COLONEL DAVID SALISBURY FRANKS
By Charles Willson Peale
From a miniature owned by
Mrs. Clarence I. De Sola, Montreal.
DAVID SALISBURY FRANKS,
REVOLUTIONARY PATRIOT (c.1740-1793)

BY HERSC L. ZITT

IN OUR desire to record fully the history of the American Revo-
lution we must not overlook the part played by individuals
without whose efforts the Revolution might well have failed. The
success of any mission is guaranteed by the diligent labors of de-
voted men. These men who were overshadowed by their more
illustrious contemporaries gave freely of their time and money and
knowledge to bring the Revolution to a successful close. This is the
story of one such man.

David Salisbury (also spelled Salesbury, Solesbury, Solebury
and Salesby) Franks was born, according to his written statement,
in Philadelphia about 1740. His father, Abraham, was the son of
Jacob Franks, a German-Jewish merchant who arrived in New York
in 1705. While David was still a boy, his father moved to Mont-
real, Canada, and set up as a merchant there. The Franks family
like many other colonial Jewish families was scattered about in
the colonies. One uncle, Moses, was a New York merchant, and
still another, David, lived in Philadelphia.

We know nothing of David S. Franks' early life prior to 1775.
In that year he was elected to the position of Parnas (Leader) of
Shearith Israel Spanish-Portuguese Synagogue. This was an im-
portant post in the Jewish community and was generally given to

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1 D. S. Franks to Joseph Reed, President, Supreme Executive Council of
Pennsylvania. March 27, 1740.
2 Col. Solomon, son of Haym Solomon, in Philadelphia Saturday Courier,
October 31, 1847. FLP.
3 The confusion in names between uncle and nephew caused the younger
man to use his middle name or initial at all times.
Wolff is an authority on Canadian Jewish History.
an extremely trustworthy person. In addition, the fact that Franks was an Ashkenazic (i.e., German) Jew and not of the predominant Sephardic, or Spanish, community, indicates the esteem in which he was held by his co-religionists. At that time the Sephardic Jews were considered the élite and the Ashkenazic inferior.

Montreal in 1775 was a restless city. England had controlled Canada only since the Treaty of Paris of 1763, and had passed the Quebec Act just a year before. Some Canadians were supporting, in principle at least, the colonies to the south in their struggle with Britain. The general division within the Montreal community, of course, was reflected in the Jewish Community. Within the Franks family there was a serious cleavage. Abraham, the father, remained a Loyalist, while his son David and his daughter Hannah became revolutionaries. Hannah was the wife of Haym Solomon. The family finally split on this issue and David was forced to leave his father's house.5

The seriousness of the division in Montreal was brought into dramatic focus. One morning in May, 1775, there appeared on the bust of His Majesty George III, the words, “voici le pape du Canada et le sot des Anglicans,” translated by a contemporary journal, “this is the Pope of Canada and the fool of England.”6

The crowd which had gathered at the scene became belligerent. One of the more vociferous spectators was M. François Marie Prêtre de Bellestre, who was heard to say that this “treason” should be punished by hanging. Franks, who overheard the remark, observed aloud, “In England men are not hanged for such a small offense.” Bellestre lost his temper and struck Franks, who proceeded to knock him down. Enraged, Bellestre swore out a warrant against his opponent alleging that he had made treasonable statements. This was a serious charge. When Franks was arrested on May 3, 1775, his bail was set at £10,000. He was held sixteen days, until May 19, 1775, when he was ordered released by “Judge John Fraser and [sic] the conservators of the peace.”7

During the ensuing months the Continental Army attempted to take parts of Canada. The Continentals had counted on support from the residents, but there was little aid given. Only a few resi-

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5 Archives of Canada, Series Q. XIII, 98.
6 The Remembrancer (London, 1776), Part I, 144-46, LCP.
7 Ibid. At the time a reward of £100 for the arrest of the culprits was being drummed.
dents of Lower Canada, David S. Franks among them, helped the Revolutionary cause. When Montreal fell to General Richard Montgomery's troops, Franks became paymaster-general of the Continental garrison at Montreal, a position in which he served until the city was lost in the spring of 1776. After this he moved south and on June 20, 1776, received safe-conduct from Albany to Philadelphia.8

David S. Franks arrived in the city of his birth early in July, 1776, just about the time the Declaration of Independence was proclaimed. Few of his friends looked upon the Declaration as an unmixed blessing. Like their brethren in Montreal, the Philadelphia Jewish Community was divided. David S. Franks' uncle David and his cousin Rebecca were Loyalists. During the British occupation of Philadelphia, the elder Franks was in charge of prisoners of war and contributed large sums to the Royal coffers. When the city was liberated by the Continental Army, David Franks was banished to New York. His daughter married Lt. Col. (later General) Sir Henry Johnson, Lord Howe's adjutant, and went to England with him at the end of the war where she became a leader in society at Bath.

