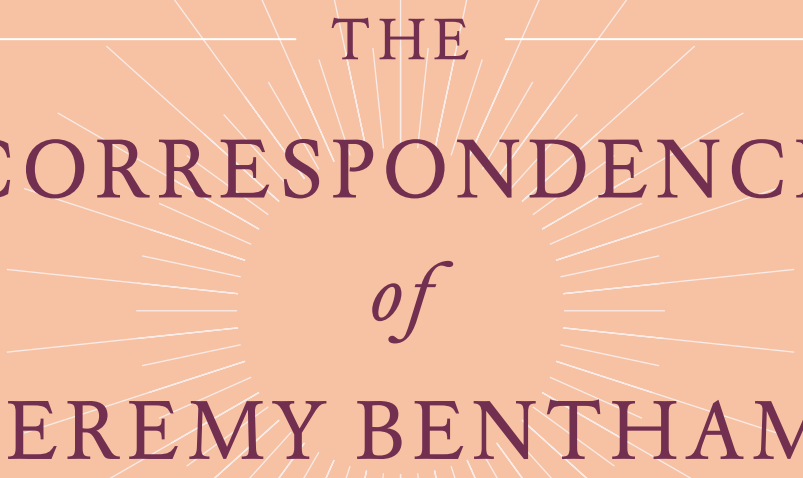


THE COLLECTED
WORKS OF
JEREMY BENTHAM



THE
CORRESPONDENCE
of
JEREMY BENTHAM

VOLUME 2

1777 – 80

EDITED BY TIMOTHY L. S. SPRIGGE

UCLPRESS

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WORKS OF
JEREMY BENTHAM

General Editor
J. H. Burns

Correspondence
Volume 2

The
CORRESPONDENCE
of
JEREMY BENTHAM

Volume 2: 1777–80

edited by
TIMOTHY L. S. SPRIGGE

 **UCL**PRESS

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PREFACE TO THE NEW EDITION OF VOLUME 2

The second volume of Jeremy Bentham's *Correspondence* was originally published, together with the first volume, in 1968, under the editorship of the late T.L.S. Sprigge and the General Editorship of the late J.H. Burns, thereby forming the first two volumes to be published in the new authoritative edition of *The Collected Works of Jeremy Bentham*. The *Correspondence* volumes represent the 'backbone', so to speak, of the whole edition, giving scholars the orientation that enables them to begin to make sense of Bentham's published works and the vast collection of his unpublished papers, consisting of around 60,000 folios in UCL Library and 12,500 folios in the British Library.

The present volume has been attractively re-keyed in a typeface that is sympathetic to the original design, and crucially the exact pagination of the original volume has been retained, so that referencing remains stable. The opportunity has been taken to incorporate the corrigenda printed at the conclusion of Volume III of the *Correspondence* and further corrections identified by the Bentham Project. Dr Benjamin Bourcier (Catholic University of Lille) has kindly checked the accuracy of the reproduction of the French material according to the conventions currently adopted in the edition as a whole.

Perhaps the most engaging part of the current volume, which is set within the period of the American War of Independence, is Bentham's wide-ranging correspondence with his younger brother Samuel, who in 1778 came of age and completed his apprenticeship as a shipwright. Having failed to gain a suitable position at home, in August 1779 Samuel left England for Russia, visited various dockyards in Northern Europe, and in March 1780 arrived at St Petersburg, where he began to make contacts at court with the help of the British Ambassador Sir James Harris. The brothers recognized that Russia offered potential opportunities to both of them: a lucrative career and a field for practical experimentation for Samuel, and the position of legislative draughtsman for Jeremy. Bentham intended to present a code of penal law to Catherine the Great, Empress of Russia, in the hope that she would recognize its merit in terms of promoting the happiness of the community, and authorize its enactment.

However, despite repeated claims that his code, or parts of it, were near to completion, Bentham published nothing during the years

covered by the present volume, with the exception of a short pamphlet entitled *A View of the Hard Labour Bill*, written in March 1778. This essay was a comment on a proposal to authorize the establishment of two penitentiaries, and enacted as the Penitentiary Act of 1779. The ending of transportation to the American colonies, following the Declaration of Independence of 1776, had forced government to consider alternative forms of punishment, and in particular imprisonment at home, at least until an alternative destination for transportation could be found. This whole subject was fertile ground for Bentham, who was working extensively on his theory of punishment and on strategies for preventing crime.

Although not published, Bentham did in 1780 print the first 16 chapters, and the first two sections of the 17th, of an introduction to his penal code, but finding himself, as he later wrote, ‘entangled in some unsuspected corner of the metaphysical maze’, he abandoned the text. In 1789 he eventually published this printed part of his introduction as *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*, perhaps Bentham’s most famous work. It contains the standard account of the doctrine of classical utilitarianism, though the bulk of the text deals with the theory of punishment and the classification of offences. This work was edited for the *Collected Works* by J.H. Burns and H.L.A. Hart and published in 1970.

In 1780 Bentham also began to make substantial progress on the remainder of the 17th chapter of his introduction, which grew into a book in its own right, and has appeared in the *Collected Works* as *Of the Limits of the Penal Branch of Jurisprudence*, edited by the present writer, and published in 2012. This work constitutes Bentham’s attempt to distinguish between penal law and civil law, and in so doing to ascertain what constituted a complete and single law. It was perhaps in dealing with this problem that Bentham found himself ‘entangled’ in ‘the metaphysical maze’, and the chapter, along with the introduction as a whole, appears to have eventually been abandoned in 1782.

The UCL Bentham Papers contain a wealth of manuscripts written during the years covered by the present volume. When they are edited in due course for the *Collected Works*, they will complement the fascinating insights into the development of the mind of arguably our greatest legal philosopher revealed here in his correspondence.

Philip Schofield
General Editor of *The Collected Works of Jeremy Bentham*
UCL, February 2017

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KEY TO SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

SYMBOLS

- /In/ Interlineations. Sometimes these are insertions, sometimes alternative versions. Interlineations are not indicated in all cases.
- | | Space left in Ms.
- ~~Oxford~~ Word crossed out in Ms.
- [to] No such word in Ms.; it has been supplied by the editor according to sense.
- < so > Conjectural restoration of mutilated word.
- < . . . > Word torn away or hidden in binding of Mss.
- [?] Reading doubtful.
- [. . .?] Word proved illegible.
- Editorial comments are printed in italics within square brackets.

ABBREVIATIONS

Apart from standard abbreviations, the following should be noted:—

B.M. I, II, . . . etc.: refers to the main series of Bentham papers in the British Museum, Additional Mss. 33537–64, the volumes of which are numbered from I to XXVIII. Thus B.M. I = Add. Ms. 33537 and so on.

U.C.: refers to the Bentham papers in the Library of University College London. Roman numerals refer to the boxes in which the papers are placed, Arabic to the leaves in each box.

Bowring: refers to *The Works of Jeremy Bentham*, published under the superintendence of . . . John Bowring (11 vols.), Edinburgh, 1838–43. Vols. x and xi contain Bowring's Memoirs of Bentham.

NOTE

Apart from sources cited in the notes, a number of standard works of reference have, it will be evident, been heavily drawn upon, notably the following:—

Biographie Universelle (1811–33)

Clowes, W. L., *The Royal Navy: A History* (1897–1903)

Court and City Calendar

Dictionary of National Biography

KEY TO SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Foster, J. (ed.), *Alumni Oxonienses* (early series, 1891–2; later series 1887–91)

Musgrave's Obituary prior to 1800 (ed. G. J. Armytage, Harleian Society, 1899–1901)

Namier, L. B. & Brooke, J., *The Commons 1754–90* (History of Parliament, 1964)

Royal Kalendar

Venn, J. & J. A. (ed.), *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (Part 1, 1925–7; Part 2, 1940–54)

Correspondence
1777-80

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

4 January 1777 (Aet 28)

Saturday Jan: 4th 1777. Linc. Inn

What are the blank books for? you monkey you, they are the Charta Chymica. You wanted it in some such form, did not you, for day-books? I would have sent you some, not done up in books, besides: but there was none at the place I went to, and I had no possible time to go after it to the original warehouse in Lombard Street. As to the Seal, I beg your pardon, but I could not prevail upon myself to part with it for two reasons: 1st because I want it to shew | | as a pattern, or rather the contrary to a pattern, that he may cut my lion deeper: 2dly I want it to cut a figure with on Monday at Browne's, where there is to be the Lord knows who. Last year about this time Browne was civil enough you may remember, to | | two 12000 pounders for me to look at, but I had no mind for either of them. They were the quintessence of insipidity—I hope I shan't have them to meet again. Buckmaster as I have said many's the good time and oft, and now say again, is the stupidest of all two legged creatures without feathers. Upon his objecting to outside pockets I acquiesced—visibly and manifestly acquiesced; and my expectation was that he would have made the cloaths accordingly. However it is of no consequence—I see cloaths daily with outside pockets: and it is ten to one but what in a little time they come again in fashion besides the people you are likely to be most among will probably be better judges of what is becoming than what is the fashion. As to the not wearing of silk breeches it is more a whim of Wilson's than any thing else. His Taylor whom he magnifies so much made no objection at all to mine, and he himself I mean Wilson has two or three times confessed voluntarily, or rather exclaimed with an oath into the bargain, (what is a great deal from him) that 'my dress was a very smart one.'

195. ¹ B.M. II: 81–82. Autograph. Docketed (by Bentham?): 'I.B. Jany. 4th 1777. Battle scheme—Fear of forcing it on the W's.' The lower part of the second sheet is torn away. So some of the letter may be missing.

Garters of the same velvet I order'd repeatedly and expressly, as plainly as words could speak.

From Garters you pass to fur: the transition is a natural one. You ask me do I think Mrs. D.'s dark enough, meaning for yourself—My dear Sir, I cry your mercy—It is your concern, I wash my hands of it—'Such matters are too high for me.' It is for you and her to judge what sort of a figure her fur would make upon your wastecoat. All that I have ever seen of her's, I do assure you is as grey as a badger; which as you truly observe is 'nothing near so dark as' mine. But what does that signify? It is your pretty person, it seems, not mine that is to be adorned with it.

Communicate the Battle scheme to Mrs. D.? Aye, surely—I wonder we neither of us thought of doing so before. It were much better the proposal should come from her than you: we shall be surer that way of knowing their genuine inclinations. You know I can not well separate myself from Wilson: and I could not bear the thoughts of embracing such a scheme (especially considering what I am doing for Wise) under any the least doubt of being perfectly consonant to their wishes. You will therefore shew Mrs. D. what I have said about it. Remember, as it is for so long a time, and two of us, payment is the *sine qua non*. 18s. each the least; and then Wilson would be grumbling every now and then—they're ruining themselves. Mrs. D. however must not descend so far to particulars; as that would make them suspect it was with our participation. She must only say in general that she should not think of proposing it nor she is sure would we accept it but upon such terms as would be a full indemnification. When the answer comes, it will then be time enough to talk of proposing it to Wilson—I think I could manage it without troubling you. Make Mrs. D. shew you what she writes, that she may not in the fulness of her zeal throw out any hints that might have the effect of binding them to accept it.

196

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

13-17 January 1777 (Aet 28)

Linc Inn—Monday night Jan: 13 1777

For an hour or two of this blessed day I have been Lord G—d Almighty at Q.S.P. Have you heard yet in your part of the world

196. ¹ B.M. II: 83-86. Autograph. Docketed (by Bentham?): 'I.B. Jany 13th and

of a new species of wit, or if you please false wit—a particular kind of a Riddle, that has started up within these few weeks, and has been quite the *ton*; but probably will 'ere long share the fate of every fashion and become a *Boar*? It is called a *Charade*. The Etymology I know not but the pronuntiation of it is French. The subject must be a word of two syllables, each of them constituting a word which is significant by itself. I won't go on with my definition—an example will answer the purpose and save trouble. Q.S.P. had been at his favourite amusement; pulling to pieces poor Sr. J. Hawkins² without mercy: drawing his own picture, and putting Sr. John's name to it. 'He was the greatest "*egotist*" that ever lived'—(meaning by *egotist* all the while not what other people mean by it, vain, but '*selfish*'—But *egotist* you know has Latin in it) 'He drew every thing to himself'—'He never did a man a favour in his life, but *self* was at the bottom of it—' etc. etc. being just what I had heard *in terminis* a hundred times over from the same mouth. Conversation at length flagging, I told him I would give him a *Charade*. We had been talking of them yesterday, but I had given no intimation of my ever having been engaged or meaning to be engaged in that species of manufacture. My part had been that of admiring Auditor to some of Nare's³ the young prig, [*or pug?*] classical, lick-spittle, Christ-church, parson, who was 'vastly clever at these things.' You shall first have his.

The word enigmatized (if I may be allowed the expression) *le mot de l'enigme* as the french call it, I give you in a distant place in red Ink, not to forestall you in your conjectures.

I

My first is a toy	1st Syllable
My second is less than a name	2d. Syllable
My third is nothing	Whole word

16th 1777. Charades—Incas. / R.W.'s affairs bad / G.W. comes into the Battle Scheme / Plan for disposal of R.W.'s family.'

Addressed: 'To Mr. Bentham / at his Majesty's Dock Yard / near Rochester / Two Sheets.' Postmark: '17 IA.'

² For Sir John Hawkins see letter 62, n. 3. His *General History of the Science and Practice of Music* had appeared at the end of 1776 and had been unfavourably received in many quarters. Early in the 1770's Hawkins had become a neighbour of Jeremiah Bentham's in Queen Square. Evidently they were not on good terms. A dispute arose somewhat later as to whether a gate should be made in the wall which separated Queen Square from Park Street. Sir John deplored this as making Queen Square less exclusive. The arguments which he advanced were satirized in a comic poem called 'Rhyme and Reason' (printed 1780) which is included in a book of pamphlets presented by Jeremy Bentham to Bowring in 1824 (B.M. 8008 g. 30). The poem is probably by Jeremiah Bentham, or perhaps even by Bentham himself.

³ Robert Nares (1753-1829), philologist, etc. (D.N.B.).

This has two properties in it which have real merit. The first is its conciseness. The 2d. the connection in point of sense between the three /members/ *staves* of it; together with the anticlimax which they express. The defect of it is that the descriptions if such they be called are so extremely vague (at least that of the second member is) the analogy between the type and the thing typified so weak /as to give/ (that you have) scarce any ground to build your conjectures on. The second member one might be an age before one guessed.

II

My first is the name of an Italian River

My second is the name of a Dog.

My third is made to be burnt.

These were the flower of the flock. Nares you know perhaps is a Poet and has written a play. At Lord North's installation I mean as Chancellor of Oxford or at least some little time before, he offer'd up in verse a sacrifice of incense to that Lord; which was received as the King receives petitions, and probably turned into a *burnt-sacrifice*. I believe the verses themselves (bating the *foedum crimen servitutis* as Tacitus calls it—the sordid stain of flattery which ran through them or rather composed their essence) were not bad. However no notice at all was taken of them: which raised Ld. N. several pegs higher in my estimation. Being as I said a Poet professed, and having nothing but such bawbles to turn his thoughts to, I expected to have heard of a whole heap from him in verse: of which there have been for some time past four or five in a day in the papers. principally in the Morning Post. All this by way of episode. My offer made, wide open went my Father's eyes, and half-open his mouth with a variety of expression in it—as much to say—What can a recluse like you who know nothing of life pretend to give us that can have any thing clever in it—or what would signify your being clever where there's no money to be got by it? etc. etc. etc. Madam simpering and affecting to strive to listen favourably. I lifted up my voice and said

My first is the Sparrow's worst foe

My second the Placemen's nickname

By the third you a Knight, Sir, may know

Who through Music has risen /(travelled)/ to fame.

Upon this the emotions became more and more complicated. A kind of pleasurable titillation produced by the jingle of the verse

on one hand, Vexation at hearing a man spoken of in terms of approbation whom they have been tearing limb from limb, and him one who having used me as they knew unkindly, had thence (for such is man's nature) made himself my ill-wisher,—on the other hand. The result of the whole however was a demand on me for another.

I then gave them this. I told them it was a very sentimental one, I had extracted it from Foote's *Piety in Pattens*⁴ and that they might give it to a Nares as a text to preach a sermon on.

The first is *put* in by a man when accus'd
 The second none *can* be at dice:
 The third is most sweet when by Virtue diffus'd
 But poison, when sought for in Vice.

This produced wonderful plaudits—pen and ink were called for—Madam herself turned Secretary while at her request I dictated.

I then told her I would give her one to propose to Nares.

My first is of *streight* the reverse:
 My second's the sound of a Bell:
 Add the two you'll a talent rehearse,
 At /In/ which *you*, Sir, are known to excell.

Finding it was a compliment to the Parson before she understood precisely what, she was delighted beyond measure.

Addressing myself to Q.S.P. I afterwards gave them this, which they confessed was true and which raised a hearty laugh.

The first is a bauble by mourner supported
 The second is French for the Sea.
 The third's a companion by you, Sir, much courted
 Nor ever unwelcome to me.

Which last by the bye, as you well know, was a most
 consumed lye.

Either the following or what here stands second was the last I gave them. Addressing myself to Madam—

The first is the object of *national* Spleen
 The second's the Counsellor's sign:
 The third, Ma'am's of your sex the treasure, I ween,
 And too oft the torment of *mine*.

⁴ *The Handsome Housemaid, or Piety in Pattens*, an entertainment produced by Samuel Foote at the Haymarket in 1776.

The above and two or three others I had been making the last night as I lay in bed.

My Father I would have you to know made one some time ago in Company which he treasures up with great care. Being for the entertainment of the Ladies it was half of it in Latin: and the subject *immensely* delicate.

My first is Happiness
My next is three times as much.
The third gives pain.

There's Metaphysics for you.

Mine, I have a notion, must be wondrous fine; for when I repeated them to Wilson, he gave an inclination with his head, and said 'Just so.'

I can tell you nothing more to signify about the Incas. Elmsly called upon me about it a week ago. He told me if I would undertake it he would leave the terms entirely to me. He told me a little of the secrets of the Trade. The highest price commonly given to Translators he says is 2 guineas a sheet. The only person in whose favour he ever knew it exceeded was Smollet and he had 3 Guineas.⁵ There is a Mrs. Griffiths⁶ who writes plays and novels; some of the latter I believe not bad. They make her, poor woman, translate for 25s. Some of the poor creatures they keep up in Garrots they pay so low as 18s. or even 15s. Elmsly says he has been plagued out of his life by their calling to /ask him/ know the meaning of words. I don't believe I shall undertake it; if I do it certainly would not be under Smollet's price. If I do not it is to go to a Dr. Berckenhout, a Physician, who has written *Outlines of Natural History*, a book in 5 or 6 Vols 12mo⁷ I believe it is, and other works. His price I believe is a guinea and a half. The book is not yet above a third of it printed at Paris. Elmsly has the sheets sent over to him as they are printed off. He told me he would the next day send me as much as was come over that I might see how I liked it: but I have not had them yet. Yesterday he called to me as I was passing by his shop, and told me he had been disappointed in not receiving them from Mr. Gibbon (The Historian) to whom he had lent them, and who had taken them out of town with him.

What should you think of my defending Sr. J. Hawkins in the

⁵ Tobias Smollett (1721-71) had translated *Gil Blas* (1749) and *Don Quixote* (1755).

⁶ Elizabeth Griffith (1720?-90), playwright and novelist.

⁷ John Berkenhout (1730?-91), physician, naturalist, and miscellaneous writer educated at Edinburgh and Leyden, had published *Outlines of the Natural History of Great Britain* in three volumes between 1769 and 1771.

Newspapers? I don't know whether I may n't or no. They are attacking him most unmercifully—He has made himself more enemies than fall to the lot of most men who are not in very high station. As I thought him not fairly dealt with, I had some thoughts out of a piece of Quixotism, to give him something of a lift. The doctrine of rewarding evil with good, I have always looked upon as one of the few good things in a certain system.⁸ I called yesterday at Payne's: amongst other things, we got talking of Sr. John's book. Payne was full of his *conge's* and *cringes*, made me a parcel of fine speeches, told me that my name was up, and so forth, observed that *I had a pen*—and at last out it came that he wanted me to write an answer to these attacks. Poor Payne is in for it very deep. He told me it has cost him between £2, and £3000. I think he must have extraordinary luck if he sees half of it back again. Charity apart, it will be no bad policy to make friends of those mammons of unrighteousness one's booksellers.

Wednesday.

You may send me a pair of Shoes when you send the tooth powder.

What you say about the Chymical apparatus I will think of—Oh—let me see—Ay, that must be the case. It must wait till you come to Town, and then we can pack it up together. Without assistance I should never have the courage to undertake it.

I rejoice to hear so good an account of Ship-building. About communicating the plan to the P's I don't know very well what advice to give you. I can't very well form a judgement about the matter without seeing them. But I do not at present see any inconvenience that seems likely to ensue from it, taking care before hand to put your title to it out of doubt. And I think you are likely to reap many advantages from their concurrence in the *execution*.

Friday 17th.

Alas! my poor dear Sam—how I do grieve for thee.⁹ I can share—I cannot *but* share in every body's afflictions; but what is

⁸ Cf. n. 2 above. We do not know in what way Hawkins had treated Bentham unkindly.

⁹ The affairs of the Wise family were to preoccupy the Bentham brothers greatly for a considerable period in 1777 and 1778. The finances of Robert Wise were in a condition which placed his wife (Mrs Davies's sister, Sarah) and her family (she was now expecting her fifth child) in danger of destitution. Despite the efforts of Bentham, his brother, and George Wilson, it appears that Mrs Wise was finally driven to suicide (cf. letter 313, n. 2).

The immediate problem was that Wise had borrowed money from his mother-in-law, Mrs Acworth. It had been intended that his house at Battle and a piece of land

it that *I* can do to remove them? After what you have written I will not delay an instant in writing to you; nor will I fail to come to you if by return of post you tell me of your continuing to wish it. I send you now forthwith (to help drive away the evil spirit) the quantity of stuff I have been scribbling at different times and which I had intended to have reserved for the packet. It may serve for amusement for Mrs. D. and help divert her thoughts from the sources of disquiet she is surrounded with, and which no thinking of hers can as I see do any thing towards removing. It is on you the thinking part must devolve.

Could not you prevail upon Guy¹⁰ to let you take a copy of Ackworth's Will for me to see that I might judge of the foundation there may be of the apprehensions he professes to entertain. He would probably trust you with it for that purpose: and Mrs. D, who has the readiest pen would take the trouble of copying off your hands.

I could wish you would, if you can, get from Guy the particulars of the actions, W. is threatened with. Who the persons are, and what the sums that are owing to each. Who the Attorney's are if any that are employ'd, and whether the actions (each of them) are begun or only threatn'd. I should then be prepared to talk with W. as I certainly would when he comes to Town which according to what he told me of his intentions, must now be soon. I should then be furnished with *data* from whence I might judge of his sincerity and of the truth of the account he might give me of his affairs. The great object would be to get the writings. In that not only the W. but the old lady and through her Mrs. D. are concerned. I have still

should be mortgaged to her, but the mortgage seems never to have been properly drawn up, though Wise signed an agreement to have this done (cf. the beginning of letter 203). Bentham vainly attempted to get Wise to draw up a proper mortgage deed. He was afraid that Wise had in fact mortgaged the house to another creditor; and while this seems not to have been the case, Wise had given the title deeds as security to two creditors, Gilbert and Martin (cf. letter 208). When Wise did at last complete a mortgage deed, it was defective (cf. letter 208). Bentham's chief concern was to secure priority for Mrs Acworth over Wise's other creditors, as her money would be available to Mrs Wise and the children. Eventually he persuaded Wise to convey his house to Mrs Acworth and to pay a rather high rent in lieu of interest on the money he owed (cf. letter 212). This was to give Mrs Acworth her interest without inviting competing claims from other creditors, and to keep a roof above the heads of the Wise family, as the house could not now be taken in execution on behalf of the creditors, nor could Wise himself make some rash disposal of it. In October Bentham got Wise to make over his effects to Mrs Acworth by a bill of sale. In November Wise deserted his wife (cf. letter 228).

¹⁰ G. Guy (cf. letter 165, at n. 3), was evidently an old friend of Mrs Acworth and her family, and executor of the late Mr Acworth's will. He seems also to have been himself one of Robert Wise's creditors.

£20 in L.'s hands which upon such a pinch I could command. This I look upon as being at my own disposal because my Father does not know of it. Mrs. D. might take up as much upon the strength of Mr. D.'s permission instead of laying it out in dress and the etc.'s he so kindly recommends. This one should hope might serve at any rate to set at least that matter clear. If upon interrogating W. I found that a fixed sum within compass would be the means of saving him, I don't know but I might be tempted to embrace Elmsly's proposal. I might even call upon *Hemet*,¹¹ and as he professes to be a friend of W's see whether I could bring him to contribute any thing with me for such a purpose.

When your letter came I was just pleasing myself with the thoughts of the success of the Battle scheme. It was only last night that I broke the matter to Wilson; and after many objections and a violent repugnance on his part at first had brought him to compliance. He grows gradually better and better reconciled to it, and begins even to talk of it with pleasure. I durst not communicate to him your letter: that would have set him against it irrecoverably. If W. could hold together till then 36s. a week for 5 months would be £36 of which we might advance him a considerable part at first coming, and upon the whole he might probably (according to the difference you mention between Chatham and Battle prices of things) put half of it in his pocket. All this while I am myself living upon Wilson's charity, for I have not yet had courage to speak to my Father, and if I were to wait till Doomsday he would not give me a farthing till I did. If W's affairs are absolutely irrecoverable, matters must be arranged as follows. P.D.¹² must turn out. Mrs. W. must come and live with her sister, two of the children must be sent to the Grandfather (who can't refuse to take them in) one to the Uncle at Reading, and the youngest and least expensive must come with it's mother for the present. It won't eat much for some time and cloaths we must make up for it some how or other amongst us. W. if he can keep out of gaol, must let himself out to somebody or other and relapse into the state of Clerkship. If P.D. is troublesome and will persist in giving disquiet to the family she must pack off at any rate: and it must be your business as gently as you can to intimate as much to her. It could never be Mr. D's wish if he knew of it to have a sister who is entirely a

¹¹ Not positively identified; but in view of the reference in letter 217 to 'le dentiste' as a friend of the Wises, it seems possible that this was Jacob Hemet, dentist, New Bond Street, who died in 1790 (*Gentleman's Magazine*, lx, 770).

¹² Joseph Davies's sister Patty, who was living with Mrs Davies.

stranger to him and who has no claim upon him stay in his home to make his wife unhappy.

CHARADES unriddled.

Charades Nares 1st. A Fan-tom. No. 2d. a Po-ker. My 1st. Hawk-ins. 2d. Plea-sure. 3d. Wri-ting. 4. Pal-mer 4th. Bute-tye alias Beau-ty. | I received Mrs. D.s letter inclosing Mrs. W's after I had sent my own.

197

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

18 January 1777 (Aet 28)

Voilà Wilson qui m'interrompt et je ne puis pas le renvoyer. Je voudrai écrire à W.—Wilson s'en va. Je vois par votre lettre d'hier que la lettre du *Comte de Warwick*² est déjà expédié à bataille. Je voudrois s'il étoit possible l'avoir empêché, et pour cela j'avois dessein de me rendre chez vous demain. Mais comme je serois trop tard pour cela, et que j'ai des affaires qui me retiennent en ville, outre que les chemins sont mauvais et bourbeux à outrance, j'ai différé ce dessein. J'écris le coeur serré et je ne sçais guères m'exprimer.

Cependant si dans la vôtre réponse qui viendra Lundi à ma dernière vous continuez de me marquer que vous souhaitez que je me rende chez vous, soyez sûr que je ne manquerai point; je me trouverai chez vous si je suis en vie, le (. . .) day.

Alas, my dear Sam, you must write to Q.S.P. I dined there today and my Father told me he had written to you 10 days ago enclosing a draught for Mrs. D. and desiring you to give him information of the receipt of it, and he has not had a syllable of answer. He introduced it by asking whether you were gone to Battle; pretending to conclude that that was the case rather than suppose you had received his letter.

J'ai écrit cette nuit à Wise pour le presser de m'exposer franchement l'état de ses affaires: lui offrant en général tout ce qui dépend de moi, mais n'osant pas m'engager a rien de spécifique.

197. ¹ B.M. II: 87. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. Jany. 18 1777. / R.W.'s affairs / S.B.'s negligence in not writing to Q.S.P.'

Addressed: 'To / Mr. Bentham / at his Majesty's Dock Yard / near Rochester.'

² I.e. G. Guy (cf. letter 196, n. 10), the allusion being to the hero of medieval legend, Guy, Earl of Warwick.

Sat Jan 17 or 18, 1777.³

You shall have your parcel tomorrow—Mr. Davies letters etc.

198

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

19 January 1777 (Aet 28)

Je penserai mon cher Sam à ton projet pour Chatham. Mais je ne puis pas vous conseiller à compter beaucoup là-dessus. D'ailleurs je ne voudrai pas encore abandonner toute espérance de celui de Battle. Cependant trouvons si nous pouvons quelques sujets de consolation.

