

## APPENDIX II.

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### JOSIAH TUCKER AND HIS WRITINGS.

AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY PAMPHLETEER ON AMERICA.

OF all the pamphleteers on Anglo-American subjects in the eighteenth century, Josiah Tucker, considering his ability and the number of his writings, is least remembered. With many opinions in advance of his contemporaries, and with a clear insight into some matters which confused and bewildered a whole generation, he was nevertheless only laughed at or bitterly attacked by his compeers, while his successors, far from viewing him as a prophet, have entirely lost sight of both himself and his writings. As early as 1763 he wrote: "I have been too forward in my publications already; and those who think the most favorably of my performances consider them as the flights of a well-meaning visionary. . . I have complained . . . that my fate was like Cassandra's: none would believe me till it was too late." Certainly the writings of a man who, as early as 1750, wrote in favor of allowing almost absolute free trade with the colonies,—"for," wrote Tucker, "if we would keep them still dependent upon their mother country, . . . let us make it their interest always to be"; who, before the French and Indian war predicted that the conquest of Canada would be shortly followed by the independence of America; who, far from deprecating that event, argued that in no way would it injure the mother country, which would still retain the American trade; who, when the Americans refused to be taxed, advised that they should be declared independent, as England could never enforce laws in America; who earnestly opposed all attempts to suppress by force the American Revolution; and who was one of the first to see that the right of America to declare herself free was not to be found, where so

many of our writers attempted to find it, in legal and constitutional writings, but was a revolutionary right inherent in all nations and peoples: the writings of such a man deserve some notice, even though they exercised little influence on the generation which read them.

Appointed to a curacy in 1737, in Bristol, England, at that time one of the great ports of entry, and for American trade the greatest port of entry in England, Josiah Tucker<sup>1</sup> quickly took an interest in commerce, a subject at that time but little understood; an interest which in time gained him a considerable reputation, and gave rise to Bishop Warburton's *bon mot* that "trade was his religion and religion his trade." He early took an especial interest in American trade, and in his writings we find much concerning that neglected subject which nowhere else appears in print. At first the advocate of a fostering system of exemptions and bounties, he later became averse to all colonial schemes, for he discovered that trade recognizes no boundary lines except those raised by taxation or prohibition, and that the colonies traded where they could trade to the best advantage. From the discovery of this truism dates the Dean's antagonism to America, which was further increased by his extreme Tory views on the power of king and parliament over colonies. Yet this extreme partisanship was entirely untinged by party prejudice, and his writings were quite as unpopular with the Tory as with the Whig party. "Might have been" is a dangerous phrase to introduce into historical writings, but had Tucker ever completed his "elementary" work on trade, for the instruction of the Prince of Wales, it must have given a different aspect to those twenty years from 1763 to 1783.

In the following list I have endeavored to catalogue all the writings of the Dean which relate to America, but probably some

<sup>1</sup> No attempt is made here to give an account of his life. There are sketches in *Public Characters of 1798-9*, p. 168; *The Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxix. p. 1000; *Annual Register*, vol. xli. p. 354; and *European Magazine* (with portrait) vol. xxxvi. pp. 293, 377, and vol. xxxvii. p. 18. Letters of his are printed in WOODHOUSE'S *Memoirs of Kames*, vol. iii. p. 157, and in *Letters of Eminent Persons Addressed to David Hume*, p. 176.

of his anonymous pamphlets and many of his newspaper articles have escaped me.<sup>1</sup>

A | Brief Essay | on the | Advantages and Disadvantages, | Which Respectively Attend | France and Great Britain, | With Regard to Trade. | With some | Proposals | For Removing | the | Principal Disadvantages | of | Great Britain, | In a New and Concise Method. | Printed for the Author; And sold by T. Trye, near | Gray's-Inn, Holborne, London, 1749. [8vo. pp. v+79.]

"The best of his numerous performances," writes McCulloch. This volume relates largely to colonial trade and production; the author wished these to be fostered and encouraged, so long as they did not come into rivalry with the mother country. He maintained that restrictions and duties should be for the mutual benefit of the two countries, for that would bring mutual dependence, which "alone will contribute more to the preserving of the Dependency of our Colonies upon their Mother Country, than any other Refinement or Invention."

A | Brief Essay | on the | Advantages and Disadvantages | which respectively attend | France and Great Britain, | With Regard to | Trade. | With some | Proposals | For Removing the | Principal Disadvantages of | Great Britain. | In a new method. | The Second Edition Corrected | With large Additions. | London: | Printed for T. Trye, near Gray's-Inn Gate, Holborne. MDCCL. | (Price Two Shillings). [8vo. pp. 166.]