The greatest number of Philadelphia Jews were either neutral or pro-revolutionary. The story of Haym Solomon is well known. Other leaders in the community, the Solis-Cohens, the Levys, the Nones, and the Gratzes, were outspoken revolutionaries. Rabbi Gershom Mendes Seixas, who had been spiritual leader of the New York community, refused to conduct services there during the occupation. Closing his synagogue, Rabbi Seixas came to Philadelphia to become the first ordained rabbi in the community. It was to this community that David S. Franks came that summer of 1776, and to this he returned at the end of the Revolution.

Immediately after he arrived in Philadelphia, Franks applied to the Continental Congress for money due him as a result of his personal expenditures during the Canadian campaign. Congress received his application formally and on July 19, 1776, paid him $1,400 on a draught from General David Wooster.9 In August, he

9 Journal of the Continental Congress, July 19, 1776, on notes dated May 31, 1776. (Hereafter referred to as Journal.)
received an additional $1,600\textsuperscript{10} and in October, $1,600 more. The money was drawn “for provisions in Canada.” The Journal of the Continental Congress for October 22, 1776 noted that there remained $2,048.84/90 due on Franks’ note, but there is no record that this sum was ever paid. This was the beginning of a long series of monetary difficulties which plagued David S. Franks throughout his life. He seems never to have been able to do more than break even. By the time of his death his estate was valued at only £2,000, Pennsylvania money, a fairly modest sum.\textsuperscript{11}

David S. Franks re-entered the service shortly after coming to Philadelphia and remained as a volunteer in a Massachusetts regiment until the victory over Burgoyne, in October, 1777. Afterward, because of his knowledge of French, he was appointed liaison officer on the staff of Comte d’Estaing, commander of the French naval forces. This tour of duty lasted until d’Estaing’s fleet left for the sugar islands.\textsuperscript{12}

Franks was then commissioned a major in the army and assigned as aide-de-camp of General Arnold.\textsuperscript{13} He accompanied Arnold to Philadelphia when that city was recaptured from the British. General Arnold had been named military governor of the city of Philadelphia. Thus, David S. Franks returned to Philadelphia where he was feted by his co-religionists.\textsuperscript{14}

In October, 1778, Franks was involved in a disturbance of the peace as a result of which he was arrested. The disturbance took place at the Third and Walnut Streets home of James Wilson, the signer of the Declaration of Independence and was the result of Wilson’s appearance as defense attorney for a group of Loyalists. The mob was beaten off, finally, and a number of persons, attackers and defenders both, including Major Franks were arrested. Franks was released on his own recognizance and returned to duty on the afternoon of October 4, 1778, the same day as the

\begin{itemize}
\item[Ibid., August 7, 1776.]
\item[\textsuperscript{11}Register of Wills (Phila., 1794), Volume K, entry 2Q.]
\item[\textsuperscript{12}Archives, Department of State, May 12, 1789. NA.]
\item[\textsuperscript{13}List of General and Field Officers in the late Army of the United States who continued in Service to the end of the War, or were deranged in pursuance of Acts of Congress. (Washington, undated.) Office of the Adjutant General, United States Army.]
\item[\textsuperscript{14}A Charles Willson Peale miniature painted at this time shows him to have been a handsome man, dark complexioned, with deep brown eyes and fine features. The original is in the possession of Mrs. Catherine de Sola of London, England.]
\end{itemize}
riot, after being bound over for the session of the Court of Oyer and Termier on December 12, 1778. Franks appeared as ordered.15

Shortly after his arrival in Philadelphia, General Arnold alienated the merchants of the city with his high-handed methods of control. This did not worry the general, since he wished to return to a field position, and paid little heed to the mounting discontent until finally, in December 1779, he was brought before a Court of Inquiry on a number of charges. His aide, Major David S. Franks, was directly involved in one, and indirectly involved in two other charges.

It had been Franks' misfortune to run into that most dangerous of persons, a subordinate with powerful political connections. He was Sgt. William Matlack, son of Timothy Matlack, Secretary of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania. On October 10, 1779, Major Franks ordered Sgt. Matlack to bring him a barber. Matlack refused, saying that this was beneath the dignity of a free man. Franks lost his temper and shouted the order again, and this time Matlack obeyed. But promptly he informed his father who remembered the incident and had it included in the list of charges against General Arnold at the latter's trial in 1779.16 To this charge, Major Franks was obliged to reply directly.

General Arnold was tried on four counts: granting safe conduct for supplies going into the British lines; deriving personal profits from the closing of shops in Philadelphia on March 3, 1779; pre-empting food and other stores from army supplies for his personal use; and finally, the affair of Sgt. Matlack—a charge based on the assumption that a superior officer is responsible for the actions of subordinates.

It was Franks' letter to one Jesse Jordan, waggoner, which absolved Arnold of the first charge, since it was proved that Jordan had received permission to enter Philadelphia with a wagon train and had to pass through the British lines to do so. Thus, he was coming out of, not going into, British held territory.

