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From an “ultra democrat” to an “ultra aristocrat”: Bentham Tracts in the Adams Collection, Quincy, Massachusetts

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FROM AN 'ULTRA-DEMOCRAT' TO AN 'ULTRA-ARISTOCRAT':

Bentham Tracts in the Adams Collection at Quincy, Massachusetts
James E. Crimmins

FROM AN 'ULTRA-DEMOCRAT' TO AN 'ULTRA-ARISTOCRAT':
Bentham Tracts in the Adams Collection at Quincy, Massachusetts

The following constitutes an annotated bibliography of the writings of the utilitarian legal philosopher and constitutional theorist, Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832), located in the Stone Library at The Old House, the Adams National Historic Site in Quincy, Massachusetts. This is the family home purchased by John Adams (1735–1826), the first American minister to the Court of St James and second President of the United States (1797–1801), subsequently taken over by his son John Quincy Adams (1767–1848), Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Great Britain (1815–17) and sixth President of the United States (1825–29). Bentham was introduced to the younger Adams in 1817 toward the end of his tenure as American minister to London. Their association was brief and seems to have served Bentham mainly as a conduit for the channelling of his ideas into the United States. On two occasions he supplied Adams with batches of his writings for his personal use and in the hope that he would distribute them or make their contents known to other prominent American political figures. Many of them carry autographed inscriptions from the author to John Quincy Adams. It is these writings that form the nucleus of the Bentham tracts in the Adams Collection to which the present bibliography is devoted.

It is likely that not all the Bentham tracts in the Adams Collection...

I would like to express my appreciation to the U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Adams National Historic Site for granting access to the Bentham works in the Adams Collection, to Johanne Lapensée-Crimmins for her assistance in compiling an earlier version of the bibliography, and to Professor E. J. Devereux of The University of Western Ontario for the benefit of his bibliographic expertise. I owe a special debt to Will Jeffers, Museum Technician at the Adams National Historic Site, for additional information concerning several of the items listed in this bibliography, details of the history of the Adams family and their library, and assistance in authenticating the hand of Charles Francis Adams in item 3.
were given or mailed directly to Adams (for example, items 3, 6, 8, 14–17, and 32 are neither inscribed nor mentioned in Bentham’s letters to Adams). Certain of these may have been purchased independently by Adams, his father, or his son Charles Francis Adams (1807–86; minister to London, 1861–68). Charles Francis inherited the family collection, added greatly to it, and built the library in which it is presently housed. Nevertheless, this remains one of the largest known caches of Bentham books sent by him personally to a leading politician of the age. Taken as a whole, they serve as an authoritative testament to Bentham’s enthusiasm for utilitarian reform and to his extraordinary, often misplaced, faith that politicians, sometimes regardless of political conviction, would heed his advice on an enormous range of issues, from laws governing penal systems and economic policy to the fundamental constitutional rules according to which states should function.

Jeremy Bentham and John Quincy Adams

When Bentham and Adams first met Bentham was at the centre of the agitation for democratic reform in England. It was a time of economic and political turmoil following the long wars with France. Though their acquaintance was short-lived, a genuine rapport was struck between the two. There are four extant letters bearing witness to their friendship: three by Bentham and one by Adams. Always an admirer of the toleration practiced in the United States, Bentham first wrote to Adams (1 June 1817) to enquire about liberal law and religious beliefs in the United States.¹ To which Adams replied some days later, correlating his answers to each of Bentham’s questions.² This exchange was likely a product of one of their frequent meetings in London in May and June of 1817. Bentham was later to report to President Jackson:

Days, sometimes more than one a week, he used to call upon me at my Hermitage . . . , and to accompany me to the Royal Gardens at Kensington, in


⁵ On one occasion Bentham wrote to his atheist friend Francis Place (24 April 1831) reporting his conversations with the reformer Archibald Prentice (1792–1857), the author of Some Recollections of Jeremy Bentham (1837) and A History of the Anti-Corn Law League (1853); ‘As to the point in question, I took care not to let him know how my opinion stood; the fat would have been all in the fire, unless I succeeded in converting him, for which there was no time; all I gave him to understand was that I was for universal toleration; and on one or two other occasions I quoted Scripture’; British Library Addl. MSS. 35619/73/4, from a transcription at the Bentham Projects, University College London, also quoted by Graham Wallas, The Life of Francis Place 1771–1854 (1898; 4th edn. London, 1901), p. 82. Bentham could even be slightly paranoid about the intentions of his religiously inclined associates. While engaged with his long-time associate William Wilberforce on the Panopticon prison scheme in the 1790s he studiously avoided discussions of a religious nature. On 15 November 1796 he wrote to his brother Samuel that Wilberforce ‘is laying plots for converting me – I was hard put to it this morning to parry him’; Correspondence, vol. 5, ed. A. T. Milne (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), p. 301; see also ibid., p. 306.
ment by any contemporary of the character of Bentham’s unbelief. Recalling an earlier conversation with Bentham, Adams entered in his diary for 8 June 1817:

The general tenor of his observations... was to discredit all religion, and he intimated doubts of the existence of a God. His position was, that all human knowledge was either positive or inferential; that all inferential knowledge was imperfect and uncertain, depending upon a process of the human mind which could not in its nature, be conclusive; that our knowledge of the physical world was positive, while that of a Creator it was inferential; that God was neither seen nor felt, nor in any manner manifested to our sense, but was the deduction from a syllogism, a mere probability from the combinations of human reason; that of the present existence of matter we have positive knowledge; that there was a time when it did not exist we assume without proof, for the purpose of assuming equally without proof, an eternal Creator of it.6

Making allowance for Adams’ cautious phrasing, this is a concise account of Bentham’s secular positivism.7 But, Bentham’s interest in Adams extended beyond their obviously stimulating conversations.