A | Brief Essay | on the | Advantages and Disadvantages | Which respectively attend | France and Great Britain, | With Regard to | Trade. | With some | Proposals | For Removing the | Principal Disadvantages of | Great Britain. | In a new

<sup>1</sup> In the preface to *Cui Bono*, Dean Tucker speaks of a pamphlet of his which I have not been able to identify: "Almost thirty years ago [dating back from 1781]. . . . He [Dean Tucker] showed . . . that the Americans had not assigned a sufficient Cause for going to War for their Sakes; and that their pretended Dangers either of being driven into the Sea, or of being put between two fires, were imposture . . . he offered to prove from the English Custom-House Books of Entries or Imports, that the Quantity of Furs brought into England was almost double to what it had been in former Times . . . that the driving of the French from the English back Settlements would be the Signal to the Colonies to meditate a general Revolt. . . . Some would not vouchsafe an Answer to his Letters."

method. | By Josiah Tucker, M.A. | Rector of St. Stephens in Bristol, and Chaplain to the | Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Bristol. | The Third Edition Corrected, | With Additions. | London: | Printed for T. Trye, near Gray's-Inn Gate, Holborn. | MDCCLIII. | (Price Two Shillings). [8vo. pp. (2), v—viii+168.]

Reprinted with the omission of the appendix in: *A Select Collection of scarce and valuable tracts on Commerce. . . . London: MDCCCLIX.*

An | Essay | on the | Advantages and Disadvantages | Which respectively attend | France and Great Britain, | With Regard to | Trade. | With some | Proposals | For removing the | Principal Disadvantages of Great Britain. | By Mr. Josiah Tucker, of Bristol. | The Fourth Edition. | Glasgow: | Printed in the year MDCCLVI. [12mo. pp. vii+3-194.]

A reprint of the third edition.

A | Brief Essay | on the | Advantages & Disadvantages | which respectively attend | France | and | Great Britain, | with regard to | Trade. | By Josiah Tucker, D.D. | Dean of Gloucester. | London: | Printed for John Stockdale, | opposite Burlington-House, Piccadilly. | MDCCCLXXXVII. [8vo. pp. 96.]

Although the "Advertisement" claims this to be a reprint of the third edition, it is really an abridgement, and contains only about half the original pamphlet. Only pages 1 to 53 are devoted to Tucker's essays, the remainder containing three of Hume's essays on trade. It was apparently reprinted in Dublin in this same year.

The | Elements of Commerce | and | Theory of Taxes. [Colophon] Josiah Tucker, | Rector of St. Stephens in Bristol. | Bristol, July 10, 1755. [4to. pp. 174, (1).]

Such is the title as given in the running title at page 8 of this pamphlet, but in the copy before me Dean Tucker has struck it out with a pen and substituted "The Moral and Political Theory of Trade and Taxes."

The author in his preliminary note states that "The present Impression of this Treatise is not designed for public Use: The

Press being no otherwise employed on this Occasion than as an expeditious Amanuensis. The Author therefore humbly hopes, That those Gentlemen who favour him with perusing these sheets, will please to consider the Work as still in Manuscript, and oblige him with their Corrections and Improvements as soon as possible. The Margins are made particularly large for that Purpose. And it is proposed, that after a general Revisal, the Treatise shall be correctly and neatly printed, and published with Expedition."

At the request of Dr. Hayter, preceptor to George III., Josiah Tucker began the preparation of a treatise on National Commerce, intended for the especial instruction of the then Prince of Wales, but after making some progress in the work abandoned the project, as he considered that his own views and theories ran too much counter to public opinion and prejudice. This is the preliminary "first copy" of the first part and of the first chapter of the second part (a table of the contents of the whole work being added) and was never carried further than the printing of a few copies, as advance sheets for correction by the author's friends. As most of the copies were returned to the author, it is a work of great rarity, and when found is usually full of marginal notes. That now before me was sent to Dr. Secker, Archbishop of Canterbury, and is crowded with both his and the author's manuscript corrections and additions, while the copy mentioned in J. R. McCulloch's *Literature of Political Economy* (p. 51) has notes by the Earl of Shelburne. The volume deals with only the first half of the subjects in the author's title, but relates considerably to the South Sea, the African, and the Hudson Bay companies, as well as to American trade.<sup>1</sup>

The | Case | of the | Importation | of | Bar-Iron | from our  
own | Colonies of North America ; | Humbly recommended to  
the Conside- | ration of the present Parliament, by | the Iron  
Manufacturers of | Great Britain. | London : | Printed for  
Thomas Trye, near Gray's-Inn Gate, Holburn. | MDCCLVI. |  
[Pricé Six-pence.] [8vo. pp. 29, (2).]

