

In Celebration of His 300th Birthday: Benjamin Franklin's Early Memories Procedure

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Abstract

Benjamin Franklin's (1793/1906) autobiography established itself as a classic in American literature after its publication in 1793. Franklin achieved enduring fame as a key founding father of his country, scientist and inventor, skilled diplomat, writer, and philanthropist. His input to the Constitution provided Americans with the country they have today, including a Senate and House of Representatives to balance big states/small states inequities. To better understand this iconic figure, the author edited the beginning of Franklin's (1793/1906) autobiography to an approximation of the Early Memories Procedure (Bruhn, 1989), the first time this has been done for a published autobiography. Franklin's memories indicate that he had been physically abused as an adolescent by his older brother, which helps one to properly frame information in his autobiography suggestive of rebellion, some minor antisocial activities, problems with judgment, and difficulties with anger. His complex relationship with his father, whom he idealised for his excellent judgment, emerges as the focal point of Franklin's concerns at the time he penned his autobiography. The paper also introduces a scoring illustration of the revised Comprehensive Early Memories Scoring System, a general-purpose system analogous to Rorschach systems (Exner, 2003) which are intended for personality assessments. The procedure illustrated herein is ideally suited for clinicians who encourage clients to write autobiographies as part of their therapy, for psychologists who have access to autobiographical materials but nothing else, and for psychohistorians who want to understand their subjects from an issues-oriented perspective.

Keywords: *Benjamin Franklin; Autobiography; Early Memories Procedure*

The life story of Benjamin Franklin (1793/1906) is an American treasure. It presents a proven formula for escaping poverty: self-reliance, hard work, self-improvement, frugality, and the development of pleasing social skills. Growing up in a family of 17 children, Franklin had to compete to survive and prosper. As the youngest of 10 boys from a working class family, Franklin had minimal prospects without a judicious process of self-study, self-development, and self-education. In many respects, Franklin's life epitomises the promise of the American dream—that all individuals, no matter how humble their

circumstances, can succeed if they have the will and dedication to do so.

Most people view Franklin's (1793/1906) autobiography in the preceding light, as providing a blueprint for self-improvement or success. At this level, the book has a great deal to offer. From a psychological perspective, however, the book reads much differently. The narrative is packed with early memories (EMs) of specific events that give profound insight on Franklin the man, his foibles and struggles. Perhaps even more interesting, his memories describe the psychological and, perhaps, the historical origins of his issues at the time he wrote his autobiography.

This paper describes how a set of EMs can be obtained from an autobiography and interpreted projectively. This is the first time, to my knowledge, that anyone has attempted to assemble such a set, although Bruhn and Bellow (1987) used a brief set of Golda Meir's EMs to illustrate different types of memories and their roles (e.g., family myths, group memories). Finally, I interpret the set of Franklin's memories thus obtained consistent with the cognitive-perceptual (CP) model (Bruhn, 1990a, 1990b).

I do not want to suggest that a CP interpretation of Franklin's memories should constitute the definitive word on his character or personality organisation. What I do propose is that this method provides a distinct perspective that is valuable not just in understanding Franklin but in analysing the life of any individual who provides autobiographical materials that include a modest number of specific memories.

Analysing Autobiographical Material

How can we best explore autobiographical memory? I believe that single-event memories of the form "I remember one time..." provide the most useful information if we want to understand a personality and how it is organised around major unresolved issues. One important reason is that memories of specific events usually make a point, or they convey a moral, if you like. Some events remain with us indefinitely; others rapidly fade into

memorial oblivion. Those that remain, in keeping with the principle of utility (Bruhn, 1990a, 1990b), do so because they are relevant.

The CP method (Bruhn, 1990a, 1990b) holds that spontaneously offered single-event EMs are most likely to speak to the single most important unresolved issue that the individual is preoccupied with today. *Spontaneously offered* refers to memories produced in response to questions that request the earliest memory and memories that come to mind thereafter by association. *Single-event* memories involve specific incidents that have the form "I remember one time." EMs usually refer to recollections of events that occurred before age 8, although older individuals¹ may recall memories of later origin as among their earliest. In Franklin's case, the point is especially cogent, as his EMs date from approximately age 10 forward.

A sequence of EMs, properly elicited, can be regarded as a single episodic memory in several parts. Each memory in the series makes its special contribution, elaborating this point or the basis for that feeling until the major unresolved issue underlying the group as a whole has been more or less fully articulated. Negative affect memories present the major issue in its various guises; the positive affect memories provide clues as to its resolution. Those who are in better touch with their inner self will produce memories that portray their issue more clearly; those who are more intensely conflicted about their inner nature, who are ambivalent about accessing painful past experiences, or who are less psychologically minded will tend to produce less psychologically coherent memories.

We do, of course, retain recollections that involve something other than events. We may remember where we lived in our first house, the name of our kindergarten teacher, the pattern of lino in the kitchen, the housecoat that Mum used to wear "forever," or how the lilacs used to smell in the spring. Such memories may provide useful information, but they often do not convey a readily discernible point as single-event memories do.

According to CP theory (Bruhn, 1990a, 1990b), EMs of specific events are remembered at the current time because of their special relevance to present circumstances. Those with primarily negative affect are likely to depict in perceptographic form the major unresolved issues that the individual now faces. Once these issues are processed and resolved, the memories tend to fade, only to be replaced by memories with greater relevance.

Developing an EMP From Autobiographical Material

The historical part of an autobiography offers us facts, figures, dates, and opinions. Such material in an autobiography usually presents the public version of the story of a person's life, which people develop for colleges, graduate schools, prospective employers, and the like (e.g., "I was born on [date] to [names of parents], who were [gives business, profession, trade, etc.]"). The recollections of specific one-time events, conversely, depict issues in process; these experiences remain accessible to consciousness because they can be helpful if we learn to decode them and use the information properly in our life. Such recollections emerge from nebulous fragments of past experiences, formed and reshaped by the press of present concerns, attitudes, interests, expectations, and unresolved issues.

Normally, from an autobiography, I would generate the equivalent of Part I of the Early Memories Procedure (EMP) by listing all EMs through the end of Chapter 1. In Franklin's (1793/1906) autobiography, in which there are no chapters, such is not possible. But we have other options. One is to reproduce all specific events. As there are about 100 such recounted, more or less, I have rejected this option as too tedious and impractical to pursue. Another is to include only EMs. Unfortunately, Franklin's memories begin at about age 10; this option, although otherwise attractive, presents the opposite problem—an empty set. Third, I could stop at a predetermined age, say 18 or 21. Fourth, I could end after a preset number of recollections, say 5 or 10. Either of the last two possibilities, in my opinion, can be justified in Franklin's case.

What I elected to do for the *Autobiography* (Franklin, 1793/1906) is a modification of the fourth possibility. I stopped at the 11th memory, because this memory describes an important psychological moment: Franklin leaving home for Philadelphia for the second time, this time with his father's blessing. Other options are, of course, justifiable, but this particular memory appears to serve as Franklin's marker for his transition to independence and adulthood.

Autobiographical Memory and CP Theory

Autobiographical memories take us close to the centre of the psychological self. They reflect the operation of the psychological self and help us understand how the self perceives itself, others, and its own subjective construction of the world. The latter is coloured by what I conceptualise as the major unresolved issue of the self as presently constituted:

What the self is currently processing so as to reorganise and operate at a more masterful level. Unfortunately, psychologists (Query 1) have virtually ignored autobiographical memory in their labours to understand the individual they assess; the earliest memory is perhaps the sole exception to this observation. Psychology has done surprisingly little, however, even in this area.

Because we have largely ignored autobiographical memory, we know little about the principles that govern its operation. CP theory (Bruhn, 1990a, 1990b; Bruhn & Last, 1982) was formulated to help us understand that aspect of ourselves and what Bruhn (1990b) has described as the perceptographic function of memory symbols. That is, memories have a symbolic and psychological value as well as a historical and informational value. Further, the more ancient memories in our archives are more likely to depict key attitudes and important needs and to symbolically remind us of major issues that we must address presently and resolve in order to keep growing. As perceptographs, or visually encoded schemas, memories contain information that the conscious self can use to maintain perspective or an understanding of where the self is in its developmental progress and what it needs to process to move on. Earlier memories, on balance, are more valuable than recent ones because they are survivors; their persistence over time speaks to something enduring and compelling in their subject matter.

We can conceptualise an autobiography as if it were a single episodic memory organised around a single, major unresolved issue that largely determines its subject matter and affective quality. Let us assume that we ask an individual with separation issues to undertake an autobiography. The product that ensues will almost assuredly be coloured by separation issues. These separation issues are

especially likely to emerge in any selection of memories that focus on specific events of the form "I remember one time."² Thus, if we reconfigured our hypothetical autobiography into a series of single-event memories, we would find that the transformed product would likely reveal the following: A major unresolved issue, in this case separation, as well as how the issue originated historically and what currently keeps it from being resolved. The Early Memories procedure (EMP; Bruhn, 1989), which requests a minimum of 21 lifetime autobiographical memories, attempts to derive similar information, consistent with the aims of the CP model. More detailed information on CP theory and autobiographical memory is available in Bruhn (1990a, 1990b, 1992a, 1992b, 1995).

Approaches to Autobiographical Memories

Bruhn and Last (1982) and Bruhn (1990b) described four theoretical approaches to autobiographical memories: Freudian, ego psychological, Adlerian, and CP. I direct students of autobiographical memory to these sources for various approaches. Bruhn (1990a, 1992b, 1995) and Richards (1993) have also illustrated how EMP protocols can be interpreted from a CP perspective and used clinically. Recent noteworthy books on memory interpretation and clinical use of memories include Shulman and Mosak (1988) and Mosak and Di Pietro (2006). Ross (1991) offered a helpful theoretical approach to autobiographical memory, Shulman and Mosak, and Mosak and Di Pietro (2006), offered considerable depth from an Adlerian orientation, and Theiler's (2005) dissertation offered an impressive view of memories from a schema perspective, a review, and a bibliography. Franklin's first 11 memories, from a CP perspective, can be seen in Table 1 which includes quotes and direct analysis.

