protectionist. Franklin thus stands for the path not taken by the young republic, in which science and technology were constructed in the universalist tradition as the shared property of mankind.

The Pro-Development Colonist

The organizing principle of the economy of the British Empire in the eighteenth century centered on the accumulation of skilled laborers in England capable of producing manufactured goods that could profitably be traded in the world market. To maintain the status quo the colonies had to remain producers of raw materials rather than of finished goods. And for much of the colonial era the system worked. Franklin's earliest experience as an adult taught him the extent of American dependence on English know-how. His brother James, in whose shop Franklin learned the secrets of the printing trade, had to go to England to purchase printing presses and fonts of type, since none were manufactured in the colonies. Later on, when Franklin traveled through Europe in his various official capacities, he wrote to his American correspondents detailed descriptions of the technologies he came across and urged their adoption in America.[3]

As tensions between the colonists and the mother country came to the forefront in the 1760s Franklin recognized that news of American industrialization would only play into the hands of those in Britain favoring a stronger crackdown in the colonies. He was thus displeased with triumphant declarations of the type that appeared in the London *Complete Magazine* in August 1764: "Some beautiful samples of the cotton manufactures, now carried on at Philadelphia, have been lately imported and greatly admired." He sought to assure British manufacturers that the development of home manufacturing in the colonies would not decrease colonial consumption of English clothing. The colonists "wear the manufactures of Britain," he wrote

to the *London Chronicle*, "and follow its fashions perhaps too closely, every remarkable change in the mode making its appearance there within a few months after its invention here." He urged his son, New Jersey governor William Franklin, to downplay the quality of clothing produced in the colony so that the ire of those in Parliament bent on restricting American manufactures would not be aroused. "You have only to report a glass-house for coarse window glass and bottles and some domestic manufactures of linen and woolen for family use, that do not half clothe the inhabitants." Assure Parliament, he recommended, that "all finer goods" were still being imported from Britain.[4]

In 1751, just as he entered the Pennsylvania Assembly to begin his glorious public career, Franklin wrote a brief pamphlet entitled "Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind." The piece has since attracted a good deal of scholarly attention. Some analysts have marveled at Franklin's sophisticated demographic analysis—he observed that the population of the British colonies of North America doubled every twenty years whereas that of England remained stable, and he predicted, quite accurately as it turned out, the future demographic growth of British North America. Others have focused on the last passage of the pamphlet in which Franklin complained that immigrants were contaminating the Englishness of the colonies and made a rather astonishing declaration of his strong personal preference for white people. However, Franklin wrote his controversial pamphlet neither as a theoretical treatise on colonial demography nor as an exclusionary ethnic manifesto, but as a specific political argument against the Iron Act of 1750 which restricted the construction of new rolling and slitting mills in America. The act did not seek to destroy the manufacturing of iron in America, but to steer colonial pig and bar iron to British mills. The crux of Franklin's essay was not its xenophobic concluding paragraph but its advocacy of the free movement of technology across the Atlantic. Franklin