As for the charge that Arnold had received personal profit from closing the shops in March, 1779, Major Franks and another aide, Major Clarkson, insisted that this was not the case. The shops were

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15 Minutes of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania (Harrisburg, 1852), XII (1779), 141. Hereafter cited as Minutes.
16 Proceedings of a General Court Martial for the Trial of Major General Arnold (New York, 1865), FLP.
closed, they stated, because of a dangerous lack of supplies. This necessitated strong action on the part of the military government, in order to redistribute whatever supplies remained in a more equitable manner. The suddenness of the order, they claimed, was to prevent hoarding on the part of dishonest men.

On the third charge, pre-empting supplies, General Arnold was alleged to have ordered Major Franks, on May 5, 1779, to take food and other supplies from army stores to be used for private purposes. As a matter of fact, General Washington had already reprimanded Arnold for this. In addition, Major Franks, under oath, swore that several pipes of wine had been removed, but that General Arnold had paid for them.

Finally, the Matlack affair was brought up and made a matter of record. General Arnold was acquitted on the first two counts and ordered punished on the others under Article 5, Section 5 (reprimand), of the Articles of War.17

After the trial, Major Franks was sent to South Carolina for a short while. When he returned, he wrote to the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania asking whether he were eligible for "emoluments voted Pennsylvania Officers." It was in this letter that Franks attested to his Philadelphia birthplace. No action was taken by the council.18

In July 1780, Arnold was transferred to West Point. He took with him his entire staff. David S. Franks, by this time a lieutenant colonel, went along as aide and supply officer. On arrival in West Point, Arnold set vigorously about the task of fortifying the area. His aides were kept busy, securing supplies and in other routine operations. There are some fifteen letters dealing with everything from equipment for French troops to listings of British and foreign deserters who had fallen into American hands, written by David S. Franks during the month of August 1780.19 These letters tell in detail the preparations for supplying and defending West Point. It is evident that Washington intended the Point to be a major bastion on the Hudson and later to serve as the jumping off place for an invasion of New York from the north. Those letters concerned with troops indicate that there was only a cadre at West

17 Ibid.
19 These letters are in the Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, and are part of the captured Arnold Papers.
Point, but that large shipments of French troops were expected. Others tell of preparations for the setting up of winter quarters.

An understandable desire for secrecy led Arnold to send David S. Franks all the way back to Philadelphia to escort Peggy Arnold to West Point. This trip took place the last week in August and the first week in September. Franks had arrived in Philadelphia on August 28, 1780.\(^{20}\) Return arrangements were made at once. Even with good traveling conditions, the trip must have taken at least a week, since Mrs. Arnold travelled with several servants and a good deal of luggage. Thus at the very time the final plans were being made to betray West Point, Arnold's aides were away; Franks was en route from Philadelphia, and the other aide, Lt. Col. Richard Varick, was ill in his quarters at Robinson's House at West Point.\(^{21}\)

Between September 10 and 23, General Arnold had Franks act as escort for Mrs. Arnold when she left the post. During that time he was off post for days at a time and thus was out of touch with the situation. While he grumbled about this, claiming it interfered with his work, he was not suspicious of his commander.

We have the full testimony of Franks and Varick with reference to the happenings of September 24, 1780. The drama of the situation is best described in their own words:

Franks: I had heard of the capture of a young British officer [Major John Andre] the evening before [September 23, 1780] but paid no attention. The following morning I was with Mrs. Arnold when the news of her husband's treachery was received. She immediately became ill and I took her to her quarters.

As soon as I returned to Robinson's House, I rushed upstairs to Colonel Varick's chambers where he lay sick. Varick: Franks was very upset and went and stood at the window, which he opened.

"Varick," he said, "what would you say if I told you General Arnold was a traitor?"

"Well," he said, pressing on the window sill with both hands, "it is true." He then told me the story.\(^{22}\)

\(^{20}\) _Ibid._, D. S. Franks to Gen. B. Arnold, Aug. 28, 1780. LC.
\(^{21}\) A. B. Hart, ed., _The Varick Court of Inquiry._ .. (Boston, 1907).
\(^{22}\) _Ibid._, Franks and Varick interrogated one another in order to get the testimony into the record.
Shortly thereafter a letter was received from *HMS Vulture* in which General Arnold exonerated Colonel Franks and the other members of his staff.23

On September 25, Franks wrote a letter to Col. William Campbell referring to a shipment of rum. The tone of the note and the handwriting show how agitated Franks was. His commanding officer had turned traitor, he himself was under suspicion, and some fool was worried about rum!24

As soon as possible after the trial, Franks returned to Philadelphia, where on October 3, 1780, he was arrested, but released at once. Disgusted with this treatment and the rumors which were being circulated in Philadelphia, Franks returned to West Point and wrote General Washington requesting a court of inquiry. This was on October 16. On October 20, he sent a letter to the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania asking that any paper bearing upon the case and his conduct in Philadelphia be forwarded to West Point, since he was in hopes of receiving his court-martial.25 Five days later, on October 25, General Washington granted the court.