Table 1: Franklin's early memories procedure as extracted from his autobiography: Part I—spontaneous memories.

EM 1

There was a salt-marsh that bounded part of the mill-pond, on the edge of which, at high water, we used to stand to fish for minnows. By much trampling, we had made it a mere quagmire. My proposal was to build a wharf there fit for us to stand upon, and I showed my comrades a large heap of stones, which were intended for a new house near the marsh, and which would very well suit our purpose. Accordingly, in the evening, when the workmen were gone, I assembled a number of my playfellows, and working with them diligently like so many emmets, sometimes two or three to a stone, we brought them all away and built our little wharf. The next morning the workmen were surprised at the missing stones, which were found in our wharf. Inquiry was made after the removers; we were discovered and complained of; several of us were corrected by our fathers; and, though I pleaded the usefulness of the work, mine convinced me that nothing was useful which was not honest (pp. 7-8).

Age Approximately 9–10.

Table 1: Franklin's early memories procedure as extracted from his autobiography: Part I—spontaneous memories (continued).

Affect Rating 2 (moderately negative).

Precis Although I judged an undertaking useful and for the general benefit, I learned that it must also be honest to be justified.

Perception of Self Industrious, a leader (“*I was generally a leader among the boys*” p. 7), public spirited, but having questionable judgment.

Perception of Others (Father) Idealised as a man of highest integrity and unquestioned judgment.

Major Unresolved Issue Mastery failure, regarding his judgment. Otherwise, he shows confidence about his initiative, his ability to lead and obtain cooperation, and his planning ability.

Comment Lest the reader doubt that Franklin lacked confidence in his judgment, I note that Franklin stated immediately following EM1, “[*My father’s*] great excellence lay in a sound understanding and solid judgment in prudential matters, both in private and publick affairs. . . . I remember well his being frequently visited by leading people, who consulted him for his opinion in affairs of the town or of the church he belonged to, and showed a good deal of respect for his judgment and advice” (p. 8). As much as Franklin idealised his father’s judgment, we may reasonably infer that he lacked confidence in his own.

EM 2

*And . . . Mr. Matthew Adams, who had a pretty collection of books, and who frequented our printing-house, took notice of me, invited me to his library, and very kindly lent me such books as I chose to read. I now took a fancy to poetry, and made some little pieces; my brother, thinking it might turn to account, encouraged me, and put me on composing occasional ballads. One was called *The Lighthouse Tragedy*, and contained an account of the drowning of Captain Worthilake, with his two daughters: the other was a sailor’s song on the taking of Teach (or Blackbeard) the pirate. They were wretched stuff, in the Grub-street ballad style; and when they were printed he sent me about the town to sell them. The first sold wonderfully, the event being recent, having made a great noise. This flattered my vanity; but my father discouraged me by ridiculing my performances, and telling me verse-makers were generally beggars. So I escaped being a poet, most probably a very bad one; but as prose writing has been of great use to me in the course of my life, and was principal means of my advancement, I shall tell you how, in such a situation, I acquired what little ability I have in that way* (p. 12).

Age Approximately 12.

Affect Rating 2 (moderately negative from father’s ridicule, which is probably the predominant affect).

Precis (General) When I tried my hand at something, I was discouraged from proceeding, and my efforts were ridiculed. (Specific) Although my brother encouraged me to write ballads (poetry) and one even sold well, my father ridiculed my efforts and discouraged me from proceeding.

Perception of Self Flattered by the public response to his writing but inept as a balladeer and poet.

Perception of Others (Brother) Encouraged him to write ballads; (Father) discouraged him from proceeding further and ridiculed his efforts.

Major Issue (1) Master failure (not talented as a poet); (2) respect from his father.

Process Interpretation EM 1 focuses on defects in Franklin’s judgment when he appropriated a builder’s stones to construct his own wharf. EM 2 describes his attempt to initiate a career as a balladeer, which his brother encouraged but his father discouraged. In the first case, Franklin erred on his own; in the second, his error was encouraged by his brother. It appears that an issue of personal responsibility may be emerging, except that the greater emphasis seems to be on gaining his father’s approval, which was withheld in both memories.

Comment It appears that there is an issue specifically with Franklin’s father: The first two memories both focus on a conflict with his father in which Franklin’s judgment and personal ethics were called into question (EM 1)

Table 1: Franklin's early memories procedure as extracted from his autobiography: Part I—spontaneous memories (continued).

and his choices and self-perception were challenged (EM 2). Two explanations are possible: that there was substantial ongoing tension in Franklin's relationship with his father or that his father, as drawn in Franklin's memories, symbolically expressed Franklin's own internal conflicts. These competing explanations are not mutually exclusive. If the conflict was both external and internal, we are likely to hear more about Franklin's father in subsequent memories.

EM 3

There was another bookish lad in the town, John Collings by name, with whom I was intimately acquainted. We sometimes disputed, and very fond we were of argument, and very desirous of confuting one another, which disputatious turn, by the way, is apt to become a very bad habit, making people often extremely disagreeable in company by the contradiction that is necessary to bring it into practice: and thence, besides souring and spoiling the conversation, is productive of disgusts and, perhaps enmities where you have occasion for friendship. . . .

A question was once, somehow or other, started between Collins and me, of the propriety of education the female sex in learning, and their abilities for study. He was of opinion that it was improper, and that they were naturally unequal to it. I took the contrary side, perhaps a little for dispute's sake. He was naturally more eloquent, had a ready plenty of words; and sometimes, as I thought, bore me down more by his fluency than by the strength of his reason. As we parted without settling the point, and were not to see one another again for some time, I sat down to put my arguments in writing, which I copied fair and sent to him. He answered, and I replied. Three or four letters of a side had passed, when my father happened to find my papers and read them. Without entering into the discussion, he took occasion to talk to me about the manner of my writing; observed that, although I had advantage of my antagonist in correct spelling and pointing (which I ow'd to the printing-house), I fell far short in elegance of expression, in method and in perspicuity, of which he convinced me by several instances. I saw the justice of his remarks, and thence grew more attentive to the manner in writing, and determined to endeavor at improvement (pp. 12–13).

Age Approximately 12.

Affect Rating 3 (mildly negative, from unsolicited criticism).

Precis (General) When I tried to improve myself, I was found wanting but decided to continue my studies.

Perception of Self Fond of disputing, having initiative, persistent, hard working, but not yet good enough.

Perception of Others (Father) Intrusive (Franklin did not ask his father for an opinion; his father "happened to find my papers"), critical of Franklin's writing style and of his ability to express himself clearly and effectively.

Major Issue Repeats EM 2.

Process Interpretation Review *Process Interpretation*, EM2 first. The evidence is accumulating that Franklin sorely needed his father's approval and acceptance; the evidence for an issue with personal responsibility, conversely, diminishes with this memory. Franklin accepted his father's criticism and worked to improve his skills. In the pages immediately following, Franklin described one technique he used to improve his "arrangements of thoughts" (p. 14).

Comment Most people would feel anger about an uninvited paternal intrusion in such circumstances, but not Franklin. He appeared to grasp his father's good intentions and transcended the irritation that he must have felt. His reaction implies that he had done some internal work with himself, which had increased his openness to change.

EM 4

When about 16 years of age I happened to meet with a book, written by one Tryon, recommending a vegetable diet. I determined to go into it. My brother, being yet unmarried, did not keep house, but boarded himself and his apprentices in another family. My refusing to eat flesh occasioned an inconveniency, and I was frequently chid for my singularity. I made myself acquainted with Tryon's manner of preparing some of his dishes, such as boiling potatoes or rice, making hasty pudding, and a few others, and then proposed to my brother, that if he would give me, weekly, half the money he paid for my board, I would board myself. He instantly agreed to it, and I presently found that I could save half what he paid me. This was an additional fund for buying books. But I had

Table 1: Franklin's early memories procedure as extracted from his autobiography: Part I—spontaneous memories (continued).

another advantage in it. My brother and the rest going from the printing house to their meals, I remained there alone, and dispatching presently my light repast, which often was no more than a basket or a slice of bread, a handful of raisins or a tart from the pastry-cook's, and a glass of water, had the rest of the time till their return for study, in which I made the greater progress, from that greater clearness of head and quicker apprehension which usually attend temperance in eating and drinking (pp. 14–15).

Age 16.

Affect Rating 5 (mildly positive; the emphasis appears to be on creatively avoiding criticism for his individuality rather than being criticised—"I was frequently chid for my singularity").

Precis When I focused on correcting my deficits and developed "win/win" stratagems for enlisting the cooperation of others, I found that I made greater progress than before.

Perception of Self Resolved to acquire the resources needed and make the adjustments necessary to achieve his goals, assertive and an excellent negotiator, adept at using win/win strategies.

Perception of Others (Brother) Willing to cooperate if he gained by it, but critical of Franklin's individuality if it inconvenienced him.

Major Issue³ This appears to be a positive affect memory; such memories do not depict a major unresolved issue but rather often point to how the issue can be resolved. Here, Franklin emphasised single-mindedness, frugality, artful negotiation, lifestyle modifications, and determination as he problem solved.

Process Interpretation In EMs 1 to 3, Franklin attempted various endeavors and was found wanting in some respect by his father. In EM 4, he redoubled his efforts and made a commitment to do whatever was necessary to provide himself with the resources he needed to achieve his goal. In this memory, he took responsibility for his difficulties; he did not blame his brother but rather sought a creative solution that his brother could sanction and support, not criticise as he had in the past (e.g., Franklin's vegetarianism). Note that in each of his first four memories, Franklin was criticised by someone, either his father (EM 1, EM 2, EM 3) or his brother (EM 4). Memories involving criticisms point to underlying narcissistic injuries that must be processed, else self-confidences and self-esteem remain compromised

EM 5

And now it was that, being on some occasion made asham'd of my ignorance in figures, which I had twice failed in learning when at school, I took Cocker's book of Arithmetick, and went through the whole by myself with great ease. I also read Seller's and Shermey's books of Navigation, and became acquainted with the little geometry they contain; but never proceeded far in that science (p. 15).

Age Approximately 16.

Affect Rating 6 (moderately positive) or 7 (very positive).

Precis When I run into difficulties, I keep trying; eventually I succeed.