<sup>1</sup> See *Memoirs of the Life of Lord Kames*, iii. 164.

In this work Tucker urges the admission, duty free, of American iron. It is reviewed in the *Monthly Review*, vol. xv. p. 673.

The | Case | of | Going to War, | For the Sake of | Procuring, Enlarging, or Securing | of | Trade, | Considered in a New Light. | Being | A Fragment of a greater Work. | London: | Printed for R. and J. Dodsley, . . . | . . . . . | M.DCC.LXIII. [8vo. pp. 59.]

This is apparently another fragment of Tucker's *Elements of Commerce*, and is reprinted as the second piece in his *Four Tracts*. It is written with a strong bias against the French and Indian War, as against all wars, which, he maintains, injure the trade of conquering nations even more than of the conquered. He also argues the uselessness of the recent conquests of Canada and Guadaloupe, and shows how little commercial advantage Great Britain has derived therefrom. It is reviewed in the *Critical Review*, vol. xv. p. 211, and in *Monthly Review*, vol. xxvii. p. 212.

"About twelve years [months?] ago I determined to feel the pulse of the public once more, in regard to the publication of my great work, and resolved to act according to the fate which would attend that specimen of it. With this view, I selected a chapter which had reference to the disputes then on foot, and which are still the subjects of unusual conversation. I worked this chapter into a pamphlet, introduced several striking characters, and gave it all the colourings of popularity I could devise. It was styled, *The Case of going to War for the Sake of Trade Considered in a New Light*; and was printed by Dodsley. But neither the singularity of the title, nor the name of the publisher, could recommend it to the least regard. . . . The last news I heard of it was, that it had not paid for advertising. . . . It is full of errors of the press, having never had the correcting hand of the author." (Tucker to Kames.)

A | Letter | from a | Merchant in London | to his | Nephew in North America, | relative to the | Present Posture of Affairs in the Colonies; | in which | the supposed Violation of Charters, and the several | Grievances complained of, are particularly discussed, | and the Consequences of an Attempt towards Inde- |

pendency set in a true Light. | . . . | London: Printed for J. Walter, at Homer's Head, Charing Cross. | MDCCLXVI. [8vo. pp. (2), 55.]

Signed "A. B." Dean Tucker declares in this tract that America aims at independency, and, far from deprecating that aim, he is strongly in favor of England's declaring the colonies no longer part of the empire. He shows the futility of attempting to enforce the Stamp Act, and argues that were the colonies independent, Great Britain would certainly retain the colonial trade while escaping from the attendant expenses of protection and bounties; he believed, however, that a few years of separation would bring the colonies to petition for reunion with the mother country. He writes with an unfriendly spirit toward Americans, but strongly opposes all military operations to enforce the act, arguing that "a Shop-keeper will never get the more custom by beating his Customer," and in this connection first uses the now historical description of England as a "Shop-keeping Nation." The piece is reprinted in Tucker's *Four Tracts*, and is somewhat noticed in the preface. It is reviewed unfavorably in the *Monthly Review*, vol. xxxiv. p. 161; and an answer, in the form of marginal notes, by Franklin, is printed in both Sparks' and Bigelow's editions of Franklin's writings.

Verhandeling over het recht van het Britsche Parlement om belastingen te leggen op de Noord Amerikaansche volk planters, voorgesteld in eenen brief van een koopman te londen aan zijn neef in Amerika. Utrecht: J. von Schoonhoven. 1775. [8vo. pp. 56.]

Onzijdige Brief van een voornaam Koopman to Londen aan zijnen neeve in Amerika; over de tegenwoordige geschillen aldaar. Uit het Eng. vert. Utrecht: 1778. [8vo.]

Four Tracts, | together with | Two Sermons, | On Political and Commercial | Subjects. | By Josiah Tucker, D.D. | Dean of Gloucester. | Gloucester: | Printed by R. Raikes, | and sold by | J. Rivington, in St. Paul's Church-Yard, London. | M. DCC. LXXIV. [8vo. pp. (2), xv+9-216, 31, (1).]

