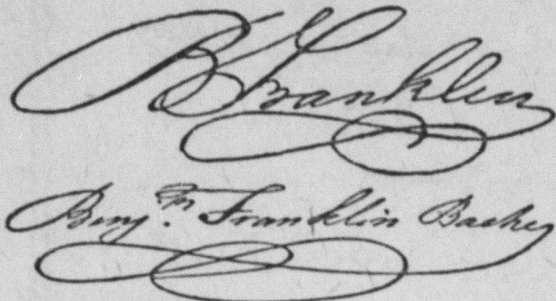


THE FRANKLINS—FATHERS OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY



(All pictures from Fay's "The Two Franklins: Fathers of American Democracy," courtesy Little, Brown and Company.)

By ELMO SCOTT WATSON

WHEN political orators have occasion to speak of "the great Democratic principles," they invariably mention the names of Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson as though they were the first exponents of those principles. But now a scholarly historian, whose opinions, based upon patient and diligent study, certainly should be more acceptable than the windy, vote-catching platitudes of a campaign orator, tells us that the true "Fathers of American Democracy" were two men named Franklin—Benjamin Franklin, whose memory we honor on January 17, his birthday, and Benjamin Franklin Bache, his grandson. This historian is Bernard Fay, a Frenchman who divides his time between France and America, and his thesis is uttered in the book "The Two Franklins: Fathers of American Democracy," published recently by Little, Brown and Company.

So much has been written about Benjamin Franklin (including Mr. Fay's previous book, "Benjamin Franklin: The Apostle of Modern Times," which has been pronounced "incomparably the best biography of Franklin yet published") that there seems to be little left to add to the record of his life and services to the American nation. But very little has ever been said about his grandson, or the historical importance of Benjamin Franklin Bache.

Students of the history of American journalism have known him as the founder of the Philadelphia General Advertiser, which later became the Aurora, in which, while attempting to break the power of the Federalist party he attacked the symbol of Federalist faith, President George Washington, even going to the lengths of declaring that "if ever a nation was debauched by a man, the American nation has been by Washington." He attacked John Adams, and his attacks on the second President of the United States led directly to the passage of the Alien and Sedition laws, under which statutes Bache was arrested for libel but was not prosecuted. But Bache was more than a "scurrilous young journalist who yapped at the Father of His Country."

Fay presents him as the man who carried on the "fathering" of Democratic principles in this country after that other "father," Franklin, was dead and of bringing about a "second American Revolution," one of which most Americans are unaware. In the preface to his book, Fay says: "A revolution is a change of mind. There have been few more radical changes of mind than the one which took place in America between 1790 and 1800. But when historians describe the downfall of the Federalists and the victory of the new Democratic-Republican party during these years they always speak in terms of Jefferson and Hamilton. They do not exhibit a change of mind. They merely stage a picturesque fight between two very great men, and two very attractive men.

"As I see the matter, while Hamilton opposed this change and Jefferson made use of it, it was other men who effected this change of mind. I propose to deal mostly with these other men, and, above all, with one of them who strikes me as the most outspoken, the most reckless, the most generous, and the most neglected. His name was Bache."

Benny Bache, as Fay likes to call him, was born on August 12, 1790, the son of Sarah Franklin and Richard Bache, a Philadelphia merchant, described as "simple-minded man, friendly and jovial, with nothing of a great man about him." So if Benny Bache had any elements of greatness in him, he didn't get it from his father. He got it from his mother, who passed on to him some of the greatness of her father.

The boy soon became a favorite of his grandfather's, so when Franklin went to Paris in 1776 to negotiate an alliance with France for the rebellious colonies he took his seven-year-old grandson along with him. There the boy soon became "too French," so his grandfather, resolved to make him "a Presbyterian as well as a Republican," sent him to Geneva for his education. Franklin had another grandson in Paris with him—Temple Franklin, the illegitimate son of his own illegitimate son, William Franklin.

But Temple Franklin was an aloof, frigid sort of boy, so far as real affection for his grandfather was concerned. Therefore, Franklin, in 1783, brought Benny back from Geneva and, delighted by the warmth of feeling that was immediately apparent between them, he "decided to make the young man his masterpiece." So for two years Benny Bache breathed the intoxicating air of Passy, Paris and Versailles where he was made much of as the grandson of Franklin, the "oracle of two worlds." He shared in his grandfather's talks with the philosophers and the scientists who came to see Franklin and he followed his grandfather's footsteps in pursuing those interests which made Franklin "the most versatile American."

