



2002

Benjamin Franklin and Transgenderal Pseudonymity

Jared C. Calaway

Illinois Wesleyan University

Recommended Citation

Calaway, Jared C. (2002) "Benjamin Franklin and Transgenderal Pseudonymity," *Constructing the Past*: Vol. 3 : Iss. 1 , Article 5.

Available at: <http://digitalcommons.iwu.edu/constructing/vol3/iss1/5>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by The Ames Library, the Andrew W. Mellon Center for Curricular and Faculty Development, the Office of the Provost and the Office of the President. It has been accepted for inclusion in Digital Commons @ IWU by the editorial board of the Undergraduate Economic Review and the Economics Department at Illinois Wesleyan University. For more information, please contact digitalcommons@iwu.edu.

©Copyright is owned by the author of this document.

Benjamin Franklin and Transgenderal Pseudonymity

Abstract

This article discusses letters written by Benjamin Franklin that were done under various female pseudonyms. These female identities were used to critique the gender stereotypes of the time and to show that women were more virtuous than men.

Benjamin Franklin and Transgenderal Pseudonymity

Jared C. Calaway

Pseudonymity was a widespread phenomenon in the eighteenth century, utilized especially by those who criticized the established norm. By taking on another persona, a cultural critic could deflect responsibility for what he or she wrote while making his or her arguments appear stronger, ostensibly coming from a disinterested source.¹ Women found advantages in taking on a man's name since it was easier for a man to publish his work than for a woman. However, women did not monopolize transgenderal pseudonymity because, interestingly, men also adopted female pseudonyms.

One prolific writer who created several female pseudonyms was Benjamin Franklin. However, one must wonder why he took on the guise of a woman. What advantage did he gain by using a female, instead of a male, voice? Indeed, these questions do not concern the immediate intention of a specific pseudonym, but the underlying purposes of using a female voice. Since few historians have grappled with these questions, I have relied upon my own analysis of these letters (all of Franklin's female pseudonyms have a letter format). Through my analysis, I have discovered a distinct pattern of reversal.² Franklin's imaginary women extol female virtue, criticize male vice, and reveal how male vices create female vices, directly opposing the assumption in the first half of the eighteenth century that women corrupt men.³ Moreover, this paper will explore historiographical problems, especially the difficulty in ascribing a pseudonym to a real person.⁴

Franklin's first female pseudonym appeared in his brother's newspaper, the *Courant* on 2 April 1722. Franklin's brother, James Franklin, as well as the contributing editors to the *Courant* used pseudonyms, including those of the opposite sex, when criticizing ministers and magistrates, poking fun at rival papers, uncovering and creating scandal, and criticizing the follies of women.⁵ It was in this milieu that Benjamin Franklin, at the age of sixteen, employed the guise of a forty-year-old woman, Silence Dogood.⁶ In fourteen letters, Silence Dogood pokes fun at ministers, especially those who went to Harvard. In a dream, Dogood envisions Learning sitting on her throne above two high, difficult steps. Sitting at the base of the first step were Madam Idleness and Maid Ignorance.⁷ Most Harvard students were content to sit with Idleness and Ignorance instead of attaining Learning; thus, they did not attain the virtue of knowledge but the archetypal female vices of ignorance and idleness, finishing their education "as great Blockheads as ever, only more proud and self-conceited."⁸

Next, Dogood presents a letter by the fictitious Ephraim Censorious, who represents the idea that “Women are the prime Causes of a great many Male Enormities.” In response, Dogood writes, “that Mr. Ephraim charges Women with being particularly guilty of Pride, Idleness, &c. wrongfully, inasmuch as the Men have not only as great a Share in those Vices as the Women, but are likewise in a great Measure the Cause of that which the Women are guilty of.” Dogood claims that men are more idle than women because they “are commonly complaining how hard they are forc’d to labour . . . yet if you go among Women, you will learn, that *they have always more Work upon their Hands than they are able to do*; and that *a Woman’s Work is never done, &c.*”¹⁰ When women are idle, men are to blame because they foolishly maintain their wives in idleness instead of letting them contribute to the family income. Concerning women’s ignorance and folly, Dogood again blames men: “An ingenious Writer . . . lays the Fault wholly on the Men, for not allowing Women the Advantages of Education.”¹¹ Quoting Defoe, she writes, “I have . . . often thought of it as one of the most barbarous customs of the world . . . that we deny the Advantages of Learning to Women. We reproach the Sex every Day with Folly and Impertinence, while I am confident, had they the Advantages of Education equal to us, they would be guilty of less than our selves.”¹² Regarding pride, a vice society attributed to women, Dogood claims that “if Women are proud, it is certainly owing to the Men still.”¹³ Thus, Dogood concludes “that it will be impossible to lash any Vice, of which the Men are not equally guilty with the Women, and consequently deserve an equal (if not a greater) Share in the Censure.”¹⁴