Perception of Self Persistent, counterphobic with regard to failure experiences, self-motivated, self-directed, determined to succeed.

Major Issue See EM 4. Again, this is a positive affect memory, so there are no unresolved issues. This memory and its predecessor both reflect high achievement needs, which often coexist with issues involving master failure for persons who have not become overly discouraged by failure.

Process Interpretation Review EM 4. The only difference between the two memories is that EM 5 involves a clear failure experience—Franklin himself said that he "twice failed." In this memory, he appears to be saying that once he reorganised his life so that he gave himself the opportunity to succeed (EM 4), he had the internal resources to overcome even his biggest nemesis, figures (EM 5).

Table 1: Franklin's early memories procedure as extracted from his autobiography: Part I—spontaneous memories (continued).

EM 6

While I was intent on improving my language, I met with an English grammar (I think it was Greenwood's), at the end of which there were two little sketches of the arts of rhetoric and logic, the latter finishing with a specimen of a dispute in the Socratic method; and soon after I procur'd Xenophon's Memorable Things of Socrates, wherein there are many instances of the same method. I was charm'd with it, adopted it, dropt my abrupt contradiction and positive argumentation, and put on the humble inquirer and doubter. And being then, from reading Shaftesbury and Collins, become a real doubter in many points of our religious doctrine, I found this method safest for myself and very embarrassing to those against whom I used it; therefore I took a delight in it, practis'd it continually, and grew very artful and expert in drawing people, even of superior knowledge, into concessions, the consequences of which they did not foresee, entangling them in difficulties out of which they could not extricate themselves, and so obtaining victories that neither myself nor my cause always deserved. I continu'd this method for some few years, but gradually left it, retaining only the habit of expressing myself in terms of modest diffidence; never using, when I advanced anything that may possibly be disputed, the words certainly, undoubtedly, or any others that give the air of positiveness to an opinion; but rather say, I conceive or apprehend a thing to be so and so; it appears to me, or I should think it so or so, for such and such reasons; or I imagine it to be so; or it is so, if I am not mistaken. This habit, I believe, has been of great advantage to me when I have had occasion to inculcate my opinions, and persuade men into measures that I have been from time to time engag'd in promoting; and as the chief ends of conversation are to inform or to be informed, to please or persuade, I wish well-meaning, sensible men would not lessen their power of doing good by a positive, assuming manner, that seldom fails to disgust, tends to create opposition, and to defeat every one of those purposes for which speech was given to us, to wit, giving or receiving information or pleasure (pp.15–16).

Age Approximately 16.

Affect Rating 6 or 7 (moderately or very positive, from having the upper hand intellectually).

Precis (General) Persuasion is best accomplished through a modest conversational style; argumentation and similar forms of win/lose communication conventions often antagonise and alienate the very audience one seeks to influence. (Specific) Although I adopted for a time Socratic methods, I came to view the use of such techniques as antithetic to the useful goals of communication.

Perception of Self Competitive and intellectually aggressive as a young man, but prepared to adopt self-effacing techniques to persuade his fellows; willing to trade power for effectiveness.

Major Issue See EM 4. This again appears to be positive affect memory. In this memory, achievement needs are again prominent. Franklin valued effectiveness and influence over power and stood ready to sacrifice the latter for the former.

Process Interpretation Once Franklin demonstrated his individual prowess and acquired a reputation as someone to be reckoned with, he began to realise that individual achievements (EM 5 and the first part of EM 6) and the domination of others were less satisfying than becoming a player in his community. Having acquired the power that he thought he wanted, he discovered that being able to influence others was far more valuable to his long-term cause

EM 7

He [Franklin's brother] had some ingenious men among his friends, who amus'd themselves by writing little pieces for this paper, which gain'd it credit and made it more in demand, and these gentlemen often visited us. Hearing their conversations, and their accounts of the approbation their papers were received with, I was excited to try my hand among them; but, being still a boy, and suspecting that my brother would object to printing anything of mine in his paper if he knew it to be mine, I contrived to disguise my hand, and, writing an anonymous paper, I put it in at night under the door of the printing-house. It was found in the morning, and communicated to his writing friends when they call'd in as usual. They read it, commented on it in my hearing, and I had the exquisite pleasure of finding it met with their approbation, and that, in their different guesses at the author, none were named but men of some character among us for learning and ingenuity. I suppose now that I was rather lucky in my judges, and that perhaps they were not really so very good ones as I then esteem'd them (pp. 17–18).

Table 1: Franklin's early memories procedure as extracted from his autobiography: Part I—spontaneous memories (continued).

Age Approximately 16.

Affect Rating 7 (very positive).

Precis When my work is praised by men of substance and standing, I find myself questioning their status.

Perception of Self Not as capable as some held him to be.

Perception of Others (Brother's ingenious friends) Lacking in judgment, once they approved of his work.

Major Issues See EM 4. Again, this appears to be a positive affect memory, so there are no unresolved issues. Still, Franklin's doubtful response to a positive experience leaves one wondering about issues with mastery, especially respecting self-confidence and self-esteem.

Process Interpretation Franklin learned that argumentation is self-defeating in that it offends others and alienates them (EM 6). He then turned his attention to writing pieces for his brother's paper. When he experienced success, he began to question the judgment of his brother's friends. Note that Franklin was struggling with his own judgment (especially in EM 1) and already had discussed the defects in his writing as viewed by his father (EM 3). Since his father was critical of his writing and Franklin agreed with his father, it is nearly a foregone conclusion that he would not be able to accept wholeheartedly the approval of others.

EM 8

Encourag'd, however, by this [approval], I wrote and convey'd in the same way to the press several more papers which were equally approv'd; and I kept my secret till my small fund of sense for such performances was pretty well exhausted, and then I discovered it, when I began to be considered a little more by my brother's acquaintance, and in a manner that did not quite please him, as he thought, probably with reason, that it tended to make me too vain. And, perhaps, this might be one occasion of the differences that we began to have about this time. Though a brother, he considered himself as my master, and me as his apprentice, and accordingly, expected the same services from me as he would from another, while I thought he demean'd me too much in some he requir'd of me, who from a brother expected more indulgence. Our disputes were often brought before our father, and I fancy I was either generally in the right, or else a better pleader, because the judgment was generally in my favor. But my brother was passionate, and had often beaten me, which I took extremely amiss; and, thinking my apprenticeship very tedious, I was continually wishing for some opportunity of shortening it, which at length offered in a manner unexpected [Franklin inserted this footnote here: "I fancy his harsh and tyrannical treatment of me might be a means of impressing me with that aversion to arbitrary power that has struck to me through my whole life."]

One of the pieces in our newspaper on some political point, which I have now forgotten, gave offense to the Assembly. He was taken up, censur'd, and imprison'd for a month, by the speaker's warrant, I suppose, because he would not discover his author. I too was taken up and examin'd before the council; but, tho' I did not give them any satisfaction, they content'd themselves with admonishing me, and dismissed me, considering me, perhaps, as an apprentice, who was bound to keep his master's secrets.

During my brother's confinement, which I resented a good deal, notwithstanding our private differences, I had the management of the paper; and I made bold to give our rulers some rubs in it, which my brother took very kindly, while others began to consider me in an unfavorable light, as a young genius that had a turn for libeling and satyr. My brother's discharge was accompany'd with an order of the House (a very odd one), that "James Franklin should no longer print the paper called the New England Courant."

There was a consultation held in our printing-house among his friends, what he should do in this case. Some proposed to evade the order by changing the name of the paper; but my brother, seeing inconveniences in that, it was finally concluded on as a better way, to let it be printed for the future under the name of Benjamin Franklin; and to avoid the censure of the Assembly, that might fall on him as still printing it by his apprentice, the contrivance was that my old indenture should be return'd to me, with a full discharge on the back of it, to be shown on occasion, but to secure to him the benefit of my service, I was to sign new indentures for the remainder of the term, which were to be kept private. A very flimsy scheme it was; however, it was immediately executed, and the paper went on accordingly, under my name for several months.

Table 1: Franklin's early memories procedure as extracted from his autobiography: Part I—spontaneous memories (continued).

At length, a fresh difference arising between my brother and me, I took upon me to assert my freedom, presuming that he would not venture to produce the new indentures. It was not fair in me to take this advantage, and this I therefore reckon one of the first errata of my life; but the unfairness of it weighed little with me, when under the impressions of resentment for the blows his passion too often urged him to bestow upon me, though he was otherwise not ill-natur'd man: perhaps I was too saucy and provoking (pp. 18–20).

Age 17.

Affect Rating 2 (moderately negative; “*one of the first errata of my life*”).

Precis (General) When others mistreat me, I am tempted to reciprocate when I have an opportunity. (Specific) Because my brother physically abused me in the past, I took advantage of his political problems and unfairly broke my indenture with him.

Perception of Self Physically abused by his brother and therefore sensitive to tyrannical treatment, antagonistic regarding the arbitrary use of power by authority, “*a young genius*” gifted with a talent for “*libeling and satyr*,” stubborn, “*too saucy and provoking*.”

Perception of Others (Power structure) Unfair toward his brother, repressive, tyrannical; (Brother) Hot-tempered in relation to Franklin as well as physically abusive, tyrannical.

Major Issue Judgment—associated with having been physically abused by his brother.

Process Interpretation Several memories involve issues with judgment (EM 1) and self-confidence (especially EM 2, EM 3). EM 8 suggests that some of Franklin's anger, rashness, and lack of confidence was associated with his having been abused by his brother. The energy behind his talent for “*libeling and satyr*” of authority appears to be associated, at least in part, with his feelings toward his brother and the heavy-handed treatment he received from his brother.

Comment Franklin never mentioned the nature of the “*difficulty*” that caused him to part company with his brother. Considering how specific he was at other times, I find this curious. Jumping ahead to EM 9, I note that Franklin's father sided with Franklin's brother—atypically, by Franklin's account—which strongly suggests that Franklin lacked cause in this particular incident in asserting his freedom. My surmise is that Franklin did not let the proverbial facts get in the way: He had been beaten enough and wanted out, even if his cause in this particular case lacked merit.

