

FRANKLIN'S HOUSE HISTORIC STRUCTURES REPORT

**INDEPENDENCE N. H. P.
PENNSYLVANIA**

NOVEMBER 29, 1969

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INDEPENDENCE N. H. P.
PENNSYLVANIA
HISTORICAL DATA SECTION

BY
JOHN PLATT



DIVISION OF HISTORY
OFFICE OF ARCHEOLOGY AND HISTORIC PRESERVATION

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NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

Title Page Photograph: Taken from a portrait of Franklin painted from life by David Martin in 1766, just about the time the house was finished. This is the way Franklin would have appeared at home while absorbed in matters of importance. A visitor in 1781 did indeed find him "in the exact posture in which he is represented by an admirable engraving from his portrait; his left arm resting upon the table, his chin supported by the thumb of his right hand."

PREFACE

While waiting to board ship for London in April 1757, Franklin posted a few lines to his favorite sister, Jane Mecom, advising her on a sensitive matter:

When ["old people"] have long lived in a house, it becomes natural to them; they are almost as close connected with it as the tortoise with his shell; they die, if you tear them out of it; . . . so let our good old sister be no more importuned on that head.

Franklin's house in the courtyard came to be his tortoiseshell, not because he lived many years in it, but because it was so long a part of his life and so important to him. Perhaps then, after his death the house's purpose was done and its dismemberment twenty-two years later no cause for regret. And in fact, as the tortoiseshell crumbled, no one cared enough for it to mark the day.

Why then do we gather again the faded tatters called evidence and compose again a memory of it? What follows is not a memory only of form and design, bricks laid and money spent; but, more important, of the joys of home and family, the warmth of hospitality and conviviality, the pride of ownership and housekeeping, the hum of the parlors and the clear, young voices in the hallways--those things that make you want to reach out and touch it. The writer for one feels there is a higher purpose to be served; that our labors are not intended merely to add a few more lines to an already impressive literature about the life of Benjamin Franklin. This report reflects

the conviction that historical comprehension demands recreating, insofar as possible through verbalization, this element vital to the historic scene. Word pictures may do what no other means attempts in giving form and substance to the dim memory of this once-thriving home.

The circumstances underlying preparation of this historical data section precluded completing the extensive research recommended in the Part I report. Promising leads were followed as time permitted and a few resulting items added to the files. The preponderance of materials used in it were, however, obtained through years of patient sifting by historians of the Park. Riley, Kurjack, Yoelson, Campbell, Tyler, Quinn, and a dozen others amassed the data now to be found on some three thousand entries in the Park's note card file. Riley made the first investigation as a preliminary to the Service's acquiring the site. In so doing he found much and demonstrated that much could be done to avail. Yoelson for years spent every spare moment adding to the store. Campbell made documented perspective studies over a two-year period. The writer worked along with the others. At all times they enjoyed the cordial cooperation of Park Service officials and staffs of repositories, especially Leonard W. Labaree and his associates of the Franklin Papers publishing project at Yale University and Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., and the staff of the American Philosophical Society Library.

This section of the Part II report stays close to the subject of building the house--with an excursion into the related historical circumstances. Much more can be done with materials at hand on the personalities who comprised the household and the work of architects Samuel Rhoads and Robert Smith. Comparative architectural materials have been left virtually untouched.

J.D.R.P.

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1. TWO HOMECOMINGS IN THE LIFE OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

The Provincial of 1762 Returns

"I got home well the first of November, and had the happiness to find my little family perfectly well, . . . My house has been full of a succession [of my friends] . . . from morning to night ever since my arrival, congratulating me on my return with the utmost cordiality and affection . . ., and they would . . . they say, if I had not disappointed them by coming privately to town, have met me with five hundred horse." Benjamin Franklin, Esquire, late Agent of the Province of Pennsylvania at the Court of His Most Serene Majesty, Deputy Postmaster-General of North America, and Fellow of the Royal Society, recently admitted by Oxford University to the degree of doctor of civil laws honoris causa, had already eclipsed the achievements of any and every American up to that time.

Yet during the five years of his agency Franklin had never once succeeded in arranging a meeting with William Pitt to discuss the affairs of Pennsylvania. Bursting with imperial vision, Franklin made several attempts to see him and unveil his conception of what could become, so he thought, the "greatest political structure human wisdom ever yet erected." But Pitt, Franklin found "was then too great a man, or too much occupied in affairs of greater moment."

Directing a war fought on battlefields of India, Europe, and America, Pitt then viewed Franklin as "merely the agent of a remote colony squabbling with its proprietors."¹

Although his reputation as a scientist had preceded him and Beccaria from Turin penned him a letter of welcome in Latin, Franklin in 1757 as yet had but a small circle of acquaintance on that side of the Atlantic. Printer William Strahan, his correspondent of fourteen years, had already printed Dr. Johnson's dictionary and later was to publish the works of Gibbons, Adam Smith, and Blackstone. Peter Collinson, recipient of Franklin's reports on his experiments in electricity, like Franklin was a member of the Royal Society. They received him and pointed him in the right direction. His first days at the Bear Inn were succeeded by the comforts of four rooms in Mrs. Margaret Stevenson's home at 7 Craven Street, Strand, where he was looked after by two servants brought from Philadelphia. There he acquired a wardrobe of the latest fashions and foibles, silver shoe and knee buckles to go with them. He bought the Gentleman's Magazine; he hired a coach. Son William he entered at the Middle Temple to study law. Guided by the tastes of Mrs. Stevenson, he filled a "large Case" and a "small Box" for shipment to Deborah Franklin with " . . . something from all the China Works in England . . . 4 Silver

1. Carl Van Doren, Benjamin Franklin (New York, 1938), p. 238. [Hereafter cited as Van Doren, Franklin.]

Salt Ladles, newest, but ugliest, Fashion; . . . Breakfast Cloths; they are to spread on the Tea Table, for no body breakfasts here on the naked Table, . . . fine Damask Table Cloths and Napkins . . . [and] a Pair of Silk Blankets," among other things. He was shopping for a harpsichord to present to Sally, and in the box sent her sets of the books entitled The World and Connoisseur. He also was buying a "compleat Set of Table China, 2 Cases of silver handled Knives and Forks, and 2 pair Silver Candlesticks" as he was "obliged sometimes to entertain polite Company."²

The Franklin who returned from London to Philadelphia in 1762 thus had tasted life abroad, exposed his mind to a cosmopolitan company and emerged a different person. Although he protested Strahan's blandishments designed to keep him in England ("I feel here like a thing out of its place . . . I must go home."), he felt tempted to remain. On the eve of departure he admitted that Strahan's "almost irresistible eloquence, secretly supported and backed by . . . [his] own treacherous inclinations" tested his resolve.³ By sailing time he confessed: "Nothing will prevent returning if I can, . . . prevail with Mrs. F. to accompany me."⁴ Once in Philadelphia he missed England and planned to return: "In two Years at farthest I hope to

2. Ibid., pp. 271-72, 276-77.

3. Ibid., p. 300.

4. Ibid., p. 301.

settle all my Affairs in such a Manner, as that I may then conveniently remove to England."⁵

In the end Deborah Franklin prevailed and Franklin himself apparently had second thoughts. Within four months of disembarking he had taken the first steps to provide a permanent residence, and on April 25, 1763, William Franklin informed Strahan: "My mother is so averse to going to sea, that I believe my father will never be induc'd to see England again. He is now building a house to live in himself."⁶ This was the first house he had built during his many years in Philadelphia. And he built it in a style consistent with his newfound station in life--moderate of proportions, plain on the exterior, richly worked on the inside; dignified in its courtyard site.

That he would end his years in the house as then planned he had no reason to doubt. Already in his fifty-eighth year, by the simple act of building he abandoned any pretense of leaving America again, apparently writing finis to the hopes of friends in England. Finding malicious reports that the "diminution of [his] friends were all false," he looked forward to basking happily among those whom he

5. " . . . provided we can persuade the good Woman to cross the Seas. That will be a great Difficulty: but you can help me a little in removing it." Ibid., p. 303. Leonard W. Labaree, ed., The Papers of Benjamin Franklin, X, 169. [Hereafter cited as Labaree, Papers.]

6. Charles Henry Hart, ed., "Letters from William Franklin to William Strahan," The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, XXV, (1911), 426. [Hereafter cited as PMHB.]

held dear. Family considerations must have weighed heavily in the balance. As memories of England faded, the prospective joys of the family reunited must have stirred him deeply. Deborah Franklin bidding goodbye to the plain sixteen by thirty-two-foot rowhouse she had rented the year before from Adam Eckhart; son William Franklin, newly appointed governor of New Jersey and his bride Elizabeth their guests now and again; daughter Sally, now a grown young lady of nineteen and marriageable, receiving suitors in a fine home. Deborah Franklin had lost her mother tragically only the year before and found his presence a comfort.⁷ He had gained sole ownership of the properties on High Street (or the "Market Street" as it was commonly called) formerly owned by his wife's family to add to the properties already under lease. And now he received a windfall payment from the Assembly of Pennsylvania--£2214, 10 shillings, 7 pence over the £1500 already advanced for his agency in Britain. Having ideas of his own on how to live, he now pressed them into service, erecting as he explained years later "a good house . . . contrived to my mind."⁸ Suddenly,

7. "On Dec. 7, 1761, Sarah White Read . . . 'in a fit fell in the fire' and was burned to death. She was buried the next day." Isaac Norris, Jr. Diary, Rosenbach Foundation, quoted in Labaree, Papers, X, 69 n. Mrs. Read had lived with the Franklins for 31 years. She was about 86 years old.

8. Franklin to Madame Brillon, April 19, 1788, Albert Henry Smyth, ed., The Writings of Benjamin Franklin, Collected and Edited with a Life and Introduction (New York, 1906), IX, 643. [Hereafter cited as Smyth, Writings.]

the arrangements had been made and the work begun. Nothing that survives shows that he made any attempt to explain himself to correspondents abroad. Franklin, the Philadelphian, had come home to stay, or so it appeared.

The World Figure of 1785 Returns

Philadelphians had never before quite seen the like of it. The outpouring of popular feeling loosed on Franklin as he returned from France defied description. News of his coming preceded him to Philadelphia by nine days, putting the city on edge and enabling arrangements to be made for a gala reception. Wednesday, September 14, 1785, was the great day. As he neared the wharf cannons boomed and thousands cheered. Bells pealed as he made his way home. By his side from beginning to end, grandson, William Temple Franklin, reported the next day:

we found all the buildings there decorated with flags (of every nation, including even English) and streamers &c. and, from the moment we set foot on land we were surrounded by an immense [crowd of] people . . . which was made remarkable by the most lively acclamations [demonstrating] their satisfaction upon seeing their Friend and Benefactor again. All of the crowd, which is to say all of the City, followed him up to the entry of our Court, . . . I am unable, my friend, to express to you all that I felt pleasurable on that occasion! I cried for joy the length of the streets, and my tears were redoubled when I saw that I was not

the only one so moved.--I shall not speak to you of his interview with his daughter, who was as you may imagine,⁹

Thomas Mifflin reflected later on the event, that "they almost killed the old man with parading him around the streets, but old as he is he was obliged to go through the ceremony."¹⁰ The welcome continued day after day. Before it subsided he had received President of Congress Richard Henry Lee, the Speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly and a delegation from that body, the Provost and professors of the University, and the officers of the militia. He chaired a meeting of the American Philosophical Society and met with survivors of his fifty-year old Union Fire Company. The day after his arrival Pennsylvania's politicians put him at the head of the Constitutionalist ticket, leading a month later to the office of President of Pennsylvania. At last on September 19, finding a moment to send off a line to his sister in Boston, he explained "I am continually surrounded by congratulating friends which prevents my adding more."¹¹ The Pennsylvania

9. William Temple Franklin to Le Veillard, September 15, 1785, Franklin Papers, MSS Pierpont Morgan Library.

10. Quoted from the diary of Robert Hunter in Louis B. Wright, Quebec to Carolina in 1785 (San Marino, California, 1943), p. 171. On November 4 Hunter ran into Franklin "walking to the state house, . . . much broke in his looks since I last saw him at Passy near Paris." Ibid., p. 173.

11. Franklin to Jane Mecom, September 19, 1785, Benjamin Franklin Papers, Library of Congress.

Packet hardly overstated the consensus of feeling in editorializing that his

utmost endeavours have been . . . invariably turned to promote the prosperity of the human race . . . The glory of this father of American Independence will continue to . . . increase . . . Latest posterity will be wrapt in admiration at the prodigious efforts of native genius which . . . shone forth the bright luminary of the western hemisphere.¹²

Franklin's emergence as a world figure was achieved gradually, in the years following his short-lived settling back into colonial society during 1763. Within a year Franklin had become deeply involved in the politics of Pennsylvania on the side of the anti-proprietary party.¹³ When the time came for someone to present the

12. Quoted in Van Doren, Franklin, p. 732. All Europe watched to see how Franklin would be received: "The English papers so incessantly repeating their lies about the tumults, the anarchy, the bankruptcies and distresses of America, these ideas prevail very generally in Europe . . . The reception of the Doctor is the object of very general attention, and will weigh in Europe as an evidence of the satisfaction or dissatisfaction of America with their revolution." Thomas Jefferson to James Monroe, August 28, 1785, Julian F. Boyd, ed., The Papers of Thomas Jefferson (Princeton, 1950), VIII, 445-46.

13. Between April and November 1763, he inspected post offices from Virginia to Boston, accompanied part of the way by Sally Franklin. The Paxton rioters occupied his attention during the winter of 1763-64. While the danger to Philadelphia and the Moravian Indians sheltered there was at its greatest, Franklin and Governor John Penn concerted their efforts to restore law and order. With that episode behind them they took opposite sides on the issues of frontier defense and taxation. At length the Assembly passed a body of resolutions, by the last of which they recessed to canvass their constituents on "whether an humble address should be drawn up and transmitted to his Majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to take the people of this province under his immediate protection and government." Quoted in Van Doren, Franklin, p. 313.

Assembly's petition for revoking the Penn family charter to imperial authorities, Franklin was as always willing and ready. Three hundred followers on horseback accompanied him to Chester as he boarded ship on November 7, 1764. In leaving the family with a half-finished mansion on their hands, he expected to be gone for no more than a few months. In fact, he did not return for ten long years and then to a family circle no longer his own. During the course of this separation, his immediate family was transformed by the death of Deborah Franklin and the marriage to Richard Bache of daughter Sally. Developments he could not have foreseen changed a short mission abroad for the Pennsylvania Assembly into what became virtually a ministry for all the American colonies. And Franklin himself in his person was elevated to the status of a symbol of the entire colonial cause.

Once back in England, Franklin found Pennsylvania's troubles to be of small moment against the larger issue of the Stamp Tax. Not until November was he able to get the Assembly petition as far as the Privy Council, and then only to an adverse ruling. From the day of his arrival Franklin had, in biographer Carl Van Doren's words, "walked everywhere on eggshells." He could not make concessions and could not be too insistent; he had to protest the Stamp Act and boost the petition but at the same time protect his post office position. The furor at home following passage of the tax, Franklin's attitude having been misrepresented, almost cost him his reputation. As British ministries changed and the tax was debated in the House, he

wrote for his friend Strahan's London Chronicle the best statement of the American position to date. Already he looked forward to the time when he would be called on to appear publicly as American advocate, and with a "stage manager's foresight" prepared for it.¹⁴ Called at last on February 12 and 13, 1766, to be examined at the bar of the House of Commons, Franklin answered the Speaker's request to identify himself electrifyingly,

"FRANKLIN OF PHILADELPHIA"

From the exchanges that followed he emerged one of the world's most famous men. He disarmed the Stamp Act's defenders by arguing for ministerial wisdom as well as colonial rights. In full view before the world's most celebrated deliberative body he exposed his listeners to a method and quality of erudition unknown to that age of Pitt's and Burke's eloquence:

no other man alive could have delivered the argument as Franklin did. The most backward squire . . . would have heard of Franklin the philosopher. Now here he was at the bar of the House, a philosopher who had the affairs of a continent--from statistics to sentiments--at the end of his tongue. Nobody else had ever known or thought so much about America. The members could not surprise Franklin with any question for which he had not a reasoned and pointed answer. If they pressed him hard he was firm. If they tried to catch him he turned the answer deftly on the questioner . . . Reasoning was his persuasion . . .

Franklin, whose arts were silent ones, had never before spoken so long before so large an audience, and he never did again. His answers were hardly oratory,

14. Ibid., p. 335.

but they brought him an orator's triumph . . . In the jubilation over repeal in America Franklin was its hero. He had upheld the cause of America before Parliament and won a great victory for his countrymen.¹⁵

The world of this pre-Adam Smith era of mercantile empires, was hearing for the first time a fresh voice on colonial affairs.

Recorded on the spot, the Examination was published during 1766 in Boston, New London, New York, Philadelphia (in German as well as English), and Williamsburg. The next year it was published in French at Strasbourg. Of such delicious moments in history as these are made great reputations and enduring fame.

Now surely he would no longer be needed in England and could return home. But the Assembly thought differently and appointed him for another year--to his manifest inconvenience. Building the mansion had cost him dearly. The partnership with David Hall ended in 1766 and with it the five hundred or so pounds annual income upon which he depended. With only his post office salary, rents and interest on moneys to sustain himself, the family, and establishments on both sides of the Atlantic, Franklin retrenched as best he could, inviting no one to dinner and taking but a single dish when dining home alone. He expected the family to practice like economies, and when Sally married the next year he was able to afford no more than

15. Ibid., p. 353. The coffee houses of Philadelphia gave presents to the crew of the ship that brought the news.

to fit her out "handsomely" with £500 worth of clothes and furniture.¹⁶ By 1770, however, his circumstances had improved greatly; appointed agent of Georgia in 1768, New Jersey in 1769, and Massachusetts in 1770, secure in his postmastership, he now had salaries totalling £1500 per annum. The wages of fame, perhaps, but they obliged him to remain at his post.

As the years sped past and Franklin experienced more the workings of the English government, he came to despair that his grand design for the Empire would ever take form. He detected an essential difference between Great Britain and America that would tend always to keep them apart, for they were endowed differently by nature: "The boundless continent could live by agriculture, the true source of prosperity, while the narrow islands must confine themselves largely to manufactures and trading."¹⁷ If American interests must always

16. Ibid., p. 359. The bridegroom, a Yorkshireman named Richard Bache, had been reported by William Franklin to be a fortune hunter. Sally was in love and Deborah Franklin took the initiative in arranging the wedding while Franklin ignored Bache. Breaking silence while yet apprehensive over his own means, Franklin wrote on August 13, 1768, "I could not . . . , but be dissatisfied . . . and displeased with you, whom I look'd upon as an instrument of bringing future unhappiness on my child by involving her in the difficulty and distress that seemed connected with your circumstances, you having not merely nothing beforehand, but being beside greatly in debt." In time they became firmly reconciled. Quoted in Mrs. E. D. Gillespie, A Book of Remembrance (Philadelphia, 1901), p. 20.

17. In the words again of Carl Van Doren, Franklin, p. 372.

be subordinated to British, reconciliation would be impossible.¹⁸ Each new ministry enacted regulatory measures designed to raise revenue as well as serve the interests of British merchants and manufacturers. A partisan warfare of pamphlets and embargoes supplied the colonial response. For now they asserted their rights and defended themselves through economic coercion. The time would come when constitutional interpretations would cease to matter and they would resort to revolution. The great colonial champions, Dickinson, Henry, and the others, retorted in challenging rhetoric that inflamed people on one side of the Atlantic and won them applause on the other. Franklin, still trying to compose the differences of the two sides, wrote notable pamphlets expounding reason as well as right--and

18. Following repeal of the stamp tax, Parliament, under the Townshend ministry, enacted the measures bearing his name to support crown officials in America and thus make them independent of the assemblies. They also were intended to tighten administration of trade. Franklin pointed out those arbitrary features that were pushing the colonials beyond the limits of endurance: "Americans could not import wine, oil, and fruit direct from Portugal, but must ship it by way of England in order that a few British merchants trading with Portugal might have their commissions. On the complaint of a few British merchants trading with Virginia nine colonies had been restrained from issuing paper money. A few British manufacturers of hats, nails, and steel had been able to prevent the manufacture of those articles in America." [Paraphrase by Van Doren, *ibid.*, p. 385.] Franklin went on, "Reflecting on these things, the Americans said to one another (their newspapers are full of discourses) these people are not content with making a monopoly of us . . . a new kind of loyalty seems to be required of us, . . . a loyalty that is to extend, it seems, to a surrender of all our properties, whenever a House of Commons, in which there is not a member of our choosing, shall think fit to grant them away without our consent," *ibid.*, pp. 375-76.

satisfied neither side. In Whitehall they regarded him as a nuisance, albeit one to be accorded the respect of his adroitness and public reputation.¹⁹ In colonial drawing rooms, they called him a temporizer although his popularity among the general populace remained high.

Earlier than most, Franklin had come to believe that "Parliament has the right to make all laws for us, or that it has the power to make no laws for us." And he thought "the arguments for the latter more numerous and weighty than those for the former." He advocated union under the King, leaving the colonies to govern themselves as they should see fit, though he doubted acceptance and wearied of suggesting it to "so many different inattentive heads."²⁰ Eventually, the Townshend duties were found to cost five thousand times their return in cost of troop-enforced compliance. They were repealed on March 5, 1770, excepting the tax on tea, left standing as a matter of principle. The same day the Boston Massacre took place. With the conflict between Britain and America narrowed to the single point of

19. Townshend died in September 1767, and was succeeded by Lorth North, the king's man in Commons, under whom the war in America was to be prosecuted. For a time Lord Hillsbrough, now in charge of the foreign office, considered establishing Franklin in an under-secretaryship for American affairs; either to use him or to neutralize him. But this scheme fell through. In contemplating the prestige and influence of such a position, Franklin wrote "I am now myself grown so old as to feel much less than formerly the spur of ambition, and if it were not for the flattering expectation that by being fixed here I might more effectually serve my country, I should certainly determine for retirement, without a moment's hesitation." Ibid., p. 380.

20. Ibid., p. 378.

the tea tax, Franklin could forecast the result, as he did in a letter of May 15, 1771, to the Massachusetts Committee of Correspondence.²¹

Although the celebrated Tea Party was still two year's distant, a rupture could be counted on. Despite his convictions on this head,

21. "I think one may clearly see, in the system of customs to be exacted in America by act of Parliament, the seeds sown of a total disunion of the two countries, . . . The course and natural progress seems to be, first, the appointment of needy men as officers, for others do not care to leave England; then, their necessities make them rapacious, their office makes them proud and insolent, their insolence and rapaciousness makes them odious, and, being conscious that they are hated, they become malicious; their malice urges them to a continual abuse of the inhabitants in their letters to administration, representing them as disaffected and rebellious, and (to encourage the use of severity) as weak, divided, timid, and cowardly. Government believes all; thinks it necessary to support and countenance its officers; their quarrelling with the people is deemed a mark and consequence of their fidelity; they are therefore more highly rewarded, and this makes their conduct still more insolent and provoking.

"The resentment of the people will, at times and on particular incidents, burst into outrages and violence upon such officers, and this naturally draws down severity and acts of further oppression from hence. The more the people are dissatisfied the more rigour will be thought necessary; severe punishments will be inflicted to terrify; rights and privileges will be abolished; greater force will then be required to secure execution and submission; the expense will become enormous; it will then be thought proper, by fresh exactions, to make the people defray it; thence the British nation and government will become odious, and subjection to it will be deemed no longer tolerable; war ensues, and the bloody struggle will end in absolute slavery to America or ruin to Britain by the loss of her colonies: the latter most probable, from America's growing strength and magnitude . . .

"I do not pretend to the gift of prophecy. History shows that by these steps great empires have crumbled heretofore; and the late transactions we have so much cause to complain of show that we are in the same train, and that without a greater share of prudence and wisdom than we have seen both sides to be possessed of we shall probably come to the same conclusion." Quoted *ibid.*, 387-88.

Franklin remained at his station, hoping to postpone the catastrophe. He remained the herald of the American Independence his thinking had foretold.

The years after 1770 were full of honors and mounting fame. Late in 1771 journeying through the British Isles, he found himself a public figure, attended the Irish Parliament in Dublin, and visited with famous Scotsmen in Edinburgh and Glasgow. That year and the next he travelled extensively in England, greatly enlarging his circle of acquaintance with that country's literati. In August 1772 he received a letter informing him that he had been chosen an associate member of the French Royal Academy. In all of Europe only eight of the most distinguished scientists outside of France belonged.²² In 1773 Dubourg printed the two volume Oeuvres de M. Franklin (Works of Franklin), bringing him fame in France. Franklin finally had taken on the character that legend preserves to the present. Van Doren sees in the Martin portrait of 1767 a Franklin, "past sixty and easy in the fame which had followed his examination before the House of Commons . . . he looked intent, detached, humorous, kind, firm, and wise: no longer a man of the current fashion but a self-made man who with knowledge and experience had passed through changing fashions to the more lasting status of scholar and philosopher."²³

22. Ibid., p. 400.

23. Ibid., p. 403.

Little more could be done in England. As relations between England and America worsened, Franklin ran afoul of the government over the Hutchinson letters, and having given Privy Council the pretext they so long sought, was denounced roundly before them on January 29, 1774. He ever after felt his silence won him a moral victory. Dismissed from the post office, discredited in official circles, Franklin lingered on a year more, negotiating unofficially with such ministerial contacts as Lord Howe while a shred of hope remained. He left London for Philadelphia reassured by his friends there that not only the rights of Americans but the "salvation of English liberty depended now on the perseverance and virtue of America." They hoped the colonies would stand firm behind the Continental Association (boycotting English goods) until inevitably Lord North's ministry would topple. But while Franklin was still on the high seas before arriving back in Philadelphia on May 5, 1775, Lexington and Concord had closed that chapter and the war was on.

Franklin's hour of departure had struck too late for Deborah Franklin. So many years before in November of 1765 she had written wistfully "This day makes a year since you left home."²⁴ During this last melancholy, husbandless period of her life, she had longed for

24. From William Franklin, December 24, 1774, William Duane, ed., Letters to Benjamin Franklin from His Family and Friends (New York, 1859), p. 21. [Hereafter cited as Duane, Letters.]

his return, saving the finery he had sent from London to wear for him. She had known happiness with daughter Sally Bache's family, especially her little "King bird," grandson Benjamin Franklin Bache. But time and again Franklin's postponements disappointed her. Sometime before December 1774 she suffered a stroke "which greatly affected her memory and understanding."²⁵ In the fall of that year she confided her fears of the worst to son William Franklin: "she never expected to see you unless you returned this winter, for that she was sure she should not live till next summer." To which he added, not without asperity, "I think her disappointment in that respect prayed a good deal on her spirits."²⁶ A saddened Richard Bache furnished Franklin with the particulars of her death:

By a vessel via Bristol, under date of the 17th cur't., I sent you the unwelcome information of my mother's being attacked by a paralytick stroke, the 14th of this month, but at the same time I mentioned that we were not then without hopes of her getting through it, and indeed Dr. Bond fed us with these hopes till Sunday evening when we discovered a considerable change in her for the worse; she continued without seeming to suffer much pain till Monday morning about 11 o'clock when without a groan or even a sigh she was released from a troublesome world, and happily relieved from all pain and anxiety.²⁷

In a final, sad scene the funeral procession formed in the snows of

25. Ibid., pp. 59-60.

26. Ibid., p. 60.

27. From Richard Bache, December 24, 1774, Ibid., pp. 57-58.

Franklin Court on December 22, 1774. William Franklin and Richard Bache were chief mourners; Hugh Roberts, one of the oldest of Franklin's circle, was a bearer. And as Bache reported, "A great number of your old friends [and a very respectable number of the inhabitants] attended on this mournful occasion to pay their last respects to a memory which will be ever held dear by all who knew her; for the good she has done in this life; and this is no small consolation to her numerous friends and relations. . ."²⁸ She had not seen Franklin for ten years.

The mansion house, not yet viewed complete for the first time by its master, now bereft of its mistress, continued to house Sally and Richard Bache and their two sons, Benjamin Franklin Bache and William Bache. When Franklin returned they were on hand as the most agreeable of alternatives to loneliness in an empty house.

He came by night; the supercharged atmosphere of war precluded a hero's welcome. Right away, the next morning in fact, the Pennsylvania Assembly chose him to be one of the delegation for the meeting of Congress to be convened in four days. Soon he was chairing

28. Ibid. Bracketed section of quotation is from William Franklin's letter. He demonstrated his affections in the most positive way: "I came here to attend the funeral of my poor old mother, who died the Monday noon preceding. Mr. Bache sent his clerk express to me . . ., who reached Amboy on Tuesday evening, and set out early the next morning, but the weather being very severe and snowing hard, I was not able to reach here till about 4 o'clock on Thursday afternoon, about half an hour before the corpse was to be moved for interment."

meetings of the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety. His arrival at this juncture brought with it the gift of assurance: Lending his skills to Congress' deliberations would be "the genius of the day and the great patron of American liberty."

From the first day the public closed in on him. Writing to his erstwhile ally in Pennsylvania politics, Joseph Galloway, with whom he very much wanted to discuss the situation, he described his predicament the Monday after his arrival: "At present I am so taken up with People coming in continually, that I cannot stir, & can scarce think what is proper or practicable."²⁹ According to Van Doren his "history from May 1775 to October 1776 is a synopsis and calendar of activities which touch almost every phase of the Revolution except actual fighting."³⁰ With his characteristic knack for being in the right place at the right time and signing all the most notable declarations and treaties and serving on the most important committees and attending the most important conventions, he helped cause events to happen and is associated in everyone's mind with them. Before Independence had been discussed above a whisper by the most radical or most daring, he had dusted off the Albany Plan of Union of 1755 and presented it to Congress as Articles of Confederation and

29. Franklin to Joseph Galloway, May 8, 1775, from Anderson Gallery catalog of Charles F. Jenkins sale, November 3, 1927.

30. Van Doren, Franklin, p. 532.

Perpetual Union. As the chief working member of the Secret Committee, he made the first contacts with France's agents, looking to that great power as the ally through whose aid the colonies would triumph. As a member of the Congressional committee sent to Cambridge for conferences with Washington, he helped lay the basis for a Continental Army under Congress' general responsibility. As a member of yet another committee of Congress, he made an arduous and fruitless trip to Canada in an attempt to win its French inhabitants to the colonies' side. As a member of the committee appointed to draw up a certain Declaration of Independence, he left amendments in his hand on Jefferson's draft even before signing the engrossed copy. As a member of the committee chosen to devise a seal for the United States, he contributed to coining the motto E Pluribus Unum. Before going abroad as Congress' chief commissioner to France, he presided over the Pennsylvania constitutional convention, and negotiated abortively with Lord Howe, now officially, for peace. He was much in demand.

