

Review Essay:

Legacies of the Career of Benjamin Franklin and of the Radicalism of the American Revolution

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By J. A. Leo Lemay (ed.), *Reappraising Benjamin Franklin: A Bicentennial Perspective*. (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1993. Pp. 499. \$39.95.)

By Gordon S. Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution*. (New York: Knopf, 1992. Pp. x, 447. \$27.50.)

To a great extent, Peter Gay and Margaret Jacob well might be correct: the Enlightenment was a transatlantic movement that transformed beliefs, institutions, and society in colonial and revolutionary America. Its impact, in many respects, is especially related to scholarship about Franklin.¹ In their authoritative biographies, Carl Van Doren and Esmond Wright discuss, among other things, Franklin's deistic doctrines and depict him as an enlightened booster, explaining his leadership roles in the Junto, in the American Philosophical Society, and in the Philadelphia Academy.² The incisive studies of I. Bernard Cohen about Franklin's electrical experiments and his contributions to mechanical and materialistic science and the fine works of Alfred Aldridge, Durand Echeverria, and Claude-Anne Lopez about Franklin's cultural activities in Paris well demonstrate how he symbolized the American Enlightenment.³

Several prominent scholars have explored the connections between the Enlightenment and the American Revolution. R. R. Palmer maintains that the American Revolution was part of a transatlantic movement and embodied such Enlightenment concepts as constitutional government and legislative sovereignty.⁴ To Bernard Bailyn and J. G. A. Pocock, Enlightenment republicanism was at the core of the Revolution. Pocock believes that the American Revolution reflected principles of both classical republicanism and Renaissance civic humanism.⁵ Bailyn, on the other hand, maintains that as a result of changing perceptions of themselves during the late 1760s, Americans saw themselves as especially "virtuous," embraced concepts of natural liberties, and subscribed to a "New Whig" ideology.⁶ In his most recent study, Gordon Wood attempts to go beyond the theories of "republican synthesis" of Bailyn and Pocock and the interpretations of the radical Enlightenment of Margaret Jacob concerning eighteenth century western Europe. Wood cogently argues that Enlightenment ideologies transformed late eighteenth and early nineteenth century America and led to the "republicanizing" of American government

and to the democratizing of American society and some of its institutions.

The works of Wood and Lemay, then, stress the centrality of the Enlightenment to the early American experience. Wood's study, among other things, accentuates these themes: the rise and consolidation of American republicanism, the flowering of merchant capitalism, the importance of banking in the early republic, and the evolution of egalitarianism and benevolence in American society. Many essays in the Lemay book reveal how Franklin was attached to the Enlightenment: his usage of his scientific theories in other fields, the importance of classical ideas to his thinking, his role in promoting printing and the arts, his support of humanitarian reform, and interpretations of Franklin as a revolutionary diplomat and republican spokesman.

I

Edited by J. A. Leo Lemay, who is known for *The Oldest Revolutionary: Essays on Benjamin Franklin* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1976), and who is presently working on a six-volume biography of the Philadelphia sage, *Reappraising Benjamin Franklin* consists of essays presented in Philadelphia in April, 1990, to mark the two-hundredth anniversary of Franklin's death. The book is divided into seven sections and consists of twenty-four essays. A helpful introduction precedes each section in which Lemay comments on its significance. The articles are lucidly written, carefully crafted and documented, and highly readable. They fall into two categories, either reassessing interpretations about major issues of Franklin's life, or breaking new scholarly ground.

Essays in the first section creatively depict Franklin as a journalist and as a printer, going beyond the research of Lawrence Wroth and C. William Miller; they explain how Franklin functioned as a printer and as a businessman, how he diffused useful knowledge of the Enlightenment through newspapers and almanacs, and what topics interested him. Norman S. Grabo's chapter, "The Journalist as Man of Letters," suggests that Franklin, like his brother James, provided his readers with a wide variety of topics. After buying the *Pennsylvania Gazette* in 1729, he developed his own style of journalism. Franklin wrote on different levels; he published squibs about daily events and editorials about major political and economic problems. In his assessment of Franklin's contributions to eighteenth century printing, Grabo maintains that he was a very adept stationer, printer, publisher, and writer who consciously attempted to develop a transregional and an international reputation for his newspaper.

