

CHAPTER IV

THE WRITINGS

BEFORE entering upon a detailed topical analysis of the economic thought in Tucker's writings, an outline survey of them will afford an idea of their extent, of their general nature and of the impelling reasons for their production.

I. BY DECADES

The first published product of Tucker's pen was given to the world in 1739; the last, in 1787. This fifty years of authorship subdivides interestingly. The first decade, 1739-1749, brings but four brief publications upon religious subjects or addressed to religious persons. But during this decade, so apparently unfruitful, Tucker was mastering a wide range of commercial facts and was making the most of an opportunity to understand the busy industrial and trading life of Bristol. He was reading and observing and thinking. The second decade proves this for it is the most fruitful of the five.

During the ten years, 1749-1759, Tucker produced his greatest works. It is plainly his economic decade as an author. It opened with a strong essay in 1749, comparing the trade advantages of Great Britain and France and closed with his most extensive economic work, *Instructions for Travellers*, published in 1757. In 1752 occurred the thoughtful correspondence with Lord Townshend and in 1758 Hume was converted to an economic view of Tucker, in a correspondence with Lord Kames acting as letter-box.

The naturalization essays, clear and tolerant, came in 1751 to 1753. The strong attack upon the privileged Turkish Company was made in 1753. The first two of the Four Tracts were developed in the later fifties tho' not published until later. The crowning economic work of the man, his *Elements of Commerce* appeared in 1755.

Tucker was thirty-six years old at the opening of this decade and forty-six at its close, the very prime of his initiative vigor. Again he entered this period fresh from twelve years of active, observant, inquiring life, in the busy second trade center of great Britain, and he continued to reside and to study the trafficking life there, throughout the decade. These two facts go far to explain (1) that the decade was the most fruitful of his life and (2) that the productions were largely economic in character.

At the same time that this was Tucker's master decade as an economic writer it was his period of greatest activity in practical politics. In both of the Parliamentary contests of 1754 and 1756 when Mr. Nugent was returned for Bristol Tucker was his active supporter. A series of his tracts advocating Nugent's cause were published and his correspondences at this time are almost wholly concerned with election matters. As a reward for his effective political aid to Nugent, the latter secured for him the Gloucester Deanery and the economic decade ended. The scientific economist, who might have produced a master work, was lost in the Dean.

The years from 1759 to 1772 gave the press little from Tucker's hand. A sermon, an essay treating the effect of war upon trade, a study of the poorhouse system and a brief report on improvements in the navigation of the Stroud river, are all that twelve years record from the man who filled the preceding decade with works that entitle him to high rank among early English economists.

Another burst of author power came in the ten years from 1772 to 1782. This may well be styled his political decade. The American controversy papers, by which alone, some know Tucker, came at almost regular intervals from 1774 to 1781. While the economist is everywhere in evidence in these productions and the theories of the fifties are applied to the practical commercial problems of the seventies, discussion of governmental rights is prominent. The questions started by the political topics involved in the discussion led Tucker to examine closely the thought bases of governmental systems. The best of evidence that this decade of authorship is rightly characterized as the political decade, is the fact that in its closing year 1781, he issued his ambitious attack upon Locke, his most extensive work, a theory of government.

The clerical subscription controversy called forth from Tucker during this decade his leading religious controversial papers and in 1776 he published a volume of sermons; but these religious writings are of subordinate importance when compared with his political essays during this decade, just as his activity in practical politics was subordinate to his economic achievements in the mid century decade.

After 1781, there were five brief publications and an author's day was done.

II. THE WRITINGS BY TOPICS

Tucker was a philosopher. He sought the fundamental unity of life. He attempted to show that the principles of theology, politics and economics are in ultimate harmony. To these three subjects he gave all of his life as an author, emphasizing now one, now the other, according to the varying stimulus of the day. The widest generalization in all the range of his work, is this often repeated thought that

the true principles of religion, government and commerce, not only are not in contradiction, but fully complement one another. Perhaps the clearest expression of this idea is in the Introduction to his *Elements of Commerce*:

“Let us therefore enter upon the ensuing work, with the following maxim strongly upon our minds viz.: That universal commerce, good government and true religion are nearly, are inseparably, connected. For the directions and regulations of each of these are no other than to make private coincide with public, present with future happiness. And whoever is conversant with the affairs of the world cannot fail to observe, that, whenever the parts of this extensive system have been separated by the arts or folly of men, religion has sunk into superstition or enthusiasm, government has been turned into tyranny and Machiavelian policy, and commerce has degenerated into knavery and monopoly.”¹

