

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN IN LANCASTER COUNTY

Apart from Benjamin Franklin's successful efforts in Lancaster County to procure horses and wagons for Braddock's army, it would appear that this great genius of colonial America had no other contacts in or with Lancaster County, since his name does not further appear in local annals. Therefore, it may come as a surprise to learn that Franklin had interesting and diverse contacts here during the years of his active public life. His actual career as a public servant began in 1738 when he was elected as clerk of the colonial assembly. At that time all of Pennsylvania was made up of just four counties and Lancaster was one of them. From that time until 1788 — a full half century — when Franklin retired as President of Pennsylvania, he was well acquainted with all of Lancaster County's leaders who had been projected into the larger affairs of the province, later the commonwealth. Among his intimates were George Ross, Jasper Yeates and Edward Shippen, Sr. Correspondence between these men and Franklin will appear in the forthcoming "Papers of Benjamin Franklin."¹

However, the closest ties of Benjamin Franklin in this area were with Susanna Wright and her brother James of Wright's Ferry in Hempfield Township. That part of the Wright-Franklin correspondence which appears on the following pages attests to the intimacy which existed between the Franklin family and the Wright family.

With one other Lancaster countian of colonial days, Franklin had, at least, a writing acquaintance; and that person was Peter Miller of the religious settlement at Ephrata. While no letters from Franklin to Miller have come to light, those which are extant from Miller to Franklin indicate that their relationship was born of a mutual interest in printing, music and religion.

In several other areas of activity, Franklin had quite definite connections with our county. While it is not possible to recount all of those interests here, what will follow is, we believe, sufficient to create a unique place for Benjamin Franklin in the history of Lancaster County.

In the facsimile edition of the "**Indian Treaties which were printed by Benjamin Franklin**" and which was published by the Pennsylvania Historical Society in 1938, the editor, Carl Van Doren, has written that these stately folios of the treaties in "both matter and manner are after two hundred years the most original and engaging documents of their century in America." The treaties as printed by Franklin numbered thirteen, the first one done in 1736 and the last one in 1762.

At only one of the treaties was Franklin present, and that was the one at Carlisle in October 1753 when he was on hand as a commissioner to negotiate with the Indians. For the information contained in his printed versions of the treaties, Franklin therefore depended on the official minutes of the negotiations.

The thirteen Indian treaties in Pennsylvania which Franklin saved for posterity through his printing venture were as follows:

Philadelphia, September and October 1736

Philadelphia, July 1742

Lancaster, June 1744

Albany, October 1745

Philadelphia, November 1747

Lancaster, July 1748

Carlisle, October 1753

Easton, July and November 1756

Harris' Ferry and

Lancaster, March, April and May 1757

Easton, July and August 1757

Easton, October 1758

Easton, August 1761

Lancaster, August 1762

From this list, you will observe that four of the thirteen treaties printed by Franklin were consummated at Lancaster. In writing to William Strahan, book dealer of London, concerning the 1744 treaty in Lancaster, he mistakenly said it was being held at Newtown. In part he wrote to Strahan as follows on July 4, 1744 "A treaty is now holding at Newtown in Lancaster County, a place sixty miles west of this city, between the governments of Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania on one side, and the United Five Nations on the other. I will send you an account of it when printed, as the method of doing business with those barbarians may perhaps afford you some amusement." When the treaty was off the press, Franklin sent Strahan in London 300 copies for sale.

While most of the treaty making in Lancaster was done at our old court house which stood in Center Square until consumed by fire in 1784, it is interesting to note some deviations. At the treaty of 1744, one session was held "at the house of George Sanderson." In the year 1762 during the treaty making which took all of sixteen days (Aug. 11 to Aug. 27) a conferenre was held "at John Hambright's"² (where the Governor delivered to the Delaware Indians the Presents made to them, by himself and the Province). On another day (August 24) the Commissioners,

among them James Wright of Wright's Ferry, and the Indians in attendance trooped into "the old Lutheran Church" where a meeting was held. For another conference, "Mr. Slough's House"³ was used.

A reading of the account of the treaty of 1762 at Lancaster, which was the last one printed by Franklin, reveals the fact that the last assembly of that particular council was held "at Mr. Hambright's Malt-House." Here, final presents were presented to the Indians "as a Mark of the Affection and Regard of the good people of the Province for them."

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN and SUSANNA WRIGHT

In the history of the formative years of Lancaster County, no name stands higher than that of Quaker John Wright,⁴ who is credited with having given the county its very name. He died in 1749 in the 83rd year of his age, leaving five children; Susanna, Patience, John, Elizabeth and James. Benjamin Franklin presumably knew this entire family very intimately, but with two of the children of John Wright especially had he a close and continuing friendship. In fact, in all of Lancaster County, there were none who could call Franklin their friend, as could Susanna and James Wright.

The name of Susanna Wright has come down to us as having been the most celebrated woman of her day in this area, and judging by the references to her which testify to her culture and erudition her fame must have travelled far in her own day. She was the private secretary of Samuel Blunston, next to John Wright, the most important man in early Lancaster County.⁵ Blunston built a home on land which he purchased from Susanna Wright, and upon his death in 1746, it became part of Susanna Wright's life estate. At that time, Susanna Wright with her father moved into the Blunston House and here John Wright breathed his last, and here, as well, Susanna died in 1785. The house stood on Second Street in the borough of Columbia until demolished to make possible the building of the present bridge over the Susquehanna.

Another house, still standing on Second Street in Columbia and only slightly altered is the one which was built by James Wright,⁶ the brother of Susanna, in 1738 and which became known as Wright's Ferry Mansion. There is no doubt in the writer's mind that Franklin visited in this home as he visited also in the Susanna Wright house, which is no longer extant. Of course, it must be understood that in the days of Susanna and James Wright, their homes were situated in Hempfield Township, as the town of Columbia was only laid out in 1788.

Having given you this brief introduction to the Wrights of Hempfield, we will now present some of the correspondence between Benjamin Franklin of Philadelphia and Susanna Wright of Hempfield in the County of Lancaster. We emphasize the name Hempfield, as we also wish to call your attention to the name Chicquesalunga, so that you will particularly notice in the text of these letters that Franklin had become pretty well acquainted with our county through frequent visits with Susanna Wright, and what is most interesting, that he knew our own Chiquesalunga Creek.

The originals of the Franklin-Wright correspondence are owned by Mr. John J. W. Mifflin, of Middlebush, New Jersey, who is a lineal descendant of John Wright.

Philada, Nov. 21, 1751

MADAM:

Your guests all got well home to their Families highly pleased with their Journey and with the hospitality of Hempfield.

When I had the pleasure of seeing you, I mentioned a new kind of Candles very convenient to read by, which I think you said you had not seen. I take the Freedom to send you a Specimen of them. You will find that they afford a clear white Light, may be held in the Hand even in hot weather, without softening; that their Drops do not make Grease Spots like those from common candles; that they last much longer and need little or no snuffing. I may add, what will be another Recommendation of them to you that they are the Manufacture of our own country; being made at Marcus Hook.

In the Magazine of August (Gentlemen's Magazine) I find that the magnificent King of Portugal has raised his Marble Aqueduct near 100 foot higher than your Chicaselungo.⁷ It must be a stupendous Work. I send you a Prospect of it.

Accept an Almanack for the New Year, with my hearty Wishes that it may prove a happy one to you and your Friends. I am

Madam

Your obliged and Huml Serv't

B. Franklin

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BENJAMIN FRANKLIN TO SUSANNA WRIGHT

Philada, July 11, 1752

MADAM:

I should sooner have answerd your Fav'r of the 27th past but that I have been in daily Expectation of getting home the Piece you desired which is lent to a Friend. I hope to have it ready for the next Post.

In the meantime I send you two pamphlets in which you will have the Pleasure to see a most impudent Imposture detected, and the Honour of our great Poet vindicated.⁸

I send also "Christianity not founded on Argument" a piece that has made a great noise and received many answers, in a supposition that it favours Infidelity under the Guise of recommending Faith.

