

# 1: The Declaration

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## A. Inspiration

1. Class title 1 (Trumbull: *The Declaration of Independence*)
2. Section title A (Trumbull with enhanced color)
3. Ken Burns: *The Declaration of Independence* (from PBS series on Franklin)
4. The Declaration of Independence

That was part of the **Ken Burns PBS series on Ben Franklin**; the *Declaration of Independence* is my inspiration for this first class, and indeed for the whole course. **Thomas Jefferson** (1743–1826), the principal author of the *Declaration*, begins with an astonishing statement that loses nothing of its strength because we know it so well: “All men are created equal.”

5. Jill Lepore cover

At the time, as we know, the phrase “All men are created equal” was true only in a limited sense; it did not apply to women, to native Americans, to black slaves, or indeed to white men who did not own property. The history of American democracy, as **Jill Lepore** points out in her marvelous history *These Truths*, is one of repeated compromise as the Founding Fathers and their successors were compelled to settle for what was possible, as opposed to what increasing numbers of them privately believed. I will return to this theme later, especially in my classes on **Slavery** (6) and **Women** (10). But today I want to look only on the positive. And with that in mind, let me show you another video.

6. *Ancestry.com: Declaration Descendants, ad 2017*

That was an ad from **Ancestry.com**; I find it both amazing and inspiring.

## B. To Dissolve the Bonds

7. Section title B (the cartoon below)
8. The Declaration of Independence, 1880s cartoon

Since first drafting a script for this class, I have been thinking more about Jefferson’s phrase from the first line of the *Declaration*, “to dissolve the political bonds.” Dissolving bonds is a very different kind of language from breaking chains, or booting John Bull back where he came from, as in this cartoon from the 1880s, which gets it wrong in many important respects. First, although much of the document is filled with specific political grievances, it starts with an **idea**, an idea that would define a nation, the idea of equality. This entire course is about ideas, specifically the evolving sense of **National Identity** in both America and Britain during the long Nineteenth Century (roughly from Independence to the First World

War). But the comparison is not between two equals. Obviously National Identity was important to America, as a new nation. But Britain was an old country; no official document would ever have felt the need to set down “This is Who We Are”—and the complacent man-in-the-street, characterized by the image of **John Bull** here, would not have cared very much either way, confident in the superiority of simply being English. But I need to make two points here: first, that **England is not synonymous with Britain**; and second, that **the Americans had much more in common with the British** than they might like to admit. I’ll say a few words about the first point now; the second will be the subject of the remainder of the hour.

## 9. Map of the United Kingdom

At the time of the War of Independence, the proper name for the country was **The Kingdom of Great Britain**, which included England, Wales, and Scotland; in 1800, it became **The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland**; in 1922, when three quarters of Ireland broke away to become the Irish Free State, but the North didn’t, it assumed its present title, **The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland**. Let me focus on just one of those constituent countries, Scotland.

## 10. The Scottish Enlightenment

Intellectually, Eighteenth-century Scotland was no backwater. It had five universities, whereas England had only two. It had a strong educational system, producing a high rate of literacy. Edinburgh in particular had a network of philosophical societies, nurturing thinkers like **David Hume** and **Adam Smith**, plus countless others. Edinburgh became the world leader in medicine, and the other sciences were not far behind; **James Watt**, for example, the inventor of the steam engine, was Scottish. Its established church was not Episcopalian but Presbyterian which, whatever you might say against Calvinism, was non-hierarchical and encouraged individuals to think for themselves. Similarly, Scotland was much less socially stratified than England as a country, a fact you can hear in the song “A man’s a man for a’ that” by **Robert Burns** (1759–96) whom we’ll be meeting again in future classes. It has become an unofficial national anthem. Here it is sung at the opening of the Scottish Parliament in 2016 by folksinger **Midge Ure**; I’ll give you the first two verses and the last.