The court sat at West Point, November 2-5, 1780, and was under the command of Colonel van Schaick. Franks was found innocent of any complicity in Arnold's actions and was completely acquitted by the court. After the trial, he returned to Philadelphia. On May 20, 1781, he requested four months' pay from the Board of War to cover the period of the time of his transfer from Philadelphia to his own acquittal. There is, again, no record of payment.27

This ended Franks' service in the field. Between December, 1775, and May, 1781, a period of five and one-half years, he had served almost continuously and had risen to the rank of lieutenant colonel. In that time he had shown his devotion to the cause of the Revolution, serving honestly and competently. Because of this service and in an attempt to clear his name finally and completely, David S. Franks was chosen for another and much more important position.

In the summer of 1781, David S. Franks was appointed special

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23 Arnold to Washington, September 25, 1780. L.C.
24 D. S. Franks to Wm. Campbell. September 25, 1780. The authorship of this letter is in doubt, but careful examination and comparison with documents known to be in Franks' hand, leads me to believe that this is in his handwriting.
27 Papers of the Continental Congress. May 20, 1781. L.C. (Hereafter cited as Papers.)
David Salisbury Franks and secret courier to the Franklin Mission in Paris. Franks left for Cadiz, Spain, arriving at the American office at San Ildefonso on September 14. There he was supplied with letters of introduction from William Carmichael and John Vaughan to William Temple Franklin, grandson of Dr. Franklin and secretary of the mission, and was sent on to Paris. A separate letter was sent by John Jay to Dr. Franklin directly.

Once in Paris, Franks took an active part in the fellowship of American society there. He was frequently at the house of Mrs. John Jay, who was in Paris at the time, and also saw much of Richard Harrison of Virginia. It would appear that Franks and Harrison had been friends in America. Just after Franks arrived in Paris, Harrison offered him a quarter-partnership in the Virginia company of which Harrison was a member, stating that this was the best arrangement possible, since any greater share would include the risk of some capital on Franks’ part, but under the circumstances, a quarter interest would not. Franks evidently did not take up his friend’s curious offer, since nothing more is heard of it.

It would be well to pause here and to explain the duties of a courier. In the course of diplomatic correspondence, it was often necessary to send extremely secret documents from one place to another. Many of these were too secret and dangerous to be sent through regular diplomatic-pouch channels and had to be entrusted to hand carriers. These hand carriers were known as couriers. Some were registered as such, but often, especially in wartime this was too risky. During the Revolution, it was even more risky than usual, since officially there was no such nation as the United States, so far as Britain was concerned, and any correspondence was open to capture or interception. It was David S. Franks’ mission then, to transmit documents, letters, and reports from one area to another in France. Since he spoke excellent French, his task was much easier than it otherwise would have been.

While Dr. Franklin was official head of the mission, his grandson, William Temple, was in charge of routine work. It was because of this that David S. Franks and William T. Franklin became fairly close friends. On one occasion, young Franklin stopped off on his

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8 Wm. Carmichael to Wm. T. Franklin, September 27, 1781. APS. John Vaughan to Wm. T. Franklin, October 1, 1781. APS.
9 John Jay to Benjamin Franklin, September 14, 1781. APS.
10 Richard Harrison to D. S. Franks, October 2, 1781. APS.
way through Orleans to retrieve Franks' pistols from his lodgings there. The official correspondence between them was frequent from 1781 until the end of the Franklin mission.

In November, 1781, Franks was ordered to the coast to await return passage to the United States. At the end of that month he wrote that there was not a ship to be had either at Brest or at L'Orient and complained that the delay was holding up important information which Congress was awaiting. He had sustained a cut thumb and an arm which pained him greatly, he wrote in the same letter, and begged pardon for his seeming shortness of temper.

His old aptitude for getting into trouble reappeared in Brest in December, 1781. In a letter to Benjamin Franklin, he told of his arrest by the town major as a suspicious character, even after his papers had been examined and cleared by the local government. Franks waxed indignant and informed Franklin that he was writing "this with a Sergeant at my back for a guard." He made derogatory remarks concerning the French and their treatment of their American ally. In a hastily worded postscript, Franks informed his superior that he had just been released. The suspicious French officer saw that Franks was writing Dr. Franklin and had told the truth. Later the same day, Franks wrote Wm. T. Franklin that the French had "no idea of my true position." In an answering letter, Dr. Franklin, rebuking Franks for getting into difficulties with the French, assured him that the French were really most generous and kind to the Americans.