We have had excessive hot weather now near two weeks. My thermometer has been almost every Day at 94 or 95, one at 97 which is but 3 degrees short of the hot Sunday June 18th 1749. This town is a mere Oven. How happily situated are our friends at Hempfield! I languish for the Country, for Air and Shade and Leisure, but Fate has doom'd me to be stifled and roasted and teased to death in a City. You would not regret the want of City conversation if you considered that 9/10 of it is Impertinence.

My wife joins in tendering our best Respects to you and your good Brothers. (John and James)

Your intimating to me wherein I can serve you, needs no Apology, as if it were giving me Trouble, for it really affords me Pleasure and therefore a Favour for which I must acknowledge myself.

Your obliged Friend & Servant

B. Franklin

London, July 9, 1759

Dear Sir,

By the Cornelia, Capt. Smith, I sent you in a box to Mrs. Franklin			
Norden's Egypt	4	4	0
Maintenon's Letters & a Book of Husb'y		0	6
A Thermometer	1	11	6

which I hope got safe to hand. There has been at my house one Mary James, who was taken from the Juniata about 3 years and a half since, and carried by the Indians to Canada, was redeem'd from them by Col. Schuyler & got among the French; was sent with other Prisoners to old France, and after living there 15 months, got over hither. She tells me she left two Children with you and your good Sister, whom she is desirous of seeing. I am endeavouring to procure a passage for her.

I wrote to you some time since concerning the Silk Affair. For public matters must beg leave to refer you to my Letters to the Speaker having now only time to add that I am, with affectionate Regards to all my Friends at the River.

Your most obedient Servant
B. Franklin

Billy presents his Respects.

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SUSANNA WRIGHT TO MRS. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

"A few days ago I had the pleasure to receive your Dear Sallies⁹ Polite Billet, 14 days after the date, and tho it was no more than a Billet, it was most welcome, as it brought us the agreeable tidings of her worthy Papa's safe arrival in England. We were under no great degree of anxiety at being so long without any account of him, not as politicians but as Friends, old fashioned friends and in that characuer we pay our ardent wishes for healthy felicity and a safe and happy Return in due course to his affectionate family and native Soil.

April 14, 1765

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SUSANNA WRIGHT TO MRS. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

Dear friend:-

I ought long ago to have acknowledged your last obliging letter, but if you knew how sick, and how hurried and how everything we have been, you would excuse me. I now do it very sincerely.

Sister Rhoda¹⁰ begs your acceptance of a few of our apples, spitzbergen & pippins and a little pickled salmon (that is what we call salmon). She could not get as much of it as she wished and was forced to fill up the kegg with perch. When you have taken it out, you will please to let a serv. return the Kegg to the waggoner, as it is a borrowed one and the people insist on having it again. This is ill manners, but with you our good friend, we can be quite free. We rejoiced to see Mr. Franklin here for a quarter of an hour, and to hear of you and Sally. My brother, Jemmy will return Mr. Franklin's book and I have desired him, and now I desire you to return for me a thousand thanks. Everybodys kind and affectionate regards are to you all, in great haste

Your truly obliged Servant
S. Wright

(Circa 1765)

In addition to the foregoing, there is more Franklin-Wright correspondence, but at this time it is not available for publication. What we have included in this paper, we believe, is sufficient to indicate the close friendship that existed between the Franklins and the Wrights, and yet it seems not amiss to insert here ex-

tracts from the journals of two famous Philadelphians which bear on this subject.

First, let us look at an entry of Dr. Benjamin Rush in his journal for April 7, 1784. He was returning from the first meeting of the Trustees of Dickinson College with John Dickinson, and this is what he wrote of their journey from York to Wright's Ferry.¹¹

"April 7, 1784

Dined at Col. Hartley's and rode after dinner to Wright's Ferry. Mr. Dickinson introduced me to Mr. Wright's family, where I saw the famous Suzey Wright, a lady who has been celebrated above half a century for her wit, good sense and valuable improvement of mind. She has been for many years the friend and correspondent of Dr. Franklin. She is now in her 88th year and has declined a good deal in strength and in her mental faculties. She told me that she had lived 62 years at this place and that when she first came here there were no inhabitants in York County and none on this side of Lancaster 10 miles from the ferry. She told me further that her appetite was good, that she still retained her relish for books 'that she could not live without them' — and that, to use her own words 'the pleasure of reading was to her a most tremendous blessing.' She said she could remember the events of childhood better than she did in the middle of her life."

In conclusion we turn to the journal of Samuel Vaughan,¹² who in 1787 took an extended tour through Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. On August 30, he arrived at Lancaster, and on the following day, he took a side trip to Wright's Ferry. His account, or rather his brief notes describing this little trip are most enlightening and particularly intriguing is his statement that Benjamin Franklin on the occasion of one of his visits to the Wrights actually measured the height of Chickies Rock.

"August 30, 1787

Crossed the Conestoga Creek which would be deemed a considerable river in England, two miles before (we) entered Lancaster Town. N. B. Lancaster is the largest inland town in America, chiefly settled by Germans, the most industrious, frugal people in America — has a noble brick Court House and Gaol — Lutheran, German, Episcopal, Presbyterian, Moravian & Roman Catholic Churches and Quaker Meetings, — 1600 houses, frame and brick, 9000 inhabitants.

August 31, 1787

Went to Samuel Wright's¹³ Ferry on the Susquehanna . . . The first three miles very rich, of a led color limestone — 8 farms often interspersed with portions of woodland, the best timber . . . the next 4 miles, more on a white flint, often combined with blue limestone, some parts gravelly, trees good species but smaller . . . the next three miles increasing in goodness as (we) approach the Susquehanna. The river 7/8 of a mile over — went from the ferry to NE point where is Chickies Rock 305 feet high as measured by Dr. Franklin; went with Miss Wright 3 miles to the southward & returned to Lancaster by bluestone rock road — 28 farms, generally well fenced and kept in good order.

Susanna Wright died in 1785. Therefore the Miss Wright who accompanied Samuel Vaughan at this time was probably Susanna, daughter of James Wright and niece of the famous Susanna.

For a period of about five years during his active career as a printer, Benjamin Franklin had a very vital interest in a press in Lancaster. It had its beginning out of Franklin's desire to extend his business and at the same time assist ambitious young printers. To those eager to enter into business, the shrewd Philadelphia printer furnished the necessary equipment and bore one third of the expenses. In return, Franklin received one third of the profits.

By just such an arrangement the first printing press that was set up in Lancaster was sponsored by Benjamin Franklin, for it was in 1751 that he sent to Lancaster James Chatten with a printing outfit. "All the issues from his press as far as known were almanacs" according to F. R. Diffenderfer.¹⁴ After a short period under Chatten's operation, the press was turned over to Samuel Holland and Henry Miller, the two men who are credited with publishing Lancaster's first newspaper. Printed on the Franklin press, it was a small paper of four pages with alternate columns of German and English. Titled the "Lancaster Gazette," it had a short life of 31 numbers, and ceased publication on June 5, 1753.

Just nine days later, the partnership of Holland and Miller also ceased and Holland became the sole operator of the Franklin press; and then it was that Franklin came to Lancaster to sign an agreement between him and Holland. By the agreement Franklin rented the press to Holland for 'Twenty Pounds per Annum'. This legal instrument and with it Holland's bond to Franklin for 100 Pounds are now in the archives of the American Philosophical Society.

A memorandum in Franklin's hand attached to the above agreements states "Sometime in the summer of 1756 when I was out of the Province, Nathaniel Holland paid my Wife Sixty Pounds in part of within Bond. S. Holland owes me about 25 more on Note & Act."

