in to which undertaking Bache's "beautifully clear hand" and pliant nature fitted so well, business was still accepted when offered.[47] Bache's pleasing French type contributed to the effect of such fine and fancy jobs as the Bank of North America's specie tickets.[48] With

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44. Fäy, The Two Franklins, p. 105. "They issued books for children, charmingly and fastidiously printed, full of little verses, old saws and pretty illustrations."

45. Franklin to Benjamin Vaughan, Aug. 18, 1788, Benjamin Franklin Papers, Library of Congress.

46. Franklin to John Wright, Oct. 22, 1788, ibid.

47. Bache had scribed for his grandfather before. Now with Temple farming in nearby New Jersey, it was perfectly natural that he would secceed his cousin as amanuensis. The appraisal of Bache's hand is by a descendant but is well deserved. Richard Bache Meade, "The Two Rival Autobiographies of Franklin," PMHB, XXIV, 197.

48. "Agreeable to a Resolution of a Board of Directors of the Bank of North America this day made, you are requested, and hereby fully authorized to print for the Use of the said Bank a Number

a mixture of pride and candor Franklin confided to an old friend in 1789, "I am too old to follow printing again myself, but, loving the business, I have brought up my grandson Benjamin to it, and have built and furnished a printing-house for him, which he now manages under my eye."[49]

The fall of 1789 saw the end of Bache's copying duties. For some time Franklin had been unable to add to the Autobiography, and in September he gave up: "I have not been able to continue my Memoirs, and now I suppose I shall never finish them. Benjamin has made a copy of what is done, for you."[50] Early in November he sent out this copy to various correspondents for their opinions. Now he

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of Tickets of the Denomination of Three Ninetieths of a Dollar equal to three Pence Specie, And a certain number of Tickets of the denomination of One Ninetieth part of a Dollar, equal to One Penny Specie, by which the Bank promises to pay to the Bearer, on demand, The Sums Therein severally mentioned." Thomas Willing to Benjamin Franklin Bache, Aug. 6, 1789, Franklin Papers, 36, pt. 2, item 167, American Philosophical Society Library.

49. Franklin to Mrs. Catherine Greene, Mar. 2, 1789, Smyth, Writings of Franklin, X, 4.

50. Apparently, he made more than one copy of the corrected copy, for Franklin sent another draft to Benjamin Vaughan. This one, to LeVeillard, became celebrated as that used by Temple in preparing his edition of the autobiography. It omitted the short fourth section, first brought to publication by John Bigelow. Van Doren, unable to date it, but noting that it was written with "his customary force," allows for the alternatives of its having been written earlier, but left out because Franklin preferred the dramatic effect of ending the Autobiography with his arrival in London in 1757 to begin a new life, or that "Franklin may have had an access of energy," and continued it after sending off the rest. Franklin to M. LeVeillard, Sept. 5,

could no longer "bear sitting to write, I now make use of the hand of one of my grandsons, dictating to him from my bed."[51]

Bache remained by grandfather's bedside. Now he was in his twenty-first year of a life that would not cover thirty. Fourteen of those years belonged to the older man; he had done much to shape the younger man's character. With the exception of those months devoted to the demands of posterity through the Autobiography, the entire last period had emphasized preparing Bache for the world in which he would have to make a living. Not for love of material things, certainly not in excess or to the point of luxury, but so that he might be free from the restraint of want; that like his grandfather, the youngster Franklin had come to love dearly might find his way to those achievements that would give his life meaning.

1789, ibid., p. 35; Carl Van Doren, Benjamin Franklin's Autobiographical Writings (New York, 1945), p. 780. Yet in November Franklin admitted "I have tried so many things with so little effect that I am quite discouraged, and have no longer any faith in remedies for the stone. The palliating system is what I am now fixed in. Opium gives me ease when I am attacked by pain, and by the use of it I still make life at least tolerable....I am now grown so old and feeble in mind as well as body, that I cannot place any confidence in my own judgement." Franklin to Benjamin Vaughan, Nov. 2, 1789, ibid., p. 50.

51. "I wish, indeed, I had tried this method sooner; for so, I think, I might by this time have finished my Memoirs, in which I have made no progress for these six months past. I have now taken the resolution to endeavour compleating them in this way of dictating to an amanuensis." Ibid. In Van Doren's opinion, he "might truly have reflected that this was not altogether the loss it seems. Plenty of other men could find materials for the story of his latest years. Only he had known about his obscure youth, which could never again be obscure." Benjamin Franklin, p. 768.

That he would do so as a controversial figure, a journalist and critic, carrying the power of the press to new fields, could not be suspected. The young man by his side when he died at 11:00 April 17, 1790, Franklin knew as an ingenuous, industrious, and dutiful youth, whose opinions, if yet formed, waited to find expression.

Franklin made several provisions for Bache in his will. The printing shop went to Sarah and Richard Bache with the rest of the Philadelphia real estate. But its equipment went to Benjamin Bache: "I give to my grandson, Benjamin Franklin Bache, all the types and printing materials which I now have in Philadelphia, with the complete letter foundry, which, in the whole, I suppose to be worth near one thousand pounds.... Such and so many of my books as I shall mark on the . . . catalogue with the name of my grandson, Benjamin Franklin Bache, I do hereby give to him; . . . My share in the Library Company . . . , [and] what money of mine shall . . . remain . . . I will that . . . the same be divided into four equal parts, two of which I give to my dear daughter, Sarah Bache, one to her son Benjamin, and one to my grandson, William Temple Franklin."[52]

Now for the first time his own man, the means of a career his debt-free, and with a modest competence besides, Bache could decide

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52. Reprinted in Carl Van Doren, Benjamin Franklin's Autobiographical Writings (New York, 1945), pp. 688-92. The will inventory, made after death, set a valuation of the "printing office and letter foundry," altogether, at £1000. Ibid., p. 699.

for himself in what direction to steer his future. That his heart should not be in printing alone is not surprising, considering his background and education. He saw his real destiny in a related and allied field. To others might fall the daily labor of press and workroom. He set out to make the press speak.

Bache's Newspaper Launched

The time was favorable. After spending the first eighteen months of its existence in New York City, Federal Government - President Washington, Congress, the Judiciary, the departments of executive management, and the entire diplomatic corps as well a body of transients hoping to gain by their presence - was about to relocate in Philadelphia. In August 1790 Bache gave notice to the public of his intention to start a newspaper at the seat of government.[53] His uncle, Theophylact Bache, wrote from New York, "tell Benj. to set me down as a Customer, and I desire that he will let me have my paper regularly."[54]

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53. "How goes your Brother the Printer, I see Mess. Child & Swaine have published his proposals, in part, if he wishes to get any subscribers in this City [New York], and State I would advise him to write to M. Hugh Gaine, & M M^{c} Clean, in the business who can serve him." Theophylact Bache to William Bache, Aug. 28, 1790, Bache Papers, Princeton University Library.

54. Ibid. Childs and Swaine published the Daily Advertiser in New York City. This first-named partner was the very same Francis Childs who owed Franklin money for types purchased upon his return

Behind young Bache's decision to launch a newspaper lay political factors of great moment. As a principled republican, he doubtless viewed with jaundiced eye the forces at work that had so upset Thomas Jefferson when he became Secretary of State a few months before. The American press of that day although fiercely independent had to depend on English newspapers as a source of information. And where newspapers immediately following the Revolution had been filled with "speculations in support of the rights and privileges of the people . . . and the prepossession of . . . citizens in favor of the great principles of civil liberty; and the natural equality of our species," now "everything [was] made to depend on imaginary 'balances, distinct orders' or in plainer English . . . 'King, Lords and Commons' at once."[55] Jefferson had until August 1790 managed a working relationship with John Fenno's Gazette of the United States to publish extracts from the Leyden Gazette, edited by the scholar, Luzac, republican in principle, and commendable for its accuracy and comprehensiveness.[56] This

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from France. His partner, John Swaine, had been admitted to the newspaper with the issue of July 2, 1789. Clarence S. Brigham, History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820 (Worchester, Mass., 1947), I, 620.

55. Quoted from "A Republican" in the New-York Journal in Julian P. Boyd, The Papers of Thomas Jefferson (Princeton, N. J., 1961), XVI, 245-46.

56. The writer is indebted to Mr. Boyd's full and lucid explantion of Jefferson's position on the American press of 1790 as detailed in the editorial note under "Jefferson's Alliance in 1790 with Fenno's Gazette of the United States," ibid., pp. 237-47.

alliance came to an abrupt end on the eve of removal of the seat of government to Philadelphia. At almost the same hour, Bache published his announcement in the New York press, and approached Jefferson with a solicitation for some share of the government printing:

> Honoured Sir
>
> When the revoval of Congress to this City was determined, I understood that Messrs. Childs & Swaine intended setting up a press here. I have since heard that they have no thoughts of moving. Perhaps you may have not yet fixed upon a person to print the laws here; in this case permit me to offer myself. I am just setting out in the printing business with an extensive assortment of materials and would endeavour to merit your approbation should you think proper to employ Dear Sir, [57]

Jefferson did not respond at once. Bache's extreme youth (just turned 21) may have shaken Jefferson's confidence or his ardent intensity may have inspired caution instead of confidence. Or Jefferson may already have been committed to patronizing Freneau, who located in Philadelphia within the year.[58]

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57. Bache to Jefferson, Aug. 20, 1790, ibid., XVII, 397. This may have been a veiled hint on Bache's part to get support for his newspaper. Coming on the heels of his published proposals, which presumably had been seen by Jefferson, it might have been expected to stimulate patronage. But Jefferson, having as Secretary of State the duty of giving public notice to the laws through publication, had already named Dunlap to receive this favor. Jefferson had no doubts that because "remuneration was involved, this apparently routine duty possessed 'considerable political potentialities.'" Donald H. Stewart, The Opposition Press of the Federalist Period (Albany, 1969), p. 7.

58. Jefferson's intentions are not in doubt: "Correspondence with Madison indicates the the Secretary knew full well Freneau planned to establish an opposition journal and expressed an intent to give him the official printing business for the State Department." Ibid., p. 9. This author is not so charitable as Boyd in relating

Philadelphia's Federalists reacted with chilling discouragement to Bache's proposed newspaper. Accurately appraising the young man, an uneasy Robert Morris commented:

> Some of your friends here are rather sorry for your intention of Printing a News Paper. There are already too many of them published in Philadelphia, and in these days of Scurrility it is difficult for a press of such Reputation as you would choose yours to be to maintain the Character of Freedom and Impartiality, connected with Purity. They seem to entertain the opinion that you might be more Honorably and more lucratively employed by the Printing of Books, but of this you are the best Judge, and I have only mentioned the substance of a conversation that arose upon my producing the prospectus of your intended News Paper.[59]

Whatever discouragement, if any, Bache felt on receiving this dampening letter was not reflected in his actions. On October 1, 1790, the General Advertiser, and Political, Commercial, Agricultural and Literary Journal first issue made its appearance. The universal appeal of its masthead Bache fortified with the motto, "Truth, Decency,

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what he regards as Jefferson's activities from the very start to organize a party press. Ibid., pp. 8-10. Child and Swain did, in fact, start a Philadelphia branch printing office at 239 High Street, where they styled themselves "printers of the laws of the U. S." And, not surprisingly, on October 31, 1791, they printed the first issue of the National Gazette, Philip Freneau, editor. They enjoyed not only printing of the laws as the first order of patronage, but publication of a number of other government documents. National Gazette, Jan. 23, 1792, p. 4; Brigham, American Newspapers, II, 925.

59. Several Philadelphia newspapers stood ready to air Federalist viewpoints, and Morris and his friends already had a trustworthy organ on its way to them from New York. John Fenno in his prospectus has promised to issue the Gazette of the United States from the seat of government, wherever that might be, and he kept his word by moving to Philadelphia. Morris doubtless was aware that he was on the way when he penned this letter, but could not have known about Jefferson's intention to counter the move and probably believed he was heading off the opposition. Bernard Fäy, The Two Franklins: Fathers of American Democracy (Boston, 1933), p. 147.

Utility," avoiding thus the reputation for scurrility that stigmatized the others. At first Bache could dig up little dramatic news. Local news lagged and Philadelphia was not yet the federal city. After a month he complained for the first and last time about the extent of community ennui that buries newspapers: "Not even an accident, not a duel, not a suicide, nor a murder, not so much as a single theft worthy of notice."[60] All of this changed fast enough when Congress went into session on December 6, 1790. Thanking La Rochefoucault on receiving his good wishes "For his advancement," the following month, he dared submit to the great fablist's scrutiny "several fruits of [his] work," pridefully expressing the hope that those "which concern the Congress may perhaps interest you."[61] He had begun to

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60. "As to domestic politics, no party disputes to raise the printer's drooping spirits; not a legislature sitting to furnish a few columns of debates, not even so much as a piece of private abuse to grace - Zounds, people now have no spirit in them . . .
O! tempora, O! mores."
Quoted in Stewart, Opposition Press, p. 32, from General Advertiser, Oct. 30, 1790.

61. Bache wanted desperately at this time to achieve recognition. As he demonstrates in this letter, indorsement of his journalistic efforts would be welcome from any quarter: "I take the liberty to transmit, for time to time, [that which] would be of a type of interest [to you]; - and if you permit me it, to accompany [them] with some examples of my writing, in order that I [may] use them to advantage to retain a place in the memory of one of the dearest friends of my Grand Father." Bache to M. La Rochefoucault, Jan. 24, 1791, photostat of MS in George S. Eddy Papers, Princeton University Library.

report the debates, applying a standard of accuracy that became his hallmark in time. On January 1, 1791, he dropped "Agricultural" from the masthead, and added "The." By August 16, 1791 it had become simply the General Advertiser.[62]

His newspaper had become well enough known by this time to warrant a shortened title; it also had no need now to pretend to be a repository. In part these favorable developments stemmed from the merits of his reportage and narration. In part it was the result of Jefferson's patronage, finally come to him. Freneau had not started publication, but Fenno was on the scene and influencing opinion. With Bache's Advertiser wearing a likely look, Jefferson finally in 1791 as an interim measure took the struggling journal under his wing.[63] From a desire, as he confided to Bache, "of seeing a purely republican vehicle of news established between the seat of government and all it's [sic] parts," he struck the bargain that enlisted Bache formally into the ranks of the out-party. Jefferson furnished Bache with copies of the Leyden Gazette, sparing his staff the trouble of translating it thus, and Bache reproduced the news sections practically intact.[64] Bache's language skills, always advantageous

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62. Brigham, American Newspapers, II, 916.
63. Boyd, Jefferson Papers, XVI, 246.
64. Boyd cites a letter of April 22, 1791, from Jefferson to Bache as authority for his claims about their relationship. He also states that Bache "cooperated and even experimented with Jefferson's idea of issuing a weekly made up of selections from the daily paper, but this effort to obtain a wide distribution of Luzac's foreign news throughout the United States failed." Ibid.

in his newswork, here complemented Jefferson's design, and may have sealed the bargain. In return Bache received the attention of an official voice with the increased circulation, prestige, and access to other news to be expected with improved status. Also he opened a channel through the secretary of state into the secrets of state. Few direct and tangible benefits in the printing line are known to have befallen him; sale of the newspaper and an occasional advertisement, but from Republican-oriented Pennsylvania state officials came more and more business of this type. By the year's end Bache and his newspaper were secure.[65]

Marriage: The Young Couple Move In

Benjamin Bache had fallen in love with Margaret Markoe. The circumstances are largely unknown: Faÿ hints at the events of their courtship but adduces little in evidence to support it. They had met before 1790. She was the daughter of a planter of the Danish West Indian island of St. Croix named Francis Markoe. Her uncle,

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65. Advertisements provided income, as John Trumbull's 15 shilling payment for eight running ads for his prints of the American Revolution, contracted on November 13, 1791. Personal Papers, John Trumbull, Accounts 1791 folder, New York Public Library; Cashbook, Dept. of State June 19, 1785-Feb. 5, 1795, Records of the Dept. of State, National Archives: these accounts contain such entries as payments for proclamations, subscriptions, labels, blank bills of exchange, and extra copies of the General Advertiser. Warrant Book, 1789-92, 1794, Register General, Record Group 24, Division of Public Records,

Abraham Markoe, a wealthy Philadelphia merchant, lived on nearby Second Street. Her mother, following Francis Markoe's death, married the well-known Philadelphia physician, Adam Kuhn. Thus, Margaret Hartman Markoe's connection were excellent. She and Bache were married on November 17, 1791.[66] He had been living with his parents in Franklin's mansion.[67] She moved in with them, for the time being. Richard and Sarah Bache left for Europe the next year and with a house full of children to be cared for, her presence was doubly welcome. Writing to a friend in April of 1792, Bache acknowledged his newfound state:

> You say I do not write you. Do you know how I am situated? Publisher of a large, large (I speak only of mathematical dimensions) newspaper -- every day -- even Sundays, never a day at home, I am incessantly taken up with the business on the run.--Awaiting letters from me, [is like] awaiting letters from a voyager en route....
>
> But the good news, however, which you must know, I am no longer Little Benjamin, I am the large, bearded Benjamin, and what is worse--married--Yes at 22.--Whether badly

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Harrisburg, Pa.; Records of the Comptroller General, 1782-1809, ibid.; Disbursements, Register General 1791-92, ibid.; Receipts and Disbursements, 1792-93, Office of State Treasurer, ibid.; RG 28; etc.: contain payments for printing for the houses of the legislature, advertising stock of public works, printing proclamations, subscriptions, printing for secretary's office, advertising land sales, printing bills, and advertising militia affairs.