Lind t'other day received a letter from the Prince.² The Prince amongst other things gives him some account of *Malejewski*³ I think the man's name is to whom the Diet has given a commission to draw up a Code of Laws. He says he is one whose exterior appearance is not in his favour: but whom he (the Prince) has always considered to be one who had many large and liberal views. He has provided himself with the French translation of Blackstone's Commentaries. The Prince proposed to him before the work should be presented to the Diet, to send it over and get it perused by somebody in England. He agreed to this. The Prince then proposed Lind: and he assented. Long before that my Punishments may be out: there may be a French Translation made of them. And if they should take, it is possible it might lead to something from that quarter. If they could make it worth my while, I might go over to Poland for a time and give them my assistance.

Lind has a project for himself which seems feasible enough not thought of originally by himself but proposed to him by a person whose concurrence is necessary to the execution of it. Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means in the H. of Commons; which carries with it a seat in the House and £800 a year hard-

³ 18 January was the Saturday.

198. ¹ B.M. II: 88. Autograph. Docketed by Jeremy Bentham(?): 'I.B. Jany. 19th 1777. Maljewski's Code / Lind's Chairman Scheme / Money accounted.'

² Stanislas Poniatowski (1754–1833) nephew of King Stanislas II, King of Poland. His father was Casimir Poniatowski (1721–80) eldest brother of the King, who was the eighth child of their father, Stanislas Poniatowski (1677–1762). John Lind had been his tutor for a time in the 1760's.

³ Probably Stanislas-Nalencz Malachowski (1735–1809), Polish statesman, known as the 'Polish Aristides'. He was distinguished later by his opposition to the encroachments of Russia.

money. Sr. Ch. Whitworth⁴ the present Chairman has offer'd to resign in his favour, if Ld. N. will promise him the first vacant seat in the Customs or Excise which is no more than the usual retreat for a superannuated Chairman. But Sr. Ch. to be indemnified in the mean time either by L. or the Ministry till a seat falls vacant. This might be done out of the £2000 Ld. N. has already consented to give L.

Reced by sale of the	£	s	d	Seal	3	–	3	–	0
Portugal piece no	3	–	10	–	0	Fiddle Strings	5	–	0
more than				Gloves		–	3	–	3
					3	–	11	–	3

I reced the same from my own. I doubt the man (Greensil)⁵ cheated me.

I hope Mrs. D. will not fail to send me the next letter she receives. The dog-skin I sent cost 7s. 6d. It was the largest they had. They said 4 pairs of upper-leathers might be cut out of it. I will have no more Seal Skin shoes—They crack, and don't wear well. The pairs I bespoke I suppose are done—otherwise countermand them. That indolent beast Elmsly has not got the sheets for me to see yet.

I told Mrs. W. in the letter I am just going to dispatch to her along with the Book, case, Shoes etc. that from her not writing I had begun to fear she might have been tired of her correspondent etc.—by way of my not writing: that I had communicated my suspicions to Mrs. D. who could assure me from the best authority it was no such thing, but that Mrs. W. expected me to write—This Mrs. D. must be aware of, that we may be all in a story. The packet I shall send by the Battle Diligence, that goes from the Bolt and Tun tomorrow at 6.

Sunday eveng. 19 Jan 1777.

I send you the Seal last made as a novelty. It was sent hence in a hurry, and is not cleaned yet from the dirt, graving-wax or whatever it may be—Sope and water or at worst Vitriolic Acid will do the business. When we meet we will toss up which shall have which.

I have had so much plague with writing to the W's and about the W's I must beg Mrs. D. to excuse me for the present. You will shew her all that is shewable—Every thing if you will about myself. Not

⁴ Sir Charles Whitworth (1714?–78), M.P. for various constituencies from 1747, had been Chairman of Ways and Means since 1768. He died on 22 August 1778.

⁵ Joseph Greensil, jeweller, in the Strand.

that about Lind's embryo project for himself. He will propose it as soon as he has got the Translation of his Answer etc.⁶ printed which he expects in a few days.

199

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

22–23 January 1777 (Aet 28)

Yes to be sure—the old Lady² could have a Bond-and-Judgement which would secure her against every other claim except there be any other Bond-and-Judgement enter'd up as the phrase is, that is register'd in a certain manner, previously to her's. But this will cost some money. I will endeavour to learn what. She could have a Judgement I have a notion on the note without the expence of a bond which costs 5s. or 6s. But a Bond may on some accounts be more desirable. This I will enquire into. But in this case there would be no getting possession of the goods without what is called an Execution: which would make an *eclat* and could not be managed without the intervention of Sherriff's[?] Officers etc. I have a notion they could be secur'd better by a thing called a Bill of Sale, which would give her possession of them immediately—All this I will enquire about.

I wish I could see the Marriage Settlement and the Will—I might then be able perhaps to form some judgement as to the validity of that part of the letter that is to her prejudice.

Yes—Lind is 'inspecting a translation of his answer into French'—I thought I had told you of it before—De L'Olme is doing it.

⁶ Lind's *An Answer to the Declaration of the American Congress*, was being translated into French by Jean Louis Delolme (1740–1806) the Swiss jurist, (cf. letter 199). Evidently Delolme did not complete the translation. It was in fact translated into French by A. J. P. Fréville, and published in London and at the Hague in the course of 1777, the Dutch edition bearing both Lind's name and Fréville's (cf. *Bibliothèque Nationale Catalogue*).

Delolme had lived several years in England after he had been obliged to emigrate from his native Geneva after publication of a pamphlet, *Examen de trois parts de droit*, which gave offence to the city authorities. He supported himself here with difficulty by contributions to various journals. He returned to Switzerland in 1775 with financial aid from a charitable society. While in England he wrote *Constitution de l'Angleterre* (Amsterdam 1771, English translation 1772) which helped to give the French *philosophes* their high opinion of the English constitution.

A letter from Charles Abbot to Bentham of 1779 implies that Bentham saw something of Delolme and that he was in England in that year (see letter 308, n. 3.).

199. ¹ B.M. II: 89. Autograph.

² Mrs Acworth, mother of Mrs Wise and Mrs Davies (cf. letter 196, n. 9).

The man who wrote a book *Sur La Constitution de L'Angleterre* which has great merit and is well esteemed.

Certainly the Empress presents the fairest prospect—Only in Poland there is the certainty of an introduction, and that an advantageous one.³

Wednesday Jan. 22 1777. Linc. Inn.

How do you like your Seal? It seems, I think, to do mighty well. But it takes an extravagant deal of Wax.

½ after 10.

An Extraordinary Gazette is this instant crying about, I have been and got it. It contains nothing but an account of our taking peaceable possession of Rhode Island where we took a few Cannon and Prisoners. The Continental Fleet as it was called which lay there is not taken but seems to be impounded.

Thursday 23d.

Thus far I wrote yesterday, not doubting but you would have it before now; I ran over to Wilson with the Gazette, and after having written the above left it with him to get put into the post. He gave the commission to Molly. 'Between two stools,' says the proverb, 'the breech falleth to the ground'. So fared it with me between Wilson and his Molly—She never heard the Bellman.

This post brought me a letter from Mrs. W. none from Mr. W. I know not how the course of the post is, perhaps the letter I sent him on Saturday night did not reach him time enough for me to have an answer from him so soon. I wrote to him by the post on purpose, and got the letter directed by Wilson,—not choosing to put it into the packet for fear Mrs. W. should expect to see it, and he uneasy at his not shewing it her.

Mrs. W.'s letter contains the following passage: which is all that is very material in it.

'Mr. Guy has made us a visit of 2 days. His pride would n't submit to come to the house till he had seen Mr. W. at a tavern: whom he requested to see in a note to him. Mr. W. went immediately and as soon asked him the meaning of his behaviour; which G. evaded, saying 'twas a parcel of nonsense. I can not attribute his visit to any thing but the pricking of his conscience for so heavy a charge against Mr. W. I still think there is a secret grudge as he was very awkwardly familiar the whole time he was with us.'

³ Bentham was anxious to find a sovereign who would pay heed to his plans for legal reform: his hopes long centred on Catherine II of Russia.

She ends thus.

'I have no message from Mr. W. who went from home early this morning, and knew nothing of my intention' (meaning of writing)—'I have some suspicion that I dare not yet wish to disclose to you.' This is rather aenigmatical—Does it refer, I wonder, to the boarding scheme?

200

TO ELIZABETH DAVIES AND SAMUEL
BENTHAM¹

28 January 1777 (Aet 28)

In the midst of our chagrins, my good folks, it would be cruel in me to keep from you a report which if it be true, can hardly fail of giving you pleasure. Sr. Gilbert Elliot is dead: so much is certain. He was Treasurer of the Navy.² The place is in time of peace £3000 a year: and now is said to be about £5, or 6,000. I imagine too he has places in his gift. What does this lead to? I will tell you. I was told just now, by a person who is pretty well inform'd, (not Lind) that it was settled Lord Howe was to have it. Ld. Howe it seems had had it once before: in the Duke of Grafton's Ministry. When the D. went out, Ld. Howe made it a point of honour to go out too.³ It will be by no means a bar to his advancement to the head of the Admiralty-board: and probably as it is a place of such consequence, there are places under it which he will have in his gift. This I find I said before—no matter. So it will happen when one lets the pen go as it has a mind to go.

As to R.W.⁴ not the least notice has he taken of my letter.

I have got the *Incas*: and to night shall finish the Preface which I intend to give to Elmsly as a specimen that he may judge whether

200. ¹ B.M. II: 90–91. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. Jany. 28th 1777. Incas. I.B. gives up R.W.'

Addressed: 'To / Mr. Davies / Commissioner's Office / near Rochester / Single Sheet.' Postmark: '28 IA'.

28 January was a Tuesday, and doubtless that was the date of writing.

Although addressed to Mr Davies this letter was intended for Mrs Davies and Samuel, for Joseph Davies was still serving under Lord Howe in America (see letters 202, 215, etc.).

² Sir Gilbert Elliot, Treasurer of the Navy, died on 11 January 1777. On 12 June Welbore Ellis, later 1st Baron Mendip, was appointed to the post, which he held until February 1782.

³ Howe in fact became Treasurer of the Navy in August 1765 under Rockingham; and he did not resign with Grafton on 28 January 1770, but on 18 October in that year, when he was promoted to the rank of Rear-Admiral. He did not after all hold the office again (cf. letter 153, n. 2).

⁴ Robert Wise.

it is worth his while to give me what I expect. The Preface has in it about enough to fill a printed sheet that is 24 12mo pages in the form in which Elmsly intends to print it. Wilson makes no objections to it: but he little knows the consideration that first determined me to listen to the proposal.⁵ As to R.W. him I have well nigh given up: my concern begins to narrow itself to those who really, as Mrs. D. says, deserve a better fate.

You Mr. Two-Shoes what do you make me pay as for a double letter for a short single one torn in two?

Don't let my parcel be sent yet till I desire you.

½ after 10.

I have done my Incas's.

If I remember right, a practising Attorney can not be arrested as another man may be in the first instance, at the beginning of a suit: only *in execution*, at the conclusion of it.

Good night God bless you both.

Tuesday I think it is—Jany. the somethingth.—twenty odd Tuesday seventh or some such matter 1777.

Linc. Inn.

201

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

31 January–5 February 1777 (Aet 28)

Lieutt. O'brien's books you have nothing to do with—They are only about Naval evolutions etc.² The use to be made of ships when built, not the method of building them.

⁵ See letter 194 and n. 3. Bentham was now inclined to take up the idea of translating Marmontel's *Les Incas* for Elmsley, because the money would enable him to help the Wise family (see letter 196 towards the end). The translation, in two volumes, of which Bentham was responsible for the first (see letter 205), was apparently printed during 1777 (see letter 222), though no copy of it has been traced, and it may not in fact have been published. The *Critical Review* for September 1777 (xlv, 208–11) contains a notice of *The Incas, or, the Destruction of the Empire of Peru*; but this translation, in two volumes, was published by John Nourse, not Peter Elmsley, and is presumably not the one in which Bentham had a hand.

201. ¹ B.M. II: 92–93. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. Jan 31st and Feb 5th 1777. Incas—Lind's affairs. Public News.'

Addressed: 'To / Mr. Bentham / at the King's Dock Yard / near Rochester.' Postmark: '5 FE'.

² Christopher O'Bryen, a naval lieutenant, had published in 1762 an abridgement of Paul Hoste's *L'Art des Armées navales* (Lyons, 1695) under the title *Naval Evolutions, or a system of Sea-Discipline*. The book also included, however, 'An Abstract of the theory of Ship-building'.

This afternoon I carried Elmsley my Incas. I told him the terms—3 guis. pr. sheet the translation (24 12mo pages rather loosely printed) He told me immediately 'he imagined there would be no difficulty about giving that price: but said there was another to be concerned with him. I then told him that I could let him have a sheet a week but that I could not be answerable for any more. At this he looked a little blank—and what could I do no more than a sheet a week? Yes certainly I said, if I were to do nothing else: but that I could not sacrifice my whole time to it on any consideration. Ah! says he that's the thing—I wish you were a poor Devil that wrote for bread like those I give 27s. or 28s. a sheet to—I would make you do 2 or 3 sheets in a week for me. I recommended it to him to show what I had done to some friend whose judgement he could depend upon, that he might judge whether it would be worth his while to give so high a price; And I proposed to him Mr. Gibbon: adding that I could not take upon me to say it would be worth his while to give it; only I knew it would not be worth my while to take less. He answer'd that nobody should see it but himself. I told him that if we did not agree, what I had done which amounts to about a sheet he should be welcome to. At this he thanked me, as you may imagine. I concluded with desiring him to let me know his determination as soon as was convenient to him, that I might take my arrangements accordingly—He said, that he certainly should for his own sake, as there was no time to be lost. He certainly has a great mind to have it done by me. For when I pulled out of my pocket the packet which I had brought with the printed sheets in it, and began telling him of it, He said he was sorry for it (thinking I meant by that to have nothing to do with it) and really looked chagrined. The only difficulty seems to be about the time. The price was in a manner complied with at first word. This will be some gratification to my vanity, whether we agree or not. And it will be some comfort to me besides to think that upon a pinch I have such a resource. Half as much again as the highest price that is commonly given—this is certainly a good omen.

Lind dined with Jenkinson³ the day before yesterday—There is a report which comes by way of France that Philadelphia is in our hands. It is credited at Jenkinson's. I heard of it likewise from another quarter. That d—d de L'olme has not yet finished.

Friday Jany. 31 1777.

³ Charles Jenkinson (1729–1808), later 1st Earl of Liverpool, at this time M.P. for Hastings, became Secretary-at-War in 1778 and held the post until March 1782.

Wedy, Feb 5 1777

Lind's Translation is to be finished tomorrow. I dined there yesterday. The company consisted of a man who is just going to lay claim to the title of Earl of Banbury, and in the mean time calls himself so as his ancestors have done for many generations—Lady Wallingford a relation of his.⁴ The Sollicitor Genl. (Wedderburne)⁵ Baron Maseres (he is what they call Cursitor Baron of the Exchequer) one Croft who is a young Barrister of Linc. Inn. and his Sister. They are opposite neighbours of Lind's, who takes Croft under his protection.⁶ Lastly a Monsr. Linguet⁷ a French Avocat who has made more noise in his country than perhaps any man of his profession ever did in any country. It was for the sake of seeing him that Lind asked me *to be there*. He wanted me to let him *introduce* me to Wedderburn and Linguet which is a different thing: but this I did not choose. From Linguet I learnt several curious anecdotes of one kind or other. Lind's acquaintance with him is through Wedderburn. Linguet means to take up his abode in this country: being obliged to *s'expatrier* on account of some tracasseries he has had with the Parliaments. He was concerned for that great rascal as he is thought to be here at least the Duc d'Aiguillon.⁸ I asked him about Marmontel—he knew nothing of him—D'Alembert—he was his mortal enemy. Helvetius—he was a good sort of man enough—a well meaning man—but D'Alembert with all his pretensions to Philosophy etc. was the merest *intrigant*

⁴ Thomas Woods Knollys (1727–83) had succeeded his brother as titular Earl of Banbury on 29 August 1776. Lady Wallingford was his mother.

⁵ Alexander Wedderburn (1733–1805), later 1st Baron Loughborough and 1st Earl of Rosslyn, was Solicitor-General from 1771 to 1778, Attorney-General from 1778 to 1780, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas from 1780 to 1793, and Lord Chancellor from 1793 to 1801. He began his career as an Edinburgh advocate, and in pursuit of his ambitions changed sides in politics several times, particularly in 1771, when he gave up his bitter opposition to North and took office under him. He is the subject of an amusing footnote added in 1822 to Chapter I of Bentham's *Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*.

⁶ Herbert Croft (c. 1752–1816) became a barrister of Lincoln's Inn in 1775. He subsequently left the law for the church and in 1787 became vicar of Prittlewell, Essex. In 1797 he succeeded his kinsman, Sir John Croft, as 5th baronet. He was a close friend of Lind and after the latter's death was active in schemes to make provision for his dependents (cf. *Gentleman's Magazine*, li, 162–163).

⁷ Simon Nicolas Henri Linguet (1736–94), French journalist and advocate. He was among the most famous pleaders of the time, but was dismissed in 1775 on account of his bitter attacks on colleagues. He was guillotined in 1794 for his support of Louis XVI. His writings include an attack on Montesquieu, entitled *Théorie des lois civiles* (1767).

⁸ Emmanuel-Armand, Duc d'Aiguillon (1720–88) had held several offices of state under Louis XV.

that ever lived. Linguet is a professed advocate (so at least I have been told) in his books for despotism and domestic Slavery. You might imagine I have no great *envie* to be very intimate with him. But I shall probably find means to make him of use to me in two or three particulars. I mean by giving me information in two or three points.

This afternoon two packets came to me from Elmsley. The first contained the original of *The Incas*: The 2d. my translation sealed up as I had carried it to him. The Seal unbroken. So he never as much as looked at the contents. On the cover these words ‘Pray go on.’ The Preliminaries then are settled. But besides them I have drawn up a ⟨. . .⟩ ⟨. . .⟩ which when assented to by him will compose the ⟨. . .⟩ Treaty.⁹

You know of my receiving a poetical Epistle from Mrs. W. It will be a plague to me as I must be obliged to answer it in verse.

W. Adam¹⁰ of our Inn a Member of Parlt. has desired Wilson to introduce him to me, I am considering whether to say Yes.

No news transpired at Lind’s worth mentioning.

Wilson has it from Adam that the news in the papers about a packet from the Congress being taken is true. It is believed by the people in the Great Offices etc. It contains offers from the Congress to the French begging their assistance. Canada and the two Floridas to be given to them—with assistance for conquering our W. India Islands—Universal naturalization of the French—and 52,000 a year for 20 or 30 years.

⁹ Several words in this paragraph are torn away: only the quite obvious ones have been supplied.

¹⁰ William Adam (1751–1839), a Scottish advocate, was then member for Gatton, Surrey. He was nephew of Robert Adam, the architect. In 1779 he wounded C. J. Fox in a duel, but later became his staunch supporter, and was active in bringing about the 1783 Fox–North coalition. In 1816 he became Lord Chief Commissioner of the Scottish jury court.

202

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

8 February 1777 (Aet 28)

A few days ago I received the following letter from Mr. W.

Battle 5 Feb: 1777

Sir,

When I received your very friendly and obliging letter, I did not understand that you expected a written answer to it, but that as you looked for me to be in town very soon, you meant that I should defer saying any thing upon the subject of it, till such times as I could have the pleasure of waiting on you at Lincoln's Inn. The last Post brought a letter from Mrs. Davies upon the same subject, wherein she intimates that you were disappointed at not having heard from me. I assure you, Sir, that it has not been through any ingratitude, or the want of confidence in you that I have omitted writing to you, but only for the reason which I have before mentioned—The subject of your letter was of that serious and affecting nature to me that perhaps I did not sufficiently attend to your desire of receiving an answer from me, though I confess now that upon second reading I ought to have understood it differently.

I know not how to thank you sufficiently for your offers of friendship to me, and shall be happy in an opportunity of communicating to you every circumstance of my affairs, which however difficult they may have been, are not now so desperate as my friends have conceived 'em to be. I purpose being in town next monday sennight at farthest, perhaps tomorrow, when I shall take the earliest opportunity of waiting on you and am

Sr. with the utmost gratitude and esteem

Your obliged and obedient

Rob. Wise

Saturday Feb: 8th 1777.

Your letter is just come to hand—Alas! my poor Sam what is it I can do for thee? Shall I come down to you? that I certainly

202. ¹ B.M. II: 94–95. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. Febry. 8th 1777. R.W.'s affairs. S.B. indisposed. Battle Scheme.'

Addressed: 'To / Mr. Davis / Commissioner's Office / near Rochester / Single Sheet'. Postmark: '8 FE'.

will if you desire it by return of Post. You know, from my last in particular, how precious time is to me, or I would come down tomorrow, I have been rather naughty to day—laid abed rather too long and am good for nothing—quite spiritless and confused. The morning however has not been absolutely lost I have laboured in my vocation with tolerable success.

Elmsly I see has advertised the Incas and yet I have not settled terms with him—only just the Preliminaries I mentioned: nor have I done any thing to engage myself.

I wrote on Wednesday again to Mr. Davies. Did you any of you? I promised him that if you have not I would make you write by next packet—The packet goes the 1st. Wednesday after the 1st. day of every month.

Have you any thing now of the pain in the breast you complained of at Fetcham.

That was Wilson's first enquiry upon my telling him you were not well. I am writing by his fireside, and he has just reminded me to put that question.

If Mrs. D. knows any thing of the Inca let her remember and do you that it is an inviolable secret. Wilson is all anxiety least it should be discover'd. He thinks it would be a great degradation to my character were it to be known; and injure me and my projects beyond measure.

It is time Mrs. D. should do something about the Battle scheme. Mrs. W. will expect it. If things hold on till then well and good, at any rate the thoughts of it will be an amusement to the parties. Mrs. D. or Sam therefore had best write me a letter such as she would write to me were the proposal a new one. I shall then answer accordingly. Somewhat of this sort must be done; because my answer is what Mrs. D. will have to give an account of to Mrs. W. Mrs. D.'s letter should come before Mr. W. comes to town; as he will probably be for talking to me on the subject of it.

203

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

14 February 1777 (Aet 28)

Would not Guy trust you with that same 'bond or agreement you speak of, whereby W. charged the estates with the payment of

203. ¹ B.M. II: 96–97. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. Feby. 14th 1777. R.W.'s affairs. Public News.'

The address (partly torn off) ends: 'Rochester.'

the money with a promise to execute the proper mortgage.' I mean that you might bring it to town for me to look at it. I would if possible prevent this Chancery Suit which would be a new evil upon the back of all the former ones. If there was a mortgage already subsisting all the promises in the world to execute a mortgage which *now* remains to be executed would not give that future mortgage the precedence over the preceding: what is more if a new mortgage has been made *subsequent* to such promise and without notice of such promise it would also *I suppose* take place of the mortgage promised. I had always understood that the mortgage to Mrs. A. was executed at the time the money was paid: only that the Title deeds were not deliver'd. If it be not, I should suppose that W. would have no objection to execute it at any time: and that is all that Guy could possibly get by his suit. You must stop that suit if you possibly can: for the sake of all parties concerned. It will be heavy to Guy himself in the first instance. An attorney won't undertake a Chancery suit without having money in his hands. There will be a vast expence to all parties: it will make W. still less able to fulfill his engagements and get the writings out of the hands of the parties concerned than he was before: if W. should prove insolvent Guy's share of the costs would ultimately fall upon the estate to which Guy is Executor: that is upon Mrs. Ackworth alone; or upon her together with the other legatees. As to Tilden's² advising it, that is not to be wonder'd at: it would afford pretty pickings for him: but no person who was a friend to any of the parties concerned or to Guy himself, and knew what a Chancery suit is, would advise it. It would be a very expensive suit; and would go near perhaps to eat up the whole value of the matter in question. If Wise will not tell how the matter is circumstanced there must be many persons made parties to the suit in order to discover. The man who has got the Title-deeds must be a party. The prior mortgagee must perhaps be a party. The expence of a Chancery suit is at any rate excessively heavy: more so a great deal than of a suit at Common Law: and the more parties there are, the heavier. Whatever W. is at this time able to do, I think I could undertake for his doing: if he is not able to do what is expected, I am sure a Chancery suit will not make him more able. I hope at any rate you will be able to prevail upon Guy to stay till I have an opportunity of seeing W. and talking to him.

² Perhaps George Tilden (b. c. 1735) of the Inner Temple.

Aye, do my dear Sam, come and let us see you for a day or two. Wilson you know has not seen you since November.

Incas go on very well. I have done 102 pages. Of Punishments I have done upwards of 300.

Lind's book is out at last.³ He called on me last night and told me so. He called yesterday at Lord North's: but found him not at home. Jenkinson had sent message after message about them. He said he wanted to write to some friend at Paris, and would not write till he could get a copy to send him.

The report about Gen. Lee is so far believed that Ld. Suffolk tells it to the foreign ministers: but so he did once before a report about New York's being taken which proved premature. There was a strong report too about Philadelphia: but that was some time ago: and begins now to be doubted of.

Gen. Lee is said to have behaved in an abject manner, begging his life and pretending to have been intending to take benefit of the proclamation.⁴

You have heard doubtless that the revered and singularly pious Dr. Dodd, author of a commentary on the Bible, of which your cousin Sam. Ray was idolatrous, preacher at the Magdalen, etc. etc. is in custody for a forgery. He is to be tried on Saturday.⁵ I shall make Alderman Clark take me there if his consummate laziness (for it is early in the morning) does not prevent him. My dear Sam I write so many sheets in a day and am so fatigued I can scrawl no more to thee.

Wilson and I dine by invitation to morrow at Dr. Fordyce's. To confess the truth to you I have never seen Nairne since.

[Half page torn away]

Dr. Price is coming out with some more of his stuff, in which Lind I understand is to be attacked.⁶ He was saying t'other day

³ The French version of *An Answer to the Declaration of the American Congress*.

⁴ Henry Howard, Earl of Suffolk (1739–79) had been Secretary of State for the Northern Department since June 1771. General Charles Lee (1731–82) had been captured in his headquarters by British troops on 13 December 1776.

⁵ William Dodd, LL.D., (1729–77) was tried and found guilty of forgery on Saturday 22 February. His execution took place on 27 June.

⁶ *Additional Observations on the Nature and Value of Civil Liberty, and the War with America*. By Richard Price, D.D., F.R.S. Printed for T. Cadell in the Strand. 1777.

In the preface he refers to the author of the *Three Letters to Dr. Price* as the ablest of his critics. He identifies him as the author of the *Remarks on the Acts of the Thirteenth Parliament* and *Letters on the Present State of Poland*, deplores his abusiveness (especially as Price had joined issue with him in such an extremely civil manner in his original *Observations*, cf. letter 158, n. 1), and mocks at the definition of Liberty as *absence of coercion*, because it seems only to concern the coercion of such little

to Cadell the bookseller that none of all the attacks that have been made upon him have hurt him except Lind's.

204

TO ELIZABETH DAVIES¹

February or March 1777 (Aet 29)

I hope Miss Nairne has not set her heart upon young Forbes. He is so intimate with a young Lady who is just come to town from Ripley, and whom my Mother visits, that she pronounces them engaged. Her name is Stratton, her mother's name who is a widow, Brickenden. She may very likely be the same you had in your eye when you mention'd Ripley to me.

My mother found him at Mrs. Brickenden's lodgings in Golden Square t'other morning quite *en dishabille*, and apparently upon the footing of the greatest intimacy. He had been dancing with her over night.

I mention this that if you think it advisable of which alone you can be judge, you may communicate it to the Nairne family, that they may not indulge themselves in vain hopes. Miss S's fortune I understand is very large—almost equal to his own.

205

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

3 March 1777 (Aet 29)

Linc. Inn Monday March 3d. 1777

Yes, my dear Sam, I did receive the packet, and rejoiced you may well suppose I was, at reading it: But what is it that I can tell you more? and what is it that you can want to hear from me

despots as common pick-pockets etc. and not that of civil governors, who are granted omnipotence (Preface, p. xiv).

204. ¹ B.M. II: 98. Autograph. Docketed by Bentham: '1777 Feby. or March. I.B. London to Mrs. D. Chatham. Caution to Miss N. about young F.'

Addressed: 'To Mrs. Davies.'

See letters 182, n4, 188, n. 2, and 189.

205. ¹ B.M. II: 99–100. Autograph. Docketed (by Jeremy Bentham?): 'I.B. March 3d. 1777. Congratulations on the encouragement from Mr. D. Public News. John the Painter.'

Addressed: 'To / Mr. Bentham / at the Kg's. Dock Yard / near Rochester / Single Sheet.' Postmark: '3 MR'.

before you write to Mr. D? If it has put any *new* thoughts in *your* head, I wish you would tell me: it has certainly put none in mine. To me it seems that you will go *(on)* in precisely the same track you were going on in already only with more Spirit and alacrity. Your business will be (but what signifies my telling you what is so obvious?) to make what haste you can in order to get ready as many things as you can to shew Lord Howe by the time he comes back. Be a good Boy, and get up early of a morning and handle well your axe, and mind your book and say your prayers, and with God's blessing you will not fail to be a great man. Do what is proper and right, and you will not fail to do what is right and proper. To be sure you would be full as well in the Dock Yard before breakfast of a morning, as snoring abed. Is here enough for you, or will you have some more?