Final Thought Franklin's ability to look at the whole situation involving himself and his brother and father and apprehend what each contributed is impressive (“*perhaps I was too saucy and provoking*”). He was perhaps thus able to let go of some of his hostility toward his brother and allow himself to heal—without benefit of psychotherapy!

EM 9

When he [Franklin's brother] found I would leave him, he took care to prevent my getting employment in any other printing-house in town, by going round and speaking to every master, who accordingly refus'd to give me work. I then thought of going to New York, as the nearest place where there was a printer; and I was rather inclin'd to leave Boston when I reflected that I had already made myself a little obnoxious to the governing party, and, from the arbitrary proceedings of the Assembly in my brother's case, it was likely I might, if I stay'd, soon bring myself into scrapes; and farther, that my indiscrete disputations about religion began to make me pointed at with horror by good people as an infidel or atheist. I determin'd on the point, but my father now siding with my brother, I was sensible that, if I attempted to go openly, means would be used to prevent me. My friend Collins, therefore, undertook to manage a little for me. He agreed with the captain of a New York sloop for my passage, under the notion of my being a young acquaintance of his that got a naughty girl with child, whose friends would compel me to marry her, and therefore I could not appear or come away publicly. So I sold some of my books to raise a little money, was taken on board privately, and as we had a fair wind, in three days I found myself in New York, near 300 miles from home, a boy of but 17, without the least recommendation to, or knowledge of any person in the place, and with very little money in my pocket.

Table 1: Franklin's early memories procedure as extracted from his autobiography: Part I—spontaneous memories (continued).

My inclinations for the sea were by this time worn out, or I might now have gratify'd them. But, having a trade, and supposing myself to be a pretty good workman, I offer'd my service to the printer in the place, old Mr. William Bradford, who had been the first printer in Pennsylvania, but removed from thence upon the quarrel of George Keith. He could give me no employment having little to do, and help enough already; but says he, "my son at Philadelphia has lately lost his principal hand, Aquila Rose, by death; if you go thither, I believe he may employ you." Philadelphia was a hundred miles further; I set out, however, in a boat for Amboy, leaving my chest and things to follow me round by sea.

In crossing the bay, we met with a squall that tore our rotten sails to pieces, prevented our getting into the Kill, and drove us upon Long Island. In our way, a drunken Dutchman, who was a passenger too, fell overboard; when he was sinking, I reached through the water to his shock pate, and drew him up, so that he got him in again. His ducking sobered him a little, and he went to sleep, taking first out of his pocket a book, which he desir'd I would dry for him. [Franklin proceeded to discuss the book and its rhetorical devices, which met his approval.]

When we drew near the island, we found it was at a place where there could be no landing, there being a great surf on the stony beach. So we dropt anchor, and swung round towards the shore. Some people came down to the water edge and hallow'd to us, as we did to them; but the wind was so high, and the surf so loud, that we could not hear so as to understand each other. There were canoes on the shore, and we made signs, and hallow'd that they should fetch us; but they either did not understand us, or thought it impracticable, so they went away, and night coming on, we had no remedy but to wait till the wind should abate; and, in the mean time, the boatman and I concluded to sleep, if we could; and so crowded into the scuttle, with the Dutchman, who was still wet, and the spray beating over the head of our boat, leak'd thro' to us, so that we were soon almost as wet as he. In this manner we lay all night, with very little rest; but, the wind abating the next day, we made a shift to reach Amboy before night, having been thirty hours on the water, without victuals, or any drink but a bottle of filthy rum, the water we sail'd on being salt.

In the evening I found myself very feverish, and went into bed; but, having read somewhere that cold water drank plentifully was good for a fever, I follow'd the prescription, sweat plentiful most of the night, my fever left me, and in the morning, crossing the ferry, I proceeded on my journey on foot, having fifty miles to Burlington, where I was told I should find boats that would carry me the rest of the way to Philadelphia.

It rained very hard all the day; I was thoroughly soak'd, and by noon a great deal tired; so I stopt at a poor inn, where I staid all night, beginning now to wish that I had never left home [emphasis added]. I cut so miserable a figure, too, that I found, by the questions ask'd me, I was suspected to be some runaway servant, and in danger of being taken up on that suspicion. However, I proceeded the next day, and got in the evening to an inn, within eight or ten miles of Burlington, kept by one Dr. Brown. He entered into conversation with me while I took some refreshment, and finding I had read a little, became very sociable and friendly. Our acquaintance continu'd as long as he liv'd. He had been, I imagine, an itinerant doctor, for there was no town in England, or country in Europe, of which he could not give a very particular account. He had some letters, and was ingenious, but much of an unbeliever, and wickedly undertook, some years after, to travestie the Bible in doggerel verse, as Cotton had done Virgil. By this means he set many of the facts in a very ridiculous light, and might have hurt weak minds if his work had been published; but it never was.

At his house I lay that night, and the next morning reach'd Burlington, but had the mortification to find that the regular boats were gone a little before my coming, and no other expected to go before Tuesday, this being Saturday; wherefore I returned to an old woman in the town, of whom I had bought gingerbread to eat on the water, and ask'd her advice. She invited me to lodge at her house till a passage by water should offer; and being tired with my foot traveling, I accepted the invitation. She understanding that I was a printer, would had me stay at that town and follow my business, being ignorant of the stock necessary to begin with. She was very hospitable, gave me a dinner of ox-cheek with great good will, accepting only of a pot of ale in return; and I thought myself fixed till Tuesday should come. However, walking in the evening by the side of the river, a boat came by, which I found was going towards Philadelphia, with several people in her. They took me in, and, as there was no wind, we row'd all the way; and about midnight, not having yet seen the city, some of the company were confident we must have passed it, and would row no farther; the others knew not where we were; so we put toward the shore, got into a creek, landed near an old fence, with the rails of which we made a fire, the night being cold, in October, and there we remained till daylight. Then one of the company knew the place to be Cooper's Creek, a little above Philadelphia, which we saw as soon as we got out of the creek, and arriv'd there about eight or nine o'clock on the Sunday morning, and landed.

Table 1: Franklin's early memories procedure as extracted from his autobiography: Part I—spontaneous memories (continued).

at the Market-street wharf

I have been the more particular in this description of my journey, and shall be so of my first entry into that city, that you may in your mind compare such unlikely beginnings with the figure I have since made there. I was in my working dress, my best clothes being to come round by sea. I was dirty from my journey; my pockets were stuff'd out with shirts and stockings, and I knew no soul nor where to look for lodging. I was fatigued with traveling, rowing, and want of rest, I was very hungry; and my whole stock of cash consisted of a Dutch dollar, and about a shilling in copper. The latter I gave the people of the boat for my passage, who at first refus'd it, on account of my rowing; but I insisted on their taking it. A man being sometimes more generous when he has but a little money than when he has plenty, perhaps thro' fear of being thought to have but little. Then I walked up the street, gazing about till near the market-house I met a boy with bread. I had made many a meal on bread, and, inquiring where he got it, I went immediately to the baker's he directed me to, in Second-street, and ask'd for bisket, intending such as we had in Boston; but they, it seems, were not made in Philadelphia. Then I asked for a three-penny loaf, and was told they had none such. So not considering or knowing the difference of money, and the greater cheapness nor the names of his bread, I bad him give me three penny worth of any sort. He gave me, accordingly, three great puffy rolls. I was surpris'd at the quantity, but took it, and, having no room in my pockets, walk'd off with a roll under each arm, and eating the other. Thus I went up Market-street as far as Fourth-street, passing by the door of Mr. Read, my future wife's father; when she, standing at the door, saw me, and thought I made, as I certainly did, a most awkward, ridiculous appearance. Then I turned and went down Chestnut-street and part of Walnut-street, eating my roll all the way, and coming round, found myself again at Market-street wharf, near the boat I came in, to which I went for a draught of the river water; and being filled with one of my rolls, gave the other two to a woman and her child that came down the river in the boat with us, and we were waiting to go farther.

Thus refreshed, I walked again up the street, which by this time had many clean-dressed people in it, who were all walking the same way. I joined them, and thereby was led into the great meeting-house of the Quakers near the market. I sat down among them, and, after looking round awhile and hearing nothing said, . . . I fell fast asleep, and continued so till the meeting broke up, when one was kind enough to rouse me. This was therefore, the first house I was in, or slept in, in Philadelphia.

Walking down again toward the river, and, looking in the faces of people, I met a young Quaker man, whose countenance I lik'd, and, accosting him, requested he would tell me where a stranger could get lodging. We were then near the sign of the Three Mariners. "Here," says he, "is one place that entertains strangers, but it is not a reputable house; if thee wilt walk with me, I'll show thee a better." He brought me to the Crooked Billet in Water-street. Here I got a dinner; and, while I was eating it, several sly questions were asked me, as it seemed to be suspected from my youth and appearance, that I might be some runaway.

After dinner, my sleepiness return'd, and being shown to a bed, I lay down without undressing, and slept till six in the evening, was call'd to supper, went to bed again very early, and slept soundly till next morning. Then I made myself as tidy as I could, and went to Andrew Bradford the printer's. I found in the shop the old man his father, whom I had seen at New York, and who, traveling on horseback, had got to Philadelphia before me. He introduc'd me to his son, who receiv'd me civilly, gave me a breakfast, but told me he did not at present want a hand, being lately suppli'd with one; but there was another printer in town, lately set up, one Keimer, who, perhaps, might employ me; if not, I should be welcome to lodge at his house, and he would give me a little work to do now and then till fuller business should offer.

The old gentleman said he would go with me to the new printer; and when we found him, "Neighbor," says Bradford, "I have brought to see you a young man of your business; perhaps you may want such a one." He ask'd me a few questions, put a composing stick in my hand to see how I work'd, and then said he would employ me soon, though he had just then nothing for me to do; and, taking old Bradford, whom he had never seen before, to be one of the town's people that had a good will for him, enter'd into a conversation on his present undertaking and prospects; while Bradford, not discovering that he was the other printer's father, on Keimer's saying he expected soon to get the greatest part of the business into his own hands, drew him on by artful questions, and starting little doubts, to explain all his views, what interest he reli'd on, and in what manner he intended to proceed. I, who stood by and heard all, saw immediately that one of them was a crafty old sophister, and the other a mere novice. Bradford left me with Keimer, who was greatly surprised when I told him who the old man was (pp.20–26).