The four tracts are:

I. "A Solution of the important Question, Whether a poor Country, where raw Materials and Provisions are cheap, and Wages low, can supplant the Trade of a rich manufacturing Country, where raw Materials and Provisions are dear, and the Price of Labour high.—With a Postscript obviating Objections."

II. "The Case of going to War for the Sake of Trade, considered in a new Light; being the Fragment of a greater Work."

III. "A Letter from a Merchant in London, to his Nephew in America, concerning the late and present Disturbances in the Colonies."

IV. "The true Interest of Great Britain set forth in regard to the Colonies; and the only means of living in Peace and Harmony with them."

The first of these tracts, though written in 1758, was now for the first time printed. It shows the methods by which wealth is amassed, and again argues the foolishness of going to war, especially with countries who purchase any of England's manufactures. The three other tracts are described elsewhere in this article. They are highly praised in McCulloch's *Literature of Political Economy*; and reviewed in the *Monthly Review*, vol. i. p. 127; the *Critical Review*, vol. xxxviii. p. 56; and *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xlv. pp. 29, 125.

The two following were an answer to the project of separation, as advanced by the Dean :

A | Letter | to | Doctor Tucker | on his | Proposal of a Separation | between | Great Britain | and her | American Colonies. | London, | Printed for T. Becket, Corner of the Adelphi, Strand. | MDCCLXXIV. [8vo. pp. (2), 36.]<sup>1</sup>

Some Reasons for approving of the Dean of Gloucester's Plan of separating from the Colonies. With a proposal for a further Improvement. London: Conant. 1775.<sup>2</sup>

Four Tracts | on | Political and Commercial | Subjects. | The Second Edition. By Josiah Tucker, D.D. | Dean of Gloucester. | Gloucester: | Printed by R. Raikes, and Sold by J. Rivington, St.

<sup>1</sup> See *Monthly Review*, vol. i. p. 413.

<sup>2</sup> See *Monthly Review*, vol. liv. p. 73.

Paul's Church-Yard; T. Cadell, in the Strand; and J. Walter, Charing-Cross. | M. DCC. LXXIV. [8vo. pp. 224.]

Four Tracts, | on | Political and Commercial | Subjects. | The Third Edition. | By Josiah Tucker, D.D. | Dean of Gloucester. | Gloucester: | Printed by R. Raikes; | and sold by | T. Cadell, in the Strand, London. | M. DCC. LXXVI. [8vo. pp. 224.]

The | True Interest | of | Great-Britain, | set forth | in regard | to the | Colonies; | and the only means of | Living in Peace and Harmony with them. | By Josiah Tucker, D.D. | Dean of Gloucester. | Norfolk: | Printed in the year MDCCLXXIV. [8vo. pp. 66.]

In this pamphlet Tucker shows that some radical remedy is necessary in the relations between England and America, and proceeds to discuss the merits and demerits of the propositions to enforce the English laws, to give the Colonies seats in Parliament, and his own proposition to declare America independent.

The True | Interest of Britain, | set forth in regard | to the | Colonies; | And the only Means of | Living in Peace and Harmony with Them, | Including Five different Plans, for effecting this desirable | Event. | By Jos. Tucker, D.D., Dean of Gloucester. | To which is Added by the Printer, A few more Words | on the Freedom of the Press in America. | Philadelphia: | Printed and Sold by Robert Bell, in Third-Street, | MDCCLXXVI. [8vo. 66, (6).]

A | Review | of | Lord Vis. Clare's Conduct | as | Representative | of | Bristol. | . . . | . . . | By Josiah Tucker, D.D. | Dean of Gloucester, and Rector of St. Stephen's in Bristol. | Gloucester: | Printed by R. Raikes; | and sold by | T. Cadell, in London; | and | T. Cadell, in Bristol. | (Price Two-pence.) [12mo. pp. 34.]

Viscount Clare (Lord Nugent) was representative for Bristol for twenty years. He voted against the repeal of the Stamp Act and in favor of harsh measures toward the Americans, and in consequence lost his popularity in Bristol, one of the few towns favorable to America. He ran against Burke for election

to Parliament in 1774 and was supported by Tucker on account of the latter's American views; it was this election which caused Burke to attack Tucker's writings, which attack in turn occasioned Tucker's *Letter to Edmund Burke*.

A | Letter | to | Edmund Burke, Esq; Member of Parliament for the | City of Bristol, | and | Agent for the Colony of New York, &c. | In answer to | his printed Speech, | said to be spoken in the House of Commons | on the Twenty-second of March, 1775. | By Josiah Tucker, D.D. | Dean of Gloucester. | Gloucester: | Printed by R. Raikes; | and sold by | T. Cadell, in the Strand, London. | M. DCC. LXXV. [8vo. pp. 58, (2).]