Ronald Bosco's stimulating essay about Franklin's reporting of criminal and deviant behavior in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* between 1729 and 1747 well demonstrates that Franklin effectively used coverage of cheats, rogues, and the 1730 Mount Holly Witch Trial to market his newspaper; Bosco, too, explains that these and other stories lucidly portray the gloomy aspects of and the

tensions within early eighteenth century American society. Another significant aspect of Franklin's journalistic activities was his involvement in the world of eighteenth century books. James N. Green's fine article shows that Franklin was quite successful as a publisher and bookseller; he engaged in fifteen major publishing projects. In addition to publishing religious studies, Richardson's *Pamela*, and Logan's translation of Cicero's *Cato Major* during the early 1740s, Franklin, along with his partner David Hall, imported books from England and developed a network of booksellers in Boston, New York, and Charleston to market their products. Green's important article suggests how Franklin disseminated major works of literature and Enlightenment civic culture in colonial America.

Chapters in the second section concern Franklin and American history. They reveal much about the political and diplomatic facets of his career: his involvement during the 1760s and the 1770s in the imperial crisis with Britain, his opposition to British taxes on the colonies, his support of Enlightenment ideologies and American republicanism, his diplomatic and cultural activities during his stay in Paris between 1776 and 1785, and his backing of the Federalist cause during the 1787 Constitutional Convention. Jack P. Greene examines Franklin's role during the American Revolution in light of Bailyn's and Pocock's interpretations. Greene depicts Franklin as a radical Whig and leader of the Country Party. Franklin advocated conciliation in imperial affairs between 1740 and 1760, but, after the repeal of the Stamp Act in 1766, began to denounce British leaders for their arrogant and demeaning attitudes towards the American colonies. Franklin resented British metropolitan leaders for paying too much attention to domestic affairs, for adopting prejudicial attitudes towards the colonies, and for not treating them as equals over the issue of taxation. Greene persuasively demonstrates that the British refusal to recognize American natural liberties contributed to the transformation of Franklin into an apostle of American revolutionary republicanism.

This section, as well, contains a stimulating account about Franklin as a revolutionary diplomat in Paris. Claude-Anne Lopez attempts to answer John Adams's charge that Franklin favored the French too much. She makes a strong case against Adams, claiming that Franklin's status in Enlightenment science, his participation in the salon of Madame Helvétius, and his leadership as master of the Parisian Masonic Lodge of the Nine Sisters contributed to his successful diplomacy. During his mastership in French Masonry's first learned society between 1779 and 1780, Franklin functioned as a diplomatic and cultural broker, recruiting friends and funds for the American cause and diffusing American republican ideologies throughout the cultural circles of Paris.⁷

Esmond Wright, the prominent biographer of Franklin, also assesses Franklin's diplomatic achievements in Paris. Like Jonathan Dull, Wright believes that Franklin exhibited the skills of patience and shrewdness and knew how to

exploit European power politics for the advantage of the struggling revolutionary nation. Wright thinks that Franklin, whose skills in statesmanship resembled those in chess, was primarily responsible for two pertinent diplomatic contributions: negotiating the 1778 political alliance and commercial treaties with France and ensuring that the Mississippi River was the new republic's western boundary in the 1783 Treaty of Paris.

Four years later, Franklin was to appear before the Constitutional Convention. Barbara B. Oberg, the editor of the Franklin Papers, examines in light of recently discovered primary sources his place during this convention. Instead of sleeping through the hot summer, as some historians have charged, Franklin played an active part in effectuating the great compromise concerning the election of the House of Representatives and that of the Senate. During his closing speech to the Convention, Franklin favored the acceptance of the proposed constitution. His moderation and pragmatism were needed at this time for the creation of the new federal republic. The published version of his speech was a powerful tool of the Federalists in securing ratification.

