

CHAPTER 3. FREEMASON

1. Douglas Knoop, G. P. Jones, and Douglas Hamer, *The Early Masonic Catechisms* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1963) 152–56.
2. The date is based on St. John’s Lodge meeting on the first Monday of the month. Clifford P. McCalla, *Sketch of the Early History of St. John’s Lodge, Philadelphia from A.D. 1731 to 1738* (Philadelphia: Masonic Printing Co., 1884) 33.
3. Franklin’s account in the St. John’s Lodge, “Liber B,” Pennsylvania Historical Society, Philadelphia, shows that he paid the monthly dues for five months and the remainder of his initiation fee on June 24. That meant his first monthly dues were for February. P 1:202–4 prints his account.
4. Wayne A. Huss, *The Master Builders: A History of the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of Pennsylvania*, 3 v. (Philadelphia: Grand Lodge, 1986–89) 1:16–18.
5. The Masonic lodge that Franklin joined hardly represented “another step up the social ladder.” Isaacson 106. It gradually changed, over the next two decades, into a group of middle-class citizens.
6. Roach 142 n.55.
7. P 1:202 mistakenly prints 5 November for 1 November.
8. Julius F. Sachse, *Franklin’s Account with the Lodge of Masons, 1731–1737, as Found upon the Pages of His Daily Journal* (Philadelphia: Columbia Lodge, [1899?]) 6. This pamphlet is in the APS library, Philadelphia.
9. P 1:203 mistakenly reports Franklin absent on Monday, 4 December.
10. John Hobart advertised in the *PG* for 11 July 1734 that he now kept an inn at the “sign of the Conestoga Wagon in Market-Street next door to the White-Horse.”
11. Miller, no. A 76, p. 459, gives the date. Sachse, *Franklin’s Account* 8.
12. Sachse, *Franklin’s Account* 8.
13. For comments on the effect of the changing social status of the members and on the different lodges, see Steven C. Bullock, *Revolutionary Brotherhood* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996) 85ff.
14. Steven C. Bullock, “The Revolutionary Transformation of American Freemasonry, 1752–1792,” *WMQ* 47 (1990): 347–69.

CHAPTER 4. THE LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA

1. LCP, “Articles of Association,” 1 July 1731, in DH.
2. Zachariah Poulson, Jr., librarian, compiled the Shareholders’ Book from various earlier records about 1800; it has been kept up-to-date since then.
3. Though I have used the list of shareholders in the LCP, the history of the first eighty-five shares may be found in Dorothy F. Grimm, “A History of the LCP, 1731–1835” (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1955) 298–312. Two other general studies of the early LCP are Edwin Wolf 2nd, “*At the Instance of Benjamin Franklin*”: A Brief History of the LCP (Philadelphia: Library Company, 1976; revised and enlarged [by John C. Van Horne and James Green] in 1995); and George Boudreau, “‘Highly Valuable & Extensively Useful’: Community and