Mr. Burke had spoken of the Dean's plan of separation as "childish." So we have here a rather angry attack of the former's plan of pacification, and a further defence of Tucker's own plan. The letter is reviewed in *Monthly Review*, vol. liii. p. 180, and in the *Critical Review*, vol. xl. p. 83.

A | Letter | to | Edmund Burke, Esq; | Member of Parliament for the | City of Bristol, | and Agent for the Colony of New York, &c. | In answer to | his printed speech | said to be spoken in the House of Commons | on the Twenty-second of March, 1775. | Second Edition, Corrected. | By Josiah Tucker, D.D. | Dean of Gloucester. | Gloucester: | Printed by R. Raikes; | and sold by T. Cadell, in the Strand, London. | M.DCC.LXXIV. [8vo. pp. 58.]

Tract V. | The | Respective Pleas | and | Arguments | of the | Mother Country, | and of the | Colonies, | distinctly set forth; | And the Impossibility of a | Compromise of differences, | or a | mutual concession of rights | plainly demonstrated. | With a | Prefatory Epistle | to the | Plenipotentiaries of the late Congress | at Philadelphia. | By Josiah Tucker, D.D. | Dean of Gloucester. | Gloucester: | Printed by R. Raikes; | and sold by | T. Cadell, in the Strand, and J. Walter, | Charing-Cross, London. | M.DCC.LXXV. [8vo. pp. xv+9-51, (1).]

In this tract the Dean entirely loses his temper so far as America is concerned. He argues strongly in favor of driving the colonies forth, so that England may be rid of the trouble of

governing them and the colonies be properly punished. He holds that American independence was merely a matter of time, and would be accomplished as soon as the French were driven out of Canada, which latter place, "when grown rich by our Means, and our Capital, will assuredly set up for independence." At the same time he discusses the various claims set forth in the addresses and letters of the first Continental Congress, and denies the validity of those claims. The tract is reviewed in the *Monthly Review*, vol. lii. p. 174, and in the *Critical Review*, vol. xxxix. p. 153.

Tract V. | The | Respective Pleas | and | Arguments | of the  
| Mother Country | and of the | Colonies, | distinctly set forth ;  
| and the impossibility of a | compromise of differences, | or a  
| mutual concession of rights, | plainly demonstrated. | With a  
prefatory epistle, | to the | Plenipotentiaries of the late Congress  
| at Philadelphia. | Second Edition. | By Josiah Tucker,  
D.D. | Dean of Gloucester. | Gloucester : | Printed by R. Raikes ;  
| and sold by | T. Cadell, in the Strand, London. | M.DCC.  
LXXVI. | [Price one shilling]. [8vo. pp. 60.]

An | Humble Address | and | Earnest Appeal | to | those  
respectable personages | in Great-Britain and Ireland, | who, |  
by their great and permanent interest | in landed property, |  
their liberal education, elevated rank, | and enlarged views, | are  
the ablest to judge, and the fittest to decide, | whether a | connection  
with, or a separation from | the | Continental Colonies of  
America, | be most for the national advantage, and the | lasting  
benefit of these kingdoms. | . . . | By Josiah Tucker, D.D. |  
Dean of Gloucester. | Gloucester : | Printed by R. Raikes ; | and  
sold by | T. Cadell, in the Strand, London. | M.DCC.LXXV.  
[8vo. pp. 93, (2).]

The first forty-eight pages of this address are practically a continuation of the author's *Letter to Edmund Burke*. Then follows a section devoted to the colonial trade. The address ends with "a general muster of the forces both for and against the present government." It is reprinted in J. A. Remer's *Americanisches Archiv*. v. 2; severely handled in the *Monthly*

*Review*, vol. liv. pp. 1, 72; reviewed in the *Critical Review*, vol. xl. p. 381, and *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xlvi. p. 78, and was answered in :

A | Letter | To the Reverend | Josiah Tucker, D.D. Dean of Gloucester, | In Answer to | His Humble Address and Earnest Appeal, &c. | With a | Postscript, | in which | The present War against America | Is shewn to be | the Effect, | Not of the Causes assigned by Him and Others; | but of a fixed | Plan of Administration, | founded in system : | The Landed opposed to the Commercial | Interest of the State, | Being as the Means in order to the End, | By Samuel Estwick, LL.D. Assistant Agent | for the Island of Barbadoes. | . . . | London : | Printed for J. Almon, | opposite Burlington-House, Piccadilly. | M.DCC.-LXXVI. [8vo. pp. 125, (3).]