Later in December, Franks wrote that he was returning to Spain where Robert Livingston had papers which had to be returned to the United States. He also informed William T. Franklin of the "infamous" M. and Mme. Desitre, who were behind his trouble in Brest, and also of a M. Hector, a local merchant who had taken a dislike to Franks. He was sarcastic as to the real reason for the presence of the Desitres. Mme. Desitre, it appears, had "shot her

33 Wm. T. Franklin to B. Franklin, October 15, 1781. APS.
34 D. S. Franks to W. T. Franklin, November 17 and 25, 1781. APS.
35 While at Nantes, he sent an ex-prisoner of war, one Lt. Hoops, to Paris on the order of M. le Chevalier Kavalia, who seems to have been one of the chief American agents in Nantes. D. S. Franks to W. T. Franklin, November 21, 1781. APS.
36 D. S. Franks to B. Franklin, December 10, 1781. APS.
37 D. S. Franks to W. T. Franklin, December 10, 1781. APS.
38 B. Franklin to D. S. Franks, December 17, 1781. LC.
man," i.e., her first husband. Franks warned the Franklins to be wary of her.36

On December 23, 1781, Franks wrote the younger Franklin concerning his latest trip from Brest to L'Orient and mentioned a letter from a M. Lausures concerning a coach accident. He repeated his warnings about the town major at Brest and M. Hector.37 A week later Franks was still in L'Orient, waiting to return either to Spain or the United States.38 On January 26, 1782, Franks wrote that he was definitely going to Madrid via Nantes and had seen Lafayette, who ordered him to return first to Paris and then to proceed to Madrid.39

That he must have gone to Madrid is evident, since he was not heard from again until May, 1782, when he had returned to Nantes and was awaiting passage to Philadelphia on the Montesant, on which vessel he was to leave unless he received further orders from John Jay in Spain.40

A week later he was still in France and was becoming impatient and worried about the safety of the dispatches entrusted to his care.41 Even so, Franks did not manage to leave until some time late in 1782, or early in 1783, since on June 10, 1782, he forwarded a bill for 2,742 livres 10 sol, to be paid to Jonas Williams. This bill was not acknowledged as paid until the second week in August.42

David S. Franks finally returned to the United States early in 1783. During that year he applied to the government for a position and a letter signed by several prominent persons recommended him for a place in the "consuls department" because of his knowledge of French.43 Thomas Jefferson, too, had become a good friend to Franks and helped him to secure a position in the "consuls department." Jefferson, however, had certain misgivings concerning

36 D. S. Franks to W. T. Franklin, December 20, 1781. APS.
37 D. S. Franks to W. T. Franklin, December 23, 1781. APS.
38 D. S. Franks to B. Franklin, January 3, 1782. APS. Two weeks later, still in L'Orient, he mentioned in a letter that "Mme. d'Farbash's box is on board. I sent back letter for Count William." This rather cryptic message is on the end of a letter Franks sent care of Major Porter, an American officer on leave in France, who was on his way to Paris at the time. D. S. Franks to W. T. Franklin, January 20, 1782. APS.
39 D. S. Franks to B. Franklin, January 26, 1782. APS.
40 D. S. Franks to W. T. Franklin, May, 1782. APS.
41 D. S. Franks to W. T. Franklin, May 26, 1782. APS.
43 Papers, No. 70, iii, 271, Wm. Bingham et al., May 10, 1783. LC.
Franks. It would appear that Franks was somewhat undiplomatic. What appeared as candor to some seemed a lamentable lack of self-control to his friend Jefferson, who said that Franks had "little control over his lips."44 Nonetheless, Jefferson helped; but Jefferson was not the only influential person who tried to aid Col. Franks. Robert Livingston, too, wrote General Washington in Franks' behalf.45

In September, 1783, it was discovered that when the lists of officers of the Continental Army were drawn up, David Salisbury Franks' name did not appear. The Secretary of War, Benjamin Lincoln, asked Congress to rectify the error. Congress ordered that Franks be granted the commission of Major of the Line until January 1, 1784.46 Somewhat later, Franks was paid five years' full pay in lieu of half-pay for life. This terminated Franks' military career after nine years of active service.47

When the final treaty of peace was written, David S. Franks was commissioned by Congress to carry the copy of the treaty to Benjamin Franklin, now in London. He was ordered to leave for Europe at the earliest possible moment.48 On February 17, 1784, he sailed from New York. The passage took six weeks and four days and when Franks arrived in London, he found, much to his chagrin, that Dr. Franklin had left for Paris. Franks thereupon followed him to Paris.49 Once there, he delivered the copy and completed his mission. However, he did not return to America at that time, since he was the subject of a letter written by Jonas Williams to the younger Franklin, late in July, 1784, which referred, in passing, to an affair at the Palais Royal, which Williams and Franks both had attended. At this affair, Franks and several others had been goading a New England physician about the part New England had played in the Revolution.50