Dogood’s message of reversal proved provocative, but was she really Franklin? In his autobiography, Franklin never mentions Dogood, although he does claim that he joined the company of the contributors to his brother’s paper anonymously. Joseph T. Buckingham was first to suggest that Franklin wrote at least some of these letters, but he never cites his evidence. However, in a file of the *Courant* at the British museum, written in the margins of the Dogood letters are the initials “B. F.,” whereas other articles and letters clearly reference the author, such as “Mr. J. Franklin” for Benjamin’s brother James.¹⁵ B. F. possibly could be someone other than Benjamin Franklin, but, considering that we know of no other contributors to the *Courant* with those initials, Franklin remains the most probable source. However, another source proves more convincing. Conclusively establishing his authorship of the letters in an outline of his autobiography, Franklin recorded: “My writing. Mrs. Dogood’s Letters.”¹⁶

Silence Dogood became archetypical of Franklin’s female pseudonyms. Indeed, the discussion of female virtue and male vice appeared again when Franklin created Martha Careful and Caelia Shortface. Franklin employed these women to attack Samuel Keimer, who hindered Franklin’s plans to publish a

newspaper in Philadelphia by starting his own. Franklin awaited the opportunity to discredit Keimer, and, on 21 January 1729, Keimer became vulnerable to Franklin's pen when he inserted an article on abortion from Chambers' *Cyclopaedia*. Franklin and Bradford (another printer) undertook a series of letters attacking Keimer, being in both men's economic interest. Using the female voice seemed appropriate since the abortion article intimately described female reproductive organs.

Martha Careful and Caelia Shortface appear outraged at Keimer's publication of such an article. Careful speaks "In behalf of my Self and many good modest Women in this City (who are almost out of Countenance)" to warn Keimer not to proceed to "Expose the Secrets of our Sex, in That audacious manner, as he hath done in his *Gazette, No. 5.*"¹⁷ Likewise, Shortface expresses similar disgust "That, Thou would have Printed such Things in it, as would make all the Modest and Virtuous Women in Pennsylvania ashamed."¹⁸ Franklin, through these women, appeals to the modest, virtuous woman, but, moreover, attacks male vulgarities. Shortface attacks Keimer, alluding to "Thee [Keimer], and Thy Indecencies," which he published "in that *Scandalous manner.*"¹⁹ Careful does not merely attack the indecencies of one man, but indicates the vulgarity of a larger number. She describes a scene where men crowd around to study the titillating language of female anatomy in Keimer's paper, which was "read in all *Taverns and Coffee-Houses, and by the Vulgar.*"²⁰ With the concepts of the virtuous woman and the vulgar man, these pseudonyms follow the pattern established with Silence Dogood.

Historically, these two pseudonyms are difficult to trace directly to Franklin. He does not refer to either one of them in any of his letters or in his autobiography. However, Franklin had motive to discredit Keimer. Furthermore, Franklin had strong ties to Bradford, who, just one week later, printed the Busy Body letters for Franklin, which was a gossip column, for which Franklin does take direct responsibility. The Busy Body letters also respond to the abortion article and utilize the two pseudonymous letters. Busy Body writes: "let the Fair Sex be assur'd, that I shall always treat them and their Affairs with the utmost *Decency and Respect.*"²¹ Carl Van Doren, when discussing Samuel Keimer and the Busy Body letters, never mentions the two female characters.²² Recent historians attribute the two letters to Franklin, though none provides historical proof.²³ Thus, only Franklin's connections with Bradford, his disgust for Keimer, and the similarities to Busy Body connect these pseudonyms to Franklin.