I dined at Q.S.P. on Saturday and shew'd your (that is Mr. D's) letter. I saw no reason whatever for making a secret of it to any especially as if I had shewn it to one it would have gone of course to all. The old gentleman chuckled a good deal as he read it, Madam look'd glum. Hey, my dear, says he, why you look *a la morte*? what's the matter? Nothing else passed that was of any consequence except that he was pleased and so forth. But Pleasure can never sit for one hour together upon his gloomy brow. In conclusion he impounded it; or I should have returned it you before now. I will send it you with the etc.'s in a day or two. What he wants to do with it I don't know; possibly to shew it to Randal.

As to the course of the Post, your folks know nothing of the matter. If your letter is at the P. House here on Wednesday night it is quite time enough. What they say about the revolt of the Hessians is all stuff—we have not here so much as a *report* of it.² So your worship's destruction scheme may sleep for this bout. I hope w[h]ile you brood over your Destruction Scheme you have not the *inconsequence* to rail at the Americans for burning our Dock-Yards.

Oh—I must tell you news; which you perhaps may think bad news: To me it is neither good nor bad. Elmsly has given the 2d. Vol. of the Incas to another man. He says he told me he should: but I did not understand him so. Both Vol's are now come over. I have got them. Mine contains but 333 pages and 5 of Titles of Chapters and 7 of Epistle dedicatory. 5¼ of these will be equal to

² Despite what Bentham says here, the conduct of the Hessian troops in America was at this time causing considerable anxiety (cf., e.g. *Gentleman's Magazine*, xliii, 189–90).

4 of the English. From these data you may calculate what I shall have.

It is said that the burning schemes have actually been traced to Silas Dean,³ the American emissary at Paris. The following are the particulars I have heard. There was a painter worked at Ld. Temple's⁴ at Stow who hearing the description of the man who is in custody on that account under the name of John Hill otherwise John the Painter,⁵ thought it was a man he knew, had worked with and been pretty intimate with. He communicated these suspicions to my Lord, who gave him instructions and sent him up to town to speak with Hill and endeavour to get something out of him. He did so, and managed so well as to work himself in to Hill's confidence. After a while Ld. T.'s Painter contrived to introduce a friend: this friend was one of the Clerks of the Admiralty who had disguised himself for the purpose. The grand topic of conversation was all along how to contrive means for Hill to make his escape: various expedients were proposed; and amongst the rest, his friend and his friend's friend brought some Aqua Fortis to eat off the irons. The irons were eaten off: but unfortunately the Keepers were so much upon their guard their vigilance was not to be eluded. However this made them all as thick as Inkle weavers: and there was no concealing any thing from such trusty friends. He told them that he had been at Paris where he saw Dean: that Dean engaged him to make these attempts and gave him some ready money and £300 in notes upon a house in London. These notes when he came to England he kept in his pocket for some time being afraid of negotiating them for fear of a discovery: and when he was apprehended, or just before he was apprehended, he burnt them. Who they were drawn upon has not transpired: it is thought Alderman Lee. It is said the Administration have got the *pass* he got at Paris which is a special one more full than those which are granted of course to every foreigner at least to every Englishman who leaves Paris (or I believe France) and without which a man is not suffer'd to quit the country. This story I can not pretend to warrant: but Wilson got it from people whom I know who are a good deal in the high world, who are in general well informed, and

³ Silas Deane (1737–89) came to Paris in 1776 as agent of the American Congress. He obtained secret supplies of arms and negotiated the subsequent treaty. In 1778 he was accused of the embezzlement of Congress funds. He died in England. His name was formally cleared by Congress in 1842. Cf. letter 208.

⁴ Richard Grenville-Temple, 1st Earl Temple (1711–79).

⁵ His real name was James Aitken (1752–77), a Scot who went to Virginia in 1772 returned to England in 1775, and was executed on 10 March 1777 for the scheme here discussed by Bentham.

from whom at different times we have collected intelligence which has proved true.

This I intended to have written to Mr. Davies: but it occurred to me just now that I might as well send it to you, by whose means you and Co. would have the benefit of it: A consideration of which it is my will and pleasure and be it enacted that you or some of you copy it and send it to him as from me. I desire also that you would make him some fine speeches (as I know you have a good hand at compliments) in my name, for the good words he has spoken for you: and after thanking him soundly for your self thank him over again for me.

Moreover when you are in the way of thanking, thank my dear Mrs. D. heartily for the two letters: item for the Shirt. My pen is worn out and also my perseverance—Good night.

206

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

9-10 March 1777 (Aet 29)

I must be brief—I have a good deal to tell you, but little time to tell it in. I have seen W. I have talked to him. He has promised me to bring me a mortgage executed by him on Wednesday, if he comes to town that day, as he says he intends; if not to send it to me on Thursday. He accounts for his not having done it before, by his inability to get the writings. I told him they were entirely distinct things: his not being able to do all, was no reason for his not doing what he could do. He said the writings were in the hands of a man to whom he owes £250: but he assures me, the premises are not mortgaged to him or any one. If so, all is well. If the man is within reach I will find him out and try whether I can not prevail on him to let me have the writings: I mean when W. has executed the Mortgage. For if the man has no mortgage he has no sort of title to the writings; but is compellable by law to give them up to the Mortgagee: nor is the possession of them of any immediate consequence.

I question whether I should have seen any thing of him if it had not been for an accident. On Thursday by the Coach came a letter

206. ¹ B.M. II: 101-103. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. March 9th 1777. R.W.'s affairs. I.B. sends £10 to Mr. W. Battle Scheme.'

Addressed: 'Mr. Bentham.'

to me from poor Mrs. W. who was in agonies from not having seen or heard any thing of him since the Friday before when he left her to come to London and wrote to her that night promising she should hear again on Wednesday if he was not back by that time. She said it would be of the utmost disadvantage to him not to be 'home by Thursday' and yet she said he must be with Nairne at the Sussex Coffee-house on the next day. He dated his letter she said from the Blossoms Inn. She wished me therefore to find him out and tell him how necessary it was for him to be back at the above time, and if not in town to write after him to Chatham. I went immediately to the Inn, and there I found my Gentleman. He seemed to affect to wonder at her anxiety, as he said he intended originally to stay till the Monday sennight that is to morrow. He did not say much about his not calling upon me; in all that time he had done it once, or he intended it before he went out of town, or something. He talked in a shuffling manner as I thought about his wife. First he had written to her by that post—then it came out he had not, but he intended it. What I told him had not the effect as I expected of his expressing any resolution of hastening his departure: till at last upon my having quitted him some time and coming back to tell him of the circumstance of my being to write to Chatham after him (for I had not Mrs. W's letter about me) he seemed to say he would. From what you had told me of his conduct on former occasions I could not help suspecting he might be come to town for the purpose of avoiding some engagement: and that it might be the very engagement Mrs. W. was so anxious to have him keep.

Friday he came and breakfasted with me, and told me he was going to meet Nairne, and should then set off immediately for Battle. He said that his Brother was to advance him the £250 to get the writings with, upon another person's being security with him, (whom he did not name) but he said, at least so I understood him, that it was about that business he was to meet Nairne.

I find since upon turning again to Mrs. W's letter that he was in town by the Thursday at 10 o'clock as he wrote her word in the morning; tho' he told me not till the Friday. This I find by a second letter of Mrs. W's which came on Saturday by the Post: and which she wrote least I should not have received or not have done any thing in consequence of her first.

After the conversation I had with W. on Thursday night it ran in my head so strongly that he was thinking of going off, that in the answer which I wrote that night to Mrs. W. I did what I now

had rather have let alone. I knew that by means of Mrs. D's letter she was informed that I as well as Mrs. D. etc. knew how desperate his affairs are. I therefore told her without disguise, tho' without any unfavourable comment, what had passed between him and me on the subject of her letter. I thought that might be a means of preparing her for the event of his going off should it take place: and that it was better so, than that it should come all at once upon her like a clap of thunder. At the same time I did not give her the most distant hint of my own suspicion: only that I looked upon it as a matter of uncertainty whether she would see him on the Friday so soon as she wished.

I did another thing. I was apprehensive he might have left her destitute of money, and thinking there might be nobody on the spot she could apply to decently, I sent her a Bank note of £10, giving reasons and making apologies such as you may imagine. I thought that if he were to go off her situation might be dreadful: and Mrs. D. is so far off in point of postage, that it would be a long time before she could get any assistance from her. Luckily I had a frank by me. All this I made two letters of: one which she would have to shew to W. of course: and another which I told her she might shew to him or not as she thought proper. I saw inconveniences in all this as you may imagine: but they seemed less than the mischiefs which I dreaded. I took that opportunity of sending her my poetical Epistle.

When W. was with me on the Friday morning he gave me a note as for me which upon looking at I found was designed for you. You will find it herewith enclosed.

I have sent you a few shirts for Mrs. Knight's² amusement. But d'ye mind me? I won't have my dear Mrs. D. troubled with them; she has work enough besides.

I would not finish my letter till the Post came in, which to night was not till very late—past 6 o'clock. It brought me a letter from Mrs. W. of which what follows is all that is material.

'Saturday ½ past 4'

'Dr. Sir

I thank you more for enjoining me to silence on the subject and contents of the Frank I reced last night than from any advantage I can possibly receive from it.

'Were I to attempt acknowledgment it would fall so very short of your unexampled and unmerited kindness as would be very

² Unidentified.

inadequate to my feelings on this occasion—in this it were better to be silent—Mr. W. came home this day to dinner—at the sight of him I lost all inquietudes and am now perfectly at ease on the subject of my letter to you yesterday morning—Mr. N. has behaved with a meanness and ignorance peculiar to himself: but you shall know every particular next week. — — — — — . It was impossible for me to withhold any thing from Mr. W. that had happen'd in the course of his absence; amongst the many incidents nothing gave him so much pleasure as that unexpected kindness which will ever be remember'd by him with the same warmth and lively gratitude

as by her who is eternally
your obliged
S.W.'

'I could wish my Sister not to know any thing of what has happen'd—my Head ach's wondrously—you won't wonder when I tell you I wept incessantly from Wednesday till last night.'

So far Mrs. W. You see by this there was something in her weeping that the contents of my letter put a stop to.

I hear Payne has sold all his share of the Fragments.

Have you had no more letters from Mrs. W, since that you shew'd me? I should think by this time she must wonder her sister has given her no account of any thing she has done about the boarding scheme. It will be necessary I suppose for me to say something in answer to her sham letter. W. said nothing to me about it. (meaning the scheme) Wilson every now and then talks of it, and with apparent pleasure. He counts the days: which is next to wishing them away. It is a real mortification to me not to be able to shew him one letter in three that I receive. *Entre nous* too I borrow'd of him that £10 which must have set him a thinking. He talks of our going into the country about the middle of June; for then it is that Term ends: so that in three month's time we should be ready. As W. has held together thus long it is possible and let us hope he may hold on till it will be time for us to go.

Monday. March (10th. I believe) 1777.³

³ 10 March 1777 *was* a Monday.

207

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

14-15 March 1777 (Aet 29)

No W. appearing I thought it as well to make some enquiries I called accordingly between 6 and 7 this afternoon at the Blossoms Inn where he had put up last time. He was not there then they said but *had* been. He had called yesterday or the day before, they said, they could not recollect which, and—who could have thought ‘his *wife* was with him.’ They were at the house of some acquaintance the people said, so they understood: but they put up at the Horse and Leaping post Black Friar’s Bridge. Is not this a little singular? They could call at this Inn, and yet they could not call upon me. I wonder what is become of W’s promises:—and Mrs. W. too? I wonder whether they intend calling. They had not at ½ past 7 this evening: at least I saw no signs of it. I was at home all this morning and all yesterday morning, the door not shut—also the greatest part by far of yesterday afternoon and evening. Shall I go after them? I certainly would not if this business of the Mortgage were not at stake. I believe I must endeavour to find them out tomorrow morning, tho’ likely to be an unwelcome guest; at least to one of them. In such a situation of affairs what can *Mrs. W.* have to do in town?

So much for the present—If tomorrow produces any thing, I will write to you.

I have got a whole parcel of things of my poor snail’s as Mrs. D. calls her to take out of pawn—How lucky it is just now that I happen to have a prospect of a little hard earned pelf!

Friday March 14 1777

Wilson’s Chambers 11 o’clock.

Saturday 2 o’clock

I sealed this as you will perceive—but I thought I would wait the event of another day. It is as well I did. Coming home I found a note from W. dated 8 o’clock in which he let me know where he was (it is the same place that is called Jones’s Coffee-house) and that he and Mrs. W. should be glad to see me to Breakfast as this morning at 9, or if that was not convenient would

207. ¹ B.M. II: 106-107. Autograph. Docketed: ‘I.B. March 14th 1777. R.W.’s affairs. R. and S.W. in town.’

Addressed: ‘To / Mr. Bentham / at his Majesty’s Dock Yard / near Rochester / Single Sheet.’ Postmark: ‘15 M.’

call on me between 10 and 11 himself. I went and brought them over to breakfast with me. I asked him whether he had got the Mortgage ready. He said he had not had time to do it himself, but had put it to the Stationer's to engross; and that it would be done by 12 that the Stationers shop was just by Blake's the Proctors where he and Mrs. W. were to dine to day at two—In the afternoon /evening/ he is /they are/ to be with me again; and then he says he will bring the mortgage.

Mrs. W. desired I would write to Mrs. D. by this post to let her know of the Mortgage's being executed but desired I would not mention her being in town. She will write herself she says and leave her letter to be put in the Post on Monday. Her reason is that Mrs. D. may not hear of it before she hears the reasons Mrs. W. has to give her by way of accounting for her coming. The purport of them will be to prove that it is no additional expence and so forth.

They are to set out on Sunday after dining somewhere where they are engaged: they will in that case reach home by Monday night. They came in a one-horse chaise in one day. They talked faintly of staying in town all Sunday: in which case they could not get home as he observed till Tuesday; as the roads are now much heavier than they were. I threw cold water upon the proposition immediately.

Mandez-moi si quaedam persona sçait le contenu de la derniere que je vous ai escrit. Je laisse toute l'affaire a votre discretion.

11 o'clock. W. is now with me. He has brought me a deed which does not answer the purpose, that is all I can say at present—He has no copy of the instrument he enter'd into /executed/ Mrs. A.² and which you shewd me. You must take a copy and send it me forthwith that is to say the *Copy* not the original—I will then forward it to him immediately for him to draw a proper conveyance from. I do believe I shall bring him at last to do what he ought to do: but I must needs say I am not satisfied with what is done at present. Mrs. W. did not come this evening but staid at Mr. Blake's.

² The agreement to mortgage his house and land to his mother-in-law, Mrs Acworth (cf. letter 203 and letter 196, n. 9).

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

17 March 1777 (Aet 29)

Now I will tell you what I have been able to collect from W. concerning his affairs.²

The Tenements he was to buy with Mrs. Ackworth's money and which by the Instrument you shew'd me he was to give her a mortgage upon consist of two distinct Lots—1st The House. 2dly. a 4th. share in a piece of Land.

This 4th. share brings in £9 a year the whole letting for £36 but he says, it is worth more than that, and as neither he nor the people whose interest he bought joined in the Lease, he has in his power at any time to disallow it.

He said the whole together had some time ago been valued by his people at £1300 consequently this 4th. share would at that rate be worth £325. Some person (I think it was the owners of the $\frac{3}{4}$)—lately offer'd to buy his share at an appraisement—an appraiser to be appointed on each side. This he says he verbally agreed to: and on this he founds his hopes of paying off Mrs. Ackworth a part of the money (as Mrs. W. talked of.)

But now you shall hear how the writings are disposed of.

One Gilbert who is a Grocer at Lewes has the Title Deeds of the House as likewise the conveyance made to W. by the last Proprietor—	}	£	250	s	—	d	—
To him W. owes _____							
One Martin who lives at Winchelsea and follows no business has the <i>Title Deeds</i> of the Land	}	£	120	s	—	d	—
To him W. owes _____							
The man at Chatham I did not ask his name but you know it has the conveyance that was made to W. of the Mortgage which was subsisting upon the Land at the time he bought it, which Mortgage I suppose was then paid off, as W. got this conveyance of it. To this man there is owing	}		150				

Total 520

208. ¹ B.M. II: 104, 105, 108, 109. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. March 17th 1777. R.W.'s affairs.'

Addressed: 'To / Mr. Bentham / at his Majesty's Dock Yard / near Rochester / Two Sheets.' Postmark: '17 MR'.

² A jotting here reads '120 MART WINCH' and presumably refers to the £120 mentioned below as being owed by Wise to one Martin of Winchelsea.

This last sum (£150) W. told me a confused story about which I could make neither head nor tail of. But as I saw what was at the bottom of it viz: that he had received money from one man to pay over to another which he had not done, I could not bear to press him in such a manner as would have been necessary to get an explicit account of it. However he said with an air of ease and confidence as if the money were to come from and the delay had proceeded from another quarter, that notice had been given, and the money would be paid in April.

I dare say /I should rather say I fear/ not a farthing of interest has been paid upon any of these sums. I did not ask him: but I am apt to think if there had he would have mentioned. I think upon an average they must have been outstanding at least a year—this will probably make the 520 amount to 550.

At the same time W. gave me repeated assurances that there was no mortgage at all but Mrs. Ackworth's upon any part of the premises. If so the several parties concerned are compellable to deliver up the writings. So that /if this be true/ the deceit, if any, will fall upon them not upon Mrs. A.

There is another bad circumstance in the case. The Judgments upon which those executions were taken out which you mentioned might in case the goods should not prove sufficient be brought to affect the Lands so as to have the preference over a Mortgage executed *since*. They affect them in this way. A man who has a judgment in his favour for so much money may proceed in either of these manners: 1st he may have a writ called *Fieri facias* to take the debtors goods alone and have them sold: in that case if there is not enough to satisfy he may have another writ called a *capias ad satisfaciendum* to take the *body*. Or else 2dly. waiving both these remedies he may have a writ called an *Elegit* which entitles him to have the goods themselves deliver'd to him at an appraisement and if they do not amount to enough, then in virtue of the same writ to take *half* the Lands etc. and keep them till the profits have discharged the debt. This would leave the mortgage to take place only with respect to half. And another *Elegit* upon another Judgment would take in like manner half of that half.

This made it necessary for me to ask W. about the Judgments you mentioned: I did not tell him from whence I heard of them. He told me they were both settled. That in that in which Tilden was concerned there were *mutual* debts between him and the other party; that they came to an account and it was found that there was a ballance of £5 in favour of W. himself: and so that matter

was made an end of. That with regard to the other debtor he was satisfied by W's getting another person to be bound for him—So that debt upon his own shewing is still subsisting.

For the effect of a Judgment to be entirely taken off, it is necessary that '*satisfaction be enter'd on the record.*' He owned it was not, nor was it usual in their practise. This I believe: nor do I think there are many Country-Attornies who in his situation would on his account have made a point: nor probably are there many who if acting on behalf of Mrs. A. would have thought of exacting it. The performance of it you are to understand depends in the first instance upon the Atty. on the other side. However he said he did not make a doubt of his being able to get the proper authority from the persons concerned: which done he would come to town himself to make the *entry*. I told him I had a curiosity to see that point of practise and if he would let me know should be glad to go with him. He said he would. I had a reason for this. I find that notwithstanding Mrs. W. has been in town twice no Fine has been levied. However the Mortgage will be good I believe although the Fine be not levied till afterwards.³

You will ask me what is this last sum which upon his own shewing is still outstanding against him. My answer is I do not know. Upon the supposition that the parties in question were ready (as he assured me they were) to vacate the Judgment it would not be material: and I had so catechized him already, that I could not bear to put a question to him which would seem I thought to betray my mistrust of him. The whole together was a part so disagreeable and so new to me to act in that I stammer'd and looked foolish, I dare say, as if I had been the catechized instead of the catechizer.

I have got the Mortgage Deed such as it is. Now I will tell you in what respects it is defective.

1st. It does not comprize the *Land*: only the House. This shews he had a view of selling the Land without being obliged at all events to pay Mrs. A. with the money. I told him this was not a performance of the Agreement. He acknowledged it. But said he thought it not necessary to include the Land as it was to be sold so soon. I told him that if Mrs. A. chose to accept of so much of her money of which there could be no doubt, it would not be the less in his power to sell the Land by her having the Mortgage on it: that it remained at present a matter of uncertainty whether a purchaser

³ A fine was a fictitious judicial proceeding (abolished in 1833 by the Fines and Recoveries Act) commonly used in conveying land.

would be found or no: and in the mean time it was highly proper that Mrs. A. should be secured at all events in pursuance of the agreement. All this he could not but acknowledge; and he promised it should be done accordingly.

2ly. the Deed was false dated. It was dated as if executed the same day with the Agreement. I observed to him this would not do: because if it should ever come into question in a Court of Justice, the execution of the deed must be proved; and then the true date would come out, unless the witnesses perjured themselves. I made it appear to him, that to speak the truth was not only the honestest way but the safest.

3dly. The Mortgage instead of being made to Mrs. A. and her Heirs and Assigns *for ever*, was made only to her her Exors and Assigns for 1000 years. You ~~may~~ would naturally imagine this would make no difference. But the truth is it may make a great deal. This mode of conveyance would not be so beneficial to Mrs. A. as the other. You must take my word for it for the reasons are too abstruse and technical for me to pretend to give you here. I asked him how he came to choose this method of conveyance. He told me to save expence: the truth is it does save a few shillings in the expence. He acknowledged that the other mode was the proper one if I thought it necessary.

4. He left blanks for the date only saying in general that it was the date of the agreement. He thought those blanks might be filled up at any time. I told him not without a fresh execution: for if it could be proved that such insertion tended to the prejudice of any body (which might be the case with respect to the judgment creditors) a man would run a risk of its being deemed a forgery.

All this makes it necessary to have a fresh deed; or rather set of Deeds. And it is for this purpose that you must get a copy taken of the agreement Mrs. A. has: in order that the substance of it may be executed. I did not let him know that I had seen it: I forgot to desire that Mrs. D. might copy it. This were best because it is with her that I am supposed to correspond on this occasion. Besides it is her business and she has less writing in her hands than you have.

He says, and I do believe he is right that the *Mortgage* will have relation back to the time of the *agreement*. But then to give it that effect, in case of a dispute it would be necessary I fear to go into a Court of Equity: which I have told you before now is much more expensive than a Court of Law. I mean upon supposition that the writing so often mentioned can operate only as an Agreement to

execute a Mortgage; not as a Mortgage of itself. But I am very strongly inclined to think that as against any posterior incumbrances it would be good in the latter capacity. And in this case the Judgments if posterior as I think they must be to that time, could not hurt us: But the best way is to make sure.

I am sick to death of this business as you may well believe. It forces me partly to rummage up or partly to learn *de novo* such a quantity of that villainous grim gribber, which I hoped by leaving off business I had gotten rid of. It is a great load upon my weak shoulders, added to what I have got already. Yes indeed am I heartily sick of it. But when I think of 9 children and two women whom together with one at least of their husbands we both love and with whom you are so inextricably connected, I am still more sick at the thoughts of giving it up. Allons donc, I see I must draw at last the deeds for W. to execute: and then shall I have to whip, spur, cut, slash to make him execute them and do the other etc.

W.'s brother he said had promised him to let him have the £250 he wanted to pay off Gilbert with: this was to have been done the last time he was in town: and the Brother was to have sent up a draught for the money. But instead of the Draught came a letter of excuse. He says his Brothers wife was the cause of the disappointment: but he is not without hopes, by means of a friend that lives near his brother, of prevailing still. He thinks he says his Brother would advance him enough to extricate him out of all his difficulties if it were not for this wife.

He told me a good deal about his father, who according to his account is more faithless and forgetful of his promises a great deal than our's. Only he lays up money instead of running out as Q.S.P. does or at least is in a way of doing.

When the Mortgage business is finished, then will be the time to see what I can do with him about giving Mrs. A. a security upon his effects. If I were at Battle I could then take care for her of those effects that are hers already: I mean so as to prevent their being seized along with the rest in case of an execution. Mrs. W. I believe will not write this time to Mrs. D.—not till she goes home. She ask'd me, poor woman, this morning just at parting whether I had got the writings to send to her mother or something to that effect and whether every thing was done that was necessary to give her satisfaction. W. was by. I told her, there remained some few little things yet to be done, which I made no doubt Mr. W. would despatch as soon as he could. He seemed rather uneasy at the question; to which you see I could not return a more favourable

answer. She seemed not very well satisfied, and I suppose she would have questioned me more particularly, but he took care she should not have an opportunity of speaking to me alone a moment. I am apt to think that was partly the reason of his being so long before he called upon me. I should have told you that I called on them at their quarters this morning and staid with them from 10 till ½ after 11.

Mrs. W. put me into rather an awkward situation. Her husband comes to town promising either to be back or write by a certain day: does neither. She writes to him: he takes no notice of her letter. She writes to me in an agony letter upon letter, begging me to make hue and cry after him.

Monday March 17th. 1777. Linc. Inn.

I had written thus far when I was interrupted. It is no matter. You can supply the rest. Your letter is come to hand. I can ⟨write⟩ no more at present.

There is a very short life of D. Hume come out, written by himself. I have just been reading it: it will do service to the cause.⁴

I have just been reading an authentic account of the trial of John the Painter with his confession which charges Silas Dean pointedly with the procurement: but nobody else. Only a Dr. Bancroft with a knowledge of the intention.⁵

Adieu my dear Sam, Love to Mrs. D. I shall write again probably e'er long.

The old Gentleman was with me this morning. He was asking after you and wondering he had not heard from you. He complains much of his Lungs; says they are sore: thinks it is the Gout is got there: says he is afraid he is going to be in the same way he was in last October: and that he is going to have an Asthma. He says he would go to Bath as he has been advised, were it not that his affairs are so involved at present.

I shall probably write about the Battle scheme in my next.

⁴ *The Life of David Hume, Esq., written by himself* had been published by Cadell on 11 March.

⁵ Cf. letter 205 and nn. 3 and 5. Edward Bancroft (1744–1821), born in Massachusetts, was a 'double agent' who won the confidence of Benjamin Franklin and Silas Deane while in receipt of British pay as a spy.

209

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

22 March 1777 (Aet 29)

Thank you my dear Sam for your letter, and Mrs. D. for its contents. But what is become of the letter that was written from Seven-oaks? You must give me some account of it.

I am glad Mrs. D. opposed the French scheme: it is a very idle notion to suppose that two people can travel at the same expence as one. The single article of boats is over and back again at least £1. 6s. 0. if not double that sum: and if the expence were really not encreased, it would not appear so to other people. In their circumstances the appearance of extravagance ought to be avoided almost as much as the reality.

As to the Mortgage affair I would have you all take courage. I have a scheme in my head which is this. Upon maturely considering W's Deed such as it is (I mean the old one) I have no doubt of it's being good in *Equity*: though I still can not help fearing whether it might prove good in Law. If then it should be necessary to resort to Equity against any creditor, and as a means of deterring them from taking any steps that would make it necessary for us to resort to Equity, the business will be for us, if we can, to get possession; in that view my scheme is to get W. to make it over absolutely in the way of sale: which is the more reasonable as the money he received from Mrs. A. is the very money and all the money that he gave for it. In this case all his purposes might be answer'd by Mrs. A's making him a long lease determinable upon the lives of one or both of them as it shall be agreed: with the interest of the money by way of rent. This would have a further good effect: inasmuch as she as Landlady would have a preference as far as one year's rent went, to any other creditors.

I wish you would send me a list of those things of Mrs. A's which she lent to W. I mean articles of furniture etc.: and tell me what means she has of making it appear that they were *lent* only and not given. For unless it can be made appear to the contrary by some particular evidence, the presumption would be in case of a dispute, that they were given.

209. ¹ B.M. II: 110–111. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. March 22d. 1777. R.W.'s affairs.'

Addressed: 'To / Mr. Bentham / at the King's Dock Yard / near Rochester.' Postmark: '22 MR'.

I have not been in a hurry to send W. his Deed because I think it will be better to propose the above scheme to him *vivâ voce* than by letter. He won't have the courage to refuse it while I am with him: but if he were at a distance, he would be for putting it off and making excuses. I will endeavour to get matters ready, so that upon his closing with the proposal the business may be settled upon the spot.

I can say no more at present—Adieu.

I pity thee about thy dealings with Q.S.P.—But what signifies my saying so?

Saturday 22 or 23d. March 1777.

210

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

3 April 1777 (Aet 29)

Whether W. will execute the conveyances or no, a few days will now determine. If he does, he will have done *all* that Guy can have a right to press him to,—and *more*. If not let him press him and do what he will with him in God's name. I have told you before that if the estates are not mortgaged to the people who have the writings, their having the writings does not signify a straw. I have asked W— and he says he has an exact particular of all the writings, which of them are in which person's hands. So that in case of a trial, they would be compellable to produce them by a common Subpœnâ such as is used to bring people to give their evidence. The only inconvenience attending the not having the writings is the not being able perhaps to find a purchaser who would buy the estate without them.