### 11. Robert Burns: *A Man’s a Man for A’ That* (Midge Ure)

### 12. Burns and the last two stanzas

Why do I make a point of this? Because if you take away the peasant-poet veneer (Burns was actually a highly-educated man), this is as Jeffersonian a thought as you are likely to find. Twenty years later than the *Declaration*, admittedly, but that is no mere coincidence. Between 15 and 20 of the signers of the Declaration of Independence were of Scottish origin. One of them, **John Witherspoon**, who was Principal of Princeton and a recent arrival from Paisley, spoke about the importance of forming “plans of government upon the most rational, just and equal principles.” Jefferson himself was educated at the **College of William and Mary**, which had been “reformed on the Scottish principle,” and according to **Arthur Herman**, author of *The Scots’ Invention of the Modern World* (2001), his closest teacher was a “Scot from Aberdeen.” The basic tenet of the *Declaration*, though not English, was very much something that might have been uttered in Scotland.

## C. Reading Faces

### 13. Section title C (Matthew Pratt: *The American School*, 1766 NY Met)

Mostly, though, this class will be about the arts rather than politics. And most classes will be centered around artifacts to discuss and compare. Less so this one, which is more of an introduction. But all the same, let's look at some pictures and listen to some music. Most of the materials for the rest of the hour will illustrate my second point, that in the arts at least, America and Britain overlap almost as much as they diverge. This 1766 painting in the Met by **Matthew Pratt** (1734–1805), for example, shows some of the quite large group of American artists who came over to study and work in London, something that would continue all through the war. Nonetheless, it might be interesting to look together at a few portraits, and see if we can zero in on any qualities that seem distinctly American.

### 14. COMPARISON 1: The two pictures below (modified)

15. Ralph Earl: *Roger Sherman* (1777, Yale)

16. Nathaniel Dance: *Lord North* (1774, London NPG)

I posted this on the website. On the left we have **Roger Sherman**, one of the Committee of Five who drafted the *Declaration*. On the right is **Lord North**, the British Prime Minister for almost the entire duration of the war with America. Let's compare them. In many ways, it seems too easy: Puritan probity versus aristocratic indulgence. Yet there are many things we don't know. Sherman's portraitist, **Ralph Earl** (1751–1801), is virtually unknown except for this one work; **Nathaniel Dance** (1735–1811) was a leading society portraitist and founder member of the Royal Academy; might the difference simply be one of sophistication? Then again, we don't know the purpose of each commission. Lord North's portrait might have been for a gallery in which all the sitters were depicted in their official robes; Sherman might have wanted his for private consumption; I don't know. But I do think it likely that, in Sherman's case at least, he made the choice as to how he was portrayed; the plain clothes, the wooden chair, and the absence of trappings surely make a statement, and that statement is distinctly American.

### 17. Hoppner: *William Pitt the Younger* (1804), with Dance: *Lord North*

The comparison says more. In America, a commoner could become a person of national consequence; in England, the top government echelons consisted virtually entirely of aristocrats. This is a painting of North's successor as Prime Minister, **William Pitt the Younger** (1759–1806). He too is an aristocrat, the Earl of Chatham. Yet in this portrait, he seems to prefer to be presented simply as a professional. While Pitt has the same robe as worn by Lord North, he has taken it off and laid it on the back of a chair; I can see something of the straightforwardness of the Roger Sherman picture, though its context is English.

### 18. COMPARISON 2: The two pictures below (modified)

19. Gilbert Stuart: *Benjamin Waterhouse* (1775, Newport RI)

20. Gilbert Stuart: *Benjamin West* (1784, London NPG)

Here is another pair for you to compare: subjects and painters, English or American? This is not a quiz; I am not so much interested if you get the answer right, so much as in the kind of things you are looking

for: facial expressions, style, trappings? In fact, both subjects are American, and the painter—for they are both by the same man—is American too. **Gilbert Stuart** (1755–1828) was the son of a Scottish immigrant living in Rhode Island. As a young man, he traveled with his elder brother Alexander to Scotland, where they both hoped to study painting. But Alexander died, and Gilbert came back to try to make a career on his own. His portrait of **Benjamin Waterhouse**—a pioneering doctor who was the first to introduce vaccination to America—comes from this period. Shortly after this, Stuart went to London to study with **Benjamin West** (1738–1820), an American who had made it big in London and rose to become the second President of the Royal Academy; his studio continued to attract a number of American expatriate artists, before, during, and after the War; that was what Matthew Pratt’s *American School* was about. Did I not know, I would guess that the Waterhouse picture was American, because of its directness and lack of pretension, and the West one was English. Not so—but an American demonstrating that he had become a part of English society, is that really so different?