The remarkable success of his mission to France represented the crowning achievement of his long career in public life. Along the way he managed the military and financial assistance necessary to winning the war, signed the French Alliance, the Treaty of Commerce with that nation, and the preliminary and definitive Treaty of Peace with Great Britain. Previously, he had been the peace treaty's principal negotiator. Congress appointed him Minister Plenipotentiary to the French court on September 14, 1778. When he returned home

for the last time in 1785, ill with stone, worn out, and superannuated, he nevertheless was viewed by many as the one man who could "hoop the barrel" of the lagging Confederation.

If he harbored ambitions on this score, he kept them well concealed. In fact, he found nothing very seriously defective on the domestic scene, as he was at pains to inform friends in Europe. People generally prospered, and government could be expected to flourish in time. Called upon repeatedly to endorse good causes, to remain active and prominent in the life of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, he yielded as often as he was approached. But with the understanding that all had to be done at times and places within easy reach. In the remaining four-and-a-half years of life, he never again left Philadelphia, and seldom ventured far from the mansion house itself. Often as not journeys two blocks to the State House, where as President of Pennsylvania he presided over meetings of the Supreme Executive Council, he made in the well-known sedan chair.

Franklin lost little time in discovering an alternative to attending meetings in other places. It was to hold the meetings at home. True, a fine home it was. What there was of it, that is. Adequate as it had been for all calls of hospitality and use of a family of three when planned in 1763, it was now barely adequate for Richard and Sally Bache and the six little Baches who thronged its rooms, passageways and stairs. Also his years in France had greatly increased his personal possessions. Upon his return he shipped no

fewer than 128 boxes, containing books, expensive types, fine furniture, and objets d'art, the famous Houdon bust among them.³¹ A caller on December 4, 1785, found him in the little room on the first floor used as an office, and noted that it made "a Singular Appearance, being filled with old philosophical Instruments, Papers, Boxes, Tables, and Stools."³² The need for more space to accommodate "this venerable Nestor of America," as his guest called him, was apparent. With the good weather in 1786, he began construction of an addition to the mansion which would enlarge it by nearly one-half, and give the family as well as Franklin himself ample room for all functions. A large chamber on the first floor would provide a meeting place for all manner of groups from the handful of members of the Supreme Executive Council to the more than a score of members attending meetings of the Society for Political Inquiries. A spacious library directly over it took care of Franklin's need for room, quiet, and a place to hold his books and apparatuses.

Despite Franklin's advanced age and the fatigue resulting from depleted energies and illness with stone, his mind remained keen, and America's first citizen and the World's most famous private

31. Franklin to Jean Holker, July 25, 1785, in Smyth, Writings, IX, 368. Franklin to Jean-Antoine Houdon, November 30, 1785, Franklin Papers, Yale University. "The Bust is retur'd perfectly safe, and continues to be the Admiration of all that see it."

32. Catherine Van Cortlandt Mathews, ed., Arthur Ellicott: His Life & Letters (New York, 1908), pp. 50-51.

citizen, comfortable in his completed house, would yet play out one more important role, as Constitution-molder, in the time left to him.

2. DR. FRANKLIN BUILDS

As the excitement of his return home subsided in November 1762, Franklin resumed life as a provincial of consequence, a life busy with petty concerns and domestic rewards. Having answered congratulatory correspondence, checked on the progress of such Philadelphia institutions of personal interest as the college and hospital and caught up on his correspondence on philosophical subjects, he resumed public service. Every October in his absence he had been elected to the Pennsylvania Assembly from Philadelphia. Now, on January 10, 1763, he appeared and took his seat, serving subsequently on eleven committees.³³ While thus engaged he had the pleasure of receiving settlement of his accounts as agent for the colony. During February he accompanied his son William through central New Jersey to Perth Amboy, where the younger Franklin assumed office as governor. Along the way they were greeted by corporations of towns, the faculty of the college at Princeton, and the clergy with congratulatory addresses. On April 17 or 18 he left Philadelphia for Virginia on post office business, the first leg of a journey through his entire department that would take him away intermittently until October. With him went invitations from a score of old friends and families to visit as he

33. Labaree, Papers, X, 188-90.

passed through their communities. Apparently, he had eased into the pattern of life he would pursue in the years ahead.

It was during this period of Franklin's life that he decided to build his mansion house in the courtyard. While deciding to do so, he committed to paper nothing explanatory that has survived. Much of his conversation must have centered on this topic, but no one reported it except William Franklin in his cryptic admission to Strahan ("my father . . . is now building a house to live in himself"). Yet plans had to be drawn, features of design considered, and the bargain struck. How he chose the builder, Robert Smith, is equally obscure, although as may be supposed--for Smith was an outstanding designer--Franklin found him qualified to undertake the sort of structure he had in mind. Related circumstances, in point of time as well as materially, were the report of the Assembly's Committee of Accounts of March 4, 1763, awarding Franklin £2214 10s. 7d. over his advance, and bills of exchange in that amount issued on March 16, 1763, thus providing the wherewithal for building.³⁴ From these sums he would have had no trouble making the first payment of record to Smith for the work, in the amount of £96 three weeks later.

The payment to Smith was recorded in two places in Franklin's account books. The first, in the Memorandum Book for 1757-1776, reads:

34. Ibid., pp. 206-07.

Advanc'd to M^r Smith, the Carpenter £96 towards House.³⁵

This establishes what was afoot and for the first time the identity of the man who would play so important a role in giving the house its grace and character. The second, in the Receipt Book for 1742-1764 reads:

Rec^d April 6, 1763 of Benj^a Franklin, Ninety Six Pounds,
towards Purchasing Materials for his House, p[er] me
. . . Rob^t Smith.³⁶

This not only tells what he did with the money but as well indicates the nature of the contractual relationship between Franklin and Smith. Nowhere from the extant Franklin papers has their building contract surfaced; at this late date it must be assumed lost. Yet a contract there almost certainly was. Essential business requirements necessitated the drawing of articles of agreement, when a great deal of money and effort were about to be expended on a building. Of course, oral agreements then as now were not unknown. These articles contained specifications of the work to be done in sufficient detail to provide a basis for legal procedure, should they become necessary, terms of payment, and whatever guarantees of performance might be wanted. At virtually the same time Smith arranged to build for Franklin, he contracted with a Philadelphia widow of means, to build tenant houses on Third Street. Their articles of agreement are in

35. Franklin Papers, MSS, American Philosophical Society Library.

36. Ibid.

a collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and this document is reproduced below in full as Appendix A.³⁷ Smith "covenanted, promised, and agreed" to "erect build and finish" for Mary Maddox two three-story brick houses (dimensions specified) with piazzas and kitchen wing, eight-foot cellars, "good" staircases, "proper Entrys," closets, "well finished rooms," "a genteel Marble Slab in each Front Parlour with a good Brass Lock to both parlour Doors," and "good suitable Hinges and Locks for all the other Rooms and Closets." He also was to provide shutters; give all the wood-work three coats of paint; see the "whole to be well plaistered painted and compleatly finished"; wall, fence, and grade the yards and make watercourses for them; pave the front walk and put up posts on the street; erect "good" stone steps; and in the yards build "two double Brick Little Houses" with "all the Workmanship as well as all the Materials . . . to be good of every kind and to be sound and provided by the said Robert Smith . . . out of the Monies to be paid him." She was to "well and truly pay" him £700 in three payments, and then add £200 as each successive stage of construction: placing of joists, raising each floor, erecting the roof, shingling and glazing, plastering, and a final payment at completion. Of course, Smith could not do all this work himself, but he was responsible to

37. Wallace Papers, MS, 5, fol. 30, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

see that it was done and had to arrange for the services of other tradesmen and pay them too.

This manuscript is a guide to the procedures followed in Franklin's house as reflected in the payments made. Smith provided the usual supervision over the work, but it was Franklin's plan he followed. So fixed became Franklin's conception of the part he played that many years later he used identical phraseology on two separate occasions to describe it: that the house was built (contrived) "to my Mind."³⁸ In his masterful way Franklin retained central direction of the project, he or his agents paying tradesmen engaged in their specialties as was customary for landholders of that day to do.³⁹ And though his contract unquestionably contained the clause that Smith would "erect build and finish" the house, full power of approval through control of the purse rested with Franklin.⁴⁰ Smith, the

38. Franklin to Jan Ingenhousz, June 27, 1786, Smyth, Writings, IX, 519. Franklin to Madame Brillon, April 19, 1788, *ibid.*, p. 643. While in the house Franklin was constantly reminded by its unusual features of his role in designing it. These references were made before and after remodelling the house while still fresh in mind.

39. Robert Smith answers to the description of what David J. Saposs, while analyzing the early history of labor in America, classified as "master carpenters . . . [who] were not capitalists earning a profit on their investment, but were small contractors whose profits depended on the cost of labour. The real 'employers,' according to the term which they themselves used were the landowners [Franklin in this instance] who financed the building operations." John R. Commons and associates, History of Labor in the United States (New York, 1918, 1946), p. 71.

40. "Owing to the expensiveness of the unit product, namely, the finished building, it is customary even at the present time [1913, not

carpenter, was as well its mechanic (or engineer), designer, and architect. For his efforts Smith received around £700, paid at various times, the intervals between those payments that remain in the record, not in themselves reflecting any particular relationship to the progress of the work.⁴¹

The ink had scarcely dried on the plans and contracts before Franklin travelled to Virginia on the first leg of a tour of inspection covering the post office in his district. On April 16, 1763, a day or two before departing, Franklin made this entry in his Domestic Accounts:

now] for the prospective owner to supply a considerable part of the building material. This seemed to hold true . . . in 1791 . . . the masters, in enumerating the items for which they expected remuneration, included only the managerial work of 'procuring materials, superintending the workmen, and giving directions,' and the operating expense of 'providing tools for the different kinds of work and shops in which it may conveniently be performed.'" Ibid., pp. 70-71.

41. Smith's recorded payments cannot be reconciled with summary amounts given later. His second recorded payment was dated November 26, 1783: "Paid Cash to M^r Smith, Carpenter 80.0.0." Benjamin Franklin Memorandum Book, 1757-1776, MSS, American Philosophical Society, p. 14 (also in Receipt Book, 1742-1764, p. 86 and Domestic Accounts 1757-1776). Next on February 9, 1764, Franklin lent Smith £200, a sum later applied toward his work. B. Franklin's Domestic Accounts, 1757-1776, *ibid.* On October 26, 1764, Franklin paid Smith £80 on account and £40 more the same date by separate order. Benjamin Franklin Memorandum Book, 1757-1776, *ibid.*, p. 18; B. Franklin's Domestic Accounts, 1757-1776, *ibid.* On November 13, 1764, Rhoads paid Smith £50 on account, as did Deborah Franklin on July 23, 1765. Samuel Rhoads, Jr., "Franklin Receipt Book 1764-1766," MS in Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The last payment of record, in the amount of £10, was made on April 10, 1767, *ibid.* This comes to a total of £616.0.0, including the initial payment of £96 at the commencement of work on April 6, 1763.

Left in M^r Syng's Hands to be drawn for by M^r Rhoads as
Occasion requires to carry on my Building Cash Six hun-
dred & forty two Pounds ten shillings 642.10.0⁴²

Philip Syng, prominent silversmith and one of Franklin's oldest friends by way of the Junto, The Library Company, and the Union Fire Company, may have been chosen primarily to provide in his vaults a safe place of deposit for the coin received. Nevertheless, he made out and delivered to Franklin an account of disbursements on January 11, 1764, and returned the unexpended balance. Unfortunately, the account has vanished and the amount returned is not known.⁴³

By now work had been underway for a time, and by Franklin's return from Virginia on May 17, it had progressed to the point where the joiner was at work. Ten days later, on May 27, Joseph Pratt's bill was disposed of:

Paid Joseph Pratt, joiner in full of his Bill & all Acct^s
12.14.3⁴⁴

42. B. Franklin's Domestic Accounts, 1757-1776, MSS, American Philosophical Society.

43. Labaree, Papers, XI, 453n.

44. The possibility that Pratt's bill may have covered work unrelated to the house cannot be entirely ruled out. A joiner, as explained in Dobson's Encyclopaedia, did woodwork involving the joining of "smaller and curious" pieces, where a carpenter did "large and-coarse work." It would seem to have been early for the "joinery of the interior" woodwork and those elements of the exterior, excepting perhaps doors and windows. Benjamin Franklin Memorandum Book, 1757-1776, MSS, American Philosophical Society, p. 14.

By June 7, 1763, Franklin had departed again on post office business. From New York City he wrote a short time later "My Love to Mr. Rhoads when you see him, and desire he would send me an Invoice of such Locks, Hinges & the like as cannot be had at Philadelphia, and will be necessary for my House, that I may send for them." To which he added "Let me know from time to time how it goes on."⁴⁵ One of the items of the Franklin Collection at the University of Pennsylvania library is an undated broadside with the following heading:

A LIST OF ARTICLES
sold by
SWAYNE and CLIFFORD,
Ironmongers, Cutlers, and Iron-Founders,
At their WAREHOUSE, No. 25,
WINE-STREET, BRISTOL. /46

The listing, running to several hundred items, is included in this report as Appendix B. Over fifty types of locks, hinges, latches, and bolts are listed. The British Consulate-General in Philadelphia is currently aiding in the search for records of this company, perhaps still in operation, or for such surviving illustrated catalogues

45. Franklin to Deborah Franklin, June 16, 1763, Franklin Papers, Vol. 46, pt. 2, fol. 27, American Philosophical Society. It would have been advantageous to "send for them" from New York City as fast packet boat service had been instituted by the post office from there to Falmouth in 1755-56. By 1763 four packets were in service. Labaree, Papers, X, 218n.

46. Catalogued as p EB7 SW 289.78 A1, Rare Book Collection, Van Pelt Library, University of Pennsylvania. Also listed in I. Minis Hays, Calendar of the Papers of Benjamin Franklin in the Library of the American Philosophical Society (Phila., 1908), p. 510.

of their products as were put out at that time to stimulate business overseas. The Franklin Institute has an ironware catalogue with a notation on the cover to the effect that it once was in Franklin's possession. Apropos to Swayne and Clifford's list, John Cadwalader in remodelling and fitting out his opulent mansion on Second Street a few years later, purchased firebacks from a firm trading as Thomas Clifford & Son.⁴⁷

Franklin did not return this time until November 5, 1763, after an eventful trip, marked by two falls from horseback, visiting friends, family reunions, and the opportunity to show off daughter Sally along the way. During these five months no disbursements other than the ones to Smith were recorded in Franklin's books, as payments on account were being made from the funds in Syng's hands. But work proceeded apace as bills submitted early in December for iron work and hauling sand indicate.⁴⁸ By the time he reached home, the

47. Nicholas B. Wainwright, Colonial Grandeur in Philadelphia, The House and Furniture of General John Cadwalader (Phila., 1964), pp. 28, 32. [Hereafter cited as Wainwright, Colonial Grandeur.] The Swayne and Clifford listing includes "Backs, Hearths, and Plates of all Kinds" under "Casting."

48. Benjamin Franklin Memorandum Book, 1757-1776, MSS, American Philosophical Society, pp. 14-15:

[1763]		
Dec. 3	Paid Benj ^a Humphreys his Bill for Iron Work	[£] 4.4.2
[1763]		
Dec. 9	Paid John Winter for 6 Loads of Sand for the Pavement	[£] -10.0
[1763]		
Dec. 9	Paid Beck for 7 Load Sand	[£] -17.6

foundations, brick walls, masonry and framed partitions, floors, roof, and other elements required to weatherproof the structure against approaching winter and enable trim and interior finish work to be done in some degree of comfort would have been completed or nearly so. Another year passed before bills were submitted for the type of work going on at this time, and these covered for the most part final settlement of accounts. Thus, in December 1764 the following payments were made:

Jacob Graff his Accot. for Bricks now
Deld. per order of John Palmer [L] 12:7:6

John & Joseph Ledru after the Accot.
had been Examined & settled by John
Palmer [December 12] L 39:12:9

Salter Brittain & Comp their Accot.
for Boards &c. Pd: Receipt to S R
Junr by Thos Forster L 5:17/49

The senior Jacob Graff, a well-established brickmaker, did business with some of the better families.⁵⁰ Apparently, Palmer, the principal

49. Samuel Rhoads, Jr., "Franklin Receipt Book 1764-1766," MS in Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

50. Ibid. He supplied bricks for the home of Phineas Bond and John Cadwalader's stable. Phineas Bond Receipt Book, September 20, 1764, 1759-1810, MSS, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Wainwright, Colonial Grandeur, pp. 13, 33. Thomas Jefferson rented rooms where he drafted the Declaration of Independence in the home of Graff's son at Market and Seventh streets.

bricklayer on the job, hired the Ledrus to help with the work.⁵¹
Saltar, Britton & Company, lumber merchants, also attracted their
share of the carriage trade.⁵²

The carpentering itself, although under the general supervision
of Robert Smith appears in fact to have been done by Robert Allison,
judging from the sums drawn by Smith in his favor:

Oct. 26 [1764]
Paid M^r Robert Smith, Carpenter on Acct.
p[er] order by R. Alison [£] 80.0.0^{/53}

Oct. 26 [1764]
Paid M^r Robert Smith Carpenter on Acct^t
p[er] order by R. Alison [£] 40.0.0^{/54}

Allison it would have been, then, who did the framing, flooring,
partitions, and roof of the Franklin House. A member of the Carpenters'

51. Palmer was included in the 1774 tax list for Philadelphia's Dock Ward as a bricklayer. Pennsylvania Archives, Third Series, Secretary of the Commonwealth, Proprietary, Supply, and State Tax Lists of the City and County of Philadelphia for the Years 1769, 1774, and 1779 (Harrisburg, 1897), XIV, 235. John Ledru was a charter member of the Bricklayers' Company of Philadelphia, residing at No. 6 Almond Street. Charter of Bricklayers' Corporation, MSS, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, pp. 22-23. He laid the bricks of John Cadwalader's stable. Wainwright, Colonial Grandeur, pp. 13, 33.

52. This firm also contributed to Cadwalader's house and stable through sale of boards. Ibid., p. 33. Thomas Forster remains unidentified.

53. Benjamin Franklin Memorandum Book, 1757-1776, MSS, American Philosophical Society, p. 18.

54. B. Franklin's Domestic Accounts, 1757-1776, MSS, American Philosophical Society.

Company, he undertook a number of larger projects over a period of thirty years, including work at Ft. Mifflin, Province Island, and Independence Hall as a member of the firm of Allison and Worrell, House Carpenters.⁵⁵

This first phase of the construction, begun in Franklin's absence, continued during the year he spent at home before going again to England. He was present at one stage or another as the trim and finish woodwork, lathing, and like elements of the interior were emplaced; for on August 14, 1764, he made the first payment on account for plastering, a job customarily begun only after door and window casings, moldings, panelling, and the like had been applied:

Rec'd Aug. 16, 1764 of Benj^a Franklin
Twenty-five Pounds on Acc^t of Plaistering
his House p[er] me

William Anderson⁵⁶

This was the last payment made by Franklin himself, and from then until completion, supervision rested in other hands.

55. Council of Safety Records 1775-77, Comptroller General Papers, Public Records Office, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. Order to Robert Allison, July 18, 1778, Executive Correspondence 1778, Records of the Supreme Executive Council, *ibid*.

56. Anderson has not been more definitely identified. Plastering was the next to the last step in building for which payment was made in the contract between Smith and Mary Maddox (see Appendix A). Plastering was done up to the woodwork and made a neat bond. Franklin's Receipt Book, 1742-1764, MSS, American Philosophical Society, p. 88.

The "quiet" year spent at home was in fact a year of heavy politicking. After the excitement caused by the Paxton rioters lessened, he found time to turn for a moment to intellectual pursuits:

after so long an Absence from my Family and Affairs, I found, as you will easily conceive, so much Occupation, that philosophical Matters could not be attended to; and my last Summer was almost wholly taken up in long Journeys. I am now a little better settled, and take the Liberty of Beginning that Commerce of Letters with you, in which I am sure to be the Gainer.⁵⁷

But as the proprietary and anti-proprietary parties joined issue in the Assembly and furious pamphleteering broke out, Franklin became fully engaged. At one point he even found himself Speaker of the Assembly for a few days. Writing to Strahan on September 1 he confessed "At present I am here as much the Butt of Party Rage and Malice, express'd in Pamphlets and Prints, and have as many pelted at my Head in proportion, as if I had the Misfortune of being your Prime Minister."⁵⁸ He had long since concluded that a change in Pennsylvania's government was imperative: "Our petty publick Affairs here are in the greatest Confusion, and will never . . . be compos'd, while the Proprietary Government subsists. I have wrote a little

57. Franklin to John Canton, March 14, 1764, Labaree, Papers, X, 98. Canton was one of the so-called Club of Honest Whigs meeting in the London Coffeehouse and composed chiefly of writers, dissenting clergymen, and men of scientific interests.

58. Ibid., p. 332.

Piece . . . [Cool Thoughts, a pamphlet] to persuade a Change. People talk of sending me to England to negotiate it."⁵⁹

Already a straw was in the wind, and although Franklin joked about it on occasion, he had as early as June 1764 begun to give serious consideration to one more short stay abroad on behalf of his countrymen: "if it should appear . . . that my going over would be any way useful and necessary, I would not then refuse, but go and spend the next Winter in London in their Service."⁶⁰

On October 26, 1764, the Pennsylvania Assembly appointed Franklin their co-agent (with Richard Jackson), and he prepared in haste to depart for London. Six days before boarding ship he made the following entry in his accounts, receipted by friend Samuel Rhoads:

Nov. 1 [1764]	
Left with Mr. Rhoads Cash	[£] 350.0.0
and Mr. Smith's Bonds	200.0.0
Rec'd the above to be apply'd towards the Building of B. Franklin's House, if wanted p[er] me	
Samuel Rhoads ⁶¹	

59. Franklin to William Strahan, May 1, 1764, *ibid.*, p. 189.

60. Franklin to Richard Jackson, June 1, 1764, *ibid.*, p. 219.

61. Benjamin Franklin's Memorandum Book, 1757-1776, MSS, American Philosophical Society, p. 19. An identical entry was made in the Domestic Accounts Book, 1757-1776. The loan to Smith "on his bond" is covered in Footnote 43 as one of Smith's payments, as indeed it was. This departure from the strict letter of the building contract enabled builders of Smith's limited capital to carry on the work and was commonplace. Smith, whose genius for design was evidently not matched by an equal aptitude in business (judging from his frequent

As explained by Franklin at a later date, this arrangement made possible continuation of the work in his absence, an absence then calculated at little more than half a year:

when I went to England in 1764, I left Money with Mr. Rhoads for subsequent Advances as they might become necessary, he having kindly undertaken to inspect for me the Execution of my Plan and to ease M^{rs} Franklin of any Trouble that might arise in carrying on the Building. When the money left with him was expended your Father [Robert Smith] apply'd to M^{rs} Franklin, who was my Attorney, & had always Command of the Money . . . She continued acting as my Attorney receiving and paying Money for me by Virtue of a Power I left with her, until the End of 1774 when she deceased, I remaining still in England.⁶²

pleas for money and the sad state of his affairs after his death), received a loan of £1000 from Mary Maddox and executed a bond in that amount, conditioned on repayment of £500 (the rest to be absorbed in building). This arrangement led to a suit. Wallace Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 5, 31.

62. Franklin to John Smith, August 31, 1787, Franklin Papers, American Philosophical Society, 45, pt. 2, item 211. While Franklin was still in France his daughter Sally was approached about money owed to Robert Smith's account, probably by his son, John Smith or Ann Rhoads, the widow of a carpenter to whom Smith had owed wages at the time of his death. Both made representations to Franklin after his return. Thomas Franklin to Sally Bache, January 14, 1785, Franklin Papers, 33, pt. 1, n.p. Ann Rhoads to Benjamin Franklin, December 15, 1786, *ibid.*, 34, pt. 2, item 179. Franklin to Ann Rhoads, December 16, 1786, Franklin Papers, Library of Congress. In his reply to Smith Franklin explained his denial of the claim as follows:

"I received your Letter requesting a Loan of 130 £ to be repaid if not found due to the Estate of your Father. If I could persuade myself that I really owed the Money to that Estate I would pay it immediately. But on the most careful examination of all the Lights I can collect from what remains of my Papers & Accounts, most of which were lost in the late Troubles; & from a Consideration of all Circumstances, I verily believe that Account must have been settled and adjusted in its Time. Some of those Circumstances I shall mention to you.

The money left with Rhoads was paid out between November 13, 1764, and April 10, 1767, by which time the house at last, following many delays for which the dilatory Smith may be charged, stood complete and finished. Rhoads himself lost little time in making his son and namesake agent for disbursing a considerable part of it:

Receivd Novr. 13 1764 of my Father Samuel Rhoads two hundred pounds Money belonging to Benj. Franklin Esqr which sum I promise to Repay by Discharging Such Bills or pay-

"The House was begun in 1763. I advanc'd to M^r Smith several sums particularly 200 £ on his Bond; . . . The Sums credited in his Aco't from April 10, 1767 must have been received from Mr. Smith from her [Deborah Franklin], as they are subsequent to M^r Rhoad's Account. Then I have an original Letter of M^r Smith to M^r Rhoads dated March 30, 1767, in which he states that he had then received in all 646 £ but supposes his Account will amount to 780 £, and desires a Payment of Fifty or Sixty Pounds. It appears by his Account that he did soon after receive Sixty Pounds in three Payments, which must have been all from M^{rs} Franklin, tho' only one of the Receipts given to him remains: but that shows your father was in the Way of receiving Money from her after M^r Rhoads had done paying . . . In May 1775 I returned [from England]. I had not the least Idea that anything could remain due to M^r Smith on Acct of a Building which had been finished so many Years, M^{rs} Franklin having always had it in her Power to pay. I remain'd here 18 Months, saw M^r Smith very often, and he never once hinted that he had a demand on me or that he thought I owed him anything. If he had, I should immediately have discharged the Debt, having no Want of Money for the Purpose, as appears by my lending the Congress 3000 £. From all which I conclude that either the Account had been settled between him & Mrs. Franklin, or that in a more perfect Estimate than that mentioned in his Letter to M^r Rhoads, he found that he had been fully paid, & so made no further Demand.

"If these Reasons should not be satisfactory to you or the Family, and any can be given me proper to invalidate them, I shall consider them with Attention, being always willing to do Justice, but unwilling to pay twice for the same Object."

ments of such Sums of Money from time to time as my said
Father shall direct and order. Witness my Hand
Samuel Rhoads Junr⁶³

The balance of £150 retained by the senior Rhoads stands unaccounted,
but the payments made by his son, entered in seven pages of an account
book headed "Account Benj: Franklin Esq. 1764" is still extant and
identified through payments made the principal tradesmen engaged in
building the house.

Several of the Rhoads' entries have been cited above in illus-
tration of work completed before Franklin departed but paid afterwards.
This process may be considered to have extended as well to certain
other payments made in the first six months or so after the younger
Rhoads became paymaster:

June 19th: pd. Michael Coon 27s. per note from John
Ledru for Digging foundation 6 Days at 4s. 6d. per ⁶⁴

December the 4th 1764
pd: Robert Erwin his Accot. in full for Carting £7: 9/65

63. The first entry following this notation reads:

S R Junr. Receiv'd

£44 of Danl. Williams in april

Its relationship to the Franklin account, if any, is not clear.

Samuel Rhoads, Jr. "Franklin Receipt Book 1764-1766," MS in Histori-
cal Society of Pennsylvania.

64. This could have been the foundation of the wall erected in
1765 around the courtyard. Ibid.

65. Ibid. Erwin was probably the same carter whom John Cad-
walader paid to deliver red gravel in 1771. Wainwright, Colonial
Grandeur, p. 32.

pd. Balti Clymer Do. [ditto]

1: 18
£9: 7

pd. Adam Achart £5 in part of his accot.
Examd, to be pd. when ratifyd.

Receiv'd June the 1st: 1765 of Samuel Rhoads four
Pounds and one Shilling in full for eighteen perches
of Stone Deld: Robert Erwin for use of Benj:
Franklin Esqr. Sent from

John Parishes Quarry

£4: 1: 0 recd. per Georg Kaffart
Note the English name is George Caphart

Sundrys pd. per Sa Rhoads Junr. Vizt.

To David Rose	£9: 2
Mich Weaver	13: 10
David Rose Tyler [Tiler]	3: 12
Conrad Bangon	12
William Rush	68: 4: 11-

Of those not identified in the entries, David Rose was a brickmaker
and William Rush, a smith and an ironware retailer.⁶⁶ Rush, whose
account was an important one, judging from the amount, did £140. 1. 10
worth of "smithwork" at Cliveden, the Chew family homestead, still

66. For more on Rose see footnote 94. William Rush, listed as
a smith in the 1769 and 1774 tax records for the city's Mulberry Ward,
advertised in 1754 as a maker of stock locks, iron rim and chest locks,
and hand irons. Pennsylvania Archives, Third Series, Secretary of the
Commonwealth, Proprietary, Supply, and State Tax Lists of the City and
County of Philadelphia for the Years 1769, 1774, and 1779 (Harrisburg,
1897), XIV, 200, 278. Pennsylvania Gazette, June 20, 1754. In 1760
he advertised the following stock for sale ("In Front Street, above
Arch Street, the sign of the Lock and Key"): "CASE brass locks, and
brass egg knob ditto, flock, chest and padlocks, jack and thumb-locks,
brass knob and thumb-Ratches, H and HL hinges, chest hinges," *ibid.*,
June 12, 1760.

standing in Germantown.⁶⁷ The trades of the others have not yet been identified.

In the meantime William Anderson had finished the house's plasterwork, to the amount of £57.⁶⁸ Balusters, newel posts, and pendants were being installed in the stairs:

67. Bill in Chew family papers, Cliveden, in the care of Samuel Chew.

68. Samuel Rhoads, Jr., "Franklin Receipt Book 1764-1766" MS in Historical Society of Pennsylvania:

No 2 Receiv'd Nov: the 20th: 1764 of Benj: Franklin by the Hands of Saml Rhoads the sum of six Pounds on Accot.