Around this time and during the following decade, colonial empires were experiencing nationalist pressures, constitutions were being amended and new constitutions constructed for emerging states. Against this background Bentham began drafting and distributing constitutions to Central and South America, Tripoli, Greece, Spain and Portugal. Rarely missing an opportunity to influence the public men with whom he became acquainted or to disseminate his ideas, on the eve of Adams’s departure from England Bentham wrote (7 June 1817) asking if he would distribute certain of his writings among leading American political figures: Panopticon (items 1–2 in the bibliography), Chrestomathia and related papers (items 18–20), Plan of Parliamentary Reform (item 22), Papers Relative to Codification and Public Instruction (item 23), and other tracts (probably items 4, 5, 7–13, and 15).8 Six tracts from this first group of writings (items 4, 5, 7, 9, 12, and 13) are variously inscribed by Bentham with dates between 13 and 19 May 1817, indicating that he had it in mind to give these writings to Adams some three weeks before he left for the United States. In addition, there are three tracts mentioned as sent to Adams which are not to be found at Quincy: Essay on Political Tactics (printed 1791),9 Swear Not at All (printed 1813; published 1817),10 and Table of the Springs of Action (printed 1815; published 1817).11 Finally, Bentham also indicated that certain other tracts would be forwarded in the future: Supplement to Papers Relative to Codification and Public Instruction (1817) in the form of a (second) letter to James Madison,12 a (second) letter to the Emperor Alexander,13 Scotch Reform (1808), and Defence of Economy Against the Right Honourable George Rose (1817).14 Of this latter group, only Scotch Reform is in the Adams Collection (item 12); it is inscribed and dated 19 May 1817, suggesting that Bentham simply overlooked the fact that he had already included this tract in the original batch of writings.

The relationship between Bentham and Adams did not develop in the years following their initial friendship, and there is no more correspondence until 1826 following the election of Adams to the presidency.15 Nevertheless, Bentham’s congratulatory letter on this occasion is warm,

9 Bentham may have intended to send Adams the much fuller French version, Traité de diktat ([1816]).
10 Bowring v. 187–229.
11 Bowring i. 193–219.
12 The Supplement is reprinted in Bowring iv. 507–14; the letter to Madison is in Correspondence ix. 71–83. Bentham first wrote to Madison on 30 October 1811 (see item 14); however, Madison does not appear to have replied until 8 May 1816. See Correspondence viii. 182–215, and 521–2.
13 Bentham to the Emperor of all the Russians (June 1815), Bowring iv. 516–28; Correspondence viii. 404–87.
14 Bowring v. 7–53 and 302–28.
15 There is an uncut letter from Bentham to Adams written 10–13 January 1833, Bentham MSS, University College London 24/378–80 (UC 24/182 is dated 23 January 1823). The letter ends abruptly and is incomplete. It was intended as an introduction to a letter to Adams ostensibly from Hastaun D’Ghies, a member of a leading family of Tripoli with diplomatic credentials from the Pasha of Tripoli. The letter, also apparently uncut, was written largely by Bentham on 13–14, 19 and 21 January 1823, and can be found in the Bentham MSS at UC 24/407–32, 468–69 (a second draft was written between 24 January and 2 February 1823; UC 24/433–71). The aim of these letters was to encourage support in the United States for an uprising in Tripoli that D’Ghies hoped to ferment. See the introduction to J. Bentham, Secularities Against Misrule and other Constitutional Writings for Tripoli and Greece, ed. P. Schofield (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. xxxv; definitive versions of both letters are included in this volume, pp. 145–52 and 153–80.
if gently scornful in tone. Alluding to the *Constitutional Code*, the work which occupied the major part of his time in the 1820s, Bentham writes (19 June 1826):

> When the result of my observations comes to be in print, you will behold in me, if you vouchsafe to look at me, an ultra-democrat – I shall, in you, an ultra-aristocrat, – for in your situation every man is so *par ear*: were it not for the sea between us, who knows but you would find me more or less of a troublesome fellow.\footnote{J. Bentham, *Constitutional Code*, in Bowring ix. There is a modern edition of the first of three volumes of the *Code*, ed. F. Rosen and J. H. Burns, *The Collected Works of Jeremy Bentham* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983).}

Adams may be forgiven a wry smile at being described an aristocrat, but political differences, perceived or actual, had never in the past prevented Bentham from the dissemination of his reforming ideas, and nor were they to now. A second group of fourteen tracts (items 21, and 24–36), with autographed inscriptions by Bentham dated 19 June 1826 (excluding item 32, with item 36 dated 20 June 1826), were sent to Adams with the above accompanying letter.\footnote{Bentham to Adams (19 June 1826), Bowring x. 525.} No further correspondence between the two exists.

### The Bentham Tracts in the Adams Collection

Any attempt to compose a bibliography of Bentham’s writings faces formidable obstacles. First, there is an extraordinary number of publications with which to contend; not all of them appeared in Bentham’s lifetime or were even produced under his supervision (Bentham routinely assigned editorial duties to willing and not so willing disciples and assistants); and some of Bentham’s writings were privately printed and circulated. Second, the proliferation of the editions of Bentham’s works, both official and pirated (with multifarious inaccuracies), and the innumerable published extracts from his writings – a practice continued well into the present century – also make such an enterprise a daunting task to undertake. Third, Bentham often hurried his work into print, delivering the text to the printer in sections and making alterations to the organization and contents of the text in the process. On occasion, this resulted in multiple versions of the same tract, printed with the same

\footnote{‘If the present opportunity serves, a few of my most recent squibs may accompany this; . . .’ *Ibid.*}

date but by different printers, with the added frustration that Bentham sometimes failed to deliver a ‘complete’ text as originally planned or promised. Consequently, Bentham’s own erratic dealings with his long-suffering printers is partly to blame for the erratic gatherings of leaves evident in some of the published versions of his writings.