Lancaster

MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT made this 14th Day of June 1753 between Benjamin Franklin and Samuel Holland, Printers, viz

That he said Benjamin Franklin doth let to the said S. Holland, his Printing Press and Types with other Printing Materials, now in the possession of said Sam'l Holland at Lancaster except half of the Long Primer, Roman and Italic, on these Terms, viz. That the said Samuel Holland pay therefor the Sum of Twenty Pounds per Annum, in four Quarterly Payments, the first Payment on Michaelmas Day next, and shall keep the Types in good order, clean and free from Pye, the Press and other Materials in good repair, and shall not suffer the Rent of the House in which they are at any Time kept, to be more than one Quarter in arrears; And when the said B. Franklin or Sam'l Holland shall either of them incline to vacate this Agreement, the Party so inclining shall give the other at least Three Months notice. And the said Benjamin Franklin or his legal Representative shall be at liberty to visit and view the said Printing Press and Materials whenever he or they shall think fit, to see in what order they are kept. And the said Sam'l Holland doth hereby promise to make the above Payments and perform the rest of This Agreement punctually, so far as regards him.

(Signed) Sam'l Holland
B. Franklin

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS, that Samuel Holland of the Borough of Lancaster and Province of Pensilvania, Printer am held and firmly bound unto Benjamin Franklin of the City of Philadelphia, Printer in the sum of Two Hundred Pounds Lawful Money of America to be paid to the said Benjamin Franklin his certain Attorney, Executors, Administrators or Assigns, To which Payment well and truly to be made, I do bind myself, my Heirs, Executors, and ADministrators, firmly by these Presents Sealed with my Seal Dated the Fourteenth Day of June in the year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Fifty three in the 26th Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the second by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, &

THE CONDITION OF THIS OBLIGATION is such, that if the above bounden Samuel Holland, his Heirs, Executors, Administrators, or any of them, shall and do well and truly pay or cause to be paid unto the above-named Benjamin Franklin, his certain Attorney, Executors, Administators or Assigns, the just and full sum of One Hundred Pounds, Lawful Money aforesaid, on the Fourteenth Day of June which will be in the Year of our Lord. One thousand seven hundred and fifty four, with lawful interest for the same, without any Fraud or further delay, then the above Obligation to be void or else to be and remain in full Force and Virtue.

Sealed and Delivered in the presence of us.

James Parker

Chas. Thomson

(Signed) Sam'l Holland

LANCASTER: Printed by S. HOLLAND at the Post-Office

Sometime in the summer 1756 when I was out of the Province, Nathaniel Holland paid my Wife Sixty Pounds in part of within Bond.

(Signed) B. Franklin

Note S. Holland owes me about 25 more on Note & Acct.

Holland was not the last operator of the Franklin press according to present knowledge. At an unknown time, probably before Nathaniel Holland had paid the Sixty Pounds noted by Franklin, the press had been turned over to William Dunlap, a Philadelphia printer and a relative of Mrs. Franklin. Of this we are certain: when Benjamin Franklin came to Lancaster in April 1755 to procure wagons and horses for Braddock's Army, Dunlap was in the printing business here, for it was he who printed the broadsides which were necessary to advertise Franklin's proposals to the farmers of Lancaster, York and Cumberland counties.

FRANKLIN PROCURES LANCASTER COUNTY HORSES FOR BRADDOCK'S ARMY

Anyone who desires to read the account of Franklin's journey to Lancaster in the spring of 1755 for the purpose of procuring wagons and horses for General Braddock's expedition to western Pennsylvania need only turn to Franklin's own narrative in his "Autobiography." Because it is found there in detail, it seems unnecessary to repeat it fully in this record.

The story begins at Fredericktown in Maryland where General Braddock was waiting with two regiments of British troops for an accumulation of carriages and horses to continue his expedition. In to camp one day came Benjamin Franklin, on a tour of duty in his capacity as colonial Postmaster General. With him was his son William. He was ready to depart when General Braddock learned that only twenty five wagons had so far been procured which were not nearly enough to transport his soldiers and supplies to the western wilderness. Whereupon, Franklin remarked that he thought "it was a pity that they had not been landed in Pennsylvania, as in that country, almost every farmer had his wagon." General Braddock quickly laid hold of Franklin's words and three days later, Franklin and his son had arrived in Lancaster to get the necessary vehicles and horses which would take the British soldiers westward to the French stronghold of Fort Duquesne.

The energetic Franklin lost no time in publicizing the mission which had brought him to Lancaster County. He had a broadside printed which advertised the urgent need of wagons and horses and these broadsides he posted through the counties of Lancaster, York and Cumberland. We publish herewith portions of the text of the broadside.

ADVERTISEMENT

Lancaster, April 26, 1755

"Whereas, one hundred and fifty waggons, with four horses to each waggon, and fifteen hundred saddle or pack horses, are wanted for the service of his majesty's forces now about to rendezvous at Will's Creek,¹⁵ and his excellency General Braddock having been pleased to empower me to contract for the hire of the same, I hereby give notice that I shall attend for that purpose at Lancaster from this day to next Wednesday evening, and at York from next Thursday morning till Friday evening, where I shall be ready to agree for waggons and teams, or single horses, on the following terms.

Continuing, the advertisement specifically stated the terms for wagons, horses and drivers, and noted that "My son, William Franklin, is empowered to enter into like contracts with any person in Cumberland County."

A second part of the advertisement, addressed "To the inhabitants of the Counties of Lancaster, York and Cumberland" with the further salutation "Friends and Countrymen" and signed "B. Franklin" reads in part as follows:

". . . . If you are really, as I believe you are, good and loyal subjects to his majesty, you may now do a most acceptable service, and make it easy to yourselves; for three of four of such as can not separately spare from the business of their plantations, a waggon and four horses and a driver, may do it together, one furnishing the waggon, another one or two horses, and another the driver, and divide the pay proportionately between you; but if you do not this service to your king and country voluntarily, when such good pay and reasonable terms are offered to you, your loyalty will be strongly suspected. The king's business must be done; so many brave troops, come so far for your defense, must not stand idle through your backwardness to do what may reasonably be expected from you.

". . . . If this method of obtaining the waggons and horses is not likely to succeed, I am obliged to send word to the general in fourteen days; and I suppose Sir John St. Clair, the hussar, with a body of soldiers, will immediately enter the province for the purpose, which I shall be sorry to hear, because I am very sincerely and truly your friend and well-wisher."

This broadside was printed in Lancaster by William Dunlap, as will be evidenced later, and to have been effective must have been disseminated widely through the counties of Lancaster, York and Cumberland. Strangely enough however, the writer has been able to find only one extant copy of this broadside, and it is in the Boston Public Library. From the Manuscript Division of that excellent library I have procured a photograph of the famous and very rare broadside.

In his efforts in Lancaster County to procure the necessary accoutrements for Braddock's Army, Franklin had the advice and help of his dearest friends in this area, none less than the celebrated Susanna Wright and her brother James. In 1755 Susanna was living in the house on Second Street, Columbia, known as Mount Bethel. And here, enroute to Lancaster to get wagons for General Braddock, Benjamin Franklin paused for a conference with Miss Wright. We learn this from the following letter and we further learn that Franklin's broadside was printed in German as well as in English. It also becomes apparent that Miss Wright had made a suggestion to Franklin which aimed at expediting the accumulation of the necessary horses and wagons. The letter was written from Lancaster:

(Lancaster) Monday morning


Dear Mm:

I thought from the first that your proposal of calling the several Townships together was very judicious. I was only at a Loss how to get them called by some Appearance of Authority. On the Road from your place hither, I considered that at the Court of Oyer and Terminer here there would probably be Constables from most of the Townships and if the Chief Justice could be prevailed on to recommend it from the Bench, that the Constables should immediately call the Inhabitants of their respective Townships together, perhaps the business might by that means be effectually done. I know not whether he will think a Person in his Station can in Court regularly intermeddle in such affairs, but I shall endeavour to persuade him to it, as strict Forms, ought in my opinion be disregarded in cases of necessity.

The Dutch Advertisement is composing and will be printed in two or three Hours, as Mr. Dunlap tells me. I have taken the liberty of detaining your Servant so long, after inquiring & being informed by him that his immediate return was not absolutely necessary. I am with the greatest Esteem and Respect Mm

Your most humb'l Serv't
B. Franklin

Broadside which Franklin used to advertise for wagons and horses for Braddock's Army.