In September, 1784, David S. Franks was appointed vice-consul

45 Archives, Department of State. R. Livingston to G. Washington, June 5, 1783.
46 Papers, No. 49, i, 683-86. D. S. Franks to President of Congress, February 8, 1783.
47 Journal, October 31, 1783. LC.
48 Ibid., January 15, 1784. LC.
49 Papers, D. S. Franks, to President of Congress.
50 Jonas Williams to W. T. Franklin, July 23, 1784. APS.
at Marseilles. In that month, Thomas Barclay wrote the President of Congress that he could no longer refuse Franks his position.\textsuperscript{51} Franks continued in this post until December of that year, when he wrote Thomas Jefferson, from Bordeaux, that his financial circumstances would force him to discontinue as vice-consul and to accept a post in the French Army. He emphasized the fact that he was not a professional soldier of fortune, but conditions made it virtually impossible for him to continue at Marseilles.\textsuperscript{52} He did not accept the French offer, however, and managed to stay on in Marseilles for six months longer. Thereupon he wrote and asked Jefferson for a loan to enable him to return home, promising to repay Jefferson as soon as he arrived in America. Franks emphasized the fact that his debts were incurred while in the government service.\textsuperscript{53} Jefferson replied that he himself was in debt to the extent of fifteen hundred guineas and that it was impossible for him to help his friend.\textsuperscript{54} Franks then turned to the only other source of help which remained, Benjamin and William T. Franklin, whom he asked for a loan and explained that in addition to financial reverses, and also because of them, his health was broken.\textsuperscript{55} He was able to borrow twenty guineas from Dr. Franklin, but did not return home. He remained in France instead, and in December, 1785, found servants for Thomas Jefferson and Dr. Franklin.\textsuperscript{56}

Franks was next appointed, some time in 1786, a member of the staff of the Morocco Trade Treaty Commission under Thomas Barclay, and travelled back and forth between Paris, Madrid, and Morocco. His itemized account book, still extant, gives a vivid picture of the operations of that mission. It bristles with chagrin at the necessity of paying exorbitant \textit{baksheesh} to the Moroccan officials and their aides.\textsuperscript{57}

The Morocco Trade Treaty was signed in December 1786, and Jefferson wished to have the draft reach Philadelphia as soon as possible, since John Jay was complaining about the delay in de-

\textsuperscript{51} E. P. Blair, ed., \textit{Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States from the Treaty of Peace to the Present Constitution} (Washington, 1833), I (1784), 490-91.
\textsuperscript{52} D. S. Franks to T. Jefferson, Jan. 1, 1785. LC.
\textsuperscript{53} D. S. Franks to T. Jefferson, June 17, 1785. LC.
\textsuperscript{54} T. Jefferson to D. S. Franks, June 18, 1785. LC.
\textsuperscript{55} D. S. Franks to W. T. Franklin, June 22, 1785. APS.
\textsuperscript{56} D. S. Franks to "Mr. Short," December 27, 1785. LC.
\textsuperscript{57} Papers, No. 91, ii, 392-436. \textit{Col. David S. Franks accounts of expenses from Paris to Morocco and back to Madrid.} (1786) LC.
livery of certain government documents. Franks informed Jefferson that he was awaiting his baggage and would leave as soon as it arrived.58 Jefferson, by this time rather worried, wrote asking if Franks could possibly leave without his baggage. If not, he was to deliver the documents to a M. Limosin, who was leaving for Philadelphia on the February packet.59

Early in February, 1787, Jefferson discovered that certain letters which were intended for John Adams in London had been mislaid, and he believed them to be under the leather covering of the treaty box lid. He also found that a letter to Thomas Barclay had been mislaid and asked that a search be made and that the letters be returned immediately.60 At Le Havre, Franks made a thorough search, but could not find the letter, though he did find one for Taker Fennish, who was in Morocco at the time. Just how this error occurred was not explained, but in a gently chiding tone, Franks suggested that Jefferson look on the mantelpiece in his study on which the treaty box had been kept, and perhaps he might discover the missing letters.61 At the same time he was as anxious to leave as Jefferson and Jay were to have him leave. He complained about the meager port facilities,62 but fortunately he soon was able to sail for the United States from Europe for the last time.

In April, 1787, Franks gave Jefferson a description of his trip. It took fifty days, and evidently Franks was a poor sailor, since he complained about the weather, the food, the wine, the attitude of the master of the vessel, and of his own indisposition. He also thanked Jefferson for a loan of 200 livres, which he promised to pay on sight, and begged him to keep some Moroccan coins which Franks had given him as a memory of their friendship and because he knew of Jefferson's interest in new and unusual things.63

With the delivery of his dispatches and the copy of the Morocco Treaty on April 11, 1787, the career of David S. Franks as a United States courier came to an end.