Then Franklin decided "in order to round off Benny's philosophical apprenticeship, to make a printer out of him. At the outset, from November, 1784, to March, 1785, he gave him as his master a printer and type founder, M. Emery, who came to Passy every day. He supervised their work himself; it revived in him delightful memories of his own adventurous, hard childhood." Thus Benny Bache was pointed toward his later career as a printer and a journalist. But France had done something else for him. There he absorbed some of those democratic principles (for the French Revolution was already in the air) which were to make him a future fighter against aristocracy in American government.

Then Franklin wrote an attack on the Society of the Cincinnati which was also an attack on



"A Peep Into the Anti-Federal Club" was a cartoon printed in New York in August, 1793. It shows a meeting of the Democratic Society of Philadelphia and represents what the Federalists thought of their opponents. The president of the society, Dr. Rittenhouse, a famous astronomer, is looking through a telescope at the poster, on the left, which shows the principles of the Democratic society. Near by him is the devil. Next to them is an enthusiastic Jacobin, Dr. Hutchinson, an old friend of Franklin and a fervid Republican. He is recognizable by his big belly. On a platform is Mr. Swanwick, the wealthy Irishman who was subsidizing the Democratic party. The man reading a paper on his left is likely Alexander J. Dallas, secretary of Governor Mifflin, who was a leading spirit of the party. A Frenchman and a negro can also be recognized in the cartoon, the original of which is owned by the New York Historical Society and has never before been reproduced.

Washington. John Adams denounced him in congress as a traitor who had sold himself to France. Although Franklin's prestige in Europe was undiminished, his fellow-countrymen had begun to suspect him. Finally in 1785 came "permission" from congress for him to return home—this permission in reality being a recall, since Thomas Jefferson was sent as ambassador to France to replace him.

So Benjamin Franklin and Benny Bache came back to their native land, Franklin to go to the Constitutional convention, there to labor mightily as a conciliator among the warring elements who were trying to write a charter of government for the new nation, and Benny to enter the University of Pennsylvania. When Washington was elected President, Franklin "went back to his library. Nothing was left to him but his library. All his other kingdoms, the salons of France and those of England, where he had thrived as a prophet; the far-off chancelleries of Europe, where he had reigned as master; the American assemblies, where he had laid down the law; and the associations and the lodges and the federations and the conventions, where his proposals had carried the crowd—all this was ended. He would never see them again. Others reigned in his stead."

So the career of one of the really great men of the earth ended in anti-climax. But he was still the teacher and comrade and inspiration of the grandson whom he had desired to make his masterpiece. He set up a type foundry and a printing house for Benny, although the former had to be given up later. But in the latter the two collaborated in the publication of children's books. They also printed Latin and Greek books, but found no sale for them. Then on April 17, 1790, Franklin died. Toward the last he had taken Benny's hands in his and "spent long hours in happy dreaming."

Franklin was given a fine funeral, the finest ever held in Philadelphia. Both Europe and America mourned his passing. "Everybody wept as the occasion required. Only Benny wept as one weeps when life does not seem worth living any longer. . . . He had lost his grandfather and his youth. He had lost a great deal. Perhaps he had lost everything. Nothing remained to him but to serve his country."

There was soon need for his beginning to do that. Already there was dissatisfaction with the way the Federalists were running the country, but the opposition to them was still unorganized. The Republican, later the Democratic party, had not yet been organized. The capital of the country was moved from New York to Philadelphia, which was soon boiling with politics, as a later capital, Washington, did from the day it was



A PAGE FROM BACHE'S NOTEBOOK
While editor of the Aurora, Bache used to listen to the speeches in congress and take them down himself for his newspaper. To pass away the dull hours while sitting in the gallery he made sketches such as these. The sketch of his grandfather, Benjamin Franklin, may be recognized at the bottom of the page.

founded and occupied by the government. In the meantime Benny had married Miss Margaret Markoe and soon there was a family for him to support.

Bache decided to publish a newspaper with a bookshop on the side. The Federalists already had their organ, Fenno's Gazette of the United States. He approached Robert Morris on the subject of patronage for his proposed newspaper but Morris tried to dissuade him. Next he consulted Thomas Jefferson, who seemed friendly enough, but soon afterwards aided Philip Freneau found the National Gazette as the organ of the Republican elements.

Undiscouraged, Bache went ahead and in the fall of 1790 established the General Advertiser, dedicated to Truth, Decency and Utility. It had several competitors, most of which were exceedingly dull but prosperous. Bache wasn't much of a writer but he was a good newspaper man in the sense that he got most of the news such as there was and printed it.