£ 6:0

William Anderson

No. 2 Receiv'd Feb: 8th: 1765 of Samuel Rhoads Six Pounds towards Work done for Benja Franklin at his new House

£ 6

William Anderson

Receiv'd May the 13th: 1765 of Benjn: Franklin Esqr. by the Hands of Samuel Rhoads twenty Pounds which with several Sums formerly receiv'd Amt's to fifty seven Pounds and is in full for Plaistering done for the sd: B: Franklin at his new House in this City and at his Plantation

£ 20: 0: 0

per William Anderson

Pd: [June 1765] James Davis 19 s. 6 d. being one half the Cost of Measuring the Plaistering done by Will. Henderson.

Henderson, who also helped plaster the First floor hallway, tower stair hallway and second floor hallway of Independence Hall may have worked with Anderson while one or the other of them may have done stucco or other special plasterwork. Edmund Woolley's Bill, MS Loan Office Accounts 1759-1766, Norris Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Pd: John Elmsly [Elmslie] 4ls.9d. for Turning Sundry
Pd. Do[ditto]: 3s. 3d. for Drops
Pd: Do[ditto]. £3: pd £1:14s:7d. in full of his
Accot. now brote in June 21st.⁶⁹

At the point where William Anderson's plastering reached John Elmslie's staircase embellishments, Deborah Franklin began to supply information about the building of the house and particulars about its features ("the plasterer is a finishing the lathing of the Stair Cases," February 10, 1765). Left in immediate charge of the work when Franklin departed for England, she took her responsibilities seriously. Not only did she pay bills, she deliberated with Rhoads when problems mounted, sought clearance from Franklin on weighty matters, and reported to him faithfully just about everything that happened. From her series of detailed communications during 1765 comes invaluable information about the final stages of building.

On his side Franklin followed expectantly the "Execution of [his] Plan." With occupancy apparently only a month or two away when

69. Ibid. Elmslie, as spelled correctly, turned two red cedar columns for the frontispiece of Cadwalader's house and "eight other posts" for a total of £ 5.2.8. Wainwright, Colonial Grandeur, pp. 14, 32. For the splendid John Dickinson house in 1773 he turned five mahogany newel posts for ten shillings; seven dozen mahogany balusters for £ 2.9.7; three pendants for one shilling; and hewed and turned two red cedar columns for the frontispiece for £ 2. Ibid., p. 92. His shop was at the "Sign of the Screw and Spinning Wheel, near the South End in Strawberry Alley." Elmslie advertised "all sorts of turned work in wood, metal, or ivory," and according to Wainwright was "evidently preeminent in this line." Ibid., p. 16. Turned work of the Powel House, still standing on Third Street, is believed to be his. Ibid.

he left, he became now impatient and reproachful. The family had overstayed their lease. But Eckart had allowed them to stay: "I am obliged to our Landlord for his Civility, and shall always remember it. I hope by this Time your Trouble of Moving is over, & that you are completely settled."⁷⁰ Such was far from the case. The marble mantelpieces ordered from London arrived in January, but a harsh winter interfered with the painting:

The marbel fireplaces is come safe . . . I sente for our Cusin Wilkison [Anthony Wilkinson, stonecutter] to take the marbel ought . . . the Mantel is quite Curis [curious, then meaning highly embellished with carving] indeed, but I donte remember wather you sed in what room the beste [one fancier than the other] shold be put. Yisterday I Spook to Nabor Haedock [Eden Haydock who painted the house, and doubtless glazed it, plumbed its rain-catchers and downspouts, installed gutters, strung sash weights, put up flashing, and soldered metalwork] but he ses thair is no such Thing as painting till next March with ought the wather shold olter verely much so I muste indever to make my slef as esey as I Can⁷¹

70. Franklin to Deborah Franklin, February 9, 1765, Franklin Papers, American Philosophical Society, 46, pt. 2, fol. 31.

71. Deborah Franklin to Franklin, January 8, 1765, Bache Collection, American Philosophical Society. Deborah Franklin's phonetics reveal pronunciations of the time but require special study as they relate to construction matters. Haydock insured a three story house on Market Street in 1760 and was listed in the 1769 tax records as a resident of the Middle Ward. In 1744 he had advertised "Plumbing, Glazeing, and Painting, is to be performed in the cheapest and best manner, by Eden Haydock late from Old England," Pennsylvania Gazette, October 11, 1744. He laid gutters, applied flashing to the frontispiece, fabricated and erected lead downspouts, installed sash weights, and did soldering during 1770 at John Cadwalader's house--to the amount of £53.4.10. Wainwright, Colonial Grandeur, p. 17. Around 1765 he laid gutters and fabricated and installed rain-catchers (with the date in relief) and down-spouts worth altogether £60.13.6 at Cliveden, the Chew family homestead still standing in Germantown. Bill in Chew family papers, Cliveden, in the care of Samuel Chew.

A month later things were moving again:

this day the man is a puting up the fier plases that Came from London the darke one is in the parler I am in hopes the harthes will be laid the wather will begin to be wormer and the Sun Stronger. The plasterer is a finishing the lathing of the stair Cases and I am a geting the lore parte of the house clenod ought readey for the laying the kitching flore⁷²

At this point Deborah Franklin shunned every other form of activity:

"I partake of none of the diversshons I stay at home and flatter myselef that the next packit will bring me a latter from your."⁷³ A week later she had good news for her eager husband:

For severel day Gorge [their Negro household servant] and my selef have bin att the New house a geting the roomes readey for the painter as Mr. Hadock ses he hopes he shall get to worke in march. I shall get the harthes Laid and if verey Cold wather is then we Can make a fier to prevent the painte reseving aney dommaig.⁷⁴

At almost the same time from London, Franklin in referring to fittings he had sent to hang curtain materials bought for the "Blue Chamber" wrote: "I almost Wish I had left Directions not to paint the House till my Return. But I suppose tis done before this time."⁷⁵

72. Deborah Franklin to Franklin, February 10, 1765, Bache Collection, American Philosophical Society.

73. Ibid.

74. Deborah Franklin to Franklin, February 17, 1765, *ibid.*

75. Franklin to Deborah Franklin, February 14, 1765, *ibid.* "Hooks are sent to fix the Rails by at Top, so they may be taken down on Occasion."

Two months later Haydock was still at work, however, with the end now in sight, as the painting apparently was finished, glazing of windows had been started and some furniture placed:

Mr. Foxcrofte [the other Deputy Postmaster for the colonies with whom Franklin had spent much time in 1763] Came to town this day weeke and is to returne agen in a bought a week and as I had got sume of our things in the new house and beads in the uper roomes he lodges in the room fasing the market street and has his writeing thair all so yisterday sume of the Sashes was hung and if I wold alow my selef I Cold find falte but I donte and so we go on [and on].⁷⁶

It was at this juncture that the family decided to move in after two exasperating years of waiting, although the house was far from finished. Inside and out things had to be done. Unfinished pents, the kitchen not yet in working order, piles of debris lying about, all conspiring to take the edge off the experience. From London Franklin expressed his hope that "by this time you are nearly settled in your new House; tho' when I consider the Slowness of the Workmen, I rather question whether you will be so before I return."⁷⁷ But he

76. Deborah Franklin to Franklin, April 7, 1765, Franklin Papers, MSS *ibid.*, XLII, 42. To which Franklin replied "I am glad, that tho' the new House was not finish'd you had a Room ready for our Friend Foxcroft." Franklin to Deborah Franklin, June 8, 1765, (postscript to letter of May 11), *ibid.*, 46, pt. 2, fol. 34. Franklin's account with Haydock was not settled finally until 1789. Edward Garrigues to Franklin, February 20, 1787, *ibid.*, 35, pt. 1, item 19. Franklin to Edward Garrigues, March 2, 1789, Franklin Papers, Library of Congress.

77. Franklin to Deborah Franklin, May 11, 1765, Franklin Papers, American Philosophical Society, 46, pt. 2, fol. 34.

failed to take into account the effect of a determined woman on such a situation. Even as he wrote the move was in progress. His old friend Hugh Roberts wrote to inform him on May 20: "I frequently Visit thy little Family, thy Wife and daughter Sally are well, but not quite settled in the new House."⁷⁸

By June Franklin had learned a great deal about the vicissitudes of moving in under the circumstances. Letters bearing dates of April 13, 15, 17, 23, and May 14, 18, and 20 had reached London to reveal the family's unsettled state.⁷⁹ Responding to her descriptions of life in Philadelphia in chagrin, he wrote:

I cannot but complain in my Mind of Mr. Smith, that the House is so long unfit for you to get into, the Fences not put up, nor the other necessary Articles got ready. The Well I expected would have been dug in the Winter, or early in the Spring; but I hear nothing of it. You should have garden'd long before the Date of your last, but it seems the Rubbish was not removed.⁸⁰

78. Hugh Roberts to Franklin, May 20, 1765, printed in Labaree, Papers, XII, 136. To which Franklin replied "I thank you for your Friendly Visits to my little Family, which I beg you would continue, and give your Advice about Finishing my Habitation, where I long to be, but cannot yet for sometime." "Selections from the Correspondence between Hugh Roberts and Benjamin Franklin," PMHB, XXXVIII, 296. Mrs. Franklin moved in at an undetermined date in May, having stayed temporarily in a house rented by Foxcroft but not yet occupied by him: "when I first Come into it which was in may that is I stay'd at Mr. Foxcrofte's house till he Come that is we dresed vitels and slep thair and mueved by degrees to our one [own] house." Deborah Franklin to Franklin, August 1-8, 1765, Labaree, Papers, 12, 225.

79. None of these letters are known to exist.

80. Franklin to Deborah Franklin, June 4, 1765, Franklin Papers, American Philosophical Society, 46, pt. 2, fol. 35.

Obviously, the pride and joy of Franklin's "Plan" was the kitchen, in which he appears to have installed the latest in ranges with ducting and other paraphernalia that followed the line of his research in the physical properties of air. Apparently, it refused to work for Deborah Franklin:

I could have wished to be present at the Finishing of the Kitchen, as it is a mere machine, and being new to you, I think you will scarce know how to work it. The several Contrivances to carry off Steam and Smell and Smoke not being fully explain'd to you. The Oven I suppose was put up by the written Directions in my former letter. You mention of the Furnace. If that Iron One is not set, let it alone till my Return, when I shall bring a more convenient copper one.⁸¹

81. Ibid. Although house heating had long been a principal preoccupation with Franklin, this interest in kitchen devices was something new. By 1780 Thomas Robinson had patented a kitchen range that included an iron oven in England, but years of development had preceded its appearance. Marjorie and C. H. B. Quennell, A History of Everyday Things in England (London, 1919, 1954), III, 179-80. John Cadwalader's house had a built-in firestone oven, but Franklin's references to installation suggest his was of the first type. The furnace is a mystery. It was not until 1771 that he invented the "New Stove for Burning of Pitcoal, and Consuming All Its Smoke," used in Philadelphia as well as abroad, and he located it in the office on the house's first floor not the kitchen. Wainwright, Colonial Grandeur, p. 17. Van Doren, Franklin, p. 728. As defined in Dobson's Encyclopaedia, VII, 505, the principal things to be attended to were "1. To confine the heat as much as possible to the matter to be operated upon; 2. To prevent its being dissipated; 3. To produce as much heat with as little fuel as possible; and 4. To have it in our power to regulate the degree of heat according to our pleasure." The article goes on to explain the roles of such components as the ash pit, grate, width and height of the chimney, and the use of a sliding plate to "contract the throat of the chimney occasionally." Several references in this letter and the one of July 13, 1765, below, suggest installation of such components.

Deborah had reported her first visitors; they had held a house-warming of sorts: "I am much oblig'd to my good old Friends that did me the Honour to remember me in the unfinish'd Kitchin. I hope soon to drink with them in the Parlour."⁸²

One letter later, his vanity pricked that his friends failed to exclaim at the stylishness of the new house or marvel at its mechanical wonders, Franklin expressed himself in un-philosophical disappointment. Perhaps he imagined their mirth directed at him:

it gives me Pleasure that so many of my Friends honour'd our new Dining Room with their Company. You tell me only of a Fault they found with the House, that it was too little; and not a Word of any thing they lik'd in it: Nor how the Kitchin Chimneys perform; so I suppose you spare me some Mortification, which is kind.⁸³

And he closed with a mild rebuke: "I wonder you put up the Oven without Mr. Roberts's Advice, as I think you told me he had my old Letter of Directions."⁸⁴ Poor Richard in 1737 had instructed his readers: "There is much money given to be laught at, though the purchasers don't know it, witness A's fine horse, and B's fine house." Now his turn had come.

Franklin had already taken up the vexatious situation with Rhoads:

82. Ibid.

83. Franklin to Deborah Franklin, July 13, 1765, *ibid.*, 46, pt. 2, fol. 36.

84. Ibid.

As to the House, I am sensible I give you a great Deal of Trouble, and I doubt not your Care to get it finish'd, but it seems to me that the Workmen have been unkind to keep Mrs. Franklin so Long unsettled . . .

ps. I should be glad to receive from you a particular Description of the Disposition of Fences, Pump, etc. . . Mrs. Franklin's Account of [remainder missing--probably to effect not detailed enough].⁸⁵

His deep concern over what after all had become the most extravagant undertaking in his life, up to this time, is not difficult to understand. Building the house had absorbed and stimulated him; now that it neared readiness he was tortured by uncertainties and a sense of anticlimax. From three thousand miles away, powerless to alter circumstances in Philadelphia, he could only fret and offer late advice. But even as his concern mounted, the situation by degrees righted itself. Deborah Franklin had put their household servant George to work picking up the debris left by the sawyers, masons, bricklayers, and limeburners, and grading the lot around the house.⁸⁶ She had disposed of the leftovers in a providential way, certain to please her husband: "I have had all the rubbish of the lime conveyed to the [farm] and sent Gorge to spread it over the pasture with what ashes we have made."⁸⁷

85. Franklin to Samuel Rhoads, July 8, 1765, MS in Historical Society of Pennsylvania, printed in Labaree, Papers, XII, 204-05.

86. Deborah Franklin to Franklin, August 1-8, 1765, Bache Collection, American Philosophical Society.

87. Deborah Franklin to Franklin, (Fall of 1765), Duane, Letters, pp. 22-23.

Sometime during the spring of 1765 Deborah Franklin bought the lot on the east side of the courtyard, for £900 from one Anthony Syddon, thus widening the courtyard to 99 feet and giving the house a more spacious setting.⁸⁸ This purchase had greatly pleased Franklin, who wrote:

I think you have done very well to buy the Lot you mention, tho' you have indeed given a great Price for it; but, as you observe, it is more convenient for us than for any other.⁸⁹

To David Hall, Franklin's partner, who had assisted her in making this purchase, he explained that he was pleased because "it lies so convenient to my other Ground."⁹⁰

88. Labaree, Papers, XII, 283-84.

89. Franklin to Deborah Franklin, June 8, 1765, [added to a letter of May 11, 1765], Franklin Papers, American Philosophical Society, 46, pt. 2, fol. 34.

90. Franklin to David Hall, June 8, 1765, Labaree, Papers, XII, 170. The deed was not signed until September 26, 1765, and recorded October 31, 1765, after a query from Franklin: "You mention the Payment of the 500 Pounds, but do not say that you have got the Deeds executed. I suppose however that it was done." Franklin to Deborah Franklin, June 4, 1765, Franklin Papers, American Philosophical Society, 46, pt. 2, fol. 35. It had not been recorded yet, however, and was not for months: "I have got the Deed don and recorded but not but on the 30 of ocktober for it lay in Mr. Reyleis [John Reily, conveyancer and scrivener] all the time all moste he was ill and he now layes dead but it is dun." Deborah Franklin to Franklin, November 3, 1765, Bache Collection, *ibid.* Labaree, Papers, XII, 352 n. He still had not received the word when he wrote much later: "Let me ask you once more if you have paid off Mr. Siddons, and got the Deeds recorded? I have several times asked this Question, and received no Answer." Franklin to Deborah Franklin, December 13, 1766, Franklin Papers, American Philosophical Society, 46, pt. 2, fol. 48.

The property now complete, Deborah Franklin viewed her achievement with satisfaction:

I am very glad that you doe approve of my purchous and when it shall pleas God to restore you to your one [own] house I think you will be verely much plesd at the look of it as it dos make a fine Squair and an equil spaise on each sid your house.⁹¹

While Deborah Franklin waited for final ratification of the lot purchase, the house's wall and necessary were under construction:

Septr: 9th: pd: David Rose Brickmaker £10 in part of his Accot. for Bricks used in the Wall.

£3 pd Self+£8:5s.3d.& Sammy in full of his Accot: in all £21.5s.3d. the 27th day⁹²

No. 12 Receivd Feby: the 6th. 1766 of Benjamin Franklin Esqr. by the Hands of Samuel Rhoads twenty Pounds toward our Accots of Work done at his Well Little Hous &c.

John Ledru

£20

Joseph Ledru⁹³

The "Little Hous" referred to in this bill corresponds to the ones required in Mary Maddox's contract with Smith: "There is also to be

91. Deborah Franklin to Franklin, August 1-8, 1765, Bache Collection.

92. Samuel Rhoads, Jr., "Franklin Receipt Book, 1764-1766," MS in Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Despite the earlier reference (p. 42) in Rhoads' accounts to Rose as a "Tyler" (tiler), he was a supplier at this time. This designation may indicate that he had sold the Ledrus paving brick for the cellar floor, areaway, and walks. His occupation is given as "brickmaker" in the 1769 and 1774 tax records. Pennsylvania Archives, Third Series, Secretary of the Commonwealth, Proprietary, Supply, and State Tax Lists of the City and County of Philadelphia for the Years 1769, 1774, and 1779 (Harrisburg, 1897), XIV, 130, 391.

93. Samuel Rhoads, Jr., "Franklin Receipt Book, 1764-1766," MS in Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

two double Brick Little Houses one in each yard."⁹⁴ Doubtless this was the Franklin Court necessary, surprisingly long in being started, considering the inconvenience involved, all available chamber pots notwithstanding. By the fall the oncoming cold weather doubtless made its construction mandatory.

Though begun sometime during the summer, the building of the wall around the courtyard languished, owing to the unsettled state of property lines. Until after purchasing the Syddon lot, nothing could be done on the east side of the courtyard. On the west side litigation was under way to which the Franklins were not a party over the next lot adjoining. Her missing letters of April and May apparently had reported this situation, for Franklin in June declared himself "never . . . in the least uneasy about it, desiring only that Justice be done."⁹⁵ And though he stood ready to forfeit the few feet that the outcome might cost the courtyard, a wall built out to

94. See Appendix A. Undoubtedly, Franklin's was also a "double," able to meet the demands of both sexes. This was one of two such facilities, the pits to which were located during archeology conducted in 1953 and 1960-61. In all probability it was the one uncovered in July 1955 at a distance of 18.5 feet from the original southeast corner of the house (feature 69). Historic Structures Report, Part I, on Franklin's House, December 1961, Chapter IV, Section 2, 2. Paul J. F. Schumacher, Preliminary Exploration of Franklin Court. Archeological Project No. 4, May-September 1956, p. 16; n. 10b. B. Bruce Powell, The Archeology of Franklin Court, 1962, pp. 17-18.

95. Franklin to Deborah Franklin, June 4, 1765, Franklin Papers, American Philosophical Society, 46, pt. 2, fol. 35.

the limits of the lot might have to come down. So she refrained from ordering the wall carried around that side:

[September 22, 1765] I am in hopes to tell you by Friend [Capt. J. Friend] that the Lott is setteld and the wale finished but it layes open on that sid indead I was afraid to have it dun as we had been a Jeckted of[f] wold it not a bin a trespass indead I am afraid of giveing aney ofens and Contente my selef with thinking what ever is, is beste.⁹⁶

Evidently, the wall was finished or about to be on the other three sides of the courtyard by this date. A month later it still lay unfinished to the west: "as the dispute is not ended the wale is open nexte the liverey Stabel [of the Indian Queen Tavern at Market and Fourth] and everey bodey maikes a free pasaig threw it and will tel the wale is maid up."⁹⁷

Litigation over this lot also was delaying the digging of the well, apparently planned for that side of the courtyard. As Deborah Franklin reported, dutifully, "I shold be glad if we cold get the well duge but I am a fraid it will not be dun this season."⁹⁸ Not until later in the fall was an award determined, and then it was not made public: "I am told the a warde is finished but it is seled up

96. Deborah Franklin to Franklin, September 22, 1765, Bache Collection, *ibid.*

97. Deborah Franklin to Franklin, October 8-13, 1765, *ibid.*

98. Deborah Franklin to Franklin, (Fall 1765), *ibid.*

tell the Corte."⁹⁹ Eventually, the matter was settled and in July 1766 the well and wall completed.¹⁰⁰

In the middle of all this confusion over boundaries, Franklin decided to order a drawing of the new property: "Send me a little draft of the Lot you have bought that I may see the Dimensions, and who it joins upon."¹⁰¹ In reply Deborah Franklin wrote on September 22,

99. Ibid.

100. Labaree, Papers, XII, 167 n.

No. 13 Receiv'd July the 7th 1766 of Benj: Franklin Esqr.
by the Hands of Samuel Rhoads two pounds and ten shillings
in full for takeing up all the Bricks in his well. Clean-
ing several large Stones from under the Curb, settling it
deeper and finishing the same fit for use and we promise
to sink the sd: Well one foot deeper at our own Expen-
ce, in Case the Water shall hereafter fail
Witness our Hands

Danl Bearrd
The true Accot

[cancelled:] Pd: John Guy per S Rhoads Junr: 15 s. for
Load sand.

Receiv'd of Saml Rhoads five Pounds per John Ledru

Samuel Rhoads, Jr., "Franklin Receipt Book 1764-1766," MSS in Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Finally on July 1, 1766, Deborah Franklin reported: "I donte like to be from home as we air Still open to the stabel and a bundans of pepel is going two and frow but we air in a fair way of geting of it dun as the bricketes is a holing to day and laste Satter day." Deborah Franklin to Franklin, July 1, 1766, Bache Collection, American Philosophical Society.

101. Franklin to Deborah Franklin, (August 1765), Franklin Papers, American Philosophical Society, 46, pt. 2, fol. 92.

1765: "My brother [John Read] bring this letter yisterday and I get him to make a drafte of the house and lott for you."¹⁰² The drawing has survived (Illustration No. 1). Intended to clear up the size and relationship to properties of neighboring the new lot, it provides the first graphic representation of Franklin's house, a box in no detail, but with a cube-like reproduction of one of the facade's features--the hood, the pent, the stairs, or some other element at the front entrance. Of equal interest is the representation of the wall across the north side of the courtyard. Shown with it are the gate piers behind the lot at present-day 322 Market Street, then in use as a driveway into the courtyard.

As the summer weeks went by without enough information being volunteered to satisfy him, Franklin turned busybody. In the course of a letter written in August, he made comments and raised explicit questions about a number of points relating to the house not to be found in the scattering of accounts:

You should never be without Tubs sufficient in the Area to catch the Rain Water; for if it overflows there often, it may occasion the Foundation to settle and hurt the Wall.

I am sending you . . . a Copper to be set in your Kitchen, with some other Things

102. Deborah Franklin to Franklin, September 22, 1765, Bache Collection, *ibid.*

Let me have the Breadth of the Pier that I may get a handsome Glass for the Parlour. I want also the Dimensions of the Sash Panes in the Buffets of the little North Room: and the Number of them.

I think you cannot have Cellar Room enough, are the Vaults made?

I knew [several lines missing] all shut close while the Work is new; but I would have you do nothing to them, as I can cure them all when I return.

I forget the exact Dimensions of the Kitchen Chimneys, or I should send Sliders for them.

Have you mov'd everything, and put all Papers and Books in my Room, and do you keep it lock't?

Is the passage out to the Top of the House fixed with Iron Rails from Chimney to Chimney?

As to oiling the Floors, it may be omitted till I return: which will not be till next Spring

Have you bak'd in your Iron Oven, and how does it do?¹⁰³

Her reply was as explicit and to the point; though somewhat garbled its order:

This is an anser to your qustons

When you wente from home Billey [William Franklin, the governor] desired to take sune more of your Books than what you laid ought so I got him a trunke to take them up in and as the shelveses looks prettey emtey I took down the reste and dusted them and had the shelves taken down and put up in the South Garrotes in the new house and Mis Elmer [a Miss Elmore, the friend who helped move

103. Franklin to Deborah Franklin, (August 1775), Franklin Papers, *ibid.*, 46, pt. 2, fol. 92.

her] and my selef put them up. I took all the dead letters and papers that was in the Garrot and put them into boxes barreles and bages as I did not know in what manner you wold have shelves in your room.

in the Northroome . . . the dores air not up . . . [W]hen I say dores it is the bofet [buffet] dores They air Glaized but it was on know[n] to me They air in your room I shall Counte the paines and send to you [T]he Crain was put up this week and not before the railes not dun as yit but promised soon to be dun.

I have Counted the paines in the dores thair is 8 in each dore be sides the spases att tije the Largest sise I will get m^r Rhodes to take mashuer of the fier-plases and the pier for a Glase all the Chimneys I have yoused is verey good I have baked in the overn and it is good . . . [a "Duchman" is] to make a watter tube for the arrey [area] the pente houses is not dun nor the stepes as the loot [lot] is not setteld mr. Rhodes thought it beste not to dig a volte.

[on a separate page] . . . the Carpe[n]ter Came up on frey day and put up Sume Car[ved] Worke [in] the Parler And is to put up the Stepes att the north dore as m^r Rhodes thinks it may be beste not to have voltes at all but to [have] place fenese[d] of[f] for wood he and m^r Smith thinke it will all ways be a harbor for Ratts and such Creepin things, that is a moungeest wood and I have Consented to have it dun . . . I hope the Smith will put railes on the house to morrow.¹⁰⁴

By now Deborah Franklin had become careworn and weary. She had willingly shouldered many responsibilities in return for which there were few rewards. There was the house itself, of course. But it was

104. Deborah Franklin to Franklin, October 6-13, 1765, Bache Collection, *ibid.* On the subject of the vaults Franklin wrote early in 1766: "Let the Vaults alone till My Return. As you have Wood Yard, perhaps they may not be necessary." That was the last heard of them. Franklin to Deborah Franklin, February 27, 1766, Franklin Papers, American Philosophical Society, 46, pt. 2, fol. 41.

in her relationship with Franklin that she took what satisfaction there was to be taken from the lengthy and complicated process of building. She responded to his moods. His obvious anxiety brought hers to the fore: "O my Child there is graite odes [odds] between a mans being at home and a broad as every bodey is a fraid they shall doe wrong so everey thing is lefte undun."¹⁰⁵ When he wrote gaily, she brightened perceptively: "I have bin so happy to reseve several of your dear letters . . . H[ough] am I plesed to read over and over a gen I Cole it a husbands Love Letter."¹⁰⁶

The several features of the house revealed in the above exchange of letters for the first time independent of the accounts include a so-called "Area"; "Buffets" in one of the rooms; "Sliders" in the kitchen chimneys; a lock in the door of one of the bedrooms; bookshelves in various places; "Iron Rails from Chimney to Chimney"; the finish of the floors; the iron oven; the fireplace crane in the kitchen; and "Car[ved] Worke in the Parler."

The "Area" where tubs were to be put to catch the rain, was an areaway or light well, the length of the house's southwall. Its

105. In the previous letter Franklin had admonished her about fire ("I need not tell you to take great Care of your Fires"). She replied that she was doing everything in her power to prevent them, to the extent the winter before when workmen lit fires in two of the rooms that she "did littel else but tend them least any acksidente shold hapen." Ibid.

106. Deborah Franklin to Franklin, October 8, 1765, Bache Collection, American Philosophical Society.

retaining wall was found during 1960 in the archeological excavation.¹⁰⁷ On the downslope side of the house, it would have provided light through full-length cellar windows and probably exterior access through a doorway and stone stairs.

The "Buffets" were built-ins with glass panes, one on each side of the fireplace of the house's "office" room. Such features were common in the Philadelphia of that time, repeatedly referred to in insurance surveys, and there are many survivals. Arched doors are indicated by the number of eight panes of equal size and two larger at the top. On August 14, 1771, Franklin wrote to her, "I send you by Capt. Falconer a Box of Looking Glasses for the Closet Doors in the little /missing, presumed to have read "room" or "north room"/." ¹⁰⁸

Although measurements were to be taken, there is nothing to show whether or not the "sliders" were ever installed. The position considered for them in the kitchen chimneys links them with the furnaces mentioned earlier by Franklin.¹⁰⁹

107. B. Bruce Powell, The Archeology of Franklin Court, 1962, p. 7. Interim Historic Structures Report on Franklin's House, Part I, November 1960, Chapter III, Section 1, 3 and Illustration No. 5. Historic Structures Report, Part I on Franklin's House, December 1961, Chapter IV, Section 2, 3 and Illustration No. 1.

108. Franklin to Deborah Franklin, Franklin Papers, American Philosophical Society, 46, pt. 2, fol. 76.

109. See discussion in footnote 81.

The bookshelves that found their way into the "South Garrotes" apparently were demountable. There also is indication here that there were two chambers on the south side of the attic. They would have required two dormers or two gable end windows for lighting. As these rooms were plastered, the bookshelves and their contents should not be thought of as having been in some state of dust-covered storage.¹¹⁰ They had, however, ceased to ornament a lower chamber of some architectural pretensions.

The "Iron Rails from Chimney to Chimney" facilitated fire-fighting and The Board of the Philadelphia Contributionship for the Insurance of Houses from Loss by Fire never signed a policy until the rails were in place. A wrought rail of the type can be seen in the detail of a photograph of the old Philadelphia house in Illustration No. 3.

The Carpenter who "put up Sume Car[ved] Worke" was the joiner, "Mr. Clifton," to whom Deborah Franklin paid £45 from household accounts for "Joyners worke" sometime between July 1 and October 1, 1765.¹¹¹ In the August 13, 1770, issue of the Pennsylvania Chronicle

110. These plain rooms on one side would have shown the roof slope and lacked fireplaces (four flues in the wall provided heat) in addition to being very plain. Such rooms were commonly in use by children of a family and servants.