21. **COMPARISON 3: Gilbert Stuart: *The Skater* (1782) and George Washington (1796, NPG)**
22. **Henry Raeburn: *The Skating Minister* (1790, Edinburgh NGS), with the above**

Here is another comparison, although I don’t have separate close-ups. Which is the more American? A dumb question, right? Everyone knows the one on the right is **George Washington**. It was painted by **Gilbert Stuart** in 1796. He returned to America in 1793, effectively becoming official Portraitist Laureate; he painted the first five American Presidents! The other is earlier (1782), and also by Stuart. His subject was English, **Sir William Grant**, a landowner who had not yet made the political career he would come to have. Yet in terms of style, the Washington portrait has all the trappings of a European one; *The Skater*, on the other hand, is something entirely new. This was the work that made Stuart’s reputation, and launched him from being a minor West pupil to a master in his own right. And although the sitter was English, I can’t imagine anyone painting him in this pose who did not have the American knack of thinking outside the box. And I very much suspect that the Scottish portraitist **Henry Raeburn** (1756–1823) would not have had the idea of painting one of his sitters, the **Reverend Robert Walker**, *The Skating Minister*, on the ice if it hadn’t been for Stuart’s precedent. It was a very famous picture.

23. **John Neagle: *Pat Lyon at the Forge* (1829, Philadelphia MFA)**

One more, from well into the next century, but quintessentially American. You might think it is a genre picture, a depiction of everyday life. But no, it is a portrait, *Pat Lyon at the Forge*, the masterpiece of the otherwise little-known **John Neagle** (1796–1865). I quote from **Jules David Prown’s** book on American Art that I included in the bibliography:

“At the time of the portrait, Pat Lyon was a large independent-minded man of 57. In his youth he had been falsely imprisoned on a robbery charge, and after the real culprit had been apprehended Lyon was not immediately released. For some years he lived in poverty and disgrace, resentful of the upper class, whose members he felt had caused his troubles and failed to right the wrong that had been done to him. Gifted with a creative imagination, Lyon the backsmith eventually became Lyon the wealthy hydraulic engineer, inventor of a successful fire-engine. When he subsequently commissioned his portrait, he specifically wanted to be shown as a smithy at his forge rather than a gentleman of the class he disdained.”

24. Longfellow: *The Village Blacksmith* (1840)

25. — the same, with audio reading

This brings me to the poem “The Village Blacksmith” by **Henry Wadsworth Longfellow** (1807–82). It is considered rather sentimental now—it’s not even in the big anthologies—but children once used to have to memorize this in school. I think I even encountered it way back when, but I don’t remember anybody telling me that it was American, which seems wrong. Listen, as you hear it read, and tell me: is there anything in the poem that specifically reflects the *American* identity?

## D. Songs of War and Freedom

26. Section title D (Willard: *Spirit of 76*, with “Yankee Doodle”)

This painting, though of the War of Independence and called *Spirit of ’76*, is late 19th century. But the music, “Yankee Doodle,” is contemporary. Actually more than contemporary. It dates from the Fench and Indian War (1754–63), two decades earlier. And the words at least we penned by a British army officer, **Richard Shuckburg**, making fun of his colonial allies: “Yankee Doodle went to town / Riding on a Pony / Stuck a feather in his hat / And called it macaroni.” The tune apparently already existed, but it is now indelibly associated with this song. So here’s the interesting thing: come the War of Independence, the Yankees took a derogatory song that had been written *against* them, and adopted it as a kind of battle anthem! It would not be the only time that this was done. In fact, most American patriotic music has been hijacked from Britain. Here is an even more egregious example:

27. Anon: *Anacreon in Heaven*

28. William Billings: *Chester*, with portrait of the composer

And of course the British national anthem, *God save the King*, became the song *My country, ’tis of thee* that indeed was the *de facto* national anthem of America before the adoption of the *Star-Spangled Banner* in 1931. In listening to collections of music from the Revolution, I can find only one composed at the time, in America, and by an American: *Chester*, by **William Billings** (1746–1800). Billings was primarily a church composer, and the music would work equally well as a hymn. Let’s hear it.