An | Humble Address | and | Earnest Appeal | to those respectable personages | in Great-Britain and Ireland, | who, | by their great and permanent interest | in landed property, | their liberal education, elevated rank | and enlarged views, | are the ablest to judge, and the fittest to decide, | whether a | connection with, or separation from | the | Continental Colonies of America, | be most for the National advantage and the | lasting benefit of these kingdoms. | . . . | Second Edition, Corrected. | By Josiah Tucker, D.D. | Dean of Gloucester | Gloucester : | Printed by R. Raikes, and sold by T. Cadell, in the Strand, London. | M.DCC.LXXV. | (Price one shilling and sixpence. | [8vo. 93, pp. (2).]

An | Humble Address | and | Earnest Appeal | to Those Respectable Personages | In Great Britain and Ireland, | who, | By Their Great and Permanent Interest | In Landed Property, | Their Liberal Education, Elevated Rank, | and Enlarged Views, | Are the Ablest to Judge, and the Fittest to Decide, | whether a | Connection with, or a Separation From | the | Continental Colonies of America, | Be Most for the National Advantage, and the | Lasting Benefit of These Kingdoms. | *Suis et ipsa Roma viribus ruit. Hor.* | The Third Edition, Corrected. | By Josiah Tucker, D.D. | Dean of Gloucester, | London : | Printed for T.

Cadell, in the Strand. | MDCCLXXVI. | (Price 1s. 6d.) [8vo. pp. 94, (2).]

Dispassionate Thoughts | on the | American War : | Ad-  
dressed to the | Moderate of all Parties. | . . . | . . . | Lon-  
don. | Printed for J. Wilkie, No. 71, St. Paul's | Church-Yard. |  
MDCCLXXX. [8vo. pp. 37.]

A copy of this in the British Museum has noted upon it,  
"By the Dean of Gloucester, as it is said." It was answered by  
Joseph Galloway, in :

Plain Truth : | or, a | Letter | to the Author of | Dispassion-  
ate Thoughts | on the American War. | In which | The Princi-  
ples and Arguments of that Author | are refuted, and the Necessi-  
ty of carrying on that | War clearly demonstrated. | By the  
Author of Letters to a Nobleman on the | Conduct of the Ameri-  
can War ; and of Cool | Thoughts on the Consequences of |  
American Independence. | London : | Printed for G. Wilkie, in  
St. Paul's Church-Yard ; | and R. Foulder, in Bond-Street. |  
MDCCLXXX. [8vo. pp. vii+76, (1).]

A | Series of Answers | to certain | popular objections, |  
against separating from the | rebellious colonies, | and | discard-  
ing them entirely ; | being the | concluding tract | of the | Dean  
of Gloucester | on the subject of | American Affairs. | Gloucester :  
| Printed by R. Raikes ; and sold by | T. Cadell, in the Strand.  
London. M.DCC.LXXVI. [8vo. pp. xv+9-108, (11).]

In this tract the author prints each objection that had been  
made to his project of separation, and answers it. The tract is  
reviewed in the *Critical Review*, vol. xl. p. 374, and in the  
*Monthly Review*, vol. lvi. p. 145 ; and is partly reprinted in the  
*London Chronicle*, vol. xl. p. 489.

[Preliminary Treatise on Civil Government. Privately  
Printed. 17-?]

In Tucker's "Tract V." he advertises as "Preparing for the  
Press. Tract VI. An Expostulatory Letter addressed to the  
Ministers of the several Denominations of Protestants in North-  
America, occasioned by their preferring and inculcating the  
Principles of Mr. Locke, instead of those of the Gospel, relative

to the original Titles of Civil Governors.” In the preface of his *Letter to Burke* he states that “The present critical Juncture obliges the Author to postpone his Animadversions on Mr. Locke’s Theory of Government for some time longer.” In the preface of his published *Treatise concerning Civil Government* Dean Tucker writes: “The long preliminary Discourse which I had printed in the Specimen dispersed among my Friends, is now totally suppressed”; and in the body of the work he states: “When I first undertook the Task of answering Mr. Locke . . . I caused the Press to strike off about 50 or 60 Copies of the principal Parts of the present Treatise. My View therein was to consult the Learned and Judicious both far and near concerning the Plan of the Work, and the Nature of the Undertaking;—likewise to entreat the Benefit of their Corrections and Amendments, in Case they should judge so favourably of this Specimen as to encourage me to proceed.” These quotations are the only traces I have found of this “Specimen.”

