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I

An Unknown Franklin Cartoon

The cartoon was one of Franklin’s favorite forms of propaganda in the colonial struggle with the mother country, and he used it often in his newspapers. His earliest appeared in the pamphlet, “Plain Truth,” written and published by him in 1747 (Figure 1), in which he urges the citizens of Pennsylvania to prepare for defense. Hercules is depicted sitting on a cloud, leaning on a club, while in the foreground three horses are struggling to draw a heavy wagon out of the mire. The wagoner is praying to the gods for help, and Franklin makes Hercules give his reply, “Heaven helps only those who help themselves.” This cartoon has particular importance, since it was the first attempt in the colonies to symbolize a political situation.¹

Perhaps Franklin’s most famous cartoon, certainly the best known, is the one captioned “Join or Die,” showing a snake divided into eight segments representing the colonies. It appeared first in the Pennsylvania Gazette of May 9, 1754, just a month before the Albany Conference was called to form a union of the northern colonies against the Indians. The cartoon was frequently reproduced in other papers, with some variations, as the struggle with England progressed. The version shown in Figure 2 appeared in the Pennsylvania Journal (1775), and, representing a larger group of colonies, calls for a broader plan of action than that of 1754. This cartoon provides an early characterization of an idea familiar in American history, of which the current slogan is “In Union There is Strength.”

William Murrell, in his volume, A History of American Graphic Humor, remarks that it was ironical that Franklin, who probably invented the American political cartoon, was the first man of public importance to have it used against himself. This cartoon, “The Paxton Expedition,” by Henry Dawkins, was prompted in part by

Non Votis, &c.

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

UNITE OR DIE.
Franklin's bitter attack on the "Paxton Boys" for their frontier attacks on the Indians in 1764.2

Franklin was the perfect embodiment of the middle class American; this was his strength. Just as Jefferson and Lincoln represented the people, so did Franklin. Consequently, these men could always get a hearing, while the motives of Washington, Hamilton, and Jay were often suspected by the common people. Franklin seems to have wished to conceal the authorship of his propaganda, whether it appeared in newspaper articles, pamphlets, or cartoons. He was not completely successful in this endeavor, although there are undoubtedly many articles written by him in the Gazette for which he has never been given credit. Franklin realized that if his ideas were to achieve the influence he desired, his propaganda would have to be read throughout the colonies.3 As a publisher of a prosperous newspaper and as a noted printer, he was indeed in a fortunate position. These circumstances, combined with his abundant ingenuity, made him one of the leading propagandists of his day, and his political cartoons, so widely used, were by no means the least successful of his efforts.

To be sure, Franklin's cartoons are not many, although variations of the few originals would seem to give that impression. They are, however, proof of his political perception and of his pithy and precise analysis of his times; the variations evidence their adaptability to the expanding colonial struggle.

Among the Franklin letters recently purchased by The Historical Society there is a small, undated engraving (Figure 4). It was not catalogued for the sale, nor was it even in an envelope; apparently the dealer considered it valueless. It is, perhaps, not an exaggeration to say that it could possibly be the most valuable item in the collection; certainly it is one of the rarest, for no other copy can be located in any of the Franklin libraries. Unfortunately, too little can be found out about this engraving, "MAGNA Britannia her Colonies REDUCED."

In the December, 1768, issue of The Political Register, published in London, appeared a cartoon, "The Colonies Reduced," reproduced

9 Ibid., I, 13.
3 While in England prior to the Revolution, Franklin arranged with Harman Husband, a North Carolina Regulator, for distribution of such propaganda in the southern back country. E. W. Caruthers, A Sketch of the Life of the Rev. David Caldwell (Greensboro, N. C., 1842), 120.
in this article in Figure 3. Although the creator of the drawing is unknown, it is quite certain that Franklin conceived the idea, and probably made a rough sketch for the artist to follow. Joseph Galloway, writing to Governor William Franklin, April 29, 1766, says: "I suspect the print [Figure 3] enclosed by Dr. Franklin to me and several others, is his own. It is certainly a good one, and explains the subject deeply. The lance from the thigh of New England, pointed at the breast of Britannica, is striking, as is indeed every other emblem." William Temple Franklin gives the following account of this device, and the use made of it by its author. "During the disputes between the two countries, Dr. Franklin invented a little emblematic design, intended to represent the supposed State of Great Britain and her Colonies, should the former persist in her oppressive measures, restraining the latter's trade and taxing their people by laws made by a legislature in which they were not represented. It was engraved on a copper plate. Dr. Franklin had many of them struck off on cards, on the backs of which he occasionally wrote his notes. It was also printed on a half sheet of paper, with the explanation and moral."