111. Three-page account headed "July the 1 1765 Laid ought on all a Cashons in house keeping and other necessarees." Franklin Papers, American Philosophical Society, 66, fol. 131.

appears this notice: "HENRY CLIFTON, joiner, Cabinet and Chair Maker, Is removed into Arch Street, opposite the gate of Friends burying-ground, where he continues to carry on the above business in all its branches, in the neatest manner."¹¹² As £45 bought a great deal of joiner's and carved work in that day, the sum may have covered the pedimented doorways of the dining parlor and the pent eave's bracket (discussed below) as well.

These final touches signify an approaching end to the work on Franklin's House, and, in fact, little still remained to be done. That fall with the payment of ten pounds for shingling "and sum other things" the "pente houses" were finished.¹¹³ Around the end of the year the promised "boyler" arrived.¹¹⁴ On December 8, 1767, Richard Bache paid David Chambers £20.8.4 for "4 Marble Hearths," doubtless a delayed account.¹¹⁵ Rhoads had run out of money and

112. Quoted in Alfred Coxe Prime, The Arts & Crafts in Philadelphia, Maryland and South Carolina 1721-1785 Gleanings from Newspapers (n.p., 1929), p. 163.

113. Deborah Franklin to Franklin (Fall of 1765), Bache Collection, American Philosophical Society.

114. Deborah Franklin to Franklin, January 12, 1766, *ibid.*

115. Richard Bache's Day Book (1761-1792), MSS in Franklin Institute. The 1769 tax list shows a stonecutter of this name residing in Philadelphia's North Ward. Pennsylvania Archives, Third Series, Secretary of the Commonwealth, Proprietary, Supply, and State Tax Lists of the City and County of Philadelphia for the Years 1769, 1774, and 1779 (Harrisburg, 1897), XIV, 195. John Cadwalader purchased from David and William Chambers six "marble Chimney-Piece[s] & Hearth[s]" and had them installed in his fine house during 1771. Wainwright, Colonial Grandeur, p. 27.

was drawing on Deborah Franklin to pay the bricklayers; "Smith the Carpenter had asked him for so much and his son lay sick att the time and cold not due aney busines.¹¹⁶ In conclusion, she wrote to Franklin, "so you see that when a house is dun thair is much to be dun after."¹¹⁷

The house was not the only problem Deborah Franklin had to face in the fall of 1765. The colonists were in an ugly mood over passage of the Stamp Act. Franklin had had a hand in the appointment of Pennsylvania's stamp distributor, John Hughes, an old friend and political ally. This was interpreted by Pennsylvanians as accession to the measure, and feeling for a time ran high against Franklin. At its worst Deborah Franklin found herself in a virtual state of seige in the new House in the courtyard:

You will se by the papers what . . . has hapened in other plases [other colonies] and sumthing has bin sed relaite-
ing to raising a mob in this plase. I was for 9 day
keepin one Continued hurrey by pepel to removef and Salley
was porswaided to go to burlington for saiftey but on

116. Rhoads had first received £50 from her on July 23, 1765. Samuel Rhoads, Jr., "Franklin Receipt Book, 1764-1766," MS in Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Also entered in account cited in footnote 111. Deborah Franklin to Franklin, (Fall of 1765), Bache Collection, American Philosophical Society. When Smith approached Rhoads for the last time, he writes of such items of expense as "hewen stone," boards, scantling, and other unspecified materials. The stone undoubtedly was for setting steps. Robert Smith to Samuel Rhoads, Franklin Papers, American Philosophical Society, 47. fol. 41.

117. Deborah Franklin to Franklin, (Fall of 1765), Bache Collection, American Philosophical Society.

munday laste we had verey graite rejoycing on a Count of the Change of the ministrey and a preyparaition for binfiers [bonfires] att night and several houses thret-ened to be puled down. Cusin Davenport Come and told me that more than twenty pepel had told him it was his Duty to be with me. I sed I was plesed to reseve Civility from aney bodey so he staid with me sume time to words night I sed he shold fetch a gun or two as we had none. I sente to aske my Brother to Cume and bring his gun all so we maid one room into a Magazin. I ordored sum sorte of defens up Stairs such as I Cold manaig my selef. I sed when I was advised to remove that I was verey shure you had dun nothing to hurte aney bodey nor I had not given any offense to aney person att all nor wold I be maid unesey by aney bodey nor wold I stir or show the leste uneseynis but if aney one Came to disturbe me I wold show a proper resentment and I shold be very much afrunted with aney bodey . . . On freyday Mr. Parker brough Mrs. and Miss Parker down to spend a week with us . . . this day Billey Come agan to aske us up to Burlington I consented to Salley going but I will not stir as I rely donte think it wold be right in me to stir or show the leste uneseyness att all.¹¹⁸

For over a month longer disturbances continued. Finally on November 3 she could write: "The Dredfull firste of November (date the Stamp Act was to take effect) is over; and not so much disorder as was dreded."¹¹⁹ Franklin's vindication would come in time. Grateful for the support of his friends and neighbors, his first word on receiving the news was in praise of Deborah Franklin:

I honour much the Spirit and Courage you show'd, and the prudent Preparations you made in the [Time] of

118. This letter was docketed by Franklin "RIOT." Deborah Franklin to Franklin, *ibid.* She listed fifteen relatives, friends, and neighbors who garrisoned the house that night.

119. Deborah Franklin to Franklin, November 3, 1765, *ibid.*

Danger. The [Woman] deserves a good [House] that [is] determined to defend it.¹²⁰

For all her troubles, Deborah Franklin found herself, now with the house done, in possession of a small work of art. The unenthusiastic reception of friends aside, this was a house of the first rank and would have been if not one of Franklin's ingenious devices had been installed. As has been demonstrated above, its design features were the product of one of the foremost colonial architect-builders under scrutiny of a dean of the builder's trade. The tradesmen were the best offered by Philadelphia, occasionally employing materials and installations straight from the London market proper. The style was plain on the outside with elements of the Palladian mode on the interior. Facing the north approximately in the center of the courtyard, it was a tall free-standing brick structure.

Predictably, the house was insured by the insurance company Franklin had helped father fifteen years before. Having reached the stage where it met all requirements, on February 20, 1767, deposit was accepted and Policy No. 1148 issued. The survey of the premises, made some six months before, reads as follows:

Survey'd Aug't 5th 1766 N. 1148

A house house Belonging to Benjamin Franklin,
Situate on the South Side of high Street Between third
& fourth Streets where his family dwells

120. Franklin to Deborah Franklin, November 9, 1765, *ibid.*

34 feet Square --3 Storys high--14 & 9 inch walls
 --3 Rooms on a floor--partitions in the Eastermost part
 of the house 9 inch Brick wall to the Garet floor in
 the westermost part Studed & plaster^d--East Room below
 wainscuted with frett Cornish all Round,--four pedemets
 with frett Bedmolds A Rich Chimney peice,--fluted Cullums
 & half pilasters with intabliture--the other other Rooms
 and pasage below wainscuted pedistal high, with frett
 and dintal Cornish throughout one of s^d Rooms has a Chim-
 ney peice with tabernacle frame pediment &c.--All the
 Second Story wainscuted pedistal high, frett dintal and
 plain duble Cornish through the whole,--a Chimney peice
 in one of the Rooms with tabernacle frame pediment &c.--
 Chimney Brest Surbase Scerting and Single Cornish through-
 out the third Story--Garet plasterd a way out on Roof-
 two Storys of Stairs Ramp^d Brackited and Wainscuted--One
 --do--Brackited --painted inside and out--Modilion Eaves
 --2 Large painhouses with trusses at each end--all New
 --kitchen in Celler--

Gunning Bedford

£500 @ 30/per Ct. or if
 any higher Sum to be at 32/6

Read without an understanding of builder's terminology for that
 period, this survey may appear too succinct to have value in studying
 the house. In fact, though economical of words, it contains none
 superfluous to the purpose; that of providing a guide for replacement
 of parts of the structure lost or depleted by fire. All such parts
 as would be costly to replace, the "curious" and interesting ones are
 sure to be included. A number of the terms have special meaning, not
 apparent at a glance. Some can be understood only when considered in
 the context of usage employed by Gunning Bedford. Comparative study
 of other insurance surveys involving houses still standing or drawn
 and photographed before being demolished, often yields details that
 would otherwise be beyond recall. Together with the house plans

discussed below, this survey has the most valuable data on the house yet discovered. It tells the informed researcher about not only such salient characteristics as the dimensions, number of stories, number of rooms and their relative locations, structural properties, location of the kitchen, and the like, but also that there was a room on the first floor elaborate and rich beyond all others in the house, that a second room on that floor had architectural features well above the average, that panelling of the lower walls was carried up two flights of stairs and throughout the rooms of the second floor (one of which was also elaborate), that the third floor had only surbase and simple cornice, and that the pents were on opposite sides of the building (although "end" could mean front and back or left and right).

Getting more specific yet, the survey shows what the joiners and carvers were doing for their pay. They had panelled the room east of the passageway on the first story from floor to ceiling, with a rich cornice featuring a fret molding (design of straight lines, symmetrically patterned). Four of the door openings (two closet, two hallway) had pediments with the same type of moldings as the cornice. The over-mantel of this same room, in addition to displaying one of the orders of architecture complete to fluted columns, pilasters, and entablature, by the word "rich" can be judged to have had carving--perhaps a coat of arms, or swags, brackets, ornaments on the pilasters, or all of them as in the Powel House drawing room, also done at the

direction of Robert Smith.¹²¹ The accompanying drawing (Illustration No. 4) shows how such features might have looked, borrowing some of the best contemporary examples from Philadelphia houses of comparable distinction to Franklin's House. The rest of the rooms on the first and second floors and the passageways uniformly were panelled below the level of the window sills with fret moldings in the surbase and baseboard as in the Powel House drawing room, and a cornice molding

121. Wainwright, Colonial Grandeur, p. 97. Examination of the Franklin and Powel insurance surveys reveals some interesting comparisons. The Powel house, built in 1765 and still standing at 244 South Third Street, is often cited as epitomizing eighteenth century Philadelphia town houses. Samuel Powel, the owner, a man of wealth, while Mayor of Philadelphia before and after the Revolution was renowned for an expansive hospitality. Those sections of the 1769 insurance survey (prepared by the same Gunning Bedford who did Franklin's) touching on interior finish read as follows: "2 Rooms & passage in first story The Rooms wainscut pedistal high Chimney breasts tabernacle frame pediments over doors and dintal Cornish all Round--passage wainscut pedistal high. pediments over doors, fluted pilasters with an arch dintal Cornish dowel floor--Second Story the same as below except the arch and dowel floor--3^d Story finish^d with Chimney Breasts Surbase Scerting & Single Cornish--Garet plaster^d plaster^d partitions--two Storys of open Newel Stairs Ramp^d Bracketed and wainscuted one of which Mahogany in the twist" Survey Book 1, B, the Philadelphia Contributionship for the Insurance of Houses from Loss by Fire. Much of the grandness now seen in the drawing room (Wainwright, pp. 97, 99, 101) resulted from a redecorating in 1770 at which time James Clow, a stucco worker (highly ornate plaster worker) did the ceiling and friezes. The frets of surbase and baseboard (Wainwright, p. 101) not noted in the above survey, were doubtless installed at the same time under the supervision of Robert Smith whom Powel paid £268 "By his contracts for finishing a room in my dwelling house" (Wainwright, p. 98). The fluted pilasters of this room, the panelling of the dining room (though a reconstruction based on the room overhead--Wainwright pp. 94-95), the pediments of the drawing room, and elements of the stairs bear a relationship to Franklin's.

of dentils as in the drawing room of Mt. Pleasant, John MacPherson's mansion still standing in Philadelphia's Fairmount Park.¹²² Two of these rooms also received special treatment at the joiners' hands. Above the "darke" marble mantel of the first floor room (the "parler" of Deborah Franklin's February 10 letter) was the tabernacle frame and pediment of the survey, in all probability highly embellished for consistency's sake. The second floor room receiving a pedimented tabernacle frame would have been the one directly over the richly finished first floor room, the principal bedroom, and as shown below the room then reserved for Benjamin Franklin.

The joiners had also left their imprimatur on the staircase and exterior cornice. The former with a ramped handrail (curving upward at a landing) and carved brackets (ornaments under the ends of each stair) are well known from survivals as are the plain Roman type modillions still to be found in the cornices of scores of eighteenth century Philadelphia houses that have remained intact to the present.¹²³

The "Large painhouses with trusses at each end" received more than usual attention in the correspondence between Deborah Franklin and Franklin, as almost the last thing to be done. From a casual reading

122. Wainwright, Colonial Grandeur, pp. 97, 101, 107.

123. While plain ones abound, there are more than a few carved ones. The former type would seem to fit best the plainness of exterior attributed to the house. See drawing in Martin S. Briggs, Everyman's Concise Encyclopaedia of Architecture (London, 1959), p. 211.

it is possible to conclude that the "painhouses" were structures on the ends of the house, or attached to the gable walls, assuming the house to have had a pitched, not hipped roof. Another interpretation holds that the "painhouses" were really pent eaves such as had been popular on Philadelphia buildings in the past, although less in vogue in the Philadelphia of 1763. A pent eave shown in William Birch's view entitled "Bank on Second Street," appears to be a likely fellow-pent. It stretched across the front of James Logan's house next door to the bank. Profiled in the shadows at the end of the pent is a bracket-like support of some description (Illustration No. 5). The house's insurance survey reveals that this was described by surveyor Gunning Bedford as one of two "painthouse[s] front and back."¹²⁴ Practically identical in choice of words to Franklin's survey, and by the same surveyor that of Logan makes no reference to "trusses." This term as used here is defined: "an ornamental bracket or console or modillion."¹²⁵ However, the Logan survey was made after alterations in 1800 and the feature seen in the Birch view may have been removed in decaying state or as anachronistic and in bad taste. The term is, however, readily connected with work elsewhere, and seems to have been

124. Resurvey of October 3, 1800, policies 524 and 525, Loose Surveys, The Philadelphia Contributionship for the Insurance of Houses from Loss by Fire.

125. "a term seldom used today." Martin S. Briggs, Everyman's Concise Encyclopaedia of Architecture, p. 346.

employed interchangeably to denote either a bracket employed with its long axis horizontal, or with the console's or ancone's slight projection and vertical axis.¹²⁶ The most conspicuous examples of "trusses," for which pictorial evidence as well as documentary exists, were those supporting the clock cases on the eastern and western gables of Independence Hall. The ones on the west show in clear detail in the Krimmel view, "Election Day--1815" (Illustration No. 6). These were described in Samuel Harding's bill for "Carved Work Done for the State house," as "trusses," meaning the very heavy pieces shown vertical: "6 truses that Suports y^e pedement." Those horizontal, under the clock case, smaller and lighter in appearance, were referred to as "6 Cuttuses for y^e bottom."¹²⁷ In the light of this evidence, the "Large painhouses with trusses at each end" may be interpreted to mean that there were trusses at each end of the pent rather than "painhouses" at each end of the building.

While the insurance survey provides a description of sorcs, it might reasonably be expected that the new house of so prominent a man as Franklin would have attracted more contemporary interest and invited more comment than it did. Of course, it was erected in a

126. Ibid., p. 97.

127. The charge was made on January 7, 1756. Samuel Harding Accounts, General Loan Office Account Books, 1750-1768, MS in Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

flourishing building period when the city was growing to first place among this hemisphere's cities. And accompanying this boom was the construction of many fine houses. Franklin's simply drew less attention than the larger, more opulent homes of others. There is some reason to believe that it became the subject of one drawing (reputedly by James Thackara) in its waning years. Efforts are currently being made to acquire a copy of this drawing. The only account of the house in narrative form was penned many years later by a Colonel Robert Carr, who began his career in Franklin Court, at the printing shop of Franklin's grandson Benjamin Franklin Bache, before Franklin's death. Even after the passage of many years Carr's mind remained clear, for several points of his description stand verified by documentation. Those paragraphs of Carr's recollections pertaining to the section of the house complete in 1766 are as follows:

The Doctor's mansion-house was in the centre of a lot of ground, . . . [and] was built with the front towards Chestnut-street, . . .

The mansion-house was a plain brick building, three stories high, about forty feet front and thirty feet deep, with an entry through the centre. There was a larger parlor on the East side of the Entry, and two rooms on the West side, with a door between them. The kitchen was in the basement, with an icehouse under it. The Doctor's office or study was in the Northwest room on the first floor; and there was a coal grate, in which he burned Virginia or English coal. Below this grate, on the hearth, there was a small iron plate or trap-door, about five or six inches square, with a hinge and a small ring to raise it by. When this door or valve was raised, a current of air from the cellar rushed up thru the grate to rekindle the fire.

The Doctor's bed-chamber was the Southwest room on the second floor. There were two cords, like bell pulls, at the head of his bed; one was a bell-pull and the other, when pulled, raised an iron bolt, almost an inch square and nine or ten inches long, which dropped through staples at the top of the door, when shut; and until this bolt was raised the door could not be opened. . .

The doors of the chambers, and nearly all the doors about the house, were lined or edged with green baize, to prevent noise when shutting; and several of them had springs behind them to close them.

On the South side of the house there was a grass lot, about one hundred feet square, containing a few fine plane trees, and surrounded on three sides by a brick wall . . . On the North side of the House there was an open lot of the same size."¹²⁸

The ice house here referred to as being "under" the kitchen has until now been assumed to date to Franklin's lifetime. This source and one other, a rental advertisement for the house of 1801, both originating

128. Carr's explanation for locating the front to face the south wall has possible further meaning: "some time after it was erected, it was discovered that the title to the front of the lot on Chestnut Street was defective; and the Doctor, rather than engage in a litigation, or pay an exorbitant price demanded by the claimant of the lot, abandoned it, and used the Market-street avenue. This fact I heard Mr. B. F. Bache, his grandson, relate to Mr. Volney, the traveller, who enquired why the Doctor had built his house fronting the South, to which he had no outlet." This explanation would be easy to discount in its entirety as a fabrication or a complete garbling of fact and fancy. As far as property considerations go, this may be so. But behind the explanation is the memory of a facade facing to the South. As the house had a through hallway ("an entry through the centre") that had no requirement of housing the staircase, there would have been a doorway in full view and, therefore, well designed. As this doorway would have opened to a flight of stairs leading over the areaway and into the garden of Carr's day, the effect would have been that of having the front on that side.

after Franklin's death, provided the only documentation. Recently, a third ice house reference has made an appearance, this for the building of one by Bache:

[December 31, 1791]

Expences Dr To Cash paid sundry Expences in this Month

paid sundry Bills & Expences building an Ice House 48..8.--¹²⁹

A case can be made for Bache's having built this facility at his country estate, Settle, then being readied for occupancy. At any rate the ice house was practically an unknown feature when archeology in 1960 uncovered the remains of it, a circular stone-lined pit ten feet in diameter, ten feet below the cellar floor level in the southwest corner of the building site.¹³⁰ Unfortunately, more than two-thirds of it had been destroyed by a massive concrete foundation of much later date. Ice pits were well-known to better Philadelphia homes. Robert Morris not only had one, but wrote very fully about it to George Washington in 1784.¹³¹ Richard Peters also had one under

129. Poulson's American Daily Advertiser, October 9, 1801. Richard Bache's Day Book (1761-1792), MSS in Franklin Institute.

130. Interim Historic Structures Report on Franklin's House, Part I, November 1960, Chapter III, Section 1, pp. 5-6; Illustration No. 16. Historic Structures Report, Part I on Franklin's House, December 1961, Chapter IV, Section 2, pp. 4-5. B. Bruce Powell, The Archeology of Franklin Court, 1962, pp. 16-17; Illustration No. 12.

131. Like Franklin's ice house Morris' was built of stone without mortar, except for the upper courses. His also had no drain.

the cellar of his Walnut Street house. It was discovered when later buildings were demolished in Independence National Historical Park's Area A, and was covered up whole for further reference. There was even an article on ice houses, complete to diagrams, in Dobson's Encyclopaedia, pages 86-87 (Illustration No. 7).

Such other elements of the house described by Carr as the fireplace trap-door, the bedroom paraphernalia, and the door springs and linings can be accepted as accurate.

He describes in detail how he packed the ice. Robert Morris to George Washington, June 15, 1784, Robert Morris Papers, Library of Congress.

3. SORTING OUT THE ROOMS

For a house as expensive as Franklin's there can be no reasonable doubt that professionally drawn floor plans, elevations, and sketches at least of certain specific details were prepared. What has happened to them is anybody's guess. Opportunities to lose them have been many. Assuming he had and kept copies, a not unwarranted assumption where Franklin is concerned, they might have disappeared during the British occupation of Philadelphia by Andre's hand or while at Gallo-way's place where so many of the papers were lost. They may have been parceled out while the estate was being settled, heirlooms being passed around and books and papers distributed in accordance with specific bequests. They may have been taken from among the bodies of papers loosely handled by William Temple Franklin in this country and England. They may even have been discarded when the house was torn down as no longer useful, with as little thought for posterity's interest in them as the house itself received.

The next best thing to a professionally drawn floor plan is one not drawn as well or as fully, but in scale and showing key features. Just such a plan, for the house's second floor, somehow managed to survive the vicissitudes of the Franklin papers through their century of wandering. In value it is on a par with the insurance survey, though it too appears at first glance to be but a forlorn representation of so fine a house (Illustration No. 8). On no sheet of parchment, just

rag paper, it crowds the edge of the page in obvious support of the hard-pressed draftsman. It owes its mounting to a minor transaction between Franklin and a tradesman. On May 17, 1764, while deeply engaged in the politics of the Pennsylvania Assembly, and serving as one of the seven Provincial Commissioners for the previous November's £24,000 supply bill, Franklin made a purchase and was given in return the following: "receiv'd May 17, 1764 of Benjamin Franklin Eleven Pounds for Four Reams of Money Paper at 55/ p Ream."¹³² Assuming that the receipt was made out on the tradesman's stationery and not Franklin's, then the use of the other side as drawing paper took place sometime after May 17, 1764. Probably very soon thereafter, as such things do not lie around invitingly on desk tops forever. An examination of the sheet reveals that it was used as though it had been tracing paper. Apparently it had been selected as translucent, laid over a plan of the first floor, and had traced on it with some sort of scribing instrument those elements wanted in finishing the second floor. Although by May 17, 1764, building had been underway for a year, the rough, heavy structural work only had been finished by then. Changes, even basic ones could still be effected. This diagram seems, thus, to have originated as part of the planning process. The indentations made by the instrument still show clearly on the paper, inked over. The line of indentation representing the

132. Franklin Papers, American Philosophical Society, 66.

first floor's west hallway wall was not inked, demonstrating that the second floor had an abbreviated hallway, leaving more room to the south bedroom on that side. But other features indicated on the simple line drawing are even more informative. A staircase with sixteen treads and eighteen risers and double twist at the bottom is shown to have been located in a stairhall occupying a corner of the house. The indicated position of the through-hallway is off-center; the doors on the north and south ends would follow suit. Fireplace and door locations, closets, window openings indicated by dots, and a four poster bed standing solitary in the large bedroom to the east are also shown. No room is complete in detail, nor is so much asked of the plan.

The next best thing to a not-complete but scaled plan showing key features is a not-complete, not-scaled, and sloppily sketched plan that, nevertheless, shows key features--particularly when it is on a sheet of paper covered with specimens of the homeowner's handwriting. Just such a plan, for the house's first floor, written on by Franklin, somehow tagged along with the second floor plan and has been snatched from oblivion by keen-eyed National Park Service historians (Illustration No. 9). This diagram, and it is nothing more, is nonetheless of great value, comparable in this respect to the insurance survey and second floor drawing. Though carelessly drawn, it is easily correlated with both of them. As it is positioned relative to the Market Street properties, it proves the stairhall to

have been in the northeast corner of the structure. It also shows fireplace and door locations (two of them in the large room east of the hallway, one handy to the kitchen stairs, one an impressive double door); that there were four window and door openings in the north and south walls; an archway midway in the through hall; and the hallway off-center, corresponding to the one in the second floor drawing.¹³³ Identifying furnishings also are sketched in roughly in the large ornate dining parlor.

Certain of the features of Franklin's house are common to houses of Samuel Rhoads that have been identified. The Cadwalader house, the Alexander Barclay house, his own country house at Gray's Ferry, and the plan of a house attributed to him provide examples.¹³⁴ The corner

133. Ibid., 44, pt. 1, fol. 110.

134. The 1760 Cadwalader house insurance survey (done before remodeling) gives no piazza, and as there were three rooms to a floor, the indications are that it too had a corner staircase. Its interiors are described in verbiage very much like Franklin's: "Lower story . . . wainscut pedistal high, - Tabernacle frame on Brest and modillion Cornish Round front parlor, Chimney Brest & plain dubble Cornish in Back parlor, ---dintal Cornish in passage . . . second story wainscut pedistal high dubble Cornish in Large front Chamber . . . Chimney Brests &c. in 2 Rooms of 3^d Story Surbass & Scerting in the other Room and passage - 3 storys of open Newel Stairs 2 of which Ramp. Bracketed and wainscuted a twist in Lower Story." Included as illustration on page 7 of Wainwright, Colonial Grandeur.

Samuel Rhoads' insurance survey for his one-story country place presents points of similarity: "3 Rooms and a passage . . . North Room wainscuted pedistal high modillion & frett Cornish . . . Chimney Brest Tabernacle frame Mantle Cornish 3 pediments - the other Rooms has Chimney Brests Surbase & scerting & Single Cornish --passage wainscut pedistal high duble Cornish - One Story of open

staircase cropping up in this drawing and in the Barclay House may have been his providential Quaker tradesman's touch, or the art of making an essentially small house look big (Illustration No. 12). In any event this feature was to be found in more than a few houses of various types and sizes, as witness its presence in Mt. Pleasant, a country seat; the Deshler-Morris House, on the market square of the small outlying center called Germantown; and, of course, Franklin's very thoroughly urban locale. The off-center doorway, though perhaps not so commonplace, can be found in the plan attributed to Rhoads and the Thomas Willing house near Samuel Powel's place on Third Street (Illustration No. 13). The best example of this popular style was the house at 190 High Street, two blocks from Franklin Court, constructed around 1770 and rebuilt after a fire in 1785 (Illustration No. 14). Philadelphia's finest house, its residents included John Penn, Sir William Howe, Benedict Arnold, Robert Morris, and Presidents George Washington and John Adams. Certainly Rhoads' influence found its way into the planning at an early stage of its development, for it would have been his old friend, Rhoads, whom Franklin would first have taken into his confidence when the idea of building a fine home occurred to him.

Newel stairs Ramp^d Bracketed & wainscut." Survey Book No. 1, The Philadelphia Contributionship for the Insurance of Houses from Loss by Fire, p. 16 (January 31, 1770).

Both surveys were made by Gunning Bedford.

At the end of his August 1765 letter asking Deborah Franklin for particulars about the house, Franklin turned wistful: "What Room have you chose to sleep in? I wish you would give me a particular Account of every Room, who & what is in it, t'would make me seem a little at home." To which he added, "What Colours are they painted?"¹³⁵

The long letter of October 6-13 in which Deborah Franklin replied to his queries contained a section devoted to the rooms:

Now for the room we Cale yours thair is in it your Deske the armonekey maid like a Deske a large Chest with all the writeings that was in your room down stairs [north-west corner] the boxes of glases for musick [armonica] and for the Elicktresatecy [battery] and all your close and the pickters as I donte drive nailes leste it shold not be write

Salley has the Southroom [up] two pairs of Stairs [rest furnishings] . . .

The Northeroom Nanney [Ann Hardy, a servant] took for her one [own] . . .

The Blewroom has the Armoneyca and the Harpseycord in it the Gilte Sconse a Carde tabel a seet of tee Chaney [china] . . . the worked Chairs and Screen a verey handsome mohaganey Stand for the tee kittel to stand on and the orney mental Chaney but the room is not yit finished for I tlink the paper has loste much of the blume by paisteing of it up thair-fore I thought it beste to leve

135. Franklin to Deborah Franklin (August 1765), Franklin Papers, American Philosophical Society, 41, pt. 2, fol. 92.

it tell you Cume home[. T]he Curtins is not maid nor
did I pres for them as we had a verrey graite number of
fleys as it is observed thay air verrey fond of new painte

The Southroome I sleep in with my Susanah [her maid] . . .
sum books in my Closet [other furnishings] . . .

In the frunte room which I had desind for gests I had
the beed which you sente from Ingland [other furnishings]

In the rom down stairs is the sid bord that you be spoke
which is verrey hansum and plain with two tabels maid to
suite it and a Doz of Chairs allso I sold to mr. Fox-
crofte the tabeles we had as they did not sute the room
by aney meens [more in general on furnishings] . . .

The littel Southroom I had papered as the wales were much
soyled; in that is a pritey Card tabel and our Chairs
that yoused to stand in the parler and orney mental Chaney
over the fierplase on the flower a Carpit I bought cheep
for the goodness; it is not quite new The large Carpit
is in the blewroom . . .

[more in general on furnishings] This is but a verrey
imperfecte a counte

In the Northroome [elsewhere "parlor"] we sett as it is
not quite finished yit as the dores air not up We have
a tabel and chairs and the Smal Book case Brother Johns
Pickter and the King and Quens pickter and a small Scotch
Carpet on the flower which was found much Folte with and
your time pees stands in one Corner which is all wrong I
am told So then I tell them we shall have all things as
thay shold be when you cume home.¹³⁶

136. The opening section of the last paragraph and the sections
in brackets have been transposed from their order of occurrence in
the letter to bring them into meaningful sequence. Deborah Franklin
to Franklin, October 6-13, 1765, Bache Collection, American Philosophi-
cal Society. In composing this the writer has retained Deborah Frank-
lin's sequence of rooms, but has eliminated all furniture except large
pieces or tell-tale types in rooms of major importance.

From the foregoing it can be seen that she covered all nine rooms on the three floors of the house, starting with Franklin's bedroom on the second floor and then worked down from the bedrooms on the third floor to the parlors on the first floor. By process of elimination the "Blewroom" or "musick room" as referred to elsewhere turns out to have been the large eastern room over Franklin's second floor bedroom.¹³⁷ Deborah Franklin occupied the room next in size to Franklin's bedroom, adjoining it on the second floor. As she shows it had closets although none can be seen in the second floor plan. Salley had the room over this one on the third floor. The third room in addition to Franklin's and Deborah Franklin's was the guest room, where Foxcroft had stayed during the spring. "Nanne" or "Nancy" or Ann Hardy who occupied the room over this one had been Mrs. Stevenson's maid at Craven Street, Strand, London, a fashionable address, and in 1763 came to America to live at Franklin's home for a few years. The splendor of the first floor's dining parlor, the panelled room with pedimented doors and curious carving, had compelled Deborah Franklin

137. Martin I. Yoelson first thought of applying this process of elimination and found it could be comprehended with the second floor plan only at hand. Mr. Yoelson's research on Franklin over the years has prevented extinguishing of the eternal flame that burns somewhere in the courtyard off Market Street.