Given the magnitude and complexity of the task, it is all the more remarkable to encounter the nucleus of a comprehensive account of Bentham’s corpus compiled by Sadao Ikedo, Michichiro Oronashi, and Tamihiro Shigemori, *A Bibliographical Catalogue of the Works of Jeremy Bentham* (referred to as CHUO in this bibliography).\footnote{A Bibliographical Catalogue of the Works of Jeremy Bentham, compiled by Sadao Ikedo, Michichiro Oronashi, and Tamihiro Shigemori (Tokyo: Chuo University Library, 1989). My appreciation to Chuo University for supplying me with a copy of this invaluable bibliography.} Undoubtedly, this is the benchmark against which all other attempts at Benthamic bibliography (including the present one) will be measured. The descriptions given in the CHUO bibliography are based on copies of Bentham’s works in the possession of the Chuo University Library, University College, London, the British Library and the Bodleian Library. In the present bibliography I have indicated where items in the Adams Collection appear in CHUO and where variations in the title pages occur between the two. The variations in the collations are far too numerous to warrant individual mention. However, I have noted when the collation is precisely the same as the CHUO entry. The complete title page is given for each tract and where this is missing the caption-title from the first page of text. In both cases the title variations from the CHUO entry are indicated.

With the exception of the two-volume version of *Panopticon* and an 1816 edition of the *Defence of Usury* (items 1–3), the writings are bound together in no particular order in seven volumes (items 4–36), making ten volumes in total. None of the latter tracts are listed as separate entries in the Stone Library catalogue. Each of the ten volumes is identified by catalogue number and shelf-location number. The two volumes of the *Panopticon* (items 1–2) and volumes 1–3 (items 4–15) of the collected tracts carry the book-plate of John Quincy Adams (1 3/4 x 2 1/4 in.) on the inside front cover, while the *Defence of Usury* (item 3) and volumes 4–7 (items 16–36) bear the book-plate of his son Charles Francis Adams (3 3/8 x 4 3/8 in.).

Both book-plates feature a lion grasping a cross and standing astride
an oval buckled garter, at the centre of which is an adaptation of the Boylston coat of arms. John Adams (1692–1761), father to the first Adams president, married into the well-established Boylston family of Boston in 1734 when he took Susannah Boylston (1700–97) for his wife, and their son used the Boylston arms as a seal when he signed the Treaty of Paris on behalf of the United States in 1783. The bottom two-thirds of the shield is ornamented with six crosses, to which the younger John Adams later added two lions rampant and a fleur-de-lis in each of the three roundels in the top third of the shield (intended to signify his missions and treaties with Great Britain, Holland and France) and, below the shield, a motto abbreviated from Tacitus: Fidem Libertatem, Amicitiam retinebis (Honour, Liberty, Friendship hold [them] fast).20 The bookplate of John Quincy Adams carries a shortened version of the motto engraved on the garter: Fidem, Libertatem, Amicitiam. This motto is replaced by Cruceum Fer Animose (Carry the Cross Couragously) on the book-plate of Charles Francis. The names of John Quincy Adams and Charles Francis Adams appear at the foot of their respective book-plates.

The autographed inscriptions are in ink in Bentham's hand and in every case positioned at the head of the title page (or the caption-title page where the title page is absent). It should be noted that in the inscriptions Bentham varied the spelling of Adams’ middle name; in the earlier batch of writings Quincy is spelt correctly (items 4, 5, 7, 9, 12, and 13), whereas in the later tracts it is rendered as ‘Quinsey’ (items 21, 24–31, and 33–36).

The collations for each tract follow a standard formula, with χ employed to indicate leaves which are neither preliminary to regular signature series (these are indicated by π) nor a part of any other regular gathering of leaves. Where appropriate in the notes appended to each

20 John Adams took the motto from a four-volume 1735 edition of Tacitus, purchased by him in 1783. He wrote the motto across each of the book-plates at the front of these volumes, with the name of John Quincy Adams, then a boy of sixteen, at the bottom. On p. 17 of the third volume of this set the full sentence is found with the four words underscored in ink. Tacitus, Hist. I. 15. See H. Adams, A Catalogue of the Books of John Quincy Adams Deposited in the Boston Athenæum with Notes on Books, Adams Seals and Book-plates, with an introduction by Worthington Chauncey Ford (Boston: The Merrymount Press, 1938), p. 13f. Unfortunately, this edition of Tacitus is no longer in the Adams Collection. In the Loeb edition, vol. I. xvi, the quotation reads: Fidem, libertatem, amicitiam, praeceps humanae animi bona, tu quidem eadem constantia retinebis, sed ali per obsequium immittimus: . . . ;

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entry, in addition to the cross-references to CHUO, I have indicated the volume and page numbers of the tracts as they appear in the Bowring edition of The Works of Jeremy Bentham (see note 3), given details of earlier editions of each tract, included brief descriptions of other copy specific features and pecularities of textual content, and noted the British Library status.

A BIBLIOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION OF THE TRACTS

A. THREE SEPARATELY BOUND TRACTS

I. Panopticon; Or, The Inspection House (vol. 1)

Panopticon; Postscript, Part I.

Adam 6485, shelf No. 557.1.

Book-plate of JQA inside front cover.


CHUO notes three folding plates and one folding table absent from this copy.

Postscript, Part I.

THE BOOK COLLECTOR

Collation: 8vo
π² B-F² K³ [K⁴ and [K⁵] are reversed] L-Q²; 122 leaves; [I]2-240 (p. 177) numbered 167; π1b, M3b blank.