66. Leonard W. Labaree, ed., The Papers of Benjamin Franklin (New Haven, 1959), I, lxiii; Allen Johnson, ed., Dictionary of American Biography (New York, 1930), I, 463. She was born Nov. 7, 1770.

67. "Bache, Benjamin Franklin, printer publisher of The General Advertiser, Franklin Court, High St." The Philadelphia Directory by Clement Biddle (Phila., 1791), p. 5.

> married or well married--well then, what they call well, I'll call well, that is to say to my taste--yes and to the taste of my friends too. If you know her, you would like her very much,--you'll like her, without knowing her.[68]

Before the end of the year it became necessary to find new quarters. The Baches upon leaving for England put the mansion up for rent and held a sale of the furnishings.[69] Benjamin and Margaret Bache moved over to the house at 322 Market, then vacant, where on October 25, 1792, their first child, Franklin Bache, was born.[70] William Barton, with a "pretty numerious family, and . . . a small . . . precarious income," was gone.[71]

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68. Benjamin Franklin Bache to Le Veillard, Apr. 6, 1792, Franklin Papers, Pierpont Morgan Library.

69. Bache managed the sale for his father and acted as his agent in renting and caring for the various rental properties while they were away. For a time Vice President John Adams considered renting the mansion, but in the end Andrew Allen, a "gentleman" of means, became their tenant. Tench Coxe, Commissioner of the Revenue, considered renting the tenant houses en masse, but decided against it. Richard Bache left tenanting decisions to Bache, and he would have had the final say on 322 Market Street, though an understanding probably existed before his father sailed. Richard Bache to Bache, July 33, 1792, George S. Eddy Papers, Princeton University Library.

70. Richard Bache had written: "Should my dear daughter [Margaret] present you with a Son, I wish him to be called Franklin and that you would ask my friend P. Bayton to stand Proxy [as godfather] for me as one of his Sponsors." Ibid.; Johnson, DAB, I, 463.

71. Apparently Barton had moved out in advance, for as Bache wrote in this same letter (fn. 169): "Mr. Barton settled with me--had it been otherwise, I should have informed you of it." The Philadelphia Directory for 1793, actually assembled toward the end of 1792, lists Bache "printer and publisher of The General Advertizer, 112, High St." at the address. The numbering of buildings in the city followed the system established by Clement Biddle in 1791, even numbers consecutively without regard for blocks, until consolidation with other communities in the county in 1854. The 112 High Street address was, thus, what today is known as 322 Market Street.

Next to nothing is known about the home life of Margaret and Benjamin Bache. Four sons were born to them while in residence there: Richard Bache, 3d, in 1794, Benjamin Bache in 1796, and Hartman Bache in 1798, in addition to Franklin Bache.[72] No body of Benjamin Franklin Bache correspondence, no personal papers of this period remain to illuminate it. Judging from the foregoing letter his life centered on publishing, allowing little time for home and family. Hers doubtless was occupied by the cares of a young family.

Living with the Baches after their move to 322 Market Street were his clerk, John McNulty, and two printers named Thomas E. Clayland and Babcock.[73]

Visitors included all the leading republicans of the period, the list headed by Thomas Jefferson.[74] Other intimates of this persuasion

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72. Johnson, DAB, I, 463; Labaree, Franklin Papers, I, lxiii. Bache wrote to his brother, William in September 1794; "I have an encrease in my family; a little Rich^{d} was born on tuesday last and all are well." Bache to William Bache, Sept. 21, 1794, Bache Papers, Princeton University. Thus was Richard Bache, the grandfather, honored after giving way to his father-in-law's memory in the case of the first-born child.

73. County Tax Records, Philadelphia Middle Ward, 1793-96, Philadelphia City Archives, pp. 22, 25.

74. In later years Franklin Bache in asking Jefferson's recommendation for a professorship in chemistry admitted that he had "built somewhat on your former friendship to my late father, Benjamin Franklin Bache, presuming it might create a favorable disposition toward his eldest son." Franklin Bache to Thomas Jefferson, Mar. 27, 1824. Jefferson replied: "I am glad to find a son of my late friend . . . qualified to take a stand in so honorable a line of competition." Jefferson to Franklin Bache, Apr. 10, 1824. Both letters in Jefferson Papers, University of Virginia.

were Madison, John Beckley, Clerk of the House of Representatives, and such leaders of Philadelphia's Democratic Society as Blair McClenachan and Peter S. DuPonceau.[75]

Bache's children, although orphaned young, became outstanding citizens. Hartman Bache became the highest ranking officer of the U. S. Army's corps of topographical engineers. Franklin Bache became a famous teacher, chemist, and physician. Not only did he contribute in important ways to the development of chemical theory, but he added influential texts to the available teaching materials. He held the principal posts of the American Philosophical Society, finally as president.[76]

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75. Apart from the business, the Democratic Society of Philadelphia seems to have had first call on Bache's time and attention. This society was "established with a view 'To cultivate a just knowledge of rational liberty; to facilitate the enjoyment and exercise of civil Rights; and to transmit unimpaired to posterity, the glorious inheritance, of a Free Republican Government.'" See certificate of membership opposite page 166, Fäy, The Two Franklins. According to Fäy (p. 145), Bache had been one of the "managers" of the fashionable Assembly, Philadelphia's cotillion organization before his marriage. He also was a member of the American Philosophical Society.

76. Johnson, DAB, I, 463. Hartman Bache was born on September 3, 1798, one week to the day before his father's death of yellow fever. He graduated from West Point in 1817 and was breveted Brigadier General in 1865. He married the sister of George Gordon Meade of Gettysburg fame. Richard (1794-1836) died young, a captain of ordnance in the U. S. Army. He authored a volume on travels in South America. Benjamin (1796-1853), unmemorialized and unmarried, left little on the record. Franklin (1792-1864) took his medical degree from the University of Pennsylvania. For years he held the chair of professor of chemistry at Jefferson Medical College. He was one of the editors of American Pharmacopoeia. Labaree, Franklin Papers, I, lxiii; James Parton, Life and Times of Benjamin Franklin (Boston, 1864), II, 629.

In furnishing their new house, the Baches may be assumed to have enjoyed better than average appointments. Despite not having larger income, Bache could draw on family possessions from the mansion. And with wealth in her family, Margaret Bache may be assumed to have brought a very full trousseau into the marriage and have received many useful presents before and after it. Bearing on this is the item of 60 ounces of plate for which Bache taxed throughout his period of residency.[77] And on April 4, 1797, Joseph Richardson, Jr., the silversmith, charged Bache £2.17 shillings for two sauce ladles, "engraving cyphers [initials]" on them, and "cleaning & repairing a parcel of Plate."[78] In 1795 correspondence shows Jefferson forwarding Franklin's Chinese gong, the one willed by Franklin to Temple, to Bache, who may have been given it by his cousin.[79]

The front room on the first floor that probably served as Barton's office became in Bache's tenure the newspaper's subscription office and shop at which various publications could be bought. A popular

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77. Philadelphia County Tax Records, Middle Ward, 1793-96 (1795), Philadelphia City Archives, p. 25.

78. Joseph Richardson, Jr., Day Book 1796-1801, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, p. 32.

79. The gong was in Franklin's house at the time of his death and was recorded in the will inventory, valued at £3. Jefferson may have acquired it in error during the 1792 sale of furnishings, at which time it is known he bought books from Franklin's library. Carl Van Doren, Benjamin Franklin's Autobiographical Writings (New York, 1945), pp. 697, 699; Thomas Jefferson to Benjamin Franklin Bache, June 2, 1795, Franklin Papers, New York Public Library; Thomas Jefferson to Benjamin Franklin Bache, Dec. 26, 1795, MS at Central Library, Salford, England.

item, for example, when revolution was remaking France, was the revolutionary calendar, and its truly Thermidorean reaction.[80]

Hustling young Bache now had a business, a home, an office, and a future. But how much of a future? The General Advertiser was well-established, but no one hailed its quality and character. In an age when journalistic invective or clever writing marked the most successful sheets, Bache's penchant for accurate, fulsome reporting earned him few plaudits. To subtle minds, he seemed heavy-handed. Jefferson lost no time in switching the Leyden Gazette to Freneau when that editor finally established the National Gazette (A Periodical Miscellany of News, Politics, History, and Polite Literature) with the help of Childs and Swaine, and printed a first issue on October 31, 1791.[81] Writing to his daughter, Jefferson enclosed "Freneau's paper instead of Bache's, on account of the bulk of the latter which, being

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80. At least after 1796: "Dwelling & Printing Office" was the way of designating 322 Market Street on the tax rolls for 1796, 1797, and 1798. County Tax Records, Philadelphia Middle Ward, 1793-96, p. 26; 1797, p. 24; 1798-1801, p. 22; Philadelphia City Archives; Fäy, The Two Franklins, p. 215. The Revolutionary Calendar began the day on which the French Republic came into existence, September 22 (1792). Thus, September 22 would be New Years Day, and the month became Vendemaire (Vintage). The other months in order were Brumaire (Fog), Frimaire (Sleet), Nivose (Snow), Pluviose (Rain), Ventose (Wind), Germinal (Seed), Floreal (Blossom), Prairial (Pasture), Messidor (Harvest), Thermidore or Fervidore (Heat), and Fructidor (Fruit). These twelve months of 30 days each left five days for festivals and six every fourth year.

81. Boyd, Jefferson Papers, XVI, 246; Brigham, American Newspapers, II, 925; Victor Hugo Paltsits, A Bibliography of the Works of Philip Greneau (New York, 1903), pp. 7-9.

a daily paper, was too much for the post. And Freneau's two papers contain more good matter than Bache's six."[82]

82. The copy was for one of the Randolphs. Jefferson to Martha Jefferson, Nov. 13, 1791, Edgehill-Randolph Collection, University of Virginia.

4. Printing Office of the Aurora

So, to this point, Bache was a success, but had not yet scaled the heights. Freneau's sheet, arriving when it did and exciting immediate favorable response, might have cost Bache heavily. By general agreement the National Gazette set the highest standard, its wit earning it a renown beyond the reach of others, during the two years of its publication. The National Gazette published for the last time with issue No. 208, October 26, 1793.[1] A yellow fever epidemic raged at the time, making suspension advisable (Bache's Advertiser suspenced publication from September 27 to November 23), but discontinuance was assured by Jefferson's decision to leave the administration at the end of the year. Freneau's position in the State Department as "Clerk for foreign languages" had been given up on October 1.

Two factors had operated to keep Bache's head above water. For one thing, his continued patronage by influential republicans brought business enough to meet his needs. For a second, the effect of the French Revolution's events, fully reported by him, and newsworthy beyond any but the most sensational happenings elsewhere, ushered in a period of American journalism without parallel before or since. In this remote day and age, it is almost impossible to imagine the impact of news from France during the 1790s. The word "revolution" had taken on a

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1. Paltsits, Works of Freneau, p. 9; Brigham, American Newspapers, II, 925.

potent connotation to Americans in the wake of their own liberating conflict of 1776-83. The social significance of the homespun variety had risen with the venture in reestablishing the government under the Consitution, a move regarded with suspicion by many. During 1789 and 1790, while the new government was installed, a working consensus had been established, both in the Congress where a James Madison worked, and in the administration, where Jefferson had assumed the cabinet position of Secretary of State. While the future leaders of the opposition struggled to help found an effective national government, they remained alert for indications that the anti-republican forces they feared were at work at the highest levels of the new order. And not surprisingly, they found in time that what they feared most had happened. The administration, so they felt, had somehow in spite of their best efforts become dominated by social and economic interest groups diametrically opposed to the great principles of the American Revolution. The Anti-federalists of old were right after all. And nothing did more to convince them of the sinister nature of developments than the position taken by the Administration of former General George Washington toward the French Revolution. In spite of Jefferson's best efforts as Secretary of State, Washington had gone back on the wartime alliances with our great national brother-in-arms, France, and had chosen to be neutral in the struggle between that power and the colonists' old antagonist, Great Britain. By some trick of

fate or exercise of duplicity, the youthful Secretary of the Treasury, Hamilton, had lured the great chief of state from the right course and into a route that promised Americans subjection to the arch-foe, to the wiles and lures of British ministries and their minions in Philadelphia, where all was intrigue and the British minister held forth. Or so the new coalescing opposition felt.

The year 1792 would be especially eventful in all such respects. The French republic had come into existence as that country's revolution moved restlessly through stages and changes of leadership, from the Constitution-minded early assemblies who sought to remedy the worst aspects of French socio-governmental institutions, to the less-restrained idealists, who sought to wipe the slate clean -- with blood-soaked sponge. The worst excesses of the French Revolution had not yet been experienced when 1791 became 1792, however, and sympathy for their revolution was at hand everywhere in this country. The biennial congressional elections offered an opportunity, for the first time since establishment of government under the Consitution, for the people to hear the two sides to the question and elect representatives and senators responsible to their will. This was the situation in which the General Advertiser began its rise to pre-eminence among American newspapers.

Bache could read the signs only one way. The very soul of Franklin's philosophical beliefs in government were at stake. It

mattered not that his friends of yore among France's privileged classes were threatened, that the blade of the guillotine was already rising over the necks of Le Veillard and others. He believed as have so many before him and after that the principle outweighed personal considerations. Overworked and overexcited, sensing the power of the press in this circumstance; he assumed the role of a scathing and relentless critic. Spurred on by the reaction he stimulated, he sought new heights. Inventive and innovative in his use of the press, he learned as he went along, and opened a phase of journalism unknown to a world of corporate form. He took his republicanism as seriously where it touched his professional interest. In time, even the architect of republican success took notice and became an admirer. Jefferson, who a few years earlier had found the Advertiser tiresome, arranged with elaborate care to acquire sets of the newspaper, and discussed with respectful tone those methods by which Bache gained extensive coverage at little more than usual publishing expense.[2] A new era indeed in journalism had dawned when Bache signified it

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2. "If you can make me a set of your papers for the year 1794, I should be obliged to you on delivering them to Mr. Crosby keeper of the Secretary of state's office." Thomas Jefferson to Benjamin Franklin Bache, June 2, 1795, Franklin Papers, New York Public Library. "Mr. Crosby writes me he has bespoke from you a set of your papers for the present year as usual [for use of State Department offices]. independent of this I shall be glad to become your subscriber from the 1st day of this month for another set." Thomas Jefferson to Benjamin Franklin Bache, December 26, 1795, MS at Central Library, Salford, England. "while mentioning newspapers, it is doing a good office to as distant places as yours & mine to observe that Bache has

on November 8, 1794, by raising to the masthead of his newspaper a new title, the AURORA.[3] The "rising light of morning, the dawn of day," had indeed come in the year 1794. Neither the Federalist administration no American journalism would ever get over it.