In accord with this “system” of Tucker’s thought, the obvious topical classification of Tucker’s writings is three-fold: Works upon religion, upon government and upon commerce. Under such a grouping they will now be classed with brief comments upon the occasion inspiring them.

a. RELIGIOUS WRITINGS

From life choice Tucker was first of all a clergyman. It is fitting therefore that a number of his works should be upon religious and theological themes. It is noteworthy that all the publications of his first author decade are of a religious nature or addressed to religious parties.

In 1739 he published *Queries and Arguments, addressed to Mr. Whitefield concerning Methodism*.² Bristol was a

¹ *Elements*, p. 8. A similar statement in *Instruct. for Trav.*, p. 48, where he closes with; “Those men, therefore, who would represent the principles of religion and the principles of commerce as at variance . . . are in reality friends of neither.”

² *London Mag.*, vol. viii, pp. 340-343.

stronghold of this growing sect of Dissenters and Tucker made a first hand study of their methods and of their development and he expressed his skepticism of the validity of such of their doctrines as were variant from those of the established church.

A Brief History of the Principles of Methodism was published by Tucker in 1742. The author's title page summary of this work is that the rise and progress, together with the causes of the several variations, divisions and present inconsistencies of this sect are attempted to be traced out and accounted for. The Lord Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of all Ireland, had written to Bishop Butler in June of 1741 requesting an account of the "divisions and the quarrels of the Methodists," and Bishop Butler chose Tucker, one of his minor canons, "as being a person well acquainted with their principles and proceedings." The Archbishop was so pleased with the report that he desired that it be published.¹

The third of these early publications was an occasional sermon upon *Hospitals and Infirmaries Considered as Schools of Christian Education for the Adult Poor and as Means conducive toward a National Reformation in the Common People*. It was preached in the parish church of St. James before the contributors to the support of the Bristol infirmary at their anniversary meeting, held the 18th of March, 1745. It was published by subscription.

The last of these early publications was *A Calm Address to All Parties in Religion Concerning Disaffection to the Present Government*. As the title indicates, it is a churchman's political address. It properly classifies with Tucker's

¹The facts and quotations here are taken from the preface of the *Brief Hist. of Methodism*. John Wesley himself answered this in his *The Principles of a Methodist*, 1746. In his pages *To the Reader* Wesley states that this is his first controversy directed to a particular person.

political writings. It foreshadowed the active politician of the next decade and prophesied his Whig leanings.

In the opening year of the next decade, 1749, appeared *Two Dissertations on Certain Passages of Holy Scripture*, etc. These dissertations are criticisms of the first volume of the posthumous work of Mr. Thomas Chubb,¹ entitled *Remarks on Scriptures*, etc. The second *Dissertation* is properly to be classed with Tucker's political writings.

In 1753, or earlier,² Tucker's *Earnest and Affectionate Address to the Common People of England Concerning Their Usual Recreations on Shrove Tuesday* was published. A new edition appeared in 1787.

In 1757 Tucker issued his first theoretical religious work, *A Short and Familiar Way of Explaining the Important Doctrine of Justification*, etc. This brief tract was addressed "To the inhabitants of the parish of St. Stephen's, in the city of Bristol . . . by their faithful pastor."

These three tracts are the only publications by Tucker upon religious topics during this whole decade in which his pen was so busy with economic treatises, and with correspondences and pamphlets bearing upon practical local politics.

The fifteen lean years of authorship that followed Tucker's elevation to the Deanship in 1758 record but one religious publication. This was an occasional *Sermon* preached in the parish church of Christ Church, London, May 6th, 1766, at the time of the yearly meeting of the children educated in the charity schools in and about the cities of London and Westminster. Tucker had been for twenty years³ a mem-

¹ Mr. Thomas Chubb (1697-1747), deist.

² This tract is advertised in the back of *Reflect. on Turkey Trade*, 1753.

³ See *Appendix* of this sermon, which gives a brief history of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

ber of the "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge," under whose auspices the sermon was published.

But if the churchman had been less active than the economist and the practical politician in the preceding decades, amends were made in that from 1772 to 1782.