"I have wrote you answrs to all your dear qustons and lefte it on the tabel in the musick room and shut the dore but it was taken a way so I muste write it over agen I beleve." Deborah Franklin to Franklin, October 9, 1765. Ibid.

to acquire finer dining room furniture. The second best withdrawing room on this floor, the "littel Southroom," with its imported marble fireplace and tabernacle frame above, received the old parlor chairs, chinaware display pieces, along with a bargain carpet and though possessed of a touch of elegance, came out--second best. The "Blew" room upstairs received the handed-down parlor carpet from the last house. The office room on the first floor was comfortable, but not stylish.

The house's room of greatest interest, Franklin's bedroom, while awaiting the master's arrival had become a storage chamber and occasional guest room. Lying about at the time she wrote this were the apparatuses of scientific inquiry and books and papers for which Franklin is so well-known. Although he did not sleep a night in the chamber for the first ten years, it was in readiness and he returned to inhabit it while revising the Declaration of Independence and to sleep soundly there the night of August 2, 1776, after signing the engrossed copy. And here he lapsed into his final illness in March of 1790 and died April 17, 1790.

Others of the rooms have interest of a different magnitude and order. The first floor office where he studied and wrote during 1775-1776 and 1785-1790, was the center of this country's first "brain trust." Delegations from every organization out to perfect the society of the new nation or merely to improve it trooped in to solicit his support. Membership of the Society for Political Inquiry alone

would do honor to any organization of learned men today. In the relaxed and humanizing atmosphere of Franklin's parlors the most perplexing problems of state and international affairs took on less imposing aspect. In a day of salons, fashionable clubs, and tavern get-togethers, Franklin who had seen them all ran one of the best shows in town right in his own house. The impressive dining chamber knew the presence of the great and near great, Washington, Adams, Jefferson, the Lees of Virginia, as well as the old Philadelphia cronies and associates Deborah Franklin had in for the first time in 1765.

4. LATER HISTORY OF THE HOUSE

For the next twenty years little had to be done to the house; a prettying touch here and there, routine maintenance from time to time. The Blue Room, the wall paper of which Deborah Franklin had complained about in her long accounting as having "loste much of the blume," apparently continued to be a source of annoyance. Franklin counselled redecorating it:

I suppose the blue Room is too blue, the Wood being of the same Colour with the Paper, and so looks too dark. I would have you finish it as soon as you can, thus. Paint the Wainscot a dead white; Paper the Walls blue, & tack the Gilt Border round just above the Surbase and under the Cornish. If the paper is not equal Coloured when pasted on, let it be brush'd over again with the same colour: and let the Papier machée musical Figures be tack'd to the middle of the Cieling; when this is done, I think it will look very well.¹³⁸

Taking him at his word, as always, she ordered in the man best-equipped to handle this specialized job, one Timothy Berrett. Little more than seven weeks after Franklin wrote his letter in London, Berrett gave Deborah Franklin the following receipt:

Mrs Franklin	To Tim ^y Berrett	
		£ S d
To Painting a room at 3/6 P y ^d		5 5 0
D ^o Sealing at 1 P y ^d		0 13 0
		£ 5 18 0

138. Franklin to Deborah Franklin, June 22, 1767, Franklin Papers, American Philosophical Society, 46, pt. 2, fol. 53.

Berrett in 1769 did like work for Samuel Powel, "painting and bordering a room."¹⁴⁰ He also did painting in 1770 for John Cadwalader's sumptuous mansion, where gilding and papier-mâché were the rule rather than the exception.¹⁴¹ Musical figures of the sort Franklin had in mind were installed in the Peters country mansion in what is now Fairmount Park (Illustration No. 15). In 1773 Sally reported to her father "the dinning room wants new Paper, the Border which is a gold one never was put up, . . . it would make a neet room if it was ne[atly] done up."¹⁴² There is no record what resulted.

On the eve of Brandywine and the British occupation of Philadelphia in 1777 a lead downspout and "neat head" weighing 313 pounds were taken down from Franklin's House by order of the Council of Safety and turned over to munitions authorities.¹⁴³ From the listing made at the time,

139. Ibid., 66, fol. 1482.

140. Wainwright, Colonial Grandeur, p. 24.

141. Ibid., p. 32. According to Wainwright papier-mâché figures of the sort "were often gilded." Ibid., p. 24.

142. Sarah Bache to Franklin, October 30, 1773, Franklin Papers, American Philosophical Society, 3, fol. 173.

143. "In Council Philadelphia Augst. 27th 1779
The Congress by a Resolve of Yesterday have Recommended to this Council that the Leaden Spouts in Philadelphia be taken down for the Use of the Laboratory, and it appearing to the Council to be a Salu-tary & necessary measure, therefore Resolved

it appears that Franklin's was among those of the largest houses in the city, which from their ornamentation were heavy. The word "neat" as contrasted with the other descriptive terms on the list ("plain" and "common") suggests one having at least the date the house was built, the initials "B F" and perhaps other ornamentation as well (Illustrations Nos. 16, 17).¹⁴⁴ The house did without this downspout for more than four years, until November 1781, when Richard Bache wrote

That Evan Evans, Robert Allison, & James Worrell be appointed to take down all such Spouts Accordingly and make a proper Valuation thereof _____

Extract from the Minutes
signed Timothy Matlack Sec^y

An Account of Leaden Spouts taken off the Houses of the following Persons by . . . Virtue of the above order of Council & delivered to Cap^t Joseph Watkins Com^y of Ordnance & Military Stores _____

Sept 2	.	.	.	.	wt lb	.	.
.	.	.	.	.	.	sett[le]d	.
Doctor Franklin	.	.	.	.	313 one neat head	.	.

Records of Supreme Executive Council, Box 1777, Division of Public Records, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

On Acco^t of Spouts (leaden) taken from the Citizens of Philad^a for Publick Use p Exec. Council - 27 Aug

Sep^t 2 D^r Franklin --- -- -- 313 One neat head
Supreme Executive Council, Miscellaneous Papers, Division of Public Records, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

144. "Neat" today is used to convey an impression of orderliness or tidiness. In the eighteenth century it meant "simple elegance" or "characterized by elegance of form or arrangement, with freedom from all unnecessary additions or embellishments," The Oxford English Dictionary (Oxford, 1933), p. 57. For more on possible appearance of the "neat head" see footnote 71.

that he was having necessary repairs done, to include "new spouts, one a copper one in the room of the leaden one taken away by the public in the year 1777, for which I could get no payment."¹⁴⁵ While about it, he took care of "new shingling part of the pent houses on both sides of the house."¹⁴⁶

In the meantime Deborah Franklin had died, Franklin had come and gone. The only changes it is certain that he made after seeing the house for the first time on May 4, 1775, consisted of adding bookshelves in his bedroom and "branches for the Drawing Room."¹⁴⁷ As purchase of these sconces followed hard on the heels of a payment to Martin Jugiez, the notable "Carver and Gilder," of £2.16.2 there is

145. The notation "sett^d" in the margin of the above listing shows that in time Franklin received payment. Richard Bache to Franklin, November 24, 1781, quoted in Duane, Letters, p. 118.

[Nov. 10, 1781] Benjamin Franklin D^r To Cash p^d W^m Harper for
a Wooden Spout, & putting up a Copper one . . . 5..5.--

[July 25, 1783] Benjamin Franklin D^r To Cash paid Benjamin
Harbeson for a Copper Spout for the house put up in 1781. 49..5..6

[June 16, 1784] Benjamin Franklin D^r To Cash paid G. Ludlam
for a leaden spout for the North front of the house 8..6..4

Richard Bache's Day Book (1761-1792), MSS, Franklin Institute.

146. Duane, Letters, p. 118. [Dec. 1, 1781] Benjamin Franklin
D^r To Cash p^d Inglis and Harper's for shingling the penthouse &c.
as p Bill . . . 7..1.--
Richard Bache's Day Book (1761-1792), MSS, Franklin Institute.

147. For which he paid an unnamed tradesman £ 1.2.6. Benjamin Franklin's Memorandum Book, 1757-1776, MSS, American Philosophical Society, p. 25.

a strong presumption that he had finally followed through on Salley's suggestions to dress up the dining parlor.¹⁴⁸

Franklin had not been home for two weeks in 1775 when, war or no war, he had Richard Bache go out and buy two lightning rods:

May 16, 1775

P Richard Grant Dr To Cash p^d for 2
Electrical Rods 2.18.3/149

Perhaps he had found the house without such equipment and immediately corrected the oversight. At any rate a lightning rod was up in 1785 when he returned from France.¹⁵⁰ At about the same time he paid, through Richard Bache, £13.18.9 to a carpenter named Hale in full for

148. Oct. 4 [1775]

Paid Jugiez Carver & Gilder 2.16.2

B. Franklin's Domestic Accounts, 1757-1776, MSS, American Philosophical Society. Through Jugiez Franklin may at last have acquired the papier-mache musical figures for the Blue Room. Jugiez had advertised 30 months earlier "just imported" stock including "a great variety of glasses, with mahogany and walnut, plain or gilt frames, and dressing ditto; . . . He likewise makes frames of any kind, . . . also gorondolas, brickets, bases &c. He has paper mache for ceilings, or for bordering rooms, plain or gilt." *Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 10, 1773. As a member of the firm of Bernard and Jugiez he advertised much earlier, "Any gentlemen and ladies that want paper machie cieling may be supplied at a reasonable rate." *Ibid.*, January 10, 1765. Jugiez did £ 28.10.7 1/2 worth of carving for John Cadwalader in 1770. Wainwright, *Colonial Grandeur*, pp. 29, 32. He also worked at Cliveden and Powel's house. *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 25 n.

149. Richard Bache's Day Book (1761-1792), MSS, Franklin Institute.

150. William Temple Franklin, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Benjamin Franklin* (London, 1818), III, 391-92. "Letter from dr. Franklin to mr. Landriani, on the utility of electric conductors," *American Museum*, VII, May 1790, 264-65.

some work performed.¹⁵¹ Interestingly enough, Hale (arrived from London in 1767) had been advertising in years past under the sign of a bell: "In Walnut-street, facing the State-house Gate. Continues to hang BELLS through all the apartments of houses, in the most neat and lasting manner."¹⁵² The specialty that had been making Hale his reputation was the door bell and house bell trade, growing in popularity among Philadelphians. A few years before John Cadwalader had paid Alexander Smith, another specialist in this line, £11.15.0 for the complex assortment of pulls and pullies, fastenings, frames, crampets, jack lines, bells, bell bolts, bell pins, springs, staples, astregals, brads, rods, and wire and installation of them in a system covering six rooms on two floors.¹⁵³ Franklin's payment of 18 shillings for "Wire work," though several months after his payment to Hale, looks suspiciously as though the same sort of thing was afoot here.¹⁵⁴

In the fall of that year Franklin's accounts show a flurry of payments to stonecutters, ironmongers, coppersmiths, bricklayers,

151. B. Franklin's Domestic Accounts, 1757-1776, MSS, American Philosophical Society.

152. Pennsylvania Packet, January 11, 1773. Pennsylvania Gazette, December 16, 1772.

153. Wainwright, Colonial Grandeur, p. 18.

154. Sarah Bache to Franklin, February 23, 1777, Duane, Letters, p. 74.

carpenters, brickmakers, and pumpmakers. Construction of his brick, two-story coach house and stable was underway just north of the courtyard wall. But this is a story to be related elsewhere.

By December 21 of the next year Franklin had arrived in Paris, beginning another long exile. While he augmented his reputation through a series of brilliant diplomatic exploits, the house and its contents were in the hands of son-in-law, Richard Bache, who with his family occupied it. Bache, now postmaster-general, and busy in the war effort, had his hands more than full when the British took and occupied Philadelphia in the fall of 1777. As the Baches fled they managed to barrel and evacuate books, papers, and valuable furniture, mahogany excepted.¹⁵⁵ The house fell to the mercies of General Sir Charles Grey and the officers of his regiment, his aide, then captain, Andre among them. They behaved themselves so far as their living habits were concerned, but Andre helped himself liberally upon departure. The house itself fared well enough, as Bache assured an anxious Franklin after the British abandoned the city:

I found your house and furniture upon my return to town in much better order than I had any reason to expect from the hands of such a rapacious crew; they stole and carried off with them some of your musical instruments, . . . They took likewise the few books that were left behind . . . some of your electrical apparatus is

155. Sarah Bache to Franklin, February 23, 1777, Duane, Letters, p. 74.

missing also. A Captain André also took with him the picture of you [by Benjamin Wilson] which hung in the dining-room.¹⁵⁶

156. According to one story retold in the Deborah Norris Logan Memorandum, when the British were about to leave, "M. du Simitiere, a well known Italian [Swiss] gentleman attached to science and the fine arts, and well acquainted with André, waited upon him to take leave and solicit his interest in their prevention if any irregularities should ensue upon their leaving the City. He found the Major in the library busily employed in packing up some books and placing them among his own baggage, particularly a very scarce and valuable work in French, a present, . . . from Louis XVI, King of France, to the Philosophical Society, of many volumes in 12 quarto. It was the Jesuits' Account of China, and their translations of Chinese literature published after their expulsion from China and return to France. DuSimitiere said he was shocked at the procedure, and told him, in order that he might make the inference, of the strictly just and honorable conduct of the Hessian General Knyphausen with respect to General Cadwalader's house and property which had been in his possession. He [Gen. K.] had sent for the agent of General Cadwalader, and giving him an inventory which he had caused his steward to make out upon their obtaining possession desired him to observe that all was left as they had found it, even to some wine in the cellar, every bottle of which was left, and he also paid the agent rent for the time he had been in the house. But the recital of the German General's honesty made no impression on the Major as he carried off the books." PMHB, VIII, 430.

Although Andre stands charged with taking the portrait, it turned up Howick House, the Northumbrian home of the Grey family. In 1906 as a goodwill gesture, Albert Henry George Grey, 4th Earl Grey and Governor General of Canada, returned the portrait to President Roosevelt, hoping it would "find a final resting place in the White House," where it can be found today. Its arrival was timed to coincide with the Franklin bi-centennial observances in Philadelphia. Ibid., XXX, 409-16.

In time Madame Lavoisier's portrait of Franklin replaced Wilson's. Expressing his gratitude for the gift, Franklin wrote to her on October 23, 1788: "Our English enemies when they were in possession of this city and my house, made a prisoner of my portrait and carried it off with them, leaving that of its companion, my wife, by itself, a kind of widow. You have replaced the husband and the lady seems to smile as well pleased." Ibid., p. 242.

Attesting to the house's general condition following the British occupation is the absence of entries for repairs in the accounts kept at the time. During Bache's stewardship, every farthing expended on the house he entered in his day book, debited to Franklin's account. The first such item to be found is dated August 30, 1780, more than two years after troop withdrawals:

Benjamin Franklin, D^r. To Cash p^d for boards & putting
a Roof on the Water Closet 503.17.6⁷/₁₅₇

Much depends on whether or not the term "Water Closet" is to be taken literally. Then a new term, having appeared in print for the first time only in 1755, according to the Oxford English Dictionary, it may or may not yet have come to be applied to any kind of privy.¹⁵⁸ A London watchmaker, Alexander Cummings, took out the first patent for a flushing facility in 1775, but such devices had been known since

Franklin did not share fully Bache's sense of relief when he found such invaluable articles gone as the set of books "sur les Arts & Metiers" (Bache did confess their disappearance "a great loss to the public"), two trunks of manuscripts "impossible to be replac'd," music, a printing press and "Universal Mould" printing matrices, and a trunk of books and instruments. Ledger - December 10, 1764 - July 8, 1775, MSS, Franklin Papers, American Philosophical Society.

157. Not in sterling, but inflated Pennsylvania pounds. Richard Bache's Day Book (1761-1792), MSS, Franklin Institute.

158. As defined in the Oxford English Dictionary, XII, 167, it is a "closet or small room fitted up to serve as a privy, and furnished with water-supply to flush the pan and discharge its contents into a water-pipe below . . . Sometimes applied to the pan and the connected apparatus for flushing and discharge; also, loosely, to any kind of privy."

Sir John Harington invented the first one at the time his book on the subject appeared in 1596 (Illustration No. 18).¹⁵⁹ Owing to the discovery during 1960's archeological work of the privy pit for the second of two Franklin House necessities, this one unmistakably having had a flushing system, the term "Water Closet" as employed by Bache must be given very serious consideration.¹⁶⁰ Among the possible

159. Harington's publication in the form of a satire entitled A New Discourse of a Stale Subject, Called the Metamorphosis of Ajax, (Jacks or privy) referring to the facility under discussion as "in playne English a shyting place," at first so outraged his godmother, Queen Elizabeth, as to be referred to the Star Chamber. Doubtless his hard-earned reputation as a prankster aided his case, and the queen herself in time relented to the point of installing one at Richmond Palace. From Harington's first name comes the common term the "John." In the two water-systemless centuries that followed the water closet was slow to catch on. Only the wealthy built them in England, and in all of France during the reign of Louis XVI a single "lieu a l'anglaise," as the French called it could be found--and that one at Versailles. Henry E. Sigerist, "An Elizabethan Poet's Contribution to Public Health: Sir John Harington and the Water Closet," Bulletin of the History of Medicine, XIII, 229-43.

Hugh Phillips reports finding record of a water closet designed for Shelbourne House in 1765. Mid-Georgian London (London, 1964), pp. 11, 258.

Cummings' patent brought others onto the field. One Samuel Prosser patented one of another design in 1777, followed by Joseph Bramah, a cabinetmaker in 1778. In 1782 John Gaillait, a cook, took out the first patent for a "stink-trap" to help along the other machine. Marjorie and C.H.B. Quennell, A History of Everyday Things in England, III, 1733-1851 (London, 1919), 96-99. All these systems included a cistern as a water source, and Franklin's may be assumed to have had one of the customary soldered lead design.

160. B. Bruce Powell, The Archeology of Franklin Court, 1962, pp. 18-19. Historic Structures Report, Part I on Franklin's House, December 1961, Chapter IV, Section 2, pp. 2-3 and Illustration No. 1.

interpretations is that Bache had just built this second facility. The first privy pit, having yielded no evidence of structure to suggest a flushing system, would seem to be out of the question.¹⁶¹ That is, unless Bache's reference was a casual one, pertaining, in fact, to the flushless necessary. By 1780 the roof of 1766's "Little House" (see pages 53 and 54) may have required repairs, and this would account for Bache's day book entry.

Bache's next charge against Franklin's account, drains and shingling excluded, was not made until June 30, 1783:

B. Franklin D ^r To Cash paid Michael M. Gauman for plaistering, Lime &c.	14.13. 6
--	----------

This was followed on September 30, 1784, by this entry:

Benjamin Franklin D ^r To Cash for sundries for repairs of the House	
13 th Paid William Fling in part for paint ^s	37. 10. --
21 st Paid Jones, Clark & Cresson their Acc ^t Boards	8. 2. 3

On October 5, 1784, Bache entered en masse a number of items showing extensive work to have been in progress:

Benjamin Franklin D ^r To Cash for sundry repairs done to his Dwelling house --	
--	--

161. Ibid.

George Corryell's Carpenter's Bill . . .	18..15.--
Tho ^s Poultney & Sons d ^o for hinges &c	1..14.--
James Hendricks d ^o Smith	1..12..3
Thomas Harpers Bill,	1..18.--
Abraham Robinson's d ^o Bricklayer	6..14..1
William Stiles .. d ^o Stonecutter	7..2..6
Greenfield & Humphreys for Iron Backs &c	<u>6..12..6</u>
	43..18..4

And at the beginning of 1785:

Benjamin Franklin D^r To Cash paid

5th paid William Fling in full for paint^g 18..15.--¹⁶²

Other expenses in this line not charged to Franklin but apparently for work on the house involved whitewashing and glazing.¹⁶³ The house had been solidly built and was wearing well. Nothing else, other than the little maintenance covered above, befell the house before Franklin's triumphant return to Philadelphia on September 14, 1785.

In contemplating his return to this country Franklin had written daughter Salley Bache:

162. Richard Bache's Day Book (1761-1792), MSS, Franklin Institute.

163. [Oct. 31, 1784] "Expences D^r To Cash paid for sundries in this Month Viz. 5th Paid White Washing the house . . . 5..7..6

[Sep. 30, 1785] "Expences D^r To Cash paid for sundries in this Month 7th Paid White washing the house . . . 2..12..6

This payment was made seven days before Franklin's return from France, obviously to freshen up the house for his arrival.

[Nov. 30, 1785] "Expences D^r To Cash paid for sundries in this Month 1st Paid George Ludlam for Glazing 1..18.--

Infirm as I am, . . . my Friends here are . . . apprehensive for me, . . . they press me to remain in France. . . The Desire however of spending the little remainder of Life with my Family, is so strong, as to determine me to try, at least, whether I can bear the Motion of a Ship.¹⁶⁴

Try he did, and he not only had a relatively easy voyage, but managed to see old friends briefly at the shores of England while transferring from ship to ship.

Once in Philadelphia his love of family was fully tested. As he wrote to sister Jane Mecom after a year, the house had become "too small for our growing family."¹⁶⁵ Apparently, Franklin did not take long in finding the situation unbearable, but according to a later admission, other factors really initiated his provision for a remedy. The markets along High Street outside the courtyard were being extended to his block, making his frontage valuable along the street where the old Read family residences were located. He was enjoying a stretch of good health such as he had not known in thirty years.¹⁶⁶ His financial situation had never been better, for as he reported to his French

164. Franklin to Mr. and Mrs. Richard Bache, May 10, 1785, Benjamin Franklin Papers, Library of Congress.

165. Franklin to Jane Mecom, September 21, 1786, Franklin - Mecom Correspondence, American Philosophical Society Memoirs, XXVII, 282-83. [cited hereafter as Mecom Correspondence.]

166. Benjamin Rush to Richard Price, October 27, 1786, quoted in Lyman H. Butterfield, ed., Letters of Benjamin Rush (Princeton, 1951), I, 409.

banker: "My own Estate I find more than tripled in Value since the Revolution."¹⁶⁷ He began, he told Jane Mecom, "to build two good Houses next the Street instead of three old Ones, which I pulled down."¹⁶⁸ This was, apparently, in November or early December 1785, for on December 3 he paid a smith named David Henderson £6.19.6 "for jobs," and two days later one Abram Robinson £9. 10 "for Bricklayers Work," noting in his account book after both entries, "very dear."¹⁶⁹ By the end of the month he had called a halt: "I shall draw no more at present, as the high Price of Labour discourages my Project of Building, till it shall be more moderate."¹⁷⁰ Then litigation interrupted the work: "But my Neighbors disputing my Bounds, I have been obliged to postpone till that Dispute is settled by Law."¹⁷¹ This postponement led directly to his putting the remedy for crowded conditions in his house into operation: "In the meantime, the Workmen

167. Franklin to Ferdinand Grand, January 29, 1786, Smyth, Writings, IX, 482.

168. Mecom Correspondence, pp. 282-83.

169. Franklin's Waste Book 1785-1787, MSS, American Philosophical Society.

170. On January 23 he had "Paid Henderson the Smith his account 1.10.6" thus discontinuing the work. Franklin's Waste Book 1785-1787, MSS, American Philosophical Society. Franklin to Ferdinand Grand, January 29, 1786, Smyth, Writings, IX, 482.

171. Mecom Correspondence, pp. 282-83.

& Materials being ready, I have ordered an Addition to the House I live in."¹⁷² That event actually can be dated July 11:

July 1786

Advanc'd to Workmen on the Building
who began the 11th Inst 8 Dollars hard 3- ¹⁷³

From this point on the details of building are almost completely immersed and undistinguishable in a welter of unspecific bills. What represented payment for the mansion house and what for the "two good" houses on Market Street escape the writer--with two exceptions. Payment of £1.13.9 on September 30 and 15 shillings on October 23 for "Water Table" bricks and hauling, while possibly in use in the Market Street houses, almost certainly applied to Franklin's House.¹⁷⁴ Water table bricks are molded in form. A course of them to throw off water was a very common feature of Philadelphia houses until after the American Revolution. The payments for the 1786-1787 work are included in Appendix C.

172. Ibid. As he admitted "At present all my papers and manuscripts are so mixed with other things, by the confusions occasioned in sudden and various removals during the late troubles, that I can hardly find anything." Franklin to Edward Bancroft, November 26, 1786, Smyth, Writings, IX, 550.

173. Franklin's Waste Book, 1785-1787, MSS, American Philosophical Society. Payments totalling £ 8--for gravel hauled between May 2 and 8 indicates a great amount, probably for the garden. He had decided to turn the vegetable garden to flowers as produce could be bought as cheaply at the "Jersey" market on High Street, *ibid.*

174. Ibid.

As with the earlier construction, no architect's plans for the addition, no drawings, no articles of agreement, have come down to the present. Even the customary insurance survey is missing. Yet in a way not unlike that experienced earlier, Franklin's correspondence is a ready source of knowledge. Reporting on the situation in September, he wrote:

There are a good many hands employ'd and I hope to see it cover'd in before Winter. I propose to have it in a long Room for my Library and Instruments, with two good Bedchambers and two Garrets. The Library is to be even with the Floor of my best old Chamber: & the Story under it will for the present be employ'd only to hold wood, but may be made into Rooms hereafter. This addition is on the Side next the River.--I hardly know how to justify building a Library at an Age that will so soon oblige me to quit it; but we are apt to forget that we are grown old, and Building is an Amusement.¹⁷⁵

Observed by Benjamin Rush, perhaps while acting as his own architect and building contractor, he offered an inspiring sight: "His faculties are still in their full vigor. He amuses himself daily in superintending two or three houses which he is building in the neighborhood of his dwelling house."¹⁷⁶

Late in November he reported the addition as "nearly finished."¹⁷⁷ But the work was not moving fast, and a visitor on February 2 of the

175. Franklin to Jane Mecom, Mecom Correspondence, pp. 282-83.

176. Benjamin Rush to Richard Price, October 27, 1786, Lyman H. Butterfield, ed., Letters of Benjamin Rush (Princeton, 1951), I, 409.

177. Benjamin Franklin to Edward Bancroft, November 21, 1786, Smyth, Writings, IX, 550.

next year found in the "large room which was intended for the Doctor's museum and library -- he had gotten a fire in it to keep the plaistering from freezing."¹⁷⁸ By April 15 he reported himself moved in: "I have placed my library [in it] . . . where I can write without being disturbed by the noise of the children."¹⁷⁹ On April 22 he ordered a mirror "59 1/2 French Inches long, and 43 Inches wide."¹⁸⁰ Describing the house to sister Jane Mecom on May 30, he wrote:

To the East End of my Dwelling-House I have made an addition of 16 Feet and a half wide and 33 feet long, that is the whole length of the old house, so that the Front and Back of the old and new Building range even, and the Row of Windows, Eaves, and Roof are continu'd so as to appear but one Building. By this addition, I have gain'd a large Cellar for Wood, a Drawing-Room or Dining-Room on the same Level with our old Dining-Room, in which new Room we can dine a Company of 24 Persons, it being 16 feet wide and 30 1/2 long; and it has 2 Windows at each End, the North and South, which will make it an airy Summer Room; and for Winter there is a good Chimney in the Middle, made handsome with marble Slabs. Over this Room is my Library, of the same Dimensions, with like Windows at each End, and lin'd with Books to the Cieling. Over this are 2 lodging-Rooms: and over all a fine Garret. The way into the Lower Room is out of the Entry passing by the Foot of the Stairs. Into the Library I go thro' one of the Closets of the old Drawing-Room or Bed-Chamber. And into the two new Rooms above thro' a Passage cut off from the Nursery.

178. James Gibson's Journals, or Leander & Lorenzo's Journals, 1786-1787, MS at Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

179. Franklin to Le Veillard, Smyth, Writings, IX, 559.

180. Franklin to Ferdinand Grand, April 22, 1787, Smyth, Writings, IX, 575-76. This, of course, establishes the width of that room's chimney breast.

All these Rooms are now finished and inhabited, very much to the Convenience of the Family, who were before too much crowded.¹⁸¹

Franklin's project of building did not stop here. No sooner had the Constitutional Convention broken up in 1787 before he had begun two other buildings, one a tenant house on Market Street on the remaining vacant front lot of his property, the other a printing shop for his grandson, Benjamin Franklin Bache. It is probable that this last phase of building was productive of the house's last addition, the "adjoining brick building, completely furnished as a Bathing Room." (Illustration No. 19)¹⁸² With that he was finished. On April 23, 1788, he announced himself "done Building."¹⁸³ A year later he still had not recovered financially: "I am now in real & great Want of Money (ready cash; he still had large assets)."¹⁸⁴

So far as is known the house as remodelled met his every expectation. Visitors came away with an appealing picture of infirm sage and attentive daughter. Manasseh Cutler, visiting in 1787 remembered:

181. Franklin to Jane Mecom, May 30, 1787, *ibid.*, pp. 589-90.

182. From rental advertisement for the "Mansion-House of the late Dr. Franklin" Poulson's Daily Advertiser, October 9, 1801.