Full leather brown tan with gilt tooling around the edges; spine ruled, lettered, and ornamented in gilt with seven double-rulled lines with the title BENTHAM'S / PANOPTICON between the second and third sets of lines and the volume number in Arabic between the fourth and fifth sets of lines. Pages (5 in. × 6½ in.) trimmed and bolts cut. Binding restored post-1946.

Folding table (between pp. 166 and 169): The Figure annexed represents an / ABING, OR MARCHING PARADE.

Notes: Main text, Bowring iv. 37-66; Postscript Parts I and II, Bowring iv. 67-172 (see item 2). Both title pages and collation of main text as per CHUO P2.2. However, CHUO copy also includes Postscript, Part II (see item 2). BL 1127, b. 37, 38 (1 vols., includes Postscript Part II).

2. Panopticon: Postscript, Part II (vol. 2)
Adam 14185; shelf No. 557.1.
Book-plate of JQA inside front cover.


Collation: 8vo
π² B-F² Q²; 118 leaves; [II]2-232 (p. 213) numbered 173; π1b blank.

Covers and pages as per item 2.

Notes: Postscript Parts I and II, Bowring iv. 67-172. Title page and collation as per CHUO P2.2. However, CHUO copy is bound with the main text of Panopticon and Postscript, Part I (see item 1). See item 1 above for BL status.

3. Defence of Usury
Adam 4493; shelf No. 573.16.
Book-plate of CPA inside front cover.


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Collation: 12mo
[A]² B-F² K-M² N⁶; 142 leaves; [I]2-206, [I-3]4-70; A1b, K8b blank. The fifth leaf of each signature (excluding K and N) is signed A3, B3, C3, etc.

Half brown tan leather with teal blue cloth boards; spine ruled, lettered, and ornamented in gilt with seven double-rulled lines with the title DEFENCE / OF / USURY between the second and third sets of lines. Pages (4 in. × 6½ in.) trimmed and bolts cut. Binding restored post-1946.

Short title A²: DEFENCE / OF / USURY, &c.


Printer's imprint A²b, N⁶b: J. McCreery, Printer, / Black Horse Court, London.

Annotations: Brief comments and queries written in pencil in the hand of Charles Francis Adams in the margins of A Protest Against Law Taxes, pp. (3)4-5, and 7.

Notes: Defence of Usury first published in 1787: A Protest Against Law Taxes printed 1793, first published 1795. Bowring ill. 1-29, and ii. 573-81. Title page and collation as per CHUO D4.4. For the 1787 edition see CHUO D4.1. This may not be one of the volumes sent to Adams in 1817; unlike the other writings Bentham forwarded at that time, this tract is neither mentioned in his letter of 7 June 1817 nor is it autographed by him (this is also true of other tracts printed prior to June 1817: items 6, 8, and 14-17). BL 6034. aa. 4.

B. TRACTS IN SEVEN VOLUMES

Half bound calf, calf corners, with marble boards predominantly coloured brown, blue and green; spine ruled, lettered, and ornamented in gilt with seven double-rulled lines with the title TRACTS / [short ornamental rule] / BENTHAM between the second and third sets of lines and the number of each volume in Arabic between the fourth and fifth sets of lines. Pages (5 in. × 8½ in.) uniformly trimmed and bolts cut.

Presumably, the tracts were originally bound in this manner at the request of John Quincy Adams. However, volumes 4-7 appear to have been rebound by Charles Francis Adams. As noted above, volumes 1-3 of the collected tracts carry the book-plate of John Quincy Adams on the inside front cover, while volumes 4-7 bear the book-plate of Charles Francis Adams. In addition, the marble colours on the boards of volumes 1-3 are lighter in tone than those of volumes 4-7.

Volume 1
Adam 6445; shelf No. 550.2.
Book-plate of JQA inside front cover.

4. A View of the Hard-Labour Bill

Title page: A / VIEW / OF THE / HARD-LABOUR BILL ; / BEING AN / ABSTRACT OF A PAMPHLET, / INTITULÉD, / 'Draught of a Bill, to punish by Im- / prisonment and Hard-Labour, certain / Offenders ; and to

Collation: 8vo
π² α² [b]² β-H² I² (12); 68 leaves; [i]ii–xii, [1]a–114; π₁ b, b₁, b₂b blank.
Advertisement a8b.

Inscription: To J. Quincy Adams / &cc &cc &cc. / from the Author / 16 May 1817.
Notes: Bowring iv. 1–35. Title page and collation as per CHUO VI. BL. 518. i. 24. (2); 523. f. 23. (2); and 104. n. 25.

5. Situation and Relief of the Poor

Collation: 8vo
π² A–B² C²; 19 leaves; [1]a–2, [1]b–34; C₂a, C₂b blank.
Advertisements π₁, π₂
Inscription: 19 May 1817 / to J. Quincy Adams / &cc &cc &cc / from the Author.
Notes: Bowring viii. 161–8. No entry in CHUO. This tract first appeared in the Annals of Agriculture, ed. Arthur Young, vol. xxix, No. 167 (1797), and was subsequently published as a pamphlet with other parts from the Annals of Agriculture (see item 6) in 1812 as Pauper Management Improved. For bibliographic details of the 1812 edition see CHUO P7.3. No BL copy.

6. Outline of a Work entitled Pauper Management Improved
Caption-title: OUTLINE OF A WORK / ENTITLED PAUPER MANAGEMENT IMPROVED. / To be filled up, and the work published in one vo: / lane octavo, as soon as a sufficient number of / the communications solicited in / Vol. xxix, / No. 167, of the Annals of Agriculture have / been obtained. / [rule] / BY JEREMY BENHAM, ESQ. / [rule].