Age 17.

Table 1: Franklin's early memories procedure as extracted from his autobiography: Part I—spontaneous memories (continued).

Affect Rating 2 (moderately negative).

Precis Before I undertake a course of action, it is prudent to weigh the risks and consequences.

Perception of Self Indiscreet regarding religious disputations, obnoxious in the eyes of the Boston governing party, rash and impulsive about leaving Boston without adequate plans for employment.

Perception of Others (Brother) Vindictive (blackballed Franklin from obtaining employment in Boston); (Father) aligned with Franklin's brother against him on the matter of Franklin's breaking his apprenticeship; (Old Mr. Bradford) helpful, but a sly and crafty questioner; (Keimer) naive, too open, overly trusting, innocent.

Major Issue Judgment.

Process Interpretation In EM 8, Franklin alienated much of the Boston power structure. When a rift developed between Franklin and his brother, his father sided with his brother, leaving Franklin with nothing to do but leave Boston or make peace with his brother on extremely disadvantageous terms. In EM 9, Franklin paid for his poor judgment by nearly losing his life in a storm, becoming ill with a fever, and having to travel all the way to Philadelphia to secure employment.

Comment It is interesting to note that Keimer's poor judgment in revealing his plans to the father of his only competitor mirrors Franklin's corresponding issue with judgment in this memory. Franklin's following comments on p. 27 note that neither Keimer nor Bradford was qualified to operate a printing business—again, an issue of judgment. Notice also the length of the memory, which conveys its importance. Structurally, the memory summons the consequences of Franklin's poor judgment in the past, which has left him in a vulnerable position to begin his career as a 17-year-old adult: alone, penniless, without references, and with not so much as a friend in the world in his new home.

Side Thought Note all of Franklin's observations regarding his appearance—of what a sorry sight he was entering Philadelphia, of having his pockets bulging with dirty underwear, and so forth. Appearances were most important to Franklin, and he could barely strike a poorer note coming to Philadelphia.

EM 10

I began now to have some acquaintance among the young people of the town [Philadelphia], that were lovers of reading, with whom I spent my evenings very pleasantly; and gaining money by my industry and frugality, I lived very agreeably, forgetting Boston as much as I could, and not desiring that any there should know where I resided, except my friend Collins, who was in my secret, and kept it when I wrote to him. At length, an incident happened that sent me back again much sooner than I had intended. I had a brother-in-law, Robert Holmes, master of a sloop that traded between Boston and Delaware. He being at Newcastle, forty miles below Philadelphia, heard there of me, and wrote me a letter mentioning the concern of my friends in Boston at my abrupt departure, assuring me of their good will to me, and that everything would be accommodated to my mind if I would return, to which he exhorted me very earnestly. I wrote an answer to his letter, thank'd him for his advice, but stated my reasons for quitting Boston fully and in such a light as to convince him I was not so wrong as he had apprehended.

Sir William Keith, governor of the province, was then at Newcastle, and Captain Holmes, happening to be in company with him when my letter came to hand, spoke to him of me, and show'd him the letter. The governor read it and seem'd surpris'd when he was told of my age. He said I appear'd a young man of promising parts, and therefore should be encouraged; the printers at Philadelphia were wretched ones; and, if I would set up there, he made no doubt I should succeed; for his part, he would procure me the public business, and do me every other service in his power. This my brother-in-law afterwards told me in Boston, but I knew as yet nothing of it; when, one day, Keimer and I being at work together near the window, we saw the governor and another gentleman [Colonel French], finely dress'd, come directly across the street to our house, and heard them at the door.

Keimer ran down immediately, thinking it a visit to him; but the governor inquir'd for me, came up, and with a condescension and politeness I had been quite unus'd to, made me many compliments, desired to be acquainted with me, blam'd me kindly for not having made myself known to him when I first came to the place, and would have me away with him to the tavern, where he was going with Colonel French to taste, as he said, some excellent Madeira.

Table 1: Franklin's early memories procedure as extracted from his autobiography: Part I—spontaneous memories (continued).

I was not a little surprised, and Keimer star'd like a pig poison'd. I went, however, with the governor and Colonel French to a tavern, at the corner of Third-street, and over the Madeira he propos'd my setting up my business, laid before me the probabilities of success, and both he and Colonel French assur'd me I should have their interest and influence in procuring the public business of both governments. On my doubting whether my father would assist me in it, Sir William said he would give me a letter to him, in which he would state the advantages, and he did not doubt of prevailing with him. So it was concluded I should return to Boston in the first vessel, with the governor's letter recommending me to my father. In the mean time the intention was to be kept a secret, and I went on working with Keimer as usual, the governor sending for me now and then to dine with him, a very great honor I thought it, and conversing with me in the most affable, familiar, and friendly manner imaginable.

About the end of April, 1724, a little vessel offer'd for Boston. I took leave of Keimer as going to see my friends. The governor gave me an ample letter, saying many flattering things of me to my father, and strongly recommending the project of my setting up at Philadelphia as a thing that must make my fortune. We struck on a shoal in going down the bay, and sprung a leak; we had a blustering time at sea, and were oblig'd to pump almost continually, at which I took my turn. We arriv'd safe, however, at Boston in about a fortnight. I had been absent seven months, and my friends had heard nothing of me; for my br. Holmes was not yet return'd, and had not written about me. My unexpected appearance surprize'd the family; all were, however, very glad to see me, and made me welcome, except my brother. I went to see him at his printing-house. I was better dress'd than ever while in his service, having a genteel new suit from head to foot, a watch, and my pockets lin'd with near five pounds sterling in silver. He receiv'd me not very frankly, look'd me all over, and turn'd to his work again.

The journeymen were inquisitive where I had been, what sort of a country it was, and how I lik'd it. I prais'd it much, and the happy life I led in it, expressing strongly my intention of returning to it; and, one of them asking what kind of money we had there, I produc'd a handful of silver, and spread it before them, which was a kind of raree-show they had not been us'd to, paper being the money of Boston. Then I took an opportunity of letting them see my watch; and lastly (my brother still glum and sullen), I gave them a piece of eight to drink, and took my leave. This visit of mine offended him extreamly; for, when my mother sometime after spoke to him of a reconciliation, and of her wishes to see us on good terms together, and that we might live for the future as brothers, he said I had insulted him in such a manner before his people that he could never forget or forgive it. In this, however, he was mistaken.

My father received the governor's letter with some apparent surprise, but said little of it to me for some days, when Capt. Holmes returning he showed it to him, ask'd him if he knew Keith, and what kind of man he was; adding his opinion that he must be of small discretion to think of setting a boy up in business who wanted yet three years of being at man's estate. Holmes said what he could in favor of the project, but my father was clear in the impropriety of it, and at last gave a flat denial to it. Then he wrote a civil letter to Sir William, thanking him for the patronage he had so kindly offered me, but declining to assist me as yet in setting up, I being, in his opinion, too young to be trusted with the management of a business so important, and for which the preparation must be so expensive.

My friend and companion Collins, who was a clerk in the post-office, pleas'd with the account I gave him of my new country, determin'd to go thither also; and, while I waited for my father's determination, he set out before me by land to Rhode Island, leaving his books, which were a pretty collection of mathematicks and natural philosophy, to come with mine and me to New York, where he propos'd to wait for me.

My father, tho' he did not approve Sir Williams' proposition, was yet pleas'd that I had been able to obtain so advantageous a character from a person of such note where I had resided, and that I had been so industrious and careful as to equip myself so handsomely in so short a time; therefore, seeing no prospect of an accommodation between my brother and me, he gave his consent to my returning again to Philadelphia, advis'd me to behave respectfully to the people there, endeavor to obtain the general esteem, and avoid lampooning and libeling, to which he thought I had too much inclination; telling me, that by steady industry and a prudent parsimony I might save enough by the time I was one-and-twenty to set me up; and that, if I cam near the matter, he would help me out with the rest. This was all I could obtain, except some small gifts as tokens of his and my mother's love, when I embarked again for new York, now with their approbation and their blessing (pp. 27–31).

Age 18.

Affect Rating 3 (mildly negative, from father's lack of commitment, although an argument could be mustered for positives associated with his triumphant return to Boston outweighing the former).

Table 1: Franklin's early memories procedure as extracted from his autobiography: Part I—spontaneous memories (continued).

Precis Although highly placed individuals in the community respected me, my father remained skeptical, believing that I had too much of an inclination to libel, provoke, and otherwise alienate myself from the community.

Perception of Self Provocative, especially to his brother, but nonetheless misunderstood by him; a flashy dresser; able to impress those in authority (except his father and brother).

Perception of Others (Brother) Hypersensitive and easily offended; (Governor Keith) enthusiastically supportive, quite impressed by Franklin; (Father) extremely doubtful about Franklin's ability to get along with others without eventually offending and alienating them.

Major Issues (1) Judgment, (2) impulse control (anger), (3) acceptance.

Process Interpretation In EM 9, Franklin alienated his brother and was forced to leave Boston to maintain his employment in the printing industry. In EM 10, he began to make a life for himself in Philadelphia. He made a favorable impression on the governor, who recommended Franklin to the young man's father and promised to send printing to him if he set up shop. Nevertheless, Franklin's father, who remained dubious of Franklin's change in character despite the governor's effusive recommendation, refused to underwrite the proposed printing business. However, he did encourage his son to save his money and to cultivate good relationships in his adopted city. In sum, Franklin did not gain his father's patronage, but he at least left Boston with his father's blessing and encouragement.

Comment Governor Keith appears to represent a fragmentary, idealized version of Franklin's father, the father Franklin might have preferred at that time: supportive, encouraging, respectful of Franklin's ability and talent, and enthusiastic about Franklin's prospects. Franklin's relationship with Governor Keith served as a counterweight to his relationship with his father, whom Franklin drew as openly critical and difficult to please. His continuing focus on this highly ambivalent relationship emphasizes once more his difficulty with self-confidence as he struggled to gain his father's approval.