29. William Billings: *Chester* (my video)

30. William Billings: *Chester*, score (repeat)

These are very strange words for a hymn, though. The first verse is pretty standard, with “*New England’s God for ever reigns*”—Old England’s God has presumably given up. But the second, which I don’t include in the next video, is a breakdown of all the opposing generals: “*Howe and Burgoyne and Clinton too / With Prescott and Cornwallis joined / Together plot our Overthrow / In one infernal league combined.*”

31. Trumbull: *Battle of Bunker’s Hill* (1786, Yale)

32. — detail of the above

The picture I chose as the background to this was the *Death of General Warren at the Battle of Bunker's Hill* by **John Trumbull** (1756–1843), whose later painting of the *Declaration of Independence* we have already seen. Trumbull had himself fought in the first year of the War as an aide to General Washington. But he resigned his commission over some dispute and in 1780 came to London to study with West. While there, news came that the Americans had captured and executed British **Major John André** as a spy in connection with **Benedict Arnold's** attempted treason. In retaliation, the British locked up Trumbull, as an officer of similar rank, and kept him in prison for eight months. He was released and went back to America, but returned to London immediately after armistice was declared. At West's suggestion, he began painting what would turn out to be a series of depictions of American Independence that would last the rest of his career. But look more closely at the picture; it's a splendid American victory, right? Wrong; it was an American *defeat*. And look at the central group; Warren is clearly the man lying on the ground, but equal prominence is given to the British officer standing over him, preventing another soldier from bayonetting the dying general. This was **Major John Small**, who had previously served with Warren in the French and Indian War. Trumbull was struck by the pathos of this, and insisted on giving Small almost equal prominence.

### 33. John Singleton Copley: *Joseph Warren* (1765, Boston MFA)

Let's focus on the dying man. This is **Joseph Warren** (1741–75). A physician, he was also an ardent revolutionary and eventually served as President of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress. It was he who engaged **Paul Revere** to keep watch before his famous ride. He also wrote one of the more rousing revolutionary songs, "Free America," the last syllable pronounced to rhyme with "pray" and "fray." Here it is. [Does anybody recognize the tune?](#)

### 34. Joseph Warren: *Free Americay*

### 35. Copley and Trumbull paintings together

Anybody recognize it? It is in fact another borrowing from Britain, the military march *The British Grenadier*. One more point about Joseph Warren. He was appointed a Major General of militia, but rather than exercise his rank and direct the battle from the rear, he elected to serve at the front as a private soldier. Which got him killed, but what an example of Democracy!

## E. Resignation

### 36. Section title E (*Surrender of Cornwallis*)

**John Trumbull** made his name with battle pictures such as *Bunker Hill*. On the strength of them, he was commissioned in 1817 to paint four large paintings for the **Rotunda of the US Capitol**. One of them is the *Declaration of Independence* that we have already seen. Two others depict the surrenders of British generals, Burgoyne at Saratoga and **Cornwallis at Yorktown**, effectively the last battle of the War.

37. *Auguste Couder: Battle of Yorktown (1836, Versailles)*

38. *John Trumbull: Surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown (1820, US Capitol)*

By this time, the Continental Army had been reinforced by French troops. There is an even later painting of the battle in Versailles by a French painter called **Auguste Couder**, showing the French general directing his officers while Washington looks on. It's a pretty exciting picture, with lots of action and color. I would rather have it on my wall than the Trumbull. Yet I wonder if you agree that Trumbull has something that Couder doesn't have? To me, it is the intense loneliness of the picture, one man riding alone between two armies. It is the same kind of personal empathy that we saw from Trumbull in the Bunker's Hill picture. The whole scene is entirely made up, incidentally; Cornwallis did not actually perform the surrender in person!