Tucker's first volume of religious discourses, *Six Sermons*, appeared in 1772. The first five sermons are of no unusual type; the sixth is a reprint of the Bristol Infirmary sermon.

In the same year, he entered the lists of the subscription controversy with *An Apology for the Present Church of England*, a letter addressed to those about to petition for the abolition of subscriptions. The argument is firmly for the maintenance of subscriptions, and yet it is fair and tolerant, upholding the perfect right of dissenters to withdraw from the Church of England and to worship as they choose, and favoring the abolition of subscription among such university students as were not to take orders. It is admitted to have been the clearest and most convincing presentation of the side of the controversy espoused by the established church. A second edition was published within the year. The *Letters to Dr. Kippis*, in 1773, continue the same line of argument.

In 1774 Tucker published *Religious Intolerance No Part of the General Plan Either of a Mosaic or Christian Dispensation*, a well-sustained projection of his general freedom theory into the realm of religion; *A Brief and Dispassionate View of the Difficulties Attending the Trinitarian, Arian and Socinian Systems*, a fearless confession that human reason cannot resolve the mystery of the Trinity; and *Two Sermons*, issued with the *Four Tracts*. These two sermons were on commercial themes, the first emphasizing one of Tucker's favorite thoughts, the harmony of the principles of

religion, government and commerce, and the second an excellent and most suggestive discussion of luxury.

In 1776 a new volume of *Seventeen Sermons* came from Tucker's pen. It contained all of the nine sermons previously published and seven new ones, among them one on patriotism (xv) and one on the right of revolution, an occasional sermon on the anniversary of the execution of Charles I. (Number xvii).

b. POLITICAL WRITINGS

Tucker wrote extensively upon political subjects. As was true of most of his works, these political writings were largely stimulated by current events, and were therefore mainly controversial. No attempt will be here made, more than to catalogue these writings, to state the occasions that called them forth, and to outline very briefly the contents of the most important of them.

Three political subjects especially interested Tucker: the right of the reigning line to the throne, the policy of Great Britain towards her American colonies, and the relations of Great Britain to Ireland. His further important political theories concerning war and colonies in general, can be very properly treated under his applied economics, since his arguments relating to these subjects are largely commercial and financial.

The first of his political writings was his *Calm Address*, etc., in 1745, an exhortation for the support of the ruling house in that year of rebellion.

The second of the *Two Dissertations* (1749) is a clear and well-analyzed outline theory of government. His theory can be suggested in a few quoted sentences from this *Dissertation*:

“ God gave men inclinations, he gave them the use of reason ; and, whenever such an application is made of both, as answers

the general end of government, He gives a sanction and authority to it; and constitutes the magistrate his minister and representative to the people for good. The authority therefore of government is derived solely from God, but . . . forms of government are the workmanship of men, and may be as various as we please, provided they answer the great end for which all government was ordained of God, viz., the good of the people . . . The people have a *perpetual* and *inalienable* relation to the ends of government i. e., they have *always* a *right* to be governed *well*, be the governors who they *will*. But their relation to the means, to the particular governors subsists no longer than while they are means i. e., during the time they can properly protect and defend their subjects . . . That as government was designed for the good of the people, the body of the nation or their representatives are the best judges when and how far this end is answered," . . . As to the English Revolution his position, an application of the principle above quoted, is indicated in a single sentence: "They (persons engaged in the Revolution) allowed that he (King James) had a good title to govern; but not to govern wrong."¹

During the Bristol parliamentary election of 1754, Tucker wrote a number of pamphlets² in support of Mr. Nugent. These sharpwitted appeals to the voters materially aided towards Nugent's election, and incidentally contributed to Tucker's later preferment to the Gloucester Deanery. They evidence a practical shrewdness and a persuasive insight into human nature.

The war with the American colonies combined with the subscription controversy to bring Tucker again into the publication arena, after twelve years of almost complete inac-

¹ *Two Dissertations*, pp. 43, 47, 52, 53 and 54.

² See Bibliography of Tucker's works for 1754, for the titles of these tracts.

tivity. His thirteen American tracts¹ were written from 1774 to 1783. Their central thesis is thus stated by Tucker himself:

“The grand principle which runs through all of my treatises on the subject of America viz., that the colonists in quarreling with the mother country are essentially hurting themselves and greatly, tho’ not intentionally benefiting us by obliging us to see and pursue our own true and lasting interest.”² [viz. separation.]