These cards were probably printed in London, in 1774, from the 1768 engraving in The Political Register. The legend, "Give a farthing to Belisarius," implies Britain's reduction to beggary, just as the once victorious Roman general was obliged to beg for a living. The reader will note in the cartoon that Britannia is seen sliding off the world, her limbs severed, her shield and lance useless, her ships for sale (symbolized by brooms at the masthead), and the English oak blasted.

If one compares the version of the cartoon in Figure 4 with the reproduction in Figure 3, many differences in detail are readily apparent, although the general "motif" is much the same. On the reverse side of the "Magna Britannia" engraving, there is a handwritten explanation in French of the drawing and its use (Figure 5).

4 In his article, "Franklin, America's First Cartoonist," Charles H. Sykes writes that Franklin "produced and distributed in 1753 a rude copper-plate engraving ... entitled 'Britannia Reduced.' " The source of this date is not given, and the representation appearing in The Political Register of 1768 is still the first known to this author. J. Henry Smythe, Jr., ed., The Amazing Benjamin Franklin (New York, 1926), 159.

5 Jared Sparks, The Works of Benjamin Franklin (Boston, 1838), VII, 313.

6 Ibid., IV, 456-457. The American Philosophical Society has one of these copies of the 1768 cartoon (Figure 3), printed on a large sheet of paper.

7 Murrell, I, 4.
Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.
Billet Prophétique

Le Docteur Franklin député de l'Amérique Angloise en 1775 après avoir tenté à Londres les plus grands efforts auprès des Ministres & des représentants de la Nation pour leur faire sentir le danger du parti auquel on s'obstinait, prit congé. En allant faire ses visites il laissa la Carte que lon voit, dont l'Allégorie est aussi sensible que l'accomplissement de la Prédiction est frappant.

Pour l'intelligence de la gravure, il faut savoir que les Anglois représentent l'Angleterre sous la figure d'une belle femme armée d'un Bouclier & d'une Lance assise sur le Globe terrestre. C'est-elle que l'on approche, elle est tombée de son Siège, son bouclier & sa Lance sont à côté d'elle, la désolation est peinte sur son visage, dans sa cheû elle a perdu les bras & les jambes qui sont éparcés çà & là, & qui portent les noms de diverses Provinces de l'Amérique. De la main du bras gauche, sur lequel on lit Promissive s'échappe un Rameaux d'oliviers, le Docteur est de cette Province. Dans le lointain s'offrent des navires sans aggrès, sans apparaux, un tronc d'arbre qui n'a ni branches ni feuilles occupe le coin de la Cartouche. La légende Date, obelum polifarii, Donnez une obole à Bélisaire, peint l'état de détresse auquel la grande puissance va se trouver reduite par la défection de ses Colonies.

Fig. 5.
A translation of the legend marks more clearly the points of similarity and difference with the cartoon of 1768:

**Prophetic Note**

Doctor Franklin, deputy of English America in 1775, after having made the greatest efforts in the service of the ministers and representatives of the nation to make them sensible to the danger of the course they insisted on pursuing, took his leave. While making his visits he left the card seen here, of which the allegory is as perceptible as the fulfilment of the prophecy is striking.

To understand the engraving it must be known that the English represent England as the figure of a beautiful woman, armed with shield and lance, seated on the terrestrial globe. She is seen here, fallen from her seat, her shield and lance are lying at her side, sorrow is depicted on her face, in her fall she has lost her arms and legs which are scattered around and which bear the names of the different provinces of America. An olive branch has slipped from the hand of the left arm, upon which can be read Pennsylvania, the doctor is from this province. In the distance stand vessels without gear or rigging, a tree trunk without branches occupies a corner of the cartouche. The legend Date Obolum Bellisario, Give a coin to Belisarius, describes the distress to which Great Britain is going to find herself reduced by the defection of her colonies.

It is a reasonable assumption that the engraving shown in Figure 4 is one of those “calling cards” which Franklin had made during his stay in England. The description on the reverse side, written in a copper-plate hand, would seem to indicate that Franklin had intended to have a number struck off for use as propaganda among his French friends. This might well explain why the engraving was found among Franklin’s personal effects, and why the “Prophetic Note” is written in French. It may even be possible that Franklin had intended to have it printed by his own press at Passy. The illustration is more finely done than the rudely drawn newspaper cut, befitting the use for which the engraving was made. It is of additional interest that the engraving is printed on woven paper, which had been in use in England since around 1760. The copper plate from which the cartoon was pulled was obviously quite worn, indicating that a considerable number of cards must have been struck off. The existence of this one known card, therefore, makes it indeed a Franklin item of great and rare interest.