The third part of Lemay's collection is devoted to Franklin's significant role in fostering experimental science. His experiments and ideas realistically demonstrated the Newtonian legacies of mechanism and materialism. The essays of Heinz Otto Sibum and J. L. Heilbron say little about Franklin's experiments and much about his ideas. Sibum discusses Franklin's electrical theories and their connections to bookkeeping principles. He argues that the electrical terms of plus, minus, discharge, and equilibrium, or balance, appeared with frequency in his bookkeeping system. Sibum further believes that Franklin was attempting to use terms from his natural philosophy in order to develop concepts for the study of business, economics, ethics, and political science. In a similar way, Heilbron describes how Franklin contributed to eighteenth century natural philosophy: Franklin's lightning rod and his Pennsylvania fireplace served as prime examples of the application of theoretical knowledge for practical ends. By sending books, journals, and mechanical contrivances to colleagues in European learned societies, Franklin greatly contributed to the diffusion of Nature's useful knowledge. Interpretations in these two essays confirm those found in I. Bernard Cohen's *Franklin and Newton* (1956), a classic work that scholars must consult in investigating Franklin's science. In this majestic study, Cohen in great detail examines the science of Franklin and Newton, Franklin's connections to British and European natural philosophers, the emergence of electricity as a Newtonian science, and many other salient topics relating to Franklin as the Enlightened scientist.

Articles in the fourth section center on Franklin as a patron of the arts. They reinforce his significance in this role, a thesis advanced in *Franklin in Portraiture* (1962) by Charles C. Sellers. Authors of these essays also allude to the importance of a Franklin Cult and depict his achievements in natural

philosophy, diplomacy, and republican theory and practice. In his interesting essay about American and English portraits of Franklin, Wayne Craven shows that they embodied varying perceptions about Franklin's nature; the portrait done by Robert Feke in 1748 reveals Franklin's plainness and his esteemed status as a colonial merchant, while those by Mason Chamberlin in 1762 and those by David Martin four years later accentuate his contributions to Newtonian experimental science by depicting his books and equipment. Craven also discussed "Franklin Drawing Electricity from the Sky," claiming that this well known 1817 painting by Benjamin West in a dramatic way superbly depicts his electrical accomplishments but reveals nothing about his place as a revolutionary diplomat.

There also were many portraits done of Franklin during his mission to Paris. The impressive essay of Ellen G. Miles stresses that the abundance of paintings of Franklin during his Parisian stay can be attributed to the perception that he symbolized the Enlightenment as a successful scientist and republican statesman. Miles examines numerous artistic works concerning Franklin and especially devotes attention to the 1777 painting by Jean Greuze and the 1778 portrait by Joseph Duplessis; both painters profiled him as a hero of American republicanism and diplomacy. Miles also emphasizes the 1778 portrayal of Franklin by Jean Houdon. This bust, which was commissioned by members of the Parisian Lodge of the Nine Sisters, depicts him in the classical style and lauds him for his contributions to the international party of humanity.⁸

Franklin's splendid library reveals another facet of his patronage of the arts. The detailed chapter by Edwin Wolf II about Franklin's library shows that the Philadelphia savant was a bookman in every respect: he bought, sold, published, wrote, and collected books. Wolf explains that Franklin's library, which was never catalogued, contained the largest collection of works about science in eighteenth century America. Among other things, it consisted of the electrical studies of William Watson and the Abbé Nollet, of the aerostatic works of Pilâtre de Rozier about the Montgolfier brothers, and of many journals from scientific societies. The holdings in Franklin's library were diverse: the works of Horace and Plutarch, the writings of Milton and Defoe, the political treatises of Blackstone and Locke, and almanacs concerning different fields appeared in the encompassing collection of this American enlightener.

