# THE PAPERS OF

# Benjamin Franklin

VOLUME 24 May 1 through September 30, 1777

WILLIAM B. WILLCOX, *Editor*; DOUGLAS M. ARNOLD, DOROTHY W. BRIDGWATER, JONATHAN R. DULL, CLAUDE A. LOPEZ, AND CATHERINE M. PRELINGER, *Associate Editors*; ELLEN R. COHN, *Assistant Editor* 

# THE PAPERS OF

# Benjamin Franklin

VOLUME 24 May 1 through September 30, 1777

WILLIAM B. WILLCOX, *Editor*; DOUGLAS M. ARNOLD, DOROTHY W. BRIDGWATER, JONATHAN R. DULL, CLAUDE A. LOPEZ, AND CATHERINE M. PRELINGER, *Associate Editors*; ELLEN R. COHN, *Assistant Editor* 

Funds for editing this volume of The Papers of Benjamin Franklin have been provided by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the J. Howard Pew Freedom Trust, the American Philosophical Society, and the National Historical Publications and Records Commission under the chairmanship of the Archivist of the United States. For all these sources of support the editors are most grateful.

Published with assistance from the National Endowment for the Humanities.

© 1984 by the American Philosophical Society Held at Philadelphia for Promoting Useful Knowledge and by Yale University.

All rights reserved. No part of the editorial contents of this volume in excess of 300 words may be reprinted in any form without permission in writing from the Yale University Press. Much of the textual material is included by special permission of the owners of the original manuscripts or holders of existing copyrights and should not be reprinted without their authorization.

Library of Congress catalog card number: 59–12697 International standard book number: 0–300–03162–9

## Printed in the U.S.A.

The paper in this book meets the guidelines for permanence and durability of the Committee on Production Guidelines for Book Longevity of the Council on Library Resources.

## Administrative Board

Thomas C. Cochran, American
Philosophical Society, *Chairman*Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., American
Philosophical Society
Carl Bridenbaugh, American
Philosophical Society
Edmund S. Morgan, Yale University
John G. Ryden, Yale University Press
Lawrence W. Towner, Newberry Library
William B. Willcox, Yale University, *Secretary* 

# **Advisory Committee**

Thomas Boylston Adams
Thomas R. Adams
I. Bernard Cohen
John C. Dann
Gaylord Donnelley
Morris Duane
Sir Frank C. Francis

Andrew Heiskell David C. Mearns Sir Owen Morshead Howard H. Peckham John E. Pomfret Robert E. Spiller

# Contributors to Volume 24

The ownership of each manuscript, or the location of the particular copy used by the editors of each rare contemporary pamphlet or similar printed work, is indicated where the document appears in the text. The sponsors and editors are deeply grateful to the following institutions for permission to print or otherwise use in the present volume manuscripts or other materials which they own.

Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague American Jewish Historical So-American Philosophical Society Archives de la marine: Archives nationales, Paris Archives du Ministère des affaires étrangères, Paris Archivo General de Simancas Archivo Historico Nacional, Madrid British Library, London Connecticut Historical Society Harvard University Library Historical Society of Pennsylvania

Johns Hopkins University Library Library of Congress Massachusetts Historical Society National Archives New York Public Library Princeton University Library Public Record Office South Carolina Historical Society Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, West Berlin University of Pennsylvania Library University of Virginia Library Virginia Historical Society Yale University Library

xxxi

# Method of Textual Reproduction

An extended statement of the principles of selection, arrangement, form of presentation, and method of textual reproduction observed in this edition appears in the Introduction to the first volume, pp. xxiv–xlvii. What follows is a condensation and revision of part of it.

## Printed Material

Those of Franklin's writings that were printed under his direction presumably appeared as he wanted them to, and should therefore be reproduced with no changes except what modern typography requires. In some cases, however, printers carelessly or willfully altered his text without his consent; or the journeymen who set it had different notions from his—and from each other's—of capitalization, spelling, and punctuation. Such of his letters as survive only in nineteenth-century printings, furthermore, have often been vigorously edited by William Temple Franklin, Duane, or Sparks. In all these cases the original has suffered some degree of distortion, which the modern editor may guess at but, in the absence of the manuscript, cannot remedy. We therefore follow the printed texts as we find them, and note only obvious misreadings.

We observe the following rules in reproducing printed materials:

- 1. The place and date of composition of letters are set at the top, regardless of their location in the original printing; the complimentary close is set continuously with the text.
- 2. Proper nouns, including personal names, which were often printed in italics, are set in roman except when the original was italicized for emphasis.
- 3. Prefaces and other long passages, though italicized in the original, are set in roman. Long italicized quotations are set in roman within quotation marks.
  - 4. Words in full capitals are set in small capitals, with

initial letters in full capitals if required by Franklin's normal usage.