Bache and Party Warfare of the 1790s

By 1792, the Federalist System stood all but complete. Those fiscal measures and economic legislation of the Hamiltonian program that had been the subject of so much controversy had nearly all been passed, as many of them as would be. The tariff of 1789 gave income supplemented by the much-criticized internal revenue levies. The national and state war debts had been funded, and the funding certificates themselves become a useful medium. The Bank of the United States had been chartered the year before after a bitter battle within the cabinet over its constitutionality. Hamilton's Report on Manufactures was being prepared. Federalists were in office and on the bench at most of the right places. In contesting this

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begun to publish his Aurora for his country customers on 3 sheets a week instead of six, you observe that the 1st & 4th pages are only of advertisements. the 2d & 3d pages on Monday & Tuesday; papers on opposite sides of the [same] . . . sheet omitting the 1st & 4th.... we have the news pages of 2. papers on one. this costs but 5. instead of 8. dollars & saves half the postage." Thomas Jefferson to Peregrine Fitzhugh, June 4, 1797, Jefferson Papers, Duke University.

3. Brigham, American Newspapers, II, 891.

program within the administration and Congress, suasion had so far been the means. Enough uncertainty appeared in the minds of reasonable men over the effects of those measures to make an all-out assault on them premature. Reluctant cooperation had been the rule of the day up to now for those doubtful but uncommitted. The Anti-federalists of years past had faded away as a cohesive force nationally, but were able to make effective opposition at the state level.

In the field of relations with other countries, the Federalists had their problems going into the year 1792. Insecurity on the western boundaries owing to persistent British agitation among the Indians from forts the crown had not yet relinquished made occupation and development of western lands a hazard. The Spanish in the southwest incubated a new, aggressive policy. Commerce on the high seas was in danger as France and Great Britain went to war again over the issue of the Revolution itself. The administration, inclining more and more to palliating Great Britain, put practical considerations of dealing with the world's greatest maritime power ahead of the not-very-critical principle of abiding by the treaties with France signed during the American Revolution. At first, the administration tried to stay above the conflict. But with the arrival of new, more active and defiant diplomatic representation from France, Washington was forced into unwilling confrontation.

The populace at large had watched the French Revolution generally with sympathy. Superficially, at least, it seemed to parallel our

own. Its celebrated principles met with approbation. To the urban mass of Philadelphia, its appeal was electric. Its slogans, emblems, and even its excesses enjoyed great vogue in the American capital. Tradesmen and laboring classes found it easy to identify with the beleaguered French nation, beset from outside by the royal armies of half of Europe. Given such inflammatory material to write about, Bache's newpaper was certain to flourish. Where the message could be brought home by accusation directed toward the Federalist administration, it could do even better.

Bache was by now a republican through and through. Not merely on the philosophical plane, but in act and deed as well. While still fresh from France in the 1780s he came under the influence of Philadelphia's Society for Political Enquiries, of which Franklin was president. He had observed first hand the division of opinion in Pennsylvania over the 1776 state constitution which centered on its "democratical" features. In the Philadelphia of this age, a sophisticated political system translated major social issues and economic disputes into political terms. People were accustomed in the end to voting for something or against something directly or indirectly. As a member of the American Philosophical Society more recently, he had been in contact with some of the age's leading philosophical radicals, and had come away further confirmed in his commitment.

Then, too, his intimates either were actively engaged in state politics or had ties with anti-federal leaders in other states, or both. Alexander James Dallas, not yet a decade removed from Jamaica, had become Governor Mifflin's alter ego, and as Pennsylvania's secretary of state was responsible for much of the printing business that kept Bache afloat. Interestingly enough, Dallas was an intimate of Peter Markoe, Margaret Bache's brother, also a literary figure of importance as well as a native of the West Indies.[4] John Beckley, Etonian and member of the original Phi Beta Kappa Society chapter at William and Mary College, nurtured a violent hatred of Great Britain, federalists, Hamilton, and everybody else who got in the way. From his strategic location as Clerk of the House of Representatives

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4. Freneau spent more than two years sailing out of St. Croix Island. "Freneau's political opponent [Alexander Hamilton] . . . spent his boyhood in the Virgin Islands, only a short distance away. Peter Markoe, too, a talented writer in Philadelphia from 1783 to 1792 and probably acquainted with Freneau, was born in Santa Cruz. And the wife of B. F. Bache . . . of the Philadelphia Aurora, which published many of Freneau's essays, had been Margaret Markoe, Peter's sister....These leaders of the political battles of the youthful republic were strangely associated with the same remote island country." Philip M. Marsh, "Philip Freneau and His Circle," PMHB, LXIII, 41-42. During the years between his arrival in this country in 1783 and his appointment as Secretary of the Commonwealth in 1790, Dallas had found opportunities to ply his profession as a lawyer few and far between. He became a writer, publishing in the Pennsylvania Evening Herald, where in addition to poetry and essays he reported events of the day, including the ratifying convention (Dallas' Reports). He later edited the Columbian magazine. These literary activities attracted the attention of Thomas Mifflin, who offered him the state post to gain his facile pen. Raymond Walters, Jr., Alexander James Dallas (Phil., 1943), pp. 18-25.

he was in a position to learn about secrets of state and leak them to those who could put them to partisan use.[5] He also was in a position to provide steerage for the half-submerged apparatus of republican activism. His official duties brought him into daily contact with representatives of all persuasions and the press itself, then enjoying the privilege of access to the floor of the House in its Congress Hall chamber. Bache was seen often enough in Beckley's company to arouse comment.[6] The ferocious tone of much that he put into the newspaper doubtless was owing to the influence and perhaps even intellectual dominance of Beckley.[7]

Bache also was on good terms with the state's leading anti-federalists if not as intimate as with Dallas and Beckley. Of the group from the days of the Society for political Enquiries there were Dr. George Logan and Dr. James Hutchinson, David Rittenhouse, Peter DuPonceau, and George Bryan. These men had been active in

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5. Philip M Marsh, "John Beckley, Mystery Man of the Early Jeffersonians," PMHB, LXXII, 58.

6. When John Ward Fenno, son of the Gazette of the United States' Federalist editor, physically attacked Bache, Beckley went to his aid with his fists. Ibid., pp. 56-57.

7. Marsh, from Beckley's record, supposes that "he had a share in the bitter attacks on the [Jay] treaty and on Washington in that newspaper [the Aurora] during the summer and fall of 1795." Ibid., pp. 59-60. It was Beckley, not Monroe, who got wind of Hamilton's payment of blackmail to Reynolds, leading to the former Secretary of the Treasury's public humilation as Mrs. Reynold's lover. Ibid., p. 57.

the Constitutional Party in the 1780s, and Bache was accustomed to seeing and hearing them at the American Philosophical Society.[8]

Given the temper of times, influences such as these, the underlying political philosophy that made him oppose every hint of autocracy, and a thirst for success, the increasingly hostile tone of his newspaper becomes comprehensible. From mildness in 1790 to defiance after 1795 paralleled development of the newspaper from an undistinguished organ in 1790 to a leading influence after 1795.

The 1792 elections demonstrated the organizing talents of the fledgling republican politicos. Through adroit maneuvering they managed to elect half of their candidates to Congress. Even in the election of the Vice President (Washington went unopposed), they prevented Adams from getting a unanimous vote from Pennsylvania.[9]

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8. Bernard Fäy, "Early Party Machinery in the United States," PMHB, LX, 379. Pennsylvania Supreme Court justice George Bryan led this group until his death in 1791, Hutchinson after that date, The latter, a colorful figure, was an outstanding physician, professor of chemistry at the University of Pennsylvania, and secretary of the American Philosophical Society. "Falstaffian in physique, he was like Falstaff in being witty and the cause of political wit in ambitious young men." He was particularly politically-minded. He intended to take advantage of Pennsylvania's liberal suffrage to "win control of the state government, and ultimately of the federal government. The first part of his scheme was to organize into an effective voting force the mechanics, artisans, and small tradespeople of Philadelphia." Walters, Dallas, p. 33.

9. Ibid., pp. 41-42.

The year 1793 became the big year for Bache. "Citizen Genet" arrived as the new French minister just as the height of the French Revolution was reached. American neutrality was proclaimed early in the year, and he set out to circumvent it, in the end threatening to take his case to the American people, and ultimately being declared persona non grata by the harassed government. In the meantime Bache, employing all invective in his power, strove to shake the administration's policy. His denunciations in the General Advertiser and those of Freneau so aroused Washington that the President finally had to protest: "in what will this abuse terminate? . . . The publications in Freneau's and Bache's papers are outrages on common decency; and they progress in that style, in proportion as their pieces are treated with contempt."[10] Had he but known, their 1793 barrages were only the beginning of a ceaseless campaign aimed at bringing Federalism down. Criticism had taken on the sharp edge of denunciation, and even the great President himself was not to be spared. As 1794 dawned, Bache's newspaper, now alone as a republican journal following Freneau's withdrawal, had earned Monroe's recommendation: "[Bache's] is the highest & in my opinion best political paper. He is the Grdson of Dr Franklin & a republican."[11]

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10. George Washington to Henry Lee, July 21, 1793, quoted in William S. Baker, "Washington after the Revolution, 1784-1799," PMHB, XX, 356.

11. James Monroe to unidentified correspondent, April 23, 1794, Gratz MSS, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Case 2, Box 16.

The Aurora, "Bible of Democracy"

With the issue of November 7, 1794, the 122nd issue of the newspaper, Bache changed its title. Centered above the "General Advertiser" appeared for the first time the word "Aurora," on the issue of November 8, 1794.[12] It would continue to be known as simply the Aurora despite other changes in other words of the title until publication ceased afer 1820, a testimonial to the potent meaning the title had assumed in-between times.[13]

Many pages would be required to examine in detail the "life and times" of this influential newspaper. Even the phase presided over by Bache could be profuse beyond reasonable bounds. That it became the country's most read and referred-to newspaper with a circulation at peak of over 1,700 copies a day provides one measure of its influence. That its methods, a century before Pulitzer and Hearst, raised the blood pressure of so many and affected governmental operations themselves, provides another. Yet another measure of the Aurora's significance was to be seen in the forms of journalistic enterprise invented and exploited by its youthful and imaginative publisher in his restless pursuit of circulation. Whatever else

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12. Brigham, American Newspapers, II, 916.
13. Ibid., pp. 891-92.

might be said about Bache's brand of journalism, it was clearly not slow to find ways and means however unconventional, nor hesitant to employ them.

To summarize the principal events in which Bache involved himself, there was to begin with the imbroglio following the Jay Treaty. In opposing this attempt at settling outstanding difficulties with Great Britain, Bache acquired and made first publication of the treaty's provisions -- to the embarrassment of the administration. Subsequently, he turned news distributor and circulated flier copies throughout the northeastern United States from New York City to Boston. And while about it he made personal appearances at hugh rallies to denounce it. This was the country's first journalistic scoop with history-making repercussions, because the Senate had only just begun consideration of it behind closed doors, and because its provisions, while the best possible, seemed a surrender to most people.[14] His next coup was publication of the spurious letters, forged by the British in an effort to discredit Washington in 1777.[15] He followed this by

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14. Bache gained his copy of it from Senator S. T. Mason of Virginia. He printed a summary of its contents first, on June 29, then with excitement high, he printed the entire text on July 2, 1795. By July 6, he was in Boston with copies, after visits in New York City, Hartford, Springfield, and Worcester. He appeared at a meeting of 6,000 people in Independence Square later. Fay, The Two Franklins, pp. 239-48; Stewart, Opposition Press, pp. 198-201.

15. James M. Smith, "The Aurora and the Alien and Sedition Laws. Part I: The Editorship of Benjamin Franklin Bache," PMHB, LXXVII, 4. Bache published these letters late in 1796.

publication in 1797 of Spanish minister Yrujo's attack on Secretary of State Pickering and administration foreign policy under the pen name "Versus" at a most delicate time when Spanish troops at Natchez threatened this country's territorial integrity, and when enforcement of the treaty of San Lorenzo hung in the balance.[16] Finally in 1798, he published in the Aurora copy of a state paper, Talleyrand's conciliatory reply to President Adams, following the "XYZ" affair, two days before Congress received it.[17]

To add to the malodour gathering around Bache's name and that of the Aurora, Pickering had intercepted a letter of Monroe's, written while he was minister to France, supposedly reconciling the two alienated countries, that showed him to be in cahoots politically

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16. Defining of the southwestern boundaries of the United States had been agreed by the treaty, arrived at by Godoy and Pinckney in 1795, but consummation had been stalled on transparent grounds of threatening British activities until 1797. In that year confrontation took place on the Mississippi River, brought about by the settlers. The Spaniards occupied posts in greater strength than the Americans, but Pickering's coolness and unrelentling spirit finally overcame his opponents' policy of delay. Abetted by Bache, Yrujo did his best to embarrass the administration, but in the end Godoy gave in and ordered the boundary line run. The Versus open letter was published on November 23, 1797. Geralrd H. Clarfield, Timothy Pickering and American Diplomacy 1795-1800 (Columbia, Mo., 1969), pp. 135-39.

17. Pickering had received the letter but two days before, The Administration's discomfiture was rendered all the more acute by the offensive suggestion that outstanding issues be taken up with the republican member of the American delegation, Elbridge Gerry. Years of friction with France following the Jay Treaty had erupted into quasi-war over French privateering that cost American commerce heavily and hurt national pride. The attempt to exact bribes of a delegation sent to patch things up for a time made settlement seem impossible. On the heels of this Bache's forcing action took place. Smith, PMHB, LXXVII, 10.

with Bache and Beckley and prepared to loose more unfavorable publicity on the administration.[18]

These apparently inexcusable examples of meddling in the high affairs of state had a perfectly logical and reasonable explanation, from Bache's viewpoint. He had from the first publication of his newspaper in 1790 carried on the political philosophy of a great American; it had been floated in accordance with "advice . . . received from his late Grandfather":

> The Freedom of the Press is the Bulwark of Liberty. An impartial Newspaper is the useful offspring of that Freedom. Its object is to inform.
>
> In a Commonwealth, the People are the Basis on which all power and authority rest. On the extent of their knowledge and information the solidity of that Foundation depends. If the People are enlightened the Nation stands and flouiishes, thro' ignorance it fails or degenerates.
>
> These principles the Editor holds as just and fundamental. He will use his utmost endeavours to make his conduct conformable to them.
>
> As long as the People remain the fountain of authority and power, and are sensible to the importance of their rights as Freemen, Newspapers, considered merely in a political light, if properly conducted, will meet with encouragement. The opportunities which they afford to candid enquirers of obtaining political information, and to zealous patriots of making their sentiments public, for the good of the Community, are not to be equalled by those which any other species of publication can possibly offer....

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18. Monroe's letter promised a flow of communications from "a Gentleman in Paris" for publication in the Aurora. These letters "would inform the people of the United States as to the state of the Revolution in France and also evaluate American policy toward that country. It was clear such evaluations would not be sympathetic to the Administration." Clarfield, Pickering, pp. 55-56. Washington dismissed Monroe when the contents of the letter became known to him.

> Advice he will thankfully receive and attend to; yet the Publisher can safely promise that no consideration whatever shall induce him blindly to submit to the Influence of any man or set of men: His PRESS SHALL BE FREE.[19]

A printer of calumnies, responsible to no one? He believed himself responsible to inform the public. The administration's embarassment was of its own making. If his revelations exacerbated the situation, who had created it in the first place? He made no cause celebres, they were the responsiblilty of others. He had merely been candid and honest with information that had come his way. The fault lay with officials who should acknowledge their duties and the rights of citizens but instead claimed their perogatives and conceded the privileges of citizens.[20] Bache had, he was certain, been true to his trust and consistent throughout. The editorial creed of the 21-year-old publisher of 1790 was as good as ever after years of fighting the good fight.

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19. Bernard Fäy, "Benjamin Franklin Bache, A Democratic Leader of the Eighteenth Century," American Antiquarian Society Proceedings, Oct. 1938, pp. 284-88. This was published in the first issue of the General Advertiser, and Political, Commercial, Agricultural and Literary Journal (October 1, 1790).

20. "Toasts to presidential prerogatives and the privileges of freemen were more than the Aurora could endure. Public officials had no 'prerogatives,' but only duties - and the 'privileges' of freemen had always been termed rights." Stewart, Opposition Press, p. 508.