I expect every day either to see or hear from Wise. If I do neither within a few days, I will write to him to propose what you mention. If I see him I will propose it to him by word of mouth.

I can say nothing to your expedition at present. I wait for W. and I wait for a man who is to come and pay me some money, and settle an affair I have never told you of. I am going to have a new Tenant in the room of Boozey.²

210. ¹ B.M. II: 112–113. Autograph.

Addressed: 'To / Mr. Bentham / at his Majesty's Dock Yard / near Rochester / Single Sheet.' Postmark: '3 AP'.

² For William Boozey, cf. letter 146, n. 2.

If you have not sent my Father's letter before this comes to hand, do not send it me: but send it at once to him. Mrs. D. would be kind enough to take a copy of it for you. You might then send me that copy.

I wrote by this packet to Mr. Davies.

I shall propose to W. to take a Catalogue of the goods in his house distinguishing which are his own and which Mrs. A's The former he might then make over in consideration of the 100£ you mentioned as being borrow'd of her at the Marriage. The event of such a business would at any rate be uncertain: for it is uncertain whether the Bailiffs would attend to any claim that should be put in, as their being in his possession is primâ facie evidence of their being his. In that case there would be an action to bring against the Sheriff. To do the best that can be done I would propose that a power of Attorney may be given by Mrs. Ackworth to any body the W's could confide in for instance Neale the Parson³: that this P. of Atty. should be lodged in Mrs. W's hands so that in case of the goods being seized then and not before Mrs. W. might deliver it to him (Neale) that he might claim them in Mrs. A's name. If they hold together till I go down the Power might be granted to me: or in case of my being absent for a day or two, to me and Wilson jointly and severally: indeed I should suppose that all our three names (N's W's and mine) might be put into it at once. I shall certainly recommend the sending off whatever things Mrs. W. does not want: the silks for instance. I have Garret-room enough: they might be sent here; in case your expedition does not take place.

How could my dear Mrs. D. possibly think that her writing could be troublesome to me? It is troublesome to me to write letters, but it is no trouble to me to read them from any body, much less from her. I had scribbled all my paper away last time, and had no room to tell her so.

L's affairs are not brought yet to a conclusion. The *Chairman* scheme they make objection to. But they have now within these few days put fresh business into his hands relative to E. India matters.⁴

³ Unidentified.

⁴ John Lind's hopes of becoming Chairman of Ways and Means (cf. letter 198) were not realized. For the 'East India matters' cf. letter 217 at n. 4.

211

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

5 April 1777 (Aet 29)

Saturday April 5 1777.

This post brought me a letter from W. wherein he tells me he and *Mrs.* W. will be with me on Monday night; and that he will bring the conveyances.

As to the packet my dear Sam I do believe I shall pack it off at once for Q.S.P. in statu quo. I wrote a Billet doux designed for that quarter upon the receipt of your letter by the Post. If I dine there to morrow I will leave the packet when I go away: otherwise I will send it on Monday by the Penny Post.

Let not thy noble courage be cast down. Wilson told me something last night that pleased me much.

The Empress of Russia reads English—she reads the English News Papers. Wilson was told so by Baron Dimsdale the Physician who inoculated her.² I make no doubt of being able to make the Punishments find their way to her; and for that purpose you see, there is no immediate nor absolute necessity of a translation.

Yesterday I shew'd Wilson a Chapter or two—he bobbed his head de tems en tems, and the 'just so' 's came very thick one after another. Speaking of a part he happen'd to have in his hand I expressed my doubts whether it would not be thought heavy and abstruse. By no means he said he did not see how it was possible any thing should be clearer; he did not see how it was possible any body could help understanding me. Every now and then he would be saying it was a mighty odd sort of a book indeed was it and 'Well I wish to God it were out.' Coming to a note—Ay—now I like that note—It's a damned good note that.

He met me half-way in the Russian Scheme. I shew'd him the Article from Moscow I shew'd you.

Adieu—I dont much care about the Tea. I get some from Mrs. G.³ tho' to be sure not quite so cheap. I give her 9d. for the Green 7d. for the Bohea.

211. ¹ B.M. II: 114–115. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. April 5th. 1777.'

Addressed: 'To / Mr. Bentham / at his Majesty's Dock Yard / near Rochester.' Postmark: '5 AP'.

² Thomas Dimsdale (1712–1800), a Quaker physician, had been made a Counsellor of State and a baron by Catherine the Great; he was M.P. for Hertford 1780–90.

³ Mrs Green is mentioned several times as working for Bentham: she probably cleaned his chambers at Lincoln's Inn and did some cooking for him. On one occasion

You have now discharged yourself of your load. Now fall to work, eat drink and be merry Digest literally as well as metaphorically—what now should hinder you—There is a new Ship-building [book] come out in France. I shall enquire about it at Elmsleys It is *announced* in the Crit. Review for the last Month—*announced* only—not *reviewed*.—I suppose it is not yet come over.⁴

212

TO ELIZABETH DAVIES¹

22 April 1777 (Aet 29)

What is in Wise's hand will speak for itself. Thus much is true, that I made him the proposal first, but as soon as I had made it, he answer'd me without hesitation that it was what he had been thinking of. I had written to him on Saturday to desire to know when he intended to come to Town, telling him that I had something to propose to him that I thought would be for the benefit of all parties: but without saying what—He told me he had not received the letter, having left Battle on Sunday before the Post came in: which I suppose was the case. He came on his mare, and called on me between 6 and 8 in the afternoon: but I was all the evening at Wilsons so did not see him till this morning.

He has not been able to get the parties concerned to give him authority to enter satisfaction upon those Judgments. I was afraid he would not. He said they were not in the way: they were gone to the Assizes. However if he executes the conveyance he has

she seems to have looked after Mrs Wise's children while their mother was away from home (cf. letter 280). Later Bentham found her something of a burden and was glad to find work for her with William Fitzherbert and two other gentlemen (cf. letters 309 and 342). She is often referred to as 'Verte' or 'La Verte'. In letters 232 and 280 she is referred to as in correspondence with one 'W', a Scotsman. This is presumably George Wilson, but the character of their correspondence remains mysterious.

⁴ *Traité sur la construction des Vaisseaux* etc., par M. le Comte du Maitz de Goimpy. 208 pp. Paris. Announced in *Critical Review*, March 1777, xliiii, 238–241.

212. ¹ B.M. II: 118–119. Autograph except for the part indicated as being in Robert Wise's hand. Docketed by Jeremy Bentham; (f. 118): '1777 April Qu. / I.B. London to Mrs. D. Chatham / R.W.'s affairs sent with the proposal of an absolute conveyance of the Battle House.' (f. 119): '1777 April or thereabouts / I.B. and R.W. London to Mrs. D. Chatham / Propose an absol. conveyce. of the Battle House.'

This letter, for the reason given by Bentham in the text was written in two parts on separate sheets. It is not quite certain that the text we have represents the whole letter.

From the references here and in letter 213 to Robert Wise's movements it can be deduced that the Tuesday mentioned in this letter was 22 April.

undertaken to execute it will make no difference, provided the Judgments are as he assured me they are of a date *posterior* to that of the deed you copied.

He is to be up in town the next Old Bailey Sessions which will be I can not tell you precisely when except that it will be within a Month probably much sooner. His errand is to do a business he has been consulting with me about relative to that suit you have heard of which if he succeeds in he is to have as he told me £1000. Mrs. Wise may then come up to join in the *fine*: the expence of which will be about £8 if it be done in the country: 50s. less if done in Town. That 50s. will more than pay her expenses here. The Client will of course pay his. I asked him about France, telling him I had heard of it from Sam and that I would be obliged to him if he would execute a commission for me if he went. He said he doubted whether he should, as it would require him to stay so long: if he did it would be in about a month. The commission was to get me a pair of slippers like Sam's: But I mentioned it rather as a pretext for interfering.

You may tell Guy I am thoroughly satisfied he has not the least ground for apprehending that he will ever be responsible. 1st because I see not the least ground in the objection to the Marriage settlement, besides that there is an opinion to the same effect from a council of the very first eminence at the Bar: which certainly may outweigh the random notice of a country Attorney. 2dly. Because I am satisfied the Deed he knows of (I mean that which you copied for me) will answer the purpose at the long run if there was no mortgage prior to it: and if there was, all the suits in the world he could bring against W. would not enable him to do any thing to vacate it. Mr. Guy may therefore quiet himself: he is either safe already or nothing he can do will make him so. W. is preparing under my directions the only conveyance that can add any thing to the security Mrs. A. has already: It would be to no purpose for me to attempt to explain it; as I could not under a Sheet or two if then, make you sensible of the difference between a little in Law and a little in Equity. The conveyance I mention will necessary take a week or two to compleat it: but I see no reason to doubt but that W. will give it all the dispatch it admitts of.

² Dr. Betty

Upon my coming to Town and being with Mr. Bentham I found that his sentiments coincided with mine, in respect of the

² The second sheet begins at this point. What follows, down to 'Tuesday' is in Wise's hand.

Mode which I had intended to propose to him, of securing your Mother, which is, that of my conveying my House to her absolutely, as tho' she had actually purchased it—This alteration of the Plan we had before thot. of will occasion some little Delay but as I am no less anxious than you for its being complete I shall lose no time in doing it,—and in order to put myself under a positive Engagement to do this, I send you on the or. Side an Instrument for that purpose—and am wth. Love

Your Robt. Wise

Lin: Inn—Tuesday

W. is to accept a Lease from Mrs. A. at 40£ a year rent /for 7, 14 or 21 years at his option/ which will cover so much of his goods, and a clause I have directed him to put in it will ensure it from being taken in Execution along with the goods, or against his disposing of it to any body else. But it is understood between him and me that Mrs. A. is to take no more than what would have been the interest of the money lent him if it had remained as a Mortgage. He therefore must trust himself on this behalf to Mrs. A's honour. Her way will be if he ever pays her any interest to give him a receipt for the 40£ upon receiving a year's interest.

Guy must not know any thing of this: because if it were known that it went at so high a rent the W's taxes would be raised accordingly. Guy may know of the conveyance when it is completed but he should not know before. He may then also know of the Lease from Mrs. A. to W. but he must not know the rent. If he knew, the parties concerned in the Judgments might come to know of it, and then if they were active and knew what they were about, they might possibly get possession before Mrs. A. that is before the conveyance to her could be executed.

I have put this on a separate paper from the other, that you may shew Guy the other if you think it necessary.

W. said nothing to me about the Boarding Scheme nor I to him. I went to see his mare: he told me he thought of sending her off some where for the Summer: that the Dean of Battle had her one summer for her keep. I then said I should be glad to have her perhaps on the same terms. He said I should.

I must write you an answer soon: you will not wonder at any thing you may see in it: when you consider it is such an one as I might be supposed to have written if I had known nothing of the proposal but from your letter.

213

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

29 April 1777 (Aet 29)

You forgot my key: I forgot your Book and ½ pint of Laquer[?] We must therefore sign mutual releases. I am in a distressed condition: forced to —t even upon charity.

I am sorry to hear such an account of Patty D. Yes I think you had best mention it to Mr. D. for the reasons you assign.

If I have opportunity I will send you a new ship-building book by Nairne's conveyance: if not, by some other.

Wise has been in town—He was with me on Friday and Saturday. He was to have gone out of town yesterday: and on that account to have called on Sunday evening: but he never came nor have I since heard of him. so that I suppose he is gone back again. He shew'd me a note which a man had sent to him promising to give £300 for his interest in the piece of Land, if the Lease it is now under can be vacated, which W. thinks it can. He told me Guy had been making a rout; and on that account desired I would look over the draught which he had sent me of the conveyance, which I did, and after making a few alterations gave it him on Saturday.

The book of Hume's you mention is I believe that you have had in your hands. The third volume of it relates to Morals. Dr. Hurd² is alive and alive like. Bishop of something I forget what—and alas! alas! Preceptor to the Prince of Wales.

I think of treating myself this afternoon with 5s. worth of Music at Forest's concert at the Haymarket Theatre. All manner of people perform Solos: which is the Music I delight in.

Wilson and I in thy boat? no, my dear Sam—we are not naughty London Apprentices, that we should be put into *Little-Ease*.³ It were purchasing Sea-Sickness at too dear a rate.

213. ¹ B.M. II: 116–117. Autograph.

Addressed: 'To / Mr. Bentham / at the King's Dock Yard / Rochester.' Postmark: '29 AP'.

² Richard Hurd (1720–1808), then Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry and later Bishop of Worcester. Distinguished for his editions of Horace. In 1759 he had edited Warburton's *Remarks on Hume's Natural History of Religion*, and thereby much annoyed Hume. He also published various dialogues featuring historical characters ranging from Henry More to Locke.

The previous reference is of course to Hume's *A Treatise of Human Nature*.

³ Little Ease was a place in the Guildhall in which unruly apprentices were placed. The cell was too small for adoption of a comfortable position.

Old Vernon Mrs. Browne's Father died about a month.⁴ I heard it for the first time just now from Q.S.P.

As to saying any thing to Mr. D. about Guy and W. I can say nothing to it. You must use your own discretion. It may very likely be of use. It depends upon what you wrote about W. before.

Tuesday April 29 1777

Linc. Inn.

I have got Priestley's 3 Vol. on Airs.⁵ I won't send it you—shall I? for fear of it's making you idle.

214

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

6 May 1777 (Aet 29)

I have been looking about for the Scaphandre,² my dear Sam, but cannot find it any where—I have a sort of half notion of your having it yourself.

I do not recollect saying any thing to you in my last letter or any letter since I saw you about my uneasiness—through God's mercy I have no particular uneasiness that I <know of.>

Perhaps if you are very good and the Marine Dictionary costs no more than a guinea, I may let you have it.³

Have there been no letters yet from Mrs. W. besides what I saw, and what you mention'd?

I don't believe I have ever had the grace to make an apology to my dear Mrs. D. for opening that letter of Mrs. W. that I sent: but I looked upon it as included in the general engagement and permission.

Now Mr. N.⁴ is with you I suppose you will take the advantage and consult him about your Pelican. Poor thing it has lain a long time neglected in your garret, like a Pelican in the wilderness.

I have been told there have been two attacks upon Dr. Adam

⁴ Cf. letter 67, n. 2, and letter 71, n. 4.

⁵ Cf. letter 105, n. 2. The third volume has just been published.

214. ¹ B.M. II: 120. Autograph.

Addressed: 'To / Mr. Bentham / at his Majesty's Dock Yard / near Rochester.' Postmark: '6 MA'.

² A cork belt used as a support in swimming (*O.E.D.*).

³ Not positively identified: possibly Nicolas Aubin's *Dictionnaire de Marine*, first published at Amsterdam in 1706, with later editions in 1736 and 1742.

⁴ Edward Nairne, for whom see letter 149, n. 4.

Smith by the godly, for testifying that David Hume died in peace.⁵ There was a little grinning-prig Oxford Parson t'other day at Q.S.P. of whom Madam asked whether he had seen the answer to the Humæan impiety; meaning one of those.

I met your dear friend Dr. Chelsom⁶ at Q.S.P. last Thursday. He talked in magnificent terms of the character of a Christian Divine. Talking of Parson Horne's⁷ quitting the Church for the Law, he took notice of it as something singular: it was the first instance he said he had known of a man's quitting the higher profession for the lower.

May 6 1777.

Linc. Inn.

Make my Compliments to Mr. and Mrs. Nairne—Love to Mrs. D.

Desire her if ever she happens not to know what to do with herself, to take pen in hand, and give me the history of Patty D's departure.

⁵ Hume's autobiography (cf. letter 208, n. 4), was published together with a letter to William Strachan (who wrote the preface) from Adam Smith in the vein Bentham indicates. It called forth many attacks on Smith and on Hume's memory. One of the attacks here mentioned may be that of George Horne (1730–92) in a public letter to Adam Smith (cf. E. C. Mossner, *The Life of David Hume*, 1954, 604–606 and 620–621).

⁶ Possibly James Chelsum, D.D. (1740?–1801), at one time preacher at Whitehall, who in 1776 published *Remarks on the two last chapters of Mr. Gibbon's 'History of The Decline & Fall of the Roman Empire' in a letter to a friend*. In it he attacked Gibbon's account of the growth of the Christian Church. See also letter 314, where he is also referred to as 'your dear friend', and letter 324, n. 6, etc.

⁷ John Horne (1736–1812) was a lifelong political agitator who in 1782 assumed the name of Horne Tooke in deference to William Tooke, a patron. He was persuaded by his father (a poulterer) to take orders (in 1760), although he had been entered at the Inner Temple. In 1767 he was Wilkes's foremost supporter, but quarrelled with him in 1771. In 1775 Horne's 'Constitutional Society' tried to raise funds on behalf of 'our beloved American fellow subjects' who had been 'inhumanly murdered by the king's troops' at Lexington. For this Horne was tried before Lord Mansfield on 4 July 1777 and sentenced to a year's imprisonment. In 1773 he had resigned his living, and resolved to be called to the bar. After his release from prison his application was rejected on the ground that Holy Orders were indelible. The first volume of his philological and nominalist treatise *Ἐπεα Πτεροεντα, or the Diversions of Purley* was published in 1786. Bentham had considerable respect for this work (see Bowring, VIII, 120, 185, 188). Bentham apparently used to dine with him c. 1803 (see Bowring, x, 404).

215

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

8 May 1777 (Aet 29)

Linc. Inn May 8th. 1777.

About noon came a man from Ld. G. Germaine's² office with a packet from Mr. Davies. It contained a letter which I have transcribed verbatim and literatim on the other leaf; together with 4 of the N. York weekly news-papers: the last dated April 7: so that the Ship must have had a short passage. The Newspapers you shall have in a day or two. I would first shew them to Q.S.P.

The letters mentioned by Mr. D. were 5. 4 to different people in Town: 1 to Chatham. None directed in his hand-writing.

The despatches being of such consequence were not to be trusted to the Penny Post: but a special messenger forsooth was sent with them. I suppose Lord Howe's Seal which was to the packets (there were 2 of them) procured me that honour. I gave the knave who brought them half a Crown.

The Magazine mentioned by Mr. D. contained large quantities of provisions and forage and 500 stand of arms: also a very large quantity of military stores; but of these no particulars mentioned. They were destroyed by setting fire to the Magazines.

People are somewhat apprehensive of a French War. The Packet-boat to Holland taken a few days ago was taken by a Ship fitted out at Dunkirk, and was sent in to Dunkirk. She will probably therefore be demanded of the French Coast.

[*The letter from Mr Davies*]

I can only thank in as few words as possible for your very friendly letter—I had no right to expect such attention on your part; the obligation is therefore the greater—You are the only person who sends me any Chit-Chat. God bless you for the chari-

215. ¹ B.M. II: 121–122. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. May 8th 1777. and copy of I.D. to I.B.'

Addressed: 'Mr. Bentham / at his Majesty's Dock Yard / near Rochester.' Post-mark: '8 MA'.

² Lord George Germain, originally Sackville (1716–85), youngest son of the 1st Duke of Dorset; changed his name in 1770 after inheriting the estate of Drayton, Northants. Lord Commissioner of Trade and Plantations, 1775–79; Secretary of State for the American Colonies 1775–82. On the fall of North's ministry in 1782 he was created Viscount Sackville of Drayton.

12 MAY 1777

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM

table act—you are a special good Christian. Accept a parcel of print for your Manuscripts—'tis a poor return; but the best that I am at present able to make. The account of the expedition for destroying the magazine at Peek's hill, about forty miles above New York on Hudson's River, is I believe a pretty just one; nor do I think what you will find said of the mortality in the Rebel army much exaggerated. When you have read these papers, send them by the Coach to Chatham—I shall send you others by every convenient opportunity; and when any thing of consequence happens I will endeavour to give you some account of it.

Compts. to Q.S.P.
New York
1 April 1777

Adieu
J.D.

'Tis thought the Rebels will make a shabby figure the ensuing campaign. Some people offer to lay odds that they will not even keep the field: But I am not one of those. The Country people come in with their arms and enlist in the new raised corps very fast of late—Send the enclosed Lrēs to the Penny Post Office.

216

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

12 May 1777 (Aet 29)

I ought by rights to have written on Saturday night to have told you that that evening came the conveyance of the Land from W. By the hand I imagine it is of his own engrossing. I have not yet looked it over so can not certify to you whether it is free or no from the blunders which have been but too frequent in the whole business.

The day before I received a letter from Mrs. W. announcing the foregoing. It contained nothing material, and was only an answer to one I had written to send her by her husband, letting her know of our reconciliation with Q.S.P. and at last sent by the Post, upon W. not calling on me as he said he would.

How came Mrs. D. to tell her she would shew you and me her letters? It will be a restraint to her, she will not write in future with so much freedom.

216. ¹ B.M. II: 123–124. Autograph.

Addressed: 'To / Mr. Bentham / at his Majesty's Dock Yard / near Rochester / Single Sheet.' Postmark: '12 MA.'

Any advice I could give you about the manner of informing Mr. D. of the state of W's affairs is not worth a straw.² It may be right to give him an explicit account for the reasons you mention. As to his general character you have not had quite so good means of informing yourself of it as I have. As far as I can judge he has not any fixed principles of dishonesty, but rather wants steadiness and consistency. I have always found him very tractable and ready to do implicitly whatever I proposed to him: but not sensible enough to the ill consequences of the reputation of a want of punctuality, to use the diligence he ought and might have used in performing it. As to D's recommending him in very strong terms to Ld. H. I think you need not be much afraid of it. Mr. D. is not apt to err on that side. I have no notion of W's engaging in any *active* plan of dishonesty for the sake of amassing money: when he fails, I believe it is only through weakness upon his being hard pressed: so that I should think he might be very well trusted in any place that would afford him a livelyhood. If I were myself in Mr. D's place I would not scruple to hazard the recommending him.

I will leave the business of writing to Mr. D. to you: for several reasons, one of which is your knowing his dispositions and so forth better than I do.

I have nothing particular to write to Mr. D. at present tell him of my having received his packet and thank him tell him that I have already written to him by two Mails that of the 1st. of Feby. I believe and that of the 1st. of April besides the letter to which his was an answer: that I shall write again without fail by the mail the 1st. of June: and that I hope he continues his pious resolutions of sending me the N.Y. Papers.

Suppose you were to send him D. Hume's life? I would then get Wilson another copy. Suppose also you were to get Mrs. D. to transcribe for him any little scraps there may be in my late letters relative to that subject or any other chit-chat in which you suppose he might take an interest. Any thing of that sort would probably be a great treat to him; to judge from what he says in his letters.

If this vessel is a private one, or a mere transport of no force it is very probable it may be taken. This you should consider: for which reason it might be prudent to send a duplicate by the Mail.

If you and Mrs. D. approve of this, you may begin your transcriptions with some passages of the presents.

Tell him there does not seem now to be any ground to apprehend

² Joseph Davies was to be informed of the disastrous state of Wise's affairs, partly in the hope that he might find him some employment under Lord Howe.

any disturbances in the E. Indies, as there seemed to be when I wrote last to him.

I commission you to whip Mrs. D. or Mrs. Knight or Mrs. anybody whomsoever it may concern. Of three which I have tried out of the 4 shirts sent back to me only one is wearable: the two others might as well be worn by a Rhinoceros as me. The collars will not button round my neck by $\frac{1}{2}$ an Inch.

At odd hours I have been reading a good deal about E. India matters. I conclude with the Eastern conclusion, (a much better one than our's)

'What can I say more?'

Linc. Inn Monday May 12. 1777.

Wilson begins to long for Battle. He vows he will go if I will, the very next day after term is over: viz: the 19th of next month.

I open'd the matter to Q.S.P. yesterday when he called here. The communication came at rather an unlikely season, just after he had been telling me (upon my interrogating him) of the ill success of the scheme he had been planning of going to board with Parson Darling at Wargrave near Henley upon Thames where Mr. Mulford lived once.³ I believe I told you of it when you were in town. The Parson would not so much as accept his invitation to come up to town: so that put an end to it at once. The said Parson knows his character I imagine, pretty well from Mr. Mulford and from other quarters.

217

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

17 May 1777 (Aet 29)

Je t'écris mon cher Sam non pas pour discuter pleinement l'affaire dont tu viens de m'écrire, (car il n'y en a pas moyen) mais pour te prier de tirer de Monsr. votre ami tout le possible. Fais ensorte qu'il parle ouvertement, et qu'il te dise les faits ou les circonstances dont il a tiré ses soupçons. Il peut être de la plus

³ Cf. letter 64 and n. 3.

217. ¹ B.M. II: 125–126. Autograph. Docketed (by Jeremy Bentham?): 'I.B. May 17th 1777. Answer to be given to Nairne's cautions against the Battle Scheme.'

Addressed: 'To / Mr. Bentham / at his Majesty's Dock Yard / near Rochester / Single Sheet.' Postmark: '17 MA'.

It is impossible to say with certainty what foundation there was for the view here referred to of Bentham's relationship with Mrs Wise; but cf. letter 157.

grande importance que nous sçachions tout cela. Est-ce qu'il connaît quelqu'un qui, à ce qu'on prétend, a eu affaire avec Madame? Est-ce qu'il connaît quelque bruit qui a couru sur ce sujet? Est-ce qu'il connaît quelqu'un sur qui Monsr. a fait une tentative de la sorte que tu entends? Nomme-lui des personnes, avec lesquelles il est à penser qu'ils ont pu avoir une intimité: le dentiste par exemple,² le jeune prêtre, et cet homme que votre ami a rossé pour avoir vanté des faveurs que, à ce qu'on prétend, il n'a pas reçues. Il importe sans doute quoi qu'il en soit à connoître les gens.

D'ailleurs si c'étoit bien certain, ce qui n'est encore que soupçon très vague sans aucun fondement spécifié je ne vois pas pourquoi cela devoit détruire le plan dont il s'agit. On ne me violera pas: on ne subornera point des temoins pour dire ce qu'ils n'ont pas vu. Qu'y a t'il donc à craindre? Et où est-ce que nous pourrions être plus commodément, W. et moi? Et que dire à tous les parties pour rompre l'affaire?

Quant à la construction que les gens en général peuvent donner à ce que j'ai fait ou puisse faire pour ceux dont il s'agit, sur mon séjour et tout cela, tu sçais très bien qu'il n'y a pas moyen de leur empêcher de dire tout ce qu'[ils] veulent. J'allois donner tête-baissée dans des discussions très superflues mais ce qui est essentiel c'est que tu apprends tout le possible sur les *faits*, pour servir de *data* pour l'entretien qu'il faut que nous ayons là-dessus si tôt qu'il te sera commode. Ce qui me paroît le plus probable, vu que votre avertisseur ne vous a rien dit de spécifié, c'est qu'il agit lui de très bonne foi, mais que tout cela n'a guères autre fondement que la mauvaise opinion que ses parents lui ont donné des personnes: c'est à dire que c'est cela qui est le canevas, et dont la brodure est probablement l'ouvrage de sa femme. Il faut bien que les gens désœuvrés tels que les femmes bâtissent du mystère sur tout ce qui se passe.

Ce que j'eus été bien aisé de savoir, c'est le ton dont tu lui as parlé de ma disposition sur ces choses-là: parce que tout ce que tu auras dit, va être mis sur le canevas avec le reste. Ce qu'il vous a falu faire, c'est de n'en faire d'abord une affaire sérieuse, mais plutôt de la tourner en ridicule; et en même temps de paroître émerveillé qu'on a pensé à un tel accident: et puis lorsqu'il a insisté là-dessus, de dire que tu ne savois pas que j'affectais le *Joseph*, et que je serois homme à repousser une belle femme qui viendroit se jeter dans mes bras, mais que tu eserois que je ne

² Cf. letter 196, n. 11.

serois pas *gougeon* pour être attrapé dans un tel complot, suppose que cela devoit se former. D'ailleurs que tu scavais par ce que j'ai fait en de certaines occasions/mais il ne faudroit pas nommer ni même décrire les personnes/que je n'étois pas homme non plus à chercher à ruiner une femme pour une gratification momentanée; et que quant à ce que j'ai fait pour les W. vous saviez des gens pour que j'ai fait beaucoup davantage, sans qu'il y eut question de femme, et sans qu'il y eut aucun apparence de retour etc. etc. (savoir le Professr. Gw.)³ d'ailleurs que je ne faisais (profession de beaucoup d'amitié pour le mari) /grand cas du mari (attendant qu'il n'étoit pas homme a avoir des idées en commun avec moi/ mais que ce que faisais c'étoit plutôt pour la femme, à cause d'elle-même, et de sa soeur, et enfin pour l'amitié qui est entre nous quatre et Mr. D.

Cependant il faudroit lui avoir prodigué des remerciements pour ses bonnes intentions, et prêter l'oreille attentivement et avec reconnaissance à tout ce qu'il a pu dire de positif et de spécifique là-dessus, pour faire fondement à ces sortes de soupçons etc.—L'objet c'étoit de ne faire en sorte, qu'il lui vînt en tête qu'il t'est jamais venu en l'esprit (à toi dis-je) que j'ai pu former un dessein de cette sorte.