39. *John Trumbull: General Washington Resigns his Commission (1820, US Capitol)*

The fourth picture in the Capitol commission was Trumbull's own choice: **General Washington** resigning his commission at Annapolis on December 23, 1783. Trumbull considered the act to be "one of the highest moral lessons ever given to the world." Washington could easily have gone on to lead a military government, or even proclaimed himself King. But he didn't. He handed over his commission, made a short speech, and rode through the night to spend Christmas at Mount Vernon. His model was the Roman general **Cincinnatus**, who not once but twice gave up command of his victorious armies to return to his farm. If we are talking about National Identity, this act confirms a key point in the US Constitution, civilian control of the military; it is also a model of citizenship. I don't have a video of this, but I do have a reenactment of his farewell to his officers in the **Fraunces Tavern** in New York, a few evenings before.

40. *Washington's farewell to his officers*

41. *Johann Zoffany: King George III (1771, Royal Collection), with Philp Freneau*

Back to Britain, and another kind of resignation. First, a fragment of *George the Third's Soliloquy*, a poem published in 1779 by American newspaper editor, polemicist, and sometime poet **Philip Freneau** (1752–1832), in which he imagines the King despairing at the losses he is incurring in the American War. He is certainly not abdicating, but he *is* resigned. And we'll end with a clip from the movie of the 1992 play *The Madness of King George* by **Alan Bennett** (b.1934) in which William Pitt the Younger (**Julian Wadham**), the postwar Prime Minister, has to remind the King (**Nigel Hawthorne**) that he has in fact lost the colonies!

42. *Freneau: George III's Soliloquy (excerpt)*

43. *Bennett: The Madness of King George, Pitt and the King*

44. *Class title 2 (War of 1812 cartoon)*



## F. Ideal and Experience

### 45. Section title F (*Declaration of Independence*, central group)

The second hour of this class will be centered around the contrasting personalities of **Thomas Jefferson** and **Ben Franklin**, illustrated as far as possible with music and videos, rather than by more of me talking. Franklin and his legacy are easy to illustrate, as you will see. But Jefferson is harder, at least until his presidency (1801–09), which falls outside the scope of today’s class. One thing that makes me warm to him, though, is knowing that he was a musician. Listen.

### 46. Traditional: *Robin Adair* (William Coulter and friends)

#### 47. Jefferson and Franklin comparison 1

To present Jefferson as musician captures I think something important about the man. In fairness, though, Franklin was also fond of music—he invented or at least perfected an instrument, the **glass harmonica**; Mozart wrote for it. But he liked his music simple; unadorned folk tunes like this one, without foreign baroque flourishes.

#### 48. Jefferson and Franklin comparison 2

If you are talking about defining the American identity, you could do worse than start with the two men: **Jefferson** was 33 when the *Declaration* was signed, **Franklin** was 70, over twice his age. Other than that, the main difference that strikes me is that Jefferson was a white-collar patrician, Franklin a blue-collar tradesman (and quite incidentally a genius) who worked his way up from poverty to wealth.

#### 49. Jefferson and Franklin comparison 3

Everybody knows that Jefferson was a slave-holder. I did not realize, though, that Franklin also had two enslaved men working for him in his early years, but gradually came round to the cause of abolition.

#### 50. Jefferson and Franklin comparison 4

At the age of 42, Franklin retired from his business as a printer, became active in politics, and used his money to help his community in Philadelphia. He also held a national post under the British Crown, as Postmaster-General for the Colonies. He also spent much of the 1750s and 1760s as a delegate in London, but far less successfully than his later time in France.

#### 51. Still from *1776* (movie musical, 1972)

I promised that this half of the class (and most classes, actually) would have a good number of videos; I did not promise they would all be serious. So here in that vein is a scene from the 1972 musical *1776* by **Sherman Edwards** (1919–81). **Ken Howard** as Jefferson, **Howard da Silva** as Franklin, and **William Daniels** as John Adams are discussing what symbol to choose as the national bird. Franklin did propose the turkey, I believe, but surely didn’t break into song!

#### 52. Edwards: *1776*, the Egg



## G. A Flight of Franklins

### 53. Section title G (Houdon: *Franklin*)

Last year, **Ken Burns** (b.1953) made a four-hour documentary on Benjamin Franklin, so who am I to try to summarize him in twenty minutes? The clip that I showed at the start of class comes from this, and I'll have another in a few minutes, but already the trailer for the program shows something of the multiplicity of its subject.