(Courtesy of the Boston Public Library) 

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

Lancaster, April 25, 1755.

WHEREAS 150 Waggon, with 4 Horses to each Waggon, and 1500 Saddle or Pack-Horses are wanted for the Service of his Majesty's Forces now about to rendezvous at *Wills's Creek*; and his Excellency General *Braddock* hath been pleased to empower me to contract for the Hire of the same; I hereby give Notice, that I shall attend for that Purpose at *Lancaster* from this Time till next *Wednesday Evening*; and at *York* from next *Thursday Morning* till *Friday Evening*; where I shall be ready to agree for Waggon and Teams, or single Horses, on the following Terms, *viz.*

1st. That there shall be paid for each Waggon with 4 good Horses and a Driver, *Fifteen Shillings per Diem*: And for each able Horse with a Pack-Saddle or other Saddle, and Furniture, *Two Shillings per Diem*. And for each able Horse without a Saddle, *Eighteen Pence per Diem*.

2^{dly}. That the Pay commence from the Time of their joining the Forces at *Wills's Creek* (which must be on or before the twentieth of *May* ensuing) and that a reasonable Allowance be made over and above for the Time necessary for their travelling to *Wills's Creek* and home again after their Discharge.

3^{dly}. Each Waggon and Team, and every Saddle or Pack Horse is to be valued by indifferent Persons, chosen between me and the Owner, and in Case of the Loss of any Waggon, Team or other Horse in the Service, the Price according to such Valuation, is to be allowed and paid.

4^{thly}. Seven Days Pay is to be advanced and paid in hand by me to the Owner of each Waggon and Team, or Horse, at the Time of contracting, if required; and the Remainder to be paid by General *Braddock*, or by the Paymaster of the Army, at the Time of their Discharge, or from time to time as it shall be demanded.

5^{thly}. No Drivers of Waggon, or Persons taking care of the hired Horses, are on any Account to be called upon to do the Duty of Soldiers, or be otherwise employ'd than in conducting or taking Care of their Carriages and Horses.

6^{thly}. All Oats, Indian Corn or other Forage, that Waggon or Horses bring to the Camp more than is necessary for the Subsistence of the Horses, is to be taken for the Use of the Army, and a reasonable Price paid for it.

Note. My Son *William Franklin*, is empowered to enter into like Contracts with any Person in *Cumberland County*.

B. FRANKLIN.

To the Inhabitants of the Counties of Lancaster, York, and Cumberland.

Friends and Countrymen,

BEING occasionally at the Camp at *Frederic* a few Days since, I found the General and Officers of the Army extremely exasperated, on Account of their not being supply'd with Horses and Carriages, which had been expected from this Province as most able to furnish them; but thro' the Dissensions between our Governor and Assembly, Money had not been provided nor any Steps taken for that Purpose.

It was propos'd to send an armed Force immediately into these Counties, to seize as many of the best Carriages and Horses as should be wanted, and compel as many Persons into the Service as would be necessary to drive and take care of them.

I apprehended that the Progress of a Body of Soldiers thro' these Counties on such an Occasion, especially considering the Temper they are in, and their Resentment against us, would be attended with many and great Inconveniencies to the Inhabitants; and therefore more willingly undertook the Trouble of trying first what might be done by fair and equitable Means.

The People of these back Counties have lately complain'd to the Assembly that a sufficient Currency was wanting; you have now an Opportunity of receiving and dividing among you a very considerable Sum; for if the Service of this Expedition should continue (as it's more than probable it will) for 120 Days, the Hire of these Waggon and Horses will amount to upwards of *Thirty thousand Pounds*, which will be paid you in Silver and Gold of the King's Money.

The Service will be light and easy, for the Army will scarce march above 12 Miles per Day, and the Waggon and Baggage Horses, as they carry those Things that are absolutely necessary to the Welfare of the Army, must march with the Army and no faster, and are, for the Army's sake, always plac'd where they can be most secure, whether on a March or in Camp.

If you are really, as I believe you are, good and loyal Subjects to His Majesty, you may now do a most acceptable Service, and make it easy to yourselves; for three or four of such as cannot separately spare from the Business of their Plantations a VVaggon and four Horses and a Driver, may do it together, one furnishing the VVaggon, another one or two Horses, and another the Driver, and divide the Pay proportionably between you. But if you do not this Service to your King and Country voluntarily, when such good Pay and reasonable Terms are offered you, your Loyalty will be strongly suspected; the King's Business must be done; so many brave Troops, come so far for your Defence, must not stand idle, thro' your backwardness to do what may be reasonably expected from you; Waggon and Horses must be had; violent Measures will probably be used; and you will be to seek for a Recompence where you can find it, and your Case perhaps be little pitied or regarded.

I have no particular Interest in this Affair; as (except the Satisfaction of endeavouring to do Good and prevent Mischief) I shall have only my Labour for my Pains. If this Method of obtaining the Waggon and Horses is not like to succeed, I am oblig'd to send Word to the General in fourteen Days; and I suppose Sir *John St. Clair* the Hussar, with a Body of Soldiers, will immediately enter the Province, for the Purpose aforesaid; of which I shall be sorry to hear, because

I am,
 very sincerely and truly
 your Friend and Well-wisher,

B. FRANKLIN.

Before leaving Fredericktown for Lancaster, General Braddock advanced to Franklin about eight hundred pounds, the same to be given to the wagon owners. This may be read in the "Autobiography" but for the form in which he received the money we must let you read the memorandum which Franklin wrote upon reaching Lancaster. It consists of five pages and is still intact, preserved in the library of the Philosophical Society.

Page 1

Frederick, April 23, 1753
 Received of General Braddock
 to be laid out in Advance Money
 to Waggon, etc.
 Maryland Money & 28 Pistoles 196.0.6
 720 Ounces Silver
 47 Ounces Gold

On counting the Money at Lancaster	
I find the 47 Ounces of Gold contains	
54 Doubloons at 5 pounds 8	291.12
1 Joannes	5.15
And the 720 Ounces of Silver cont.	318. 0. 0
848 Dollars at 7/6
	615. 7. 0
The Maryland Money & 28 Pistoles	196. 0. 6
	811. 7. 6

Page 2

On counting the Money at Lancaster I find 47 ounces of	
Gold contain 215½ Pistoles at 27/p	
Pistole	290. 8. 6
and a Joannes	5.15. 0
And that the 720 ounces of Silver	
contain 834 Dollars at 7/6	312.15. 0
	609. 8. 6
which with the Maryland Paper	
& 28 Pistoles making	196. 0. 6
Makes in all	805. 9. 0

But if the Silver were valued by the ounce	
720 Ounces at 8/6 would be but	306. 0. 0
& 47 ounces of Gold at 6 pounds 5/	293.15. 0
	599.15. 0
& Maryl' Money	196. 0. 6
	795.15. 6

Page 3
 Proceedings at Lancaster
 in the Waggon Affair

1755
 April
 26

	Paid for Printing	
	Sent by my Son to Carlisle	279. 9. 6,
28	Advanced to James Lowrey for 30 Horses	21. 0. 0
	Advanced to Sebastian Graaf for his Waggon No 2 7 days pay	5. 5. 0
	Advanced to Charles Rowan for his Waggon No 1 7 days pay	5. 5. 0
29	Advanced to Wm. Bausman for his Waggon No 3 7 days pay	5. 5. 0
	Adv. to Jacob Downer for his Waggon No 4 7 days pay	5. 5. 0
	to Do for 2 Horses with saddle 7 days pay	1. 8. 0
	Adv. to John Christy Wag'n No 5	5. 5. 0
	Adv. to Barnabas Hughes Wag' No 6	5. 5. 0
	Adv. to John Hopson Waggon No 7	5. 5. 0
30	Adv. to Abraham Lefevre Wag No 8	5. 5. 0
	Adv. to Sam'l Ferree Waggon No 9	5. 5. 0
	Adv. to Jacob Downer Horse & saddle	14. 0
	Adv. James Carr Waggon No 10	5. 5. 0