The next-to-last section of the book focuses on Franklin's thought and writing. Alfred Aldridge has published important monographs about Franklin's literary, philosophical, and scientific ideas.⁹ In his essay about Franklin's alleged Puritanism, Aldridge challenges Max Weber's argument that Calvinism significantly shaped the Philadelphia sage's ideas about capitalism. Aldridge repudiates this contention, claiming that Franklin's table of virtues, which constituted the basis of his thinking about business and commerce, was based on deism and utilitarianism rather than on Puritanism. Aldridge's arguments

are both persuasive and important: Franklin's virtues are at the heart of his personal creed, emphasize the pursuit of commercial activities and civic and moral improvement, and are connected to the Enlightenment's deistic and utilitarian legacies.¹⁰ Another aspect of Franklin's thinking, his view of vanity, is treated in editor Lemay's suggestive essay, based on the *Autobiography*. Lemay effectively demonstrates that Franklin, in speaking against vanity in his *Autobiography*, muted the importance of his civic, cultural, and scientific contributions to eighteenth century America.

The final part of the book treats Franklin's personality. Two articles connect Franklin to the Enlightenment doctrine of humanitarianism. As the essay of John C. Van Horne illustrates, benevolence was central to his personality. Reading important works of Cotton Mather and Daniel Defoe, Franklin became an advocate of collective benevolence. In attempting to be "Useful and beneficial to others," (p. 425) Franklin provided leadership to the Junto, encouraged in 1751 the creation of the Pennsylvania Hospital, and supported other institutions in Philadelphia. Van Horne also demonstrates that Franklin worked to ameliorate the status of Afro-Americans and in 1787 served as the president of the Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery. Examining Franklin's multiple roles, Michael Zuckerman, in one of the volume's most impressive essays, likewise argues that Franklin, a believer in collective benevolence, was somewhat personally ambitious but much more dedicated to the good of America and Philadelphia. Zuckerman believes that Franklin was indeed a public servant and that his major roles as scientist, revolutionary, diplomat, and civic leader can be explained cogently in light of his sincere wish to benefit society.

Overall the Lemay collection offers vivid insights into the multifaceted career of Franklin. Additional essays about Franklin's attitudes towards medicine, his thinking as a classical deist, his involvement in Pennsylvania politics, and his role as a Philadelphia booster would have further strengthened this book.¹¹ There also is a genuine need for an encompassing monograph concerning the many and varied contributions of Franklin to the Philadelphia Enlightenment.¹²

II

Like Lemay's book, Wood's covers extensive historical ground. It describes the sweeping alterations in American politics, society, and culture from the colonial era to the 1820s. Exceeding in scope his prior classic study *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787* (1969), *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* is both chronologically and topically arranged; it consists of three parts and of nineteen chapters. This carefully crafted, lucidly written book is based on both primary and secondary sources.

In the first part of the book, entitled "Monarchy," Wood identifies major features in the British colonies of America before the 1760s. Colonial society,

in many ways, was traditional and reflected the principles of the mother country. Hierarchy characterized the colonial world and explains colonial Americans' respect for the authority of the crown and for order and social rank. Another major feature of colonial society was patriarchal dependence, which constituted the basis of family life in seventeenth and eighteenth century America. Colonial society was quite masculine; fathers had much to say about the education, the occupations, and the inheritances of their sons and daughters. Patronage was a third major pattern in the American colonies, which enabled commerce to function through webs of private relations. It also determined most political appointments.