**Philadelphia**

**Frederic R. Kirkland**

8 Chronologically, it is possible for this engraving to have been printed in France, for in 1777 Franklin had exhibited woven paper in Paris. In 1781, M. Johannot of Annonay was awarded a gold medal by Louis XVI for his work in this field. Dard Hunter, *Papermaking Through Eighteen Centuries* (New York, 1930), 219.
II

A Franklin Footnote

From Paris, on May 20, 1778, Monsieur Mesny wrote to Benjamin Franklin in Passy, that he was sending him for distribution in America, fifty copies of M. de la Faye's *Recherches sur la Préparation que les Romains Donnoient a la Chaux*, and fifty copies of the supplement, *Mémoire pour Servir de Suite aux Recherches*. . .

J'ay l'honneur d'envoyer a Monsieur francklin ainsi qu'il a bien voulu me la permettre cent exemplaires brochés dont 50 intitulés, *Recherches Sur la préparation que les Romains donnoient a la Chaux*, et 50 du suplement intitulés *mémoire pour Servir de Suite aux recherches que les Romains donnoient a la Chaux* par M de la faye, priant Monsieur francklin de les apostiller de Sa recommandation pour les faire passer dans les Etats unis d'amérique, et le laissant le Maître dy fixer tel prise qu'il jugera a propos.

J'ay lhonneur d'être avec un très profound respect De Monsieur francklin.

Le très humble et tres obeissant Serviteur

Paris le 20 May 1778

Mesny

Franklin's reply to this request is included among letters of the Franklin Collection in The Historical Society.

Sir

I will take care of the 100 copies of M. de la Fay's excellent Work which you have sent me, and forward them to America by the first good Opportunity, where I am convinc'd they will be very useful. I

1 Rudolph Hirsh of the University of Pennsylvania Library suggests that M. Mesny may be Dr. Bartolomeo Mesny (1714-1787), an Italian physician at the Court of Florence, who wrote on fossils, as well as on other subjects. The Editors welcome any further identification of M. Mesny, particularly information establishing a connection with Franklin.

2 This letter is to be found in the Franklin Papers, Vol. 92, No. 186, American Philosophical Society. The English translation of M. de la Faye's book is: *Researches on the Preparation of Limestone by the Romans.*
shall put them into proper Hands for Sale, who will in due time render you an Account.—I have the Honour to be very respectfully,

Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant

Passy, May 20.
1778
B Franklin

These letters constitute another of the many interesting little episodes in Franklin’s career. They are not of major importance in themselves, but today they raise rather an interesting question—what became of M. de la Faye’s books in America? Strangely, there is no copy in the possession of the American Philosophical Society, that institution so dear to Franklin’s heart, nor is there one in The Historical Society, which in 1885 purchased from the Athenaeum most of the pamphlets in Franklin’s personal library.

After considerable searching, one copy of this French work was found at the Library Company. The small volume is bound in contemporary calf, now in rather poor condition, and contains the two pamphlets. There is a copy of M. de la Faye’s book in the Library of Congress, and one in the British Museum; there are undoubtedly some in Paris.

But where are the other copies which Franklin sent to America from France?

F. R. K.
Biographical notes on Nicholas Scull are to be found in another article in the present issue of this Magazine. Suffice it for the present merely to add that he was an early member of Franklin's famed Junto and a good hand at turning a verse.

The Historical Society owns six of Scull's small parchment-bound notebooks filled with surveying notes, jury lists, and other matters. The period covered by these little books, as attested by numerous dates, falls between 1729 and 1737. One of the notebooks, containing dates for the years 1731 and 1732, includes a poem, twice written out, the second version being somewhat shorter and altered in various details from the first.

These verses have an unusual interest since they describe a meeting of the Junto, and, in mentioning certain of its members by pseudonyms of poets, clearly characterize the Junto's guiding genius, Benjamin Franklin.

The second, or revised, version of the poem is the one we have chosen to print.

