

a compilation of letters and reports written by Captain (later Major) Georg Pausch to the Landgrave of Hesse-Kassel from May 1776 to October 1783. Pausch commanded the Princely Hesse-Hanau Artillery Company, and his journal is one of the few that reflect on the contributions of artilleryists who fought with the British in the Revolution. The company left Hanau in May 1776 and arrived in Canada, joining General Guy Carleton's forces and later accompanying General John Burgoyne to Saratoga. Captured at Saratoga, Pausch and the remaining soldiers in the regiment marched to Massachusetts after capitulation, then to Virginia. Pausch was exchanged in late 1779 and went to Quebec, returning to Hesse-Hanau in October 1783. Pausch's journal is an engaging account of an officer in an artillery regiment and, because of his exchange and limited time in a prisoner-of-war camp, he does not provide as vivid a description of captivity as Döhla does.

Krebs concludes his monograph with a brief examination of a Treaty of Amity and Commerce with Prussia in 1785. The treaty not only discussed commerce but also defined treatment of captured enemy soldiers. Prior to this treaty, there was no formal agreement or understanding on how combatants should treat captives—and, according to Krebs, Congress's treatment of German prisoners during the Revolution directly led to this treaty.

Overall, all three books provide different perspectives of "Hessian" soldiers during the Revolution—Döhla with the view of the common soldier, Pausch with the perspective of a loyal officer, and Krebs with the "big picture" of how imprisonment affected all auxiliary troops captured during the conflict. *A Generous and Merciful Enemy* is a welcome addition to the history of the American Revolution, one that effectively examines conditions in the "Hessian Camps" in Pennsylvania and explains why some of these prisoners remained in the state after the war ended.

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Carla J. Mulford. *Benjamin Franklin and the Ends of Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015). Pp. xv, 426, illustrations, index. Cloth, \$65.00.

This incisive literary biography depicts Franklin's mental world in light of salient economic and sociopolitical matters within the British Empire.

In nine chronologically and topically arranged chapters, Mulford, who is a professor of English at Pennsylvania State University and edited *The Cambridge Companion of Benjamin Franklin* (2009), makes two major arguments: First, she maintains that Franklin accentuated the natural liberties of British colonists as being paramount for the successful functioning of the British Empire. Second, Mulford convincingly demonstrates that the reason Franklin, along with other vocal Americans, ardently embraced the revolutionary cause against the British Empire was because parliamentary leaders during the late 1760s abrogated the tax rights and other liberties of American colonists.

The introduction comprehensively describes the evolution of Franklin's liberal thought and offers his perceptions of the British Empire. Mulford shows that Franklin's liberal views could be traced to the seventeenth-century English Civil Wars and that he especially endorsed the doctrines of John Locke and Algernon Sidney about constitutional rights and civil society. Franklin's writings during the early eighteenth century reveal his admiration for "Country" ideologies (6). Likewise, Franklin believed that the ends of empire could be achieved by colonists who were endowed with natural liberties and who worked as farmers, tradesmen, and merchants to foster commerce and trade throughout this vast empire.

The first two chapters illustrate Franklin's endorsement of liberal tenets; there are detailed explanations about how Franklin's family in Northamptonshire and Oxfordshire supported the cause of Parliament against the Cavaliers. Uncle Benjamin Franklin had written about the accomplishments of the family in Britain. His nephew in Boston later consulted the family records: he was impressed with his family's contributions during the English Civil Wars and especially became an advocate of the freedoms of speech and religion. Mulford vividly demonstrates how Franklin, while a printer's apprentice in Boston under his brother James, effectively revealed his liberal views in writings about Silence Dogood.

Chapters 3 and 4 concern Franklin's economic views about the colonies and the British Empire. To increase commerce and trade in Pennsylvania and other colonies, British leaders had to expand the money supply and had to promote the interests of merchants and tradesmen; moreover, Mulford impressively shows how Franklin emphasized the importance of colonial agriculture and attributed the economic success of Pennsylvania and other colonies to the laboring efforts of farmers. Franklin also called for

expanding both intercolonial and imperial agrarian markets. In recognizing the significance of colonial farmers, Mulford argues, Franklin emerged as a strong proponent of the labor theory of value. His interests in farming are revealed in articles that appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* in the late 1720s and in his speeches delivered to the members of the Pennsylvania Assembly during the 1740s and the early years of the 1750s.