While applying this creed, Bache had been guided by certain principles and scruples, not partisan in origin although reflecting the ideals of one party rather than the other. He opposed executive authority wherever he felt it answered no obvious need. He sought to strip it of the garb of dignity and piety. Nothing aroused his indignation more than proclamations, and no proclamations more than those affecting fasts and suspension of business for religion-associated purposes.[21] His stand on church and state never varied. If he opposed Washington's and Adams' foreign and domestic decisions as the wrong choice of sides, he quickly found them errant on what he regarded as their manifestation of anything remotely connected. He felt quite as strongly about legislative chambers closed to the public. Senatorial secrecy through most of the 1790s was a hated symbol of the denial of the rights of the public. Until 1797 the House floor had been open to him. Now with his friend Beckley ousted by the newly elected federalist majority, Bache was forced into the gallery where he could not hear so well as before.[22] Nothing would stay him from his duty "to mark with a diligent eye the measures of Congress . . . and by a timely disclosure, to nip in the bud, the first blossoms of legislative encroachment."[23] He had vowed in the first

21. "Prayer and fasting were matters of conscience; any connection between church and state endangered both religious and political freedom and 'should be discouraged.'" Ibid., p. 404.
22. Stewart, Opposition Press, pp. 460-61.
23. Ibid., p. 460.

issue's prospectus that

> . . . with regard to Domestic Politics, Pains will be taken to give the Public an accurate and early account of the Proceedings and Debates of those bodies in whose hands their dearest interest are intrusted....
>
> Bills under consideration, and acts passed will have a place. An abstract may in some cases be thought sufficient. The language in drawing them up, is necessarily replete with repetitions, so that oftentimes an idea of the meaning and intention of a bill or act can be conveyed in fewer words.
>
> The head of Domestic Politics will also comprehend a succinct account of the public transactions in the sister States.
>
> At the close of interesting periods a retrospect will be taken and a short recapitulation given to convey to the reader, at one view, an idea of the most important public transactions during that time.
>
> The information given under this head will be useful to those who wish to make themselves acquainted with public measures. The Paper will always be open to their candid remarks, delivered with temper and decency.[24]

So, publication of the Jay Treaty, though it made the Federalists grind their teeth with rage, received a quite cordial reception in those quarters where senatorial secrecy was held a rebuke of the public.[25]

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24. Fäy, Proceedings, Oct. 1938, pp. 285-86.

25. The complete text was published in a pamphlet that sold very well. The sensational nature of its contents blotted out other issues in the public mind, but Bache could feel that his principle has triumphed. Stewart, Opposition Press, pp. 198-99.

One of his most dearly held scruples was against military establishments. He was pacifistic, anti-militaristic, and anti-hero as well. As the nation voted "Millions for defense, not a cent for tribute," and prepared to fight the French, he concluded that only republican vigilance could save America from the "mercenary war faction."[26] He accused the "warhawks" of rewriting Matthew 5:9, "Cursed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of the Devil."[27] In scooping the Congress on Talleyrand's message, Bache defended his action on the ground that he was preventing administration involvement of this country unnecessarily in a war with France.[28]

By now, such actions took real courage. Public feeling ran high against France, and the federalists decided the time had come to clamp down on Bache. His breach of diplomatic confidence they branded treachery, the work of a traitor corresponding seditiously

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26. Ibid., p. 314.

27. According to Bache, the French had been provoked into the outrages now cited as justification for war; England, the greater transgressor, had been submitted to meekly. The Jay Treaty, at the root of the trouble, had constituted a surrender of an independent nation's immunities. The English threat to commerce was greater than the French. Publication of the XYZ papers was meant to bring France to a declaration of war. Yet, here was Talleyrand suing for peace. Ibid., p. 315.

28. Publication of the message was intended to demonstrate its conciliatory tone. Ibid., p. 305; Smith, PMHB, LXXVII, 10.

with the French Directorate. He no longer was safe on the streets. Carrying a club became necessary to warn off the wary troublemaker and ward off the bully.[29]

To add to his troubles, he had for some time served William Cobbett, publisher and editor of Porcupine's Gazette since inauguration day 1797, as a peraonal target. In Cobbett he had a rival whose robust prose outdid his own, who stopped at nothing to besmirch a chosen victim, And his sarcasm was more caustic, his ridicule more taunting. A royalist and critic of republicanism, Bache's Francophilia and the country's Francomania were to him anathema. A sample of Bache's mode of attack, in this case against Washington on his retirement from office, reads: "Lord, now letteth Thou Thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen they salvation. . . . the man who is the source of all misfortunes of our country is this day reduced to a level with his fellow-citizens."[30]

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29. "Bache is advised to lay aside the great Herculean club he has heretofore carried; its weight must be fatiguing to the poor wretch; and . . . it certainly must be considered a useless incumbrance." Gazette of the United States, Aug. 9, 1798, p. 3.

30. The article went on: "If ever there was a period for rejoicing, this is the moment....WASHINGTON from this day ceases to give currency to political iniquity and to legalize corruption....it is a subject of the greatest astonishment that a single individual should have cankered the principles of Republicanism in an enlightened people just emerged from the gulf of despotism, and should have carried his designs against the public liberty so far as to have put in jeopardy its very existence." Aurora, Mar. 4, 1797.

By comparison Cobbett on the subject of Bache himself reads: "this is the . . . Market Street scoundrel. He is an ill-looking devil. His eyes never get above your knees. He is of sallow complexion, hollow-cheeked, dead-eyed, and has a tout ensemble just like that of a fellow who has been about a week or ten days on a gibbet."[31] Cobbett tagged Bache with the nickname "Lightning-rod, jun!" He also enjoyed referring to Bache's revered grandfather Franklin as "the old hypocrite." Formerly, Bache had proved more than a match for Fenno's sheet; now he gave ground before the combined weight and different tactics of Fenno and Cobbett. As 1797 began, he stood at the high water mark, the best-known and most influential newspaper publisher, his circulation at its peak, employing seven journeymen and four apprentices.[32] Eighteen months later, he stood at bay, accused by the public of championing an unpopular cause, under attack from the administration, the Aurora's circulation down, and threatened with violence.[33]

The events of the day had betrayed him in much the same way that they had favored him in times past. A constant article of faith was his steadfast friendship for France. Although his emotional system might have ensured this under any circumstances, his philosophy did so

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31. Porcupine's Gazette, Sept. 23, 1797.
32. Faÿ, The Two Franklins, p. 195; Stewart, Opposition Press, p. 609.
33. Ibid., p. 313.

decisively anyway. His republicanism was no mere pandering to a fear of monarchy. Where the Federalists found political guidance in Locke, Bache took his from the Gallic philosophers. Rousseau's belief in popular sovereignty, the popular will as the only authority upon which representatives could act, Montesquieu's separation of powers, and Voltaire's emphasis on civil rights were accepted quite literally by Bache, who had had more than usual exposure to them in the course of his upbringing.[34] He renewed his faith every day in the office at 322 Market Street, where French emigré leaders gathered and those of German and Irish inhabitants were drawn by his air of fellowship.[35] Now with France the enemy of his country, he found people turning against him.

His great press coup in publishing Talleyrand's letter brought a concerted crackdown against him. Wearied of abuse, ridicule, and slander, now convinced of his treachery, Federalists began to look for pretexts to take official cognizance. Suppression was in the air. And physical and economic coercion as well. Cobbett all but invited bodily assault, calling on his readers to ostracize Bache: treat him "as we should a TURK, A JEW, A JACOBIN, OR A DOG."[36] Federalist

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34. Ibid., p. 421.
35. Ibid., p. 385.
36. Smith, PMHB, LXXVII, 8.

merchants were requested by him to withdraw their advertising, and many did so. Jefferson reported the circulation to be tottering.[37]

Violence was not long in coming. One altercation after another marked the period from early 1798 until Bache's death in September. Public feeling on both sides of the great issue of Franco-American relations had reached white heat. The country had united behind President Adams, but for whose "fiery appeal . . . the sluggish temper of the people might have familiarized itself with the insolence of the great foreign powers, and have finally sunk into vassalage."[38] By March, windows of the house at 322 Market Street had been stoned out three times.[39] On May 7 a great militia demonstration took place. During the day a Polish visitor witnessed what he called "a very moving spectacle; more than a thousand young people between 17 and 23, drawn up in ranks, preceded by a flag, music and drum beats, going to present their address to the President." This the

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37. Stewart, Opposition Press, p. 313. In June 1798 Bache admitted the Aurora was no longer a paying proposition. Ibid., p. 655; Smith, PMHB, LXXVII, 8-9.

38. According to Francis Wharton, State Trials of the United States during the Administrations of Washington and Adams (Phila., 1849), p. 28. Adams is ranked by Wharton as second only to the elder Pitt as an orator because in his "power of fiery invective, of bitter denunciation, of vehement appeal, he was a master. For years the 'peals of thunder' in which he demanded the signature of the Declaration, haunted those who sat in that memorable Congress."

39. The Aurora noted "the third attack of the kind for which Mr. Bache has been indebted to the friends of regular government." Quoted in Faÿ, The Two Franklins, p. 337.

the visitor found "touching . . . a thousand young men in the bloom of youth, . . . offering, at the first danger to their country, to die in her defense."[40] Adams was ready for them -- in uniform, sword at side, and his famous powers of declamation sharpened for the occasion.[41] By evening some of them had returned to the presidential mansion, two blocks from Bache's on Market Street, serenading Adams. They came decked out in the black cockade, four inches across and worn on the left side of the hat, as during the American Revolution. The Polish observer asked "Why must enthusiasm, such noble sentiments, be accompanied by faults of conduct....Since these youths have begun to gather, the peace of the night is disturbed by their cries and chants. Drunk with wine they . . . then go to break [the windows] . . . of the printer Bache."[42] Bache rushed his account of the

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40. "Would that she, enjoying the benefits of peace never have the need for their help; but if heaven should strike her with the scourge of war, may they keep their word; may they fight and die as free men, and above all never stain their swords with the blood of their fellow citizens." Metchie J. E. Budka, transl., Under Their Vine and Fig Tree: Travels through America in 1797-1799, 1805 (Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz), auth. (Newark, N. J., 1965), p. 67.

41. Given the abilities ascribed to him by Wharton, Adams must have found the opportunity to his liking.

42. Budka, Travels Through America, p. 67. "they have hoisted the black cockade. Why these outward signs? From whom do they want to distinguish themselves? Why affect these distinctions to show or to raise suspicion that there are some Americans who, unlike them, would not go to defend their country? It is these same means that provoke divisions. Alas, how many times have we not seen pools of blood spilled for a half a yard of ribbon?"

unwanted visit into print two days later:

> On Monday evening, between ten and eleven, my house was attacked by a party of young men....They honored me with imprecations and threats; the only notice I could be proud to receive from them. My doors and windows were battered, and the women and children in the house (I happened to be from home) somewhat terrified. They were prevented from going to more unjustifiable lengths by some citizens, who happened to be passing at the time, and by the neighbors.[43]

That same day, a day set aside by the President for fasting and prayer, another mob smashed the windows of Bache's house.[44] Still combative, Bache then printed a criticism of Cobbett's recommendation that the city's youth wear the black cockade, coupling it with a warning that to wear it "would be attended with disagreeable consequences."[45] A riot ensued as republican youth sporting the tricolor paraded the street and threw the State House Yard (Independence Square) into a tumult. As described by Margaret Morris, living then two doors from Independence National Historical Park's

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43. "If the proceeding I have thought it my duty to notice, is by way of intimidation I pledge myself shall not produce the effect. Whilst I respect and obey the laws of my country, I shall not be unmindful of the voice of my conscience; which tells me it is my duty to remain firm at my post when the liberties of my country are endangered." Aurora, May 9, 1798.

44. Smith, PMHB, LXXVII, 9.

45. According to Fenno "what took place was begun by persons wearing French cockades, and ended by the magistrates sending to prison as many persons as did not escape either by flight or taking the badge (the badge of a nation who have been plundering and insulting us for a long time past) by which they thought proper to distinguish themselves." Gazette of the United States, May 11, 1798.

Todd House at 339 Walnut Street:

> A great riot happened on fourth day evening, and hints thrown out of a design to fire the city; the lighthorse were out all night, and the militia and private citizens were on guard, patrolling also, but it was passed in quiet . . . 'Young Lightning Rod' had his house guarded by armed men, within and without, being fearful of having it pulled down.[46]

Not long after this time of unrest, Bache, while viewing the frigate being built by Joshua Humphreys, was assaulted by Abel Humphreys. In August, John Ward Fenno took his turn attacking Bache. So many stories to Bache's detriment circulated about these affrays that Bache finally published a pamphlet, "Truth Will Out!," to set the record straight.[47]

Far from intimidating Bache, these forays strengthened his resolve. Editorially and in his reporting of news as well he refused to budge from previously taken positions. For some time now Cobbett had urged the government to "regenerate" the press of the country. Bache, while the best known of the republican editors, was but one of many such critics of governmental policy in that period. With the nation teetering on the edge of a declared war, with hot naval action already

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46. She added: "I think I never saw so many people at one time in my life, as on that evening. What a world we live in, and what tumultuous times!" Smith, Hill Letters, p. 296. Mrs. Morris was the sister of Richard Hill, one of Franklin's trustees, which as a respectable lady made her no sympathizer of Bache's.

47. The title completed reads: "The Foul Charges of the Tories against the Editor of the Aurora repelled by Positive Proof and Plain Truth, and his Base Calumniators put to Shame." Smith, PMHB, LXXVII, 5.

in progress, with efforts at reconciliation meeting unexpected roadblocks, Adams' administration found this unremitting press opposition intolerable. With the disclosure of the Talleyrand letter, an apparently treasonable plot, to work with, they probed for an opening through which to make charges against Bache. Secretaries of State and Treasury Pickering and Wolcott engaged in a great deal of maneuvering in an attempt to ensnarl Bache.[48] For their troubles they earned the ridicule he heaped on them in his pamphlet "Truth Will Out!" and articles in the Aurora under the title "The Plot Unravelled." In addition he raised the question of the validity of their involving members of Congress, these officers of the executive authority, unknown to the Constitution, subject to the President's "will and pleasure, and independent of the People."[49]

From the administration's view, however, though treason could not be proved against Bache, he had brought the President and his management of office into disrepute libellously and was thus subject to prosecution. Although Congress had under consideration a sedition law for just such actions against republican editors, the administration decided to move against Bache in a prosecution under the common law. He was arrested and brought into Judge Richard Peters' federal district

48. Ibid., pp. 11-16.
49. Ibid., p. 16.

court on June 26, 1798, charged with "libelling the President & Executive Government, in a manner tending to excite sedition, and opposition to the laws, by sundry publications and re-publications." He furnished bail, and Peters set the trial date for the court's October 1798 term. By then Bache was dead of yellow fever and the issues involved died with him. His arrest and its background provided illimitable copy for the Aurora and that newspaper gave it full coverage.[50] Bache's release also freed him for passage of the Sedition Act, signed by Adams on July 16, and he lost no time in attacking it: noting that in Turkey the voice of the government was law and it was called a despotism he commented "Here the voice of the government is likewise the law and here it is called liberty." Armed with what he regarded as an issue critical to the rights of the people, now no longer protected by the government, be redoubled his pace. The Aurora by this time had become so odious to some that its copies were barred from the city's London Coffee House.[51]

Now, with the populace behind them and the means of stilling dissent in their grasp, the Federalists appeared poised to apply the

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50. Bache's harassment also included a personal libel suit instituted in February 1798 by Secretary of State Pickering. Bache in a personal letter had charged Pickering with "a shameful breach of the laws" in receiving gratuities from recipients of passports. Bache's shotgun here wounded bigger game than the facts warranted, and the episode is somehow typical of him and his mentality. Ibid., pp. 18n., 19n.

51. Ibid., pp. 21-22.

crusher. And in the months ahead they were to do so freely. But not with the desired effect. For already the tide had turned. On June 18 Adams had sent to Congress Talleyrand's conciliatory message and the way was opened for restoring relations with France. This in turn released the Federalists' hold on the public.[52] The prosess of reconciliation took months, and by the time it was done, Bache had long since departed from the scene. But, in this case, his will was worked.