5. All signatures are set in capitals and small capitals.

- 6. We silently correct obvious typographical errors, such as the omission of a single parenthesis or quotation mark.
- 7. We close a sentence by supplying, when needed, a period or question mark.

# Manuscript Material:

- a. Letters are presented in the following form:
- 1. The place and date of composition are set at the top, regardless of their location in the original; the complimentary close is set continuously with the text.
- 2. Addresses, endorsements, and notations are so labelled and printed at the end of the letter. An endorsement on a letter is to the best of our belief by the recipient, a notation by someone else.
- b. Spelling of the original we retain when in English, and correct it in brackets or a footnote if it is abnormal enough to obscure the meaning: "they where [were]." The most common such abnormalities in French are omitting apostrophes where they belong or inserting them where they do not belong, and running two words together or separating a single word. These vagaries cannot be handled in the same way without disfiguring the text or overburdening the annotation, and we silently correct them: "d'ans les qu'els jai resté 8 ans edemy" becomes "dans lesquels j'ai resté 8 ans e demy."
- c. Capitalization we retain as written, except that every sentence is made to begin with a capital. When we cannot decide whether a letter is a capital, we follow modern usage.
- d. Words underlined once in the manuscript are printed in italics; words underlined twice or written in large letters or full capitals are printed in small capitals.
  - e. Punctuation has been retained as in the original, except:
    - 1. We close a sentence by supplying, when needed, a pe-

riod or question mark. When it is unclear where the sentence ends, we retain the original punctuation or lack of it.

- 2. Dashes used in place of commas, semicolons, colons, or periods are replaced by the appropriate marks; when a sentence ends with both a dash and a period, the dash is omitted.
- 3. Commas scattered meaninglessly through a manuscript are eliminated.
- 4. When a mark of punctuation is not clear or can be read as one of two marks, we follow modern usage.<sup>1</sup>
- 5. Some documents, especially legal ones, have no punctuation; others have so little as to obscure the meaning. In such cases we silently supply the minimum needed for clarity.
- f. Contractions and abbreviations in general are retained. The ampersand is rendered as "and," except in the names of business firms, in the form "&c.," and in a few other cases. Letters represented by the thorn or tilde are printed. The tailed "p" is spelled out as per, pre, or pro. Symbols of weights, measures, and monetary values follow modern usage, as: £34. Superscript letters are lowered.
  - g. Omitted or illegible words or letters are treated as follows:
- 1. If not more than four letters are missing, we supply them silently when we have no doubt what they should be, and otherwise with a bracketed question mark.
- 2. If more than four letters are missing, we supply them in brackets, with or without a question mark depending on our confidence in the insertion.
- 3. Other omissions are shown as follows: [illegible], [torn], [remainder missing], or the like.
- 4. Missing or illegible digits are indicated by suspension points in brackets, the number of points corresponding to the estimated number of missing figures.
- 5. When the writer has omitted a word required for clarity, we insert it in brackets and italics.
- 1. The typescripts from which these papers are printed have been made from photocopies of the manuscripts; marks of punctuation are sometimes blurred or lost in photography, and it has often been impossible to consult the original.

## h. Author's additions and corrections:

- I. Interlineations and brief marginal notes are normally incorporated in the text without comment, and longer notes with the notation [in the margin] unless they were clearly intended as footnotes, in which case they are printed with our notes and with a bracketed indication of the source.
- 2. Canceled words and phrases are in general omitted without notice; if significant, they are printed in footnotes.
- 3. When alternative words and phrases have been inserted in a manuscript but the original remains uncanceled, the alternatives are given in brackets, preceded by explanatory words in italics, as: "it is [written above: may be] true."
- 4. Variant readings of several versions are noted if important.

# Recent Changes in Editorial Policy:

Most of these are minor, such as omitting the notation "not found" after a document referred to in the text; but with the beginning of the mountainous material in the French period the criteria of selection have become much less inclusive. The various developments in policy are explained above, xv, xxiv; xxi, xxxiv; xxii, xlvi–xlviii.

## Abbreviations and Short Titles

AAE Archives du Ministère des affaires

étrangères.

AD Autograph document.

ADS Autograph document signed.

AL Autograph letter.

Almanach des Almanach général des marchands,

marchands négocians, armateurs, et fabricants de

France et de l'Europe et autres parties

du monde . . . (Paris, 1779).

Almanach royal Almanach royal (91 vols., Paris, 1700-

92). Cited by year.

ALS Autograph letter signed.

Amer. American.

APS American Philosophical Society.

Archaeol. Archaeological. Assn. Association.

Autobiog. Leonard W. Labaree, Ralph L.

Ketcham, Helen C. Boatfield, and Helene H. Fineman, eds., *The* Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin

(New Haven, 1964).