These tracts comprise the most noteworthy series of pamphlets that was written upon the subjects brought forward by the American war.

In 1775, at the close of Lord Clare’s (Mr. Nugent) twenty years’ representation of Bristol in Parliament, Tucker published a eulogistic *Review of Lord Clare’s Conduct as a Representative of Bristol*.

In 1779 Dean Tucker’s *Reflections on the Terrors of Invasions* first appeared. This tract, which argues the practical impossibility that there could be landed upon English shores any continental army sufficiently strong and well-

¹ See Bibliography of Tucker’s works at close of this volume for the titles of these tracts. Because legislators were heedless of his plea for separation from the colonies, Tucker signed a number of these pamphlets “Cassandra,” e. g., *The Dean of Gloucester’s Tho’ts, etc.*, *Further Tho’ts, etc.*, and *Proposals for General Pacification*.

² *Series of Answers*, p. 40. A comment Tucker makes upon Locke in one of these American tracts will interest students in politics: “As a man I have no ill will against Mr. Locke. When I was inexperienced twenty years of age, I thought him an oracle in metaphysics and politics. At the age of 30 I discovered he was not so original as I had supposed. At 40, 50, 60 and up I saw the tendencies of his writings, that his works had done more harm than good; . . . a mixture of error in the best of them . . . Constant commotions and rebellions would be the fruit of following his works.” *Four Letters to Shelburne*, pp. 109-112.

subsisted to conquer England, was reprinted in 1806, to allay popular fear of a French invasion.

The study of the American colony question led Tucker to inquire more deeply into the theory of government, and this inquiry culminated in his most ambitious political work and his most extensive single volume, *A Treatise Concerning Civil Government*. In this volume he examines and attempts to confute the "notions of Mr. Locke and his followers concerning the origin, extent, and end of civil government;" he constructs his own theory of civil government; he compares the forms of civil government; and he censures England's former Gothic Constitution. Worthy of especial mention is the clearness with which he states the political biped thesis in his objection to Locke's idea that government originates in contract. A single sentence from his two-page exposition of this thought will evidence his insight:

"The instincts and propensities of mankind towards social life are in a manner so irresistible that I might almost say men will as naturally seek to enjoy the blessings of society as they do to obtain their daily food."¹

Even a meager outline of this four-hundred-page volume would require more space than can be allotted here. The opinion may be hazarded that students of the history of English political theories will find in this *Treatise*, and in the second of the *Two Dissertations*, suggestive thought about government, worthy ampler notice than it has received.

In 1783 Tucker published his *Four Letters to the Earl of Shelburne*. The first letter belongs to the American tracts, and argues that those colonies had ever been a millstone hanging about the nation's neck, and that they at last had themselves cut the rope which the nation was too blind to

¹*Treatise on Gov't*, p. 50.

do voluntarily. The remaining three letters praise the British "mixt" form of government and further criticize Locke.

In 1784 *Dean Tucker's Opinion on the Present Most Interesting Dispute* appeared in two of the current magazines.¹ The dispute concerned the influence which the House of Commons should exert upon the selection of ministers by the King. Tucker argued that the royal appointing power is constitutionally wholly independent of preferences of either of the Houses of Parliament.

A Sequel to Sir William Jones' Pamphlet, etc., in the same year, continued Tucker's discussion of the principles of government.

Tucker had argued a number of times² for the union of Great Britain and Ireland. In 1785 he published a complete tract³ upon this subject, arguing the inevitableness of union at some time, but declaring that, from Ireland's standpoint, that time had not yet come. In 1799 Dr. Clarke published⁴ a number of answers made by Tucker, in 1785, to queries concerning the advisability of the union of Great Britain and Ireland, submitted to him by Tucker.

C. THE ECONOMIC WRITINGS

There are but few of the theological and political writings, mentioned above, which do not give frequent evidences that their author was an economist. A number of them,

¹ *Europ. Mag.*, vol. v, pp. 220-221; *Gent's Mag.*, vol. liv, pp. 202-203.

² *Four Lett. to Shelburne*, p. 15; *Essay on Trade, 3d Ed.*, p. 59; *Manifold Causes Increase of Poor. Advertisement*; Section ix of Book ii, chap. ii of the *Elements* was to contain a "Polity for the Perfect Incorporation of Ireland."