It was a time of crisis in America. Not only did foreign powers threaten the country, but domestic disagreement beyond precedent had enveloped it. War and dissent menaced the very social fabric, so it appeared. From Bache's viewpoint not only was there a conflict with France to be avoided, but the Constitutionality of alien and sedition acts to be tested, with the offending legislation, of course, to be struck down.[53] The season when yellow fever made its annual reappearance was no time for him to quit his station at the presses and offices in Franklin Court. He stuck by his duty, not as in previous years leaving the city.[54] And this time he was caught. On September 7,

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52. Ibid., p. 18.

53. The Sedition Act referred to above was, in fact, the last to be passed of the four known as the Alien and Sedition Acts. The first, the Naturalization Act, passed on June 18, lengthened the period of residency required for citizenship from five to fourteen years. The second, the Alien Act, passed on June 25, authorized the President to export "dangerous" aliens. The third, passed July 6, authorized the President to imprison or banish aliens in time of declared war. None of them lasted long after Jefferson took office.

54. The General Advertiser had suspended publication during the disastrous 1793 epidemic. Brigham, American Newspapers, II, 916.

perhaps already in the first throes of the disease, perhaps with a flash of foresight, he wrote his will "seeing the calamity with which this City is deplorably visited, and being uncertain how long I may escape the general infliction . . . make this instrument as my . . . last Will and Testament."[55] On September 10, 1798, he died.

As might have been expected, the Federalist press delighted to report Bache's death: "The memory of this scoundrel cannot be too highly execrated." And the republican press mourned him: "the real friends of their country cannot but lament the loss of so valuable a citizen."[56] Over the signature of his widow was published the most eloquent epitaph to his career, one he would have accepted wholeheartedly:

> In these times, men who see, and think, and feel for their country and posterity can alone appreciate the loss; the loss of a man inflexible in virtue, unappalled by power or persecution, and, who, in dying knew no anxieties but what were excited by his apprehensions for his country - and for his young family.[57]

The Bache we know through the columns of the Aurora would not have displaced so much as a single comma of this. And herein lies the measure of the man. His love of principle, his courage, his

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55. Will of B. F. Bache, typescript copy in Mason Collection, Yale University Library.
56. Smith, PMHB, LXXVII, 22.
57. Ibid.

support of right willed to this country a precious element of its heritage of freedoms. The house he lived in and its first floor office mark in the time and space juncture between earliest time and infinity one of the tiny points of real and true achievement. Bache deserves much more attention than he has received from the general public. From the scattered remains of his papers he is hard to know, although an academic study and a general work on his life are soon to be published that will help to rediscover him.[58] Bernard Faÿ's journalistic treatment of his life in The Two Franklinsprovides a start, but popular materials to bring him within reach of the visiting public will also be wanted in the years ahead.

Benjamin Franklin Bache, dead at 29 in the year 1798, would have little difficulty understanding today's America. The herald of modern-day journalism, the Joe McGinnis of that time, Bache honed his weapons to effect, getting the news first and printing it first; on the lookout for news trends, rumors, and stories about to break and intruding in the style of The Front Page, to help news to break; offering eye-witness reporting, vivid and fresh and accurate; sending

58. The former is being undertaken by Prof. James D. Tagg, University of Lethbridge, Alberta, Canada, while the latter will be the work of Mrs. Claude-Anne Lopez, associated with the Franklin Papers publication project at Yale University.

editions into the hinterland to reach and influence people there; and hatching out such promotional gimmicks as free editions to bolster circulation and to bolster republicanism.[59] Such scandalmongering, tail-twisting, free-handed journalism with its trenchant style paid off handsomely in making the Aurora a household word, although it was seen in few drawing rooms. Through the scrapes of 1798 too, Bache achieved a reputation as a fighting editor, able to stand up to any force, no matter how violent or menacing. Bache originated the Aurora; he made it the country's leading newspaper. He is the first journalist to appear who could accurately be described in today's terminology as a "newspaperman."

Although when Bache died, the "Revolution of 1800" was two years distant with the Federalists apparently still firmly in control, he helped prepare the way for that event when Jefferson and the republicans would sweep into office. No issue loomed larger in that election than Bache's very own freedom of the press. And his newspaper was to play the largest role of any such organ in bringing it about.[60] The Federalists in the 1790s were being taught by Bache what Fisher Ames voiced so well after Jefferson's inauguaration: "The newspapers are an overmatch for any government. They will first overawe and then

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59. Stewart, Opposition Press, p. 610.
60. Ibid., p. 632.

usurp it. This has been done; and the Jacobins owe their triumph to the unceasing use of this engine."[61] It was not only a tribute to Bache but an omen as well, that William Duane promised on assuming editorship that he would publish the Aurora "with inflexible fidelity to the principles upon which it was founded and reared up."[62]

Duane thus inherited a mantle of preeminence, one he was well equipped not only to perpetuate but to enhance. According to Faÿ, Bache was regarded as the nation's foremost journalist. The Aurora, "commonly called 'the bible of democracy,' . . . set the standard for the Republican press."[63]

Margaret Hartman Bache, Publisher

Margaret Bache had just been through a nightmare. In labor and delivered of child on September 3, she had risen to care for her ill husband. Only those who have witnessed the course of yellow fever and known the terminal phase and what it exacts from its victim can imagine what she went through. And this in the midst of the most severe epidemic since the horrors of 1793 with assistance unavailable, when it was difficult even to bury the dead.

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61. Ibid., p. 640.
62. Smith, PHMB, LXXVII, 23.
63. Stewart, Opposition Press, p. 611. From the printed page Bache emerges a high-principled, self-righteous, sensitive, subjective young man. He could be covetous, querulous, angry, shrill, and wrong-

While Bache lay dying, no issue of the Aurora failed to appear. Without the presence of William Duane, who had worked on the newspaper for Bache for some time, this would not have been possible. Now such adherence to form became purposeless. Bache died in the night, at midnight it has been written. At one o'clock in the morning the pressmen ran off a handbill announcing his death and added:

> This calamity necessarily suspends the Aurora - but for a few days only. When such arrangements shall have been made as are necessary to ensure its wonted character of intelligence and energy, it will reappear under the direction of
>
> HIS WIDOW
>
> (Philadelphia 11 IX 1798; one o'clock in the morning.)[64]

The newspaper did not, in fact, resume publication until the issue of November 1, 1798, and then only for two weeks as the newspaper

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headed. He was quick to ascribe base motivations to opponents. He lacked his grandfather's talent for rational discourse. He found spite hard to conceal. His intensity made cool readers uncomfortable. Yet, for all this, his main fault was to oppose the party in power; in short, he was controversial. His vituperativeness, in a day when men fought duels for slights, caused most of the rumpus. At his best he was a constructive influence on the side of responsible government, at his worst more a crank than a villain. Neither fool nor knave, he proved to be a highly effective partisan in the hurly-burly of that day's public life.

64. Faÿ, The Two Franklins, p. 357. "The friends of civil liberty and patrons of the Aurora, are informed that the Editor, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN BACHE, has fallen victim to the plague that ravages this devoted city." Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser, Sept. 12, 1798, p. 3.

of "Margaret H. Bache." Starting with the issue, of November 14, the "heirs of Benj. Franklin Bache" published it.[65] Despite her spirited assurance to the public, Margaret Bache was in no condition to manage the Aurora; for as Duane explained:

> M^rs Bache having lain in only a few days before her husband's decease and having nevertheless attended him day and night, has been obliged to retire to her father-in-la[w's].[66]

And there were legal and business obligations to be met, he explained:

> The heavy calamity that afflicts this city would alone be a Sufficient excuse for troubling you on the present occasion for the Small arrear due to this office; but the death of the late Editor & the State of his Family, with the general Stagnation of Circulation, are doubly pressing motives for paying the discharge of the following bill.[67]

After detailing a bill going back four years and six months for copies of the newspaper, Duane informed the recipient, the eminent Caesar Rodney, signer of the Declaration of Independence for Delaware, that he would assume editorial functions and that the best could be hoped for because:

> I . . . promise that my effort Shall be directed to emulate the former excellence of the Aurora, and to render it as it has hitherto been the only authentic Source of genuine public information. Educated in the principles & admiration of Franklin and firmly attached to the true interests of my country I venture to presume that the character of the paper will not Suffer under my guidance.[68]

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65. Brigham, American Newspapers, II, 891.

66. Duane wrote this from the first floor front room of 322 Market Street: "Please to direct for W^m Duane, at the Aurora Office, No. 112, Market Street [old style numbering]." William Duane to Caesar Rodney, Oct. 13, 1798, folder "General MS Coll Duane," Columbia University Library.

67. Ibid.

68. Ibid.

Federalists could take but cold comfort from such assurances though their full meaning had yet to be discovered.

Yellow fever epidemic or not, the executors of Bache's estate, the widow Bache at their head, ran advertisements calling in all legal demands.[69] When a month had passed without publication, an explanation was published in a friendly journal:

> AURORA OFFICE
>
> October 10th, 1798.
>
> Reports having been circulated that the Aurora was not to be republished, the public are hereby respectfully informed, that the want of hands alone has prevented its republication for several days; but that such arrangements are now making, as assure the appearance of the paper in the course of the present, or the first week of the next month.[70]

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69. "All persons having legal demands against the estate of BENJAMIN FRANKLIN BACHE, deceased, are requested to bring in their accounts for settlement; and all persons indebted to the said estate are desired to make immediate payment.

The public is respectfully informed that the AURORA will be continued for the heirs of Benjamin Franklin Bache.

MARGARET H. BACHE, excrx.
RICHARD BACHE,)
ADAM KUHN, (executors
JOSEPH CLAY,)

Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser, Nov. 15, 1798, p. 4.

70. Ibid., Oct. 12, 1798.

Yellow fever was still present then, so the scarcity of journeymen printers is not to be wondered at.[71]

The situation at the resumption of publication is a matter of speculation. That the reporting, preparation of copy, and supervision of the work rooms was in Duane's hands is not to be doubted. Little would seem to be left for the widow Bache to "direct." Yet, what little is known about the operation indicates that she was no mere figurehead. Mrs. Bache had run the newspaper during her husband's absence on previous occasions, including his long trip into New England in 1795 to rouse opposition to the Jay Treaty.[72] In all probability she tended the ship, kept the shop book, and helped with general accounts, as Bache's grandmother had done for Franklin, years before.[73] Certainly, while thus engaged she had come to know thoroughly

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71. The Common Council of Philadelphia held no meetings between August 16, 1798, and October 16, 1798, when they met at Middle Ferry (on the Schuylkill River at Market Street, technically in the city, but far from the built up section). As late as November 12 the council was unable to assemble a quorum to do business at City Hall. Not until November 28 were they able to resume normal proceedings in the council chamber. Minutes of [Philadelphia] Common Council for these dates. President Adams did not return to Philadelphia from Massachusetts until November 23, 1798.

72. Faÿ, Proceedings, October, 1938, pp. 292-93. She wrote to him on July 4, 1795, "Many of the Printers did not print this day, but it was thought best that your Paper should appear as there had been one missing this week, however I was mortified that the Aurora did not rise in its fullest glory on this day (there was but half a paper printed). Mr. Foster wished a holliday but Dr. L[eib]. and all of us thought it would not do. You have no Idea how angry everybody was that there was no paper on Thursday. We were obliged to say there was an accident happened to the Press....My Brother will attend to the business till you return."

73. Many years later, in recalling his start in business, Franklin acknowledged that Deborah "assisted me much by attending the

Bache's mind on the issues of the day, so newspaper policy would be second nature to her. The city directory for 1799, actually assembled in December 1798 to be ready on the first of the year, lists her "Bache, Margaret, widow, Proprietress of the Aurora, 112 Market St."[74] The trade directory for 1800 listed her in identical fashion, under the heading "printers."[75] A Portuguese visitor stopping by to subscribe to the newspaper on January 24, 1799, observed: "This is a daily newspaper which belonged to Benjamin Franklin Bache, a nephew of Franklin, which continues in the same house and uses the same press. Since he is now dead it is run by his wife with an Irish editor."[76]

The widow Bache continued to run the business until 1800. She was listed as having her home and office at 322 Market Street through that year, when she married William Duane and both went under his name.[77] On June 28 of that year they took their vows:

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shop." Quoted in Carl Van Doren, Benjamin Franklin (New York, 1938), p. 94. The editors of the Yale University Press edition of his papers credit her with having made most of the entries in the Shop Book and some of those in the 1730-38 journal. Labaree, Franklin Papers, I, 172.

74. The Philadelphia Directory for 1799 . . . by Cornelius William Stafford, p. 16.

75. 1800 Trade Directory (Philadelphia), p. 136.

76. Robert C. Smith, "A Portuguese Naturalist in Philadelphia, 1799," PMHB, LXXVIII, 90. Excerpted from the Diary of Hipolito Jose da Costa.

77. "Bache, Margaret, printer, 112 High Street," The Philadelphia Directory for 1800, p. 16; "Widow Bache, Dwelling & Office," Philadelphia County Tax Records, Middle Ward, 1798-1801 (1799), Philadelphia City Archives, p. 25; "Widow Bache, Dwelling & Printing Office," Ibid. (1800), p. 25.

"in Philadelphia, by Bishop White, Mr. William Doane [Duane], Editor of the Aurora, to Mrs. Margaret Hartman Bache, relict of Benjamin Franklin Bache."[78]

By the end of the year they had moved out of the Market Street location. A confectioner had set up his candy and pastry business there, and they had moved into the mansion in the courtyard. Her four boys and Duane's girl and boy may have compelled them to seek roomier quarters.[79] The house at 322 Market Street had seen the last famous or notorious occupant. Life in the house from now on would be far more prosaic than it had been for a decade.

Duane and the Aurora

William Duane had only been in the country for two or three years when Bache died, and had been on the Aurora staff most of that

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78. Virginia Herald and Fredericksburg Advertiser, July 4, 1800.

79. Duane himself had only recently experienced tragedy. In July 1798 he and his family had come down with cholera, and on July 13 his wife Catharine died of the disease. He was left with two children, William John Duane, later Secretary of the Treasury under Andrew Jackson, and Catherine, who married Thomas P. Morgan. They may have lived briefly at 322 Market Street. Before marrying Margaret Bache, Duane and his family lived at 151 Arch St. The Philadelphia Directory for 1800 by Cornelius William Stafford, p. 43. Duane and Margaret Hartman Bache Duane had five more children, four of whom survived infancy. She was described by her family as being "a little bit of a woman - of commanding presence, and impressive manner." Allen C. Clark, William Duane (Wash., D. C., 1905), pp. 15, 60.

time. American born but bred in Ireland, he had already gained much experience as a journalist in England and India before coming here. He had also learned the printer's trade earlier. Approaching forty years of age, Duane had the maturity to match his experience and quickly took advantage of the opportunity opened to him. Before six months had passed he had demonstrated singular capacities for assuming the Aurora's editorship, and he had come to the attention of just about everyone. Not only did he bring to the Aurora's readers fresh and interesting journalism, but to Pennsylvania politics a new face, and the turbulent Philadelphia scene another battler. One newspaper crowing over Bache's demise and concluding that "dead Villains" are needed as a lesson, hoped that "the public will not be long without such a one."[80] Its editor had not long to wait.

Duane's appearance on the Philadelphia scene passed unnoticed. He, himself, gives it later as 1796, but, significantly, a reference to the Aurora of 1795 indicates he may have been at work for Bache even sooner than this and have contributed much to that newspaper's celebrated tone and technique in the years before 1798. That reference in the Connecticut Courant (Hartford), termed the Aurora a "sink of venality," and informed readers in that state: "the

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80. Unidentified newspaper of September 20, 1798, in Folder XII, Loose Notes, Eddy Collection, Princeton University Library.

scurrility which has been lately poured against our Chief Magistrate, issues from an Hibernian sewer lately imported!"[81] Duane fell in with the city's bristling ways so well that by December 1797 he had been fined and committed in the mayor's Court for assault and battery.[82] This was only the beginning as far as court appearances went, although his many later ones were as defendant in libel suits.