In reference to Busy Body, Franklin develops another pseudonym, Patience, to interact with Busy Body. In introducing Patience, Busy Body writes, "The following letter, left for me at the Printers, is one of the first I have receiv'd, which I regard the more for that it comes from one of the Fair Sex, and because I have my self oftentimes suffer'd under the Grievance therein complain'd

of."²⁴ Indeed, Patience is "tir'd out of all Patience" because she has an annoying friend who, with her two children, bother her at all times of the day. Her children play around her shop, trashing the place, and Patience cleans up after them lamenting that "I have all the Trouble and Pesterment of Children, without the Pleasure of—calling them my own."²⁵ This woman and her two children bother Patience so often that she is unable to participate in pleasurable activities: "There is a handsome Gentleman that has a Mind (I don't question) to make love to me, but he can't get the least Opportunity to . . ."²⁶

This pseudonym does not explicitly embody the themes of female virtue and male vice, but implicates female virtue. Busy Body regards this letter even more coming from a woman, implying that women are more reliable than men are. Moreover, she has the virtue of industry; thus, she is not idle because she keeps "a Shop in this Town for Livelyhood."²⁷ Patience also complies with the pattern of reversal. Patience implies her desire to be a mother when she sees children that she does not have the "Pleasure" of calling her own. Considering this, Patience also mentions a man whom she is sure would like to have sex with her (and with whom she seems eager to have sex), indicating that she is not married to this man. Earlier in the letter, she states, "I am a single Woman, and keep a Shop in this Town for Livelyhood."²⁸ This culture looked down upon "low women" who fornicate, while praising the state of marriage above that of singleness. An unmarried woman is punished with virginity, as Martha Aftercast,²⁹ another one of Franklin's female pseudonyms, says. However, Franklin places the great commandment, "Increase and multiply," above the state of marriage, thereby reversing societal priorities.

If one were to psychoanalyze Franklin concerning the sexual content of this letter, an alternate interpretation for an underlying motive emerges. From a Freudian point of view, Patience's desire to have sex outside of socially acceptable norms may mirror a repressed sexual desire of Franklin to do the same.³⁰ Busy Body's preface to the letter, which says, "I have my self oftentimes suffer'd under the Grievance therein complain'd of," gives further credence to this theory, if indeed, this phrase refers to the sex instead of merely the annoyance. In any case, even if Franklin utilized Patience as a sexual outlet, this interpretation does not diminish the theme of reversal because both could be underlying motivations: the Freudian interpretation being more immediate and reversal being the common theme of his fictional females.

Although Franklin never mentions Patience by name, one can attribute her to him through Busy Body.³¹ Franklin establishes that he wrote the first four Busy Body letters.³² Moreover, Patience supports Busy Body when she says, "You having set your self up for a *Censurer Morum* . . . I know no Person more proper to be apply'd to for Redress in all the Grievances we suffer from *Want of Manners* in some People."³³ Furthermore, there is a pattern of conversation between Franklin's pseudonyms in other places. Series of letters

by pseudonyms, like Silence Dogood and Busy Body, always had respondents, like Martha Aftercast and Patience, who served as devices to introduce new topics and aid with societal critique. Although Patience possibly could be someone else, it is more likely that Franklin devised her to support Busy Body.

When Franklin owned his own newspaper, *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, he created another female critic named Celia Single. Perplexingly, Single criticizes parts of Franklin's newspaper, but does so within the same paradigm established with Silence Dogood by criticizing male vice while praising female virtue. She writes: "I have several times in your Paper seen severe Reflections upon us Women, for Idleness and Extravagance, but I do not remember to have once seen any such Animadversions upon the Men."³⁴ She proceeds to recount male vices such as gambling: "Mr. Billiard, who spends more than he earns, at the Green Table; and would have been in Jail long since, were it not for his industrious Wife."³⁵ Indeed, Single blames Mr. Billiard and praises his wife who has virtuous industry. She further indicates other men who are extravagant and idle, giving them traditionally female vices.

About two and a half weeks after Celia Single, Franklin developed Alice Addertongue, the female equivalent of Busy Body, who exercises her "Talent at Censure." At first glance, this baffling pseudonym does not seem to fit within the paradigm that all of the other female pseudonyms before and after her do. She is a meddler, a gossip, and a scandal. However, if one remembers that the underlying theme of praising female virtues and revealing male vices is reversal, then Alice Addertongue begins to make sense. I may be imposing my thesis upon this pseudonym; however, Addertongue's letter provides ample evidence to support my speculations.