N. B. W.

"B"

'Twas when the Spring had clad her self in green
And Blooming Peachtrees in their Pride were seen
When weried Ploughmen to their rest repair
And Whippoorwill began his Evening care
Twas then being Tird with a Tedious Ride
I laid me down and cast my cares aside
But restless fancy with a mem'rous train
Of P[l]easing Ideas soon Possess my brain
The Junto room did first to View appear
And Whilst I slept I saw the Junto there
Three Queerys in Philosophy were first
Gravely considerd & at length Discust
A Declamation next was read in Course
Wherein keen wit did Virtues laws enforce
Where Strength of thought in lofty Language shone
Such as famd Swift or Addison might own
Business being ore a Difrent Scene appeard
first the soft flute in pleasing notes is heard
Next see the Juice the witty Bards inspire
With Bright Ideas and Poetick fire
Tunefull Timotheus first begun the song
Sweet were his numbers & his sentiment strong
He sung the Justness of Britania laws
& how Perverted to support a Cause
How Gold alone 'tis moves a Lawyers tongue
And Rich or poor with him is right or wrong
He also sung but with a diffrent air
That 'mongst the Crowd some instances there are
Of these who will the poor mans cause maintain
Without the mercenary hopes of gain
But here his Numbers flowd confusdly on
And faulttring Accents sheowd his muse was gone
Young withers next a Pennsylvania Bard
Whos muse has oft on Delwar banks been heard
Renownd of old for soft harmonious lays
Who sometimes Pa'tr'als writes & sometimes Plays
He wheilst sweet Verse flowd freely from his tongue
the Pleasing labour of the Gard'ner sung
How tender twigs by art are tought to bear
On that same stock the apple & the Pear
How Passing Pores of Diffrent shape the Juice
Who Diffrent forms and Diffrent fruit produce
Bargos whos birth is by fair Boston claimd
And Justly is for a great Genius fam'd
Proceeded next to sing New Englands fate
Her case how Des'prate and her foes how great
How B——r crosst the seas to plead her cause
Secure her freedom & support her laws
How like a Rock unmovd the Hero stod
Exposd to danger for his countrys good
And as the only means for her Reliefe
Wisely Procurd himself to be her Cheife
How cloth'd with Power how he Perceives his faults
Her Power & Granduer gives us strength of thought
He tells New England now, her cause is wrong
Thus with her sovrain to contend so long

1 "Tunefull Timotheus" almost certainly refers to the name of the poet and musician of Miletus, mentioned in *Alexander’s Feast* by Dryden. His identity to any individual member of the Junto cannot be placed with certainty.

2 "Young withers" refers probably to the name of the English poet George Wither who had recently (1728) been sneered at by Pope in *The Dunciad*. Pope spelled the name as Withers.

3 It is disappointing to record that we have not been able to place the name "Bargos." We welcome the assistance of any of our readers in identifying it. The reference, of course, is to Franklin.
Perswades her sons two thousand pound is just
The King Commands it & obey they must
Yet they maintain what their forefathers held
Nor to their monarch will their freedom yeild
Young Oldham now in flowing numbers sings
Britania happy in the best of Kings
How her great Monarch by Judicious care
Has gaind a peace without the cost of war
that with a nod from his Imperial throne
Contending nations lay their arms down

Now Each has sung in sweet Poetick lays
Timotheus then take ye soft flute & plys
that ore each to their severall homes.

4 This episode refers to Jonathan Belcher who had been sent as agent to England by Massachusetts because of that colony’s difference with her governor. While in England he was appointed Governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire and soon saw the other side of the question. It is interesting to note that in Franklin’s Pennsylvania Gazette for February 24 to March 5, 1729/30, there appears a poem dealing with these events, entitled “The Rats and the Cheese; a Fable.” This is preceded by an editorial comment on Governor Belcher, which was almost certainly written by Franklin. The fable itself may also have been written by him and first read at a Junto meeting.

5 “Young Oldham” may have been John Oldham about whom Dryden had written. For the notes included here on the poets, thanks are due to a distinguished Franklin scholar who prefers to remain anonymous.
IV

Voyage to England, 1763-1764

I. Advice to a Stranger in London, 1763

George Croghan was aware that Indian trouble was brewing in the spring of 1763, but even so he did not anticipate Pontiac’s uprising. For four years he had been resident Indian agent at Fort Pitt from which duty he had at last received leave of absence to journey to England. Shortly before his departure for the east, so soon to be followed by frontier disaster, Croghan obtained from an officer of the garrison, Lieutenant John Ormsby Donnellan, some notes which might be of use to him while abroad. These notes, which follow, were written down by the Lieutenant in a small note book which Croghan took with him when he left for Philadelphia.

N. B. W.

A Few Memorandum which may Be of Use to a stranger on his First Arrival in London & in other Parts of England. Fort Pit April 15th 1763.