During the same period, Franks was able to discharge his debt to Dr. Franklin. In a letter to his grandson William, Dr. Franklin

58 D. S. Franks to T. Jefferson, 1787. LC.
59 T. Jefferson to D. S. Franks, January 11, 1787. LC.
60 T. Jefferson to D. S. Franks, February 8, 1787. LC.
61 D. S. Franks to T. Jefferson, February 10, 1787. LC.
62 D. S. Franks to T. Jefferson, February 11, 1787; D. S. Franks to John Jay, February 11, 1787. LC.
63 D. S. Franks to T. Jefferson, April 23, 1787. LC.
DAVID SALISBURY FRANKS

mentioned having found the note for twenty guineas loaned Franks, and asked that Alexander Bache collect the debt, since Franks and Bache were in New York at the time.64

On July 28, 1789, David S. Franks was awarded a bounty land warrant for four hundred acres of land for service in the Revolution. There are no existing records showing where this land was; when the War Office was burned in 1800, many valuable and irreplaceable documents concerning these lands were destroyed.65

At about that time, David S. Franks became connected with the Scioto Land Company. A letter from William Duer to David S. Franks with reference to emigrés from France who had settled on Scioto holdings in Ohio and Indiana,66 had caused some misunderstanding. This company was founded in 1768, with Governor William Franklin and other prominent men as stockholders. In the list of subscribers is found the name of David Franks. Previous writers on David Salisbury Franks have insisted that, because of his later connection with the company, the David Franks of the 1768 paper was the same David Franks of the 1790 letter. They further hold that David S. Franks "died in an Indian battle sometime in 1791."67 Actually, no David Franks died in that manner and the confusion results from the simple fact that two men, uncle and nephew, bore the same name.

The David Franks referred to in the formation of the Scioto Land Company in 1786, was obviously the uncle of David S. Franks, born in 1720 and well established in the mercantile business. In fact, the younger David was probably in Montreal in 1768 when the Scioto Company was organized.

That Franks did not die in 1791 is clearly proved by the existence of two letters written after that date. The first, from Pierce Butler, a North Carolina member of the Constitutional Convention, is to Thomas Jefferson and refers to Franks' bad financial status. This was after the failure of the Scioto Land Company, due to the manipulations of William Duer, who ended his days in prison. The letter asks for Jefferson's aid in getting a position for Franks.68 The second letter is from David S. Franks himself to John Kean,

64 B. Franklin to W. T. Franklin, February 28, 1787. APS.
65 Bounty Land Warrant 742 in Bounty Land Warrants Issued Prior to 1800. National Archives.
66 Wm. Duer to D. S. Franks, October 29, 1790.
68 Pierce Butler to T. Jefferson, March 27, 1792. LC.
the Cashier of the Bank of the United States, and refers to the
transfer of specie currency from New York to Philadelphia.69
Indeed, Franks was very much alive in 1791, and had secured a job in
the Bank of the United States. In the Philadelphia Directory for
1793, he was listed as the assistant cashier of the bank, which at
that time was located in Carpenter's Hall.70 Franks also was ap-
pointed with power of attorney for Elisha Boudinot, a Justice of
the Supreme Court of New Jersey, and thus was alive early in
1793.71

On August 5, 1783, Philadelphia was visited by that scourge of
eighteenth century seaport—yellow fever. It was a real "Philadelphia
summer," a perfect carrier for the disease which swept the city
and killed some five thousand of its total population of fifty thou-
sand before it was checked. It was this plague to which David
Salisbury Franks succumbed on October 7, 1793.

In Carey's account of the plague, "David Solebury Franks,"
assistant cashier of the Bank of the United States, is listed as hav-
ing died.72 Another contemporary journal, listing the dead accord-
ing to religion only, lists four Jews as having died in that period.
Since there is no reason to believe that David Salisbury Franks
ever became an apostate, it is quite reasonable to believe that he
is one of the four persons so listed.73 Finally, two letters from Dr.
Benjamin Rush refer to Major David Franks as having died on
October 7, 1793. Originally, Dr. Rush stated that Franks had died
alone, attended only by a French physician, and had been buried
in the potter's field. In a postscript to a letter dated a few days later,
however, the doctor stated that Franks had been saved by "honest
John Thompson, the one-legged Blacksmith," from a pauper's
grave, and had been buried in Christ Church Burial Yard.74
Thompson, who lived a few doors away from Franks, happened to
be passing when the burial cart stopped and Col. Franks' body was
placed in it. Recognizing him, Thompson took possession of the
corpse and thus assured Franks of a decent burial. This then,

69 D. S. Franks to John Kean, November 2, 1792. HSP, Gratz Coll.
70 John Hardie, Philadelphia City Directory (Phila., 1793). FLP.
71 E. Boudinot to D. S. Franks, March 22, 1793. HSP, Boudinot Coll.
72 Matthew Carey, A Short Account of the Malignant Fever (Phila.,
73 J. H. C. Helmuth, Kurze Nachricht von der Sogenannten Gelben Fieber
74 Benjamin Rush, Old Family Letters relating to the Yellow Fever (Phila-
delphia, 1892), Series B. 63, 68.
DAVID SALISBURY FRANKS effectively establishes the date and nature of the death of David Salisbury Franks.