- Readership Among the Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia Middling Sort,” *Pennsylvania History* 63 (1996): 302–29.
4. When Francis Hopkinson transcribed the early minutes in the late eighteenth century, he slipped and wrote “William” Logan instead of James Logan.
 5. *PG*, 2 November, recorded that Cornock “Entred inwards.”
 6. Edwin Wolf 2nd, “First Books and Printed Catalogues of the LCP,” *PMHB* 78 (1954): 45–70, and Wolf, “Franklin and His Friends Choose Their Books,” *PMHB* 80 (1956): 11–36, at 15.
 7. Wolf, “First Books” 47. Miller #71. Miller speculated that it was printed late in 1732 or early in 1733, and he listed it under 1733. The LCP minutes for 11 December 1732 may suggest that it was already in print; it definitely was before 19 February 1721/3 (Wolf 47–48).
 8. *PG*, 25 April 1734; reprinted in the DH.
 9. Richard Lewis, *Carmen Seculare* (Annapolis: Parks, 1732); see Lemay, *Men of Letters* 166–67.
 10. For the *translatio* idea in eighteenth-century America, see the subject and genre index to *Calendar*. In Titan Leeds, *The American Almanac for 1730*, George Webb had written, “Europe shall mourn her ancient Fame declin’d / And Philadelphia be the Athens of Mankind.” *Calendar* #1151. In addition to the notes in Volume 1, Chapter 3, n. 19 and Chapter 10, n. 15, see Shields, “Wits” 123–33.
 11. See the genealogical chart, P 8:140–41, also 14:161 n.7, 18:90 n.8.
 12. Francis Hopkinson transcribed all the early minutes, and the “F” was his slip of the pen for “T.”
 13. Edwin Wolf 2nd, *Book Culture of a Colonial American City* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988) 32, does not include Grotius.
 14. Cabanis 5:228.
 15. S 10:9.
 16. Jack P. Greene, *The Intellectual Heritage of the Constitutional Era: The Delegates’ Library* (Philadelphia: LCP, 1986), discusses the reading background of the members of the Constitutional Convention, with emphasis on the Library Company books.
 17. Wolf, introduction, *Catalogue* (1741) ix.
 18. Edwin Wolf 2nd, *The Library of James Logan* (Philadelphia: LCP, 1974), #1426, 1427, 1428.
 19. Actually printed in 1747 and titled *The Charter of the LCP* (Philadelphia: Franklin, 1746); Evans 5853.
 20. Described and illustrated in [Darrel Sewell, ed.,] *Philadelphia: Three Centuries of American Art* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1976) 37–39.
 21. Edmund Berkeley and Dorothy Smith Berkeley, *Correspondence of John Bartram* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1992) 218.
 22. Lemay, “Lockean Realities,” 12–15.
 23. For an examination of Franklin’s uses of flourishes and dashes in composition, see A 252–53.

24. John F. Lynen, *The Design of the Present* (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 1969) 90, has contrasted the usual perspective of Franklin's *Autobiography* ("a view qualified and limited to just that portion of reality which appears within the self's horizon") with that of Jonathan Edwards's "eternal point of view" in his "Personal Narrative."
25. Though early in his life Franklin had assumed that blacks were inferior in intelligence to whites, he had changed his mind by 17 December 1763 (P 10:395–96).
26. NCE 219. Jefferson, *Writings*, ed. Merrill D. Peterson (New York: Library of America, 1984) 1304–10. From the Enlightenment's traditions of "natural aristocracy," see the index of James Harrington, *Political Works*, ed. J.G.A. Pocock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), s.v. "Aristocracy, natural."
27. *The Private Life of the Late BF* (London: J. Parsons, 1793) 307.
28. Larzer Ziff, *Writing in the New Nation: Prose, Print, and Politics in the Early United States* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1991) 88.

CHAPTER 5. MAN OF LETTERS

1. Two essays, "Rules and Maxims" and "An Apology for Printers," directly reflected Franklin's personal or business life and are considered in Chapter 1. A number of writings on religion and on values, as well as his "Art of Virtue," are in Chapter 2. Essays concerning Pennsylvania politics and Franklin's rivalry with Andrew Bradford are found in Chapter 6. The writings in *Poor Richard* (except for the preface to the 1758 almanac, later titled "The Way to Wealth" are discussed in Chapters 7 and 8. Franklin's defenses of the Reverend Samuel Hemphill in his orthodoxy trial by the Philadelphia Presbyterian Synod constitute Chapter 9.
2. Shields, *Civil Tongues* 262–66; John W. Ward, "Who Was BF?" *American Scholar* 32 (1963): 541–53; John Griffith, "Franklin's Sanity and the Man behind the Masks," *Oldest Revolutionary* 123–38.
3. Robert Bolling, "A Collection of Diverting Anecdotes, Bon-mots and Other Trifling Pieces, 1764." Manuscript volume, Huntington Library, San Marino, California, accession no. BR[ock] 163, pp. 124–25.
4. Port Royal *Logic* 373.
5. In Chapter 7, "*Poor Richard's* Prefaces," see "The 1736 Preface."
6. P 3:120–25, 35:491–502; W 1115–16.
7. Verner W. Crane, *BF's Letters to the Press, 1758–1775* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1950) xxvii–xxx.
8. Ellen Cohn briefly discusses its early composition in "BF, Benjamin Vaughan, and *Political, Miscellaneous and Philosophical Pieces*," in *BF: An American Genius*, ed. Gianfranca Balestra and Luigi Sampietro (Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 1993) 160–61.
9. Antonio Pace, *BF and Italy* (Philadelphia: APS, 1958) 5.
10. Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince*, tr. Harvey C. Mansfield, Jr. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985) 59.