Chapter 5 explains Franklin's liberal and imperial thinking during the middle years of the eighteenth century. Having acquired a reputation as a Philadelphia booster between 1730 and 1754 and having established the American Philosophical Society, the Pennsylvania Hospital, and the Junto or Library Company, Franklin as well continued to bolster the status of merchants, craftsmen, and other commercial groups—especially through the Junto. Likewise, he espoused physiocratic tenets, believing that agricultural growth in Pennsylvania and other colonies was the key ingredient for productivity in the British Empire. To justify his economic beliefs, he issued in 1750 "Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind," maintaining that diverse ethnic groups in Pennsylvania should be endowed with the freedoms of speech and press and should be encouraged to engage in agricultural pursuits. In short, the imaginative Franklin believed that liberal tenets and agrarian activities would be conducive for increasing wealth in the British Empire. Agreeing with members of the Pennsylvania Assembly that the growth of this colony depended on terminating the tax-exempt status of the Penn family, Franklin in 1757 went to London to meet with leaders concerning this issue.

Chapter 6 offers explanations about Franklin's imperial thinking and career in London between 1757 and 1775. Mulford extensively treats his life in the empire's capital: Franklin spent much time in performing his electrical experiments and became associated with the Club of Honest Whigs. Likewise, he also met with Pennsylvania's proprietors; he unfortunately was unable to convince the Penns to cede their tax-exempt privileges on lands in this colony. Franklin also became involved with another significant issue: he vehemently argued that as a result of the colonies lacking adequate representation, Parliament should repeal the harsh terms of the Stamp Act, for imperial trade was being severely damaged. After that body repealed this act in 1766 and implemented the Townshend Acts in 1767, Franklin's views toward Parliament and the empire began to change. Thereafter, he developed into a stern critic of Parliament.

Chapter 7 centers on Franklin's last years in Britain; Mulford cogently describes Franklin's belief that farming was essential for accruing wealth in the British Empire and that agrarian pursuits and innovations would advance the cause of imperial free trade. However, as a result of the seditious activities in Massachusetts during the early 1770s, Franklin was summoned before the Privy Council. Appearing in this council's cockpit, Franklin in January of 1774 encountered humiliating comments during his hearing with Alexander Wedderburn and was discredited. Advocating the sovereignty of colonial assemblies, the frustrated Franklin in 1775 left England and returned to America.

Chapters 8, 9, and the conclusion well contextualize Franklin's achievements during the American Revolutionary and subsequent eras. He played a prominent role in the drafting of the Declaration of Independence: he supported Jefferson and other committee members for emphasizing the significance of natural liberties for American citizens. Impressive sections describe his Parisian diplomatic mission. By negotiating the 1778 Franco-American Treaty of Amity and Commerce, the shrewd Franklin secured French financial and military aid until America defeated Great Britain. There also are fine accounts about Franklin's part in achieving American independence in light of the 1783 Paris Treaty. Mulford, too, well explains that upon his return to America in 1785, Franklin participated actively in the Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery and in the 1787 Philadelphia Constitutional Convention. Last, Mulford envisions Franklin as a transatlantic leader and writer and lauds him both for his imperial thinking and for his insightful republican ideologies.

Mulford has written a splendid biography and has greatly enhanced our understanding of the eighteenth-century Atlantic world. Extending well beyond such major biographers as Van Doren, Wright, Wood, Brands, and Lemay, she has demonstrated that Franklin could have been an "Empire Man" but, for plausible motives, became an American republican revolutionary. Moreover, Mulford's definitive and elegantly written study contains extensive endnotes and a massive bibliography. This work has broken new ground and will become a classic biography. It will appeal to both students and scholars interested in Franklin's many contributions to Atlantic history.

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