Addertongue responds to Bradford, who printed some of Franklin's other pseudonyms, although, by this time, he had become Franklin's rival printer. Addertongue mocks the *Mercury*, Bradford's paper, saying that "Thursdays *Mercury*, who at the Conclusion of one of his silly Paragraphs, laments, forsooth, that the *Fair Sex* are so peculiarly guilty of this enormous Crime [scandal]."³⁶ She proceeds to show the absurdity of believing there is anything wrong with scandal. If others accuse someone of scandal, then the accusers, by revealing the person who scandalizes, are guilty of scandal themselves; therefore, "to scandalize us with being guilty of *Scandal*, is in itself an egregious Absurdity, and can proceed from nothing but the most consummate Impudence in Conjunction with the most profound Stupidity."³⁷ Addertongue transforms scandal from a vice to a virtue; thus, if, as the *Mercury* claims, women are guilty of scandal, then, according to Addertongue's argument, women are more virtuous because of it. Moreover, Addertongue censures with industry, recording every bit of scandal received and given using debits and credits.³⁸

Were Celia Single and Alice Addertongue actually Franklin? Van Doren attributes both to Franklin, but does not cite his evidence. Brands claims that

Addertongue directly derives from Busy Body because the two characters have striking similarities. Larry E. Tise also believes that Franklin created both Celia Single and Alice Addertongue.³⁹ One must consider that Franklin printed both female personalities in his own paper. Moreover, Franklin had immediate motives to create Addertongue: to discredit his rival and to vindicate his own practice of "censure." Furthermore, Single uses the same rhetoric and has the same purpose as the other fictitious females. Evidence is lacking, but the little evidence that exists points to Franklin.

The most popular figure created by Benjamin Franklin was Miss Polly Baker⁴⁰, who appeared in London's *General Advertiser* on 15 April 1747. "The Speech of Miss Polly Baker" encapsulates every other pseudonym discussed, embodying the themes of reversal and societal criticism. The primary purpose for writing this piece was to criticize the penal laws in New England that fined and whipped single women who had children out of wedlock while leaving the men who impregnated them unpunished. Baker gives this speech in a courtroom, defending herself on her fifth offense of having a child outside of wedlock. First, she establishes her virtue. Indeed, although she may not be married, she has "all the Industry, Frugality, Fertility, and Skill and Oeconomy, appertaining to a good Wife's Character."⁴¹ Next, she reveals the vice of the man who first impregnated her. She claims she intended to marry this man, but she "unhappily lost my own Honour, by trusting to his; for he got me with Child, and then forsook me."⁴² Thus, a man deceived her and her condition is his fault. At this point, she ponders the nature of her offense: "If mine . . . is a religious Offense, leave it to religious Punishments. You have already excluded me from the Comforts of your Church-Communion. Is not that sufficient?"⁴³ She thrusts her criticism further by claiming that her actions are not sinful. On the contrary, she carries out "the Duty of the first and great Command of Nature, and of Nature's God, *Encrease and Multiply*," indicating the same sexual reversal found in *Patience*.⁴⁴ However, if the law should do anything, it should compel men to either marry or pay double the fine for fornication every year. If the notions of reversal were not obvious, she concludes by claiming the court "ought, in my humble Opinion, instead of Whipping, to have a Statue erected in my Memory."⁴⁵

Many people consider this speech one of Franklin's greatest hoaxes.⁴⁶ Unfortunately, Franklin never claims authorship in his own writing. On the other hand, several other people do, including William Franklin (Benjamin Franklin's illegitimate son), Voltaire, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson. Voltaire writes of Franklin's authorship after he and Franklin met in Paris just before Voltaire died. Possibly, Franklin revealed his authorship of this popular satire then.⁴⁷ Thomas Jefferson tells an interesting story from when he and Franklin were in Paris. They and Silas Deane discussed Raynal's *Histoire des deux Indes*, which assumes Polly Baker to be a real person. Deane tells Raynal how

his history is inaccurate because it contains this story, but Raynal defends its accuracy. Then Franklin, shaking with unrestrained laughter, bursts out the truth of his authorship.⁴⁸ Although many of the details of this scene are inaccurate, considering Jefferson recalled this event many years later in 1818, Jefferson corroborates Voltaire, Adams, William Franklin, and a plethora of others that Franklin wrote the speech.⁴⁹