³ *Reflections on Present Matt. in Disp. Bet. G. B. and Ireland, etc.*

⁴ *Union or Separation.*

whose titles classify them clearly with religious or political works are in content economic.¹

The first of the strictly economic writings opened the ten years of Tucker's authorship characterized as his economic decade. It was *A Brief Essay on the Advantages and Disadvantages which Respectively Attend France and Great Britain with Regard to Trade*. This *Essay* was first published in 1749, a second edition appearing in 1750, and a third, with large additions in the form of "proposals" of ways and means to enlarge Britain's commerce, in 1753. France was looked upon as Britain's peculiar rival in trade and in colonization. It was, therefore, a natural choice that Tucker, for twelve years a resident of seaport Bristol, made, when he began his career as a writer upon commercial themes, with a careful factual comparison of the strong and weak points of his own nation and its most powerful opponent in the struggle for world commerce and conquest. To this comparison the body of the original essay is devoted. The proposals in the appendix to the edition of 1753 foreshadow Tucker's later, more complete expositions of his theories of freedom in trade, of monopolies, of bounties, of warehousing, of canals, of colonies, and of immigration. They close with a twenty-page explanation of a tax system for Great Britain. The introduction to the whole essay is noteworthy for its suggestions as to (1) the possibility of a science of economics, (2) the basic importance of self-interest in the new science, (3) the relations of individual and of social interest, (4) a philosophy of exchange, and (5) a theory of prosperity. All of these themes are elaborated in Tucker's later works, especially in the *Elements of Commerce* and the *Instructions for Travellers*.

The English people had quite consistently opposed the in-

¹ *E. g.* Sermons vii and viii of *Seventeen Sermons*.

coming of foreigners throughout their history. The entrance permitted to immigrants under Edward III. and under Elizabeth was exceptional. Under Anne, in 1709,¹ an act was passed for the naturalization of foreign Protestants; but British aversion to foreigners was so great that this act was repealed in 1712.

In the middle of the eighteenth century a vain attempt was made to pass again such an act. Mr. Nugent, afterwards Bristol's representative in Parliament, and a friend of Tucker, early in the session of 1751, brought forward a bill for the naturalization of foreign Protestants who fled to England to escape Rome's power on the Continent. The great trading corporations opposed it; but the Bristol common council and the Merchants' Society of Bristol favored it.² Tucker championed the immigrant. In his *Reflections on the Expediency of a Law for the Naturalization of Foreign Protestants*, published in two parts (one in 1751 and one in 1752), he clearly stated the arguments for naturalization and refuted the claims of the opposition.

Although Parliament refused naturalization privileges to foreign Protestants in 1751, it is curious to find that in 1753 it passed an act for the naturalization of foreign Jews. Tucker favored this act in his two *Letters to a Friend Concerning Naturalization* (1753). In the *General Evening Post*, in September of 1753, he answered the charges made by the *London Evening Post* that the Jews were guilty of such practises as crucifying infants. This answer was in a tract entitled, *A Full and True Account of Many Barbarous, Bloody, Cruel and Inhuman Murders*. These naturalization papers were very able pleas, but were not strong enough to overcome the blind aversion of the nation for foreigners. Prejudice, inflamed by such charges as those made

¹ 7 Anne, ch. v.

² *Annals of Bristol*, p. 289, by John Latimer.

by the *London Evening Post*, again prevailed, and in 1754 the act permitting Jews to naturalize was repealed, leaving the naturalization laws substantially as they were at the opening of the mid-century controversy concerning them.

Tucker's opposition to chartered exclusive companies was suggested first in his *Essay on Trade*, and was amplified somewhat in the *Proposals* added to the 3d edition of the *Essay*, in 1753. In this same year he specifically applied this theory, in a well-sustained attack upon the privileges of the company chartered to carry on a trade with Turkey.¹ This attack was more immediately effective than that of the naturalization papers; it was largely instrumental in causing the opening of the Turkey trade in 1754.

This same thesis of opposition to privileged trading companies is further maintained in Tucker's greatest economic work, *The Elements of Commerce and Theory of Taxes*. This treatise was printed, in 1755, for private distribution, that friends might give the author the benefit of their criticisms. About sixty copies of it were sent to various friends,² with the injunction that they should be returned to

¹ *Reflections on Exped. of Opening Trade to Turkey*, 1753. A second edition, with an Appendix in 1755.