But great events were on the way. Hamilton and Jefferson, though fellow-members of Washington's cabinet, were at opposite poles as to theories of government. The feud between them increased. Under various pseudonyms they attacked each other in Fenno's Gazette of the United States and in Freneau's National Gazette.

And Bache added fuel to the rapidly-growing discontent with the Federalist regime and the rule of George Washington, the Virginia aristocrat. Then the storm of the French Revolution broke and Republican enthusiasm was rampant in America. Citizen Genet came to America and Bache became his friend and the Advertiser his mouthpiece. Genet failed in his effort to override "Old Washington" by appealing directly to the people and Bache shared in that failure. But he lost little power in the years that followed when Americans were split into two factions—English sympathizers and French sympathizers.

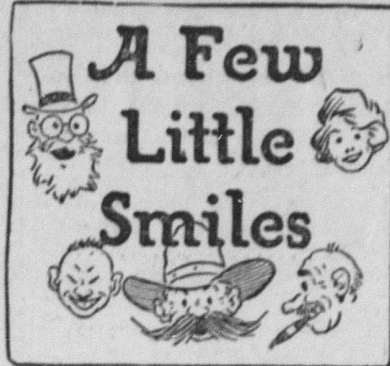
When John Jay went to England and negotiated his "infamous treaty," Bache scored a tremendous newspaper scoop. While Washington was trying to keep the provisions of that treaty dark, Bache obtained a copy of it and gave it widespread publicity. There was tremendous excitement all over the country. But despite the shrill cries of Bache and the Republicans that the Federalists had sold their country to England, the treaty was ratified.

Then the French Directory, with its bluster and its corruption, played squarely into the hands of the Federalists, who almost succeeded in embroiling America in a war with France. Bache's resistance had a great deal to do with averting that. During this period of violent political conflict he became one of the most powerful men in the country and one of the most bitterly hated. Even the mob, once Republican and Jacobine, turned against him. He was in constant danger of bodily violence. But through it all he persisted in fighting for what he thought were the principles of true democracy, the principles which he had learned from the lips of his grandfather. During this period also he had rechristened his newspaper the Aurora and on the front page of it he placed "fairly and squarely in the middle, the fine sign of a rising sun."

When John Adams succeeded Washington as President, at first Bache praised him—in a left-handed way, to be sure, by contrasting him with Washington. But the editor of the Aurora was soon at outs with the new President and his Federalist ways. So he carried on his war of vituperation against Adams as he had against Washington. But the yellow fever which swept Philadelphia every summer at last did what none of his enemies had ever been able to do—it silenced Benny Bache. On September 5, 1793, he caught the yellow fever. For five days he dragged himself down to his office to get out the Aurora. On September 10 he printed his last issue and in that he called John Adams a liar. He fought the Federalists to the last, for he died at midnight.

As for Bache's place in American history, Fay states it in these words in the epilogue of his book: "It was Benny Bache who led this Second Revolution, that broke Federalism and the English alliance. He had not the genius of Jefferson, or that of Washington, or that of his grandfather. But, like them, he loved his country, and to him, as to them, life was really worth living only when he could stir the people, when he could merge himself into the warm mass of mankind, into their passions, into their desires. More than those other men, he suffered; for a short suffering with defeat is harder than a long suffering that finally blooms into the joy of success. Benny Bache had died—and died too soon."

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CLOCKWORK

Briggs, the owner of the new store, asked his manager how trade had been progressing during his absence. Manager—Like clockwork, sir.

Briggs—Good! I'll just have a look at the books.

After a searching inspection of the books, he turned to his manager:

Briggs—You're right. It is going like clockwork—every blessed thing we've sold lately has been on time.—Chelsea Record.

Gob Humor

"Where have you been for the last three hours?"
"Talking to the cigar girl."
"What did she say?"
"No."—Pathfinder Magazine.

QUALIFIED

Auto Manufacturer—Yes, we want an agent for our cars in Squedunk—somebody who can enthusiastically praise our make, you know. Have you ever driven one of our cars?
Applicant—Well—er—no!
Auto Manufacturer—Then I guess you'll do! All it needs is a real faith in the car.—Brooklyn Eagle.

Open to Question

Tony—You should see the graceful lines of her neck and her liquid eyes. Her skin is like velvet and her breath smells like new-mown hay.

Jack—Are you speaking of a girl or a cow?

Knows Her Donkeys

He—I don't see why I had to have such big ears.

Her—Well, they say nature never makes a mistake.