The memory is also noteworthy for the change between Franklin and his brother on Franklin's triumphant return to Boston. The term *provocative* fails to capture by easily nine tenths Franklin's gloating, "in your face" showboating for James's journeymen. Lavishly and without remorse, Franklin sowed the seeds of dissatisfaction in his brother's shop. Still, Franklin seemed oblivious to his role as provocateur: "He [James] said I had insulted him . . . before his people. . . . In this, however, he was mistaken" (p. 30). He was mistaken? It appears that Franklin had a blind spot in this area, especially when he felt wronged or mistreated.

EM 11

The sloop putting in at Newport, Rhode Island, I visited my brother John, who had been married and settled there some years. He received me very affectionately, for he always lov'd me. A friend of his, one Vernon, having some money due to him in Pennsylvania, about thirty-five pounds currency, desired I would receive it for him, and keep it till I had his directions what to remit it in. Accordingly, he gave me an order. This afterwards occasion'd me a great deal of uneasiness.

At Newport we took in a number of passengers for New York, among which were two young women, companions, and a grave, sensible, matron-like Quaker woman, with her attendants. I had shown an obliging readiness to do her some little services, which impress'd her I suppose with a degree of good will toward me; therefore, when she saw a daily growing familiarity between me and the two young women, which they appear'd to encourage, she took me aside, and said, "Young man, I am concern'd for thee, as thou has no friend with thee, and seems not to know much of the world, or of the snares youth is expos'd to; depend upon it, those are very bad women; I can see it in all their actions; and if thee art not upon thy guard, they will draw you into some danger; they are strangers to thee, and I advise thee, in a friendly concern for thy welfare, to have no acquaintance with them." As I seem'd at first not to think so ill of them as she did, she mentioned some things she had observ'd and heard that had escap'd my notice, but now convinc'd me she was right. I thank'd here for her kind advice, and promis'd to follow it. When we arrived at New York, they told me where they liv'd, and invited me to come and see them; but I avoided it, and it was well I did; for the next day the captain miss'd a silver spoon and some other things, that had been taken out of his cabin, and knowing that these were a couple of strumpets, he got a warrant to search their lodgings, found the stolen

Table 1: Franklin's early memories procedure as extracted from his autobiography: Part I—spontaneous memories (continued).

goods, and had the thieves punish'd. So, tho' we had escap'd a sunken rock, which we scrap'd upon in the passage, I though this escape of rather more importance to me.

At New York I found my friend Collins, who had arriv'd there some time before me. We have been intimate from children, and had read the same books together; but he had the advantage of more time for reading and studying, and a wonderful genius for mathematical learning, in which he far out-strip me. While I liv'd in Boston, most of my hours of leisure for conversation were spent with him, and he continu'd a sober as well as industrious lad; was much respected for his learning by several of the clergy and other gentleman, and seemed to promise making a good figure in life. But, during my absence, he had acquire'd a habit of sopping with brandy; and I found by his own account, and what I heard from others, that he had been drunk every day since his arrival at New York, and behaved very oddly. He had gam'd, too, and lost his money, so that I was oblig'd to discharge his lodgings, and defray his expenses to and at Philadelphia, which prov'd extremely inconvenient to me.

The then governor of New York, Burnet (son of Bishop Burnet), hearing from the captain that a young man, one of his passengers, had a great many books, desir'd he would bring me to see him. I waited upon him accordingly, and should have taken Collins with me but that he was not sober. The gov'r treated me with great civility, show'd me his library, which was a very large one, and we had a good deal of conversation about books and authors. This was the second governor who had done me the honor to take notice of me; which, to a poor boy like me, was very pleasing.

We proceeded to Philadelphia. I received on the way Vernon's money, without which we could hardly have finish'd our journey. Collins wished to be employ'd in some counting-house; but, whether they discover'd his dramming by his breath, or by his behaviour, tho' he had some recommendations, he met with no success in any application, and continu'd lodging and boarding at the same house with me, and at my expense. Knowing I had that money of Vernon's, he was continually borrowing of me, still promising repayment as soon as he should be in business. At length he had got so much of it that I was distress'd to think what I should do in case of being call'd on to remit it.

His drinking continu'd, about which we sometimes quarrell'd; for, when a little intoxicated, he was very fractious. Once in a boat on the Delaware with some other young men, he refused to row in his turn. "I will be row'd home," says he. "We will not row you," says I. "You must, or stay all night on the water," says he, "just as you please." The others said, "Let us row; what signifies it?" But, my mind being soured with his other conduct, I continu'd to refuse. So he swore he would make me row, or throw me overboard; and coming along, stepping on the thwarts, toward me, when he came up and struck at me, I clapped my hand under his crutch, and rising, pitched him head-foremost into the river. I knew he was a good swimmer, and so was under little concern about him; but before he could get round to lay hold of the boat, we had with a few strokes pull'd her out of his reach; and ever when he drew near the boat, we ask'd if he would row, striking a few strokes to slide away from him. He was ready to die with vexation, and obstinately would not promise to row. However, seeing him at last beginning to tire, we lifted him in and brought him home dripping wet in the evening. We hardly exchange'd a civil word afterwards, and a West India captain, who had a commission to procure a tutor for the sons of a gentleman at Barbadoes, happening to meet with him, agreed to carry him thither. He left me then, promising to remit me the first money he should receive in order to discharge the debt; but I never heard of him after.

The breaking into this money of Vernon's was one of the first great errata of my life; and this affair show'd that my father was not much out in his judgment when he suppos'd me too young to manage business of importance. But Sir William, on reading his letter, said he was too prudent. There was great difference in persons; and discretion did not always accompany years, nor was youth always without it. "And since he will not set you up," says he, "I will do it myself. Give me an inventory of the things necessary to be had from England, and I will send for them. You shall repay me when you are able; I am resolv'd to have a good printer here, and I am sure you must succeed." This was spoken with such an appearance of cordiality, that I had not the least doubt of his meaning what he said. I had hitherto kept the proposition of my setting up, a secret in Philadelphia, and I still kept it. Had it been known that I depended on the governor, probably some friend, that knew him better, would have advis'd me not to rely on him, as I afterwards heard it as his known character to be liberal of promises which he never mean to keep. Yet, unsolicited as he was by me, how could I think his generous offers insincere? I believed him one of the best men in the world (pp. 31–35).

Table 1: Franklin's early memories procedure as extracted from his autobiography: Part I—spontaneous memories (continued).

Age 18.

Affect Rating 1 (very negative, from spending Vernon's money, being used by Collins, and finally, being taken in by Sir Williams' promises).

Precis When I accepted an assignment, I failed completely. In a strikingly parallel manner, someone important to me failed in his commitment to me.

Perception of Self Naive in the ways of the world and lacking in street smarts (with the two girls, with Collins), overly credulous and trusting (with Governor Keith), lacking in judgment, unwilling to set limits (with Collins regarding paying his expenses), attentive toward the Quaker woman and helpful to her.

Perception of Others (Governor Keith) Seemingly generous in spirit and helpful but insincere regarding his commitments; (John, his older brother) affectionate toward Franklin, supportive; (Matronlike Quaker woman) warned Franklin against the thieving strumpets in a friendly and concerned manner; (Collins) in his youth, intellectually gifted and academically inclined, a good companion, but during the trip away from Boston and afterward, a drunk, gambler, and wastrel—abusive of his relationship with Franklin, untrustworthy, and completely unreliable.

Major Issues (1) Mastery failure/judgment, self-confidence; (2) trust (self and others).

Process Interpretation EM 10 ends with Franklin's triumphant return to Boston from exile; he also won his father's blessing to return to Philadelphia. Before Franklin left Boston, his father recommended prudence in Franklin's social dealings and frugality. Hardly out of Boston harbor, Franklin narrowly avoided falling in with two thieves; shortly after this incident, he squandered his money on Collins, a gambler, drunk, and deadbeat, who proceeded to leach Vernon's money from Franklin as well. In addition, Franklin put his trust in Governor Keith, without checking his reliability among Keith's friends, to set him up in the printing business in Philadelphia. In sum, Franklin's father's warnings went resoundingly unheeded. The memory brilliantly vivifies most of the negative remarks Franklin had heard from his father.

Comment There are stories within stories in this memory. As in a complex drama, Franklin recalled a series of subplots that mirror different facets of each other and lead us without hesitation to the focus of Franklin's by now evident preoccupation: the interaction between trust and judgment. The major point in this memory is that Franklin did not trust himself: "*The breaking into this money of Vernon's was one of the first great errata of my life, and this affair show'd that my father was not much out in his judgment when he supposed me too young to manage business of importance*" (p. 35). This premise, stripped to its essence, amounts to a central axiom in Franklin's personality organisation: "*I cannot trust my own judgment—father was right.*" In hindsight, we see the same premise operation in EM 1 and throughout: "*My judgment is defective—my father is right about me.*" Some of the more positive intervening memories reflect his attempt to do battle with his character defects: He studied hard, he mastered mathematics, and so on, but, try as he would, he continued, as he saw it, to make grossly defective judgments. He mastered satire, he practiced disputation that offended others, and so forth.

The subplot with the "*thieving strumpets*" reinforces our impression about judgment defects: Again, Franklin did not recognise the danger, and this time he needed a wiser, older woman to steer him away from folly. Just as he could trust himself, he learned in this partly symbolic journey away from his father's home that he could not trust others. The young women stole from the captain and nearly involved Franklin, Collins drank and gambled away his own and Franklin's money and lived off Vernon's until he could secure a position, and Governor Keith promised to loan Franklin money to set up a business but did not follow through. Life away from the relative security of Boston was rife with traps and snares, which only the prudent could avoid. Franklin, as he recollected it, ricocheted from one near calamity to within an eyelash of another, a proverbial innocent abroad, as he negotiated his Mr. Magoo-like passage to adulthood.

Note. For the affect ratings, I tried to estimate how Franklin would have rated his memory on Early Memories Procedure (EMP) rating scales (Bruhn, 1989, pp. 9–10).