Laissons-là ces misères. J'ai des choses, à te dire, mon cher qui te feront plaisir. J'écris toujours en François par ce que c'est une chose que je voudrais pas pou<. .> <. . .> <. . .> personne connût de moi hors vous. Scache-donc qu'il est détermine enfin par le Ministre que le Parlt. prendra les Indes dans ses mains: que cela se fera d'abord que le terme de la Chartre seroit expiré ce qu'il seroit en deux ou trois ans, ou même avant—et qu'en attendant on a donné commission secrète à notre ami que tu connois à composer un code de Loix pour cette nation.⁴ C'est ce qu'il est venu me dire ce matin.

Speak about my shoes forthwith. I am in want.

Tell me when you will come to Town.

My best Complts. to Mr. and Mrs. Nairne.

Linc. Inn. May 17. 1777.

³ Presumably Thomas Gwatkin: cf. letter 138 at n. 26.

⁴ The friend was John Lind, who was writing about this time his *Defence of Lord Pigot* in support of the unfortunate Governor of Madras. Cf. letters 279, n. 4, and 302, n. 7. Lord North's 'Regulating Act' of 1773 had already subjected the East India Company to extensive control by the Government in its administration of India, and this Act was in the event to remain operative until superseded by Pitt's Act of 1784.

218

TO JEREMIAH BENTHAM¹

3 June 1777 (Aet 29)

Hond. Sir

I have been informed by Mr. Wise that his Mare will be in town either on Thursday or Friday sennight. If then it should suit you and my Mother to go into Essex on Saturday sennight, the Mare will come exactly in time for my waiting on you at Rochford on the Sunday. As she will have brought him probably in one day from Battle, which is 57 miles, it will be proper she should have at least one days rest. Saturday if I remember right, was the day of the week you proposed to set out at all events. As you doubted when I spoke to you last about it, whether so distant a day as Saturday *fortnight* would suit you, I hope Saturday *sennight* has a better chance of being agreeable. I write by the Penny Post, not being certain of being able conveniently to wait on you tomorrow; and this evening, I suppose, as on most evenings at this time of the year, you are probably from home. Poor Sam, I find by a Letter I received from him yesterday is troubled with the Piles, your old complaint. He has been pricked for them by Dr. Simmons since which he is better. I am

Hond. Sir

Your dutiful and affectionate Son

J.B.

Linc. Inn

Tuesday afternoon.

219

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

3 June 1777 (Aet 29)

And be p—d to you what makes you so poor, you beggarly ragamuffin? If I was sure you had neither credit nor parish, I would not send you a farthing: then you'd starve, and I'd sing Old

218. ¹ B.M. II: 127–128. Autograph. Docketed by Jeremiah Bentham: 'Fils Jeremy Lr. datd. Linc. Inn 3 June 1777.'

Addressed: 'To / Jere^h Bentham Esqr. / Queen's Square Place / Westminster.' Stamped: 'Peny Post Payd / TWE'.

219. ¹ B.M. II: 129–130. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. June 4th 1777.' Addition

Rose and burn the Bellows; it being the very season of the year when the act of festivity last mentioned could be proposed with least inconvenience: As there are no immediate hopes from that quarter, I have sent you inclosed a 10 $\text{\$}$ Bank note. Now then go cram yourself and get drunk; and give me some chance[?] that way. But don't drive away your senses quite till you have written to let me know of your having received this.

The account between you and me is as follows

J.B. Debtor	J.B. Creditor			
Received upon the Draft I think it was from my Father	Paid S.B. by the hands of Mrs. D.	} - - -	10.	0. 0.
25. 0. 0.	To Do. in person	- - -	5.	5. 0.
	Accountable to Elmsly for Euler on Ship-building for	} - -	5.	-.
	Do. for the Dictionnaire de la Marine—either a Gn. or	} - -	18.	-.
	Sent this blessed day by the Post if God permitt	} 10.	-.	-.
			<u>26.</u>	<u>8. -.</u>
			<u>25.</u>	<u>0. 0.</u>
	Balance due to J.B.		£1.	8. -.

As for your Piles if you don't like them, there are various ways of getting rid of them. I have seen an engine they use to drive them down at Black Friars Bridge. A single stroke of it would do your business compleatly I'll be bound for it. Piles are an exuberance of flesh—ergo they come from pampering the fleshly appetite—Take Dr. Sangrado's recipe. Lose a pound of blood every day for a fortnight. Blood is a nasty kind of fluid and breeds ill humours. Drink ten times as much water—my life for it you'll have no piles at the fortnight's end.

You prick it seems for the piles—Some folks cut for it—Your dear Papa for one: which brings to my mind a story I heard but yesterday. A certain man (his name was Sr. John Stonehouse²—but that's no matter) was going to be cut for the Piles in the Vistula (the Vistula is a famous river in Poland which runs through people's backsides) no matter which—Come, says he, to the Surgeon, cut away—never be afraid: if you find knife, I'll find arse.

docket by Bentham: 'Money matters. S.B.'s Piles. Mrs. D.'s complaints of her Mother.'

Addressed: 'To / Mr. Bentham / at the King's Dock Yard / near Rochester.' Postmark: '3 IV'.

Bentham was doubtful of the date. In fact it was 3 June, which was a Tuesday.

² Perhaps Sir John Stonhouse, bart., of Radley (1710–67).

As to your croaking roundabout intelligence all I have to say to it is I hope it is not true.

I have written to Mr. Davies.

The Old Lady shall have the parchments in a few days. If she longs for them much good may they do her—it is more than I do. They may be very nice for aught I know fried or stew'd: and may do her Gout as much good as any thing could but patience.

Wilson and I dined with Dr. Fordyce the day before yesterday: and I read him the physiological part of my Punishments; and got from him some useful corrections.

I called yesterday at Nairne's—did not see him—he was just gone to Hampstead. They told me he was then very well; but on Saturday voided a stone $\frac{3}{4}$ of an Inch in length.

Tuesday June 4th /3d./ 1777

I would not have you depend at all upon the scheme about Dr. Louth[?]³—It was a random thought—If an opportunity offers I will do what I can.

My love to Mrs. D.—I am sorry her Mother plagues her so: but there was a time when she plagued her mother a little: particularly for a few hours when she (Mrs. D.) was about twice as big as one's two fists. So it's tit for tat: Twenty or thirty years hence she may take her revenge upon little Betsy that's at Battle. It's the way things are carried on upon God's earth. The sins of the Fathers and Mothers (plague take this pen) are revenged upon the Children.

220

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

16 June 1777 (Aet 29)

'Weep not for me, my Brother dear:
I am not dead but sleepeth here.'

True it is that Mrs. D. sent me a parcel on Thursday last with a letter: equally true it is that I put the said letter in to the Post as desired.

And so I talked to thee about coming down and said nothing of

³ Unidentified.

220. ¹ B.M. II: 131. Autograph. Docketed: '16 June 1777. I.B. to S.B. London Chatham. Fixes the time for going to Chatham and Battle.'

Addressed: 'To / Mr. Bentham / at his Majesty's Dock Yard / near Rochester.' Postmark illegible.

In Cook's Court were Wilson's chambers.

21 JUNE–11 JULY 1777

TO JEREMIAH BENTHAM

the day. Well but I have fixed on it in my own mind for some time, and trusted to your ingenuity to divine it. On Wednesday, if God permitt, I shall find myself at your house: where you may find < . . . > < . . . > you look out sharp. I shall be with you to dinner.

On Friday I dine at Battle. Sic stat sententia: and so I have written word.

If the concert should be on the Wednesday and I should be in a humour for it, possibly I may go.

The shoes you sent me fit me as well as if they had been for John an Okes or Tom a Styles.

I will put them up and direct them so that they may be ready for you to take back with you if you come to town with a parcel soon or otherwise to be sent by themselves.

Love to Mrs. D. What can I say more? Given at Cook's Court June 16th 1777.

221

TO JEREMIAH BENTHAM¹

21 June–11 July 1777 (Aet 29)

Battle Saty. June 21 1777

Honoured Sir

I arrived at this place on Friday last, safe and sound, but almost drown'd. The raininess of the day render'd my journey rather disagreeable which otherwise from the beauty of the country would have been a very pleasant one; however a close broad-cloth great coat I travel with proved an effectual screen not only to my skin, but to every thing else it had taken under its protection. Mr. Wilson was not so fortunate. He arrived here last night not long after the hour at which we expected him; but in a pickle which shew'd he had met with one of those disasterous adventures to which Travellers are exposed. The truth was he had been acting a part in the farce of 'The World turned topsy-turvy'; the little planet he inhabited having in the course of its revolution been put literally and compleatly in that situation. He came down as far as a place called Stone-Crouch which is about four and forty miles from London in a coach which is called the Stone-Crouch Coach;

221. ¹ B.M. II: 132–133. Autograph. Docketed by Jeremiah Bentham: 'Fils Jeremy / Lr. datd. Battle in Sussex / June 21st and July 11th 1777.'

Addressed: 'To / Jere^h Bentham Esqr. / Queen's Square Place / Westminster.' Postmark: '12 IY'. Stamped: 'BATTLE'.

though Stone Crouch far from containing inhabitants enough to support a Stage-Coach has scarcely houses enough in it to entitle it to the appellation of a village. There however the Coach is at it's journey's end: a Post-chaise brought him from thence to Battle. The Coach was about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile short of Lamberhurst Turnpike, (which is 5 or 6 miles from Tunbridge Wells) when they met a Timber Cart; one of the pieces of Timber hitched in one of the hind wheels of the Coach and overturned it into a ditch. There were three other persons in the Coach; a Clergyman, a little boy of 3 or 4 years old, and a man of the appearance of a farmer, who went with him to take care of him. After some time they all scrambled out in a good deal of confusion; as you may imagine but without any hurt worth mentioning, although when they came to open the door to let themselves out (so compleat a change had happened in the posture of their affairs) they found they had been trampling for some time upon the inside of the top of the Coach. It will give my Mother, I hope, no small satisfaction to learn that to the very end of the hurly-burly the Church preserved that superiority which the Revd. Dr. Chelsom I remember tother day at your table took occasion, with that modesty and good breeding which is the characteristic of College-dignitaries, to remind us, belongs to it over the Law. The Lawyer served for a footstool to the Divine: one arm was cover'd with powder from his reverend wig: the other with dust from his holy shoes. Mr. W. got a slight bruise upon the back part of his head, which render'd him for a few minutes rather confused; but has left no ill consequences behind it. The poor child fared the worst; he got several bruises about the face which swelled it considerably. The Horses stood immediately stock still, the Coachman was thrown over into the Hedge. The Timber Waggon that had been the cause of this catastrophe was drawn by oxen: these were immediately yoked to the Coach and drew it out of the ditch.

I found Sam very well recover'd of all his ailments. Mrs. Davies is in treaty for a very commodious house; and if the Landlord puts it in sufficient repair which in general terms he has engaged to do, will go into it at Michaelmas. It is in Brompton, has a little garden behind it, at the end of which is a pleasant Summerhouse. Garden I should hardly have called it: however it is an open space big enough for the children to run about in. The House was occupied; so that when they took me to look at it, we contented ourselves with an outside view of it: but saw the garden from a Mr. Clifton's a Surgeon and Apothecary; which is within two doors of it.

Mr. Wilson and I are accomodated very much to our satisfaction in every respect: but our goods and chattels are not yet arrived. The grounds about the Abbey afford us very pleasant walks. The ruins are much more entire than we expected to find them; they form a scene truly antique and picturesque. Sr. Whistler's² territories are of more use to us in point of pleasure, than to the owners: who neither of them ever stir out of the house.

July 11th

You will observe, Sir, by the date in the first page of this Letter how long ago it was begun. I should have sent it off sooner but for your Oxford excursion which I heard of from Sam ten days ago or thereabouts. I hope you and my Mother have found it an agreeable one: one day at least I can answer for; I mean the 5th. I had the pleasure of reading in our paper the name of my friend Charles in the account of the celebrity of that day.³

I wonder whether all this while you have had any summer: for our parts at Battle we have had nothing like it. Not a sin(gle day I) believe, since we have been here without rain: we have sc(arce seen) the face of the Sun.

Our baggage came safe from Hastings a few days after that on which I began to write. We have a comfortable room to study in nearly as large as mine at Lincoln's Inn. Mr. and Mrs. Wise are so obliging as to send the whole tribe of children of all ages to school that we may be free from interruption. Mrs. Wise has a pretty little collection of books of entertainment which seduce Mr. Wilson sometimes and now and then me to play false to old Grim-gribber.

I imagine you will be returned before this reaches London: I thought it needless to send it off sooner, as it might chance to travel up and down the country and cost more than it is worth.—My best respects wait upon my Mother. Love to Far and Charles, who by this time, I suppose, has joined you. I hope you will indulge me now and then with the satisfaction of hearing of all your healths; together with any little Anecdotes the metropolis may afford; a welcome present to us in our sequester'd situation. My

² Sir Whistler Webster, bart., of Battle Abbey (c. 1690-1779); M.P. for East Grinstead 1740-61. By 1775 he owned the manor of Whatlington near Battle as well as that of Battle itself (*V.C.H., Sussex*, ix, 113).

³ In 1777 Charles Abbot won the Chancellor's prize for a poem recited in the Sheldonian Theatre on the set subject *Petrus Magnus*. Later the Empress Catherine II of Russia gave him a gold medal for this.

uniform plan of life will hardly afford materials for very frequent correspondence. I am

Hond. Sir

I ought not to omitt
 thanking you for Han-
 way's Book.⁴ It came
 safe to hand.

Your dutiful and affectionate Son
 Jeremy Bentham

222

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM AND
 ELIZABETH DAVIES¹

23 July 1777 (Aet 29)

If thou canst buy at Rochester the trial of Parson Horne, do, Sam, and bring it with thee. I mean that published /taken/ by *Gurney*: not the one by Blanchard or any other.²

Item bring a Pound of Almond Powder if thou canst get any at Rochester. I mentioned 1s. 6d.: but it may very likely come to 2s., I should not be ambitious to give more than that. It is to serve as Oatmeal to wash the hands with.

You deserve a good whipping bout, you do, both of you. Not a syllable of answer have I had about *Cambrick*: and here are my Shirts crumbling all to pieces.

I sent a letter and three N. York Newspapers by a man ⟨ . . . ⟩ Dock Yard who was to go from hence on /last/ Friday morning.

Apportez ici, Sam, ce que vous avez d'argent. Je pourrois en tirer quand je voudrois d'Elmsly: mais je voudrois plutôt attendre

⁴ Jonas Hanway (1712–86), the merchant, traveller (in Russia and Persia) and philanthropist, Governor of the Foundling Hospital, was in many ways a man after Bentham's heart, though his piety was somewhat of the dreary order. He wrote many books, both on his travels and on projects of reform, especially of the prisons. He opposed transportation and recommended the solitary confinement of prisoners. The book in question here may have been *Solitude in Imprisonment . . . and a Spare Diet . . . the most humane and effectual means of bringing Malefactors . . . to a right Sense of their Condition* (1776).

222. ¹ B.M. II: 134. Autograph: Docketed by Jeremy Bentham(?): 'I.B. July 23d. 1777. Shoes and other trifles.'

Addressed: 'To / Mrs. Davies / Commissioner's Office / Rochester.' Postmark: '24 IY'. Stamped: 'BATTLE'.

² *The Trial . . . of J. Horne . . . for a libel . . . Published . . . from Mr. G.'s shorthand notes.* 1777. By Joseph Gurney. W. I. Blanchard and J. H. Blanchard were both law reporters, and the latter reported a later trial (1795) of Horne Tooke. (See letter 214, n. 7).

jusqu' a ce que l'impression soit achevèe³; ce qu'elle ne seroit pas avant un mois. Mais ne vous mettez point en peine si vous n'en pas a m'èpargner: car l'inconvenient sera nulle.

Both pair of Elvy's[?] Shoes are wearable. But now is an opportunity to bring me Mariner's. I hope you have already thought of it and spoken to him accordingly; but if you have not it will not yet be too late at least for one pair.

223

TO RICHARD CLARK¹

29 July 1777 (Aet 29)

Battle Sussex July 29th 1777

Good your Worship!

I think I made bold some time ago to acquaint your Worship as how I had got a copy of a book called The Gentoo Code,² given me by a charitable Gentleman, which (God bless his Honour!) was a great help to me; thanks be to God for the same. Since that it has come into my head that mayhap I mought do something to better myself, if I could make another Book out of that Book: which would be a great help to me and my poor little helpless family these hard times. The present Book is not to be purchased: and as the matter of it though very curious is very loosly and immethodically arranged, I thought it might serve very well for me to exemplify upon it a Plan I have formed for the Digesting of any System of Laws, according to a natural method equally applicable to all. But for this purpose I want two Copies besides that I have: one to keep by me in it's present form; the other two to cut to pieces and paste the paragraphs into a Blank-paper-book according to the method I have planned. I have been searching high and low among the Booksellers and can not get a copy for

³ Presumably of Bentham's translation of *Les Incas* (cf. letter 200, n. 5).

223. ¹ U.C. CLXXIII: 55. Autograph. Docketed by Clark(?): '29 July 1777 / Jeremy Bentham Esqr.'

Addressed: 'Mr. Alderman Clark / Broad Street / London.'

² *A Code of Gentoo Laws, or, Ordinations of the Pundits, from a Persian Translation, made from the Original, written in the Shanscrit Language.* London, 1776.

Under the direction of Warren Hastings a set of Hindu Pundits compiled the work from various Sanskrit originals and had it translated into Persian. It was then translated into English by Nathaniel Brassey Halhed. There is a foreword by Warren Hastings, to whom the work is dedicated. The translator expresses the hope that just as the Romans adopted what they could of the institutions of the conquered into their own administration, so may the British. There are various references to this work in unpublished manuscripts of Bentham's.

love or money. although I have offer'd three or four times the current price for a book of that size; which is a great deal for a poor man to give. Now therefore, (hoping your Worship will forgive my boldness) if your Worship would be so condescending as to speak to Esquire Hook,³ (as your Worship was once talking of) and his Honour should be so kind as to give your Worship a Book, and your Worship should please lend or (what is near about the same to a poor man like me) give it me, it mought be a great help to me. So, praying God to keep your Worship in good health, I remain as in duty bound.

Your Worship's humble Servant to command
Jeremy Bentham

Please direct (if pr. post) to me at Battle, Sussex, being removed here next door to the House of Correction from my Lodgings in Grub Street; this being my Parish at this present writing. The above will be sufficient, as I am the only Author in the place. Please make my kind duty to your Worship's Lady.

224

TO JEREMIAH BENTHAM¹

25 August 1777 (Aet 29)

Hond. Sir

I write *at* you if I may say so, at a venture, having reason to think that this will hardly reach you when it arrives in London. It is now some time since Sam wrote to you, as I understand, on a subject which would have required an answer if you had been in the way to give him one. We both conclude therefore that you are still somewhere upon the ramble. He is now here, and as he proposes to pass through London in order to take your commands in his way to Portsmouth, I believe I shall committ this paper to his charge.

I am to thank you the favour of your's which I received a few weeks ago. I have it not now at hand but I think it did not require any thing very particular from me by way of answer. Thank you for the anecdote about the Fragment. The commenda-

³ Possibly Thomas Hooke, stationer, 8 Walbrook.

224. ¹ B.M. II: 135–136. Autograph. Docketed by Jeremiah Bentham: 'Fils Jeremy / Lr. datd. Battle Sussex / Augt. 25. 1777.'

Addressed: 'Jerⁿ Bentham Esqr. / to be left at the Excise Office / Bristol.' Postmark: '5 SE'.

tion bestow'd upon it was render'd more pleasing to me by coming through your hands than if it had come directly to my ears; as one of the most valuable effects I can hope for from the public favour is that of it's confirming me in your affection.²

Our Landlady was brought to bed of a Girl about three weeks ago: On Friday the little animal is to be sprinkled with the water of regeneration. You had stood Godfather for *me* in such a manner that I could not avoid offering to stand Godfather for the child. That relation is you know rather an expensive one; possibly you did not recollect this when you engaged for my taking it upon me, possibly you did, and meant to ease me of the burthen. Be that as it may I am saddled with it.

No other incident worth informing you of has occurred in our unvaried life: our situation still continues as pleasing to us as ever. Mrs. Davies's company adds to the vivacity of our social hours without interfering with our studies. Of the company of strangers we have as little as we can wish. The Sea is within 6 miles of us: thither we often take an afternoon's ride and bathe. Mr. Wilson swims like a fish; as for my part I am sorry to say I find but little benefit from the skill of my immediate ancestor: that accomplishment is likely to be lost altogether, unless it descends in Borough English to the younger branch of your family. However swimming or rather the attempt to swim answers to me very well in point of health and exercise.³

Of my Book I have nothing particular to say except that I have made as much progress in it as I expected, and that my hopes of being able to committ it to the press as soon as I return to London are not slacken'd.

My affectionate respects wait on my Mother and her two etc.'s: if Etcetera the younger would ⟨be⟩ kind enough to give me a perusal of the Eloge of Peter the Great⁴ by means of Sam, I should take it as a favour.

I am

Hond. Sir

Battle Aug. 25th. 1777

Your dutiful and affectionate

Son

Jere:^y Bentham

² Bentham told Bowring (x, 79) that his father, anxious to take what pride he could in his son, failed to keep the secret of the *Fragment's* authorship. Immediately it was known that the author was quite undistinguished, its rate of sale sensibly diminished.

³ Once Wilson saved Bentham from drowning at Leyton (Bowring, x, 134).

⁴ Cf. letter 221, n. 3.

225

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

26-27 August 1777 (Aet 29)

Tuesday Aug. 26. 1777

If Sago costs more than 2s. 6d. or 3d. a Lb, let there be but one Pound bought.

Vous savez, mon cher, à quel point c'est l'intérêt de la République que la serrure soit mauvaise. Vous pourrez vous ressouvenir qu'il a été arrêté entre nous de la gêter: mais quant à moi je ne sçais pas comment. Of myself I know nothing; but it is my Brother who in that business must work all in all. Êtes vous bien sûr que vous savez vous-même? Non vous ne l'êtes pas. Je vous recommande donc fortement pour votre propre compte, et vous prie instamment pour le mien, de prendre des mesures convenables pour vous perfectionner dans cet art si nécessaire avant que vous venez ici. C'est une science que vraisemblament vous pourrez acquérir dans le Dock Yard; sinon allez chez quelque serrurier de la ville,—Ah, ça—vous pourrez pratiquer chez vous sur les serrures de la maison. C'est une affaire ceci ou je mets beaucoup d'importance; je vous prie d'y donner votre attention. S'il y a des instrumens de serrurier dont on ne peut pas se passer pour faire l'opération, apportez-en: ils n'occuperont pas beaucoup de place, et ils ne seront pas si gros qu'on ne pourroit pas les cacher dans sa poche le tems qu'il faut pour les transporter de la voiture jusqu'à ma chambre. On fera l'opération avant que les gens de la maison se soient levés.

Les affaires vont assez bien avec la S. Cet avant-diner elle a reposé de plein gré entre mes bras pendant plusieurs minutes (non pas moments mais minutes) tantôt avec une joue sur une des miennes, tantôt avec l'autre: disant qu'elle se trouvoit bien d'être dans cette attitude: et elle m'a donné plusieurs très bons baisers après de très-modiques sollicitations. Enfin elle a souri disant que c'étoit commettre l'adultère. Elle a repeté ce mot devant la F. La F a répliqué Oh, non; il n'y a pas d'adultère à moins qu'on ne soit pris.

225. ¹ B.M. II: 137-138. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. Augt. 27th 1777.'

In later letters 'La Folle' refers to Mrs Davies, as presumably does 'La F' here. 'La S.' very probably refers to her sister Mrs Wise, though she is subsequently known as 'La Grossiere' (see letter 282). If this is Mrs Wise, some substance is given to the charges discussed in letter 217: see n. 1 to that letter.

Il manque à la S. un *etui-a-cure-dents*. Apportez-moi un au prix de 1s., 6d., 2s., ou 2s., 6d.—Qu'il soit plutôt grand que petit.

Il n'y a eu point de lettre de Mr. D. Lundi. Mais les Souliers de Wilson sont venus par la Diligence.

Brûlez ceci aussi-tôt que vous l'avez lû: ou, si vous ne pourrez pas vous résoudre à cela, pour ne pas rompre la suite de mes lettres, tirez la plume à travers les endroits plus parlants.

Wedny.

J'apprends ce moment que la S. vient de s'entretenir avec la F. touchant la communication que j'ai fait à la première. Elle a diviné le remède: et semble disposée à en permettre l'application.

[*In Wilson's hand*: Your Brother bids me write but upon my word I have not a single syllable to say to you only that I *desire* you won't forget to buy me some Almond powder: *half* a pound will be sufficient.^{2]}

226

TO JEREMIAH BENTHAM¹

8 October 1777 (Aet 29)

Hond. Sir

I am to thank you for your favour of the 13th and if you had any particular wish or expectation of hearing from me at the time you intimated to me in your last but one, am very sorry I disappointed you. You mentioned no particular reason for any such wish; and therefore all that I understood from the intimation was that if any occasion for writing to you should occur, then it was that a letter would have the most chance of reaching you directly. I hope sincerely your late rambles will answer to you as well in point of health as they seem to have done in point of pleasure. The book² which you mention as the subject of your

² The remainder of the leaf, which commences with this paragraph, is torn away. It is possible that part of the letter has been destroyed.

226. ¹ B.M. II: 141–142. Autograph. Docketed by Jeremiah Bentham: 'Fils Jeremy Letter datd. Battle Sussex Octr. 8th 1777.'

Addressed: 'To / Jeremiah Bentham Esqr. / Queen's Square Place / Westminster.' Postmark: '9 OC'.

From letter 224 and the present it emerges that Bentham was seriously intending the publication of another book in the near future. Letter 227 suggests that the material for this book was the basis of the *Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*, printed in 1780 and published in 1789.

² This book has not been positively identified; but it is possible that Bentham is referring to *De la Félicité publique* by François Jean, Marquis de Chastellux (1734–88),

literary amusement I have been long ago acquainted with. I read it in the original as soon as it came out, which was about 2 or 3 years ago. For amusement, I imagine, you could hardly have made choice of a happier subject: it is a very beautiful and brilliant piece of declamation, and as such universally admired: but for exactness, I believe, no great store is set by it. You will not like the author much, I believe, when he comes to touch upon our American affairs: he takes the side of all male-contents, as the most popular. The approbation given to the Chinese institution of *Thinkers*, did not come first from him. it is favourably noted by Helvetius, and if I am not mistaken by Voltaire. What belongs to the Chinese Government and Constitution has two great titles to popular admiration; the coming from a great distance, and the being very /imperfectly/ little known. One thing however all accounts agree in; that the Government is despotic, or at least that the body of the people have no sort of share in it: How fit a subject it is for such warm encomiums from one who is an advocate for Liberty *a outrance* I leave you to imagine.

As part of your letter related to Sam, I took an opportunity that offer'd a short time ago of conveying it to Chatham (I shoud now say to Brompton) by Mr. Wise who is since returned. In a letter I received from him on Wednesday he mentions the having received one from you the day before he wrote.

In our last night's paper I saw, not without concern, that our friend the Alderman is to be Sheriff.³ How unfortunate! that the black lot should fall so soon upon poor Jonas! Decline it, I suppose he can not in his station.

I am glad to find that in my conjecture of your kind intentions relative to my God daughter, I was not mistaken. The expenditure is indeed a mere trifle—short of a Guinea and a half But trifles to one in my circumstances you know, Sir, are serious things. Mr. and Mrs. Wise are flatter'd by the obliging notice taken of them in your letter, and beg their respectful Compliments in return.

Your offer, Sir, about the printing of my book, lays me, I must confess under some difficulty. I hope you will not be offended if I

for whom see further letter 251, n. 1. This was published in two volumes at Amsterdam in 1772, and an English translation was published by Cadell in 1774. A footnote to Vol. I, p. xiii refers to the government of China in terms similar to those described by Bentham; while a passage in part III chapter viii (Vol. II, 157 ff.) is highly critical of British colonial policy, though Chastellux predicted 'rather a contentious peace than a decisive war'. If the reference is in fact to Chastellux, the opinions expressed make an interesting contrast to Bentham's letter to Chastellux himself some six months later (cf. letter 251).

³ Richard Clark (see letter 62, n. 1).

observe to you, that at present it seems a little premature. It is now I think exactly a twelvemonth since you were kind enough to assure me that an account which I had just then requested leave to send you should be 'settled in a manner that you hoped would be to my satisfaction.' Whether it has been settled to my satisfaction, or whether it has been settled in any manner at all, I would leave it to you to answer. The sum of my expectations as there stated up to *that time* was £80 or 81 odd. Since then I have received two sums of you, one of £25, the other of £21: (besides some silver amounting to near a Guinea when my Coal-Merchant came with his Bill: to which I may add £3 – 3. 0 which Sam had of you lately on a sudden occasion for my use. A pecuniary supply by way of 'passport to the press,' you may well imagine, Sir, could not be unwelcome; provided you could spare it without regret: on which condition alone I would deprive you of any thing beyond what was either absolutely necessary to my existence, or conformable to the interpretation you yourself should think proper to put upon your engagements to me: as a proof of this disposition, I will beg leave to refer you to my conduct on occasion of a former offer of the like nature. Any assistance, I say, Sir, which you could give me without inconvenience in the publication of my work, certainly could not but be highly acceptable: but while I publish, and in order to publish, I must eat. How I am to find wherewithal if the settling of that account be much longer deferred, is what I would beg you to consider. Till this matter be made clear to me, you will I hope forgive me, Sir, if you should find my acknowledgments fall a little short of that gratitude which otherwise so kind an offer could not but command from me.