Thus, the underlying purposes for Franklin using female, instead of male, personages appear to be that of cultural criticism and reversal. These fictitious women promote female virtue, reveal male vice, and argue that male vice causes female vice, instead of the opposite opinion commonly held in the early eighteenth-century. Of course, alternately, considering the sexual content of Patience and Polly Baker, one could take a Freudian interpretation of using a female pseudonym to release repressed sexual desires. Yet, even if one used this psychoanalysis, the themes I have delineated remain. Moreover, one must realize that specific events sparked the usage of Franklin's pseudonyms, and I have only tried to explain why he used female, instead of male, pseudonyms in those instances. Therefore, my speculations are not of the immediate purposes of the pseudonyms, but of the underlying motivations behind them. The second part of this paper reveals the difficulties in attributing these women to Franklin. Sometimes the evidence is strong, such as with Silence Dogood. In other cases, Franklin may not mention his authorship, but countless other sources do, such as in the case of Polly Baker. Lastly, some pseudonyms merely fit the style and subject matter of Franklin, like Martha Careful, Celia Single and Alice Addertongue. Moreover, Franklin may have used other pseudonyms of which I am unaware which may contradict my thesis.⁵⁰ Finally, in creating my history of transgenderal pseudonymity, I conclude that very few things are beyond doubt; thus, one must rely upon the tool of probability in historical reconstructions.

Endnotes

¹ Esmond Wright, *Franklin of Philadelphia* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1986), 193.

² I am predisposed to see reversal due to my research on current scholarship in the field of religion, where scholars like John Dominic Cross and Robert Funk try to remove layers of tradition in the gospels to find the true, historical Jesus.

³ One should note that this is before the Victorian era, which tended to place virtue with women instead of men. Interestingly, the latest female persona analyzed here was published in 1747. Furthermore, the relation between virtue and men in the eighteenth-century mind may be strengthened by the fact that the root word of virtue is from the Latin word *vir*, which literally means "man."

⁴ Conversely, I cannot claim that I have an exhaustive list of his female pseudonyms. As I research, I continually uncover new female pseudonyms. He may have created

other female characters of which I am unaware for completely different purposes than I am promoting in this paper.

⁵ Carl Van Doren, *Benjamin Franklin* (New York: The Viking Press, 1938), 20-21.

⁶ H. W. Brands, *The First American: The Life and Times of Benjamin Franklin* (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 26. Franklin created Silence Dogood by combining Cotton Mather's *Silentarius* and *Bonifacius, or Essays to do Good*.

⁷ Note the female personification of idleness and ignorance since these were considered female vices. On the other hand, learning is personified as female as well.

⁸ Silence Dogood [Benjamin Franklin], "Silence Dogood No. 4," in *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. Leonard W. Labaree (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), 1:14-17. Throughout this paper I have retained the original spelling and punctuation.

⁹ Silence Dogood [Benjamin Franklin], "Polly Baker, No. 5," in Labaree, *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, 1:18-19.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 20.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 21. I am omitting Silence Dogood's seventh letter (pp. 21-3) where she criticizes specific types of female pride called the "Pride of Apparel" and the "Pride of Heart." Considering the previous letter, one may still conclude that these types of female pride may be blamed upon men, according to Dogood. Moreover, Dogood speaks of the male vice of excessive drunkenness in Silence Dogood [Benjamin Franklin], "Silence Dogood, No. 12," in Labaree, *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, 1:39-41.

¹⁵ Labaree, *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, 1:8-9.

¹⁶ Benjamin Franklin, *Benjamin Franklin: The Autobiography and Other Writings*, ed. Kenneth Silverman (New York: Penguin Books, 1986), 193.

¹⁷ Martha Careful [Benjamin Franklin], "Martha Careful and Caelia Shortface," in Labaree, *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, 1:112.

¹⁸ Caelia Shortface [Benjamin Franklin], "Martha Careful and Caelia Shortface," in Labaree, *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, 1:112.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 113.

²⁰ Careful, "Careful and Shortface," 112.