183. Franklin to Ferdinand Grand, April 23, 1788, Benjamin Franklin Papers, Library of Congress.

184. Franklin to Francis Childs, April 27, 1789, photostat copy MSS, Princeton University Library.

Dr. Franklin lives in Market Street, . . . but his house stands up a court-yard at some distance from the street. We found him in his Garden, sitting upon a grass plat under a very large Mulberry, with several other gentlemen and two or three ladies . . . I saw a short, fat, trunched old man, in a plain Quaker dress, bald pate, and short white locks, sitting without his hat under the tree, . . . His voice was low, . . . he took me . . . by the hand, and, . . . introduced me to the other gentlemen of the company, who were most of them members of the Convention. . . The tea-table was spread under the tree, and Mrs. Bache, a very gross and rather homely lady, . . . served it. . . She had three of her children about her, over whom she seemed to have no kind of command, but who appeared excessively fond of their Granpapa. . . After it was dark, we went into the house, and the Doctor invited me into his library, which is likewise his study. It is a very large chamber, and high studded. The walls were covered with book-shelves filled with books; besides there were four large alcoves, extending two-thirds of the length of the Chamber, filled in the same manner. I presume this is the largest, and by far the best private library in America. He showed us a glass machine for exhibiting the circulation of the blood in the arteries and veins . . . a rolling press, for taking copies of letters . . . in less than two minutes, . . . his long artificial arm and hand, for taking down. . . books, and his great armed chair, with rocker, . . . with which he fans himself, . . . with only a small motion of his foot; and many other curiosities and inventions, . . . Over his mantle-tree, he has a prodigious number of medals, busts, and casts in wax or plaster of Paris, which are the effigies of the most noted characters in Europe.¹⁸⁵

Franklin had borne out sister Jane Mecom's prediction that the house

185. William Parker Cutler and Julia Perkins Cutler, Life, Journals and Correspondence of the Reverend Manasseh Cutler, LL.D. (Cincinnati, 1888), I, 267-70.

would "not only be an Amusement but . . . a sample of many Ingenious contrivances for others to Profit by in Future."¹⁸⁶

But Franklin's strong and happy days were now growing few in number. Afflicted by stone, he sought relief in the bath house and finally laudanum.

Following his death the house went to the Baches. They did not use it much. After years of being poor relatives they spread their wings, travelling in England and spending their time in this country at Settle, the country home below Bristol, Pennsylvania, on the Delaware River. Perhaps after their years of "living in" with relatives the house had come to symbolize their dependence.

There followed a succession of tenants. From 1794 until 1799 it was the home of Chevalier de Friere, Portuguese minister to the United States. While in his tenancy it was scene of that decade's most talked about marriage of the daughter of Thomas McKean, later governor of Pennsylvania to the Marquis de Yrujo, Spanish minister to the United States.¹⁸⁷ By November 22, 1799, a Mrs. Hand had opened a boarding and lodging house there.¹⁸⁸ In 1801 the Philadelphia

186. Jane Mecom to Franklin, October 12, 1786, Mecom Correspondence, American Philosophical Society Memoirs, XXVII, 283-84.

187. The Weekly Magazine, April 14, 1798, p. 350.

188. The Philadelphia Aurora and General Advertiser, November 22, 1799.

Academy announced that it had removed to the "Mansion House in Franklin Court."¹⁸⁹ By 1803 it had become the Franklin Coffee House and Hotel.¹⁹⁰ Sally Franklin Bache returned there to die in 1808.¹⁹¹ Bache moved back in, sharing it after 1808 with the African Free School.¹⁹² That institution was still in occupancy in 1812, up to the day when demolition began. The house, now a hopeless anachronism, not nearly worth the land beneath it, could offer no defense when the time came to divide Richard Bache's estate.

189. Poulson's American Daily Advertiser, October 9, 1801.

190. The Philadelphia Aurora, January 1, 1803.

191. Richmond Inquirer, October 12, 1808.

192. County Tax Records, Chestnut Ward, 1807-1812; 1808, p. 42; 1809, p. 36. Philadelphia City Archives.

APPENDIX A

ROBERT SMITH'S BUILDING CONTRACT WITH MARY MADDOX (Wallace Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 5, 30).

Articles of Agreement indented and made the first day of January Anno Domini 1763 Between Robert Smith of the City of Philadelphia House Harpenter of the one Part and Mary Maddox of the said City Widow of the other Part as follows Viz^t:

First the said Robert Smith doth hereby for himself his Executors and Administrators covenant promise and agree to and with the said Mary Maddox her Executors and Administrators for the Consideration herein after mentioned that he the said Robert Smith his Executors & Administrators shall within the Time and in Manner herein after mentioned erect build and finish for the said Mary Maddox in and upon her Lotts of Ground on the East Side of Third Street in the said City Two three Story Brick Houses of twenty one Feet Front each by Forty feet deep from the Street with a Piazza of fifteen Feet six Inches back from each House and therein make a good Staircase for each House up to the third Story and from thence by a smaller Stair into the Garretts and build a Kitchen of Twenty Feet long beyond the Piazza by twelve feet six Inches wide and two Storys high with good Cellar under the whole Buildings of eight feet deep from the Joists; The Storys of both Houses to be of the same Heighth with the Storys of the next House the Property of the said Mary Maddox that M^r John Laurence lives in and to have the same Number of Windows and of the same Size with those in M^r Lawrence's House with two Rooms on each Floor of both Houses and as many closets in each Room as there are in the said next house with proper Entrys and Passages through to the back Buildings and to the several Parts of the Houses The Rooms to be as well finished with outside Window Shutters Fastnings and in the same Manner and all the Work inside and out to be as much and as good as near as may be with those in the said next House and the Stairs to be in the same Form with those in the said next House allowing for the Difference of the Plans The Back and Front Wall of the two Houses fourteen Inches thick and all the other Walls nine inches thick except the Back of some of the Closets which may only be four Inches thick There is to be a genteel Marble Slab in each Front Parlour with a good Brass Lock to both parlour Doors of each House and good suitable Hinges and Locks for all the other Rooms and Closets The whole--Woodwork of the outside and inside to be well painted with three Coats of good Paint (except the Roof and the board Fences) The Yards to go back Twenty feet beyond the East End of the Kitchen and to

be walled up with Stone and Lime and the Ground to be filled and raised to a proper Heighth to give sufficient Fall for the Water and make Gutters out of both Yards into the nine feet Alley between these and M^r Lawrence's House and to have a nine Inch Brick Wall all round the Yards on the Top of the Stone Wall four feet six Inches high and neatly coped with Wood and make a Fence between the two Yards and an Alley with a Board Fence from the East End of the Northerly House into the said great Alley There is also to be two double Brick Little Houses on in each Yard The Yards to be neatly paved with Bricks and the Street within the Posts to be paved with Bricks and Posts also to be set there as usual There is to be good Stone Steps to the Doors and all the Workmanship as well as all the Materials are to be good of every kind and to be sound and provided by the said Robert Smith in due time and Manner out of the Monies to be paid him by the said Mary Maddox as herein after covenanted and expressed and the whole to be well plaistered painted and compleatly finished and ready for Tenants on or before the last day of June which will be in the Year one thousand seven hundred and sixty four Provided always and it is hereby agreed that if any Part of the Stone Wall that is designed to go round the Yard for supporting the new made Ground shall be thought unnecessary that then the Value of so much thereof as shall be left undone shall be deducted in proportion to the Expence of the whole And the said Mary Maddox doth hereby in Consideration of the Premises for herself her Executors and Administrators covenant promise and agree to and with the said Robert Smith his Exec^{rs} & Admin^{rs} that she the said Mary Maddox her Executors or Administrators shall and will well and truly pay or cause to be paid unto the Said Robert Smith his Executors or Administrators the Sum of Two thousand two hundred and fifty Pounds lawful Money of Pennsylvania in Manner following that is to say Three hundred Pounds now in hand Two hundred Pounds on the first day of April now next Two hundred Pounds on the first day of May next One hundred and fifty pounds more when the Joists of the first Floors of the houses are laid Two hundred Pounds when the second Floor is put on Two hundred Pounds when the third Floor is put on Two hundred Pounds when the Roof is raised Two hundred Pounds when the whole Buildings are shingled in and all the Sashes glaized and put in Two hundred pounds when one of the houses is ready for plaistering Two hundred Pounds when the other is ready for Plaistering and the remaining Two hundred Pounds when the whole is finished. In Witness whereof the Parties aforesaid to these Presents have interchangeably set their hands and seals hereunto Dated the day and Year first above Written

Sealed and Delivered
Francis Harris
John Wallace

Rob^t Smith

examin'd
R. Peters

APPENDIX B

SWAYNE AND CLIFFORD'S IRONWARE LIST (Rare Book Collection, Van Pelt Library, University of Pennsylvania)

NAILS

Common Rofe, Flemifh, and Clafphead Nails
Fine and beft ditto
Rofe, Flemifh, and Round-head Tacks
Round-head Nails
Fine and common Clout Nails
Bill'd and Counter Sunk ditto
Sprigs or Battens
Chiffel and common Trunk Nails
Fine rofe and clafp Coffin Nails
Sample and Ugleys
Beft clafp and rofe Forreft Nails
Rofe and Crofs Head Cooper's Flats or Pail
Clog Nails and Clog Bills
Clafp and thick-head Hobs
Round-head ditto
Fine Spanifh ditto
Caft and wrought Iron Sparrow Bills
Shoe Brads
Beft Horfe Nails
Scupper and Woolding Nails
Clinch Nails and Roves for ditto
Boat and Deck Nails
Sheathing Nails
Rag Nails
Shrowd Nails
Tin'd and common Tenter or Rack Hooks
Cooper's Rivets
Patten and Bed Rivets
Dog Nails
Brads
Glaziers Brads and Ceiling Nails
Caft and wrought Tin'd Tacks
Tin'd Studs and Tinmen's Rivets

LOCKS

Common and pegg'd Spring Bambury Locks
Common, Bastard, and fine Plate Locks
Ditto with Master Keys
Bambury and Plate Pipe Key Cellar Door Locks
Ditto with three Pipes
Fine and Common Pull-back Spring Stock Locks
Iron Rim ditto
Ditto with Brass Furniture
Once and Twice dead plain Iron Rim Locks
Iron Rim Locks with Brass Ring and Nob Handles
Brass cased, Cover Plate and Mortice Locks
Inside and outside Box, Chest, and Trunk Locks
Straight and cut Brass and Iron Cupboard Locks
Desk and Bookcase Locks
Tea Chest, Prospect and Clockcase Locks
Horse and Colt Locks
D, Side, and Letter Key Gate Locks
Common, fine Ward, bridged, Diamond, Lighter,
Secret, and double Bolt Padlocks
Splinter ditto
Brass and Steel Saddle Bag, Dog's Collar, and
Portmanteau Locks
Park Gate Locks
Blanks and Keys for Locks
Iron and Brass Knockers and Door Springs

HINGES

Black and bright H and HL Hinges
Skew Joint, Worm Joint, Pew Joint, and take
off HL Hinges
Common Dovetails
Mortice ditto
Skew and Worm Joint ditto
Shutter, Pew, and Casement Hinges
Desk, Bookcase, and Bed Hinges
Rule Buts and Card Table Hinges
Edge Butts and square Butt Hinges
Tea Chest and Clockcase Hinges
Inside bright and black Chest Hinges
Strap Hinges
T or X Garnets
Common and Welded Hooks and Twists
Box Snipes Bills

LATCHES

Bright and Japan'd Thumb Latches
Square and long Latches, with Brass Rings
and Nob Handles
Long and square Latches with Keys
Iron Rim Latches with Brass Rings and Nobs
Pew, Pulpit, and Sash Latches
Mortice and Hatch Latches
Brass and Iron Chest Handles
Shutter Lifters

BOLTS

Flat Spring and Round Plate Bolts, straight
and necked
Bright Iron and Brass Sash Bolts
Bookcase and inside Sash Bolts
Belcony Bolts
Brass Slip and Bell Bolts
Brass and Japan'd Bed Bolts
Round and flat Ruff Bolts, and round and
square Staples
Brass and Iron Box Staples

SAWS

Common, Best and Cast Steel Hand and Pannel
Saws
Ditto. ditto, Tenant, Sash, Carcase, and Dove-
tail Saws
Ditto with Brass Backs
Common, Best, and Cast Steel, Pit Saw, Frame,
and X cut Saws
Marble and Stone Saws
Ripping and Table Saws
Compass, Key-hole, Fret and Bannister Saws
Grafting Saws
Saw Handles, Saw Sets, and Saw Screws

EDGETOOLS

Plain and Steel poll'd Axes and Hatchets
Falling Axes
Ship and House Adzes
Best bright and common Gimlets
Spike ditto

Tap and Bung Borers
Coopers Travises
Black and bright Bitts
Iron and Wood Wimble Stocks or Braces
Ditto with compleat Sets of Bitts
Steel and Brass Pads for Wimble Stocks
Hand Stocks with neat Sets of Bitts
Black and bright Augers
Short and long Firmers and Socket Chissels
Socket and Stirted Gouges
Mortice Chissels
Ditto in Sets compleat
Turning Chissels and Gouges
Single and double Plane Irons
Plow, Rabbit, and Soft Irons
Spoke Shaves and Irons for Coopers and Joiners
Drawing Knives, and all Kinds of Coopers Tools
Compasses and Deviders
Cases of Instruments
Coopers and other Callipers
Rules of all the various Kinds
Brad Punches
Turnscrews and Dowling Punches
Draw Borers
Dowling and Joiners Awls

PLANES

Scrowl Planes, Smoothing, Jack, Trying, long
Planes and Jointers, both single and double
Hollows and Rounds
Ogees, Beads, Ovelows, Astriacis, Sash Planes,
Fillisters, Plows, and Rabbit Planes, and all
other Kinds of Joiners Carpenters Tools
Carvers Tools
Gentlemen's complete Chest of Tools
Ditto neat Sets of Garden Tools

HAMMERS

Joiners, Carpenters, and Glaziers Hammers
Solid and Kentish Hammers
Veneering Hammers
Neat Gentlemen's Hammers
Upholsterers, Saddlers, and Collarmakers
Hammers
Shoemakers and Cramping ditto

Masons and Tylers Hammers and Hatchets
 Braziers and Tinmen's Hammers
 Smiths Hand Hammers and Sledges
 Shoeing and Nail Hammers and Nail Tools
 Riveting Hammers
 Stone Hammers
 Pump Bitts
 Butchers Cleavers and Steels
 Table Steels
 Sugar Cleavers, Sugar Hatchets and Sugar
 Nippers and Mallets
 Cheese and Mincing Knives
 Cheese and Butter Borers
 Masons; Brick, Pointing, Soap and Plaistering
 Trowels
 Garden ditto
 Masons Squares
 Steel Spades
 Bristol Socket and Sterted Steel and Iron
 Shovels
 Devonshire & Welch Steel & Iron Shovels
 Miners Shovels
 Streaming ditto
 Bill Hooks and Shrowding Hatchets
 Malt Shovels
 Malt and Corn Mills
 Indian Corn Mills
 Steel Post and box'd Coffee Mills and Pepper
 Mills
 Scythes, Sickles, and Reap Hooks
 Garden, Turnip and Dutch Hoes
 West India Hoes and Bills
 Chaff Knives
 Hay Knives
 Pigs Rings
 Anvils, Beak Irons, Stakes and Swages
 Standing Vices
 Bench and Hand Vices
 Gunsmiths and Barbers ditto
 Files and Rasps
 Rubbers and Floats
 Screw Plates and Stocks
 Wood screws and Bed Screws
 Round and flat bright Beams
 Painted ditto of all Kinds
 Money scales and Weights
 Ditto Balances for Gold and Silver

Copper and Brass Scales and Weights
 Butchers and Pocket Steelyards
 Single Tongs
 Fire Pans and Tongs in Pairs
 Fire Pans, Tongs and Poker in Sets
 Fire Pan Bitts
 Cinder Sifters and Wire Coal Stoves
 Dust Pans
 Iron and Copper Coal Skuttles
 Steak Tongs
 Iron Skewers
 Plain and cut Bow Fenders
 Steel and Brass Bath-bent and straight ditto
 Wire ditto
 Kitchen ditto
 Common and bright Gridirons
 Fluted Bar ditto
 Round and square Chaffing Dishes
 Long and short Handle Frying Pans
 Dripping Pans
 Wrought Iron Stew Pans
 Saucepans, Tea Kettles and Boilers
 Patent Cast Iron ditto ditto
 Wind-up and Smoak Jacks
 Jack Chains and Pullies
 Spits and Racks
 Standing, Hanging, Scrowl'd and Sliding Trippets
 Toasting and Flesh Forks
 Pot Hooks and Ladles
 Iron, Brass, Princess Metal and Japan'd
 Candlesticks
 Ditto Bed Candlesticks with Extinguishers and
 Snuffers
 Steel, common Iron, and Japan'd Snuffers
 Steel Snuffer Stands and Japan'd Trays
 Common Hob Grates
 Common and Screw-up Kitchen Grates
 Steel, Brass and Princess Metal Stove Grates
 Bath and Pantheon Stoves
 Ironing Boxes and Stands
 Sad Irons
 Snapper, Bastard, and Neat's Leather Bellows
 Smiths Bellows
 Brass and Iron Chimney Hooks
 Brass and Japan'd Watch and Picture Hooks
 Picture Nails
 Patten Rings, Rivets and Patten Woods

Patten Ties of all Kinds, and Patten Makers
 Tools
 Saddlers and Collarmakers Awls
 Shoemakers Awl Blades
 Peging Blades and Hafts
 Shoe Tacks
 Russia Hair and Bristles
 Blacking and Heel Balls and Masheen
 Spinnel
 Shoe Knives and Heel Knives
 Shoe Punches
 Shoe Nippers and Pincers
 Carpenters and bright Joiners Pincers
 Neat Gentlemens Pincers
 Coopers Nippers
 Brass and Iron Nut Cracks
 Mantua-makers Pinking Irons, Punches and
 Scollops
 Scissar, Razor, Butcher's Knives and Pen-
 knife Sheaths
 Slates and Pencils
 Black and red Lead Pencils
 Black Lead Pots and Crucibles
 Black Lead Powder
 Tripoli or Crocus
 Rotten and Pumice Stone
 Emery
 Sand and Emery Paper
 Patent Sand Paper
 Scowering Bricks
 Shoemakers Sand Stones
 Norway Rag Stones
 Shropshire and Lancashire Scythe Stones,
 and Scythe Burrs
 Rifles for Scythes
 Turkey Oil Stones
 Barbers and polishing Hones
 Marbles Bosses and Alleys
 Fish Skins, Fins, and Dutch Rush
 Ink Powder and Sealing Wax
 Waste Cards
 Hour Glasses
 Looking Glasses
 Sponge
 Glue
 Sash, Screw, and Nailing Pullies

Bell Handles, Bell Cranks, and Bell Wire
 Bed and Chair Castors
 Bed Wheels
 Chalk Lines and Chalk Line Reels
 Peg and Whip Tops
 File and Graver Handles
 Tea Table Bells
 House, Sheep and Cow Bells
 Ox Bows
 Pike Stems and Rakes
 Garden Rakes
 Tooth and Buckle Brushes
 Shaving Brushes
 Horse Brushes
 Curry and Mane Combs
 Ivory and Horn Combs
 Japan'd, enamell'd, painted, and Brass Hat,
 Cloak, and Window Pins and Hooks
 Table and Desert Knives and Forks
 Carving Knives and Forks
 Children's knives and Forks in Sheaths
 Butchers Knives
 Oyster Knives
 Pen Knives and Pocket Knives
 Pruning and Sheeps Foot Knives
 Lancets and Phlegms
 Womens Scissars
 Horse and Shop Scissars
 Taylors Shears
 Sheep Shears
 Glovers and Garden Shears
 Braziers and Tinmens Shears
 Corkscrews and Cork Drawers
 Pastry Cooks Irons and Larding Pins
 Barbers Toupee and pinching Irons
 Black Hair and Steel Hat Pins
 Pewterers Letters and Figures
 Burning Letters
 Pistol Tinder Boxes
 Fire Steels and Flints for ditto
 Dark Lanthorns
 Common and White Chapel Needles
 Packing Needles
 Hatters and Glovers Needles
 Sail Needles and Palms
 Common and best Kirby Fish Hooks, and all
 Kinds of Sea Hooks

Fowling Pieces and Muskets
 Gun Locks, Gun Worms, and Gun Screws
 Brass and Steel Shot Chargers
 Shot Belts
 Powder Horns
 Japan'd, Leather, and Horn Powder Flasks
 Powder Tryers
 Gun Rings and Arm Hooks
 Gunpowder, Shot, and Flints of all Kinds
 Gunsmiths Tools of all Kinds
 Copper, Brass, white and yellow Shoe and
 Knee Buckles
 Block Tin
 Steel and Mourning ditto
 Common and best plated ditto
 Chapes and Tongues
 Single Tongues and Spur Rowells
 Paper, Leather, Horn, Japan'd, and Brass
 Ink Pots
 Ink and Sand Bottles
 Brass and white Metal Links and Studs
 Glass and enamell'd ditto
 Horn and Gilt ditto
 White Metal, gilt and all other Kinds of
 Coat and Vest Buttons
 Black and white Hooks and Eyes
 Brass Wireand Knitting Pins
 Netting Neddles
 Wire and Wood Mouse, and Rat Traps
 Vermin and Rat Gins
 Dog Collars
 Dog Chains and Couples
 Horse Collars
 Black, Roman, and colour'd Jacks and
 Tumblers
 Horn Tumblers
 Tea Cannisters
 Nutmeg Graters
 Tea Tongs
 Tea Trays and Hand Waiters
 Snuff Boxes and Tobacco Boxes of all Kinds
 Pewter Spoons
 Iron and Brass Jews Harps
 Dutch Skaits
 Pen Engines and Tooth Drawers
 Nail Nippers
 Pencil Cases

Scissar Chains
 Dutch and other Spectacles
 Temple ditto
 Copper Tea Kettles and Saucepans
 Brass Sconces
 Brass Cocks, and Air Ven ts
 Tap or Barrel Screws
 Brass Cabinet Furniture of all Sorts
 Clock and Watchmakers Tools and Files
 of all Sorts
 Watch Materials of all Kinds
 Watch Keys
 Clock Tops
 Capital and Baces, &c.
 Clock, Alarum and Sash Line
 Clock Line Guts
 Bow and Wheel Strings
 Watch Chains and Split Rings for Watch
 Chains
 Watch and Compter Seals
 Brass and Iron Curtain Rings
 Key Rings and Swivels
 Clock and Alarum Hands
 Clock Chains
 Clock Pinnions
 Coffin Nails, Tacks, and all Kinds of
 Coffin Furniture
 Coffin Rings, Handles and Snipes Bills
 Common and best English Faggot Steel
 Common and best Blister Steel
 Foreign and English German Steel
 Shear Steel
 Roll'd Sheet, and Fender Iron
 Roll'd Furnace Doors
 Shear and Coulter Moulds
 Iron Hoops
 Round and Tintern Rods
 Shovel Plates
 Split Rods
 Iron Wire and Tin Plates
 Common, notted, and short Link Traces,
 and Ox Chains
 Back and Belly Bands
 Coach and Waggon Clouts

CASTING

Manufactur'd at their Iron Foundry in St.
PHILIP'S.

Iron Pots and Kettles
Tea Kettles, Saucepans, Bake Plates, Boilers,
Furnaces, Soap Pans, and Plumbers Kettles
Sugar Pans
Pye Pans and Covers
Pudding Dishes
Frying Pans and Milk Stoves
Stew Dishes and Grates
Cart, Coach, and Chaise Boxes of all Kinds
Pantheon and Bath Stove Plates
Backs, Hearths, and Plates of all Kinds
Furnace Doors, Frames and Bars
Clothiers Stoves, Cockles, and Press Plates
Ironing Stoves and new invented Stoves for
airing of Churches, Rooms, &c.
Clamp Kiln Plates
Cast Clamps or Heaters for Ironing Boxes
Ditto for Tea Urns
Iron Weights from 1 qr. lb. to 56lb.
Ashpit and Gout Grates
Tew Irons and Sad Irons
Hatters Irons, Bisons and Planks
Pestles and Mortars
Forge Hammers, Anvils and Plates
Stamp Heads
Draw Ferrings
Garden and Park Rollers
Stove Pipes
Cylenders and Pipes for Fire Engines
Chain Links, Gudgeons, Cranks, Sinking Pipes,
Buckets, Clacks, and other Castings for
Fire Engines
Apple Mill Rollers, Nuts and Cogs
Cog Wheels and Pinions
Maundrels
Door Scrapers
Pallisadoe Bars and Bannister Heads
Damper Doors and Frames
Sash and Clock Weights
Drug Streaks, cast and wrought
Cast Iron Ovens
And every other Article in the Cast Iron
Branch

APPENDIX C

CONSTRUCTION PAYMENTS FOR FRANKLIN HOUSE ADDITION AND MARKET STREET BUILDINGS (1785-1787)

July 1786	Advanc'd to Workmen on the Building who began the 11 th Inst 8 Dollars hard [L] 3 - -	
[July] 26 [1786]	Advanc'd to Mr. Bache to pay Workmen for me 100 Dollars	37.10.0
July 27 [1786]	Advanced to Mr. Bache for the Building	40
[Sept.] 3 [1786]	Paid M ^r Taylor Bricklayer on Acc ^t 16 Dollars	6 - -
[Sept.] 8 [1786]	Drew on the Bank for 308.7 Dollars in favour of Jones Clark Cresson, Board Merch ^t 9 --- for 40 Dollars in fav ^r of W ^m Stewart 9 --- for 80 Dollars in fav ^r of Isaac Leven 20 --- for 48.37 Dollars in fav ^r of William Moore Post Office 23 --- for 41.30 Dollars in fav ^r of Mary Wilson Carpet 23 --- for 472.16/90 Dollars in fav ^r of Clem ^t Biddle Land	
Sept. 29 [1786]	Paid Rose Brickmaker on Acct by Dross [or Draft]	30
[Sept.] 30 [1786]	Paid W ^m Stewart (the 26th) on Acc ^t of Halling	15 . .
[Sept.] 30 [1786]	Paid 4 Dollars for Water Tables & 1/2 a Dollar for Halling	1.13.9
[Oct. 4, 1786]	Paid Hall, Carpenter on Acc ^t drew for 20 D ^{rs} of it on Bank	37.10
[Oct. 4, 1786]	Paid Barlime bumor [burner?] for 88 Bushels of Lime at 1/4	5.17.4
[Oct.] 6 [1786]	Advanc'd Taylor Bricklayer 80 Dollars	30 - -

[Oct. 7 [1786]	Paid to M ^r Taylor for one of the Labourers	1.16.0
[Oct.] 10 [1786]	Paid Sherer for Stone & Halling	6. 0.0
[Oct. 11, 1786]	Paid Phile for Rum for Labourers	5. 1. -
[Oct.] 12 [1786]	Paid John Morrison in full for 24 Perches of Stone at 5/ p Perch	6 - -
[Oct.] 13 [1786]	Paid Johannes Barr for 212 Bushels of Lime at 1/6 -- being in full	15.18.0
[Oct. 13, 1786]	Paid on Acc ^t of Bricks to David Rose	5 - -
[Oct.] 13 [1786]	Advanc'd to M ^r Taylor for Labourers for which he will account with M ^r Bache	5 -
[Oct.] 14 [1786]	Paid M ^r Taylor on Acc ^t .. 20 ^l Paper Draft on Bank -- 20 ^l	40. 8.0
[Oct. 16, 1786]	Paid for two Loads of Lime at 15 ^d and 18 ^d a Bushel	3. 0.0
[Oct.] 19 [1786]	Paid for 37 Perch of Stone to Timothy Kirby at 7/ p Perch	12.19.--
[Oct.] 20 [1786]	Paid for Mortar Tube	- 12
[Oct. 21, 1785]	Paid John Staut for Lime 316 Bushels at 1/4 Drew on Bank for 10.6.8 of it	20. 6.8
[Oct. 21, 1786]	Paid Peter Loeser for 213 Bushels of Lime at 1/4 Drew on Bank for £7.4.0 of it	14. 0.0
[Oct. 21, 1786]	Gave Hall for the Raising Entertainment	5. - -
[Oct. 23 [1786]	Paid W ^m Stewart in full for halling Earth	17 - -
[Oct. 23, 1786]	Paid for Water table Bricks	- 15 -
[Oct. 23, 1786]	Paid a Carter for halling Stones	7. 0.0
[Oct. 23, 1786]	Paid Rose Bricklayer on Acc ^t p Orders on Bank	100 - -
[Oct.] 27 [1786]	Paid J. Hall Carpenter on Acc ^t of which 30 p order on Bank	40. 0.0

[Oct.] 28 [1786]	Paid for Lime	2.17.-
[Oct. 29, 1786]	Paid Benj ^a Taylor Bricklayer on Acc ^t of which 30 £ Papers & 20 £ Draft on Bank this the 27 th Instant	50
Oct. 28 [1786]	Paid Peter Dearer [Deam or Deaser] & Co. by Benj ^a Taylor--which with the 5£ before on the 13 th Inst. is in full for this Labour	4. 5
[Nov.] 4 [1786]	Paid Peter Loeser for 96 Bushels Lime at 1/4	6. 8.0
[Nov.] 6 [1786]	Paid Wetherill and Touman for Boards & Scantling	82.10.6
[Nov. 6, 1786]	Paid Christian Donet for 65 Bushels Lime at 1/4	4. 6.8
[Nov. 6, 1786]	Paid B. Taylor for a Labourer	11.3
[Nov. 6, 1786]	Paid John Fries for Scaffold Poles	3.15
[Nov.] 9 [1786]	Paid Hall, Carpenter, on Acc ^t	20 - -
[Nov. 9, 1786]	Paid Staut for 173 Bushels of Lime at 1/4	11.10.8
[Nov. 9, 1786]	Paid Benj ^a Taylor on Acc ^t	18.15 -
[Nov. 9, 1786]	Paid D. Rose on Acc ^t 100 Dollars	37.10 -
[Nov.] 14 [1786]	Gave Hall for the Raising Dinner	11. 5
[Nov.] 15 [1786]	Paid James Reynolds for Brackets in full	16 - -
[Nov. 15, 1786]	Paid Jacob Eckfeldt for Scaffold Poles	1.10
[Nov.] 16 [1786]	Paid Jacob Graff for 6000 Bricks at 3/	9 - -
[Nov. 16, 1786]	Paid for Halling Stones to M ^r Taylor	4
[Nov. 18, 1786]	Paid Andrew Bowers for 71 Bushels Lime at 1/4 p	4.11.7