As editor of the Aurora Duane moved quickly to the attack. The newspaper resumed criticism of the Administration, with particular emphasis on the Alien and Sedition Acts, made the more emphatic by his personal convictions as one of Irish ancestry. This fact his opponents never let him forget, going so far as to doubt publicly his express claims of American birth.[83] Having pledged in the first issue under his editorship that he would maintain Bache's "undeviating adherence to the principles of our Constitution, and an unwearied watchfulness against those eternal foes of republics, avarice, and corruption," he gave notice from the first of his intention to pursue Federalists relentlessly.[84]

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81. The Connecticut Courant, Nov. 25, 1795, p. 2.
82. Docket Book, 1796-1802, Mayor's Court, Philadelphia City Archives, p. 178.
83. Duane went through naturalization proceedings to protect himself. Smith, op. cit., ("Part II: The Editorship of William Duane"), 124n.
84. Ibid., pp. 22-23.

The federalists had managed by this time to get themselves into a situation that made Duane's attacks intolerable. They had elected Adams president in 1796 by a mere three electoral votes. Their position in Congress, at this time shaky, had improved during the undeclared war with France. However, they had had to finance the rearmament of these years with an unpopular direct tax, applied in 1798 and 1799, on houses, property and slaves. And while meeting with these problems, they had suffered a factional division between the supporters of Adams and those of Alexander Hamilton. Hamilton's contending for control of the Federalists coupled with Adams' intractable nature made for intense squabbling and indifferent politicking. Even the loyalties of the cabinet divided, so the President's counselling often had undertones.

Surveying this situation, Duane perceived the most promising line of strategy to be a series of exposes of the inefficiency and corruption of federal officials. This would certainly have its influence on a tax-burdened electorate. Pennsylvania state elections would take place in 1799, and he could swing the result, barring a solution to the difficulties with France.

Thus, when John Fries was brought to trial with two accomplices for treason over his opposition to the direct tax, Duane made a strong issue of its unfairness -- the federal extravagance that had caused it to be levied, the wanton conduct of the Tory agents who collected it -- as justification for resistance. He devoted as much space to this

line of criticism as he did to Justice Chase's procedure in delivering an opinion before hearing counsel. And though Adams pardoned Fries and his companions, avoiding thus the greater error of hanging them, the Federalists lost doubly through the procedure.[85]

But the charge of prodigality was only the starting point. Corruption on the part of high officials became an issue at once amusingly handled, and thus attention-getting, and at the same time effective in convincing the public that Federalists were not to be trusted. Some of the biggest and best names among the opposition were netted in this campaign, and Duane showed himself to have been remarkably enterprising in unearthing damaging information, and a political satirist of the first rank in revealing them. At first, making such exposes under the banner "PUBLIC PLUNDER," he found interesting ways of pinning his charges against officials. Carrying the method of interrogation one step beyond the conventional, he cross-examined the official in print. Finding that Speaker of the House, Jonathan Dayton of New Jersey, had speculated with public funds, he wrote:

> Jonathan Dayton, . . . do you or do you not hold in your possession thirty-thousand dollars, the property of the good people of the United States - which was advanced to you for public uses, but which you have never returned to the proper proper owners thereof, for more than two years?[86]

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85. Stewart, Opposition Press, p. 94.
86. Ibid., p. 104.

That the money had been repaid, that slight errors in the amounts given had occurred, did nothing to relieve the hapless Dayton. He had only been able to keep the money eighteen months, even after quitting office through the connivance of Treasury officials. Even Secretary of the Treasury Wolcott himself was indolent or corrupt: if not a gainer, was he not culpable for lack of vigilance? Other officials, Secretary of State Pickering among them, regularly drew advances from the Treasury to meet anticipated expenses. What would happen to his half-a-million advance if he were to die? Would his heirs take advantage of the recent federal bankruptcy law to retain it? Such suit had been necessary to regain $86,322.80 from the estate of a Philadelphia customs official who died in office. Large funds were being held out by these people while the government was forced to borrow at usurious rates to make ends meet.[87] Such sport as this delighted readers who were not committed Federalists and outraged respectable people.

In finding methods of strengthening this case, Duane became very involved with such normally dry subject matter as Treasury reports and the like. Patiently, he analyzed bookkeeping and departmental function. He found errors and misrepresentations and proved his case by the accuracy of his means. By this show of ingenuity, he was convincing when he maintained that men of greater ability were needed in these

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87. Ibid., p. 105.

posts to prevent blunders and defalcations.[88]

Finally, he stimulated by these exposés and droll satire others to follow his lead and use his methods. Freneau through his Robert Slender added wit to the campaign, while New Jersey's Centinel of Freedom unveiled Jonathan Cheatall, in the image of Dayton, to fail at holding together a rotten bag full of the old cat of British influence and her litter, the prettiest of all being the "mal-appropriation kitten."[89] The spectacle of proud Federalist officials treated in this manner and unable to answer had profound effect on the voting public. Carrying his campaign of abuse, ridicule, and slander to the extreme, Duane employed satiric comparisons in questioning the fitness of cabinet officers for their posts: Wolcott of Treasury was "scarcely qualified to hold the second desk in a Mercantile Counting House," Attorney-General Charles Lee a "cipher lacking both talent and

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88. Ibid., p. 107.

89. Ibid., pp. 108-10. Duane promised other disclosures to demonstrate that these were no isolated cases. Other republican newspapers rushed to add to the total. A number of embarrassing incidents helped to keep the pot boiling: census takers in North Carolina were charged with adsconding to Florida, taking their advances with the, while tobacco inspectors in Georgia approved very inferior leaf rather than lose their commissions, and scandal rocked the public building program in Washington, D. C. The secretary of the new Navy Department, Benjamin Stoddert, was suspected of being involved with land speculations involving the public purse. The Treasury's unfathomable reports themselves were instrumental in suppressing data showing the "whole system of the anglo-federal party." Ibid., pp. 111-13.

experience," Navy Secretary Stoddert a "tobacco merchant and cunning small-town politician," State Secretary John Marshall a "sophist and rhetorician," and Secretary of War Samuel Dexter candid enough to admit that his office "could with equal propriety have been bestowed upon his mother."[90]

Duane's meteoric rise to the top of republicanism's list of champions brought him into almost immediate physical conflict. His unrestrained press campaigns invited retribution in kind, and he became involved in incidents that added to his unsavoriness, thus preparing the way for prosecution on other counts. Smoldering under his drum fire of criticism, the Federalists bided their time until his reputation made him ripe for the plucking, as they concluded. The first incident involving Duane took place only some three months after he became editor of the Aurora. It centered ostensibly on the propriety of soliciting signatures on a petition against the Alien laws in the St. Mary's church yard following Sunday mass, on a sabbath early in 1799. Although this would have seemed little enough cause for a ruckus such as developed (with fisticuffs and the waving of firearms, resulting in an arrest and trial), where it involved persons

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90. Ibid., pp. 501-02.

of known "atheistical" tendencies in Duane and the men around him, much interest developed.[91] Actually, Duane led the soliciting group into the churchyard, but was not himself party to the subsequent scuffle. And Dr. Reynolds upon standing trial for attempted murder and the rest for riot and assault were acquitted to the joy of their partisans and the frustration of sabbath observers eyerywhere.[92]

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91. Bache's attack on Federalist prayers and fasts, his fondness for the most famous atheist of the age, Thomas Paine, his tolerance of the pagan rites of the French Revolution, set the stage for Duane. One of Bache's intimates and an executor of his estate, Joseph Clay, published atheistic tracts and became notorious for drawing bills on the Bank of Pennsylvania (of which institution he was a trustee), payable to "Jesus Christ or Bearer." Harry M. Tinkcom, "Sir Augustus in Pennsylvania, The Travels and Observations of Sir Augustus Foster in Early Nineteenth Century Pennsylvania," PMHB, LXXV, 379, 394. Duane himself, though brought up in the Roman Catholic church, had married his first wife in the Church of England, and was to marry Margaret Bache in the Episcopal Church. His liberality in matters spiritual was well known, for he ofttimes quoted as his creed the couplet:

> For modes of faith let graceless zealots fight,
> His can't be wrong, whose life is right.

Clark, Duane, pp. 9-10. This view unquestionably found wide acceptance in a city where religious establishment had never been known, but to Federalists from states where orthodoxy in religion reigned in the past or continued to reign, it represented license, not liberality. To Catholics of the St. Mary's parish, Duane's appearance seems to have excited emotion in direct ratio to political inclination. It upset the parish priest, who thought it an affront to his office and may as well have feared dominant religious opinion in respect to keeping the sabbath in Protestant Philadelphia. Those who challenged Dr. Reynolds, and conspicuously a Mr. Gallagher, may have shared the first view, and may also been of the same shade of political opinion as leading Federalist, Thomas Fitzsimons, also of the St. Mary's parish. He cried sacrilege, but himself used force.

92. "Trial of Duane, Reynolds, Moore, and Cuming, for Seditious Riot. In the Court of Oyer and Terminer for the County of Philadelphia, 1799," Wharton, 345.

Then why, if religious sensibility was at the heart of the matter, the strength of interest in the outcome? The answer lies in the fact that the charge was of "seditious riot," not simply riot, and the prosecution's argument rested in the main on the evils attending admission of the foreign born to political participation. The prosecutor and Federalist opinion as well hoped that through pillorying Duane's supporter, Reynolds, they could quiet him. But Alexander James Dallas' brilliant defense, in which the new-reconciled John Beckley took part, made a mockery of the charges and by winning acquittal, turned a threat to the republican press into a victory with the electorate.[93]

The next attempt to discipline Duane was not long in coming. Among the groups he alienated through criticism were the militia units in which Federalist spirit burned brightest. When on May 15, 1799, he accused one of the Philadelphia troops set to suppress Fries' riot in Northampton of using free quarters while there, they decided to counter with the weapon of public humiliation, to give him a public thrashing. A body of cavalry officers appeared in the printing office and demanded that he name the alleged offenders. When he refused they dragged him into the yard, where, according to the story circulated by them "a cow-skin - was brought. & with wh[ic]h he was severely flogged."[94] Wounded but undismayed, Duane rushed his version

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93. Smith, pp. 127-29; Marsh, p. 65.

94. J. Morse to Wife, May 18, 1799, Morse Collection, Yale University Library. Morse added: "Such method of obtaining satisfaction connot meet the approbation of peaceable citizens; & yet it is difficult to devise other methods of detering such fellows from such scandalous abuse."

into the print the next day. Horatio himself offered no stouter resistance on the Tiber's bridge than did Duane this day:

> Yesterday a band of those friends of good order and regular government; to the amount of near Thirty, entered the office of the Aurora - while the . . . editor was pursuing his business, assaulted him; while some of the band acted as centinels on the compositors and Pressmen and others with presented pistols kept some persons who chanced to be in the office at bay. Peter Merkin who was the principal of those dastards with several others seized the Editor by violence, struck him several times in the head, while others held his hands. By force they dragged him down stairs into Franklin Court, and there repeated their violence by reiterated blows, from above Ten different persons.
>
> It was in vain that the Editor offered personal satisfaction to any or all of them successively, equally disregardful of the principles of honor as of the established laws - they had neither the courage to attack him singly - nor to accept the resort of men of honor.
>
> After having satiated their malice, by blows which the Editor was no longer able and could not from their number either effectually retaliate or repel; they fought to add what they conceived to be dishonor in the Editor, by several blows with a whip --- upon whom the dishonor rests the public will determine. The Editor neither feels nor fears them either collectively or individually.[95]

This led to Duane's organizing the Republican Greens, his own militia organization, probably as much for his personal protection as from an appetite for militia duties. He claimed that the spirit shown that day in Franklin Court led a supporter to initiate the procedure and offer him the troop's captaincy. They made a belligerent showing

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95. Aurora, May 16, 1799, p. 2.

with their badges of "a plume of cock-neck feathers and a small black cockage with a large eagle," and Federalist leaders affected alarm for fear of the company's imagined proclivities for domestic insurrection: "he came to this Country to Stir up Sedition & work other mischief....He is doubtless a United Irishman, and the company is probably formed to oppose the authority of the Government, and in case of war and invasion by the French, to join them."[96]

The state courts had failed to silence Duane; physical intimidation had as little effect. With the publication in the July 24, 1799, edition of the Aurora of the charge that British influence in the government could be shown in a letter of the President, the Federalists believed they had at last a seditious libel that would bring Duane to his knees. Sending along a copy of the offending newspaper to President Adams, Pickering proposed that a dual action be undertaken against Duane, prosecution for seditious libel under the Sedition Act and deportation as a dangerous alien under the Alien Act:

> It is not the first time that the editor has suggested, that you had asserted the influence of the British government in affairs of our own, and insinuated that it was obtained by bribery. The general readers of the Aurora will believe both.[97]

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96. T. Pickering to J. Adams, June 24, 1799, Pickering Papers, XI, Massachusetts Historical Society. Secretary of the Commonwealth Dallas was happy to commission the officers and order the issue of arms. A. J. Dallas to M. Hurst, Aug. 12, 1799, Records of the Department of State, R. G. 26, Division of Public Records, Harrisburg, Pa.

97. Stewart, op. cit. pl 261.

The same day Pickering referred the article to William Rawle, federal attorney in Philadelphia, with the instruction: "If the slander on the American Government, will justify a prosecution . . . be pleased to have it commenced."[98] An outraged President Adams replied:

> Is there any thing evil in the regions of actuality or possibility that the Aurora has not suggested of me? If Mr. Rawle does not think this paper libellous, he is not fit for his office: and if he does not prosecute it, he will not do his duty. The matchless effrontery of this Duane merits the execution of the alien law. I am willing to try its strength upon him.[99]

As though he had been looking over Adams' should, Rawle the day before had Duane arrested for seditious libel.[100] Though brought before Judge Peters in Federal District Court on August 3, Duane was released on bail that day. Adams had hoped that this rude experience would jolt him, but Duane continued on in the same vein as before following his release, unbowed and challenging. A second charge of sedition followed the first, so by the time he appeared in court during October he faced two counts.[101] During the course of proceedings, it developed that Duane was prepared to air an authenticated copy of the President's letter. A truce was arranged, as the proceedings faced

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98. Smith, p. 130.
99. Stewart, p. 261.
100. Smith, p. 131.
101. Ibid., p. 133. Pickering supplied Rawle with Aurora issues to suit.

postponment until yellow fever abated and made witnesses, jury, and officials available.[102] It never came to trial. A year later Duane informed his readers that it had been "withdrawn by order of the President."[103] Strategy dictated a more favorable time be found for suppression of him.

The final action against Duane came, therefore, in consequence of an entirely different circumstance and from the United States Senate rather than the executive. Behind it, however, were Senate Federalists, and it was over an issue raised by political measures important to that party's hopes in the election of 1800. A bill through the agency of which they hoped to rig the electoral count for president was printed by Duane while still under consideration of the Senate. Three senators had tipped Duane after consultation between Jefferson and that editor over methods of opposing the bill. The Senate ordered Duane before its bar in a procedure intended to punish him for "high breach of privileges" of that body. He evaded this partisan move by going into hiding, and Senate process servers failed

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102. Dallas argued that the Sedition law admitted truth as a justification for whatever might be printed. While the case rested in postponment, Duane agreed to Judge Peters' recommendation that he refrain from publishing the Adams letter. In October 1800, goaded by the Federalist papers, Duane published it. Ibid., pp. 133-35.