Page No. 4

	Cash advanced R. Vernon	2. 9. 6
	paid D. Dunlap	4. 1. 0
	paid Jn. Read	2.14. 0
	paid Printer Wm. Dunlap	15. 4.
	paid G. Gibson	7.18. 5
	sundry other Expenses at York, Carlisle & on the road	
	Adv. Money to 150 Waggon	787.10. 0
	do to Michael Charles	1.
	250 Horses at 2/	175. 0. 0
	12 Horses at 1/6	6. 6. 0
		1005. 6. 8½

Page No 5

Borrowed 3 pounds of Mr. McConaughy
 20 pounds of Mr. Wright
 Frederick Von Triesch
 Lent Mr. Grace Six Pounds
 at Lancaster May 8

Can you with me visualize Franklin in his forty ninth year arriving in Lancaster to carry out a mission which was not alone for General Braddock but for his king

for be it remembered, he was a loyal subject of King George III and moreover Postmaster General of the thirteen colonies. But before beginning work on the project assigned to him he did what you and I would have done. He counted the money that General Braddock had given him to spend for waggons and horses; and on his first count we see that he was about eleven pounds over the stated amount of 800 pounds. On second count he found that he had 5 pounds less than he should have had. What a picture for an artist: Benjamin Franklin in the privacy of a little room in one of Lancaster's very early hostelrys before a table on which are piles of pistoles and doubloons, heaps of gold and silver coins, counting and figuring and conjecturing on how much money the job ahead of him is going to require. Be that as it may, Franklin tells us that the 800 Pounds which General Braddock gave him being insufficient "I advanc'd upward of two hundred pounds more, and in two weeks the one hundred and fifty waggons, with two hundred and fifty nine carrying horses were on the march for the camp." We read on "The advertisement promised payment according to the valuation, in case any waggon or horse should be lost. The owners, however, alleging they did not know General Braddock, or what dependence might be had on his promise, insisted on my bond for the performance, which I accordingly gave them."

From the memorandum we learn that for the "Wagon Affair" as Franklin called it, he was in Lancaster at least two weeks. General Braddock was so much impressed with the accomplishments of Franklin in this matter that he used him as well as his son William to procure for his army flour and other provisions. Among those from Lancaster County who helped Franklin to get the needed flour was James Wright. On June 26, 1755, Franklin addressed Wright as "Dear Friend," and said "I am glad to learn that the Flour is mostly if not all got up to Conogochegg¹⁶ & that you have so good a prospect of getting Waggons to forward it to Wills Creek."

Some of the flour which James Wright procured to feed the army of Braddock was ground in the mill which he and Samuel Blunston had built at the mouth of Shawanese Run about 1738.

Not at once was Wright paid for the flour and it took the good offices of his friend Franklin to get him the money from the colonial Assembly. A Letter from Franklin to Wright, which was carried by Mrs. Franklin as far as Lancaster tells us something about the matter.

Philada, July 3, 1755

Dear Friend:

Before this reaches you, you will have heard that the House is adjourned. A bill to strike 10,000 pounds Exchange Money is passed and nothing else done. I spoke several times to the Speaker and Committee about sending you some Money by the Return of the Members; but Mr. McConaughy slipt away without leave and so without their knowledge; and afterwards the business slipt their Memory. I have now communicated your last Letter and 200 pounds is put into my hand to send you. My wife goes to Lancaster and will carry it so far. Let me know how much more you want and it shall be sent by next Post.

My love to your good Family in which my Wife joins as well as to yourself.

Your affectionate Friend
and Servant

B. Franklin

Frederick April 23. 1763.

Received of General Braddock
to be laid out in Advance Money
to Wagons, &c.

Maryland Money & 25 Pistols 196. 0. 6
720 Ounces Silver
47 Ounces Gold

On examining the Money at Lancaster
I find the 47 Ounces of Gold contains
54 Dollars at 5/8 291. 12
1 Guinea 5. 15

And the 720 Ounces of Silver worth 324. 0. 0
828 Dollars at 7/6 615. 7. 6
The Maryland Money & Pistols 196. 0. 6
8117. 6

On examining the Money at Lancaster
I find the 47 Ounces of
Gold contain 215 1/2 Pistols at 27/ 292. 17. 6
Pistols in 5. 15. 0
And a Guinea 5. 15. 0

And that the 720 Ounces of Silver
contain 824 Dollars at 7/6 612. 15. 0

Which with the Maryland Paper
& 20 Pistols making 196. 0. 6

Makes in all 805 9. 0

But of the Silver were valued by the Ounces
720 Ounces at 8/6 would be but 806. 0. 0
& 47 Ounces of Gold at 67s/ 293. 15. 0
579. 15. 0
of Maryland Money 196. 0. 6
795 15. 6

Memoranda in Franklin's handwriting, in Lancaster, concerning his procurement of horses and wagons for Braddock's Army.

(Courtesy of the American Philosophical Society)

By this time, Braddock's army was moving through the mountains of Western Pennsylvania toward Fort Duquesne which Braddock confidently believed would fall before the onslaught of his troops. The end of the story, known to every schoolboy, is that Braddock did not reach Fort Duquesne but met disastrous defeat on the banks of the Monongahela, nine miles from his goal. The engagement became known as Braddock's Defeat, but officially it was titled The Battle of The Monongahela.

As this story is only told again because of the part that Benjamin Franklin played in it — and because of the wagons and horses that he had laboriously gathered together in Lancaster County for the project we will let Franklin tell us the end of the tale.

"As soon as the loss of the wagons and horses was generally known, all the owners came upon me for the valuation which I had given bond to pay. Their demands gave me a great deal of trouble, my acquainting them that the money was ready in the paymaster's hands, but that orders for paying it must first be obtained from General Shirley, and my assuring them that I had apply'd to the general by letter; but, he being at a distance, an answer could not soon be received, and they must have patience, all this was not sufficient to satisfy, and some began to sue me. General Shirley at length relieved me from this terrible situation by appointing com-

missioners to examine the claims, and ordering payment. They amounted to near twenty thousand pounds, which to pay would have ruined me."

FRANKLIN APPOINTS A CARRIER OF MAIL BETWEEN LANCASTER
and PHILADELPHIA

While holding the office of colonial Postmaster-General, Benjamin Franklin went on two recorded trips of inspection to all of the post offices in the thirteen colonies. Those two journeys were made in 1753 and 1763 and while we cannot definitely say that Franklin visited Lancaster on either of those tours, we do know that it was in 1753 that he was in Lancaster in the interest of his printing press, and he may at that time have inspected the postal facilities here. Also it appears that Samuel Holland, to whom he leased the press, was in addition the Lancaster postmaster, for on the bond form which Holland signed is the legend "LANCASTER: Printed by S. HOLLAND at the Post-Office."

One of the items in the deCoppet Collection of manuscripts in Princeton University Library is an order signed by Benjamin Franklin, Postmaster in 1757 authorizing William Frizzel to carry mail between Philadelphia and Lancaster.

Following is the text of the order:

General Post-Office, Philad.
March 10, 1757

I do hereby permit William Frizzel, to carry and deliver Letters between Philadelphia and Lancaster, and to receive the usual Postage for his own Use, till a regular Post shall be established for that Stage.

(Signed)

B. Franklin, Postmaster General

FRANKLIN and the MASSACRE of the CONESTOGA INDIANS

No Pennsylvania incident involving the relationships of the Indians and whites stirred Benjamin Franklin to so much shame and anger as did the murder of the twenty Conestoga Indians at their town in Manor Township and in the jail at Lancaster by the so-called Paxton Boys. The fourteenth day of December, 1763 was the day made infamous by the unjustified attack on the aforementioned Indian village by men from the townships of Paxton (Paxtang), Donegal and Lebanon Townships. The event has been sufficiently reviewed in the publications of this society, and for the purposes of this article, only Benjamin Franklin's interest in the matter will be considered.¹⁷

Immediately after the wholesale murder, writers busied themselves in putting out pamphlets, some of which condoned the action, others which labelled it lawlessness of the highest order. At least ten pamphlets made their appearance, and all of them were printed on Philadelphia presses. To-day these publications are of course very rare items and constitute what is known as the "Paxton Boy Pamphlets."