To a stranger who comes to London either for Business with the Secretarys of State, or Lords of Trade, or for Pleasure, I would by no means recommend it to him to live in the City because it is so far from the sate of his Business, that he cannot be in time there of a morning. The Best Place for him to stop his Post Chaise at & for convenient Lodging is Haddocks Bagnio at Chairing Cross where he may have a Genteel Appartment at any hour of the Day or Night & is the exact center of St. James End of the Town. it is just by Privy Guarding where the Lords of trade meet to do Business in a morning. it is also just by the Parliment House & also the Secretarys of States office where my Lord Hallifax\(^1\) meets to do Business etc. his house is in Downing Street Westminster. Mr. Gerrard Hamilton is my Lords Secretary & a Great Favourite. It is also near the Park where

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\(^1\) George Montagu, second Earl of Halifax, was placed at the head of the Board of Trade in 1748. The following year Halifax, Nova Scotia, was named for him. He became Secretary of State in 1762.
all Genteel Company meet about one o clock & near the War Office where Mr Johnson is Second Clarke & near Ring Street Westminster where Mr. Hurst formerly of Boston but last from New York now lives; he is a Great Favourite with Charles Townsend the Present Secretary of War who is Principally consulted upon the American affairs by the Parliment; He & Lord Hallifax being supposed to know most of the American affairs of any great men in England; Mr Hurst & Johnson are generally of an Evening at the Hungerford Coffee house in the Strand near Chiring Cross, & in a morning at Forrests Coffee house Charing you may meet them; These Two Gentlemen can best inform you whether the Parliment has done any thing in the American affairs also I would consult Johnson in what manner I should apply either to the Lords of Trade or Lord Hallifax first. Mrs Donnelson in Manchester Buildings Westminster Bridge is a Great Favourite with Lord Hallifax & lives with him²; Mr Crucifix of Sr Robert Wilmotts³ St. James House who I write to, can best instruct you how to get her interest. My Lord Hallifax is of the Mountague Famely & has several Daughters Lady Mountagues. Mr Nugent⁴ Member for Bristol lives in Parliment Street Westminster. as soon as you have been a Few Days in London I would advise to take a Private Lodgings a Geenteel First Floor in Pell Mell or near St. James. St. James Coffee house is a Very Genteel one just by the Kings Pallace. I would recommend to you the first thing as you are a stranger to the streets to get the very first Week a Good London Servant & make him go with you every where. the Best Place to hire a Genteel Carrige is at Stubbs Duke Street St. James & it is much cheapper than a Chair or Hackney Coach you have it for so much a month; my Brother Gilbert Donnellan lives in Manchester Buildings who I request you will see & give him my Letter & the skins. I request you will call on him of a morning about Ten o’clock. Captn Darcy is very intimate with Mr Nugent Member for Bristol & is to

² Mrs. Donnelson had been a singer at the Drury Lane Theatre. Deserted by a worthless husband, she later became governess to Halifax’s daughter, and then his mistress, by whom he had two children. Dictionary of National Biography, XVI, 201.
³ Sir Robert Wilmot was secretary to the Lord Chamberlain. Gentleman’s Magazine (1772), 599.
⁴ Robert Nugent, “a jovial and voluptuous Irishman, who had left Popery for the Protestant religion, money, and widows,” was member from Bristol from 1754 to 1774. Dictionary of National Biography, XLI, 269.
be met with or heard of at Georg's Coffee house the Fox of St. James Haymarkett or at Calerafts the Agent in Channell Row Westminster or at the War office White Hall, or at Parkers the Globe Tavern in the Strand, or at St James or the Smyrna Coffee house Pell Mell. Mr. Samuel Toucht of London is an Emenent Mercht. & often consulted in the American affairs: General Webb⁵ you may easily hear of at the War office & it may be of service: General Stanwix⁶ lives just by Golden Square: Mr Kilby the Contracter for Provisions who resided at Albany now lives in St James Street London: Sr Wm. Colebrooke of Broad Street near the Change Banker is one of the Present contracters & Mr Arnel Nesbit of Bishop Gate Street & Franks⁷ are the others: Mr Crucifix will [show] you a sketch of a Memorial for Lord Hallifax as it is his sphere of Business, & I would advise with him on all occasions as my accounts went on, as you will find few of Better abilitys in that way; or more sincerity: During your recess of Business if you chuse to go to Bath for a Few Days I will trouble you with a letter for Mrs. Vesey my Aunt & also a Few skins as a Present for a Muff & Tippett & I dare say you will be very genteely receivd you may easely go in one Day Post from London: I am convinced you will find Bath very agreable.⁸

2. Shipwreck of the Britannia, 1764

Armed with his friend Donnellan’s advice, Croghan left Fort Pitt on about April 30, 1763. The Indian uprising which broke forth so suddenly in the following month found him en route to Philadelphia. For the next few months Croghan was engaged in assisting in the efforts to relieve Fort Pitt and subsequently in arranging his affairs for his mission to England where he had much important business to transact.