[Nov.] 18 [1786]	Paid Hall, Carpenter, on Acc ^t	20.5
[Nov.] 22 [1786]	Paid Jacob Greimer, Nailmaker, in part for Nails	11.5
[Nov.] 24 [1786]	Paid David Rose on Acc ^t of Bricks £100 by draft from the Banks	100 - -
Nov. 24 [1786]	Paid Benj ^a Taylor in Part for Bricklaying	18.15
[Nov. 24, 1786]	Paid Nathan Sheppard for Wayne & Mansfield for Scantling	6. 6.6
[Nov.] 25 [1786]	Paid Jacob Mince for Sand 60 Loads at 3/9 11. 5.0 50 D ^o at 3 <u>8.17.0</u> £20. 2 -	[20. 2 -]
[Nov. 25, 1786]	Paid W ^m Stewart for Hauling Earth &c Mem ^o the Hauling of the Scantling £1.15.0 is to be deducted out of Isaac Lewis' Bill	24.12.9
[Nov. 25, 1786]	Paid Benj ^a Taylor for the Men that pil'd Bricks & ninepence over	3. 6.3
[Nov.] 28 [1786]	Paid Isaac Lewis in full for Scantling, he having receiv'd 30£ before	91. 2.0
[Nov. 28, 1786]	Paid Jacob Stort for 229 Bushels Lime at 1/4	15. 5.4
[Dec. 2, 1786]	Paid Benj ^a Taylor Bricklayer on Acc ^t	100. 0.0
Dec 2 [1786]	Paid Jn ^o Hall Carpenter on Acc ^t	42.10.0
[Dec.] 5 [1786]	Paid James Hendricks, Smith, in full	3.10.6
[Dec.] 7 [1786]	Paid W ^m Stewart for 3 Loads of Sand	15
[Dec.] 7 [1786]	Paid Andrew Bowen for 3 Load of Lime 103 Bushels at 1/4	6.17.2
[Dec.] 11 [1786]	Paid David Rose on Acct of Bricks	50. 0.2
[Dec. 11, 1786]	Paid John Phile in full for Rum for workmen	16.13

[Dec.] 15 [1786]	Paid John Hall on Acct.	24
[Dec.] 20 [1786]	Paid Godfrey Miller (the 16th last) for 30 Bushels Lime	2
[Dec. 28, 1786]	Paid David Rose on Acc ^t of Bricks 100 Dollars order on Bank	37.10
[Dec.] 28 [1786]	Paid John Hall 100 Dollars. Order on Bank, on Acc ^t of Carpenters Work	37.10
1787		
Jan. 5	Paid Jacob Greiner in full for Nails	16.19.2 1/2
[Jan. 6, 1787]	Paid a Labourer thro' the Hands of M ^r Taylor for 7 Days at 5/ p Day for cleaning the Cellars & Alley	1.15 -
[Jan. 16, 1787]	Paid M ^c Cullough & Peterson for Cedar Plank & Carting	2. 1.11
[Jan.] 16, [1787]	Paid David Rose on Acc ^t pr Bricks	7.10.0
[Jan.] 20 [1787]	Paid Bache & Shee by order on the Bank for window Glass, all but a Piece of Linen £15.11.6	49. 5.6
[Jan.] 23 [1787]	Paid Geo. Sheed for Hair he bought of W ^m Savery for Plaistorg	3. 3.4
[Jan.] 25 [1787]	Paid David Rose in full of his Bill for Bricks	19. 5.0
[Jan. 26, 1787]	Paid Benj ^a & Enoch Taylor on Acc ^t of Brick laying	35. - -
[Jan.] 26 [1787]	Paid John Hall on Acc ^t for Carpenter's Work	40. 0.0
[Feb.] 5 [1787]	Paid Jn ^o M ^c Elwee for Glass by Order on Bank--Mem ^o by Mistake the Order was 6 Dollars short, w ^{ch} is to be allow'd in Settlement-- this Settled	21.16.-
Feb. 7 [1787]	Paid John Hall Fifty Dollars on Acc ^t	18.15.-
[Feb.] 14 [1787]	Paid John Hall Carpenter on Acc ^t	30. 0.0

[Feb.] 19 [1787]	Paid George Sheed for 30 Bushels of Hair bought of Ros[s] in	3. 9.9
[Feb.] 26 [1787]	Paid Tho ^s Hodgson for 11800 Laths at 10/6	6. 3.11
[Feb. 26, 1787]	Paid George Sheed for 3200 Laths at 9/ & Hauling	1.16.3
[Feb.] 27 [1787]	Paid Warder Parker & Co. for Copper	26. 6.4
[Feb. 27, 1787]	Paid John Hall on Acc ^t of Carpenters Work	50 - -
[Feb. 28, 1787]	Paid David Rose in full for Bricks	7. 6.3
[March 1, 1787]	Paid Benj ^a Taylor on Acc ^t of Bricklaying	21 - -
[March 1, 1787]	Paid Knight and Newman for Shingles in full	60. 2.6
March 1 [1787]	Paid Jones, Clark and Cresson for Boards in full	51.16.5
[March 2, 1787]	Paid George Sheed for Lime &c 52/ and 16/	3. 7.-
[March 2, 1787]	Paid Simmonds and Robeson for Boards	7. 9.6
[March] 2 [1787]	Paid John M ^c Elwee on Acc ^t of Painting & Glazing 94 Dollars	35. 5
[March 2, 1787]	M ^r Bache renders me an Acc ^t of the Sums he has paid for Labour & Materials for the new Buildings, with the Money I put into his Hands. -of which appears to be	
	For Labour -- 24.11.8	For Hauling 2.0.0
	2. 5	9.0.0
	4. 4.4	9.0.0
	1. - -	15.0.0
	4. - -	4.0.0
	<u>1.13.8</u>	<u>17.0.0</u>
	<u>37.14.8</u>	<u>1.7.6</u>
		57.7.6

For Stone	2. 0.0	For Lime	7. 6	
	5.15.6		4.19.0	
	15.17.0		5. 6.6	
	30.12.0	For Boards	115.10.7	2.17
[in pencil]	2	& Hauling	3. 6.5	
[" "]	28.12.0		30. 6.0	
			148.17.0	
			30.12.0	
			37.14.8	
			5. 6.6	
			57. 7.6	
			279.17.8	
		Error Deducted	.2	
			277.17.8	

And he gives me Credit for Cash advanc'd
 . . . which makes a Ballance in my Favour
 of £35.13.5 for which he has given me Credit
 in the preceeding Acc^t--

B Mar. 10 [1787]	Bought of a Dutch Carter 10 000 Laths at 7/6 and halling p ^d to Geo Sheed p Order on Bank	3.15 - - 3.9
B Mar 15 [1787]	Paid John Hall on Acc ^t of Carpenters Work Paid John Norman, for 45 Bushels of Lime Paid John Arthur for for [sic] 35 Bushels Do	30 - - 3.15 - 2.12.16

Franklin's Waste Book 1785-1787,
 American Philosophical Society

SOURCES

Very little not a primary source in one form or another has been used in this report. A few repositories have provided manuscript materials relating to the house. The Franklin and Bache collections in the Library of the American Philosophical Society are far and away the most valuable and extensive of these. From them have come the house plans, correspondence between Franklin and Deborah Franklin about details of construction, data about the period of Bache family occupancy, and account entries for payment of tradesmen who worked on the house. These collections also have provided letters of importance from Franklin's correspondence with his sister, Jane Mecom. From the Historical Society of Pennsylvania has come an account of payments made from funds entrusted to Franklin's friend, Samuel Rhoads, and several items about houses similar to Franklin's and their builders. The Franklin Institute has yielded the account book of Richard Bache, Franklin's son-in-law, who maintained the house after 1767 and made payments for repairs and building of additions and such adjunctive structures as the coach house and stable. Yale University, in addition to a major Franklin collection, also warehouses the thousands of manuscript copies of the Franklin Papers publication project, arranged chronologically and cross-referenced. These great resources have provided the ultimate test of completeness and verification for materials used in this report. The Library of Congress chipped in a few

references to the house's addition from the sizeable Franklin collection located in the Manuscript Division. Scattered items came from the libraries of Princeton University and the University of Pennsylvania, the Library Company, and half a dozen other such institutions.

Published primary sources, most notably William Duane's Letters, contained some valuable materials from manuscripts lost long ago.

A heavy debt is owed Carl Van Doren's prize-winning biography for interpretations of Franklin's character after 1757, narrated virtually entirely from source.

Public records, those recording will and deeds and the levying of taxes, provided some surprising data--even the dimensions of structures, principal materials used in them, and numbers of stories. Federal, state, and municipal records all contributed their small share. The files of one ancient fire insurance company produced a survey of great value while those of the second one to insure the house turned out be survey-less.

Pictorial materials have been disappointingly meager although more can be hoped for when further investigation can be undertaken.

The writer has refrained from compiling a tedious listing of secondary sources. Few other figures in history have become the subject of as much writing as Franklin, so it would have been possible to work up a bibliography gross enough to satisfy the most pedantic--

little of it pertinent. Footnote references to secondary works have been given in sufficient detail to guide anyone seeking more information. The several reports prepared by National Park Service historians and archeologists have been referenced with this in mind.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Illustration No. 1

JOHN READ PLAN OF FRANKLIN COURT, 1765. The house itself is centered in the courtyard behind wall and entranceway at the left edge of the drawing. In the upper corner are the properties along Market Street. This Market Street locale had been a part of Franklin's life since the day of his arrival in Philadelphia during 1723. He lived and worked in the small houses at first and later managed them as rental units. Two plots and L-shaped alleyway shown at bottom depict developed properties fronting Chestnut Street. This is one of two drawings found in the Franklin Papers at the American Philosophical Society Library (69, 106). The other, an unruled, draft sketch of properties and alleyways, gives dimensions of the lots along Market Street, but contains no representation of the house. Courtesy of American Philosophical Society.

128
88
39

25
88
671

Illustration No. 2

PORTRAIT OF DEBORAH FRANKLIN, painted by Benjamin Wilson in 1758-59, shows the determined-looking wife who superintended completion of the house as she appeared a few years before. A companion to the portrait of Franklin by the same artist, it graced the dining parlor's walls too. Courtesy of American Philosophical Society.



Illustration No. 3

"IRON RAIL FROM CHIMNEY TO CHIMNEY," on house at 115 North Water Street is shown in this photograph taken a few years before its demolition. Note such other characteristics of building's period as molded brick above second story windows. Independence National Historical Park photographic file.

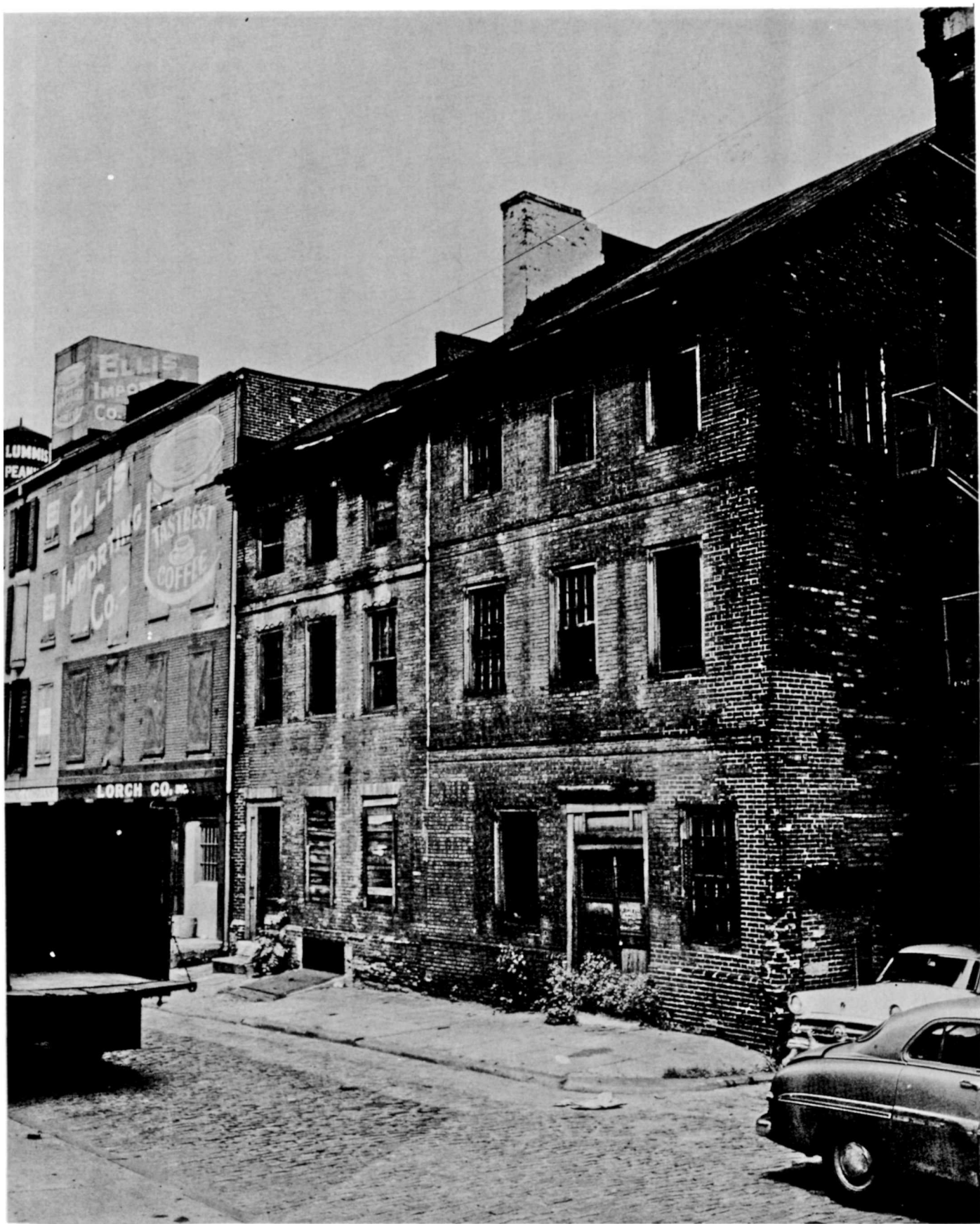


Illustration No. 4

DINING ROOM, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN HOUSE, 1763-66. Starting with insurance survey's tersely worded description, much can be done to re-create house's fine room by reference to surviving examples of work done by same craftsmen who built Franklin's house. Documented perspective study offers alternative treatments of various features from suitable contemporary work.

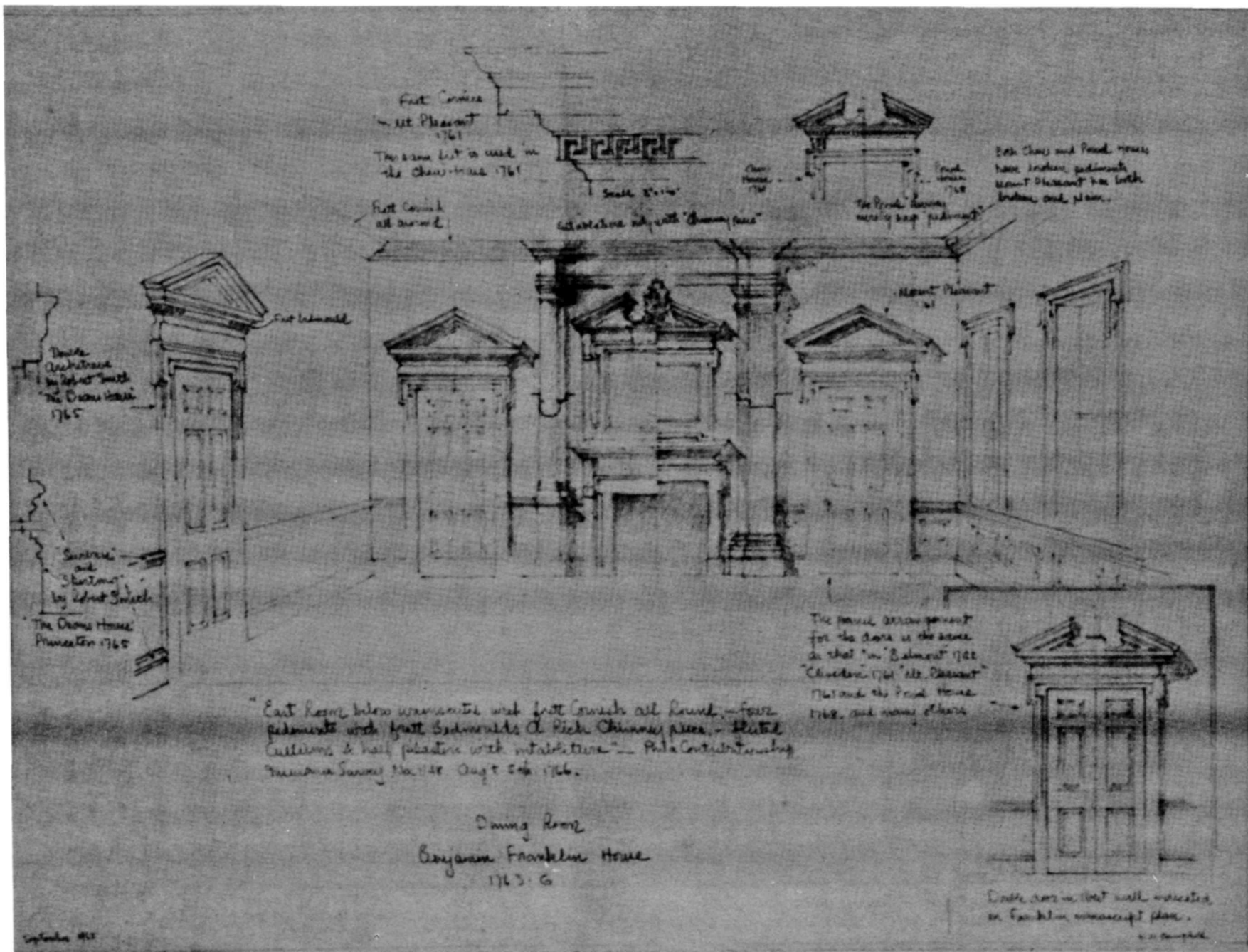


Illustration No. 5

WILLIAM LOGAN'S HOUSE ON SECOND STREET, when built enjoyed a residential location. By time William Birch's engraving appeared at century's end, City Tavern, to the left, and Bank of Pennsylvania, at center, had made locale one of Philadelphia's busiest. Note elaborate brackets supporting cockle-shell hood over Logan's doorway.



Illustration No. 6.

DETAIL FROM KRIMMEL ENGRAVING "ELECTION 1815," OF INDEPENDENCE
HALL CLOCK CASE. Fullness of detail bears eloquently on subject
of the "Large painthouse" of Gunning Bedford's insurance survey
for James Logan's house and the two "Large painthouses" on Franklin's.
Independence National Historical Park photographic file.

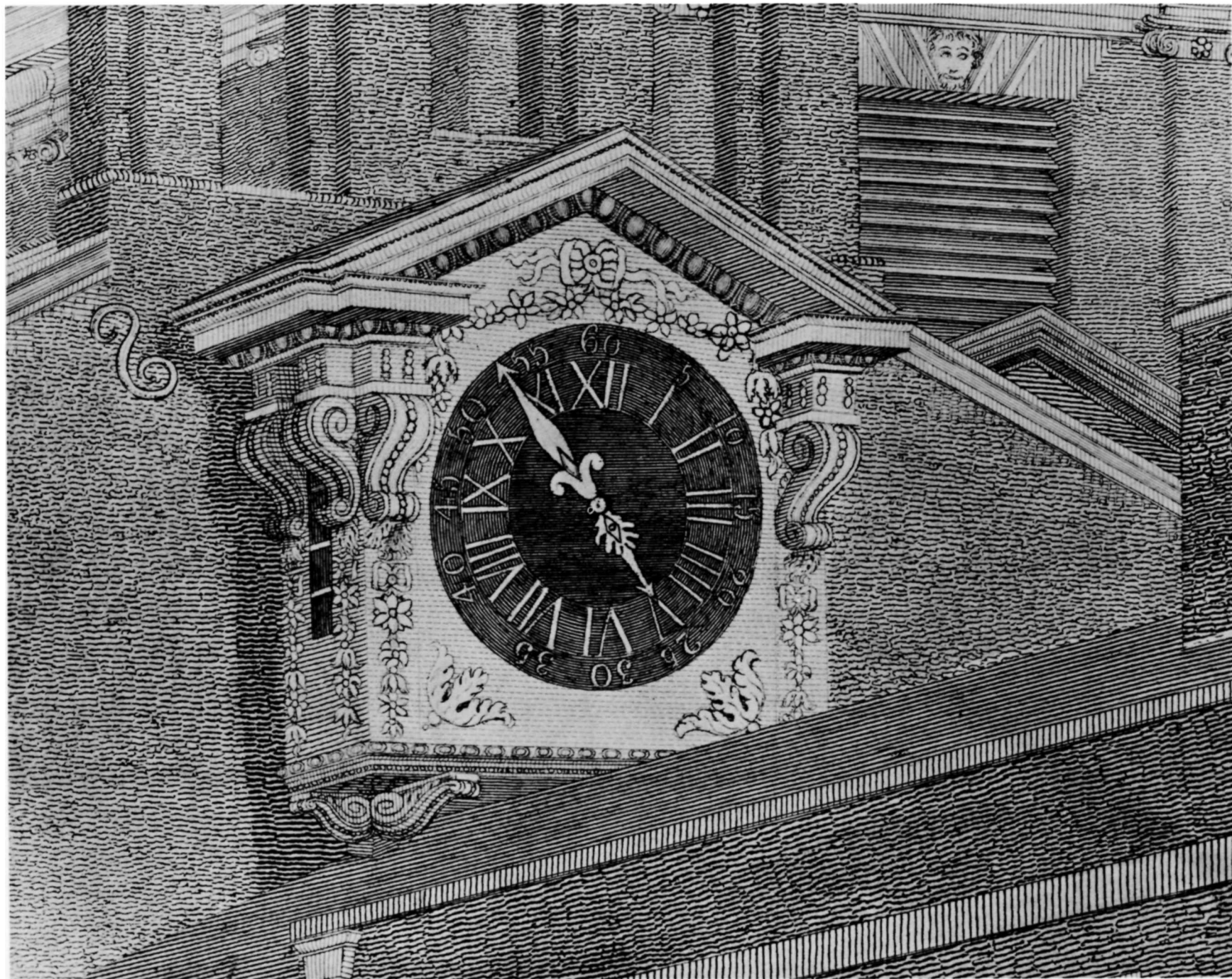
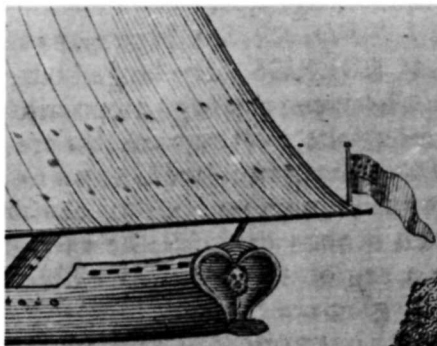


Illustration No. 7

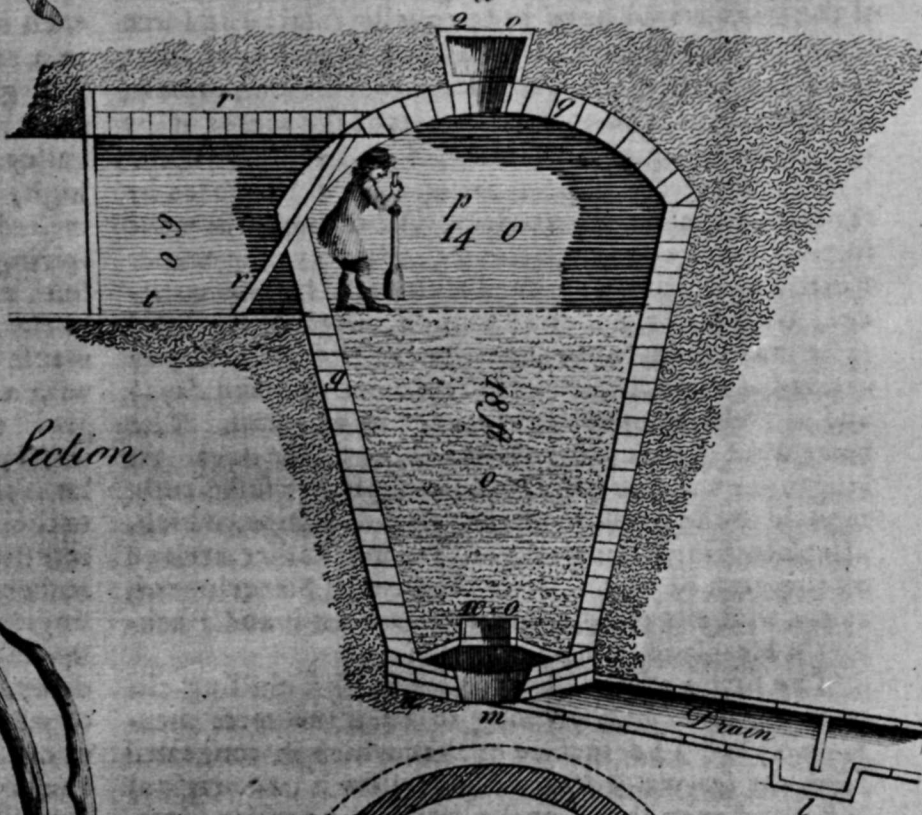
ICE HOUSE from engraving in eighteenth century encyclopedia printed in Philadelphia shows essential features of such contemporaneous facilities. No indication of a drain was found with Franklin House ice pit. In other respects Franklin's may have been similar.

Independence National Historical Park photographic file.



C
B

Ice house

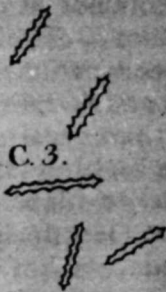
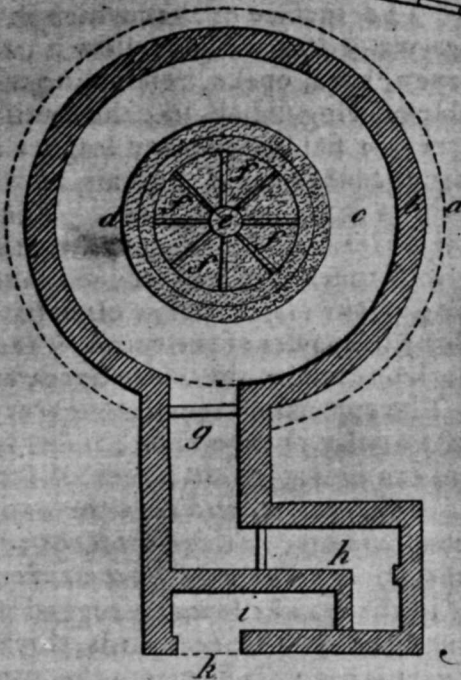


Section.

atophyta.



Plan



Scot Philad.

Illustration No. 8

SECOND FLOOR PLAN OF HOUSE, drawn sometime after May 17, 1764, date of receipt on other side, is earliest known representation of structure while still being built. This more critical photocopy, made after removal of binding slip from left margin, replaces earlier versions presented as Figure 5, opposite page 19 in Edward M. Riley's Preliminary Historical Report Franklin Court of March 1950 and Illustration No. 1, Chapter II, Section 1 in Historic Structures Report, Part I on Franklin's House of December 1961. Franklin Papers, American Philosophical Society Library (66, 124). Courtesy of American Philosophical Society.

From a set of 100 ft of tape measure
to the center of the hole
to the center of the hole
to the center of the hole

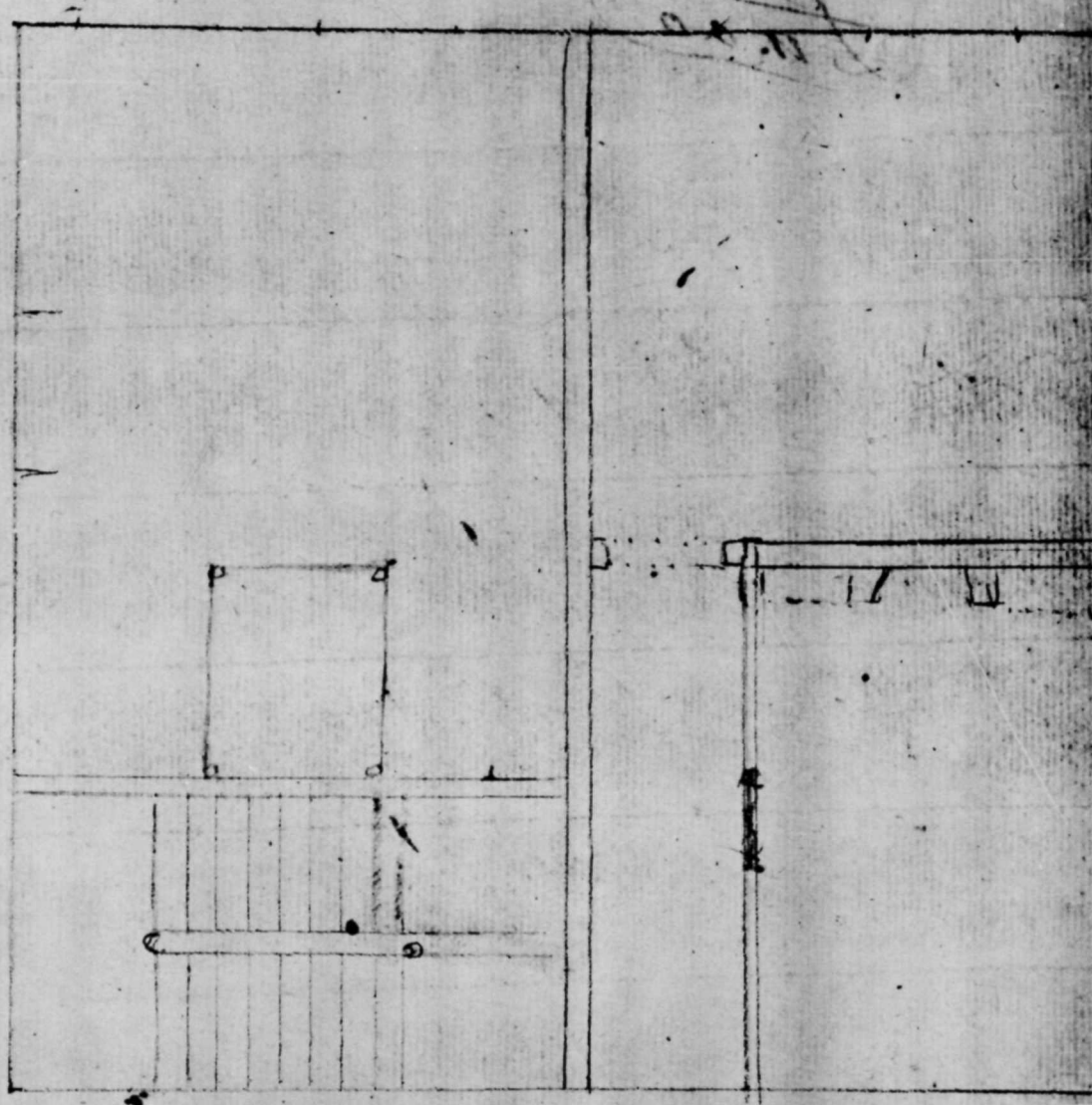
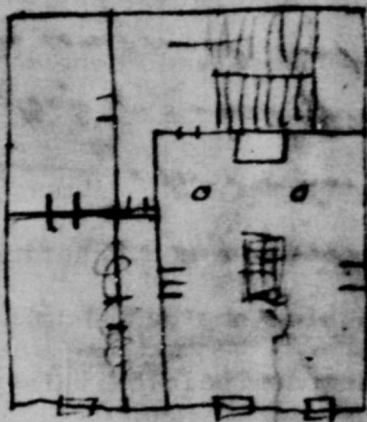


Illustration No. 9

FIRST FLOOR PLAN OF HOUSE, from Franklin Papers,
American Philosophical Society Library (44, pt. 1,
110). Courtest of American Philosophical Society.