Author of one of the "Paxton Boy Pamphlets" was Benjamin Franklin who published his treatise under the following title.

A
NARRATIVE
OF THE LATE
MASSACRES
IN
LANCASTER COUNTY
OF A
NUMBER OF INDIANS
FRIENDS OF THIS PROVINCE
BY PERSONS UNKNOWN
WITH SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE SAME
PRINTED IN THE YEAR M, DCC, LXIV

General Post-Office, Philad.^{ias}
March 10. 1757.

I do hereby permit William
Frizzel, to carry and deliver
Letters between Philadelphia
and Lancaster, and to receive
the usual Postage for his own
Use, till a regular Post shall
be established for that purpose

B. Franklin, Postmaster
General

Permit for William Frizzel to carry mail between Lancaster and Philadelphia
written by Benjamin Franklin.

(Courtesy of Princeton University Library, Andre deCoppet Collection)

Franklin, in his printed remarks, emphatically denounced the action of the rioters in Lancaster county. He frankly stated that the purpose of his pamphlet was "to strengthen the hands of our weak government, by rendering the proceedings of the rioters unpopular and odious." Yet, it will be noticed that Franklin's name did not appear as writer or publisher of the pamphlet. The reason for this may be inferred from this one paragraph in the narrative.

"These Proclamations (of Gov. John Penn offering a reward for information leading to the arrest of the perpetrators) have as yet produced no discovery; the murderers having given out such threatenings against those that disapprove their proceedings, that the whole country seems to be in terror, and no one durst speak what he knows; even the Letters from thence are unsigned, in which any dislike is expressed for the rioters."

Their dastardly work in Lancaster finished, and further encouraged by approval of a large portion of the populace, the Paxton boys began a march to Philadelphia, intent on murdering a group of Indians then under the protection of the Moravians. Governor John Penn, grandson of the colony's founder, alarmed at the possibility of another massacre, fled for refuge to the home of Benjamin Franklin. And if Franklin had not intervened at this time to stop the march of the Paxton boys, there would indeed have been a massacre far more gruesome than the one in Lancaster County. What Franklin did was to quickly organize a regiment of a thousand men, with himself as self-appointed leader; this to be a means of protection for the Indians as well as for the city. Franklin with three other men then rode out to Germantown, there halted the Paxton boys in their march, and by the art of persuasion and a show of force, caused them to turn around and go back to their homes.

From the following letter, written to a friend in England, we get in Franklin's own words his version of the part which he played in the affair of the Paxton boys' march to Philadelphia.

Philada. Feb. 11, 1764

Dear Sir,

In my last, I mentioned to you, the rioting on our frontiers, in which 20 peaceable Indians were killed, who had long lived quietly among us. The spirit of killing all Indians, friends or foes, spread amazingly thro the whole country. The action was almost universally approved of by the common people; and the rioters thence received such encouragement, that they projected coming down to this city, 1000 in number, aimed to destroy 140 Moravian and Quaker Indians under protection of the government. To check this spirit, and strengthen the hands of the government by changing the sentiments of the populace, I wrote the enclosed pamphlet, which we had only time to circulate in this city and neighbourhood before we heard that the insurgents were on their march from all parts. It would perhaps be vanity in me to imagine so slight a thing could have any extraordinary effect. But however that may be, there was a sudden and very remarkable change; and above 1000 of our citizens took arms to support the government in the protection of those poor wretches. Near 500 of the rioters had rendezvous at Germantown, and many more were expected; but the fighting face we put on made them more willing to hear reason, and the gentlemen sent out by the Governor and Council to discourse with them, found it no very difficult matter to persuade them to disperse and go home quietly. They came from all parts of our frontier and were armed with Rifle, guns, and tomahawks. You may judge what hurry and confusion we

have been in for the week past. I was up two nights running, all night with our Governor, and my rest so broken by alarms on the other nights that the whole week seems one confused space of time, without any fresh distinction of days, as that I can readily and certainly say, on such a day such a thing happened. At present we are pretty quiet and I hope the quiet will continue.

With the sincerest esteem and respect, I am Dear Sir
Your most obedient and
most humble servant
B. Franklin

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN and PETER MILLER of EPHRATA

Included in the huge collection of Frankliana in the American Philosophical Society is one very curious item which relates Benjamin Franklin to Peter Miller, the famous Brother Jabez of the Ephrata community. Written in the hand of Peter Miller, this most interesting item is a manuscript of 127 folio pages bound into a book and prepared especially for Benjamin Franklin. It was during the period that Franklin was in London that he received the manuscript which included a letter from Miller dated June 12, 1771. Definite evidence that the manuscript was received while Franklin was in London is found in a letter which he wrote to his wife Deborah from London on January 28, 1772 "I received the box and letter from Mr. Peter Miller brought by Enoch Davenport. What he sent me is a most valuable curiosity."

Before publishing here the text of the Miller letter and describing the manuscript, it may be interesting to see into whose hands, this "most valuable curiosity" fell sometime before Franklin left England. The most intimate friend of Franklin in England was Rev. Jonathan Shipley, Bishop of St. Asaph's in Wales, and it was in the Shipley home that Franklin began the writing of his celebrated "Autobiography." (1771) And it was to Shipley that the Miller manuscript was given, likely for the Bishop to peruse and return. Strangely enough, it stayed in England when Franklin came back to Philadelphia. On the inside front cover of the book we read this note in the hand of the Bishop of St. Asaph "These letters and manuscript belong to Doctor Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania who gave them to me."

Very evident in the letter of Miller is his purpose in writing, which was that Franklin would publish the manuscript which he submitted with the letter. But, not only did Franklin leave the material in England which Miller sent him, but he apparently forgot all about it, for there it stayed until recent years.

Following is the text of Peter Miller's letter to Benjamin Franklin:

TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN:

Sir:

Being prevented by many interruptions, the Discharge upon your worthy Letter was so long postponed. I send you hereby a collection, which for the most part uncommon: I do not pretend, that they Word for Words hath been the Father's Tenets;¹⁸ for he himself would never publish any, and protested against others, which, by doing also, hath increased the division in the Church. Yet can I give assurance that if the Father was alive, and would read them, that he would own them. I wish, that it hath been in my Hand, to make all palatable according to the modern Taste; but Truth hath haired Lipps, & used in its utterance a rough tune. I offer the whole

to your Freedom, either to burn or publish the same, or to make such alterations, as you think best; for altho' I am convinc'd of the Veracity of the Substance of the whole, yet must I sue for Pardon when the Expressions are defective, for I am a Foreigner to the Idiotism of the Language, which I hope to obtain from your Clemency. I hope, the whole will be forwarded by the Care of your Lady, with which and her Family we have in your Absence cultivated the same Friendship, which was established for many years; but I gave Mr. Christ. Marshall, Liberty to peruse said writings, and even to copy for his Friends, if he would, which have inquired for such Things, which I thought necessary not to conceal from you.

The Present, which I have added, was the Father's musical Book, wherein are contained the most part of the Musical Concerts, by himself composed. It did cost three Brethren three Quarters of a Year Work to write the same; by the Imbellishment thereof it will appear, what a great Regard we had for our Superior, in the whole Book there is no musical Error. And as it was written before the Mystery of Singing was fully discovered, therefore are not all the Keys therein mentioned. The Masters of that Angelic Art will be astonished to see that therein a Man, destituted of all human Instruction, came therein to the highest Pitch of Perfection, merely through his own Industry. Also, that when he did set up a School in the Camp, not only the Members of the Single Station were therewith occupied for many years; but also the Family-Brethren were also thereby enamoured, that their natural Affection, to their Family suffered a great Loss.