Since my last I have had a little indisposition which, co-operating with the cause I have been mentioning has left my spi⟨rits⟩ ⟨ra⟩ther low. In flesh, I believe, I am much as usual.

In the General Evening of Saturday last (4th Octr.) I read ⟨an⟩ Advertisement by the Oeconomical Society of Bern in Switzerland offering a premium of 50 Louis for a draught of a Code of Criminal Laws to be produced before 1st July 1779: the premium to be adjudged at the end of the year.⁴ It may be in English as well as in

⁴ The advertisement appeared in the issue of the *General Evening Post* (London) for 2–4 October 1777 (No. 6828). It reads thus:

‘PROPOSAL
OF THE OECONOMICAL SOCIETY OF BERN,
in Switzerland.

A Friend to Mankind, who, content with well-doing, chuses by concealing his name to shun the public gratitude, moved by the inconveniencies arising from the im-

Latin French German or Italian. It gave me some pleasure to see this, as it is a proof of the attention bestow'd on these subjects in other countries besides our own.

You say nothing definitively about the time of your return: that will depend I suppose upon the benefit you experience from the waters. We think of returning the last day of the month.

My respectful good wishes wait upon my Mother. Charles I suppose has quitted you by this time—You say nothing of Far. I suppose he is still with Mr. M. Hills at Colne.⁵ I am Hond. Sir

Your dutiful and affectionate Son

Battle

Jere:^y Bentham.

Wednesday Oct. 8th 1777.

perfection of the Criminal Laws in most of the European States, has deposited with the Oeconomical Society of Bern a Prize of Fifty new Louis d'Or, in favour of the Memoire which the Society shall judge the best on the following object:

To compose and draw up a complete detailed Plan of Legislation on Criminal Matters, under this three-fold aspect:

1st. Of Crimes and of the duly proportioned Punishments fit to be applied to them.

2dly. Of the Nature and Strength of Proofs and Presumptions.

3dly. Of the Manner of Acquiring those Proofs and Presumptions by the Course of Criminal Proceedings, so that the Gentleness of the Prosecution, and of the Penalties, may be reconciled with the certainty of a speedy and exemplary Chastisement, and that civil Society may find the greatest possible Security combined with the greatest possible regard to Liberty and Humanity.

Although the Society has hitherto been principally intent upon Natural Philosophy and Agriculture, it has nevertheless too great a Love for the Search of Truth and Utility in every kind, not to take upon itself, with pleasure, the publication of a question which so deeply interests all nations, and tends to throw new lights upon a most important branch of legislation.

The Prize will be adjudged at the end of the year 1779; and the contending performances will be directed, post-free,—A M. le Docteur Tribolet, Secretaire Perpetuel de la Societe—and will be received 'till the 1st of July 1779.

They may be written either in Latin, French, German, Italian, or English. The name of the Author is to be enclosed in a sealed Note, which is to bear the same Motto as the concomitant Memoire.'

Later another benefactor added a further 50 louis d'or for the Society to award among the competitors as it thinks fit. (See Voltaire's *Prix de la Justice et de l'Humanité*, 1778).

⁵ Cf. letter 145, n. 3.

226a

TO JEREMIAH BENTHAM¹

21 October 1777 (Aet 29)

Hon.^d Sir

I write now for no other purpose than barely to thank you for your very kind letter of the 13th instant, especially the Post-script. As our meeting (which, I hope not less confidently than you can do, will be a 'happy and joyful' one) is so near at hand, I should otherwise hardly have thought of troubling you with any more letters: but I chose rather to put you to the expence of three-pence than run the least risk of being suspected of want of gratitude and attention where so much is due. Your letter was given me at my return from Chatham (I should now say Brompton) whither I happen'd to have an opportunity of taking a ride one day last week (I think it was Friday) and returned the next. Sam and his hostess besieged me so, that I believe I must contrive some how or other to take Brompton in my way to London, and spend a few days with them. Their new House has a very pleasing prospect of the country and the river backwards, and is a comfortable one enough and in comparison of what they have left, a palace. You know perhaps already that news came some time ago of Mr Davies's being appointed Purser of the St Alban's a 64-gun ship², instead of that he had before which was but 28. This alone I understand will be worth at least 400 or 500 £ a year to him clear while the ship is in commission, and at other times some little matter, but I can't tell what. Mrs Davies has heard from his senior Clerk Mr Jennis³, that he (Mr Davies) and Mr Cherry⁴ who recommended him to Lord Howe are joint proprietors of two ships that are safely

226a. ¹ MS. in the Hampton L. Carson Collection, The Free Library of Philadelphia Autograph. Docketed by Jeremiah Bentham: 'Fils Jeremy / Lr Datd Battle Sussex / Octr. 21. 1777.'

Addressed: 'To / Jere^h. Bentham Esqre. / Queen's Square Place / Westminster.' Postmark: '23 [?] OC'.

At the end of the letter Jeremiah Bentham has written: 'Reced at Bath Monday the 27th Octr.'

This is the last extant letter dated from Battle and shows that Bentham's prolonged stay there with Wilson was about to end.

² Commanded by Captain Richard Onslow in Howe's fleet.

³ Nathaniel Jennis, like Joseph Davies, was one of the clerks to the commissioner of Chatham Dockyard.

⁴ Perhaps George Cherry, who was a commissioner of the Navy Victualling Board in the late 1780's.

arrived in England laden with Tobacco. They were prizes taken from the Americans, and they bought them from the captors. The captain of a King's Ship being at that time ready to sail for England, they put them under the protection of the Captain, to whom they gave £100 (convoy-money) for one, and 50 £ for the other. If Mr D. is an equal sharer with Mr Ch. and his share has been all bought with his own money, this alone must be a pretty little fortune to him, especially as Tobacco bears at present an uncommon price. People tell her that the Secretary is upon the best footing imaginable with his master, and to use that phrase, has got the length of his foot.

Mr Wilson and I are stark mad, and have been so this month past, at this enormous dearth of news. I wish it may turn out after all that Sir W. Howe has done the nation's business as effectually, as his brother has that of our friend⁵.

My brother-politician is sitting opposite me, and desires that his Compliments may accompany my duty and respects.

I am

Hond. Sir

Your dutiful and
affectionate Son
Jere:^y Bentham

Battle Octr. 21 / Tuesday / 1777

227

TO JEREMIAH BENTHAM¹

13 November 1777 (Aet 29)

Wood Street Brompton Thursday—13th Novr. 1777.

Hond. Sir

You have probably been surprized at my taking no notice all this while of your last favour which is dated so long ago as the 19th

⁵ In fact Sir William Howe was about to resign his command of the British forces in America: on receiving news that his resignation was accepted he left for England in May 1778.

227. ¹ B.M. II: 143–144. Autograph. Docketed by Jeremiah Bentham: 'Fils Jeremy / Lr. datd. Brompton near Chatham 13th Novr. 1777.'

Addressed: 'Jere:ⁿ Bentham Esqr. / Queen's Square Place / Westminster.' Postmarks '15[?]. NO'. Stamped: 'CHATHAM'.

of last month, and was sent, you say, by Major Brace.² The fact is it did not reach me till yesterday evening, and then at an hour too late for me to send an answer. It was forwarded to me by Mr. Wilson, who going to my Chambers for something he wanted found that together with a letter of old date from Mr. Davies which contained nothing worth mentioning. My answer to that of your's which enclosed the draught you have had, I hope, long ago. I had the pleasure at the same time of hearing by Mr. Wilson of his having met you in good health. By him as well as by my last letter you have been informed of my intentions of paying a visit to this place previous to my return to London. I should have written to you from hence before now if I had known before hand that I should have had so long to stay. The case is, there is a part of my book, in composing which I have not occasion for any books. That part I can write here as well as any where. In the mean time I can be of use to my Brother by talking his matters over with him in our walks or other leisure times; he says too, that even when we do not converse, the consciousness of my presence is an encouragement and spur to him. Mrs. Davies's friendly civilities would alone have render'd it difficult to me to make my visit a very short one.

By what time the task I have set myself to do here will be finished, I cannot, as you may imagine ascertain to a day. Since I have been here I have written one chapter on the nature and application of (the punishment belonging to) the two auxiliary Sanctions, the *moral* and the religious (See Fragmt: p. 182. note (b)) Another on the advantages and disadvantages of the moral A 3d. on the advs. and disadvs. of the Religious. The last which I am now about is on the use and management of the Religious. What relates to the moral over and above what is specified here, has already been consider'd under the title of the Punishment of Infamy, or Forfeiture of Reputation. I thought it might be a satisfaction to you to have this general account, loose as it is, of my present occupations. I don't know whether after all I may not have a chapter to write on the Comparative force of the three Sanctions as testified by experience. Of this however a great part is already done. What I have done here has been upon the whole pretty much to my satisfaction. I may possibly have done by Saturday: but probably not till the beginning of next week. I think it will hardly be later. As soon as I have done I shall return to Town; or before if any unexpected difficulty occurs. As soon as I am in town I shall begin to revise for publication.

² Unidentified.

Sam desires to join with me in duty to you, (and in) respects to my Mother and Brother—He is on t'other side the fire, writing Ship-building like a Dragon.

I am

Hond. Sir

Your dutiful and
affectionate Son
Jere:^y Bentham

228

TO JEREMIAH BENTHAM¹

24 November 1777 (Aet 29)

Monday eveng.: Novr. 24 1777 Brompton

Hond. Sir

A letter from you without date which I suppose was sent on Monday, reached this place on Tuesday and was put in to my hands on Wednesday, but in circumstances which render'd it impossible for me to answer it. Details you must excuse my giving you till we meet. Suffice it in general that Sam and I have been employed from last Saturday sennight to this day in managing some concerns of the utmost consequence to this family. Wise (who is a most worthless fellow) has absconded with a load of debt upon him, and left his wife and 5 children, the eldest not 7 year old, without a penny. Mrs. Acworth his wife's and Mrs. Davies's mother he has defrauded of £600 besides £150 which was lent him without any fixt expectation of his repaying it. Just before I left Battle, I got him to make over his effects to her by a Bill of Sale. We have been to secure them which we successfully accomplished, having got the start of executions. To these cares, and others relative to the same occasion,

228. ¹ B.M. II: 145–146. Autograph. Docketed by Jeremiah Bentham: 'Fils Jeremy / Lr. datd. Brompton near Chatham 24th Novr. 1777.'

Addressed: 'To / Jeremiah Bentham Esqr. / Queen's Square Place / Westminster / Single Sheet.' Postmark: '2. NO'. Stamped: 'CHATHAM'.

On 19 November at Chatham Robert Wise had signed and sealed a document witnessed by Bentham and George Wilson. This conveyed to Joseph Davies, in trust for Mrs Wise and her children, whatever rights Wise had in the estates of his wife's father, Richard Nairne, and her stepfather, Edward Acworth. In case Davies did not return to England in time to execute this trust, Samuel Bentham was to act in his place (B.M. XVII: 57–58).

It appears from letter 230 that soon after the present letter was written, bailiffs began to remove Wise's effects from his property at Battle. This led in due course to the action raised against the Sheriff by Mrs Acworth in virtue of Wise's conveyance of the property to her.

has been added that of disposing of the distressed family. They are now at Maresfield 41 miles from London in or near the road through East Grinstead to Brightelmstone. They are at the house of a very decent tradesman whose wife is sister to a maid servant who had lived many years with Mrs. W. and whose behaviour to her mistress has been a singular example of fidelity and affection. It has been a burthensome office but one that our situation forced upon us. My part of it is now pretty nearly at an end and Sam's nearly. Nothing is as yet determined on concerning the place and manner of supporting them. At Maresfield they can not stay beyond a month. This house will not hold them, and there are other obstacles to their coming here. It is a fertile subject, but I must put an end to it.

Thank you kindly, Sir, for your history of Mr. Horne: it is a curious one, and one that I wanted much to be informed about. Tomorrow I shall resume my punishments; and I hope to finish the subject of the Sanctions by Saturday or Monday next, when I expect Mr. Wilson to come and fetch me. He has taken a most generous as well as active part in the late distresses. As for Sam and me, our language has been that of the Apostle—'Silver and Gold have we none, but what we have, that give we unto ye.'

As to that part of your letter which relates to Sam, I am sorry to see it at all and I think I have reason to complain of it's being inserted in a letter addressed to me. Your own supposition that I never saw it, as it happens, was most strictly true: upon that supposition, as there was nothing for me to do or to forbear in consequence of what I was told, the speaking to me of it in terms so harsh as those I have the misfortune to see employ'd, could have no effect but that of making me suffer for an offence in which, be it what it may, I bore no part. I have shewn him your letter, and questioned him about his: but all I can get from him is, that he has at no time been less conscious of any intention of giving offence. If this be the case, he is very unfortunate either in his expressions or in the construction that has been put upon them. But I hope, Sir, and dare believe, that the dissatisfaction you testify at his expressions was owing in great measure to some cause as transient as that to which you attribute the expressions themselves, and that ere long you will relieve him from the concern he can not but feel under a sentence of condemnation which makes it as difficult for him to know what to write to you as how to see you. Meantime, that I may keep him as clear from my offences, if this letter should unfortunately be reckoned in to the number of them, as I wish to

be of his, I have not, neither shall I let him see what I have now been writing.

I am, with all respect

Hond. Sir

Your dutiful and obedient Son

Jeremy Bentham

229

TO SARAH WISE¹

12-13 December 1777 (Aet 29)

Travels of G. Wilson and J. Bentham Esqr. from
Maresfield to London Decr. 12th 1777

At East Grinstead we took in a Welch Drover: three or four myrmidons of his mounted aloft: his partner (in trade I mean not in bed) escorted us on horseback. At Godstone where we dined (Godstone is 21 miles from Maresfield and 20 from London we received a further reinforcement of a Town-Macaroni, a Country Justice, a Play-house Critic, a Cricketeer, and a Captain in the Blues. The Captain was according to his own account the tallest Man in the tallest Regiment in England, being, as he told us 6 foot 4 inches high. He could not sit upright in the Coach: Wilson was a shrimp to him. The Macaroni display'd a blue and gold enamelled Geneva watch with the picture of a lady on the outside of the case. The Justice smelt a little strongish of Tobacco. This pretious weed we had in all shapes: his Worship smoking (that is to say having smoked) it, the Macaroni snuffing it, and the Welch Drover chewing it. His Worship had just been seizing certain super-numerary horses from a Farmer on the Road, according to the Statute in that case made and provided, to the great terror of the said offending Farmer. The Play-house Critic was the ringleader of the host that damned I-don't-know-who's Farce called the '*Blackamoor washed white*' acted or attempted to be acted I don't know how long ago—I believe the winter before last.² In driving the Play to Hell he fell himself into a certain pit in Purgatory

229. ¹ B.M. II: 147-148. Autograph.

The 'pretty reprobate' to whom this letter is directed is evidently Mrs Wise, then living with her children at Maresfield in Sussex.

² The author was the Rev. Henry Bate (later Sir Henry Bate Dudley, bart.) (1745-1824), an intimate friend of Garrick (*D.N.B.*). The farce—a comic opera—had several disastrous performances in February 1776.

called the Round-house from whence he extricated himself by breaking a leg and an arm and certain ribs of the poor devils doing duty there under the name of Watchmen. The Cricketeer had play'd his own two parishes against all Surry for 100 Guineas, and beat all Surry hollow: that same Surry that before now has beat all England. He is preparing with great alacrity to reap another such victory over the same antagonist; and if fortune should second his ambition may come one day to pull Lord Tankerville or even the Duke of Dorset from his throne.³ The Captain (with a servant) was riding on his own horses to London; from whence he was to ride 200 miles in two days on Post-horses (God-a-mercy on the poor horses) to Stamford in Lincolnshire there to sign his name to a (Muster-roll) / (Return Wilson says it is) / and come back again. He over took us as we were walking forward from the breakfasting place; dined at the same Inn that we did; and being by that time grown tired as he said of 'bumping' (of which he had but 200 miles more to go through in two days) and seeing (as he was polite enough to say) such a prospect of good company, he stepped into the Coach; the second time he ever was in a Stage-Coach in his life. We had not gone far before Ld. Abergavenny's⁴ carriage met us; a nod was given, and a 'how-d'ye-do, my Lord.'

Least you should begin to wonder how we found room for so much company, some of them none of the smallest, it may now be proper to inform you that all the *characters* I have been mentioning; that of the Welch Drover excepted, center'd in one *person*. This one person shall for shortness sake be called the Captain. His name is Philips or Phelps.⁵ He lives not above 5 or 6 miles from Uckfield. It might I think have been called Legion. See the story of the Hogs and Devils in the Jugg-book.⁶ I forgot to add to the list of characters that of the Fox-hunter; though that indeed is but little distinguished from the Country Justice. He shew'd us the spot where he had lately killed a Fox with a pack of his own harriers. Coming into Croydon, he shew'd us a handsome house which he said was occupied by a Miss Elliot, a Quaker *maiden* lady turned of 60, worth about 120,000£.⁷ He had made an offer to her which she declined:

³ Charles Bennet, 4th Earl of Tankerville (1716-91), was a member of the committee which revised the laws of cricket in 1774. John Frederick Sackville, 3rd Duke of Dorset (1745-1825), was a member of the Hambledon Club and of the committee which drew up the original laws of the M.C.C.

⁴ George Nevill, Lord Abergavenny (1727-85), created Earl of Abergavenny in 1784.

⁵ Unidentified.

⁶ The Bible.

⁷ Perhaps Mary Eliot, who died at Croydon in 1794 (*Gentleman's Magazine*, lxiv, 92).

preferring variety of Footmen to one Husband: of which preference she scruples not, he says, to give broad hints in her conversation. A little further he shew'd us a good pretty house which he told us was his own. He took it last year at £22 a year for a Lady: but the Lady, though bred in the country, bringing him in a Milliner's Bill of £80 at the end of 6 weeks, he grew sick of the house and let it for £13. I asked him what became of the *furniture*? (meaning the live part of it) He told me he took it home; where I understand it is at present.

He told us, *en passant*, some anecdotes of your great neighbour, Squire Newnham.⁸ He is about 7 and 20: has never worn powder in his hair; was never at an assembly in his life: never comes to London: never goes out to visit any body; but is fond of seeing any body at his house. Suppose you were to go and pay *him* a visit instead of Parson Clark or the Widow Stratfield?⁹ Do as Ruth did to Boaz in the Jugg-book: it is possible that *even you* might find favour in his sight. But what signifies my talking to you of the Jugg-book, you pretty reprobate? Least you should be angry with me and pout inwardly (I do dread those inward poutings) I do most humbly certify to you on my bended knees, that I am in jest. In the Squire's Warren is a little house which is usually tenanted (says the Captain) by a girl or two with whom the Squire solaces himself, and if the state receives an encrease, the fair one gets £500 with some farmer in the neighbourhood for a husband. Were I in the place of a certain gentleman, and were the sentiments of a certain lady Sally I was going to say the reverse of what I know them to be, I would not for the Indies, she were so near to so formidable a *Squire*.

Now we are upon dangerous men, what think you of the Captain? a man more dangerous than Wilson by 3 inches? a man almost as much more dangerous than Wilson, as he is more dangerous than a poor animal who used to be called so in derision? and withall a handsome well-proportioned young fellow of three or four and twenty, which I forgot to tell you? Take care you don't fall in love with him upon this description, mount a white palfrey and go in quest of him as Eastern Princes used of Eastern Princesses after looking at their pictures?

'Twould have made you laugh to have heard the argument betwixt Wilson and me last night, the result of which was the

⁸ Of Maresfield Park: presumably the son of John Newnham who died at Maresfield in 1764 (*Gentleman's Magazine*, xxxv, 46).

⁹ Neither the parson nor the widow has been identified: Clark was presumably rector of Maresfield.

taking of Sam into the trust.¹⁰ I maintained there was danger of my becoming a rogue without his knowing it; (acknowledging you may be sure that I was an honest man at present) he maintaining the contrary. I had the satisfaction of prevailing; and so Sam was taken in upon the principle that it was more difficult for two men to turn rogue and keep true to one another, than for one to turn rogue and keep true to himself.

This post has brought us some tolerable news from Liverpool by the way of Brompton—Let me congratulate you upon it my—(I know who would have said...‘my sweet girl’—but alas! those words of ownership are not for me.) He who takes upon himself to use them will give you particulars.

Linc. Inn Decr. 13th. 1777.

Take an instance of honour oddly associated with villany. We had it from the tall Captain. Not many weeks or at least months ago some smugglers committed a murder on an Excise Officer with great circumstances of cruelty.¹¹ Well and so—but there is not room for it, you may have it perhaps in my next.

I dread the answer to my rashness of last night: and I wish I could retract it.

230

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

19 January 1778 (Aet 29)

Linc. Inn. Monday Jan: 19th 1778

What’s the matter with you, you Mr. Sam, that you don’t write. Don’t forget the letters of which I must have the whole farrago

¹⁰ The nature of this ‘trust’ is not clear. It was evidently not that of 19 November mentioned above, letter 228, n. 1, since Samuel was involved in that transaction from the outset.

¹¹ This murder had taken place on 16 September (*Gentleman’s Magazine*, xlvii, 47, 458).

230. ¹ B.M. II: 152–153. Autograph. Docketed: ‘I.B. Jany. 19th 1778.’

Addressed: ‘Mr. Bentham / at his Majesty’s Dock Yard / near Rochester.’ Postmark: ‘19 IA’.

This letter and letter 232 are somewhat obscure. Possibly Robin Phipps, Dame Margan, Janningo and Russel were tenants of a house or houses owned by Wise, and furnished with his effects which had been seized on behalf of his creditors. The only house we know of owned by Wise was the one he agreed to mortgage to Mrs Acworth and which eventually he had conveyed to her. We have presumed that this was the house at Battle in which he lived.

Polhill was probably auctioning the effects seized on behalf of the creditors. Peter and the Corporal seem to have been friends of the Wises in the district, or perhaps servants.

to shew Wilson from the first time the dining scheme was in agitation—in short from the first time when Wise's affairs came upon the carpet.—Those to Mrs. D. as well as those to you.

We must know the exact day when the Bailiffs came into possession of the goods at Russel's. You and Mrs. D. together can recollect it. Thursday 27th Novr. I find it was that I gave William² the Guinea for his journey from Battle to tell us of it. This I think was the morning he returned. Wednesday then was the day he came. It was at 1 o'clock in the afternoon he said that the Bailiffs came. This then I think could not have been the day he came, but the day before; viz: Tuesday. Tell me if I am right. Lose no time—write by return of post. I am afraid of being too late.

Another thing I want to know is when the goods were seized at Robin Phipps's. When they were seized at Janningo's[?] and Dame Margam's I know.

I have just received from Polhill a catalogue of the things he sold with the prices they sold for. It varies very much from the list of prices sent by the Corporal and Peter. But I imagine it to be a fair account as the sum total is within a trifle the same.

If I understand the matter right there were two seizures at Rob. Phipps's. The last I received an account of from Peter and the Corpl. the day you dined with us in Bow Lane. The things they took there were all in Dame Margam's part of the house. What they took before was partly in her territories, partly in Robin's.

231

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

21 January 1778 (Aet 29)

The parcel is received—It is late—I must be short. I do not understand what Mrs. D. says about Wilson's promising to deliver her letters into her hands. They were left in mine by consent of all parties. In mine they are: and since in mine she does not think them safe I return them to you, in whose hands I hope she will think them safer. But since she peremptorily refuses to deliver up Wilson's, he on his part as peremptorily enjoins you not to part with hers untill she does.

² Wise's servant (cf. letter 236). The journey was from Battle to Brompton.

231. ¹ B.M. II: 154–155. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. Jany. 21 1778.'

Addressed: 'Mr. Bentham / the King's Dock Yard / near Rochester.' Bentham has put the wrong year. Postmark: '21 IA'.

How can she pretend to fancy herself charged with dishonesty for spending her own money? I am sick of such eternal altercations, and resolved to wash my hands of them. We did it is true, charge her with bragging, a habit which since she finds a comfort in, let her keep.

Your letter is likewise received.

Wednesday Jany. 21. 1777.

The packet of Mrs. D's letters will be sent by the Coach tomorrow.

As to her charge of shewing a letter of her's to Mrs. W. I know not what she means.

232

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

23(?) January 1778 (Aet 29)

Has Mrs. D. I wonder written to old Wise² about the £5? It is high time she should if she has not.

I wrote on Tuesday in as plain terms as I could write to Robin Phipps asking him whether the Bailiffs had seized any and what things out of his house at any time and when *before* they seized the things out of Dame Margan's room. In answer to this comes a letter in the name of Peter and written by the Corporal telling me once more when it was they seized the things at Margans. So that I am as much in the dark as ever. The Corporal is a worthy creature, but wondrous stupid.

By Monday's Diligence I got a Catalogue from Polhill, which <has all> the appearance of being a genuine one. By Thursdays <...> <...> a letter from him with a bill explained now for the <first time> in a manner tolerably satisfactory. The charge is reduced to £12. 4s. 0. He is to draw a Bill on me for £12, and leave the 4s. together with the gratuity I promised him for his trouble in sending the Catalogue till he goes to Brompton which he talks of doing

232. ¹ B.M. II: 151. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. Jany. 15th 1778.'

Addressed: 'Mr. Bentham / at the King's Dock Yard / Rochester.' The postmark is not fully legible but the date clearly begins with a '2'. The date in the docket must be mistaken, and the context, in relation to other letters, suggests Friday 23 January as the most likely date.

² Father of Robert Wise (cf. letter 208, p. 37).

soon and calling on Mrs. Acworth. I should think $\frac{1}{2}$ a guinea in all may do. But if he grumbles she may as well give him a guinea— We must have him as an evidence. The cause cannot be tried in town: it must be tried at the Assizes.³

I have got a pair of buckles as heavy as two Porters can carry, price 1£ – 18. Item a pair of black and white Stockings at 14s. longitudinally striped. Item a pair of do., d.o. at 18s., do., of a patent sort. They are I don't know how many Inches thick, and if a stitch drops, the hole is to go no further.

I am apt to think Polhill has not behaved dishonestly on the whole.

Polhill mentioned a report there is at Battle that Mrs. W. etc. are coming on the Parish. This I contradicted.

How goes on Ship-building.

Je ne puis pas m'empêcher de vous dire, que dimanche matin vint une proposition a W. de la verte même,⁴ dont la forme étoit des moins flatteuses, mais dont le fond étoit ce que l'on souhaite. Si on ne se retracte pas, l'affaire est conclue. Cependant il s'agissoit d'une chose 'pire que la mort.' Il y a des gens qui disent que cela n'est que ce qui devoit être, vue la personne a qui c'étoit adressé. Ces gens la sont (ou bien cherchent a être) bien consolants. On ne peut rien imaginer qui surpasse la conduite de cette affaire, pour la tendresse et pour la prudence. Je n'ai pas assez d'amour dans toute mon ame pour payer cet ecossois. Aide-moi, autre partie de moi-même. Il a tout vu, hors ces quatre dernieres sentences.

³ The 'cause' was *Ackworth v. Kempe* (1 Dougl. 40). Kempe, the Sheriff of Sussex, had issued two writs on behalf of Robert Wise's creditors, by virtue of which the Sheriff's officers had seized property at Battle which Wise had conveyed to Mrs Acworth by bill of sale. Mrs Acworth sued the Sheriff for trespass, and the action was tried by Baron Eyre at Horsham Summer Assizes in July. Mrs Acworth won the case, and a motion by the defendant for a new trial was rejected in the court of King's Bench in November.

⁴ This reference to a correspondence between Mrs Green and (presumably) George Wilson remains obscure (cf. letter 211, n. 3). Evidently Bentham was very grateful to Wilson for something. Since Wilson played a prominent part in helping the Wise family it is likely that the matter concerned the Wises somehow.

233

JEREMY BENTHAM AND GEORGE WILSON TO
SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

24 January 1778 (Aet 29)

Dear Sam

Your brother is writing to his friend Robin Phipps about the date of the seizure at his house and *in the interim* I am ordered to tell you that your Uncle has received your money—the amount he does not exactly know but it is something more than £500—He wants to know what is to be done with it and what Q.S.P. says to which your brother replied that Q.S.P. had proposed its being placed in the stocks—Therefore you must write a letter to your uncle desiring him to lay it out in that manner. You may also if you please tell him to retain £20 which you think of laying out in buying a bed and fitting up a bedchamber at No. 6. This however he will certainly tell to Q.S.P. who will probably object to it, but there can be no harm in making the attempt. No news either as to our own little world or the great one. We are a little disappointed at not having a letter from you today, but comfort ourselves that your silence is a proof of your having received the parcel by the coach on thursday—Had you not received it after having notice by the post of its approach you would certainly have made a noise—We expect both a letter and a parcel on Monday if not tomorrow—Good night—Compts. to Mrs. D.

Saturday Night 11.