103. Duane was willing to abide by a "fair and liberal neutrality of opinion - and no more, until the matter is as fairly brought to legal issue," out of "respect to the constituted authorities," he stated in the Aurora. Ibid., p. 133.

to locate him before adjournment of that body. Subsequently, he was indicted by request of the Senate under the Sedition Law, but that proceeding broke down amidst a series of protracted moves to obtain witnesses, arrange hearings, and secure evidence. Postponed repeatedly, the case was finally dropped after Jefferson became President, and the Sedition Act a nullity. Furthermore, grand jury action on the question of indictment for the Senate's complaint found no cause and in effect gave Duane legal vindication of his position in the first place. He had maintained from the start that the essence of the question was the constitutional right of the people to make observations on the conduct of Congress, and declared that he would discuss Senate proceedings "with all the freedom that the Constitution secures to the press." His duty he owed to the Constitution: "No terror - no force - no menace - no fear" could compel him to fail it.[104]

These events, taking place over the period of a year, made excellent copy for the Aurora and the entire anti-federalist press. It was undertaken at a time when a celebrated series of state trials -- Cooper, Callender, and other -- involving the press has come to occupy more of the public's time and attention than many affairs of state. All served the Republicans and the principles they espoused at the expense of the Federalists. The spectacle of Duane defying the amassed power

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104. Ibid., pp. 136-44. This was in the nature of a contempt proceeding, in which the Senate without conducting hearings or revealing its deliberations to the public found Duane to have written a seditious libel, "containing false, defamatory, scandalous and malicious assertions tending to defame the Senate, to bring its members into contempt and disrespect, and to excite against them the hatred of the good people of the United States."

and authority of President and Senate drew the attention of all and gave added emphasis to the issues involved. Again the Aurora flourished. Sensational news was good for business, and circulation rose to new peaks. By April 1799 subscriptions were reported to be over the 1,200 mark.[105] Later they would equal Bache's old peak of 1,700. Duane employed thirteen journeymen and apprentices to meet this demand.[106]

A footnote or two more in the history of journalism were written by Duane as editor of the Aurora while in residence at 322 Market Street. He refined the practice of printing unsigned two and three lined political comments under the masthead on the newspaper's page 2, a forerunner of the modern editorial page.[107] And he published for the people. In a day of broad speech, he excelled in choler and invective. His style and love of controversy reflected popular taste. He consciously spoke the language of the people and addressed

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105. Ibid., p. 144. During the course of the Senate's dealings with Duane, he admitted to being under suit in nine different cases at law, which he claimed himself to be ready to prove or perish. Ibid., p. 148. These contirbuted their share to his notoriety. Letombe to Ministre Affaires Etrangeres, April 17, 1799, Correspondence Politiques, Etats-Unis, LI, Ministere Affaires Etrangeres, Paris; Marsh, p. 56. Each copy was read until dog-eared.

106. In the opinion of one writer, Duane's Aurora not only achieved the same circulation and leadership that Bache achieved, but was "the strongest single factor in the publicity that resulted in the elevation of Thomas Jefferson to the Presidency." Ibid., County Tax Records, Philadelphia Middle Ward, 1798-1801 (1799), Philadelphia City Archives, p. 25; Ibid (1800), p. 25.

107. Stewart, p. 27.

himself primarily to them. The Federalists mistook these characteristic journalistic methods for demagoguery, failing to detect the sincerity that gained him acceptance among them. It proved to be an approach to power they were unprepared to cope with. So his ideas won out, and he guided Pennsylvania's electorate into the Republican column. John Adams gauged well the abhorrent truth when he acknowledged that his administration had been deposed by the group of editors headed by Duane, that they had "discomfited the education, the talents, the virtues and the prosperity of the country," in the sense that Federalism and Federalists represented those qualities.[108] The "Bible of Democracy" never had served its purpose better than under Duane.

Duane's influence among the public at large was not lost on Republican politicians. In fact, he would not have allowed this under any circumstances. As much a politician himself as an editor, Duane took his place in party councils and spoke his mind freely there as he did through the columns of the Aurora. This role was to become increasingly important in years to come and in time he became a rather uncomfortable bedfellow, as difficult for his political associates to

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108. In the opinion of Dallas' biographer, Duane was "even more resourceful and outspoken . . . than Bache." Walters, pp. 77-78; Stewart, p. 639. Adams laid his troubles at Franklin's door: "He.... propagated prejudices, . . . against me in America....Look into . . . Bache's . . . and Duane's Aurora for twenty years, and see whether my expectations have not been verified." Adams to Benjamin Rush, Apr. 12, 1809, Charles F. Adams, The Works of John Adams (Boston, 1854), IX, 619.

manage as he had been for the opposition party. He throve on controversy, and it gravitated to him wherever he might be. He sought no offices, but was anything but indifferent to the distinction of membership in the ruling clique.[109] He established a partnership with the Democratic-Republican party, and exercised his full rights in the firm.

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109. An interesting letter to James Monroe during the electioneering period of that year throws light on his relations with Republican leadership at the time and his motivations in the day's intrigues:

"A vessel has just arrived from Europe, by which I have received letters, in which I am told some matters of much political interest will have been forwarded to you....I write in order to anticipate them, with a hope that should any such matter reach you, that you will do me the honor to let me have the communication of it to the public in such a way as may Serve the public cause; upon which every new and striking discovery which has been made impressed, and will continue to impress a most Salutary and important conviction of the necessity of the great change now operating [overthrow of Federalism by election of Jefferson].

"The documents held by my predecessor [Bache], for the use of your work, I have kept Safely for your order, and propose taking them with me to Washington City in the course of the winter, . . . Permit me to Suggest the vast advantage which may be taken of the recent troubles from the negroes, to embody you Militia, and to promote the encrease of white population. The Sentiment is felt here very Strongly, and would be received with great advantage to the republican cause in Congress, as a measure as well of legislative tactics. I have the best evidence to prove that MT Pickering directly and unequivocally encouraged the Separation of St Domingo from France, the evidence is found in Letters of his own which are now in the hands of a notary to be copied and authenticated, this with what you will receive would [make possible] . . . Serious charges of Impeachment, a measure which if carried on with vigor and without temporising, as in Blount's affair, would overwhelm the English faction for ever, and tend to Secure the peace and liberty of America for a century to come...." Oct. 23, 1800, Monroe Papers, New York Public Library.

With the issue of March 8, 1800, Duane assumed the title of publisher of the Aurora, a title by which he was also identified forthwith in the directories and trade publications.[110] With full responsiblity for the family, whom he referred to as his "little progeny," the "descendants of Franklin, who by marriage have fallen under my wing," now an important figure in his own right, this was reasonable enough prerogative. These responsibilities brought him into far-flung enterprise in search of income. In expectation of

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Monroe had in 1796 been discredited as minister to France, and following his return in 1797 published through Bache a 500-page pamphlet, "A View of the Conduct of the Executive," containing the full texts of documents relating to his mission. For years in the Senate he had earlier obstructed administration measures, and now became a potent republican organizer and strategist. Elected Virginia's governor in 1799, he put down with the militia the slave insurrection of "General Gabriel" and "Jack Bowler." Fear of Toussaint's influence on American Negroes was strong in Monroe's circle. Congress' measure to reopen trade with San Domingo in 1799 stiffened them, for as Jefferson wrote to Madison, "We may expect therefore black crews, and supercargoes and missionairies thence into the southern states....If this combustion can be introduced among us under any veil whatever, we have to fear it." Duane, who never owned a slave, at this point was not above turning such fears to political account in the cause of "liberty of America." James Monroe to Benjamin Franklin Bache, Nov. 13, 1797, Monroe Papers, Alderman Library, University of Virginia; Winthrop D. Jordan, White Over Black, American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812 (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1968), pp. 381, 393-94.

110. Brigham, pp. 891-92.

rich contracts from the government he had helped to engineer into office, he set up shop in Washington, D. C., in 1801, selling books and stationery.[111] Disappointed in the administration's response, he eventually discontinued this outlet. He moved the family out of 322 Market Street, living briefly at 119 Filbert Street, and settling ultimately three doors away at what is now 316 Market Street.[112] There he continued a journalistic career as the most influential publisher in America.

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111. Worthington C. Ford, "The Letters of William Duane," Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, Second Series, XX, 259; Clark, pp. 24-30. Clark believes from the number of government documents he published that he was the official printer of the Jefferson administration. Perhaps unofficial printer would be more correct. His disappointments came at his failure to get large orders for stationery and supplies and books for the Library of Congress.

112. Brown, The Philadelphia Directory for 1801 by Cornelius William Stafford, p. 115.

5. Later History of the Title

On August 15, 1800, The Supreme Court of the United States finished business for the last time in Philadelphia and adjourned until the next session at the "time and Place by Law Appointed," or the District of Columbia. After ten years the Federal Government was on its way to the new capital on the Potomac, and the court was the last of the branches to take its leave.[1] The diplomatic corps was leaving with it, and Franklin's house, for several years the Portuguese's minister's residence, was again for rent. So, the same day the court adjourned, it was advertised "TO BE LET," and with it "that commodious house and store, No. 112, Market-street -- Apply to MR. JOHN LIEB, South Fourth-street."[2] The Duane family had decided to move.

Tenants and Businesses

The successful applicant turned out to be a confectioner named Charles Schroeder. He rented the premises until his death in 1804, and his widow still lived there in 1805.[3] Another confectioner,

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1. Rough Minute Book, Supreme Court of the United States, Record Group 267, National Archives.

2. James Hogan's 1796 Philadelphia Directory lists a John L. Lieb as an attorney at law, living on the south side of Chestnut Street just below Fourth.

3. A confectioner of that day and age sold, in addition to sweets, ornaments for the table, pickles and preserves, and in some cases medicines as well.

one John Mercier, succeeded Schroeder in 1806, and conducted business there until 1812 or 1813, the last year sharing the house with a music master named Ernest Shuman.[4] The cutler, Samuel Stevens, in 1814 had his business there.[5] Gavin Hamilton, a tobacconist, followed him, and had his shop there from 1816 to 1821.[6] Tax records list the house as vacant in 1820, presumably in reference to the living quarters.[7] Hubbs and Montelius, a mercantile firm, were there in 1821.[8] The watch and jewelry business of William H. C. Riggs occupied the building in 1825 and after.[9]

Until this time, the property had remained in the hands of Franklin's descendants. Richard and Sarah Bache had, it will be recalled, received the property to hold for their lifetimes, following which their heirs were to receive it as one of several pieces of real estate as tenants in common. Sarah Bache died in 1808 and Richard

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4. He is listed in the several directories of these years, and also in County Tax Records, Philadelphia Chestnut Ward, 1807-1812: (1807) p. 32; (1808) p. 41; (1809) p. 36; (1810) p. 36; (1811) p. 37; (1812) p. 40; Philadelphia City Archives.

5. Kite's 1814 Philadelphia Directory.

6. The various directories for these years by Robinson, Dawes, Paxton and Whitely list him.

7. State Tax Assessment Ledger, Chestnut Ward, 1820, p. 32.

8. Philadelphia County Treasurer's Accounts for Philadelphia, 1820-1850 (1821), Auditor Generals Records, Office of Public Records, Harrisburg.

9. Ibid. (1825); Thomas Wilson, ed. The Philadelphia Directory and Stranger's Guide (Phila., April 1825), p. 117. Here he was listed as a clockmaker, too.

Bache in 1811. When Franklin's properties were divided in 1812, the house and grounds at 322 Market Street went to William Bache, their second born.[10] Not the best known of the Baches, perhaps owing to his early death, he occupied a secure place in early nineteenth century Philadelphia. As a youth he ventured to Revolutionary France, sailed on a French privateer, and financed a fling in Paris with the spoils thus gained.[11] Graduating from the University of Pennsylvania,

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10. Richard Bache's will provided that his entire estate, "real personal & mixed" except for personal bequests, should be divided into "seven parts or shares of equal value," and these disposed of to the seven heirs. To carry this out, Franklin's property on Franklin Court was divided into thirty parcels, all the buildings in the courtyard torn down, and a narrow courtyard established, along which were located twenty-six of the parcels as building lots. These lots and the three houses on Market Street were distributed by value among the heirs. William Bache received the house and lot at 322 Market Street and four of the lots on the new Franklin Court or Place as his share. An indenture of partition carried it into effect on January 14, 1812. Will of Richard Bache, August 2, 1811, Register of Wills, Philadelphia; Deed Book IC-19, pp. 1-22, Records Dept., Philadelphia; ibid., diagram of courtyard and lots included as page 21. This deed established the lot length at 140 feet. Richard Bache also left William "the portraits and other paintings, now in the mansion house in Franklin Court, All my Musical instruments, some of which he will prize the more highly as they were given me by his revered Grandfather & of what little Music I have worth his acceptance it is at his service I also give & bequeath to my said son William Bache all the silver & copper Medals, and antique coins contained in two small drawers in my Bureau at Settle, likewise a french snuff box on the top of which, is represented American Prosperity, and what it contains - (which I know he will highly appreciate) the Contents are a lock of hair from the head of his late dear and beloved Mother, and a tooth & lock of hair from the head of his revered Grandfather. I likewise give and bequeath to my same son William all the Silver table spoons, desert spoons and teaspoons which have my crest engraved upon them."

11. Faÿ, op. cit., pp. 223-4.

where he delivered an "Oration on the Natural History, Culture and Qualities of Potatoes," he studied medicine with Dr. Caspar Wistar.[12] Subsequently, he married Wistar's sister, Catharine. At the time of his death in 1815, William Bache was Surveyor of the Port of Philadelphia, a federal customs post of importance.[13] But William Bache never lived in the house. Put on the market the year of his death, it went unsold until 1826.[14] Now, for the first time, the property passed out of the family.

In purchasing the house and grounds at 322 Market Street, Nicholas E. Thuron or Thouron, a merchant, continued to live across the street at 109 Market and run his business there. An investment and perhaps in use as storage, the building remained in Thouron's

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12. Ibid., p. 153. Wistar acted out an heroic part in the great epidemic of 1793, catching yellow fever, and while sick "watched over by his devoted pupil Billy Bache." J. H. Powell, Bring Out Your Dead, The Great Plague of Yellow Fever in Philadelphia in 1793 (Phila., 1949), p. 72.

13. John A. Paxton, ed., The Philadelphia Directory and Register for 1813, p. 2. The surveyor was one of the chief officers of a custom house in charge of "outdoor activities," such as revenue cutter operation, quarantine, and the like. Robert Albion, The Rise of New York Port (New York, 1939), p. 225.

14. It was to be auctioned off by J. Dorsey on November 14, 1815, under the authority of Catharine Bache, Administratrix, as a "Certain three story brick messuage and lot of ground N° 112 Market street and about 90 feet deep." Democratic Press, Nov. 3, 1815, p. 3. Shortening of the lot from the 140 feet of the 1812 deed was made possible by access from the rear of the small lot at the head of Franklin Court acquired in the same partition by William Bache. Although the property had been valued earlier at $11,300, it sold in 1826 for $18,019. The lawyer, Thomas Sergeant, as administrator of William Bache's estate, sold it to Nicholas Elisha Th[o]uron on January 11 of that year. Deed Book GWR-11, pp. 397-99, Records Dept., Philadelphia; Letters of Administration for Estate of Dr. William Bache, deceased, 1825, No. 344, Records Dept., Philadelphia.

ownership until 1832, when John Holmes, proprietor with Seth Craige and Thomas Huston of the Globe Mills, pioneer textile plant in Philadelphia, bought it.[15] Now nearly fifty years old and no longer desirable as a residence, the building went into business use. The dizzying procession of small tradesmen running ships on the first floor and living upstairs and in the rear came to an end. The decade had been reached when Philadelphia's center of business, moving ever away from the Delaware River, had reached and passed the block of Market Street between Third and Fourth Streets. Businesses themselves were getting bigger and less diversified than before. Many of them traded beyond the eastern mountains in the river and lake country of what is today known as the Midwest. Many traded with new markets in the Gulf states. The demand for space put a premium on height, and five-and six-story buildings were appearing. Office space along the main streets was also coming into demand. Holmes and Craige had already opened an outlet for the yarns of their mill three years before next door, at what is now 320 Market Street, in the old two-story house built more than a century before by Henry Frogley.[16] Whatever the plans for

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15. Next to nothing is known about Thouron. He was prosperous enough to have his father's portrait ["Mons. Thuron"] painted by Sully in 1818. Charles H. Hart, ed., "Thomas Sully's Register of Portraits, 1801-1871," PMHB, XXXIII, 193. Holmes paid Thouron $18,288.84 for the property. Deed Book AM-24, pp. 645-47, Aug. 1, 1832, Records Dept., Philadelphia.

16. Starting with a one-and-a-half story chocolate mill on the stream at the junction of Fifth Street and Germantown Road (now Avenue), in the Northern Liberties during 1760, the Globe enterprise grew to the point where just before 1850 it was the

322 Market Street, Holmes died before he had held the property two years. He willed the house to his wife, and it remained in the family, subject to his will and those of descendants, until 1920.[17]

So the Holmes family rented the house to the firm of William Montelius and Oliver Fuller, merchants. Both men lived elsewhere, and the house apparently served only their business needs.[18] They proved it be long-time tenants, maintaining their business at the house from 1833 until 1842.[19] By then change was in the air, change that would radically alter the building, leaving little to remind anyone that Franklin himself many years before had raised it.