Summary of Franklin's EMP

The protocol focuses primarily on Franklin's need to develop his judgment. In EM 1, he tested his judgment against his father's and came up wanting. In many respects, the memories as a group describe an individual who has unsuccessfully labored to meet a standard of influence set by his father, whom Franklin idolised (p. 8). As seen in EM 1, Franklin admired his father and sought to garner for himself the influence and prestige his father had in the community. Technically, the meta-issue (Bruhn, 1990b) is achievement, or, described more precisely, mastery failure/judgment. Franklin's unsuccessful attempts to gain recognition and respect and to develop the kind of influence he desired caused him much unhappiness and ultimately led him to secretly leave Boston. Put plainly, by age 17, Franklin had established himself as an obnoxious provocateur, something that he recognised most clearly in relation to his brother: "*Perhaps I was too saucy and provoking*" (p. 20).

Conversely, Franklin acquired through his many disappointments a talent for introspection that allowed him to gain perspective and to see himself as others did. Although Franklin made his fair share of what he called "*errata*" (p. 20), he also had the courage to look within and to make adjustments. He began to give up disputations, noting that whatever he gained in recognition and personal power he lost in reputation and respect. The people in his community did not appreciate Franklin's ability to poke holes in their fondly held religious convictions. As Franklin put it (EM 9), "*My indiscrete disputations about religion began to make me pointed at with horror by good people as an infidel or atheist*" (p. 20) - a sort of menace to the faith.

Although Franklin's apparent "conduct disorder" and related problems have interest to us, the CP model operates most effectively from a contemporary perspective: What issues were significant to Franklin at age 65, when he reconstructed his life? I return to achievement as a meta-issue, or what I have referred to as mastery failure/judgment. Next, I ask the following: What might have happened historically to have caused judgment to remain a major issue for Franklin at age 65? Several related possibilities emerge. First, it seems that Franklin tried to emulate his father's better qualities, especially his judgment (see *Comment*, EM 1). Next, his father was extremely critical of Franklin's judgment, which left Franklin with something to prove once his father made this an issue. Third, Franklin's father bound him to Franklin's brother when Franklin was 12 (p. 11), which occasioned his leaving home to board with his brother and his brother's other apprentices

(pp. 14–15). It was during this time that Franklin was physically abused by his brother (EM 8). My inference is that Franklin's problems with judgment were in part caused by his anger at having been abandoned by his father and abused by his brother. In other words, when certain kinds of events caused him to become angry, the quality of his judgment declined precipitously. It is also interesting as a side note that Franklin, like many individuals who have been abused, partly blamed himself for what happened: "*Perhaps I was too saucy and provoking*" (p. 20, EM 8).

We may also hypothesise as to what kept Franklin from resolving this issue, even at age 65. The most likely explanation is the nature of Franklin's work, which required not just passably adequate judgment but superb, world-class judgment. At this level of functioning, Franklin would also hear a lot about his "errors" from governmental bodies, the press, discussions with colleagues, and so forth. In other words, his decisions and how he went about implementing them were constantly under the microscope of public scrutiny, thus keeping alive the effect of old wounds inflicted by his father and the physical battering delivered by his brother. It must have been difficult to build confidence coming from the kind of life he had experienced. Whatever good he gained from people who respected him was beaten out of him by his brother or criticised out by his father. Although we are not privy to the specifics of the process that Franklin's father used to correct young Ben, from what little we know of this process, it does not sound particularly sensitive.

The CP model also emphasises the contribution of important needs as helping to determine which memories are recollected. In Franklin's protocol, achievement, attention/exhibition, power, and affiliation/acceptance needs emerge as most salient. Fortunately for Franklin, affiliation/acceptance must have been more powerful than achievement, attention/exhibition, and power combined, for he wanted to be accepted by important people, such as the governors and well-read, thoughtful people in the community. The need for acceptance by this group impelled him in a direction that would be positive and constructive for the community, as opposed to self-serving.

If I were asked to make a diagnosis for Franklin, my conclusion would almost certainly be posttraumatic stress disorder, associated with physical abuse by his brother. Although the EMP is not designed to derive diagnoses, I would next consider the possibility of some of the traits of narcissistic personality disorder, because of his preoccupation with mastery; his tendency to use his

intellect as an offensive weapon; and the frequency of hurt, anger, and disappointment in his protocol.

CEMSS-R Scoring of Franklin's First Three EMs

The predecessor to the Comprehensive Early Memories Scoring System–Revised (CEMSS-R; Last & Bruhn, 1992). the Comprehensive Early Memories Scoring System (CEMSS), was developed by Last and Bruhn (1983, 1985)⁴ as a general-purpose scoring system, analogous to Rorschach systems, to score EMs associated with Last's dissertation project. The authors reported some interesting and unanticipated parallels to Rorschach scoring. Subsequently, Bruhn refined and expanded the CEMSS. Another dissertation project (see Tobey & Bruhn, 1992) afforded an opportunity to test the revised CEMSS, which was surprisingly effective at differentiating violence-prone from nonviolence-prone psychiatric inmates. The present paper represents the first

chance to report on a CEMSS-R scoring of a lengthy protocol to illustrate how the system operates.

The CEMSS-R includes 10 major scoring categories. Some categories, such as Relation to Reality, are designed to assess a possible thought disorder. Others probe different aspects of object relations, and 1 offers an overall score for the same. Others assess whether the affect is positive or negative as well as its quality. The category most closely associated with the CP model, Content and Process Themes, attempts to identify issues that are ultimately associated with the meta-issue in process for the individual.

To illustrate the kind of information obtained from a CEMSS-R scoring, I decided, somewhat arbitrarily, to score Franklin's first three EMs, partly because all are relatively brief. The results are summarised in Table 2.

Table 2: CEMSS-R scoring of Franklin's first three EMs.

Category	EM1	EM2	EM3
I. Characters	B. Father E. Playmates	B. Father C. Brother E. Customer of brother	B. Father E. Friend/peer
II. Setting	A. Home (inferred) D. "Neighborhood"	A. Home (inferred) E. ("Town")	A. Home
III. Sensory–motor aspect	F. Motor	B. Auditory (ballads, poetry)	B. Auditory
IV. Relation to reality	5. Coherent and believable	5. Coherent and believable	5. Coherent and believable
V. Object relations	A. Perception of others: 2—need frustrator (father) B. Perception of self: 3—effective (albeit effects were misdirected) C. Perception of environment: 2—frustrating because of workman's complaints and father's action	A. Perception of others: 2—need frustrator (although his brother encouraged him, his father "discouraged me by ridiculing my performance"; p. 12) B. Perception of self: 3—effective (although Franklin's father ridiculed his efforts, one of his ballads "sold wonderfully"; p. 12) C. Perception of environment: 3—caring (perceived father's intent as helpful although his	A. Perception of others: 2—need frustrator (father, uninvited, criticised how Franklin wrote). B. Perception of self: 3—effective (although his father criticised his efforts) C. Perception of environment: 3—caring (perceived father's intent as helpful although

Table 2: CEMSS-R scoring of Franklin's first three EMs (continued)

Category	EM1	EM2	EM3
		method was ham fisted)	intrusive)
	D. Individual distinctiveness: 3—others were distinctive	D. Individual distinctiveness: 3—others were distinctive	D. Individual distinctiveness: 3—both Collins and father were distinctive
	E. Degree of interpersonal contact: 3—sustained interaction	E. Degree of interpersonal contact: 3—sustained interaction	E. Degree of interpersonal contact: 3—sustained interaction with both Collins and father
	Sum: 13, Level 4 (13–15)	Sum: 14, Level 4	Sum: 14, Level 4
VI. Active versus passive stance	1. Initiated action	1. Initiated action	1. Initiated action
VII. Content and process themes	A4. Mastery failure: Tried to achieve goal and failed (corrected by father for taking someone's stones to build a wharf). Note: C13, nonaggressive rule breaking, not scored because Franklin claimed to be unaware of the consequences of his actions	A4. Mastery failure: Tried to master the art of writing ballads; his efforts were ridiculed by his father, and he gave up	A4. Mastery failure: Tried to master written disputing; his father criticised his style
VIII. Affect	2. Moderately negative	1. Very negative (father ridiculed his efforts and he gave up	2. Moderately negative
IX. Type of affect	C1. Moderate anger or frustration	B2. Moderate depression associated with having failed	B1. Mild depression associated with being out-argued by Collins and criticised by father
X. Damage aspect	A. Self: 5—healthy (no evidence of punishment, which would warrant a score of 4 if minor	A. Self: 5—healthy	A. Self: 5—healthy
	B. Others: 5—healthy	B. Others: 1—the captain and his two daughters drowned	B. Others 5—healthy
	C. Animals: NA	C. Animals: NA	C. Animals: NA
	D. Inanimate objects: NA	D. Inanimate objects: NA	D. Inanimate objects: NA

Note. The Comprehensive Early Memories Scoring System–Revised (CEMSS-R) manual can be found in Tobey (1991) or obtained from the author.
NA = Not applicable.

Even the most cursory look reveals that Franklin's father is the focus of all three EMs, and in each case he was critical of his son. In EM 1, Franklin's father corrected him for taking stones that were to be used for a new house; in EM 2, he ridiculed Franklin's efforts to write ballads; and in EM 3, he criticised the quality of Franklin's writing. In each case the major issue in the memory is mastery failure, and in each case a narcissistic blow was delivered.

However, I note some positive findings in the scoring. First, there is no indication of a thought disorder; Relation to Reality scores are uniformly high. Second, the Object Relations score is at Level IV, the highest. In each memory, Franklin was also the initiator of action, which suggests a high level of energy and good adaptive skills. Nor is there compelling evidence for an affective disorder. Signs of anxiety and depression are both relatively absent, despite the narcissistic wounds. Although evidence for frustration and anger is abundant, Franklin appears to have been under control aside from verbal sniping.

In sum, the results of the CEMSS-R scoring suggests an action-oriented man who was willing to take risks and initiate. Although he was likely frustrated and irritated by criticism, Franklin does not appear to have been easily discouraged. Object relations appear good, despite the tension between Franklin and his father. The main issue for him appears to have been associated with meeting his father's rigorous standards, which he had largely internalised. There is relatively little evidence of rebellion in Franklin's first three EMs, despite the criticism and ridicule he experienced. It seems that he took criticism constructively and tried to improve. There is no notable evidence of a thought disorder or of an affective disorder.