Collation: 8vo
A⁴ à-F⁴ G-H⁴ K-R⁴ S₄ T₄ U₄; 144 leaves; [1]a–288.

Folding tables: 1. PAUPER POPULATION TABLE.
2. TABLES OF CASES calling for RELIEF.
3. BUILDING AND FURNITURE / FOR AN / INDUSTRY-HOUSE / ESTABLISHMENT, / .

Tables 1–2 precede the caption-title page [1]; table 3 between pp. 72 and 73.

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Annotations: There are occasional textual deletions and insertions in ink by an unknown hand, conceivably by Bentham.

Volume 2
Adam 14062; shelf No. 350.2.
Book-plate of JQA inside front cover.

7. Draught of a Code for the Organisation of the Judicial Establishment in France
Caption-title: [ornamented rule] / DRAUGHT OF A CODE / FOR THE ORGANIZATION OF THE JUDICIAL ESTABLISHMENT.

Collation: 4to
A–E⁴ ²A⁴ ²B² ²C⁴ ²D⁴ ²E–H² K¹ ²B–G⁴; 111 leaves; 1–38, 1–12, 1–22, 1–12 1–65, 1–47; E₂a, E₂b, C₂a, C₂b, C₂b blank.

Inscription: From the Author / to / John Quincy Adams / &cc &cc &cc. / 13 May, 1817.
Notes: No date. Printed 1790. Bowring iv. 303–304. Caption-title not given in CHUO; for full title page see item 8. The collation differs markedly, partly because items 7 and 8 have been bound in reverse order in this volume; in CHUO they have been collated as a single text. However, allowing for the variations in the signature series between this copy and CHUO D6.1, the blanks noted in the respective collations are the same. BL 1127. c. 3. (19).

8. Draught of a New Plan for the Organisation of the Judicial Establishment in France


Collation: 4to
[A]¹ ²B–D⁴ ²E²; 14 leaves; 1–26.

Notes: Bowring iv. 285–304. Title page as per CHUO D6.1, but collation does not correspond because items 7 and 8 have been bound in reverse order in this volume. BL 1127. c. 3. (1).

Collation: 4to
π 4 B-I4 K-4 : 39 leaves; [i]ii–ix, [i]2–68; π 8, a1 blank.

Annotations: Written in ink by Bentham at the foot of the title page 'Never yet published 16 May 1817'.

Notes: Bowring iv. 240–84. Title page and collation as per CHUO Pto.1. Reissued, together with items 9 and 10, in the 1812 edition of Panopticon Versus New South Wales. BL 1127. c. 4. (1).

12. Scotch Reform


Collation: 4to

Advertisement [A]a

Folding tables:
1. DELAY AND COMPLICATION TABLES. - SHEET I.
   TABLE I.
2. DELAY AND COMPLICATION TABLES. - SHEET II.
   TABLES II–IV.
3. TABLES VII, VIII & IX. - APPEAL ACCOUNTS TABLES. - SHEET I.
4. TABLE X. - ENGLISH AND SCOTCH APPEAL TABLE, / FOR THE YEARS 1795, 1796, AND 1797:

Tables 1 and 2 precede p.[1], and tables 3 and 4 follow p. 100.
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13. Jeremy Bentham to the National Convention of France

Caption-title: [double rule] / JEREMY BENTHAM / TO THE / NATIONAL CONVENTION / OF / FRANCE. / [ornamented rule].

Collation: 8vo

Inscription: To / John Quincy Adams / &c &c &c From The Author / 13 May 1817.

Notes: No date. Printed 1793; first published 1830 as Enunciate your Colonial Addressed to the National Convention of France. Bowring iv. 407-18. Caption-title and collation as per CHUO E2.2. BL 1127. c. 3. (a).

14. To the President of the United States of America

Caption-title: TO THE / PRESIDENT / OF THE / UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. / Queen Square Place, Westminster, / October, 1811.

Collation: 8vo
D-B8; 32 leaves; [1]2-65; E8 blank.

Printer's imprint E8*: J. M'Creery, Printer, / Black-Horse-Court, London.

Annotations: Minor punctuation corrections in ink, pp. 39-3, 35. 41. 45-6, 51-3, 58, 60, and 62-3.

Notes: Bowring iv. 452-67. No entry in CHUO. Bentham presumably intended this tract for James Madison, president 1809-17. No BL copy.

15. Defence of Economy Against the Late Mr Burke


Collation: 8vo
[A]* B-C8; 32 leaves; [1-8] 9 (10)11-47; A1b, C8b blank.

Advertisement A3b-A5b.


Volume 4
Adam 14064; shelf No. 510.2.
Book-plate of CFA inside front cover.

FROM AN "ULTRA-DEMOCRAT" TO AN "ULTRA-ARISTOCRAT"

16. Church-of-Englandism and its Catechism Examined


Collation: 8vo
π4 b-d8 A1p K-p8 Q4 +B-l8 +K-U8 X-X8 2Aa-2E8 2F8 7; 373 leaves; [i-v]vi, [v]vi-lii, [i]2-248, [i]2-441; π1b, X8b, X1b blank.

Short-title π1b: CHURCH-OF-ENGLANDISM / AND ITS / CATECHISM EXAMINED, / 8c. 8c.

Printer's imprint π1b, X1b: J. M'Creery, Printer, / Black-Horse-Court, London.

Notes: Printed 1817, but not published until 1818. Not included in Bowring. No entry in CHUO. See CHUO C3.1 for another 1818 edition with additional material in the form of a second preface. No BL copy.

Volume 5
Adam 14065; shelf No. 510.2.
Book-plate of CFA inside front cover.