Bachaumont, Mémoires [Louis]

secrets

[Louis Petit de Bachaumont],

Mémoires secrets pour servir à l'histoire de la république des lettres en France, depuis MDCCLXII jusqu'à nos jours; ou, Journal d'un observateur... (36 vols. in 12, London, 1781–89).

Balch, French in

Thomas Balch, The French in America during the War of Independence of the United States, 1777-1783 (trans. by Thomas Willing Balch et al.; 2

vols., Philadelphia, 1891-95).

xxxvi

Benjamin Franklin.

BF's accounts as Those described above, XXIII, 20.

commissioner

BFB Benjamin Franklin Bache.

Bigelow, Works John Bigelow, ed., The Works of
Benjamin Franklin (12 vols., New

York and London, 1904).

Biographie universelle Biographie universelle, ancienne et

moderne, ou histoire, par ordre alphabétique, de la vie publique et privée de tous les hommes qui se sont fait remarquer . . . (85 vols., Paris,

1811-62).

Bodinier From information kindly furnished us

by Capt. Gilbert Bodinier, Section études, Service historique de l'Armée de Terre, Vincennes.

Bodinier, Dictionnaire Gilbert Bodinier, Dictionnaire des

officiers de l'armée royale qui ont combattu aux Etats-Unis pendant la guerre d'Indépendance (Chateau de

Vincennes, 1982).

Boyd, Jefferson Papers Julian P. Boyd et al., eds., The Papers of

Thomas Jefferson (20 vols. to date,

Princeton, 1950-).

Burke's Peerage Sir Bernard Burke, Burke's

Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Peerage Baronetage and Knightage with War Gazette and Corrigenda (98th ed., London, 1940).

References in exceptional cases to

other editions are so indicated.

Burnett, Continental

Congress

Edmund C. Burnett, *The Continental Congress* (New York, 1941).

xxxvii

Edmund C. Burnett, ed., Letters of Burnett, Letters Members of the Continental Congress (8 vols., Washington, 1921-36). Butterfield, Adams Lyman H. Butterfield et al., eds., Correspondence Adams Family Correspondence (4 vols. to date, Cambridge, Mass., 1963-). Lyman H. Butterfield et al., eds., Butterfield, John Adams Diary Diary and Autobiography of John Adams (4 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1961). [Edward Ingraham, ed.,] Papers in Case of Silas Deane Relation to the Case of Silas Deane (Philadelphia, 1855). Chron. Chronicle. William Bell Clark, Lambert Wickes, Clark, Wickes Sea Raider and Diplomat: the Story of a Naval Captain of the Revolution (New Haven and London, 1932). William Cobbett and Thomas C. Cobbett, Parliamentary Hansard, eds., The Parliamentary History History of England from the Earliest Period to 1803 (36 vols., London, 1806-20). Column. Col. Coll Collections. Journals of the House of Commons (233 Commons Jours. vols. to date, [London,] 1803-); vols. I-LI are reprints. Robert R. Crout, "The Diplomacy of Crout, "Diplomacy of Trade" Trade: the Influence of Commercial Considerations on

French Involvement in the

Angloamerican War of Independence, 1775–78" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Georgia, 1977).

Cushing, Writings of Samuel Adams Harry Alonzo Cushing, ed., *The Writings of Samuel Adams* . . . (4 vols., New York, 1904–08).

d.

denier.

D

DAR

Document unsigned.

Deane Correspondence

Dictionary of American Biography.

The Deane Papers; Correspondence between Silas Deane, His Brothers and Their Business and Political Associates, 1771–1795 (Connecticut Historical Society Collections, XXIII; Hartford, Conn., 1930).

Deane Papers

The Deane Papers, 1774–90 (5 vols.; New York Historical Society Collections, XIX–XXIII; New York, 1887–91).

DF

Deborah Franklin.

Dictionnaire de biographie Dictionnaire de biographie française . . . (15 vols. to date, Paris, 1933-).

Dictionnaire de la noblesse

François-Alexandre Aubert de La Chesnaye-Dubois and M. Badier, Dictionnaire de la noblesse contenant les généalogies, l'histoire & la chronologie des familles nobles de la France... (3rd ed.; 19 vols., Paris, 1863–76).