It is a Wonder, how the even Notes and a few half-notes can be so marvellously transposed, as to make thereby 1000 Melodies, all of 5 Tunes, and some of 6 Tunes, yea some of 7 Tunes, also that they came not one the other in the Way. In the Composition the Father had the same way as in his Writings, viz: he suspended his considering Faculty, and putting his Spirit on the Pen, followed its Dictates strictly, also were all the Melodies flown from the Mystery of Singing, that was opened within him, therefore have they that Simplicity, which was required, to raise Edification. It is certain, that the Confusion of Languages, which began at Babel, never did affect Singing: and therefore is in Substance of the Matter in the Whole World but one Way of Singing: altho in particulars there may be Differences.

As concerning our Oeconomy: it is true that it received by the Father's death a severe Shock; yet have we through the Grace of God, both Brethren and Sisters, hitherto maintained our Ground and a visible Congregation. But shall not propagate the Monastic Life upon the Posterity; since we have no Successors & the Genius of the Americans is bound another way.

I have your kind Greeting communicated both to the Brethren & Sisters in the Camp; Which all send you their humble Reciprocation the number of Brethren being 12 — and of the Ladies 26, all good old Warriors. We all wish, that God would grant you in your high Age the Spirit of Rejuvenescency, and that, when satiated with Years, you might occupy your Lot in the Lord's Inheritance; in which humble wishes I in particular remain

EPHRATA in
Pennsylvania
the 12th of June
1771

Sir

Your obedient Servant
Peter Miller

P.S.—Please to tell Mr. Neate the humble Respect from all the Camp especially from Brother Obed & me.

The manuscript which follows the letter and which takes up all of 104 pages consists of the tenets of the Reverend Father Conrad Beissel, not of course in his

words but rather in the words of his successor, the Reverend Father Peter Miller.

Mentioned in the letter of Peter Miller as having been sent to Franklin with the religious dissertation is "the Father's musical Book" which was no less than the famous "Turtle Taube" a book of 935 pages, containing 750 hymns and ornamented with nearly 600 designs in ink, all done by the hands of the Ephrata brethren as stated in Miller's letter. This precious book was also left in England when Franklin returned to Pennsylvania, and loaned, like the Miller manuscript, to an Englishman, who, if reports were true, was far from a religious man. In fact, he was the notorious John Wilkes, once Mayor of London and notably irreligious. On the inside front cover of the Ephrata "Turtle Taube" are written these words by John Wilkes and dated April 1775 "This curious book was lent to me by Dr. Franklin just before he set out for Pennsylvania."¹⁹

The writer has been unable to learn how many years this Ephrata musical treasure remained in the Wilkes family. We only know that in 1927, Gabriel Wells, connoisseur of rare books, purchased it at auction and resold it for the purchase price to the Library of Congress in Washington. There it may be seen today.

To go back to the Miller manuscript it too was offered at an auction in London about 1910 and came into the hands of a dealer in rare books who sold it to General John E. Roller of Harrisonburg, Virginia who in that year was President of the Pennsylvania German Society. He presented it to that Society and nothing more was heard of it until the winter of 1955 when it appeared as an item in the catalogue issued for the sale of the books and manuscripts of the late Henry K. Borneman, Esq. of Philadelphia. It was at this sale that the letter and manuscript passed into the hands of the American Philosophical Society, and is now part of their valuable collection of Frankliniana.

The Philosophical Society owns another letter written by Peter Miller to Benjamin Franklin in 1786, which exhibits the kindred interest of both men in music.

After we had satiated our philosophical Appetite in Your Excellency's learned Letters so far as our Capacity would admit I return the same thankfully: it is astonishing how much our present age is refined by so many useful Discoveries. By Your Excellency's Observations on Handles (Handel's) Compositions, I suppose, that you are still a Patron of Vocal Music, which is an excellent Study, and a Science inferior to none in all the world. She claims a Share in Mathematics and her Rules are so uniform over all the world, as that 2 times 2 are 4. Besides there is nothing that gives greater Delectation to human Mind than vocal Music. As Plato says: "Musicam Divini quid Spirare" if she sounds out the Praise of the Most High, for which she is solely calculated. Her noble Character was greatly abused by Handle and others in theatrical Diversions, and they have greatly hurted her heavenly Sweetness by their Compositions when they, as Your Excellency has well observed, sometimes dwell two Minutes on one Syllable, which is a great Nousance in Music. Further it is a grand Mistake in a Concert, when all sorts of Instruments are joined with the vocal Music without Considerationn, for thereby the Dignity of the human voice is eclipsed; and I am of opinion that among all musical Instruments none would insinuate itself better with human voices than Your Excellency's Glass Organ.²⁰ The human Voice is a most noble Instrument by which a Man may reveal his most intimate Recesses, even as God himself made known by His eternal Word.

. . . Your Pardon for my Garrulity and wish that the Lord our God would prolong Your Days for the public Utility, and grant you his paternal Assistance, in all heavy Struggles which May befall you in your grand Age. In wishing this, I remain

Ephrata the
1st of Oct: 1786
To His Excellency Benjamin Franklin

Your Excellency's
most humble Friend
Peter Miller

SARAH (SALLY) FRANKLIN'S RESIDENCE IN MANHEIM

Twenty five years ago while searching in the Library of Congress for letters written by Robert Morris when he resided in Manheim (Sept. 1777-July 1778) I found a letter written by Richard Bache from Manheim. While I was not too familiar with the career of Richard Bache, I at least knew that he was the man who had married Benjamin Franklin's only daughter Sarah, more often referred to as Sally. At once I wondered if perhaps Bache and his family also had found residence in Manheim during the British occupation of Philadelphia.

In the course of further investigation, I formed a friendship with Mr. Franklin Bache, who was a great great grandson of Benjamin Franklin and who at that time had the largest collection of Frankliniana in private hands. Sometime before his death, the collection passed into the archives of the American Philosophical Society.

Through correspondence and also through several visits with Mr. Franklin Bache and a visit by him to Manheim, we substantiated the fact that Richard Bache and his wife Sally with at least two of their children lived in Manheim in 1778 in a house where now stands the Manheim National Bank. Across the street lived Robert Morris and his family in the home that had been built by the founder of the town Henry William Stiegel. Interesting indeed is this fact; that Robert Morris, Superintendent of Finance during the Revolution and Richard Bache, who was our first Postmaster General, having succeeded Franklin who had served as colonial Postmaster General, were neighbors in the village of Manheim in 1778.

After the evacuation of Philadelphia, the Morris moved back to Philadelphia in advance of the Bache family as several letters will indicate.

Manheim, August 11, 1778

Do spare five minutes to let an old friend know what is doing in the world you live in. Did these shades afford anything besides squirrels and partridges you should have it. Old Hinselman bemoans the loss of you and drowns his sorrows in Tody. The Chickus pursues its usual course as does our opposite neighbor the Cooper, viz; he gets drunk once a day — sometimes twice — but I am always

Dear Morris
Your affectionate friend
Richard Bache²¹

Robert Morris, Esq.

Among the Bache letters in the Philosophical Society are two which Richard Bache wrote from Manheim and addressed to his father-in-law, Benjamin Franklin who in 1778 was in France. By July 14th Bache was back in Philadelphia, while his wife remained in Manheim. On that date he wrote to Franklin:

"Once more I have the happiness of addressing you from the dearly beloved city, after having been kept out of it for more than nine months, . . . Sally is yet in the country, and does not intend coming to Town till the hot weather is over, on account of her little girl. . . . I found your house and furniture upon my return to Town in much better order than I had any reason to expect from such a rapacious crew."



A portrait of Sarah Franklin Bache done by John Hoppner, now owned by the Metropolitan Museum of Art shows a marked resemblance to her celebrated father, Benjamin Franklin.

In October, Sally Franklin Bache also moved back to the city with her little girl and the Manheim residence of the Bache family was at an end. The following letter written by Mrs. Bache to her father in Paris, which has several references to Manheim, is further interesting because of its mention of certain famous men of the period.