² The copy of the *Elements* in the "Ford Collection" of the New York Public Library (Astor Division), has many marginal manuscript suggestions by Archbishop Secker, of Canterbury. As a result of reflection upon one criticism by the Archbishop, Tucker has erased the printed title "The Elements of Commerce and Theory of Taxes," and has written above it "The Moral and Political Theory of Trade and Taxes," which probably would have been the title for his great work had he ever completed it for publication. It is interesting to note, in this connection, that when, two years later, he printed his *Instructions for Travellers* (also for private distribution), he sub-titled it "A Plan for Improving in the Moral and Political Theory of Trade and Taxes by means of Traveling."

The British Museum Library copy of the *Elements* has very few marginal notes and has no indication as to the author of these notes.

the author. This work is very rare now,¹ a fact which probably accounts for so little notice being taken of it. It was looked upon by its author as but part of a great work which he had sketched out as early as 1752.² *Tract II.* of his *Four Tracts* appears with its title-page comment, "A Fragment of a Greater Work," and the *Instructions for Travellers* (1757) is also but the development of a single section of the planned great work.

In the preface¹ to the *Four Tracts* occurs Tucker's own account of his plan for this great work:

"The facts set forth that it (Tract I) is a fragment of a greater work. This work was undertaken at the desire of Dr. Hayter, then Lord Bishop of Norwich and preceptor to the Prince of Wales, his present Majesty. His Lordship's design was to put into the hands of his royal pupil such a treatise as would convey both clear and comprehensive ideas on the subject of national commerce, freed from the narrow conceptions of ignorant or the sinister views of crafty and designing men; and my honored friend and reverend Diocesan, the late Lord Bishop of Bristol, Dr. Conybeare, was pleased to recommend me as a person not altogether unqualified to write on such a subject. I therefore entered upon the work with all imaginable alacrity, and intended to entitle my performance 'The Elements of Commerce and the Theory of Taxes.' But I had not made a great progress before I discovered that such a work was by no means proper to be sheltered under the protection of a royal personage, on account of the many jealousies to which it was liable and the cavils which might be raised against it. In fact, I soon found that there was scarcely

McCulloch states (p. 50 of his *Literature of Polit. Econ.*), that the copy of the *Elements* then in his possession had a few inconsequential notes by Earl Shelburne, afterwards First Marquis of Lansdowne.

¹ See note on this work in Bibliography.

² See letter of June 1st, 1752, to Lord Townshend in *Hist. Mss. Com. 11th Report* (1881) *Appendix*, Part IV, p. 378.

a step I could take but would bring to light some glaring absurdity which length of time had rendered sacred, and which the multitude would have been taught to contend for as if their all was at stake; scarce a proposal could I make for introducing a free, generous and impartial system of commerce, but it had such numbers of popular errors to combat as would have excited loud clamors and fierce opposition; and therefore as the herd of mock patriots are ever on the watch to seize all opportunities of inflaming the populace by misrepresentations and false alarms; and as the people are too apt to swallow every idle tale of this sort I determined to give no occasion to those who continually seek occasion. In short, as I perceived I could not serve my Prince by a liberal and unrestrained discussion of the points relative to these matters, I deemed it the better part to decline the undertaking rather than do anything, under the sanction of his patronage, which might disserve him in the eyes of others. For these reasons I laid the scheme aside; and if ever I should resume and complete it, the work shall appear without any patronage, protection, or dedication whatever.”¹

In his correspondence with Lord Kames, Tucker referred several times to his great work, and defended himself against the charge evidently pressed by Lord Kames, that he was unduly delaying its publication.² In 1761 his plea was that it would be useless to publish such a work then:

“War, conquests and colonies are our present system, and mine is just the opposite. Were I to publish at this juncture, the best treatment I could expect is to be taken for a knave or

¹ *Preface to Four Tracts*, pp. ix to xi.