²¹ Busy Body, "Busy Body, No. 1," in Labaree, *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, 1:115. It may be of special interest to note the difference between Franklin's male and female pseudonyms regarding their views on male and female virtue and vice. Whereas female pseudonyms promote women at the expense of men, his male pseudonyms seem to have a different purpose. Busy Body speaks of the virtuous man, giving the example of Cato, at the expense of another man, Cretico in "Busy Body, No. 3."

²² Van Doren, *Benjamin Franklin*, 94-9.

²³ Brands, *First American*, 101-2. See also, Seymour Stanton Block, *Benjamin Franklin: His Wit, Wisdom & Women* (New York: Hastings House, 1975), 41. Of use here would be a critical literary analysis to see if these pseudonyms match the writing style of more established pseudonyms like Busy Body.

²⁴ Busy Body [Benjamin Franklin], "Busy Body, No. 4," in Labaree, *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, 1:122-3.

²⁵ Ibid., 124.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid., 123. This also means that she would not be idle, relating back to Silence Dogood where Franklin claims that women are idle only because men are foolish enough not to let them work to add to the household income.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Martha Aftercast is another female pseudonym of Franklin's who appears in the Silence Dogood letters. Unfortunately, the limited space of this paper prohibits me to write more of her.

³⁰ Considering that he did have an illegitimate son, William Franklin, one may conclude that Franklin, at some point, actually fulfilled this desire.

³¹ Even Carl Van Doren speaks of the "imaginary Patience" in Van Doren, *Benjamin Franklin*, 95-6.

³² Franklin, *Autobiography*, 68.

³³ Busy Body, "Busy Body, No. 4," 123.

³⁴ Celia Single, "Celia Single," in Labaree, *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, 1:242. Again, it may be important to mention that male pseudonyms tended to reveal vices of women and female pseudonyms tended to reveal the vices of men. Thus, Franklin, by himself, seems to represent both sides in a war of the sexes.

³⁵ Ibid., 243.

³⁶ Alice Addertongue [Benjamin Franklin], "Alice Addertongue," in Labaree, *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, 1:244.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid., 247. Turning a vice into a virtue is like Patience who wished to have sex and possibly children outside of marriage.

³⁹ Larry E. Tise, ed., *Benjamin Franklin and Women* (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), xv, xxiii. Tise lists some of Franklin's pseudonyms, such as Alice Addertongue, Margaret Aftercast, Polly Baker, Celia Single, and the Left Hand. The final pseudonym is new to me, so I have not had adequate time to study it. Indeed, since Franklin created all of the other female pseudonyms early, The Left Hand would be interesting to study since he wrote it in 1785.

⁴⁰ Technically, Polly Baker is not a pseudonym because the speech appeared as written by someone who anonymously contributed it to the London paper; however, it is included here because the speech is written in the first person, meaning that the creator took on the persona of Polly Baker.

⁴¹ [Benjamin Franklin], "The Speech of Miss Polly Baker," in Labaree, *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, 3:124.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid., 125. For further discussion of Benjamin Franklin's critique of laws see Marcello Maestro, "Benjamin Franklin and the Penal Laws" *Journal of the History of Ideas* 36, no. 3 (July-September 1975): 551-562.

⁴⁴ Ibid. Here too, one may see repressed sexual desires surfacing; however, I do not think the case for that argument is as strong here as in the case of Patience.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Max Hall, *Benjamin Franklin and Polly Baker: The History of Literary Deception* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960), 151-4. Paul Baender,

"The Basis of Franklin's Duplicative Satires" *American Literature* 32, no. 3 (November 1960): 267-279.

- ⁴⁷ Max Hall, *Benjamin Franklin and Polly Baker*, 129, 136. The purpose of Max Hall's book is to prove that Franklin wrote "The Speech of Miss Polly Baker." Almost all of Franklin's biographers and the editors of his papers accept Hall's argument.
- ⁴⁸ Thomas Jefferson, *The Complete Jefferson: Containing His Major Writings, Published and Unpublished, Except His Letters*, ed. Saul K. Padover (New York: Tudor Publishing Company, 1943), 892-3.
- ⁴⁹ Indeed, the inaccuracies of Jefferson's account are many and I will omit them due to spatial constraints.
- ⁵⁰ As already mentioned, I am leaving out the only other female pseudonym of his I know of for two reasons: limited space and I just discovered the existence of The Left Hand recently and have not had adequate time to research it.