Wood's book then discusses classes and institutions in colonial America under the British crown. For example, he observes that patricians in colonial America lacked titles and privileges and were denied acceptance by the English aristocracy. Yet an American gentry possessed wealth and education and maintained social distinctions. They included southern planters and a few merchants from Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. However, Wood devotes minimal attention to a colonial middle class; most merchants, he maintains, were involved with "trade" (p. 37) and were not liked by individuals from the American gentry. But it is known from the studies of Thomas Doerflinger and Carl Bridenbaugh that merchants in Philadelphia and in other American cities prior to 1760 were also involved in various facets of commercial life; they functioned as retailers and wholesalers, participated in international trade, and, in some instances, quickly acquired great wealth.¹³ The activities of craftsmen and artisans in colonial cities before 1760 could have been more extensively investigated and should not have been contrasted too sharply with a gentry whose status also largely depended on commerce.¹⁴ Nor does Wood talk much about such colonial cultural institutions as churches, colleges, and learned societies.

In the second part of his book, "Republicanism," Wood examines the rapidly changing social, economic, and political spheres in colonial America after 1760. Sections on "Loosening the Bonds of Society" and "Enlightened Paternalism" are quite instructive. Wood demonstrates that stratification and mobility arose as major patterns in American society by the mid-1760s. The influx of immigrants from the British Isles, France, and Germany gave impetus to the further development of the commercial and artisanal classes in Philadelphia and in other American cities. Expanding population also led to the creation of settlements in the central and western regions of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Carolinas and to the evolution of backcountry elites.¹⁵ Wood also shows that American society was significantly altered as a consequence of changes within the family. Colonists took seriously ideas in John Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, which held that children learned through sense experiences and could improve themselves. Wood explains that adoption

of Locke's thinking produced a "revolution against patriarchy" (p. 149) in America and led to the gradual liberation of American children from the domination of their fathers.

American economic growth was also accelerated after 1760. Wood offers some explanations about how Adam Smith's doctrines concerning *laissez-faire* and profits were related to doctrines of the Enlightenment and were quite revolutionary. However, Wood says little about the promotion of western settlements through land companies directed by elites of merchants and planters.¹⁶

Wood cogently explains America's political transformation after 1760. Four lengthy sections recount how Enlightenment ideologies led to the destruction of monarchical culture and to the rise of a republican state. Respect for classical antiquity was a major element of the Enlightenment legacy. Tenets of writers of the ancient Athenian and Roman republics reinforced doctrines of Renaissance civic humanism; the concept of virtue also appeared in eighteenth century republicanism.¹⁷ American republicanism also was indebted to another legacy of the Enlightenment: namely, Whiggism. Revolutionary leaders associated with Britain's radical Country Party such as John Wilkes spoke against Parliament during the Stamp and Tea Act crises for denying colonists' natural liberties and for violating the powers and rights of colonial assemblies. Wood further claims that American republican leaders came from both the propertied and propertyless ranks of society. But together they perceived themselves as a natural aristocracy of patriots who wished to abolish the "corruption" of the crown and to achieve independence. What Franklin, Jefferson, and Washington gave to the eighteenth-century world was something new and quite radical: a republican government empowered to determine public policies and to protect its citizens' natural liberties.

Wood makes a strong case for the importance of the Enlightenment doctrine of benevolence to American revolutionary republicans. As the revolution unfolded, many of its leaders attempted to ameliorate American society through applying the concept of benevolence and through implementing virtuous tenets of a civic morality. Freemasonry, which recruited its members from diverse classes and religions in America, symbolized cosmopolitanism during the revolution and instituted many benevolent activities. Major tenets of this order reinforced doctrines of virtue and republicanism and helped to create an American civil religion.¹⁸

The book's final part, "Democracy," illustrates how significant revolutionary ideologies ignited a transformation in American politics and society up through the Jacksonian era. Wood emphasizes equality; by the late 1780s this concept challenged the republican principles of the American Revolution which instead stressed a belief in community. Then America gradually democratized. Political tensions arising in America after the revolution are well explained in light of

the themes of egalitarianism and elitism. For example, the author presents a vivid account concerning the efforts of the backcountry representative William Findley to stop the rechartering of the Philadelphia Bank of North America in the Pennsylvania legislature in 1786. This event is quite significant, for it reveals how spokesmen of civic equality could successfully confront Robert Morris, Thomas Willing, and other leaders of the Philadelphia mercantile gentry.¹⁹