Revised
Common



John
Smith

Illustration No. 10

PORTRAIT OF SARAH FRANKLIN BACHE, painted by John Hoppner in London during the Baches' trip abroad in 1792. Described by Manasseh Cutler a few years before as a "very gross and rather homely lady," she had impressed the Marquis de Chastellux in 1780 as "simple in her manners" and "benevolent" and "typical of Philadelphia's charming women; her taste as delicate as her health...." Niemcewicz found that "her natural wit and her conversation does not belie the origin from which she descends." Sally was 48 years old when Hoppner painted this portrait and had lived all but a few months of the previous 27 years in the Franklin house. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Wolfe Fund, 1901.



Illustration No. 11

PORTRAIT OF RICHARD BACHE, painted by John Hoppner in London during 1792, shows Franklin's son-in-law as he appeared in his 55th year. Born in Yorkshire, Bache came to Pennsylvania to engage in business and soon met and married Sarah Franklin. During the American Revolution he belonged to high patriot councils in Pennsylvania and served as Franklin's successor in the office of postmaster general. Niemcewicz described him as having "completely the air of a Country Esquire, frank countenance and with a rather jovial humor." The artist of this and the companion likeness of Sarah Bache enjoyed great vogue as a portraitist whose work exhibited "extraordinary delicacy and a golden tone." Doubtless Hoppner did his sympathetic best for both subjects; he had married the daughter of the "ingenious" Patience Wright, noted wax figure modeler and intimate friend of Deborah Franklin. Daughter Phoebe in all probability knew Sally Bache personally. Courtesy of Richard B. Duane.

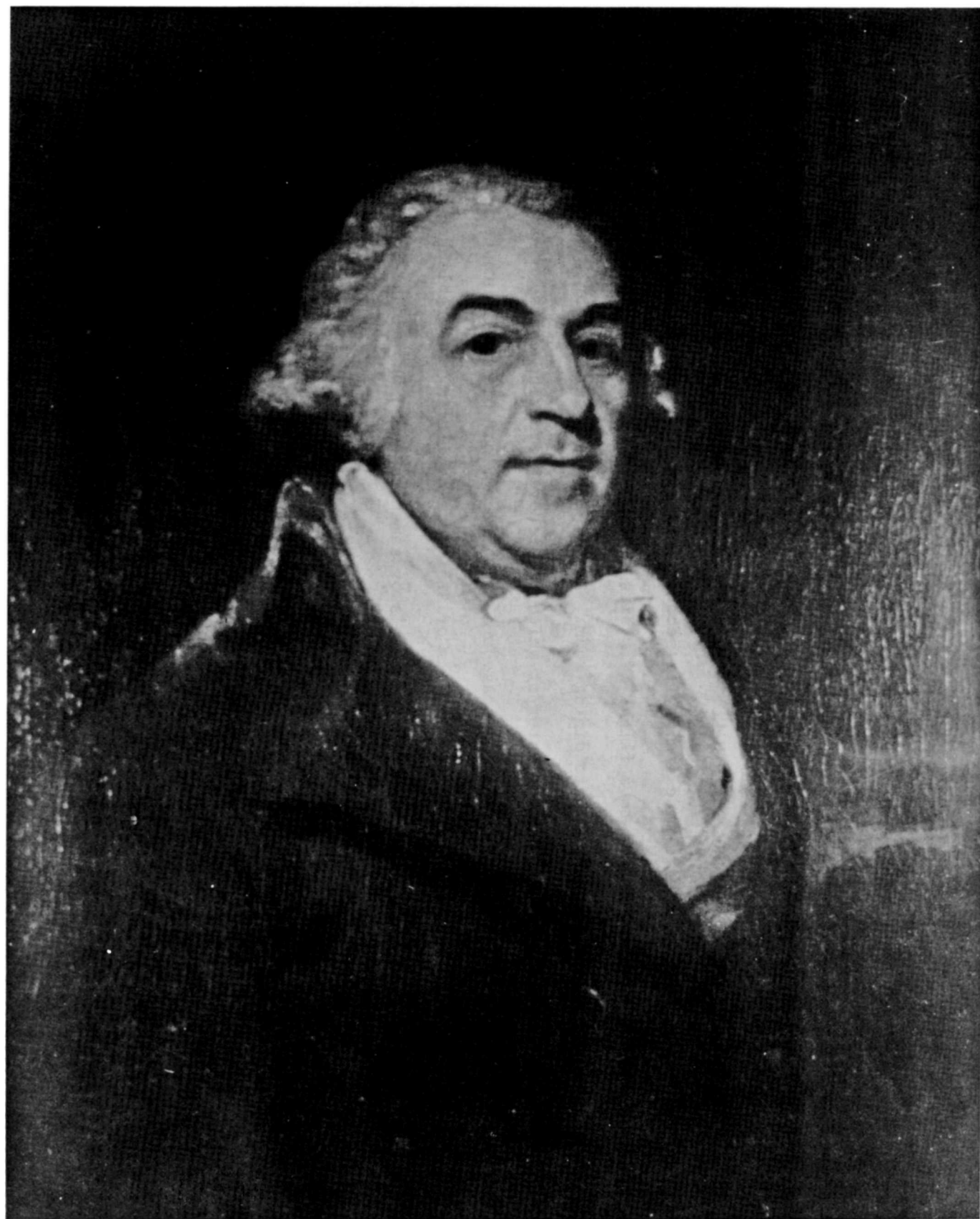


Illustration No. 12

FRANKLIN HOUSE STAIR HALL. Crossing two windows of the first floor front, stairs made its way to second floor via one landing. Door under landing opened to a flight of stairs leading to kitchen in cellar. Door to right opened into dining room. At far right is first floor's only wall jog, remnant plaster of which was recovered during course of archeology. Features of staircase are drawn from floor plans, insurance survey, and surviving elements of staircases built in comparable houses within a year or two of Franklin's by same tradesmen who did his.

A conjectural study by William M. Campbell.

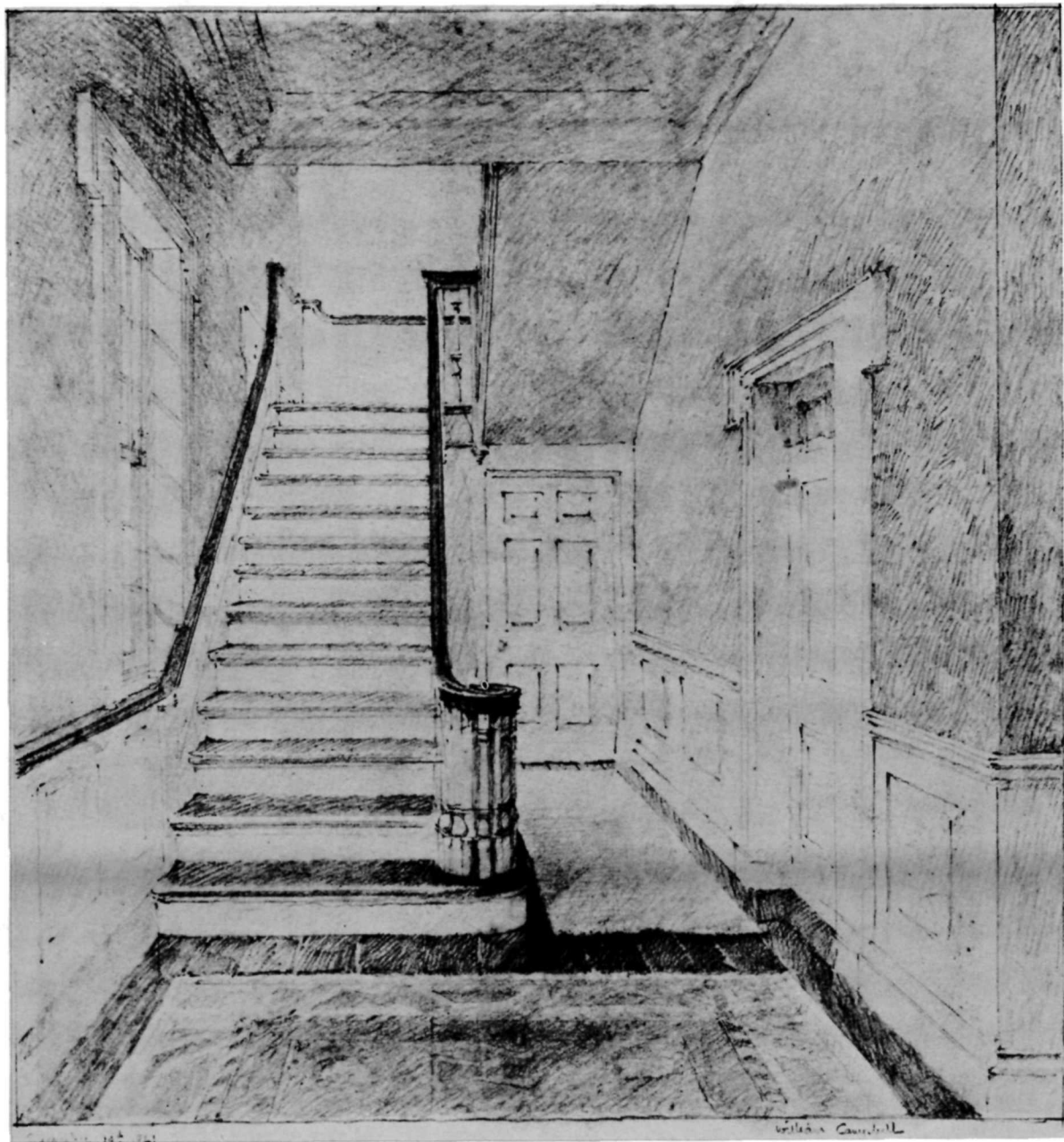


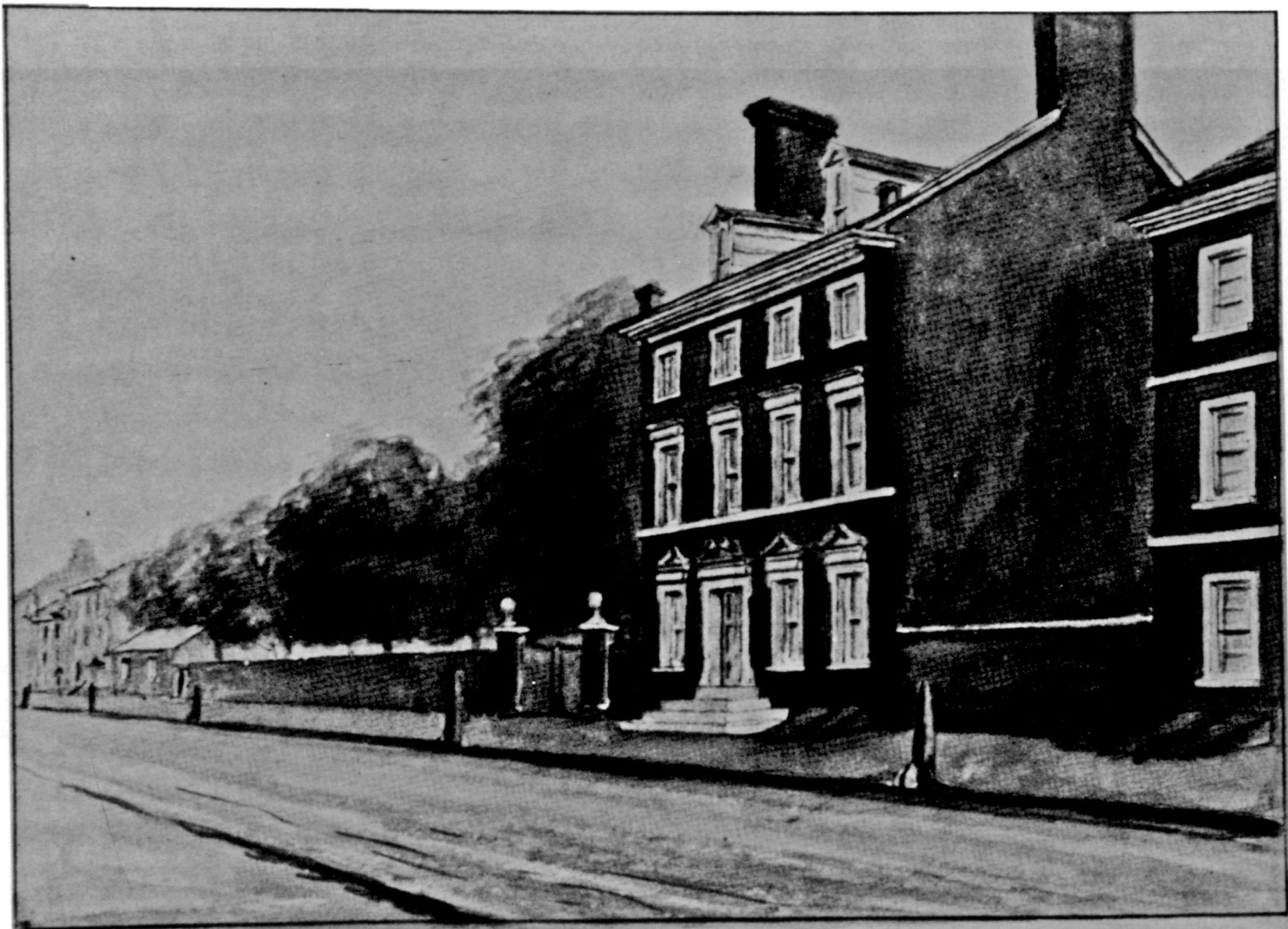
Illustration No. 13

HOME OF THOMAS WILLING ON THIRD STREET, **may be similar** to appearance of Franklin's. Willing, business partner of Robert Morris and acknowledged leader of Pennsylvania until eve of Independence, later headed Bank of the United States though neutral after July 4, 1776. Earlier rain catcher, removed when Franklin's was, weighed with spout 924 pounds. Plain inside when compared to Franklin's, house was described by fire insurance surveyor Jonathan Dillworth as 42 feet front, 48 feet back with iron rails on roof, and on interior "Entry and Back Parlor Wainscoted a Dental Cornish and Several Roomes paperred - Staircase Ramp Twist and Wainscoted One Story With Carved Brackets." Contributionship loose survey 759-760, May 3, 1762. Photograph of house, taken in 1855, is in Evans Print Collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and is reproduced by permission of the Society.



Illustration No. 14

PRESIDENTIAL MANSION. This watercolor of the former presidential mansion, done by W. L. Breton around 1830 two or three years before the building was demolished, depicts a house similar to Franklin's, although the facade's pedimented windows and elaborate double doorway are more highly styled than was customary in the Philadelphia of that day. Courtesy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.



The Residence of Washington in High Street - 1795. b.

2nd door below 6th Street south side of Market St.

Illustration No. 15.

MUSICAL FIGURES on parlor ceiling of Belmont, built by William Peters during 1742-43, may date to occupancy of son, Richard Peters. Note high relief. Photograph reproduced from Philip B. Wallace's Colonial Houses, Philadelphia Pre-Revolutionary Period, p. 128.

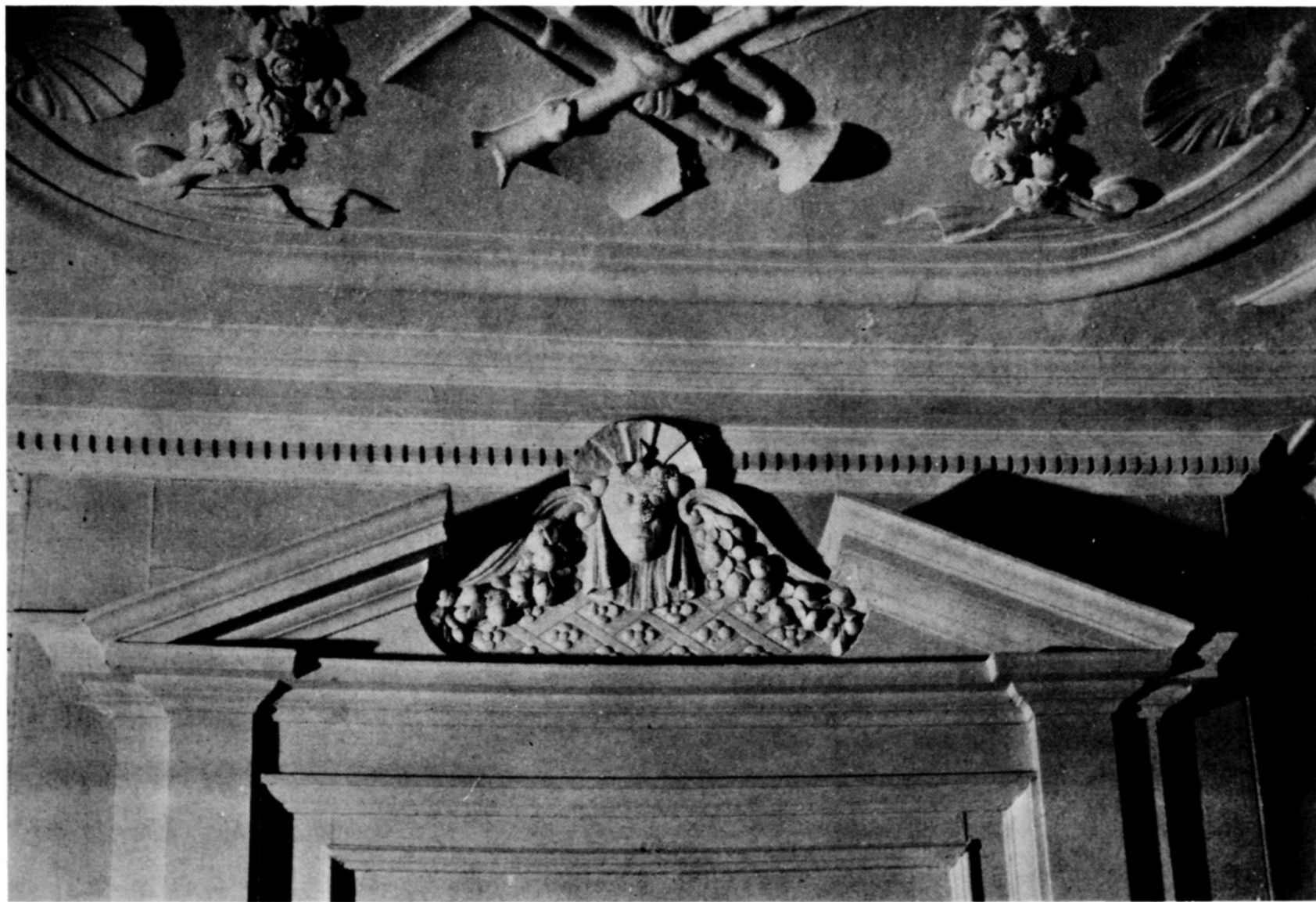


Illustration No. 16

CLIVEDEN, BENJAMIN CHEW'S HOUSE, scene of bitter fighting during battle of Germantown, was built at same time as Franklin's. Photograph reproduced from Philip B. Wallace's Colonial Houses, Philadelphia Pre-Revolutionary Period, p. 166.



Illustration No. 17

RAIN CATCHER of English pedigree is typical of those employed on Philadelphia houses, Franklin's probably included. Vogue persisted with no change in design throughout century. Reproduced from drawing in Marjorie & C.H.B. Quennell's A History of Everyday Things in England, III, 161.

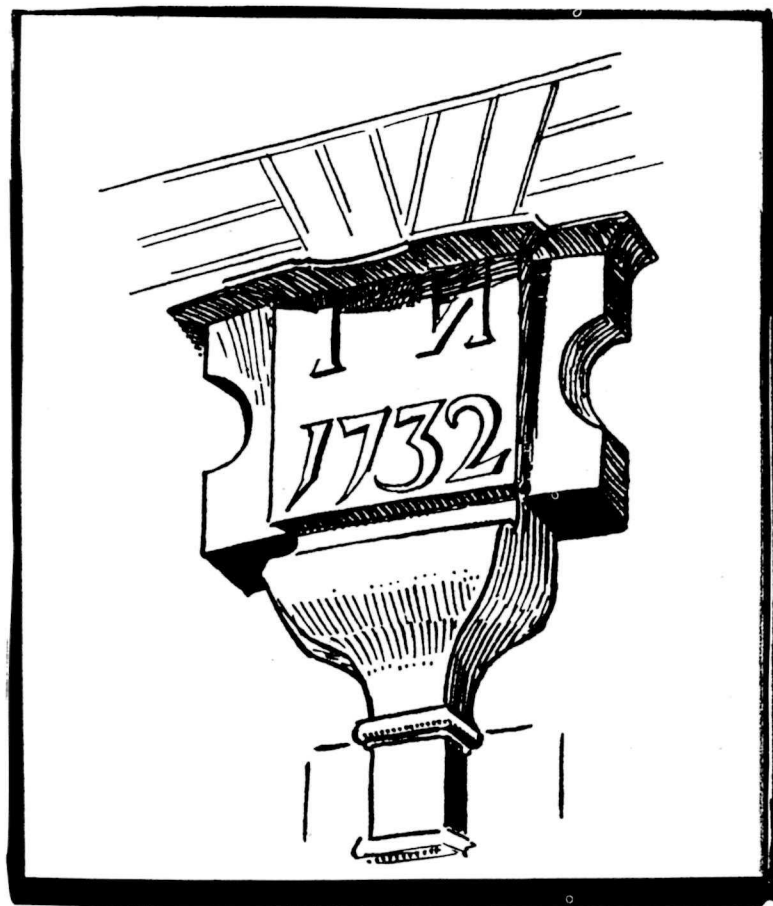
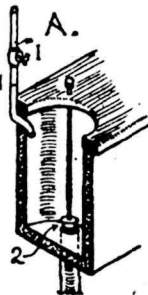


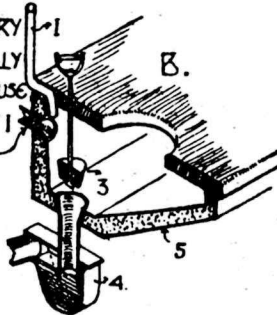
Illustration No. 18

WATER CLOSETS of the type known to Franklin are from Quennell, p. 97. He had undoubtedly come to know this convenience while staying at fine houses in England.

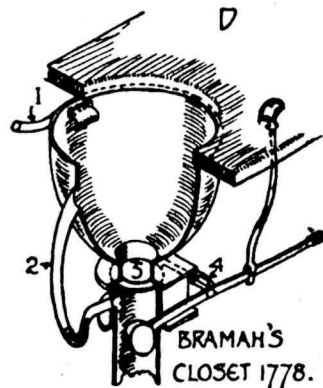
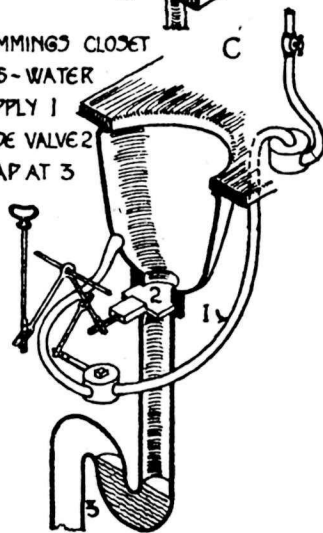
THE FIRST WATER CLOSET
DESIGNED BY
SIR JOHN
HARRINGTON IN
1596. WATER
SUPPLY AT 1
PLUG WASTE
AT 2.



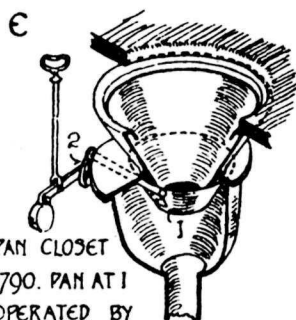
AN 18TH CENTURY
FITTING ORIGINALLY
AT OSTERLEY HOUSE
WATER SUPPLY AT 1
OVERFLOW AT 2
WASTE PLUG 3
D TRAP AT 4
MARBLE PAN 5



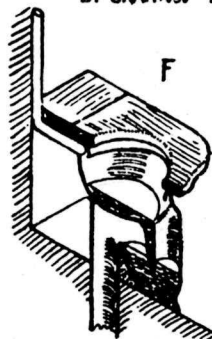
CUMMINGS CLOSET
1775 - WATER
SUPPLY 1
SLIDE VALVE 2
TRAP AT 3



BRAMAH'S
CLOSET 1778.
WATER SUPPLY 1.
TRAPPED OVERFLOW 2
FLAP VALVE 3 OPERATED
BY CRANKED ARM 4



PAN CLOSET
1790. PAN AT 1
OPERATED BY
CRANKED ARM AT 2



19TH. CENTURY
WASH-OUT CLOSET.

Illustration No. 19

FRANKLIN'S BATH from descriptions appears to have been in addition to house, probably adjacent to areaway. Benjamin Rush claimed it "smoothed the descent of Dr. Franklin down the hill of life and helped prolong it beyond 84 years." Thomas Cope, visiting in late 1780s, "occasionally found Franklin seated in a bath tub his body covered with a wrapper spread over the tub, his head and neck free" (MSS Journal at Haverford College, VI). Three figures shown are from manuscript in Dickinson Papers at Library Company, entitled "Description of tepid Bath made use of his Excellency, Benjamin Franklin, Governor of Pennsylvania, LLD. FRS. &c.," accompanied by following legend:

Dec,r 12 1787

Fig: 1. A represents the Bath, which is made of white Cedar abt. 1 1/2 Inch thick: It is bound with Iron Hoops; it is 5F: 15 In: long, 2F: 5 In: wide, and 2F: deep, --B, is a large Sponge, suspended over the Edge in a Towel to rest the Head on. --C, is a Cock for hot water, D for cold water.--E for a Bell.--F for a Slider, through which the Servants on the outside receive their orders.--G a Board crossing the Bath to rest the Feet against.---The water is drawn off by a Syphon.---

Fig: 2 represents the ground Plan of Bath-Room, which is kept uniformly warm in the Chinese manner.---The Floor is laid with Flags, or broad flat Stones.---Fire is made at A, and the Smoke and rarified Air pass in the angular channel finding Vent at B.---

Fig: 3 An elevation of the Fire Place and Chimney. To heat the Room a Fire is made at A, but the smoke does not pass into the proper Duct, till a small Fire be made on the Grate at B, which, when the Door at B is shut, rarifies the Air above, and must be succeeded by a Current rushing from the passage, in the Direction explained in Fig: 2., ---through the Grate at B. ---The Fire at B is then taken out, and the Fire at A continues to burn.---

Fig. 1

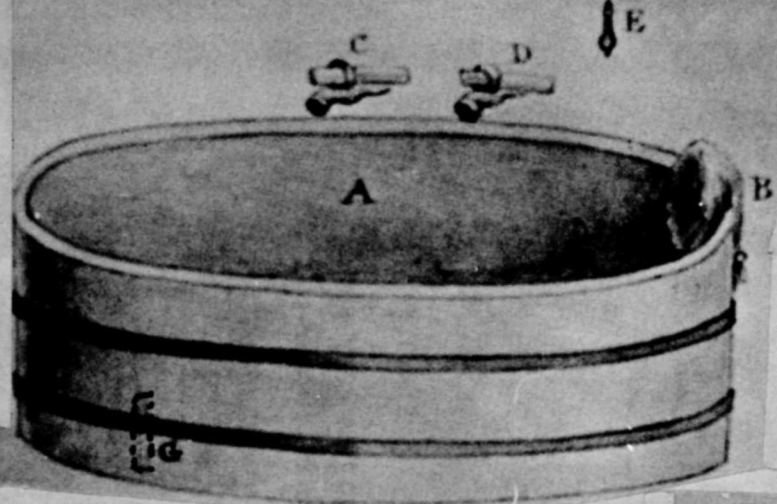


Fig. 2.

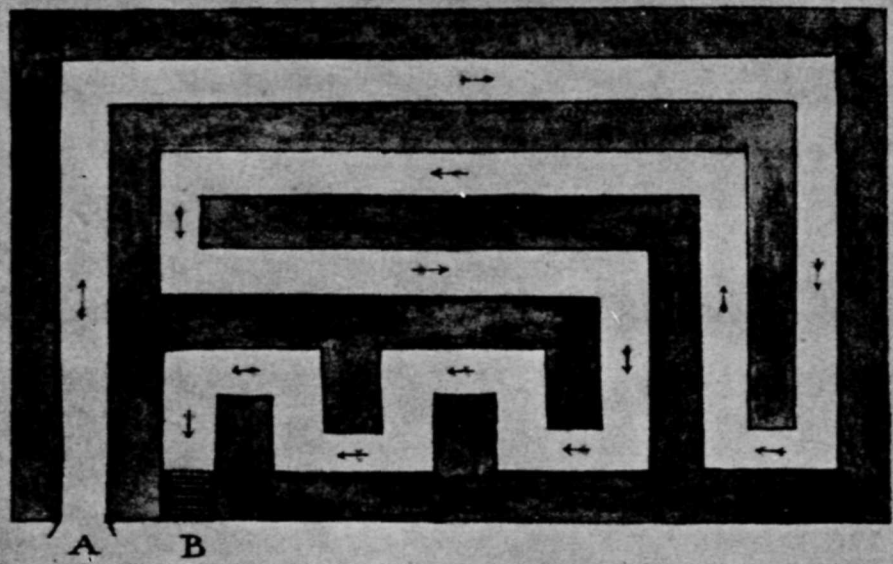


Fig. 3.