17. The Elements of the Art of Packing

Title page: ELEMENTS OF / THE ART OF PACKING / AS APPLIED TO / JURIES: / PARTICULARLY IN CASES OF LIBEL-LAW: / INCLUDING / A defence of the art, / BY AN EMINENT HAND; / AS CONTAINED IN / HIS LETTER, OF THE 7TH JULY 1808, TO THE THEN / SHERIFF SIR RICHARD PHILLIPS: / AND / OBSERVATIONS ON THE SAID / DEFENCE, / TO WHICH ARE ADDED, / TWO HUMBLE PROPOSALS: / ONE FOR THE RESTORATION OF THE CONSTITUTION IN REGARD TO JURIES; / THE OTHER FOR THE RESTORATION OF THE AUTHORITY OF PARLIAMENT OVER JUDGES. / [double rule].

Collation: 8vo
[A]* B-C8 (-S8); 131 leaves; [ii-iii]iv-viii, [i]2-269 (pp. 251, 253, and 355 not numbered); A1b, 13b, 35b, R4b, S8b blank.

Annotations: Minor corrections in pencil and ink on pp. 6, 20, 27, 28, 57, 72, 109, and 153.

Notes: No date. Printed 1810; first published 1821. Bowring v. 61-186. Title page and collation as per CHUO E1. For the 1821 published edition see CHUO E1.2. As noted in CHUO, the bottoms of the title page and the final leaf have been deliberately cut away, probably to conceal the name of the printer. Samuel
From an 'Ultra-Democrat' to an 'Ultra-Aristocrat'

Chrestomathic Table. The second page is an English translation of the first page (pp. 9-10).


Notes: Bowring iv. 533. No entry in CHUO. Two pages, signed 'Jeremy Bentham' in ink at the end of the text (pp. 11-12).

19. Proposals for Establishing in the Metropolis, A Day School


Collation: 8vo
[A]3; 9 leaves; [1-3], 4-16.

Printer's imprint A4b: Printed by J. McCreery, Black Horse Court, / Fleet Street, London.

Annotations: To the list of subscribers on p. 13 there has been added in ink 'Sir M. Johnson MP' and the figure '50' [pounds].

Notes: Bowring viii. 54-9. No entry in CHUO. No BL copy.

20. Chrestomathia


Collation: 8vo
π1² \[a]² b² c² d² e² f² g² h² i² j² k² l² /: 75 leaves; [i-ii]lv—vii [viii—xi]xxi-x, i-ii, 3-4, 5-24 (q.[4] not numbered), [69]70-98; π1², a1b, a²b, b²c, c²d blank.

Short-title π1:\ CHRESTOMATHIA.

Folding Tables: 1. CHRESTOMATHIC (a) INSTRUCTION TABLES. TABLE I.
2. CHRESTOMATHIC (a) INSTRUCTION TABLES. TABLE II.
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3. CHRESTOMATHIC (a) INSTRUCTION TABLES.

TABLE II.

Table 1 precedes the title page, and tables 2 and 3 follow p. 68 (table 3, notes to the exercises in table 2, is loose).

Printer's imprint A: J. M'Creery, Printer, Black-Horse-Court, / London.

Notes: Bowring viii. 1-63. Title page as per CHUO C1.3 (Part I), but collation differs to slightly different page numbering and a different arrangement of the sections. CHUO C1.2 also includes Chestomathia, Part II. (collated separately; Bowring viii. 63-128), published in 1817 and not included in this copy. The Bowring version also includes five additional appendices, pp. 128-91. No BL copy.

21. Extract from the Proposed Constitutional Code

Title page: EXTRACT FROM THE PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL CODE; ENTITLED: OFFICIAL APTITUDE MAXIMIZED; EXPENSE MINIMIZED. [short rule] / By JEREMY BENTHAM, ESQ. / BENCHER OF LINCOLN'S INN. / LONDON: [short rule] / MDCCCXVI.

Collation: 8vo

π2 α B4 ¼ B-D4 E4 F4 (F5); 39 leaves; [1]2-22, 1-57 (the cut top half of a second page of pp. 57 between pp. 42 and 43, and the cut bottom half between pp. 46 and 47); π1, B4, B4, F4; F4 blank.

Short-title π1: EXTRACT FROM PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL CODE.

Printer's imprint π1: LONDON: / PRINTED BY C. H. REYNELL, BROAD STREET, GOLDEN SQUARE.

Printer's imprint F1: LONDON: PRINTED AT THE TEMPLE PRINTING OFFICE, / BY J. MOYES, BOUVERIE STREET.

Inscription: 19 June 1826. / To John Quincy Adams / from Jeremy Bentham.

Notes: The date is incorrect; it should be MDCCCXXVI. Bowring ix. 266-94 (Constitutional Code, Bk. II, Ch. IX, Sects. XV-XVII). Title page and collation as per CHUO C5.4. CHUO notes that this edition also contains an early version of Constitutional Code, Bk. II, Ch. IX, Sect. XVIII, subsequently omitted from Official Aptitude Maximized; Expense Minimized (1830). BL 6025. bb. 5.

Volume 6

Adam 14065; shelf No. 550.2.

Book-plate of CFA inside front cover.

22. Plan of Parliamentary Reform


FROM AN 'ULTRA-DEMOCRAT' TO AN 'ULTRA-ARISTOCRAT'

Collation: 8vo


Advertisement F3, followed by a summary of the advertised work by G. W. Meadley E3-F3.13

Printer's imprint F3: J. M'Creery, Printer, / Black-Horse-Court, London.

Notes: Bowring iii. 433-557. Title page and collation as per CHUO P5.1. BL 8007. ee. 10; and 533. f. 24.

23. Papers Relative to Codification and Public Instruction


Collation: 8vo


Advertisement A1.