Wood barely mentions the Constitution, but fully examines key features of political parties in the early republic.²⁰ Between 1790 and 1810, both the Federalists and the Jeffersonian Democrats were involved with interest group politics and with regional and local issues. Wood explains that the Jeffersonian Democrats appealed to farmers and laborers, emphasized the concept of work as being "the natural condition of all men," (p. 285), and established effective state organizations. The Democrats also succeeded in encouraging the participation of ordinary individuals in the political process, thereby securing control of southern and western legislatures and electing the first professional politicians. Wood maintains that in response to Democratic assaults, Federalists championed the patronage system and tried to strengthen the judiciary. They also wished to use the national government to stimulate mercantile and financial interests and favored the rapid settlement of western lands.²¹

Wood explains well expansionist, financial, and business activities in the early republic. He endorses the frontier thesis of Frederick Jackson Turner, maintaining that westward movement could be attributed to "American democracy, self-sufficiency, and individualism" (p. 311).²² Wood rightly argues that the First Bank of the United States was a novel and an essential financial institution, for it provided needed funds for settlements in the "pathless wilderness" (p. 316) and capital for the development of agriculture and business throughout America.²³ He also illustrates the importance of state-chartered banks to the growth of early nineteenth century American capitalism. These institutions funded roads and canals, family farms and retail firms, and manufacturers of textiles and shoes.

Wood's book offers a vivid profile of American society during the 1820s. Members of a new business gentry emerged in towns throughout the nation and aspired to achieve respectability as well as wealth. They flocked to voluntary associations, endorsed the Enlightenment doctrine of benevolence, and supported hospitals, relief societies, and other humanitarian institutions. Members of this class of humble origins in many cases became polished, subscribed to the values of honor and virtue, and greatly contributed to the democratization of the American republic.

Wood's study is impressive. He succeeds in presenting a macro-level view of the American Revolution, which clearly demonstrates that Enlightenment ideologies of republicanism, egalitarianism, and merchant and finance capitalism led to the reconstruction of society and institutions in America well

into the early nineteenth century. Wood also illustrates the centrality of Pennsylvania during the colonial and revolutionary eras and during subsequent periods. However, Wood fails to define fully the features of social classes and to assess adequately the importance of the republican ideologies put forth in the federal Constitution. Nevertheless, Wood's book, similar to Lemay's, breaks new ground in demonstrating the impact of Enlightenment doctrines upon colonial and revolutionary America.