² This delay is explained in the passages given. In the *Advertisement to the Manifold Causes for Incr. of Poor*, Tucker expressly denies that the delay was due to failure to secure subscriptions; that there had been no attempt to get a list of subscribers. The explanation of the delay, as given in Palgrave's *Dictionary of P. Econ.*, appears then to be erroneous.

a madman I look upon the nation at present to be frantic with military glory and therefore no more to be argued with than a person in a raving fit of a high fever.”¹

Again he gives reasons for abandoning his “political children:”

“I have been too forward in my publications already and those who think most favorably of my performance, consider them as the flights of a well meaning visionary In the second place there is nothing in the present disposition of the times to encourage one to hope he can do good the popular jury tears down everything before it and nothing is read or regarded but as it suits the fashionable frenzy.² . . . If I should ever publish this work it shall be to give orders for the publication of it after my decease³ But with regard to my great work, the fact is, that I am not ready for publication, were I ever so willing; nor can I say when I shall be, for the avocations belonging to my new office of Dean are too many and too important to be omitted etc.”⁴

These other duties seem to have continued to monopolize his time, for the comprehensive plan was never carried out. And so it came about that only fragments are left; but these fragments are important, for they give a very good idea of the whole.

The *Elements* was intended for the opening of this work. Its preliminary discourse, setting forth the natural disposition or inclination of mankind towards commerce, presenting universal principles in a science of commerce, and

¹ *Memoirs of Lord Kames*, vol. iii, pp. 163-164. Letter of October 18, 1761. The reference to a “frantic nation” shows the influence of Bishop Butler’s query as to national insanity.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 166-167. Letter of Dec. 10, 1763.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 172. Letter of Dec. 26, 1763.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 173-174. Letter of Feb. 15, 1764.

arguing the fundamental importance of self-interest in the new science—this preliminary discourse alone stamps Tucker as an unusually clear thinker and suggestive writer upon economic subjects. At the close of the *Elements*, Tucker has given a full outline of his tentative plan for a great work. This entire “skeleton,” as Tucker calls it, has been printed as an *Appendix* to this monograph for several reasons: (1) It reveals a well-matured plan for an extensive, systematic, master-work. It gives a fuller conception of the wideness of the man’s information, of the range of his thought, and of the clearness and completeness of his analyses, in economics, than can be given in any other way. (2) Its subtopics are, in several cases, the only definite statements Tucker has left upon the subjects to which they refer. (3) The whole furnishes a general outline guide for such an arrangement of the later topical presentation of Tucker’s contributions to economic thought as will fairly represent his own system. (4) The volume in which it occurs is a very rare one.

Four lesser economic productions belong to this virile decade. In 1751 Tucker made his contribution to the current writings on the liquor problem. He entitled his tract, *An Impartial Inquiry into the Benefits and Damages Arising to the Nation from the Present Very Great Use of Low-priced Spiritous Liquors*, etc.¹

In 1755, when war was imminent, Tucker published *The Important Question Concerning Invasions, a Sea War, Raising the Militia and Paying Subsidies for Foreign Troops*, etc.

A brief pamphlet upon *The Case of the Importation of Bar Iron from Our Own Colonies of North America* Tucker

¹ See part ii, chap. i, section i, sub-section b, of this monograph, for the argument of this tract.

produced in 1756. It argues, from the standpoint of British manufacturers, for the free importation of American bar iron.

The closing product, fairly attributable to this decade, was not published until 1774, when it appeared as the first of the *Four Tracts*. It was *A Solution of the Important Question whether a Poor Country . . . Can Supplant the Trade of a Rich Manufacturing Country*. The material in this pamphlet had been developed by Tucker as early as 1758, when he argued at length this very question in the correspondence carried on with Hume through Lord Kames.¹ The tract, as published in 1774, is the most suggestive of all of Tucker's minor works. It evidences his powers in both abstract and concrete presentation of truth, his directness and simplicity of style, and his breadth of view. In it Tucker (1) asserts the possibility of a science of economics, (2) clearly distinguishes *a priori* from *a posteriori* reasoning, (3) declares a harmony between the principles of economics and those of ethics, (4) urges a general naturalization law, (5) notes the importance of capital and of the division of labor, (6) outlines a philosophy of international exchange, (7) develops the thought that all nations may grow rich together, (8) refutes the bullionist error, (9) rejects the parallel between private and national bookkeeping, (10) denies the development-decadence analogy between the individual and the nation, (11) presents a theory of national prosperity, and (12) condemns war—and all this concisely stated within the narrow range of fifty-six octavo pages. No man could have written this tract who was not a theorist of unusual powers in the subject of economics.

¹ See *Memoirs Lord Kames*, vol. iii, pp. 158-161. Letter of July 6, 1758.