Dictionnaire historique Dictionnaire historique, critique et bibliographique, contenant les vies des hommes illustres, célèbres ou fameux de tous les pays et de tous les siècles . . . (30 vols., Paris, 1821-23). DNB Dictionary of National Biography. Henri Doniol, Histoire de la Doniol, Histoire participation de la France à l'établissement des Etats-Unis d'Amérique. Correspondance diplomatique et documents (5 vols., Paris, 1886-99). Document signed. DS Duane, Works William Duane, ed., The Works of Dr. Benjamin Franklin . . . (6 vols., Philadelphia, 1808-18). Title varies in the several volumes. Jacques Barbeu-Dubourg, ed:, Œuvres Dubourg, Euvres de M. Franklin . . . (2 vols., Paris, 1773). Jonathan R. Dull, The French Navy Dull, French Navy and American Independence: a Study of Arms and Diplomacy, 1774-1787 (Princeton, 1975). Ed. Edition or editor. Etat militaire Etat militaire de France, pour l'année . . . (36 vols., Paris, 1758-93). Cited by year. Exper. and Obser. Experiments and Observations on Electricity, made at Philadelphia in America, by Mr. Benjamin Franklin

... (London, 1751). Revised and

enlarged editions were published in 1754, 1760, 1769, and 1774 with slightly varying titles. In each case the edition cited will be indicated, e.g., Exper. and Obser. (1751).

Ferguson, Morris
Papers

Elmer James Ferguson, John
Catanzariti et al., eds., The Papers of
Robert Morris, 1781–1784 (5 vols. to
date, Pittsburgh, Pa., [1973–]).

Ferguson, Power of the Purse

Elmer James Ferguson, The Power of the Purse: a History of American Public Finance . . . (Chapel Hill, N.C., [1961]).

Fitzpatrick, Writings of Washington

John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings* of George Washington . . . (39 vols., Washington, D.C., [1931–44]).

Force, Amer. Arch.

Peter Force, ed., American Archives:
Consisting of a Collection of Authentic
Records, State Papers, Debates, and
Letters and Other Notices of Publick
Affairs..., fourth series, March 7,
1774 to July 4, 1776 (6 vols.,
[Washington, 1837–46]); fifth
series, July 4, 1776 to September 3,
1783 (3 vols., [Washington, 1848–
53]).

Ford, Letters of William Lee

Worthington Chauncey Ford, ed., Letters of William Lee, 1766–1783 (3 vols., Brooklyn, N.Y., 1891).

France ecclésiastique

La France ecclésiastique pour l'année . . . (15 vols., Paris, 1774–90). Cited by year.

Freeman, Washington Douglas S. Freeman (completed by John A. Carroll and Mary W. Ashworth), George Washington: a Biography (7 vols., New York,

[1948-57]).

Gaz. Gazette.

Gaz. de Leyde Nouvelles extraordinaires de divers

endroits, commonly known as Gazette de Leyde. Each issue is in two parts; we indicate the second

as "sup."

Geneal Genealogical.

Gent. Mag. The Gentleman's Magazine, and

Historical Chronicle.

Gruber, Howe Brothers Ira D. Gruber, The Howe Brothers and the American Revolution (New York,

1972).

Heitman, Register of Francis B. Heitman, Historical Register
Officers of Officers in the War of the Revolution

... (Washington, D.C., 1893).

Hillairet, Rues de Paris Jacques Hillairet, pseud. of Auguste

A. Coussilan, Dictionnaire historique des rues de Paris (2nd ed.; 2 vols,

[Paris, 1964]).

Hinshaw, Amer. Quaker William W. Hinshaw, Encyclopedia of Genealogy American Quaker Genealogy (6 vols.

Ann Arbor, Mich., 1936-50).

Hist. Historical.

Hutchinson, Diary Peter O. Hutchinson, ed., The Diary

and Letters of His Excellency Thomas

Hutchinson, Esq. . . . 2 vols.,

London, 1883-86).

Idzerda, Lafayette
Papers
Stanley J. Idzerda et al., eds., Lafayette
in the Age of the American Revolution:
Selected Letters and Papers, 1776—
1790 (5 vols. to date, Ithaca, N.Y.,

and London, [1977–]).

JCC Worthington C. Ford et al., eds.,

Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774–1789 (34 vols., Washington,

1904-37).

Jour. - Journal.

Jw Jonathan Williams, Jr.

L Letter unsigned.

Larousse, Dictionnaire Pierre Larousse, Grand dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle . . . (17 vols.,

Paris, [n.d.]).

Lasseray, Les Français André Lasseray, Les Français sous les treize étoiles, 1775–1783 (2 vols.,

Paris, 1935).

Laurens Papers Philip M. H

Philip M. Hamer, George C. Rogers, Jr., David R. Chestnutt *et al.*, eds., The Papers of Henry Laurens (9 vols.

to date, Columbia, S.C. [1968-]).

Lee, Life of Arthur Lee Richard Henry Lee, Life of Arthur Lee, LL.D., Joint Commissioner of the

United States to the Court of France, and Sole Commissioner to the Courts of Spain and Prussia, during the

Revolutionary War . . . (2 vols.,

Boston, 1829).

Lee Family Papers Paul P. Hoffman, ed., The Lee Family

Papers, 1742–1795 (University of Virginia Library Microfilm

Publication No. 1; 8 reels, Charlottesville, Va., 1966).

xliii