### 54. Ken Burns: *Benjamin Franklin*, trailer

### 55. Franklin stamps, 2006

As this set of US stamps from 2006 suggests, Franklin's career divides roughly into three parts; the dates are approximate and actually rather overlap. The son of a Boston candlemaker, he was given only two years' schooling, which was all his father could afford; the rest—the very considerable rest—he gained for himself. At the age of 12, he entered an apprenticeship with his elder brother, a printer. He began writing anonymous articles, purportedly by a middle-aged widow, **Silence Dogood**; his brother published them and soon had a public waiting eagerly for the next instalment. The discovery of the real author was one of a number of factors causing a rift between the brothers; Franklin left and moved to Philadelphia.

### 56. Printing press and copies of *Poor Richard's Almanack*

### 57. — the same, with quotations from *Poor Richard*

Before long, Franklin had his own press in Philadelphia, and effectively sidelined his rivals. One of his most profitable ventures was ***Poor Richard's Almanack***. Almanacs were very popular at the time; the *Old Farmer's Almanac* predated Franklin's and is still produced. They gave data on sunrise and sunset, the tides, and the phases of the moon; they commemorated important dates in history; they included more or less spurious predictions; and, in Franklin's case, they were sprinkled with those little moral aphorisms that have become so famous.

### 58. Jess McHugh: *AmeriCanon*

One of the more unusual books I came upon when reading for this course is *AmeriCanon* by **Jess McHugh**; you'll find it in the online book list. She picks a number of books throughout American history—self-help books rather than high literature—and shows why each is a key document of its time; you can see some of her subjects here. As she includes the posthumously-published *Autobiography* to represent Franklin, she uses the *Old Farmer's Almanac* rather than *Poor Richard's*, but the point is the same. Almanacs like his, and later his autobiography, would often be the only reading material in an American household beyond the Bible.

### 59. Franklin portraits by Feke and Martin

What can you tell from these? The one on the left is the earliest known painted portrait of Franklin; the one on the right is a quarter-century later. McHugh calls Franklin the prime example of the **fake-it-till-you-make-it** model of American success. And boy, did he make it! Even before he retired from printing

at the age of 42, he was dabbling in politics and using his money to improve his community, founding a library, a fire-engine company, and later a college; he was also a model of the American philanthropist that non-profits rely upon to this day. In Act III of his drama, as we shall see, he would dress a lot more simply, but his Act II was a different matter. The 1767 portrait was made during one of his several sojourns in London as a colonial agent, when I think he felt he needed to look the part. McHugh is not the only writer to speak to Franklin's penchant for self-promotion and self-invention.

#### 60. Franklin the scientist

We all know the story of Franklin and the kite, proving that lightning was a form of electricity that could be tapped and stored in a **Leiden Jar**. In fact, though he proposed the experiment in a paper in 1752, he may not have performed it himself, though he did work out the theory. This was still an age of amateur gentleman scientists, but their methods could be as rigorous as you could wish, as you see from Franklin's diagram of the physics of a waterspout. In 1816, long after our Ben was dead, his friend with the same first name, **Benjamin West**, painted a picture of this electrical experiment. I'll show you the center of it first, then reveal the whole picture, in a video I made for another class.

#### 61. West: *Franklin Drawing Electricity from the Sky* (1816, Philadelphia MFA)

It's surprising, isn't it? We know West as a realist, and his depiction of the electrical apparatus at bottom left is realistic enough. But here he surrounds this very mortal man with classical *putti*, as though equating electricity with the breath of the gods. West did make a much more literal portrait of Franklin, though, while he was still alive...

#### 62. West: *American Delegation at the Treaty of Paris* (unfinished, 1783 Winterthur)

When the War was effectively over, West began a painting of the **Treaty of Paris**, showing the five American Commissioners: **John Jay, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Henry Laurens, and William Temple Franklin** (Ben's grandson). The British delegation declined to pose, so West abandoned the picture, and indeed the whole series on the War of Independence that he had planned. The other Commissioners traveled to Paris for the signing, but Franklin had already spent most of the war in that city, brilliantly negotiating the French support that would make victory possible. Ken Burns again:

#### 63. Ken Burns: *Benjamin Franklin, Franklin in Paris*

#### 64. Franklin: *Autobiography* (1793), title page and editions

Franklin began writing a **memoir** in 1771, and worked on it fitfully until his death; it was published posthumously in French in 1791 and in English in 1793. Much of it is frankly revisionist history, writing an account of his life as it ought to have been rather than exactly how it was. But he softens this by assuming a self-deprecating frankness.