In the packet of letters that came for me, I find very few of those I had written to Mrs. D. Many of those to Sam are imperfect for want of pieces that had been claimed by her I suppose as her

233. ¹ B.M. II: 156–157. Autograph. Docketed by Jeremy Bentham(?): ‘I.B. and Wilson Jany. 24 1778.’

Addressed: ‘Mr. Bentham / at his Majesty’s Dock Yard / near Rochester.’ Postmark: ‘24 IA.’

The first paragraph is in Wilson’s hand. The rest is in Bentham’s.

Samuel came of age on 11 January 1778. The money which his uncle Grove had received was probably money due to him on this event. The idea was mooted that Samuel should buy a house in Huntingdon which would give him a vote useful to Lord Sandwich, first Lord of the Admiralty, whose favour would be helpful to him (cf. letter 248). In the event it seems to have been laid out in government stock.

The last part of the letter shows that Bentham liked to have the letters he wrote to Samuel returned. It may be that he docketed them on their return, or perhaps he did it much later.

property (mighty valuable property) and torn off accordingly. I could wish much to have them—won't Mrs. D. oblige me? Is she in a good humour yet? has she done quarrelling with people and wilfully (I was going to say) misunderstanding them? Such as they are she may depend upon their being returned. I have shewn Wilson all those I have, and his curiosity is very eager to see the rest.

234

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

26 January 1778 (Aet 29)

Jany. 26 1778 7 o'clock

Your letter, my dear Sam, is but just come in—how monstrous late the Post is!

As to the Huntingdon Scheme, I have about as good an opinion of it as you have. Q.S.P. has mentioned it to me and to my Uncle—Yesterday he told me of his having written to you about it. What use there would be in your coming to town about it is more than I can see. At any rate let him make what enquiries about it he has a mind: it will be '*pushing*'; it will serve him for amusement, and keep him quiet for a while. But I do not think that a prospect so uncertain ought to keep the money from being laid out in the stocks. While it lies dead, there is a certain loss: at the worst it is but the expence of brokerage which I think is not more than 2s. 6d. pr. Cent. Q.S.P. (before he started the Huntingdon scheme) mentioned it as his desire that the money should be invested in the funds, and bid me tell my Uncle so.

It is an aphorism I have often heard out of the mouth of Mr. Abbot² that the way to get any thing from Lord Sandwich was to have a vote for Huntingdon. If the scheme cannot miscarry whatever hands it is in, it will succeed in those of Q.S.P.

No. I heard nothing of what you tell me about Mr. L(. . .)³

One letter to Sam I have dispatched today already: It went before the Post came in.

'Yes—the Bedchamber *shall* be fitted up'—We must add, I fear, provided the higher powers please.

234. B.M. II: 158–159. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. Jany. 26th 1778.'

Addressed: 'Mr. Bentham / at the King's Dock Yard / Rochester.' Postmark: '26 IA.'

² Unidentified.

³ The bottom of the page is torn away. About four lines are lost. The tops of the letters in the first are some of them visible. The line ends: 'my Uncle to speak to'.

Miss Ousnam⁴ eloped? My stars! alack and well a day! and Lord have mercy upon us! and who could have thought it? a dutiful, quiet, submissive bashful girl as she was to take so wild a step! and withal a pupil of Mrs. D's too! Well for my part, I think wonders will never cease. But was not somebody asking just now where she was gone? Why—to Scotland to be sure—where else should she go?—Nobody I hope supposes her to be gone upon any other errand than an honourable one. Well but, no, but, be that as it will, as I say, what a charming subject for conversation! what a happy thing for the four towns! Dear creature how much they are obliged to her.

So much for Miss Ousnam—but I can't help pitying the poor man her father. And much good may it do the 2d. Lieutenant of Marines. Thanks be to God, the lot has not fallen upon thee, my Samuel. Continue to do what is right and proper—Stick to your old friends, Sam (Ha Mrs. D.?) there is nothing like it.

This half sheet for the dignity and importance of it, ought to be kept locked up in the choicest archives of the British Museum.⁵

Thanks to Mrs. D. for her promise of sending me my letters.

As to the picture frames—have not I told you already? (I believe I have) that Wilson won't be paid for them.

235

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

30 January 1778 (Aet 29)

This afternoon and not before I ~~called on~~ saw my Uncle, and gave him your letter—(Call on him indeed I did before, but did not

⁴ Presumably the daughter of William Ousnam, purser in the Navy, whose widow died at Rochester in 1793, aged 72 (*Gentleman's Magazine*, lxiii, 958). A reference in a letter from Bentham to his brother in April 1783 (B.M. IV: 46, to be published in a later volume), from which we learn that the marine lieutenant's name was Jones, indicates that the result of Miss Ousnam's 'errand' was neither 'honourable' nor fortunate.

⁵ It is.

235. ¹ B.M. II: 160–161. Autograph.

Addressed: 'Mr. Bentham / at the King's Dock Yard / Rochester.' Postmark: '30 . . .'

Samuel's apprenticeship as a shipwright came to an end this month. He now had to look for employment, which at first he hoped to find in the Royal Dockyards. 'There were, however, no means of enabling him to remain in the King's service, excepting in a very inferior office. His determination therefore was to employ some time in acquiring further knowledge, previously to deciding on what should be his future career. He attended chemical lectures in London, acquired the German

meet with him at home. The Huntingdon Scheme he tells me is at an end. The House is too dear, and what is more to the purpose, gives no vote.

Il paroît que votre argent monte a cinq cens trentehuit livres et tant de schelings et de deniers; cela etant, on pourroit tres bien /en/ y deduire les vingt livres pour le lit etc. après quoi il resteroit plue que les cinq cens dont on a parlè. Mais le meilleur moyen seroit de mettre d'abord le tout ensemble dans les fonds, et après on en pourroit vendre ce qui en faudroit. Les frais de vente ne sont que très peu de chose, un demi cen par cent (c'est a dire cent livres.) Mon Oncle dit qu'il placera l'argent des le commencement de la semaine.

My Uncle upon my reading to him part of your letter of yesterday expressed himself ready to apply to Mr. Penton.² But in order to furnish him with instructions there are two things he wishes you to do.

The 1st is to send him a particular account of all the places in which the removes you mention would make vacancies: who the present officers are what the Salaries and Perquisites of each, and what there several pretensions to succeed to higher places.

2d. He would be glad you could give him some instructions what to say on the score of merit; what the improvements are you have in view. For this purpose I think it may be necessary or at least useful for you to give him a brief account of your projects under the (12 or 13 heads I think there are of them) you have collected. For example, the analysis, the contract scheme, the

language, became a pupil at the Naval Academy in Portsmouth, and spent two more years in improving himself in the practises of the several different Royal Dockyards, as also a part of that time on shipboard, as a volunteer in Lord Keppel's fleet.' (*Life of Sir Samuel Bentham*, by his widow, M. S. Bentham, p. 6).

A draft for a letter (written January 1778 or later) stating his qualification for advancement, to be given to his uncle G. W. Grove, so that he might make interest with Mr Townsend, Mr Penton, etc., is B.M. I. 149. It is presumably the letter Bentham mentions below.

There also survives an earlier letter (written before August 1777) which also describes his qualifications for advancement, somewhat franker in tone. This may have been intended for William Fitzherbert to make interest on his behalf, and be the rough draft mentioned in letter 305 as probably never having been sent. It is of particular interest as showing analogies between the ways in which the two brothers approached their work. Just as Jeremy constantly contrasted the study of law as it is with the study of law as it ought to be, so Samuel contrasts the study of ship-building as it is with that of ship-building as it might be. Perhaps it also shows Bentham's influence on matters of psychology that Samuel calls love of reputation his prevailing passion.

² Henry Penton (1736–1812), M.P. for Winchester 1761–96, member of Lincoln's Inn 1762, was one of the Lords of the Admiralty from 1774 to 1782.

discovery (as you look upon it to be) of two circumstances never as yet hitherto attended to that influence the going of the ship (two forces that tend to alter its velocity and direction). Don't go to make a long winded affair of it; for that will never do, nobody will read it, but give the titles only, or at most only a short explanation of the titles.

I told him I would write to you tonight for these very purposes, and I do hereby write to you accordingly.

What you say to him on the above two heads I think had better be on two papers; the latter to be shewn to persons to whom it might be not necessary or not advisable to shew the former.

3dly. You must likewise mention with whom you served your time, when you enter'd and when your apprenticeship expired.

Quant a une affaire dont je vous ai parlè ci-devant cette lettre ci doit être comptè pour rien.

Wilson has got a /compass/ bow fender like Mr. Wise's—I am to try it for a day or two to see whether such an one will answer my purpose—or whether I must have a green one. When I have got one (which will probably be in two or three days) I will send mine to Mrs. D.

As to your complaints of my treating her unkindly, I may possibly speak my mind to you somewhat at large before many days are over.

Wilson took notice that you 'Mr.' 'd him in a serious part of your letter.

Friday Jan. 30th 1778.

Did you fast or eat Calves head today?³

236

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

31 January 1778 (Aet 29)

31s. Jany. 1778

Your letter enclosing one to Mrs. Whitehorne is received.² The latter I am afraid is a little obscure in some places. Wilson thought

³ The anniversary of Charles I's execution.

236. ¹ B.M. II: 162–163. Autograph.

Addressed: 'Mr. Bentham / at the King's Dock Yard / Rochester.' Postmark: '31 IA.'

² These letters from Samuel seem not to be extant. For Mrs Whitehorne see letter 112, n. 3. A letter from her to Samuel dated 'Portsh. Comm. 22 Feby. 1778' survives (B.M. II: 168), in which she informs Samuel that he was entered at Woolwich

so—It is possible there may be occasion for another—if so I will give you some hints about it. But I hope this will do the business.

As to partiality in the Jury I have no great fears about it. The Assizes, Wilson says will be held not at Lewes, but at East Grinstead.³ It is nobody's fault: it rests with the adverse party whether it shall be tried where we choose or in Sussex, and they have chosen Sussex. The worst inconvenience is the expence of witnesses. I must go to E. Grinstead, Polhill and the Bailiffs certainly, and I do not know who besides.

The Curtains, Sir, shall wait your pleasure.

The writing to Mr. D. was not at all in my thoughts. It is agreed that you are the properest person of us all to do it. The fear is that you will not have much time.

State every thing just as it has happen'd. The assistances from the Wises—The separation, shewing the necessity of it. Our hitting together upon the dining-plan. My aversion and Wilson's to Chop-houses—The shifts we put ourselves to with Mrs. Green rather than dine at such places. My £20 a year. Wilson's £15—Mrs. D's £20 (besides taking the child) with his leave, our quota for dinners which we imagine nearly keeps the family in eatables and drinkables—The hiring of the lodgings mentioning the rent; also the expence as well as you can remember of furnishing. Wise's acquiescence. His present situation which will relieve Mr. D. from the fear of his being troublesome. My introducing of Mrs. W. at Lind's. What good sort of people she is with, and the accidental circumstance of their being known and employ'd at Lind's.

Je crains, mon cher, de vous ecrire: ~~rouge voit tout.~~

I wrote to you last night.

I wish Mrs. D. would write, or you would write—who is it) to Q.S.P. to get some money. We are all of us here in starving condition.

Wise's William has written to him to ask payment of his wages—The poor fellow was well set to work—he might as well have written to the Great Mogul.

Wise could come out any day in term time upon paying 3s. 6d.—

Yard on 3 August 1770, so that the seven years of his apprenticeship to her late brother should have expired on 2 August 1777. She has been informed, however, that he 'was to serve till some time in Jany.', though she does not know the reason for this. In fact Samuel's formal indentures were dated from his fourteenth birthday on 11 January 1771.

³ The assizes were in fact held at Horsham in July.

He has been out once to peep at the house, he would not venture to call, being afraid of Molly.⁴

Wise has written to his wife desiring her to tell me of his anxiety to go on with the suit he has commenced against the man at Pevensey for the 70 or 80 £. Mrs. Acworth's power of Attorney will authorize her to employ an Attorney to recover and receive the money. I intend to send Browne in whom I have a perfect confidence to talk with Wise about this scheme and if Browne thinks it feasible I should recommend it to Mrs. Acworth to pursue it. Wilson agrees with me in this. There is but one witness, so the expence will be but small.

Love to Mrs. D. Wilson desires to be remember'd to her.

237

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

19 February 1778 (Aet 30)

The only key that was in either of your wastecoat pockets I send you herewith enclosed.

I have not got the instrument you mention of Mrs. Acworths: Wise's 1st. informal Mortgage upon paper—(we will call it in future the paper Mortgage)² I think I may say so pretty positively. When we wanted it for the purpose of Wise's reciting it in the formal Mortgage, not thinking it prudent to trust the original with Wise, Mrs. D. you may remember by my desire sent me a copy which I transmitted to him. Consequently the original did not come into

⁴ Robert Wise had evidently been imprisoned for debt. The 3s. 6d. was perhaps the fee payable to the Under-Sheriff for his *liberate*. The house referred to was presumably the house in London to which Mrs Wise had now moved from Maresfield. Molly is unidentified.

237. ¹ B.M. II: 166–167, Autograph.

Addressed: 'Mr. Bentham or Mrs. Davies.'

This is in reply to an extant letter from Brompton dated 17 February 1778 (B.M. II: 164) in which Samuel asks Bentham to forward a key he left in his waistcoat, and reports that 'Mrs Ackworth says that you have the Instrument which Wise gave her upon the receipt of the money'. He also relates that Mr Lawrence has been pleased to hear of Samuel's reception by Lord Mulgrave (John Constantine Phipps, 2nd Baron, one of the Lords of the Admiralty) and is offering to speak further to him about Samuel's projects.

² The 'paper Mortgage' seems to be the agreement to execute a proper mortgage which Wise signed when he first borrowed money from Mrs Acworth. It is the instrument of which Bentham requests a copy at the end of letter 207. Wise used this copy to draw up the defective formal mortgage discussed in letter 208. Finally he executed an absolute conveyance of the house to Mrs Acworth (see letter 196, n. 9 for a summary of the whole affair).

my hands then. From that time to our going to Battle nothing called for it. When you and I went from Brompton to Battle to take possession of the goods I took I think the absolute conveyance with me for the purpose of shewing it if advisable to Gilbert³ whom I expected to see or any one who might be inclined to become a purchaser.

I think it not improbable but that the paper mortgage might be enclos'd in that conveyance: however whatever it was I took I returned all together as I took it. Either at taking it or at returning it I have a recollection of several papers being in it, amongst others one relative to the transferring of the stock. I have a faint recollection of seeing the paper mortgage at one or both of those times. I know one or more papers were put up in the absolute conveyance when it was returned. I did not take it with me upon my return to London—I packed my things up in the parlour: they were put up in my leathern cloak-bag. Mrs. Acworth helped me. If any parchment of hers had been among them she would have taken notice of it and remember'd it: The paper Mortgage was /from the beginning/ originally in her custody: I know of no purpose except what I have mentioned for which I could have taken it at quitting Brompton or asked for it since. If I had asked for it since and got it you or /Mrs. D./ some body must have asked her for it and got it from her and sent it to me.

I hope and dare believe upon a further search Mrs. A. will find it. Let me likewise have that paper relative to the transferring of the Stock: also Wise's note of hand for £100 with any other notes of hand of his or evidences of his having received money if she has got them.

Although there was no formal letter for you in the packet I sent you there was a loose open note which I stuffed into the brown paper before I sealed the corners.

Your letter did not come to hand till 12 last night.

Thursday mornng. Feb 19th 1778

Linc. Inn.

Mrs. W. sends Mrs. D's things by the Coach of today.

³ The grocer at Lewes to whom Wise owed £250, and who held the title deeds of Wise's house (see letter 208).

238

TO WILLIAM EDEN¹

26 March 1778 (Aet 30)

Note sent with the Ms Preface to A View of the Hard-labour Bill.

March 26th 1778

Mr. Bentham's Compliments wait on Mr. Eden—It is generally supposed that Mr. Eden either is, or knows who is, the Author of the proposed Bill of which Mr. B. is about to give a view, in a pamphlet which is just printed, and to which the inclosed sheets are designed to be a Preface. It has just been suggested to him by a friend, that the tendency of them may appear to be upon the whole rather to give an unfavourable impression of a writer whose Preface to the proposed Bill he admires beyond any thing he ever read on the subject of legal policy; and by that means to a project he has very much at heart. If so, nothing could be more contrary to his wishes. Mr. E—— may probably be a better judge, whether

238. ¹ B.M. II: 169. Autograph copy. Docketed by Jeremy Bentham: '1778 March 26 / I.B. at Linc. Inn to W. Eden. Downg. Street. / With Ms Preface to View of Hard-Labour Bill.'

William Eden (1744–1814), created Baron Auckland (Irish Peerage) in 1789, had in 1772, while a young barrister of the Middle Temple, published his *Principles of Penal Law*, a work written under the influence of Beccaria. He became an M.P. in 1774 and devoted himself to legal and economic questions. In 1776 he made a speech urging the substitution of hard labour for transportation to America.

In 1780 he went to Ireland as chief secretary to the Viceroy (the Earl of Carlisle), but when Pitt took office he returned to England and became his close supporter. In 1785–86 he was responsible for negotiations with the French over the great commercial treaty. He conducted subsequent commercial negotiations with the Americans and the Dutch. In 1793 he was created a peer of Great Britain and retired from diplomacy. He was Postmaster General from 1798 to 1801.

In 1779 a bill was passed empowering the building of two penitentiaries (19 Geo. III, c. 74). It had been introduced into Parliament by Eden. John Howard and two others were appointed as superintendents of the scheme, but it was never carried out. Bentham's Panopticon project of the 1790's was designed to revive this scheme.

At the time of the present letter Bentham had somehow seen a privately circulated draft of this bill, which had been drawn up, apparently, by Eden with the help of William Blackstone. He wrote a critique of it entitled *A View of the Hard-Labour Bill* which was published later in the year (Bowring, iv, 1–33). It is the Preface to this critique which Bentham here forwards.

With the loss of the American colonies and the end of transportation thereto, an incentive to the erection of new and better prisons was given, which was lost in 1784, when transportation to Australia started. Moreover John Howard had publicized the terrible state of existing prisons, and in particular of the hulks. Eden's bill aimed to guide convicts back to an honest life by a course of hard labour, solitary confinement, medical attendance and religious instruction. Bentham was sympathetic with the general tendency of the Bill, but proposed various improvements.

this is likely to be the case. If it be, Mr. B—— would not only with pleasure sacrifice that part, but think himself obliged to Mr. E—— or any one, for saving him from counteracting his own intentions.

Being so much pressed for time as (from the progress of the business) he apprehends himself to be, Mr. B—— can wait for an answer no longer than till tomorrow night. If no answer should come before Saturday morning, Mr. B—— must conclude that Mr. E——, in the hurry of more important business can find no leisure to attend to this address—

Mr. Bentham incloses in another cover 3 Sheets of the pamphlet out of about 7.

239

WILLIAM EDEN TO JEREMY
BENTHAM¹

27 March 1778

Downing Street—March 27th

Mr. Eden returns Compts. and many Thanks to Mr. Bentham for His obliging Communication of the Papers herewith returnd.—Mr. Eden is too much hurried at present to give them so careful a perusal as He could wish, but He will assign to that Purpose the first two Hours He can command whenever the whole is published. He never meant to disclaim any Paper that can justly be attributed to Him, and shd. readily have avowed the Preface in Question even if it had not met with much general Approbation. He enters however more cordially into any praises given to the Dra. of the proposed Bill, because those praises are chiefly due to some of the Judges, and particularly to One whose Commentaries on the Laws of England place Him at the Head of English Writers.

In answer to any Observations on the confined Distribution of the Bill, it seems sufficient to say that it is an unfinish'd Work not intended yet for Publication—The Matter is too complex to be brought to any degree of Perfection except by continued Attention and repeated Alterations. It is not therefore proposed to carry it through the two Houses of Parliament in the present Session unless it should be found absolutely necessary; but the public Observation will be drawn to it by some essential Enquiries which will be made

239. ¹ B.M. II: 171–172. Autograph. Docketed by Jeremy Bentham: '1778 March 27th / W. Eden Downing Strt. to I.B. Linc. Inn / Explains his Preface to Hard-labour Bill.'

in the House of Commons; and the Result of the whole with the Bill will be printed and circulated for consideration during the Recess.

The Expression—‘not disposed to propose or promote novelties etc.’ was merely meant to disavow that busy interference with establish’d Systems, which except on occasions of necessity like the present is oftener productive of Confusion than Benefit.

The other Expression ‘He has found it indeed possible to point out etc.’ alludes to a work entitled *Principles of Penal Law*, and the subsequent Passage was intended to apologize for not having urged the Reformation of our Laws pointed out in that work.

Mr. Eden once more returns thanks to Mr. Bentham for his Politness—and is sorry to write this Note with so much haste as to leave it hardly legible.

240

JEREMY BENTHAM TO WILLIAM EDEN¹

28 March 1778 (Aet 30)

[*Not sent*]

Mr. Bentham returns Compliments to Mr. Eden—Mr. Bentham would be happy in communicating to the public the satisfaction he has had the honour of receiving, with respect to the only two passages in the Preface in question that occasioned the least pause in those sentiments of admiration which he took so much pleasure in avowing. Mr. Bentham takes it almost for granted that Mr. Eden would have no objection to the publication of the above answer as the strictures to which it is an answer are to be made public, and as, Mr. Bentham, not having the honour of a personal acquaintance with Mr. Eden, has no title any otherwise than as one of the public to receive any such explanation. Mr. Bentham is however too sensible of the impropriety and indelicacy of publishing private correspondence in which perhaps a degree of confidence may have been reposed, to proceed upon mere presumptions and without some more express permission. He will therefore wait till to morrow is over before he sends Mr. Eden’s note to the press. He is however too sensible of the value of Mr. Eden’s time at all junctures, but particularly the present, to request an answer in both events.

240. ¹ B.M. II: 173–174. Autograph. Docketed by Jeremy Bentham: ‘1778 March 28 / I.B. Linc. Inn to W. Eden Downing Street / Proposing to publish E.’s note—Not Sent.’

Silence will be taken for acquiescence. A single 'No' on the back of this note (but it must be an explicit one) will answer every purpose of refusal.

Mr. Bentham, averse to the idea of taking Mr. Eden in any shape by surprize, encloses a copy of Mr. Eden's note. His sending a copy and not the original is merely in order to save putting Mr. Eden the trouble of sending a message at all events. Mr. Eden may at any time remand the original if he wishes it.

Mr. Bentham did indeed find some difficulty in reading the note: but is apt to think that the haste with which any thing may have fallen from Mr. Eden's pen will not be a reason for confining the circulation of it with any one but Mr. Eden.

With regard to the notion that Mr. Bentham's preface might upon the whole or indeed by any part of it when explained by the context, tend to give an unfavourable impression of Mr. Eden's, he wishes it to be understood that his own opinion is quite contrary. When Mr. Bentham's friend started such a notion, it was and still is to him, Mr. Bentham, a matter of surprize.

241

TO WILLIAM EDEN¹

5 April 1778 (Aet 30)

Note sent with a printed copy of A View of the Hard-labour Bill

Mr. Bentham presents Compliments to Mr. Eden, and begs his acceptance of a Copy of A View of the Hard-Labour Bill.

If Mr. Eden should ever happen to have leisure to cast an eye over the Preface, and recollects how it stood in the Ms he will find some considerable omissions made in the printed copy in consequence of the explanations he did Mr. Bentham the honour to enter into, together with some additions and alterations that are of little consequence.

Lincoln's Inn April 5th 1778.

241. ¹ B.M. II: 170. Autograph Copy. Docketed by Jeremy Bentham: 'Apr. 5 / A 2d. note with the printed copy.'

242

TO JEREMIAH BENTHAM¹

10 April 1778 (Aet 30)

Hond. Sir

I wish to have an opportunity of seeing you with all possible expedition, to consult about an offer just made me which must be decided on immediately. It may come to nothing before I have an opportunity of hearing from you. If so, I will immediately let you know. If you hear nothing to the contrary at the same time that you receive this, pray dispatch a messenger instantly that I may wait on you: or if you prefer calling on me at my chambers, do so, but then let me know of it unless you come away immediately,

¼ after 1

Friday 10 April 1778.

243

TO JEREMIAH BENTHAM¹

12 April 1778 (Aet 30)

Sunday morn. 8.

Hond. Sir

I am to this instant altogether in the dark.

Yesterday about 12 I sent a letter from Lind to Johnstone² at his

242. ¹ B.M. II: 175–6. Autograph. Docketed by Jeremiah Bentham: 'Fils Jeremy Lr. datd. 10 April 1778.'

Addressed: 'Jeremiah Bentham Esqr. / *with care.*'

For the nature of the 'offer' here discussed see letter 243, n. 2.

243. ¹ B.M. II: 177. Autograph. Docketed by Jeremiah Bentham: 'Fils Jeremy / Lr. datd. Lincoln's Inn / Sunday morn. / 12 April 1778.'

² Soon after this three peace commissioners were dispatched to treat with the American Congress. The terms they proposed included relinquishment of Britain's right to tax the colonies, and recognition of the American Congress, while the regulation of trade and the military command were to remain a British responsibility. The Commissioners were Lord Carlisle, George Johnstone, and William Eden. Their efforts were of course unsuccessful.

George Johnstone (1730–87), a naval officer and member of Parliament, had been Governor of West Florida from its cession by Spain in 1763 until 1767. As an M.P. he was peculiarly abusive towards the Government's opponents. He fought several duels in the course of his life. Johnstone had to retire from the peace commission as the Americans refused to negotiate with him after he had made secret proposals to one of them.

Johnstone had been much impressed by Bentham's *Fragment on Government*. Bentham, who heard this from Lind, hoped that on the strength of it he might be taken to America by Johnstone as his assistant. Johnstone was approached by

house in Kensington-Gore, telling him that I was to be at Adam's³ Chesterfield Street from 4 till 7 so that if he had any thing to say to me within that time he might to save time send to me at that place: telling him likewise that if they went so soon as Monday it would 'scarcely' be in my power to go at any rate—J. was not at home—Since then I have not heard a syllable.

Adam told me that Storer⁴ told him on Friday they were certainly to go on Monday—Whether Ferguson⁵ was come he could not tell—I asked him without telling him of the interest I had in the question. This long silence compared with the extraordinary eagerness he testified to Lind is singular enough. Last night I made Lind repeat to me the conversation which contained some remarkable words. I have my hypotheses about the matter but these it is of no use to mention as it must be cleared up some how or other tomorrow.

Adieu. I must return again without loss of time that I may be in the way.

244

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

27 April 1778 (Aet 30)

This same post brought three letters from Yorkshire to the effect I wished. Macaulay² I think I told you was out of town: he is expected to morrow.

Lind. He told him that he had already offered to take Professor Ferguson of Edinburgh (cf. n. 5 below), and a certain barrister, but that if either Ferguson or the barrister could not come he would take Bentham. In the event he left for America with Ferguson, without ever bothering to get into touch with Bentham again (see letter 248, and Bowring, x, 64).

³ William Adam, (1751–1839), barrister of Lincoln's Inn and M.P. for Gatton (see letter 201, n. 10).

⁴ Anthony Morris Storer (1746–99), a man of fashion and later a passionate collector, was then M.P. for Carlisle under the patronage of Lord Carlisle. He accompanied Lord Carlisle on the Peace Commission to America.

⁵ Adam Ferguson (1723–1816), Professor of Natural Philosophy, Edinburgh University, 1759–64, and thereafter of Moral Philosophy and, nominally Mathematics; author of *An Essay on the History of Civil Society*, Edinburgh, 1767.

244. ¹ B.M. II: 178–179. Autograph.

Addressed: 'Mr. Bentham / at his Majesty's Dock Yard / near Rochester.' Postmark: '27 AP'.

Bentham has used the other side of a letter directed to Samuel at Lincoln's Inn. This letter is dated 'Portsmouth. Saturday morn', and also bears the postmark '27 AP'. It is signed by initials, perhaps 'J.P.' and states the writer's expenses in travelling from Westminster to Kingston. It asks Samuel to try to get 'them' to reimburse the money. He mentions that the King will be at Portsmouth for a week from next Saturday. Bentham has combined the forwarding of this letter with writing to Samuel himself.

² Bentham's Yorkshire friend Macaulay was evidently (see letter 293) a son of

Mair³ the Russian Merchant that Wilson went to was not in town: he was expected as to night. Wilson will send to morrow to desire to hear when he comes to town.

I may possibly be with you on Wednesday—but do not absolutely depend on me.

Monday April 27. 1778.

Love to Mrs. D.

245

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

29 April 1778 (Aet 30)

Lind is in the country and will not be in town this week—If he has any acquaintance at all with Sr. J. Lindsay² it must be a very faint one: nor has he any way of coming at him but through Lord Mansfield, which is none at all. Therefore think no more of that project, which on other accounts is a chimerical one—Why won't the Formidable do?³ What should make you in a hurry? I shall endeavour to get your letter away from Lind before he sees it—Your things are sent to night.