A | Treatise | concerning | Civil Government, | in | three  
parts. | Part I. | The notions of Mr. Locke and his followers, |  
concerning the origin, extent and end | of civil government,  
examined and con- | futed. | Part II. | The true basis of civil gov-  
ernment, set | forth and ascertained; also objections | answered;  
different forms compared; and | improvements suggested. |  
Part III. | England’s former Gothic constitution cen- | sured and  
opposed; cavils refuted; and | authorities produced: also the  
scripture | doctrine concerning the obedience due to | governors  
vindicated and illustrated. | By Josiah Tucker, D.D. | Dean of  
Glocester. | London: | Printed for T. Cadell, in the .Strand. |  
M.DCC.LXXXI. [8vo. pp. (2), v+5, 428.]

Written especially to confute the theories of Locke, which enjoyed such popularity in America, and on which so many of our pleas and arguments were founded, it relates largely to the causes and actions of our Revolution. Though opposed to the political theories of both parties in England, it was highly praised by Lord Mansfield in Parliament. It is severely criticised in the *Monthly Review*, vol. lxxv. pp. 271, 321, and was answered by :

A Vindication of the Political Principles of Mr. Locke, in answer to the objections of the Rev. Dr. Tucker. By Joseph Towers, London: 1782. *Monthly Review*, vol. lxxvii. p. 130.

A | Dissertation | on the | National Assemblies | under the | Saxon and Norman | Governments. | With | A Postscript addressed to the Dean of Gloucester. | By James Ibbetson, Esq. | Barrister at Law | . . . | . . . | London: Printed for R. Foul-der, Bond Street. | MDCCLXXXI. [4to. pp. 45, (1).]

It was also burlesqued in :

*The Dean and The Squire : A Political Eclogue.* [By Malcolm Mac-Gregor] London MDCCLXXXII. [4to. pp. 15.]

Cui Bono ? | or, an | Inquiry, | what | benefits can arise | either to the | English or the Americans, | the | French, Spaniards, or Dutch, | from the | greatest victories, or successes, | in the | present war ? | Being a | series of letters, | addressed to | Monsieur Necker, | late Controller General of the finances of France, | By Josiah Tucker, D.D. | Dean of Gloucester. | Gloucester: | Printed by R. Raikes ; | for T. Cadell, in the Strand ; | Sold also by Evans and Hazell, | in Gloucester. | M.DCC.LXXXI. [8vo. pp. 141, (1).]

The Dean proves to his own satisfaction that all of the countries engaged in the war will be the losers by it, maintaining that conquest or glory is the only true end of wars, and pointing out that both of these ends, even if attained, are worthless. As for Americans, he urges that their greatest misfortune will be the acknowledgment of their independence, since their "future Grandeur . . . is one of the idlest, and most visionary Notions that was ever conceived. . . . Their fate seems to be,—a disunited People till the End of Time." The author's plan of pacification is based on this supposedly inherent division in the American colonies, for he forms the region between the Connecticut and the Hudson river, and the Carolinas and Georgia into two loyalist colonies of England, while granting independence to the remainder ; but he stipulates, in accordance with his anti-colonial theories, that these two loyalist colonies may at the end of ten years organize such governments as seem to them fit.

It is reviewed in the *Monthly Review*, vol. lxvi. p. 271, and *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lii. p. 82.

Cui Bono ? | or, an | Inquiry, | what | benefits can arise | either to the | English or the Americans, | the | French, Spaniards, or Dutch, | from the | greatest victories, or successes, | in the | present war ? | Being a | series of letters, | addressed to | Monsieur Necker, | late Controller General of the finances of France. | Second Edition, corrected. | With a plan for a | general pacification. | By Josiah Tucker, D.D. | Dean of Gloucester. | Gloucester : | Printed by R. Raikes, | for T. Cadell in the Strand ; | sold also by Evans and Hazell, | in Gloucester. | M.DCC.LXXXII. [8vo. pp. 141, (1).]

The changes in this edition are very slight, the "corrections" being almost entirely limited to typographical errors.