#### 65. Franklin: *Autobiography* (1793), twelve virtues

#### 66. Franklin: *Autobiography* (1793), thirteen virtues (with Humility added!)

For example, he gives a list of the twelve virtues shown here, and recommends keeping a daily chart on which you can give yourself a black mark for each perceived lapse. He confesses that he himself

frequently fails in the matter of ORDER. But then a friend tells him that he is too arrogant, so he adds a thirteenth column, HUMILITY, with the instruction “Imitate Jesus and Socrates.”

### 67. Franklin: *Autobiography* (1793), on wealth

Franklin’s later career was predicated on making a lot of money in the earlier part of it. One can’t accuse him of flaunting his wealth, although he dressed in finery for London and kept a cellar of over 1,000 bottles in Paris; money for him was a means to an end, and that end was largely philanthropic. Nonetheless, the making of money and business acumen have become an integral part of the self-made-man concept of American success. It is something I will look at in more detail in later weeks, but let’s touch on it very briefly before we close.

## H. Later Voices

### 68. Section title H (Later voices)

I had intended to carry the story further and show how both the self-made man model of the American identity based on Franklin and the idealistic one based on Jefferson would play out over the ensuing centuries. But most of that will have to wait to later classes. So instead, I’ll end on a more light-hearted vein with fun quotations from one later American and one Brit—**Mark Twain** and **DH Lawrence**—neither of whom had much time for Franklin, and two musical clips (**Frank Loesser** and **Aaron Copland**) that bring us back to the beginning by contrasting the Franklinian and Jeffersonian models.

### 69. Twain on Franklin

You’d have thought that **Mark Twain** (1835–1910) would have felt a kinship with Franklin’s sly wit, but it appears that he suffered too much by having his maxims drilled into him as a child!

### 70. Lawrence on Franklin 1

### 71. Lawrence on Franklin 2

**Too long; cut first slide?**

**D. H. Lawrence** (1885–1930), on voluntary exile from England, came to **Taos** New Mexico in 1922, intending to settle there with his German wife **Frieda**. His stay was cut short because of illness, but he used his time to publish a series of essays called *Studies in Classic American Literature*. Boy, does he have it in for Franklin! His basic premise in most of these essays is that Americans had taken possession of a wilderness of vast potential, only to turn it into a row of suburban gardens. The quotes that I strung together on the first slide have to do with Franklin’s views on morality and the kind of God that rewards you with business success. The second slide is more interesting in that he looks into his own psyche; you can imagine that he will have altogether better things to say about Poe, Hawthorne, and Melville.

### 72. Frank Loesser and poster for *How to Succeed in Business*

So to the first of my closing videos: 1971 musical *How to Succeed in Business Without Really Trying*, by **Frank Loesser** (1910–69). It is a satire on the conformity of American business, where everybody is inveigled into following “The Company Way.” In this number near the end, the anti-hero Finch (**Robert Morse**), a lowly window washer, takes on the CEO, **Mr JB Biggley**. I love the sly way in which the number hijacks the phrase “Brotherhood of Man,” surely a Jeffersonian concept if anything is!

73. Loesser: *How to Succeed in Business*, “The Brotherhood of Man”

74. Copland, Bernstein, and *Lincoln Portrait*

So from a cynical Jeffersonian appropriation to a work about a different President that is absolutely Jeffersonian in spirit: the last five minutes of *Lincoln Portrait* (1942) by **Aaron Copland** (1900–90). This old performance in London is conducted by **Leonard Bernstein** with **William Warfield** as the narrator.

75. Copland: *Lincoln Portrait*, last 5 minutes (titled, with sound boosted)

76. Class title 3 (Lincoln Memorial)