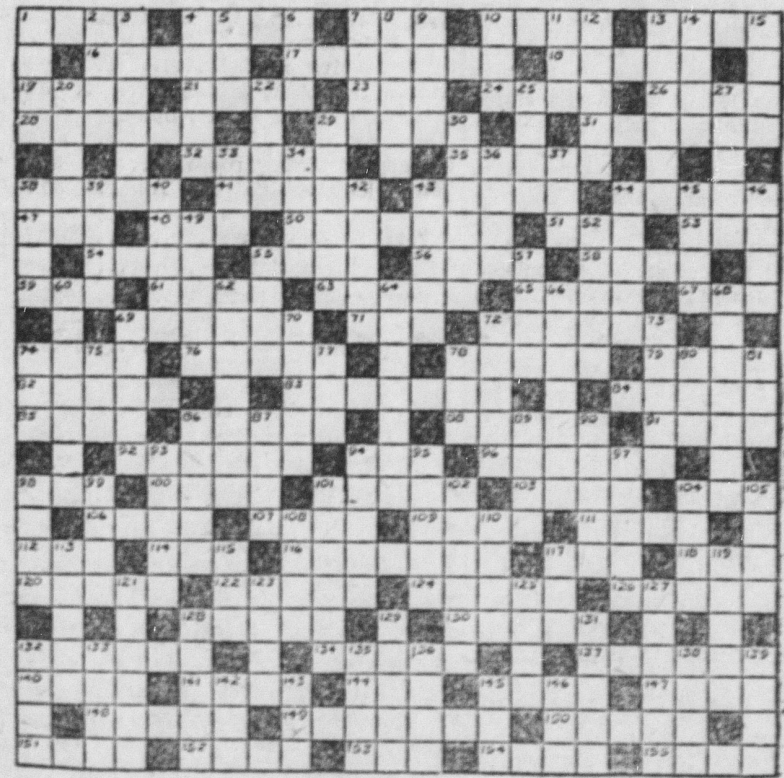
Morally So

"Is your husband a good golfer?"
"Well, he doesn't swear, if that's what you mean."

Talking of Hard Things

Friend—What was the hardest thing you found in learning to drive?
Motorist—A stone wall.

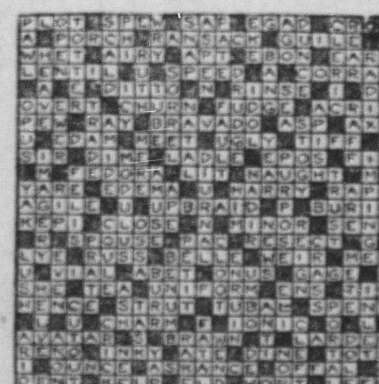
CROSSWORD PUZZLE



Horizontal.

- 1—Chart 4—Eject 7—Undermine 10—Explosive 13—Yield 16—Covered entrance 17—Search thoroughly 18—Sharpen 19—Sensible 20—Black 21—Black 22—Leguminous plant 23—Enclosure 24—Wash lightly 25—Agitate 26—Castle 27—Kind of fish 28—Hostile behavior 29—Chopping tool 30—Sensible 31—Petty quarrel 32—Coin 33—Heroic poem 34—Soft hat 35—Cipher 36—Lively (archaic) 37—Swelling due to cold 38—Porage plant 39—Censure 40—French military cap 41—Conclude 42—Dispatch 43—Husband or wife 44—Logging boat 45—Beautiful girl 46—Assembled 47—Cassidy 48—Dam 49—Beautiful girl 50—Small bottle 51—Instigate 52—Burden 53—Measure 54—Personal pronoun 55—Beverage 56—Regular 57—Measurement of type (pl.) 58—Twitching 59—Swinger 60—Biblical character 61—Exhausted 62—Pertaining to a division of Greeks 63—Incarnation 64—Muscular strength 65—Storeroom for foods 66—City in Nevada 67—Corroded 68—Take principal meal 69—Unit of weight 70—Waste 71—Supplement 72—Dullard 73—Raise up 74—Head 75—Rate up 76—Compassion 77—Numerical base 78—Yellowish brown
- 8—Undermine 9—Yield 11—Cunning 12—Breezy 14—Title 15—Same 26—Apparent 27—Church bench 31—Viper 32—Kind of cheese 33—Regulative 34—Title 35—Dipper 36—Suitable 37—Happened 38—Lively (archaic) 39—Same destruction 40—Measure 41—Boas of a shield 42—Common tree 43—Entrance 44—Duty 45—Circuit breaker 46—Against 47—Muscular spasms 48—Regular 49—Search thoroughly 50—Proceed on 51—Scant portion 52—Head 53—Born 54—Yelp 55—Negative particle

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