Cui Bono ? | or, an | Inquiry, | what | benefits can arise | either to the | English or the Americans, | the | French, Spaniards, or Dutch, | from the greatest victories, or successes, | in the | present war ? | Being a | series of letters, | addressed to | Monsieur Necker, | late Controller General of the finances of France. | Third Edition, | with an additional preface. | With a plan for a | general pacification. | By Josiah Tucker, D.D. | Dean of Gloucester. | London : | Printed for T. Cadell, in the Strand ; | sold also by Evans and Hazell, in Gloucester. | M.DCC.LXXXII. [8vo. pp. (2), v-xxv+3, 141, (1).]

The addition of the preface is apparently the only change, concerning which see the note on the separate issue.

Cui Bono ? | ou | Examen : | Quel avantages les Anglois ou les Americaines, | les François, les Espanols ou les Hollandois, | retireront-ils des plus grands victoires ou des | plus grands succès dan la Guerre actuelle ? | En forme de Lettres adressés à Monsieur Necker, | ci-devant contrôleur général des Finances | de France | Par Josias [sic] Tucker, Docteur en Théologie, | Doyen de Gloucester. | Tradiut de la Anglois | A Londres, | et se trouve chez les principaux Libraires | de l'Europe. | M.DCC.LXXXII. [8vo. pp. 95.]

Preface to the Third Edition of *Cui Bono*. By Dean Tucker [London: T. Cadell. 1782] [8vo. pp. v.–xxv.]

Such is the title of the piece as printed in the *Monthly Review*, vol. lxvii. p. 233. It is included in the third edition of *Cui Bono*, but was also separately printed that “The Purchaser of the former Editions . . . may have this new Preface separately, Price 6d.” “As it contains new Matter & some curious Anecdotes with many other things of a momentous Nature I make no Doubt, but you will have a rapid Sale . . . You complained heretofore, that ye Pamphlet was too much for 2 and too little for 2–6. This may now be rectified by selling ye whole for 2–6. Also by printing an Additional Number for ye Use of those if they chuse to buy, who have purchased ye former Editions.” (Letter from Tucker to Cadell.)

Four | Letters | on important | National Subjects, | addressed to the Right Honourable | the Earl of Shelburne, | His Majesty's First Lord Commissioner | of the Treasury. | By Josiah Tucker, D.D. | Dean of Gloucester. | Gloucester: | Printed by R. Raikes. | For T. Cadell, in the Strand, London. | MDCCXXXIII. [8vo. pp. vii+119, (1).]

This is largely a continuation of Tucker's reply to Locke, and is written in no friendly spirit towards Lord Shelburne or the Americans. It is reviewed in the *Monthly Magazine*, vol. lxviii. p. 313; the *New Review*, vol. iii. p. 44; and *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. liii. p. 60.

Four | Letters | on important | National Subjects, | addressed to the Right Honourable | the Earl of Shelburne, | His Majesty's First Lord oe [sic]the Treasury. | By Josiah Tucker, D.D. | Dean of Gloucester. | The Second Edition. | London: | Printed for T. Cadell, in the Strand | M.DCC.LXXIII. [sic]. [8vo. pp. vii+120.]

Contains a “postscript” dated January 14, 1783.

A Plain Letter to the Common People of England and Wales, giving some fair warning against transporting themselves to America. Bristol. T. Cocking. MDCCLXXXIII. [12mo. pp. 24.]

Title from the Carter-Brown Catalogue, where it is referred to Tucker. It is reviewed in the *Monthly Review*, vol. lxix. p. 430.

I have also found the following newspaper articles :

“The Dean of Gloucester’s Proposal for extricating Great Britain out of the present Embarrassment with some Honour, and no Loss.” (*London Chronicle*, vol. xlii. p. 565, Dec. 9, 1777.)

“The State of the Nation in 1777, compared with the State of the Nation in the famous year of Conquest and of Glory, 1759. By the Dean of Gloucester.” (*London Chronicle*, vol. xliii. p. 153, Feb. 12, 1778.)

“Thoughts on the present Posture of Affairs, July 24, 1779. By the Dean of Gloucester.” (*Woodfall’s Public Advertiser*, 1779.)

This was answered by “Reply to Tucker’s Thoughts on the Present Posture of Public Affairs.” By A. B. (*Lloyd’s Evening Post*, Nov. 3, 1779.)

In the *Pennsylvania Packet* for Dec. 30, 1779, is reprinted from some English paper a letter from “A Bristol Whig to J. Tucker,” dated Aug. 28, 1779.

According to the sketch of Tucker in *Public Characters*, he contributed many articles on the American war, under the signature of Cassandra, to the London newspapers.

PAUL LEICESTER FORD.