Dear and honoured Sir:

This is the first opportunity since my return home of writing to you. We found the house and furniture in much better order than we could expect, which was owing to the care the Miss Cliftons took of all we left behind; my being removed four days after my little girl was born, made it impossible for me to remove half the things we did in our former flight. I have much to tell you, but my little girl has the small pox just coming out, and a good deal restless tho' in a fine way; she takes up most of my time, as I have none but a very young girl to attend her. She is a fine brown lass, but her sparkling black eyes make up for her skin, and when in health she has a good color. I would give a good deal for you to see her; you can't think how fond of kissing she is, and gives such old fashioned smacks. General Arnold says he would give a good deal to have her for a school mistress to teach the young ladies how to kiss.

M. Gerard has been several times to see us, and has dined with us; we like him very much; he promises to be very friendly and to come often, he brought me one of your clay pictures.²² The one you sent me since I received the other, I gave to Mr. Hopkinson, who adquires it very much and loves you; he is going to frame it and glaze it.²³ I promised, when in Mannheim to send to you for one. We have not long been returned home. I chose to stay in the country on the children's account until the summer was over, and if it had suited Mr. Bache's business it would have been better to have stayed there altogether; there is hardly such a thing as living in town; everything is so high. If I was to mention the prices of the common necessaries of life, it would astonish you. I have been all amazement since my return such an odds have two years made, that I can scarcely believe I am in Philadelphia. This time twelvemonth when I was in town, I never went out or bought anything, leaving it until I got up again, expecting that we should stay, so that we ran away quite unprovided. I had two pieces of linen at the weaver's; it has been there these eighteen months, and if it had not been for my friends, must have suffered, as it could not be bought where we were. I should tell you that I had seven table-cloths of my own spinning, chiefly wove before we left Chester County; it was what we were spinning when you left. I find them very useful and they look very well, but they now ask four times as much for the weaving as they used to ask for the linen, and flax not to be got without hard money. I am going to write to Cousin Jonathan Williams to purchase me linen for common²⁴ sheets; buying them here is out of the question; they really ask me six dollars for a pair of gloves, and I have been obliged to pay fifteen pounds, fifteen shillings for a common callamanci petticoat without quilting, that once I could have got for fifteen shillings. I buy nothing but what I really want and wore out my silk ones before I got this. I do not mention these things by way of complaint: I have less reason to complain than most folks I know. Besides, I find I can go without many things I once thought absolutely necessary. I shall write to Temple²⁵ by this opportunity; Mr. Bache who sincerely loves him and wishes him every kind of happiness, has been a good deal distressed whether or not he should mention to you what he has heard about him, as it was a delicate subject, but, he, as well as your other friends, thought it best that you should know what was doing this side of the water. What wicked things pride and ambition make people do, but I hope these envious men will be disappointed in every scheme of theirs to lessen your character or separate you from those you love. Your knowing their intentions in time may be a means of disappointing them in their plan.

I have wrote to dear little Ben.²⁶ It makes me happy to hear he behaves so well. Mr. Deane gives him a very good character.²⁷ Willy²⁸

is a fine fellow, and is just gone to a new school. Smith²⁹ acted such a part last winter, besides the Trustees are almost all Tories, that his papa is not willing he should go to the Academy. He went to a German school at Manheim, there being no other, and Mr. Morris bringing his family to town two months before us, left him nothing but Dutch boys to play with, so that he learned to speak their language very fluently, but I am afraid he will lose it here. As soon as my little Betsy gets well, I will sit down and give you a little history of everything about the house. The chest of papers you gave Mr. Galloway,³⁰ Mr. B went up about them. Bob (a negro servant) brought them to town; the lid was broken open and some few taken off the top. Mr. B. Collected those about the floor, had it nailed up, and they are all safe here. Mr. Galloway took not the least care of them, and used you, as he did everybody else, very ill. Honest Pritchard³¹ has made a little fortune; and gone home to Wales; he talks of returning. He came to Manheim last winter and paid up the whole of his account.

There are so many have desired to be remembered to you that its impossible to name them all, but Willy's duty with Betty's and mine I must beg you to accept.

Being as ever
Your dutiful daughter
S. Bache

NOTES

1 "Papers of Benjamin Franklin" to be published by the American Philosophical Society and Yale University and edited by Dr. Leonard W. Larabee and Dr. Whitfield J. Bell.

2 Probably Col. John Hambright, early innkeeper and civic figure in Lancaster.

3 Matthias Slough was owner of the White Swan Hotel on east corner of South Queen Street and Center Square.

4 John Wright, a native of England, settled on the banks of the Susquehanna in 1726. He was influential in the erection of Lancaster County and was one of its first magistrates.

5 Samuel Blunston, came to the Susquehanna in 1726, was one of the first judges of the county of Lancaster.

6 The James Wright House on Second Street in Columbia was marked by the Lancaster County Historical Society in 1938.

7 Chikiswalungo (Chikis) or Chiquesalungo (Chiques) Rock, south of the confluence of the Susquehanna River and Chiques Creek.

8 Refers to John Milton, famous English Puritan poet and pamphleteer, whose frequent gibes at the Established Church and the apparatus of Apostolic succession earned him unrelenting persecution, much of it in the nature of false accusations of plagiarism. To deistic Franklin the two pamphlets, "*Milton Vindicated from the Charges of Plagiarism*" by the Rev. John Douglass (1750), and "*Letter to Rev. Mr. Douglass Occasioned by His Vindication of Milton*" by William Lauder (1751) were significant. (Refer to Albert H. Smyth's "*Writings of Benjamin Franklin*," MacMillan, New York, 1905)

9 Sarah (Sally) daughter of Benjamin and Deborah Franklin was 22 years of age at this time.

10 Rhoda (Patterson) Wright, wife of James Wright.

¹¹ Dickinson College was founded in 1783 by Doctor Benjamin Rush and named after John Dickinson, who at that time was the first President of Pennsylvania.

¹² Samuel Vaughan—West Indian merchant and planter.

¹³ Samuel Wright was a son of James Wright. He founded the town of Columbia and operated the ferry after the death of his father.

¹⁴ See "Early German Printers of Lancaster" by F. R. Diffenderfer, L.C.H.S. Vol. 8, page 53.

¹⁵ Cumberland, Maryland.

¹⁶ Williamsport, Maryland, where the Conococheague Creek empties into the Potomac.

¹⁷ See L.C.H.S. Vol. 18, page 169, Vol. 35, page 69.

¹⁸ The founder of the Ephrata Religious Community was Johann Conrad Beissel, and referred to as the spiritual father of the settlement. See "Ephrata Cloister History" by J. W. W. Loose, L.C.H.S. Vol. 55, page 145.

¹⁹ See Vol. 2, "Church Music and Musical Life in Pennsylvania in the Eighteenth Century"; Annual Report of the Librarian of Congress 1927, pp 109-112.

²⁰ The "Armonica" or Musical Glasses.

²¹ Hinselman (Heintzelman), one of the early families in Manheim. Chickus (Chickies) — The creek which skirts Manheim on the east and the south.

²² Conrad Alexandre Gerard was the Minister from France to the United States. The Clay Picture refers to the Glazed Clay Plaque of Franklin by Mini.

²³ Francis Hopkinson — a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

²⁴ Jonathan Williams, Jr. — Franklin's grand-nephew and U. S. Commercial agent at Nantes, France.

²⁵ William Temple Franklin — grandson of Benjamin Franklin and a son of William Franklin, former Royal Governor of Jersey. Temple at the time was secretary of the American Legation in Paris.

²⁶ Benjamin Franklin Bache, oldest son of Richard and Sarah (Franklin) Bache. He went to France with his grandfather at the age of seven and received his education there.

²⁷ Silas Deane was a member of the Continental Congress from Connecticut.

²⁸ William Bache, 2nd son of the writer — later married a sister of Dr. Caspar Wistar.

²⁹ Provost William Smith of the college, later the University of Pennsylvania.

³⁰ Joseph Galloway, Speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly.

³¹ William Pritchard, a Philadelphia printer.