⁵ General Daniel Webb was said to have been "the most incompetent staff officer who served in America during the Seven Years War." Ibid., XIX, 573.
⁶ General John Stanwix had served capably in America from 1756 until his return to England in 1766.
⁷ Moses Franks, a London merchant, acted as agent for the Pennsylvania fur traders who sought redress from the government for the losses they had suffered during the French and Indian wars. He was a brother to David Franks, one of the more considerable of the Pennsylvania traders.
⁸ The notebook which contains the foregoing is in the Cadwalader Collection at The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
It was not until December that he was ready to sail in the ship *Britannia*, Thomas Tillett, master. The *Britannia* had reached Philadelphia late in October laden with a large assortment of European and East Indian goods consigned to the firm of Baynton, Wharton and Morgan. While reloading at Carpenter’s Wharf her imminent return voyage to London was advertised together with the information, “She has very good accomodations for Passengers.” Others who booked passage on her included Colonel George Armstrong, who was making a business trip to engage indentured servants in Ireland, and Lieutenant James McDonald, an officer who several months earlier had been one of the beleaguered British garrison at Detroit.

The story of the voyage follows. It was written into Croghan’s notebook, the same one that contained Donnellan’s advice, by Colonel Armstrong sometime after they had all arrived in England.

22 Decr 1763 We left Philada. & arrived the 24 at New Castle where we were detained till the 27th. by Mr. Wharton⁹ who was preparing the Ship Papers same day arrivd on Board the Britania at Ready Island.¹⁰

29th Sunday [December, 1763] took our Departure from the Capes of Delaware with a fresh Gale not fair. Nothing remarkable hapned, the Weather Blustry & Weat, till after we struck Soundings in the English Channel the 25 Jany. at 2 oC. in the morning. the same day at 12 oClocke we spoke with a Belfast Sloop, at 8 oClock a Light was discovered at the Southerd a few Leagues which Capt Tillett took to be Cillie¹¹ and immediately put about Ship being apprehensive of danger on the Rocks north of Cillie, & run back a considerable distance after which he concluded it had been only a ships Lights which we discovered, & then resumed his former course.

26 [January, 1764] at 12 oClock we spoke with a Dutch Ship which told us that Usshent¹² bore West off us 8 Leagues, the Capt. had no regard to the intelligence he recd. from Either Vessel, the consiquence of which proved almost fatal to us as we then were much nearer the French Coast than the Capt. imagained. att 12 at night

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⁹ Probably Samuel Wharton of the firm of Baynton, Wharton and Morgan.
¹⁰ Reedy Island lies below New Castle about opposite to Salem, New Jersey. It was much used as a stopping point for vessels outward bound.
¹¹ The Isles of Scilly, off Cornwall.
¹² Ushant, off the Brittany Peninsula.
the Wind blue hard and at 2 we were oblig’d to Lay to and continued so to do the 27 untill 12 oClock when we were all much Surprized by a Sailor caling out we were just runing upon the Land, the Capt. with much difficulty wore the Ship and stood streight in for the French Land as he said the land we made was Start Point\textsuperscript{13} and at 6 oC. we fell in with the Land from which we cou’d not get clear the Wind and Tide both strong against us, sometime after we were drove almost on Land which some of the Crue said was Plymoot. this gave us all great joye to think we were so near a Good Harbour, but upon coming a little nearer to our great mortification we found it to be the Island of Guarnsey,\textsuperscript{14} here our distress seemed insurmountable as the Wind bleu a perfect hurrican the seas running into mountains high and no Possibility of making a harbour.

Our anxiety increased even to great fear well knowing how dangerous these Islands and Rocks were. The Capt who before seemed to dare all kind of Danger sunk into the greatest dispair & in short was all most useless not withstandg the pressing importunity of Mr. Croghand & all of us for him to do his Duty and leave the Event of this horrid scene to Divine Providence. The Ship wore from this Land with much difficulty but it was not the last. Seven times did we in this dreadfull storm fall in with these Islands and Rocks this Day and so often did the most Mercifull God Protect us from falling untimely Victoms to the Merciless Waves of the Sea, never was the assistance of the Lord more appearently displayed and Granted for the Preservation of his People contrary to all human Probability.