Notes

1. Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation, The Science of Freedom* (New York: Knopf, 1969), II, 558-568; Margaret C. Jacob, *The Radical Enlightenment: Pantheists, Freemasons, and Republicans* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1981), discovered this aspect of the Enlightenment, but unfortunately says nothing about its application to America; Joyce Appleby, Lynn Hunt, and Margaret Jacob, *Telling the Truth about History* (New York: Norton, 1994), pp. 43-45 and pp. 124-125. Patricia U. Bonomi has extensively written about eighteenth century evangelical religions and has expressed doubt about the Enlightenment's impact. See, for example, her essay in Margaret Jacob and James Jacob (eds.), *The Origins of Anglo-American Radicalism* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1984), pp. 243-256.
2. Carl Van Doren, *Benjamin Franklin* (New York: Viking Press, 1938); and Esmond Wright, *Franklin of Philadelphia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986).
3. See I. Bernard Cohen, *Franklin and Newton: An Inquiry into Speculative Newtonian Experimental Science and Franklin's Work in Electricity as an Example Thereof* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1956) and his *Benjamin Franklin's Science* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990); Alfred O. Aldridge, *Franklin and His French Contemporaries* (New York: New York University Press, 1957); Durand Echeverria, *Mirage in the West: A History of the French Image of American Society to 1815* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957); and Claude-Anne Lopez, *Mon Cher Papa: Franklin and the Ladies of Paris* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966). For a discussion of these and other studies about this Philadelphia savant, consult my chapter about Franklin in Frank W. Thackeray and John F. Findling (eds.), *Statesmen Who Changed the World: A Biobibliographical Dictionary of Diplomacy* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1993), pp. 203-213.
4. R. R. Palmer, *The Age of the Democratic Revolution: A Political History of Europe and America, 1769-1800* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959), I, 3-5; 185-206; and 214-217.
5. J. G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Movement: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), pp. 506-552.
6. Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1967), pp. vi-vii, pp. 226-30, and pp. 160-175.
7. R. William Weisberger, "Benjamin Franklin: A Masonic Enlightener in Paris," *Pennsylvania History*, LII (1986), 165-180; idem., *Speculative Freemasonry and the Enlightenment: A Study of the Craft in London, Paris, Prague, and Vienna* (New York: East European Monograph Series of Columbia University Press, 1993), pp. 86-89.
8. Weisberger, *Speculative Freemasonry and the Enlightenment*, p. 85.
9. See especially his *Benjamin Franklin: Philosopher and Man* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1965) and *Benjamin Franklin and Nature's God* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1967).
10. For a discussion of Franklin's virtuous order, consult Paul W. Conner, *Poor Richard's Politics: Benjamin Franklin and his New American Order* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp. 3-66.
11. The concept of boosterism is discussed in Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Americans: The National Experience* (New York: Vintage Books, 1965), pp. 115-168.
12. On this point, see Carl and Jessica Bridenbaugh, *Rebels and Gentlemen: Philadelphia in the Age of Franklin* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968).
13. See Thomas M. Doerflinger, *A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise: Merchants and Economic Development in Revolutionary Philadelphia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986, pp. 11-69; and Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in the Wilderness: Urban Life in America, 1625-1742* (New York: Capricorn Books, 1964), pp. 185-188 and pp. 338-341.
14. Gary B. Nash, *The Urban Crucible: The Northern Seaports and the Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986), pp. 1-35.
15. James A. Henretta and Gregory H. Nobles, *Evolution and Revolution: American Society, 1600-1820* (Lexington: D.C. Heath, 1987), pp. 112-124.
16. Marc Egnal, *A Mighty Empire: The Origins of the American Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), pp. 122-269.
17. For a discussion of the classical themes of

the Enlightenment, see Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation: The Rise of Modern Paganism* (New York: Knopf, 1966), I, 109.

18. The connections of Freemasonry to civil religion are examined in Catherine L. Albanese, *Sons of the Fathers: The Civil Religion of the American Revolution* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1976), pp. 129-137; and in Weisberger, *Speculative Freemasonry and the Enlightenment*, pp. 32-35.

19. On the roles of Robert Morris and Thomas Willing in the Bank of North America, consult the superb study of Edwin J. Perkins, *American Public Finance and Financial Services, 1700-1815* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1994), pp. 106-136; see also Janet Wilson, "The Bank of North America and Pennsylvania Politics: 1781-1787," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXVI (1942), 3-28.

20. A stimulating discussion of the Beard

Thesis is presented in Appleby, Hunt, and Jacob, *Telling the Truth about History*, pp. 137-141.

21. For interpretations of the Federalists being a Court Party in the early American republic, see Stanley Elkins and Eric McKittrick, *The Age of Federalism: The Early American Republic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 18-29.

22. For a recent interpretation of the Turner Thesis, see Appleby, Hunt, and Jacob, *Telling the Truth about History*, pp. 116-119.

23. For interpretations about the important role of the First Bank of the United States, see Perkins, *American Public Finance*, pp. 235-265; James O. Wettereau, "New Light on the First Bank of the United States," *Pennsylvania Magazine of Biography and History*, LXI (1937), 263-285; and Burton A. Konkle, *Thomas Willing and the First American Financial System* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1937), pp. 135-200.