On January 13, 1794, letters of administration were granted to Moses B. Frank, merchant, who resided at 19 N. 9th Street, for the estate of David S. Franks. He and two other administrators completed an inventory valuing the personal property of David S. Franks at £174/11/7 Pennsylvania Money, and the total estate at £2,000 Pennsylvania Money, which was by no means a magnificent estate.

David S. Franks died as he had lived, almost forgotten, but as before, at the last moment he was saved from ignominy and neglect. In some respects he was unfortunate, and perhaps he was a blunderer in some things; but to the end he was an honorable man.

A CALENDAR OF THE FRANKS LETTERS

American Philosophical Society.

Benjamin Franklin Correspondence

John Jay to B. Franklin
R. Harrison to D. S. Franks
W. T. Franklin to B. Franklin
D. S. Franks to B. Franklin
*Grand L'aïne to B. Franklin
D. S. Franks to B. Franklin
D. S. Franks to B. Franklin
D. S. Franks to B. Franklin
Charles Thomson to B. Franklin

William Temple Franklin Correspondence

Wm. Carmichael to W. T. Franklin
John Vaughan to W. T. Franklin
Mrs. John Jay to W. T. Franklin
D. S. Franks to W. T. Franklin
D. S. Franks to W. T. Franklin
D. S. Franks to W. T. Franklin
D. S. Franks to W. T. Franklin
Jonas Williams to W. T. Franklin
D. S. Franks to W. T. Franklin
D. S. Franks to W. T. Franklin
D. S. Franks to W. T. Franklin
Jonas Williams to W. T. Franklin
D. S. Franks to W. T. Franklin
D. S. Franks to W. T. Franklin
May 22, 1782
May 26, 1782
July 23, 1784
July 23, 1784
November 2, 1784
undated, 1784
undated, 1784
June 22, 1785
April 26, 1786

Register of Wills, loc. cit.
*Letter written in French
Historical Society of Pennsylvania

Manuscript Collections
Dreer Collection
D. S. Franks to Dr. Samuel Stringer March 20, 1779
Society Collection
Jonas Williams' bill June 10, 1782
Gratz Collection
D. S. Franks to John Kean November 2, 1792
Boudinot Collection
Elisha Boudinot to D. S. Franks March 20, 1793

Henry E. Huntington Library

D. S. Franks (?) to Wm. Campbell September 20, 1781
This letter was formerly attached to the Varick papers, but now has been separated from them.

Library of Congress

Papers of the Continental Congress
D. S. Franks to “Mr. Reed” November 8, 1778
D. S. Franks to Board of War May 20, 1780
Wm. Bingham, et al. to President of Congress May 10, 1783
B. Lincoln to President of Congress September 13, 1783
D. S. Franks to President of Congress February 8, 1784
D. S. Franks to President of Congress April 8, 1784
Col. David S. Franks Account Book November 16, 1786

Benjamin Franklin Correspondence
B. Franklin to D. S. Franks December 17, 1781

Thomas Jefferson Papers
D. S. Franks to T. Jefferson January 1, 1785
D. S. Franks to T. Jefferson June 17, 1785
T. Jefferson to D. S. Franks June 18, 1785
D. S. Franks to “Mr. Short” June 27, 1785
D. S. Franks to T. Jefferson undated
T. Jefferson to D. S. Franks January 11, 1787
T. Jefferson to D. S. Franks February 8, 1787
D. S. Franks to T. Jefferson February 10, 1787
D. S. Franks to T. Jefferson February 11, 1787
D. S. Franks to T. Jefferson April 28, 1787
D. S. Franks to T. Jefferson undated
Pierce Butler to T. Jefferson March 27, 1792

George Washington Papers, The Arnold Papers
The following 16 letters are in the captured Arnold Papers and are included in the Washington Papers. These deal with routine military matters.

August 8, 1780
August 10, 1780
August 12, 1780
August 12, 1780
August 14, 1780
August 16, 1780
August 16, 1780
August 16, 1780
August 16, 1780
August 16, 1780
August 19, 1780
August 21, 1780
August 21, 1780
August 22, 1780
August 24, 1780
DAVID SALISBURY FRANKS

D. S. Franks to B. Arnold  August 28, 1780
B. Arnold to G. Washington  September 25, 1780
Washington Correspondence
D. S. Franks to G. Washington  October 16, 1780
G. Washington to D. S. Franks  October 21, 1780

National Archives
State Department Archives
R. Livingston to G. Washington  June 5, 1783
Silas Deane to Sec'y of State  June 29, 1789

New York Historical Society
Duer Papers
William Duer to D. S. Franks  October 29, 1790
Lamb Papers
D. S. Franks to Col. Lamb  August 15, 1780
D. S. Franks to Col. Lamb  August 16, 1780
von Steuben Papers
D. S. Franks to Baron von Steuben  July 18, 1780