Nor can I omit mentioning another instance of it. Night with all its gloomy terrors was drawg. on and the storm still Voilent, the Sailors Quite Wrught out with sore Labour and fatigue and in short every one of us, as no body cou’d be spared from working his utmost when we discouvred the Garnets an Island of Rocks between the Island of Jersey wh. we had before weatherd and the cost of France, here nothing but instant death presented itself to our faiding Eyes, but God who before so often remarkably save’d us was still present wth. us and the greates reprobate among us cou’d not but acknowledge that the faint endeavours of our own cou’d not avert the im-

\textsuperscript{13} Captain Tillet, thoroughly confused by this time, thought he was approaching the English coast near Plymouth.

\textsuperscript{14} Guernsey Island lies west of the Normandy Peninsula.
pending stroke, the Ship passed of Several Rocks which the Sailors saw under her Bottome and wore off the Others that stood above the surface of the Watter. Thus were we providentially clear of the Islands and Rocks, and at 7 at night we Anker’d in 10 Fadom Watter in Sight of France. We put out a signal of Distress and fired Several Guns, but saw no sign of any Boat from the Shore, tho they knew our distress as the afterwards told us. the Gale continued one of our ankers started and the Cable of an other broke. the ship then drove fast towards the Shore having only one small anker draging after. at 11 oClock A. M. we agreed to hoist out the Boats and strive to save ourselves by getting, we got the Boats ready by 12 & reach the Shore Safe Leaving the most of Effects on Board. the Ship soon struck rocks and drove in pieces very soon to shore. when We made the lower Barbary Shore we were met by hundreds of the rabble and poor people who live by the Wrecks that are made on their coste. the told us that the were all sure we wou’d be drounded out of our Boats as the never had seen an instance of Boats making the Shore in so stormy Weather and Passing over a Chain of Rocks, after what Baggage we had was over halled and looked at we were conducted to Monsier Neverville’s House the Lords of the Manner who was absent but we were very Politely treated by his over seer, and was Viseted by a Priest & his Curate who gave us good advice in every thing.

29 [January, 1764] Mr. McDonald spoke French and was of Infinate Service to the Capt. in saving any part of the Ships cargo that drove on shore. The clergy and other Gentlemen of Distinction Viseted us and ware very Genteel.

30th [January, 1764] we got horses & men hired at great Expense to carry us to the next Town on our way to Callis.  

31st [January, 1764] we stayd. for the Capt. to settle his affairs with the officers of the admeralty.

1st [February, 1764] set out for Parree a small Borro, four Leagues the Road bad & the country very poor tho we passed many

15 James McDonald had served with the Royal American Regiment since 1759. He was promoted to Lieutenant in May, 1761, while stationed at Detroit. After Pontiac’s siege of that fort, McDonald came east to settle accounts with the paymaster. He was now on his way home to retire on half pay.

16 Actually the party did not go to Calais, since they proceeded overland only as far as the mouth of the Seine.

17 Périers?
Gentlemens houses of Distinction, we arrivd at Parree at 3 oClock P. M. heer the entertainment was tolerable, and two Troops of Horse Stationed in this Place, we got acquaintd with the officers who very Genteely offer'd an Escort of their Dragoons which we accepted of. on the 2d. we set out for St Lo, and arrived there at 4 oClock P. M.

4 [February, 1764] we tarried at St. Lo and on the 5. we set out for Ariha Escorted by two Dragoons from St. Lo. we Past a Borro called Byoe, these small towns are all Walled in and Fortified. Ariha is one of the Prettiest Towns in France where there are a number of English Gentn. at the Academy.

6 [February, 1764] we staid to get fresh horses and was shewn all the curiosities of the place by Mr. Williams an English Gentn. who was here with his Family with whom we Brackfasted and Dined. The Aby and Churches are very magnificent Buildings, and furnished with the Best Paintings in France, and the most curious works cut out of Brass and Iron. Wm the Conkerour Lays in the Aby of the Benedit, and his Wife in the Nunery or Benedictine Abby.

The Country here is very Beautifull but at this Season of the Year it is Generally over flowed. We have found the French hitherto troublesomely complisant and Deceitfull and not to be trusted. The nine tenths of them are Beggers and the most miserable Writches that ever existed.

7 [February, 1764] at 9 oClock P. M. we arrived at L'an fleuvre a very pretty little Town on the River Seine 4 Leagues from the mouth of sd. River or from Haver degrasse for which last we set out in a Boat on the 8 at 12 oClock and reached it at 4 where we got a Small Sloop just Seting out for the Isle of White, this Town is Extremely well fortified and the Shippen lays in an artificial Bason which effectually securs it from the force of the Storm, several English Merchants are settled here. at ½ after 4 oClock P. M. we set out in the Small Sloop for Portsmouth and as we were favoured with a fair Gale reached it in 20 hours to our no little satisfaction after feeling the dangerous effects of a Winter Passage, and Experiencing the fatigue & heavy expense of travelling thro' part of France.