Discussion

Franklin began life with tremendous handicaps. The youngest son, he was born to a huge family of 17 children. He was given only 2 years of formal education (pp. 6–7) by his father, who then put him to work in one of the dullest trades imaginable: tallow chandling (candle making).

At age 12, he was indentured to his brother, who physically abused him. By age 17, he was blackballed by his brother in every print shop in Boston and forced to leave the city to gain employment. Although life always carries with it the potential to be worse, Franklin's beginning was truly humble by any reasonable standard.

In Franklin's memories, neither his brilliant academic credentials nor his blazing intellect fails to

impress. What emerge as outstanding, however, are Franklin's remarkable coping skills: He was active and typically took the initiative (note CEMSS-R criteria); he was incredibly self-reliant; he was self-disciplined and self-taught; he maintained an experimental attitude and used himself as a subject in his own experiments (e.g. diet); he sought to apply what he learned in books; he relied heavily on counterphobic defenses (e.g. he failed math two times yet went back to it later and taught himself); and he was tremendously determined, focused, and goal oriented in his approach to life. Franklin absolutely refused to let himself become discouraged by setbacks or adversity (e.g., being blackballed by his brother). In addition, he continued to refine his ability to influence and persuade others through rhetoric.

Franklin's EMs, when analysed by the CP model, recast his goals and struggles in a somewhat different light. Consciously, Franklin put his father on a pedestal:

"I remember well his being frequently visited by leading people, who consulted him for his opinion in the affairs of the town or of the church he belonged to, and showed a great deal of respect for his judgment and advice (p. 8)."

Typical of what one sees in memory interpretation, what Franklin consciously most admired in others (especially his father) he believed to be sorely lacking in himself—in his case, good judgment. However, far more interesting, I believe, are the less obvious dynamics that caused Franklin to mistrust his judgment. As we review Franklin's EMs, we notice that Franklin was enmeshed in a conflict with his father that is repeated in various guises in each of his first three EMs; this degree of repetition is unusual in my experience and is therefore all the more remarkable. In each case, Franklin's judgments and decisions (EM1, EM 2) or style (EM 3) were criticised (EM 1, EM 3) or even ridiculed (EM 2) by the very man whom Franklin said he held in such high regard. Plainly put, we are observing a process of narcissistic wounding that must have left Franklin with reduced self-esteem and self-confidence. Part of Franklin identified with his father and became self-critical, apparently with some good effect (e.g., he softened his communications style; p. 16). Another part, apparently a more overtly angry part, became rebellious. Franklin himself put it this way in describing his relationship with his older brother, James, *"Perhaps I was too saucy and provoking"* (p. 20). In any event, as an adolescent Franklin became what one might charitably describe as habitually contentious, relishing the process of disputation, for example, in itself. What mattered to him was the

process of winning and dominating others rather than the goal of persuading others toward a strongly held belief or position. Beyond *rebellious*, there is a less charitable word for such behaviour: *obnoxious*.

However, the roots of Franklin's early rebellion spread beyond his father's criticism and ridicule. When Franklin was 12 years old, his father indentured him to Franklin's brother to learn the printing trade. Somewhere between the ages of 12 and 17 Franklin did not relate specific incidents. He was physically abused by his brother, who "*had often beaten [him], which [Franklin] took extremely amiss*" (p. 18). These negative pattern memories, or recollections of unpleasant events that happened many times, doubtless had a similar influence on Franklin as they would on any youngster who is physically abused. For instance, he likely felt angry and ashamed. We also know that he wished so desperately to be freed from his brother's control that he in effect ran away from Boston at age 17. His self-esteem and self-confidence must have been adversely affected by these beatings. Most important, he began to doubt himself, especially the quality of his judgments.

As we have seen, Franklin's protocol includes several memories of specific events in which his admittedly poor judgment became the focus of his own self-analysis. How can we understand these dynamics? Put simply and perhaps slightly overstated, Franklin internalised his father's criticism and ridicule and his brother's beatings and began to believe that there was, indeed, something wrong with him, that he must lack basic good judgment and common sense. The remaining memories in the set elaborate this point by providing concrete self-illustrations of how Franklin fouled up in a variety of ways; however, several EMs also remind Franklin of how he made progress in resolving these issues, through the coping skills noted earlier. In sum, the CP analysis of his EMs tells us about the present meta-issue being processed (mastery failure/judgment), how this issue likely arose historically (through criticism, ridicule, and beatings), and what strategies were successful in moving this issue closer to resolution (note the coping skills discussed earlier).

In addition, the EM analysis tells us about a particular defect in Franklin's development that caused an important type of recurring judgment problem: His difficulty setting limits on friends. He provides several pointed examples: Collins spent all his own money, Franklin's, and much of Vernon's as well on the trip between New York and Philadelphia and afterward (pp. 32–34), and, later in Franklin's narrative, his American friend in England, Ralph,

nearly bankrupted him under circumstances strikingly similar to those with Collins (pp. 43–46). What do we make of these examples? It seems that Franklin's problems setting reasonable limits with friends mirror in reverse the difficulties he experienced with his father and brother: exceedingly severe limits, criticism, beatings, ridicule, and the like. From a developmental perspective, individuals who have been abused as children frequently experience difficulty setting appropriate limits, thus being either far too strict, too lenient, or both, depending on the occasion and their mood. Franklin's problem with setting limits can also be seen, from a self viewpoint, as revealing entitlement issues—alternatively feeling that one deserves nothing (the *abuse me more position*) or that one deserves compensation for the abuse suffered (the *self-righteous rage of the victim stance*).

Analysing Franklin's EMs provides us with a renewed appreciation of Franklin the man. However, in an odd way, Americans may owe their freedom and independence from England more to Franklin's brother James than to Franklin himself. Consider that Franklin had a strong need for approval, especially from those in power. The rebelliousness that is so evident in his protocol was likely inflamed by his beatings by James. We might surmise that, without the "benefit" of his experience with James's tyranny, Franklin could have reacted in a far less radical manner to British tyranny, with resulting implications for the American Revolutionary movement.

This paper has demonstrated that it is possible to reconfigure autobiographical materials to provide the substantial equivalent of Part I of the EMP. Often, we have no psychological test data for historical figures; those who lived in the 19th century and before have left us with nothing that we can use to do assessments. Although EMs and autobiographical memory data do not provide definitive portraits of historical figures, they do provide extremely useful information. If there is no other alternative, I believe that the result can be quite satisfactory, as seen from Franklin's (1793/1906) *Autobiography*. I do not recommend, however, that psychologists employ this strategy in lieu of an EMP if they can obtain one. Some advantages of using the EMP are as follows:

1. The EMP (Bruhn, 1989) consists of Part I (Spontaneous Memories) and Part II (Directed Memories). The latter requests various types of memories, such as first school, first punishment, and most traumatic memory. Franklin's EMP consists of only Part I (Spontaneous) memories, as it was not possible to request specific types of memories.

2. Part I EM probes include the clearest part, the strongest feeling, what the client would like to change in the memory, and the affect and clarity ratings. In addition, clients are asked to rate their memories for significance and to explain their selections. These probes reduce the degree of inference required on the clinician's part to interpret the protocol and facilitate client insight as well.
3. The format of the EMP virtually eliminates the need to make decisions about where a memory begins and ends, a potentially significant source of unreliability.
4. Part I also includes the clearest or most important memory of the lifetime, which is often the most important memory in the protocol.

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Research Profile

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workshops to professionals and autobiographical memory therapy to private clients.

Notes

¹The publisher noted (Franklin, 1793/1906, p.viii) that Franklin began the composition of his autobiography when he was approximately 65. He was born in 1806. He wrote the autobiography in several parts. In 1771, he reconstructed the first 24 years of his life. He began to write about his later life some 13 years later. We can therefore surmise that he wrote most of what he had to say about his early years from the vantage point of a 65-year-old man. It is reasonable to believe that his perspective on his youth might have differed considerably had he written his autobiography at age 24 or age 40. We must also keep in mind that he wrote his autobiography for his son, which might have impacted the selection of material: "*Dear son: I have ever had pleasure in obtaining any little anecdotes of my ancestors*" (p. 1).

²The reason is that single-event memories, by their nature, are organised to convey an impression or state a moral about how the self is, how others are, and how the world operates. They are also organised as a group to help us understand our current major unresolved issue in process—how it came to be historically, and what keeps it from being resolved. Focusing on single-event memories, especially those in which the predominant affect is negative, provides us with a richly textured understanding of such issues. This is because writing an autobiography is much like a psychoanalysis—in both cases, we talk to someone who keeps encouraging us to "tell me more" about our problems as we understand them. In the case of an autobiography, we merely talk to ourselves or to a sympathetic figure in our audience. As we write, we maintain an expectation of interest that enables us to share our story, ultimately for our own benefit, although perhaps for the reader's as well.

³By coincidence, this is the first time that an EMP protocol with positive affect EMs in Part I has appeared in the literature. Previous protocols (Bruhn, 1990b, 1992b) depicted negative affect EMs throughout Part I. Such protocols are common with individuals who suffer from a depressive disorder, although positive affect EMs in Part I are not uncommon in EMPs from a clinical population. Conversely, such EMs are quite common in a nonclinical population. Positive affect EMs depict the gratification of needs that are particularly strong for the individual. Frequently, these needs are strong because they are associated with at least a partial resolution of the major unresolved issue depicted in the clearest and most negative EMs in Part I. That is, individuals recall such events fondly because they recognise at some level that such memories depict

symbolically the resolution to their difficulties. Like many reflective older individuals, Franklin looked back at his life with some perspective and recognised that he had at least some partial solutions to the unresolved issue he had been processing. His positive affect EMs enable us to assess how far he had proceeded in this process.

⁴The CEMSS-R and its predecessor represent the first attempt to construct a general-purpose EM scoring system for clinical application. The instrument derives primarily from my clinical experience with EMs and attempts to minimise the need for clinical inferences. Individuals with a confirmed psychoanalytic orientation should review Langs and Reiser's (1961) scoring manual for additional ideas and Mayman's (1984a, 1984b) system for assessing object relations after reviewing the CEMSS-R