In addition to his published works, Tucker carried on at least two correspondences upon economic themes during this decade from 1749-1759. The one with Mr. Hume, in 1758, has already been mentioned above. The other, carried on in 1752-1753 with Lord Townshend, was referred to in the account of Tucker's life. Time will probably reveal to manuscript searchers other such correspondences.

The ten years, from 1749-1759, was the most fruitful decade of Tucker's author life. He was old enough to have insight and good judgment, and yet young enough to have enthusiasm and initiative vigor. A summary of his writing during the ten years will amply justify the characterization of it as his economic decade: He discussed at length the trade relations between Great Britain and France; he took a prominent part in two absorbing national discussions, those upon naturalization and upon the Turkey trade; he interestingly developed a number of minor economic themes, and corresponded upon economic subjects with prominent men of the day, to their frankly acknowledged instruction; and he planned, and partially executed, the first systematic treatise, in the English language, covering the full range of economic thought. It is no wonder, in the presence of such a record for a single ten years, that sarcastic Warburton shot his stinging shaft at Tucker as the clergyman who "made a religion of trade."

During the relatively barren author years that followed Tucker's elevation to the Deanery of Gloucester, he published two pamphlets upon economic subjects, *The Manifol'd Causes of the Increase of the Poor*,¹ and *Improvements and*

¹ See this monograph, part ii, chap. ii, sect. iii, sub-sect. (c), for an outline of this pamphlet. The Stroud River pamphlet is merely descriptive of attempts to navigate that river with the aid of powerful lifting cranes instead of more expensive locks.

Savings in Inland Navigation Exemplified on the River Stroud. Both of these appeared in 1760, and were thus virtually but an afterglow of the brilliance of the economic decade.

During the fourteen years from 1760 to 1774, Tucker wrote but one economic tract, *The Case of Going to War for the Sake of Trade*, published in 1763, and republished as *Tract II.* of the *Four Tracts*. It was occasioned by reflections upon the Seven Years' War, and it voices Tucker's opposition to war.

In the years from 1774 on, Tucker published a number of minor economic tracts. In 1774 *Four Tracts* and *Two Sermons* appeared. The first two of the tracts have already been mentioned as attributable to an earlier period. The remaining two tracts were political. The *Two Sermons* are his "commercial sermons," one an interesting discussion of luxury,¹ which he intended as models to show that commercial themes could be properly and profitably dealt with by a clergyman. These sermons occur as sermons vii and viii of the *Seventeen Sermons* (1776).

In 1778 he issued *The State of the Nation in 1777 as Compared with . . . 1759*,² which foreshadows the modern national census. It is written as a suggestion to legislators, and especially to malcontents, and indicates certain investigations which it would be profitable for them to make.

In the years after 1780 Tucker issued but one pamphlet and one brief magazine article which can be classed with his economic works. The pamphlet appeared in 1782, and is entitled, *Reflections on the Present Low Price of Coarse*

¹ See this monograph, part ii, chap. i, section i, sub-sect. (a), for an outline of his discussion of luxury.

² See this monograph, part ii, chap. v, section v, for the contents of this tract.

Wools, etc. It gives his opinion upon the falling prices of this staple product, which occasioned considerable speculation at this time. In 1784 he proposed *Subjects for Dissertations and Premiums to be Offered to University Students*.¹ He was of the opinion that the general tenor of academical studies afforded little instruction in the civil, political, and commercial interests of the nation :

“A student may excel in that knowledge required for his degree . . . and yet be very deficient in that knowledge necessary to form the public spirited citizen, the enlightened senator and the real patriot and what is worse, the greater his zeal, without such knowledge, the more liable he will be to pursue wrong measures.”

As a partial remedy for this lack in the university curricula, he proposed that prizes be offered in the English and Scotch universities for the best student dissertations upon selected subjects. He proposed subjects canvassing such territory as: The effect of war upon national commercial strength, the relative productiveness of slave and of free labor, and the results of complete abolition of monopoly.

The tract, *Reflections upon the Present Matters in Dispute between Great Britain and Ireland* (1785), was political in intent, and has been classed with his political works, although it is, in main part, an arraignment of monopolies.

¹This article appeared in *Europ. Mag.*, vol. xxi (Jan., 1792), pp. 17-18. It was first published as *Appendix to Reflect. Dispute G. B. and Ireland*, 1785.