18 Bayeux.
19 From its description Ariha was Caen.
20 Honfleur?
John Adams on the History of the American Revolution

On Monday, November 28, 1796, Elihu Hubbard Smith\(^1\) inoculated the child of Charles Adams. On Wednesday, he revisited the Adams household to observe his patient. There he met and talked with Charles’s father, John Adams, Vice President of the United States. Smith entered the following account of the conversation in his diary\(^2\) under the date, November 30, 1796.

This, tho’ not the first time of my seeing him, was the first time of my being in his company; & till now I had a very imperfect idea of his countenance. The opportunity was good, & I spent near two hours with him. Some interruptions broke the chain of a conversation, concerning the origin of the American Revolution, which promised to be very interesting. Mr. Adams considers James Otis as “the father of the Revolution.” Mr. Otis’s publications have never been collected. Mr. Adams exprest a fear lest there should never be any good history of the Revolution written. The ground of this ap-

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\(^1\) Born in Litchfield, Connecticut, in 1771, Elihu Hubbard Smith was graduated from Yale in 1786, the youngest graduate up to that time. The following year he attended Timothy Dwight’s school at Greenfield Hill. Thereafter, he prepared for a medical career under Dr. Sheldon of Litchfield and Dr. Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia. After an unsuccessful attempt to establish himself in Wethersfield, Connecticut, he moved to New York in 1793 and remained there until his death in 1798. In his furiously active life of only twenty-seven years, Smith distinguished himself in the society of his day as a poet, essayist, dramatist, editor, anthologist, biographer, medical historian and Connecticut Wit. Almost forgotten today, he played a vital part as an American literary pioneer. For additional information, see James E. Cronin, *The Life of Elihu Hubbard Smith* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Yale University Library).

\(^2\) Between 1795 and 1798, Smith kept a daily record of his activities, thoughts, letters and other writings, which amounted to about 350,000 words. This seven-volume diary, as yet unpublished, contains a sprightly account of schoolboy education and life at Yale, a detailed picture of Connecticut and New York literary society, plus hundreds of thumbnail sketches of such worthies as Noah Webster, Charles Brockden Brown, James Kent, Jedidiah Morse, Benjamin Rush, William Dunlap, Richard Alsop, Timothy Dwight, Alexander Hamilton, Lafayette and Washington.
prehension was, that the material facts have never been published; that they were in the memories of individuals, who were dying, one after another; & that no person qualified for the purpose, was employed in collecting the anecdotes which these individuals might afford. He remarked that, could their papers be published, the most authentic history, or the best materials for such a history, would be found in those of the Tories. He particularized Hutchinson, Oliver, & Sewall, who died a short time since, in Nova Scotia. These men, he knew, preserved notes of all the events, & had the originals of the principal papers; but, events having happened so contrary to their wishes, expectations, & endeavour, it was to be feared that their executors & friends would suppress or destroy them, from a regard to the honor, or reputation, of their authors & possessors. In the course of some remarks on Pennsylvania, Mr. Adams said—that “William Penn was the greatest land-jobber, that ever existed; & that his successors in the administration of that government, had continued the same policy.” The remainder of the conversation was on the topics of the day; & the state of parties in this State. Mr. Adams’s manners are more agreeable than I supposed them to be. There is no affectation, or pride observable in him; yet he can hardly be called a sociable man. It is not proper to judge from one interview only—but such is the impression left by having been once in his company; &, for at least an hour, alone in his company.
VI

Abraham Lincoln Accepts an Invitation

On February 15, 1861, William P. Hacker and members of his Philadelphia committee presented to President Elect Lincoln in Cleveland, a finely and beautifully engraved invitation to visit Philadelphia. Lincoln's reply was penned the same day that the invitation was received. W. P. Painter, the correspondent on the Lincoln train, preserved for his newspaper, the Philadelphia Inquirer, the only known copy of the reply of Lincoln.

Cleveland

J. H. Cramer

Cleveland, Ohio, Feb. 15, 1861

Gentlemen:—I have today received the invitation you extend me on behalf of the Select and Common Councils of the City of Philadelphia, to visit the same and partake of its hospitalities, while on my way to the Federal capital.

I accept with much gratitude the proffered honor and hope to arrive in your society on Thursday, the 21st instant, at four o'clock P. M.

Your obedient servant

A. Lincoln

Wm. P. Hacker, Esq., Chairman, and members of the Committee, etc. Philadelphia Inquirer, Monday, February 18, 1861