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biggest textile mill, save possibly one, in Pennsylvania. The critical period of development took place the first decade of the nineteenth century. Local mechanics built the first cotton machinery, but improvements essential to the business' growth were made by Alfred Jenks, who worked with Samuel Slater at the first successful mill in Rhode Island and came to Philadelphia around 1810. The company completed its fourth plant addition in 1829. Answering Mathew Carey's survey of home production in 1832, the year Holmes bought 322 Market Street, they admitted to employing a capital of $200,000 and using 114 men and women and 200 boys and girls. They powered their machinery with two steam engines as well as a water wheel. Samuel H. Needles, "The Governor's Mill and the Globe Mills, Philadelphia," PMHB, VIII, 377-86.

17. Will Book 11, pp. 334-35, June 11, 1834, Register of Wills, Philadelphia. Holmes described it as "my three story brick store and lot" and valued it at $20,000, subject to a mortgage in the amount of $10,000. Had he lived it seems likely it would have become the main outlet for Globe.

18. In the various directories for those year, Montelius' home address is given as 9 South Ninth Street, while that of Oliver Fuller is given as 421 1/2 Mulberry Street and others. Their firm is listed at the 112 Market Street number for the entire span of years.

19. The old £10 and £6 ground rents remained intact throughout this period, income from the former now going to the "overseers of Black School" and that of the latter to the "Green Street Meeting." State

Changes in the Structure

It was probably during the period of Holmes family ownership that most of the changes of substance in 322 Market Street's structure took place. Evidence of them is virtually non-existent from documentary sources. These have been detailed in Historic Structures Report, Part I, on 322 Market Street, Chap. II, Sect. 1, pp. 3-5, insofar as they could be supported. Further research since preparation of this report in 1961 has uncovered nothing more. What could be shown at the time was the adding of two floors to the structure and a one-story addition to the rear. The many changes that had entirely altered the appearance of the interior from that suggested by the insurance survey could not then be explained. Fortunately, many evidences of interior and exterior features originally installed under Franklin's supervision were exposed during the 1961 archeological excavations and the 1962 architectural investigation. These have been brilliantly demonstrated in the reports on those undertakings.[20] Gutting of the interior and its conversion to hard use is here amply indicated.

Tax Assessment, Philadelphia Chesnut Ward, (1832), p. 187; (1833), p. 58; (1834), p. 30; (1835), p. 109; (1836), p. 30; (1837), p. 54; (1839), p. 105; (1841), p. 97; (1846), p. 21. Philadelphia Archives.

20. The Archeology of Franklin Court, Independence National Historical Park, 1962 (B. Bruce Powell), pp. 48-52, and Ills. 29, 42; Historic Structures Report, Part I, on 322 Market Street, Architectural Data Section, March 1963 (Penelope Hartshorne, Helmuth Reich, Robert Harris), pp. 9-31, and Ills. as referenced.

By the twentieth century, the block in which the house is located no longer was a retailing center. Mixed business use at the start of the century gave way in time to wholesale business. Buildings devoted to such use have showrooms and stock on the first floor along with shipping facilities. The upper floors are for storage of the greater part of stock and whatever processing facilities may be needed. And so it was with the house at 322 Market Street. Altered accordingly in 1920 the building was occupied for 39 years, until cleared for development by the National Park Service, by Lakoff and Company, candy and drug distributors.[21] At the depth of the depression in 1933, the property had to be seized and sold at sheriff's sale. When purchased by the Federal Government in 1954, after years of a marginal existence, it had come very nearly to the end of its productive life.[22] Now, in the last hour, its historic worth stands recognized.

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21. "Application for Permit for Additions," Permit Book, 1920, No. 7060, Records Dept., Philadelphia.; ibid., 1939, No. 2151.

22. A Nathaniel J. Taube bought it from V. Gilpin Robinson, surviving executor under the will of Harriet Holmes and other Holmes heirs, on March 5, 1920. Deed Book JMH-806, pp. 184-90, ibid. Taube sold it to Hyman Heicklen the same day, who on July 26, 1920, sold it to Isaac Lakoff. Ibid., Deed Book JMH-720, pp. 460-62; Deed Book JMH-861, pp. 569-71. The Fidelity-Philadelphia Trust Company purchased it at sheriff's sale on May 15, 1933. Ibid., Deed Book JMH-3669, pp. 307-08. A Samuel Miller bought it from that bank on February 26, 1942, and sold it to the United States of America on January 6, 1954. Ibid., Deed Book DHW-1507, pp. 557-60, and Deed Book MLS-574, pp. 531-41.

Illustrations

Note: No attempt has been made to reproduce illustrations of the house introduced in Chapter II (Historical Data), Historic Structures Report, Part I, on 322 Market Street, Independence National Historical Park. The reader's attention is invited to Illustrations No. 1 (Franklin Court from Market St., 1790, from existing evidence); 8 (same for 1723); 2 (1860 engraving of same sites); 3 (1868 photograph of same sites); and 4 (1951 photograph of same sites).

Illustration No. 1

William Parsons, surveyor general of the province, drew this plan of the block in which was located the site of latter day 322 Market Street sometime while in office between 1741 and 1748. It bears Richard Hill's name here although it had long before changed owners. Reproduced from The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, LXXX, 199.

Illustration No. 1

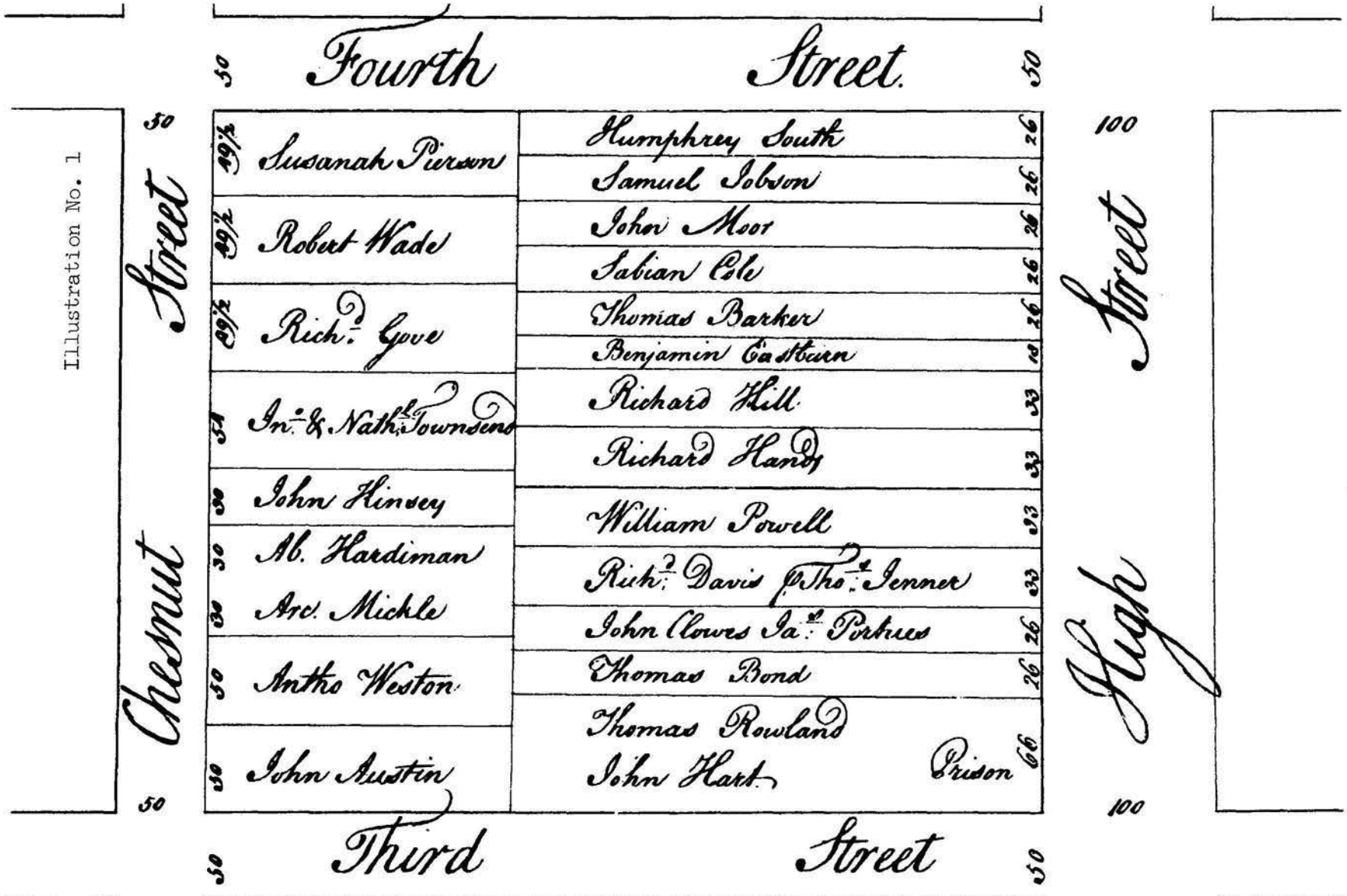


Illustration No. 2

This caricature, drawn in 1798, contains the only known representation of Benjamin Franklin Bache's facial features. He is at bottom center, prone under the militiamen's feet, a copy of the Aurora on the ground before him receiving a dog's attentions. Gallatin, prying away at the carriage wheel, Madison pulling on a spoke, and Jefferson hauling on an attached rope to the right are other obstructors of "de wheels of de gouvernement" (Gallatin's broken English). Reproduced from copy of original belonging to the New York Historical Society in Bernard Faÿ's The Two Franklins, p. 350.

Illustration No. 3

Two members of the Bache family. Deborah Bache (1781-1863) a younger sister of Benjamin Franklin Bache, married William John Duane, eldest son of William Duane, and later Secretary of the Treasury, in 1805. Franklin Bache, eldest son of Benjamin Franklin Bache, became a famous physician and scholar. Reproduced from Bernard Faÿ's The Two Franklins, p. 310.



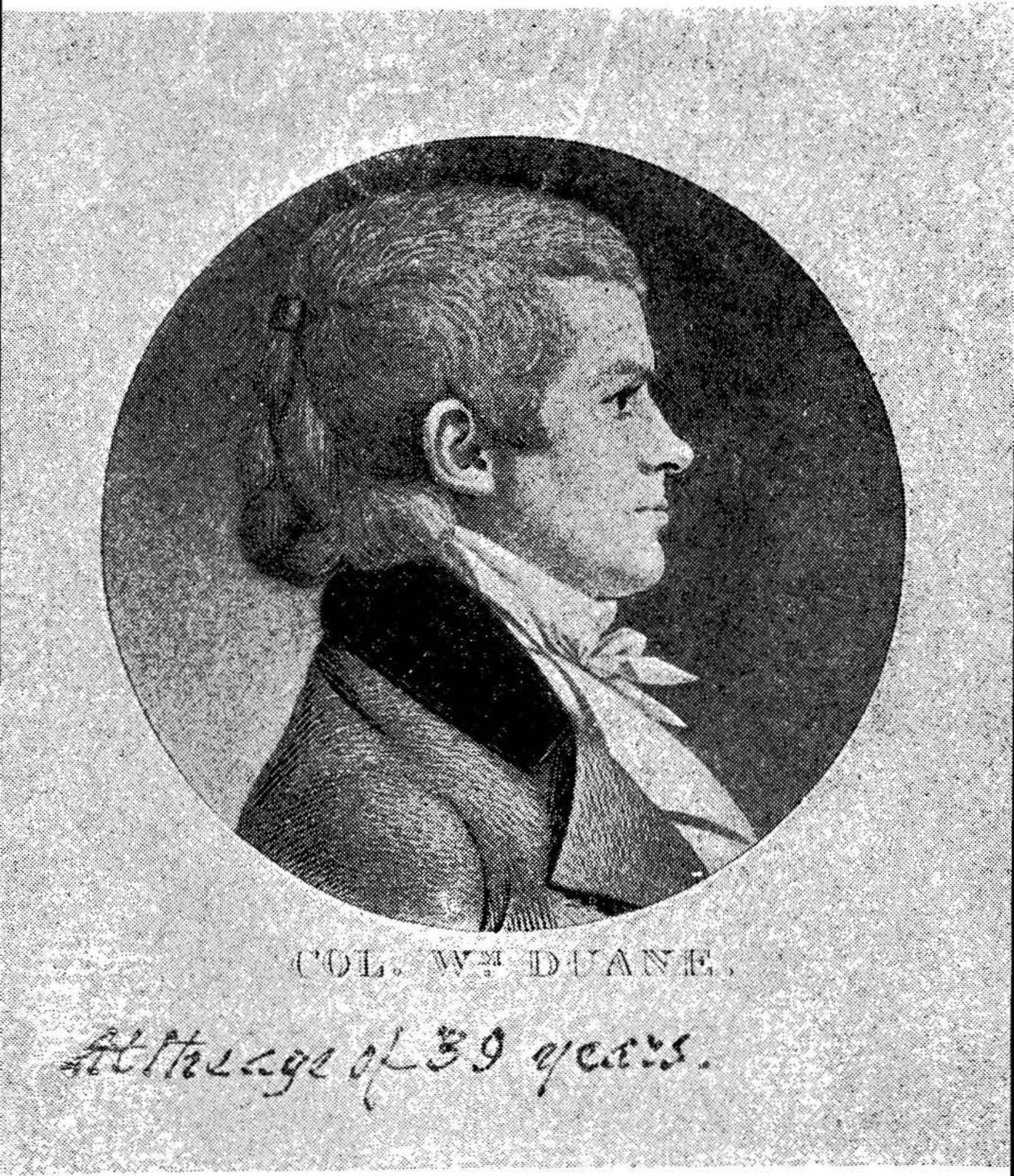
SILHOUETTE OF DEBORAH BACHE
MADE BETWEEN 1800 AND 1805



SILHOUETTE OF FRANKLIN BACHE
THE ELDEST SON OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN BACHE

Illustration No. 4

William Duane, a scrapper who couldn't be kept down. In this 1802 St. Memin he looks every bit the part of the fearless defender of constitutional right who, after being punched until unable to stand and horse-whipped unmercifully, returned to his editorial desk to excoriate his attackers. Principled but not self-righteous, considerations of circumstance and personal convenience he always subordinated to his beliefs. Reproduced from The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, LIV, 5.



Col. William Duane

Bibliographical Note

The sources for this report are a mixture of manuscript materials, published primary sources, secondary works, and more monographs than the average for a report of this type. Those of the first category have yielded the little documentation there is for the house. The second have told about the house and the people who inhabited it. The third, though used sparingly, contributed their share to understanding these same people. Of great value for the same reason have been those articles in the fourth category, without which the house at 322 Market Street would be imperfectly comprehended. For the most part this category consists of biographical studies that pull together obscure, even fugitive, materials about men and their work where no collection of their papers of any representative scope exists. Included among them are scholarly contributions of a number of high-ranked academicists, well-received by the profession earlier, and of value in their particular application here again.

Owing to the applied nature of this report, the writer has omitted what would be a long, and to his readership, redundant bibliography. References have been given in sufficient detail to be located where a need for them arises. As the narrative is chronological this should inconvenience those checking for source very little.

Although original materials have come from sources as far away as Paris, France, the most valuable and numerous have come from those closer to home notably the library of the American Philosophical Society, where the great Franklin collections are to be found; the Franklin Institute, place of deposit of Richard Bache's account book; the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, great repository for materials of the period; and Yale University, where the Franklin publication project's transcripts may be found. The Library of Congress' Franklin papers and Princeton University's Eddy Collection round out the list. Many other institutions as referenced have provided one or more items.

Public records, especially those of the City of Philadelphia and the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, have again proved valuable, as have the records of Philadelphia's old insurance companies, the Contributionship and Mutual Assurance.

Several reports by Park Service historians, archeologists, and architects have been indispensable to the work.

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