Printer's imprint x1; H7: J. M'Creery, Printer, / Black-Horse-Court, London. Selected list of Bentham tracts H5, H18.8

Notes: Bowring iv. 451-533. Title page and collation as per CHUO P5.1, with minor variations. H4-H7 (pp. 101-12) the same as item 18 above. BL 8308. gg. 9. (1); BL 8308. gg. 9. (2); and 8308. gg. 9. (1).

Volume 7

Adam 14067; shelf No. 550.2.

Book-plate of CFA inside front cover.

24. Bentham's Radical Reform Bill


Collation: 8vo


Short title π1: BENTHAM'S RADICAL REFORM BILL. [rule] / Price 4s.

Printer's imprint m2: J. M'Creery, Printer, / Black-Horse-Court, London.

Printer's imprint r1: J. M'Creery, Printer, / Black Horse Court, London.

23 G. W. Meadley, A Sketch of the Various Proposals for a Constitutional Reform in the Representation of the People, Introduced into the Parliament of Great Britain from 1770 to 1812 (London, 1812).
25. Three Tracts Relative to Spanish and Portugalze Affairs

Title page: THREE TRACTS / RELATIVE TO / SPANISH AND PORTUGUEZE AFFAIRS ; WITH A CONTINUAL EYE TO ENGLISH ONES. [double rule] TRACT No. I.—LETTER TO THE SPANISH NATION, ON A THEN / PROPOSED HOUSE OF LORDS. [anno 1820].

TRACT No. II.—OBSERVATIONS ON JUDGE ADVOCATE / HERMOSA'S PANEGYRIC ON JUDICIAL DELAYS ; ON THE OCCASION OF THE IMPUNITY AS YET GIVEN BY HIM TO / THE LOYAL AUTHORS OF THE CADIZ MASSACRE : EXPLAINING, / MOREOVER, THE EFFECTS OF SECRECY IN JUDICATURE.

TRACT No. III.—LETTER TO THE PORTUGUEZE NATION, ON / ANTIQUATED CONSTITUTIONS ; ON THE SPANISH CONSTITUTION, / CONSIDERED AS A WHOLE, AND ON CERTAIN DEFECTS OBSERVABLE IN IT ; IN PARTICULAR, THE IMMOBILITY ENACTING, OR INEFFECTUATING, OR THE NON-REPELIGIBILITY-ENACTING, THE SLEEP-COMPEL- LINING, AND THE BIENNIALITY-ENACTING CLAUSES.


Collation: 4to
A

[page numbers in Roman and Arabic numerals] i [1-11], 11 [13]-14 [17], 17 [19]-20 [31], 31 [33]-34 [44], 44 [45]-46 [1-7], 7 [8]-8 [34]; B2, C1, D4 blank.

Printer's imprint G3: John M'Cleery, Printer, / Tooks Court, London.

Insertion: 19 June 1826 / To John Quincey Adams / from Jeremy Bentham.

Notes: Bowring ii. 189-196. Title page and collation (without the double numbering) as per CHUO B.1. BL 1103. h. 8.


Collation: 8vo
A

A-IV, B-C* D* E*; 28 leaves; [i-iii]iv-xxi, [1]2-44.

FROM AN 'ULTRA-DEMOCRAT' TO AN 'ULTRA-ARISTOCRAT'

Advertisement A6.


Insertion: (the edge of the page has been trimmed through the surnames Adams and Bentham) 19 June 1826 / To John Quincey Ad[ams] / from Jeremy B[entham].

Notes: Bowring iii. 85-103. Title page and collation as per CHUO 04.1. BL C. T. 253.(1).

27. Codification Proposal

Title page: CODIFICATION PROPOSAL, / ADDRESSED BY / JEREMY BENTHAM / TO / ALL NATIONS / PROFESSING LIBERAL OPINIONS ; / OR, / Idea of a proposed all-comprehensive Body of Law, with an accompaniment of REASONS, applying all along to the several / proposed arrangements : These REASONS being expressive of the Considerations, by which the several Arrangements have been presented, as being, in a higher degree than any other, conducive to the greatest Happiness of the greatest Number, of the individuals / of whom the Community in question is composed : / INCLUDING / OBSERVATIONS / Respecting the hands, by which the original draught, of a / Work of the sort in question, may, with most advantage, be composed : / ALSO, / Intimation, from the Author, to the competent authorities in / the several Nations and Political States, expressive of his desire and readiness to draw up, for their use respectively, / the original draught of a body of Law, such as above pro-/ posed. [double rule] LONDON : PRINTED BY J. M'CLEERY, TOOKS-COURT. [short rule] 1822.

Collation: 8vo
A

A-C* F* F* G-H*; 47 leaves; [1-3]4-76 [77]78.


Insertion: 19 June 1826 / To John Quincey Adams / from Jeremy Bentham.

Notes: Bowring iv. 535-94. Title page as per CHUO C.1, but collation omits (-E8), BL T. 1127, (tq).

28. Letters to Count Toroeno


Collation: 4vo.
A

A-B* K-Q*; 64 leaves; [i-iii]iv-xx, [1]a-120; a b blank.

Advertisement a2-a3.

29. Propuesta De Codigo

**Title page:** PROPUESTA DE CODIGO / DIRIGIDA POR / JEREMIAS BENTHAM / A / TODOAS LAS NACIONES / QUE PROFESAN OPINIONES LIBERALES. / o, / Idea de un propuesta cuerpo de Ley que comprenda todo / ; acomplastado de razones, conforme en un todo a las varias / colocaciones propuestas : / Esprimiendo estas razones, las consideraciones que / ha habido / para su disposicion, por ser en un grado superior a todo otro, / conducente á la mayor felicidad del mayor numero de indi- / viduos, de los que / se compone la comunidad en cuestion. / INCLUYEN]/OBSERVACIONES / / Respeto a las personas, por las que, según el diseño original de / una obra de / esta naturaleza, puede comprenderse con mayor / ventaja : Así como, Una / intimacion del autor, a las competentes autorida- / des de cada Nacion y Estadó / Politico, expresiva de su deseo y / disposicion, para formar el bosquejio original / de un cuerpo de / Ley para su uso respetivo, como queda indicado. / [double rule] / EN LONDRES, / EN LA IMPRENTA DE R. Y A. TAYLOR, / SHOE LANE. / [short rule] / 1822.

**Collation:** 4vo

A² B² C² D² 1² 34 leaves; [L-3] 46.

Printer’s imprint 1²: EN LONDRES. / R. Y A. TAYLOR, SHOE LANE.

Printer’s imprint 1²: J. M'Cerevy, Tooks-Court, / Chancery-Lane, London.

Selected list of Bentham tracts x²² — x³².

**Inscription:** 19 June / To John Quincy Adams / from Jeremy Bentham.

**Notes:** A translation of Bowring iv. 335 — 34 (see item 27). No entry in CHUO.

BL 6785. add. 2. (8).

30. Leading Principles of a Constitutional Code


**Collation:** 4vo

[A³ — A⁴: 7 leaves; [1-2] 35; A², A³, A⁴ blank.

**Inscription:** 19 June 1826 / To John Quincy Adams / from Jeremy Bentham.

**Notes:** Bowring ii. 267-74. Title page as per CHUO L 2.3, but collation omits (1-A). First published in The Pamphlet. vol. 22, No. 44 (1823); for details of this edition see CHUO L 2.1. See item 32 below for the 1824 Spanish translation. BL P.P. 3557. w (same catalogue No. as item 15).

31. Truth versus Ashurst

**Title page:** TRUTH VERSUS ASHURST ; / OR. / Law as it is, / CONTRASTED / WITH WHAT IT IS SAID TO BE. / WRITTEN IN / DECEMBER, 1792. / AND NOW FIRST PUBLISHED. / [double rule] / London : PRINTED BY T. MOSES, 30, WILDERNESS ROW. / [short rule] / 1823.

**Collation:** 8vo

[A³]; 8 leaves; [1-3] 56; A¹, A² blank.

Printer’s imprint A²: Printed by T. Moses, 30 Wilderness Row.

**Inscription:** To John Quincy Adams / from Jeremy Bentham / 19 June 1826.

**Notes:** Bowring v. 231-7. Title page and collation as per CHUO T 1.2. For a separate 1823 edition see CHUO T 1.1. BL 6003. b. 2.

32. Principios Que Deben Servir De Guia En La Formacion De Un / Codigo Constitucional


**Collation:** 8vo

A⁴; 8 leaves; [1-3] 15; A⁴ blank.

Printer’s imprint A²: EN LONDRES : / EN LA IMPRENTA DE R. / TAYLOR.

**Notes:** Spanish translation by Dr Antoni Puigblanch (1775-1840), a Catalan refugee priest living in London and formerly Professor of Hebrew and Civil Law at Alcalá, of Bowring ii. 267-74 (see item 30 above). No entry in CHUO. BL 9777. add. 2. (80).

33. Declaracion de Protesta De Todo Individuo Del Cuerpo Legislativo


**Collation:** 8vo

[3²; 8 leaves; [1-3] 15; A², A³, A⁴ blank.

Printer’s imprint A²: LONDRES ; / EN LA IMPRENTA DE R. TAYLOR.

**Inscription:** 19 June 1826 / To John Quincy Adams / from Jeremy Bentham.

**Notes:** A Spanish translation by Puigblanch (see notes to item 32 above) of Ch. VII of the Constitutional Code, entitled Legislator’s Inaugural Declaration.
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Bowring ix. 198-204. No entry in CHUO. Also published as Parliamentary Candidates Proposed Declaration of Principles (1832), for which see CHUO P6. No BL copy.

34. Plan De Provisión De Empleos


Collation: 400
π1 B-F4 (-H4); 29 leaves; [1]3-53; π1, π2 b blank.
Printer's imprint: T. C. HANSARD, PATRER-NOSTER-ROW.

Inscription: (the edge of the page has been trimmed through the surname Adams) 19 June 1826 to J. Quincey Ad[ams] / from Jeremy Bentham.

Notes: A Spanish translation, possibly by Pugiblanch (see notes to item 32 above), of Extract from the Proposed Constitutional Code; entitled Official Aptitude Maximized – Expense Minimized (1816), Bowring ix. 266-94 (see item 32 above). 24 No entry in CHUO. No BL copy.

35. Indications Respecting Lord Eldon


Collation: 8vo
[A]8 B-E4 F4 (-F4); 43 leaves; [1-3]3-85; A1 b, F2 b blank.
Printer's imprint: LONDON : PRINTED BY C. H. RENNELL, BROAD STREET, GOLDEN SQUARE.

Inscription: 19 June 1826 / To John Quincy Adams / from Jeremy Bentham.

Notes: Bowring v. 348-82. Minor punctuation differences aside, title page as per CHUO I.1.2, but collation omits (-F4). BL T. 1072. (12).

36. Observations on Mr Secretary Peel's House of Commons Speech

Title page: OBSERVATIONS / ON / MR. SECRETARY PEEL'S / HOUSE OF COMMONS SPEECH, / 21st MARCH, 1825, / INTRODUCING HIS

24 Bentham refers to the translation of the Constitutional Code being made by Pugiblanch in May 1827. Bowring iv. 584 n. However, as item 32 above shows, Pugiblanch had acted as a translator for Bentham at least since 1824, and item 33 is also a Spanish translation by Pugiblanch of an extract from the Constitutional Code dated 1825.