As you are not going to leave Chatham in a hurry, there is no need of my being in any violent hurry to go there. I shall certainly

the Aulay Macaulay who wrote *The new shorthand, or art of swift writing. With a large specimen thereof, containing the morning and evening prayers, as made use of in Churches etc.*, Manchester, [1760?] and of another similar work. Nothing much further is known of him. His travels and his friendship with the Dutch merchant Strachan (see letter 322, n. 1) suggests that he was a merchant. Possibly he was a brother of the Kenneth Macaulay, a Scotch minister, whom Dr Johnson and Boswell met on their tour of the Hebrides, and whose father (likewise a minister) was an Aulay Macaulay (1673–1758), but this is doubtful.

³ This merchant is mentioned several times in the correspondence. When Samuel went on his travels he carried a letter of introduction from Mair to Francis Melville Esq. of Amsterdam (B.M. XXI: 4). Mair had a house in Cloak Lane, Dowgate-Hill (see letter 365). He may perhaps be identified with Christian Paul Meyer (d. 1790) of Old London Street, partner in Grote and Company, Hamburg merchants (*Gentleman's Magazine* lx, 378).

245. ¹ B.M. II: 180. Autograph.

Addressed: 'Mr. Bentham / at the King's Dock Yard / near Rochester.' Postmark: '29 AP'.

² Sir John Lindsay (1737–88) a distinguished naval officer, one time commander in chief in the East Indies, was a nephew of Lord Mansfield. In 1778 he was captain of the *Prince George* in Admiral Keppel's fleet.

³ The *Formidable* (90 guns) was the flagship of Vice-Admiral Sir Hugh Palliser, second in command, under Admiral Keppel, of the fleet in the action off Ushant (27 July 1778). Her captain was John Bazely, who is mentioned later in the correspondence. It seems that Samuel was anxious to be on board a ship in action, and hoped that he might be taken on the *Formidable*.

not be with you before Saturday: probably not till Monday. By staying till that time I shall be able to dispatch all my letters; and have my business done, ~~and my mind at ease~~ Wilson is looking over me and saying 'poor mind'—which has determined me to scratch out the last part of the last sentence—there—there's enough of it.

I shall bring the first draught of my letter to Foster⁴ for your worship to see—I shall get a speedy conveyance for my packet without difficulty—I—that is Wilson will for me—This Wilson is an useful kind of an animal upon occasion—he is looking over as grave as a goose—

April 29th 1778

Wednesday

Dr. Mulford called on me yesterday; but was driven away by Q.S.P. who kept the field.

246

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

30 April 1778 (Aet 30)

April 30th. 1778

The Horse is come—If you hear nothing from me to the contrary I shall be with you on Sunday.

The things went to the Wharf but could not get admittance—They will be sent again next Wednesday. I have the Keys of the Box that by this time I hope is come by the Coach—you must either do without opening it till I come, or take off the lid, which I apprehend will be no difficult matter.

Greenhough² has not yet been with me.

⁴ See letter 248.

246. ¹ B.M. II: 181–182. Autograph.

Addressed: 'Mr. Bentham / King's Dock Yard / Rochester.' Postmark: '30 . . .'

² Unidentified.

247

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

2 May 1778 (Aet 30)

Saturday May 2d. 1778

I shall hardly be with you tomorrow—reasons I shall give you when we meet.

But I shall be with you on Monday, unless something unforeseen should happen.

248

TO THE REV. JOHN FORSTER¹

April/May 1778 (Aet 30)

Letter to Forster Petersburg

Dear Sir

A few years ago you may remember I used to talk with you about a project I had formed of trying to penetrate into the interior parts of South America: hoping that what little I had picked up of Botany and Chymistry and other branches of Natural

247. ¹ B.M. II: 183. Autograph.

Addressed: 'Mr. Bentham / King's Dock Yard / near Rochester.' Postmark: '2 MA'.

248. ¹ U.C. CLXIX. 104–110. Autograph draft.

We do not know to what extent the letter actually sent to Forster, to which he replied in letter 296, corresponds to this draft, which was placed by Bentham in a folder marked: 'Legislaturientes epistolae, Brouillons unsend, 1774? to 1784?'.

The three commissioners to America, referred to in this letter as having just set out, departed in April 1778. This and other references in the draft suggest April or early May as its date.

The Rev. John Forster (or Foster) was chaplain to the so-called Duchess of Kingston. He is styled by Bentham 'a sort of atheistic parson'. (See Bowring, x, 67. Cf. also letter 7, n. 1 and letter 138 at n. 23.)

Elizabeth Chudleigh (1720–88) had been a great beauty. She lived a somewhat scandalous life in Court society. In 1769 she married the Duke of Kingston, who died in 1773, leaving her a handsome fortune. However in 1776 it was established in a trial before the House of Lords that in 1744 she had been secretly married to the Hon. Augustus Hervey, who was now Earl of Bristol. A child of the marriage had died. The Earl of Bristol had instituted the case as a preliminary to obtaining a divorce, but he did not follow it up. She continued to call herself the Duchess of Kingston, and travelled on the continent. In 1777 she settled for a time in St Petersburg where she was well received by the Empress. There she set up a manufactory of brandy. She died in Paris in 1788.

knowledge [*sic*] might enable me perhaps to be of service to mankind by exploring the productions of those fertile and untrodden regions. If I recollect aright it was partly (the consciousness of) the weakness of my constitution, partly the instruction I gather'd from Helvetius,² that gradually weaned me from that idea. From him I got a standard to measure the relative importance of the several pursuits a man might be engaged in: and the result of it was that the way of all others in which a man might be of most service to his fellow creatures was by making improvement in the science which I had been engaged to study by profession. I had indeed gone but a little way in (that study) it before I began to take more pleasure in the idea of seeing its imperfections remedied, than in that of converting them to profit: for the defects of the science are you know the patrimony of the profession. That illustrious philosopher (whose principles however I am very far from adopting without distinction) at the same time that he suggested incentives, furnished me with instruments, for making the attempt. From him I learnt to look upon the tendency of any institution or pursuit to promote the happiness of society as the sole test and measure of its merit: and to (rest all my ideas /every idea/ of right and wrong upon the single basis of utility) regard the principle of utility as an oracle which if properly consulted would afford the only true solution that could be given to every question of right and wrong. Much about the same time M. Beccaria's book of crimes and punishments,³ and the Empress of Russia's instructions for a Code of Laws,⁴ gave me fresh incentives and afforded me further lights.

It was much about that time, my good old friend, that I ceased to have the pleasure of seeing you so often as for two or three

² The two major works of the French philosopher Claude Adrien Helvétius (1715–1771) were *De l'esprit* (1758) and *De l'homme*, published posthumously in 1772.

³ The *Dei delitti e delle pene* (1764) of Cesare Beccaria (1738–94), the Milanese marquis, was first translated into English (anonymously) in 1768, together with Voltaire's *Commentary* on it. It had already been translated into French by the Abbé Morellet.

⁴ In August 1767 there assembled in Moscow delegates from all over the Russian dominions who were to draft a new code of law. To them Catherine presented her *Instructions to the Commissioners for composing a New Code of Laws*. They were to be read once a month at their meetings to remind them of the basic principles which should govern their work. The Committee sat for seven years, but its task was not performed.

In 1768 an English translation by Mikhail Tatischev was published. In 1769 the translation was followed by *A description of the manner in which the Commission for establishing a New Code of Laws, was opened at Moscow on Friday the Third Day of August, 1767. Translated from the Russian Language by Michael Tatischeff, a Russian Gentleman*.

years before I had been used to do. From what cause I cannot precisely tell: but I think it was rather my misfortune than my fault. Perhaps you thought that having abandoned a pursuit I appeared to have set my heart upon I was grown torpid and had given myself up to indolence. If so, you very much mistook me: I was working hard, though in a manner underground, and without producing any apparent fruits: for I was working deep. I was engaged in a set of speculations which insensibly led me into the formation of a plan for (a general reform in Jurisprudence.) determining upon fixed principles (what ought to be the Law) the best Laws under every head of Jurisprudence. I have now settled my leading principles: I have advanced some way in the execution of my design: and see I think with tolerable clearness through the whole of it: the completion of it will be the business of my life. I keep in view all along the Jurisprudence of all nations: applying the principles however as you may imagine, more particularly to that of my own. For about a year and a half I have been employ'd principally in writing a Theory of Punishment which I hope to (be able to) send to the press in the course of two or three months. It will form a middle sized Volume in 4to. I have likewise formed the plan and advanced a little way in the execution of a Treatise on Offences: in which by the help of the principles laid down in my book on punishments I shall comprize the text of a Code of Criminal Law (in as far as it applies) in as far as relates to such heads as apply to the circumstances of all countries and governments alike.

About 6 weeks ago a draught of a Bill fell into my hands, for changing the punishment of Transportation into Hard-labour, to be performed in Houses which it proposes to establish for that purpose throughout England. The Bill I understood to be the composition of Mr. Eden, Author of the Principles of Penal Law, Under Secretary of State under Lord Suffolk, a Lord of Trade, and who within these few days is gone out one of the 3 Commissioners to America. The proposal of a measure which like this came within the plan of my book on punishments was an occasion I thought not to be neglected, of trying whether my speculations were likely to be of use. The Bill had been already announced by the Judges in their circuits; and as I understood was intended to be brought into Parliament in the course of the present Session. Having no time to lose, I put together a few thoughts on the subject which in the compass of little more than three weeks I made up in to a Pamphlet intitled A View of the Hard-labour Bill. It has been out about a fortnight.

Among the friends to whom I meant to distribute copies I naturally turned my thoughts to you. I had heard from my father of your being at Petersburg with the Dutchess of Kingston. I accordingly called yesterday on Mr. Tatischev⁵ to enquire of him about the method of conveyance. Mr Tatischev was not at home: he poor man is in a very indifferent state of health, and has been in the country for three or four months. But I saw Mr. Lister,⁶ and was agreeably surprized to hear of your having discarded your old mistress, and taken to a better.⁷

You are a happy man at your time of life to find favour, I will not say with such ladies, (I might as well content myself with saying) but with such a lady. Were she in England, and of a rank no higher than my own, I might beg the favour of you to introduce me to her or at least to introduce my manuscript, that I might have the benefit of her (advice upon it before I sent it to the press) opinion upon it. She (forgive the vanity of authorship) she, I say, to consider her only in the light of a philosopher, is one of the very few in whom I /should/ hope to find a taste to relish my design, and a capacity to sit in judgement over the execution. As it is (thanks to her encouraging hand and informing spirit) there are other more accessible personages I imagine in the country which is now yours, who might have a curiosity to see /work on such a subject/ a plan of such a kind undertaken by an Englishman. Mr. *Betski*⁸ from the mention I have seen made of his name in the Dutch Gazettes on a variety of occasions that do him honour, would I should flatter myself be of the number. The intelligent and public-spirited persons certainly would, whoever they are, who if one may depend upon the Leyden Gazette of 21 Jany. 1774 in the name of the Government of Moscow gave public invitations at that time to Jurists to study a list of questions there exhibited from Beccaria, relative to the subject of criminal Jurisprudence. To several of these questions my book on Punishments will in some sort afford an answer.

⁵ Bentham had been introduced by Forster to two Russian brothers called Tatischev, sometime in the late 1760's. They were both ardent admirers of the Empress Catherine and perhaps helped arouse in Bentham an eagerness to serve her as codifier (see Bowring, x, 67, 181, also letter 79 at n. 6). One of them was presumably Mikhail Tatischev (cf. n. 4, above).

⁶ Unidentified.

⁷ Forster's reply (letter 296) indicates that he had refused to leave Russia with the Duchess. Meanwhile it seems that he took service under the Empress, for it is she, surely, whose opinion on his work Bentham says he would value so much.

⁸ President of the Russian Academy and 'at the head of every Institution relative to Science and Literature', as we learn from Forster's reply (letter 296).

I have accordingly taken the liberty of sending you a few sheets in Manuscript to serve as a kind of Prospectus of that work. I would wish you however not by any means to look upon it as a finished analysis, for one must have all one's materials in the condition in which they are to stand, before one can compleatly abstract and arrange them. Malheur to that work, if it be of an original and didactic nature which is written after a predetermined plan, without leaving room for any alterations that may be suggested by the details. I have added an Essay on Imprisonment for Debt,⁹ which may serve as an illustration of my principles and by way of specimen of the work. To this Essay as well as to the Prospectus I have given all the conciseness in my power, designing them for that class of readers who have most penetration and least leisure. You will give them what degree of circulation you think proper.

The little pamphlet above mentioned is not the first occasion of my appearing in print. About this time two years (ago), by way of paving the way for the reception of my plans of reformation, I published under the title of a Fragment on Government an attack upon Sr. W. Blackstone, whose Commentaries valuable as they are in other respects I could not help looking upon (for reasons that I have given) as a most powerful obstacle to the reception of any such plan in England. It was an 8vo. of about 250 pages. The book (which I thought it not decent to set my name to, nor prudent at the outset at least to avow it, has met with some success. It has been attributed to 5 or 6 of our first-rate geniuses. To Lord Mansfield, Lord Camden, Mr. Dunning, Mr. Gibbon author of the History of the decline of the Roman Empire; Mr. Lind, author of the Letters on the state of Poland, the Remarks on the Acts of the 13th Parliament, and the Answer to the Declaration of the Congress. Dictionary Johnson was sure of it's being Dunning's. Others who were more in the secret knew it to be the joint production of Dunning and Lord Camden. Lord Mansfield intimated to two or three persons a wish to become acquainted with the Author, but the Author thought that honour premature. Mr. Pulteney known to the great world by being the Inheritor of the Bath estate, and now within these few weeks to the world of letters by having written a very sensible pamphlet on the American troubles¹⁰ went to one of

⁹ Appendix B to *Introductory View of the Rationale of Evidence*, in Bowring vi, 176–183 is entitled: 'Of Imprisonment for Debt.' Possibly it is based on the work here mentioned.

¹⁰ Cf. letter 190, n. 1. The pamphlet was *Thoughts on the present state of affairs with America and the means of conciliation*, 1778. Reviewed in *Gentleman's Magazine*, March 1778. William Pulteney was brother of Governor Johnstone, another enthusiast for the *Fragment* mentioned below.

the Booksellers to ask who was the Author: for he wanted to give him a Brief. The Author's answer was respectful but short: 'that he took no briefs.' Lord North I find has read it and approves of it. As far as I can learn almost every body approves of it, the warmth excepted, which almost every body condemns. The warmth ought to be attributed to the zeal of a young man, in behalf of a favourite object, which every one I suppose will allow to be the first within the sphere of man's pursuit. I beg pardon, I almost forgot I was writing to a Divine. I mean of temporal objects. How blameable soever may have been the *temper* manifested in it, the *motives* are such as I have no reason to be ashamed of: they are not of a personal nor so much as of a party nature: On any other account than what I have mentioned I never have had nor so much as imagined myself to have the least ground of complaint against Sr. William. He has lately published a new edition (of the Commentaries) in which he has made several alterations, though with but an indifferent grace in consequence of my book, which he has glanced at in an angry Postscript to his Preface.¹¹ He told Lord Mansfield that he knew of what country I was, by my Scotticisms: and what is more, that I was a Dr. Gilbert Stewart.¹² It seems as if the Fragment has had some of the effect I intended it to have: for since the publication of it, Lord Mansfield has talked of Sir W. to a friend of mine under the name of poor Blackstone, and lamented that so much excellent matter as he was pleased to say, there is in my book, should be in a manner thrown away on such a subject. If I can find opportunity, I will send you three or 4 copies of it, as likewise of the View of the Hard-labour Bill which (keeping one of each for yourself) you will dispose of as you please.

In consequence of the latter Sr. William has been extraordinarily civil to me. I sent copies to all the Judges: and to him as one of them. Upon that he sent me a note in which after a few thanks and epithets of commendation he told me that some of my observations (he believed) had already occurred to the patrons of the Bill, and

¹¹ There is no actual reference to the *Fragment* in this short postscript which first appeared in the 8th edition (1778). Blackstone remarks that the work has been 'vehemently attacked by zealots of all (even opposite) denominations, religious as well as civil; by some with a greater, by others with a less, degree of acrimony.' He has retracted in some places, but where 'he thought the objections ill founded, he hath left the book to defend itself'. Bentham is doubtless right that the author of the *Fragment* was one of the main persons intended.

¹² Gilbert Stuart (1742–86), author and reviewer. In 1768 he published *Historical Dissertation on the Antiquity of the English Constitution*. In 1773 he founded the *Edinburgh Magazine and Review* which lasted for three years. His reviews in this and other periodicals were of a peculiar virulence. Cf. also letter 267 at n. 10.

many more well deserved their attention. Mr. Eden had informed me that Sir W. himself had a principal hand in it.

I have now done with satire: my last pamphlet you will see is written in a very different strain and it gave me real pleasure to have to do with a work which I could applaud with so good a conscience. The notion of Mr. Eden's being the author I took at first only from uncertain conjecture: he had sent copies of it to his friends without avowing himself: but he has since avowed himself to me.

I thought myself within an ace t'other day of being of his party to America. Governor Johnstone, who is another of the Commissioners, I had heard was very fond of the Fragment, and used to carry it about with him in his pocket. A few days before they set out I happened to hear of his having written to Professor Ferguson of Edinburgh, author of the *Essay on Civil Society*,¹³ to ask him to go with him on that expedition, not I believe in the official capacity of a Secretary, but as a friend, for the sake of company and advice. Storer, who is in Parliament I heard at the same time was to go on the same footing with Lord Carlisle. The warning was so short, that it appeared probable that Ferguson might not have time enough before him to enable him to accept the offer. It occurred to me in the instant that if he should not, it might not be impossible that the Governor as he seemed to have taken such a liking to my writings (indeed I should have told you he had asked a friend of mine to make him acquainted with me) might be willing to take *me*. The company I thought would be agreeable, the sea voyage would be of service to my health, and the object of the expedition might give me a little practise in public business. I therefore went immediately to a friend of mine¹⁴ who is intimate with Johnstone, to whom he proposed it without loss of time. Johnstone's answer was so flattering to me, (though I have never heard him spoken of as a man of compliments) that were it not for what follow'd, it would hardly be decent for me to mention it. He said if he could but get me, he should think he had got a treasure: thanked my friend for mentioning it, but chid him for not mentioning it before: regretted he had sent for Ferguson, and that it was too late to countermand him: but said that he was to have two gentlemen with him, the other a Barrister of our Inn who had been recommended to him by his Brother Pulteney (Pulteney you know was originally a Johnstone, and took his name for the Bath estate) that he would take

¹³ Cf. letter 243, n. 5.

¹⁴ John Lind (see letter 243, n. 2).

me in either of two events: If Ferguson did not come at the time expected, or if Mr. Pulteney could be prevailed on to let him off with respect to the other gentleman: observed that he (Johnstone) was under great obligations to his brother, that he was dependent on him, and therefore that if he should peremptorily refuse to let him off there was no remedy. For he was so circumstanced that it was necessary for him not to quarrel with his brother. '*rompre en visière*' was the expression: for being so remarkable an one, I put it again and again to my friend to tell me whether it was really the one he used. He concluded with saying that he would go and talk with his brother that instant, and would immediately acquaint my friend with the result. This was on the Friday: the Commissioners set off for Portsmouth the Tuesday after. Would not you have imagined that some sort of apology or at least some answer would have been made to me? Not a syllable have my friend or I heard from Johnstone to this hour. My friend was highly exasperated, while as yet there was nothing to complain of but delay; He wrote him a note in pretty peremptory language which was sent, but, as it proved, too late to reach him. To love mankind, says Helvetius, one should expect but little of them. I do expect but little of them, and am therefore seldom disappointed, and never vehemently.

Mr Howard's Book on Prisons¹⁵ that I have so often mentioned in my View of the Hard-labour Bill, have you got it at Petersburg? I hope you have and that by this time that intelligent and indefatigable friend to the distressed may number the Empress among his admirers. You certainly must have heard of him before you went, on the occasion of the extraordinary tours he took all over England, and a considerable part of the continent, merely for the purpose of inspecting the state of the prisons, in order to

¹⁵ John Howard (1726–90) had published his *The State of the prisons in England and Wales* in 1777.

Howard, who inherited a considerable property from his father, a merchant, led a secluded life in Cardington near Bedford, devoted to meteorological observations. In 1773 however he became high sheriff of Bedford, and visited the local gaol. He was horrified to find prisoners who had been acquitted by the court, but who were constrained by the gaoler because they could not pay his fees. He sought to put the gaoler on a salary from the county, so that his fees might be abolished, but was told that there was no precedent for this. Hoping to find one he travelled round the kingdom visiting numerous gaols. He did not find a precedent, but gained a detailed knowledge of the terrible state of the prisons. In 1774 he gave evidence before a committee of the House of Commons and some reforming legislation followed. The remainder of his life was spent in investigations of the prisons and lazarettos in Europe and Russia, bravely exposing himself to the plague. His researches awoke the public conscience in England. The Hard Labour Bill was one, as it turned out abortive, result of his endeavours (cf. letter 238, n. 1).

suggest improvements in that branch of the police. I had not the least personal acquaintance with him: but he paid me a visit t'other day of his own accord, on occasion of the View of the Hard-labour Bill and told me he was just going to set out on another tour to compleat his plan: I do not remember all the places he told me he proposed to visit: but the Prussian and Austrian Dominions were among them. When he was visiting the prison at Mentz upon a former tour, he found a gentleman from the King of Prussia upon the same errand. The prison of Mentz had got a name it seems for the good regimen observed in it. I wish your Empress who takes so much delight in singular and meritorious characters, would invite him to Petersburgh, and if he comes, or even if he does not come, shew him some mark of favour. He is a country gentleman of handsome fortune, and but for an electioneering quirk of the Ministry would have kept his seat for Bedford in the last Election. He is, I believe, take him for all in all, one of the most extraordinary men this age can shew. For these 4 or 5 years past he has devoted the whole of his time to this one object: while upon his travels he draws a hundred pounds a month. His own private affairs he says suffer for it a little: but this he does not mind: he is a widower with only one child, who is very well provided for from other quarters. He has a constitution as irony as your own, yet observes a severity of regimen to which happily you have no need to subject yourself. While upon his travels he allows himself every *other* night for sleeping. He breakfasts on tea and bread and butter, eats no dinner, and sups on milk and vegetables. Fermented liquors he drinks none. With all this his complexion is florid and his frame robust. He fears no contagion: he has been in many a gaol so pestilential, that the Gaoler himself has not set foot in it for months. He is no crack brained enthusiast: the qualities of his head are scarcely inferior to those of his heart. His book is a model for method and for the sort of stile that is competent to his subject. He carries his plan with him in his head. He is set down at the door of a prison, makes enquiries under a certain number of heads which exhaust the subject, does his business and drives off again to another. His thoughts, his conversation, his writings are confined to this one object. Prospects, palaces and pictures he passes by with an indifference equal to that of the Cynic and much better grounded. He is so well known now among the class of people he has to deal with, that his name flies every where before him. Honest Gaolers receive him with open arms: dishonest (ones) tremble at his approach. He renders both sorts alike pliant to his purpose: the

one by their hopes, the other by their fears. His discourse is fluent and ready: his eye piercing. Practise has made him familiar with all their arts and all their ways: when he has addressed himself to any of them for the first time he has commonly been taken for a brother of the profession. He has at length acquired such a command over them, that in his last tour (for he has gone over England more than once) he has never been denied satisfaction in any single article. I understood as much from what he said: and his book is a proof of it. He is accurate to an extreme: takes nothing from report: and asserts nothing but what has come under the cognizance of his senses.

A year or two ago he received the thanks of the House of Commons. A friend of mine an Alderman of London intends to move to present him with the freedom of the City¹⁶: and has applied to me to draw up the motion. The task is on some accounts a pleasing one: but I wish it were in the hands of somebody that could perform it better: I am a sad hand at common-places.

From all this rhapsody you would be apt to infer that I fancied myself a great man. The fact is, I live in the same dirty chambers, and am as poor as when you knew me. Law-mending *sine privilegio* is a sad trade for a man to thrive by: there are few to practise it but still fewer to encourage it. And then the apprenticeship is so long! If a man does not get pointed out as an idiot, or knocked on the head as a nuisance he may think himself well off. No matter—though I must sleep every night, I can live upon a deal board as well as Mr Howard.¹⁷ I have no idea of repining at my condition. I am so content with it, that I believe this is the first time I ever thought it worth while to say so. Not that I should have any objection to changing it for a better. For the first year or two after my being called to the Bar I had a little practice. When these projects came into my head, I insensibly withdrew myself from business. When I had mustered up courage enough, to face my father, I quitted[?] the mask, and took leave of my clients to the great discomposure of my said father. Since then comes now and then a stragling client who has not heard of my resolutions: in the French sense of the word I thank them all. Such as I am I have given myself to the Public: I never will sell myself to individuals.

¹⁶ Doubtless Richard Clark. We have not found it recorded that the freedom of the city was presented to Howard.

¹⁷ There follow these words which have been crossed out: 'Adieu my old friend a letter from you considering who you are, and where you are, would have its value.' Clearly the letter was going to finish there. What follows is in pencil until the words 'a considerable store'.

Why should I? Mr Howard is sacrificing his time, his security, and his fortune. Fortune I have none: the sacrifice of my security is not at stake: why should I grudge to sacrifice my time? Mr Howard and the public honour he has met with, are of more use to me than you would imagine to prove to my friends that I am not crazy.

You remember my Brother, the Shipwright¹⁸—in August last he was out of his time. In Jany. last he came of age. During the course of his apprenticeship he has let slip no opportunity of making himself acquainted with his art. He has employ'd himself constantly and assiduously in observing how it is practised: having engaged in it from liking in preference to other employments which afforded a better prospect in point of gain. His great crime, I was going to say, but to speak seriously, his misfortune has been that instead of employing himself exclusively in handling the axe and hammer, he has been employing himself chiefly in studying the rationale of the art, and planning improvements. Of these, or what he looks upon as such he has collected a considerable store.

To other day upon the apprehension of a war an additional Surveyor was appointed. This made vacancies in some of the inferior places in the Dock Yard. I thought this a good opportunity of trying whether some thing could be done for him. My father had no means of coming at any body. I know none of the 6 Lords of the Admiralty board myself: but I got friends to speak to three of the six in his favour. The answer of all three was that the places in question are not in the Department of the Admiralty board, but of the Navy board. He has been several times to Lord Mulgrave (Constantine Phipps that was),¹⁹ who perhaps you may know is one of them, with his papers in his hands. Ld. Mulgrave, (who is a Captain in the Navy and was in daily expectation of being called out to service) had not time to look at any of his papers /beyond the tiller/: but was kind enough to speak in his favour to Ld. Sandwich. Ld. Sandwich's answer was to the same effect: that the places did not lie in the Department of the Admiralty board. What every body is agreed about is that the places would have been within the Department of the Admiralty board if Sam had been a freeholder of Huntingdon. Ld. Mulgrave of his own accord gave my brother permission to make use of his name to any of the Commissioners of the Navy Board. He waited accordingly upon some of them, though without any hopes, as knowing them of old.

¹⁸ In margin: 'P. 22, 23, 17, 100, 104.' The present page is numbered '15' and the letter ends on page 27.

¹⁹ Cf. letter 237, n. 1.

My brother when he was about 15 or 16 had offer'd *his* model of a Ship's Pump for their inspection, soon after the late Captain Bentinck²⁰ had offer'd a model of a Machine of his invention for the same purpose. Captn. Bentincks had been already order'd for trial. Capt: Bentinck besides was really a man of merit, but what was much more to the purpose an officer of rank in the Navy and of the Portland family. The Board upon being hard pressed, at last gave my Brother an answer, importing that they looked upon the Captain's as superior. But Sr. J. Williams²¹ the surveyor who is one of them told my Brother privately it was no such thing. That they looked upon his as the best, but they had already had a great deal of trouble about Pumps, and if it were adopted, the Captains would not be easy without having them which would cause more trouble still. When the Commissioners in their visitation have been going by the door of a man who had an improvement to offer, Mr. Gray, my Brother's late master has asked them to go in and look at it and they have refused. All this proceeds from mere indolence and stupidity: nor had any thing to do with any personal or party pique. Mr. Gray was popular among them: my brother not obnoxious. One instance I think I have heard and that but one, where a proposal for an improvement made by a man without interest was attended to. The man offer'd a machine for tarring rope-yarn which he said would gain in time and purchase both. This proposal the Navy board accepted: and referred it to the Officers of the Chatham Dock Yard. A meeting was called. Sam who was present at it (he was then about 17 or 18) saw immediately that the project would not do: and upon giving his reasons which were perfectly satisfactory to all of them this proposal was rejected.

From the Navy board therefore he knew he had nothing to expect. Their rules were against him: and their prejudices still more. With the permission of his superiors, (the Commissioners of the Navy board included) he had employ'd himself only occasionally in working alongside, (upon particular parts of the Ships). He had employ'd himself at other times in going all over the ship, taking minutes, and putting questions to every body that would answer him: at other times in studying the rationale of the art in books together with the sciences on which it depends. This is against all rule. Consequently nothing is so rare as to hear of any improvement made in Ship-building by English Shipbuilders in the King's

²⁰ John Albert Bentinck (1737–75), Count of the Holy Roman Empire, grandson of the first Earl of Portland and father of Vice-Admiral William Bentinck (1764–1813).

²¹ Surveyor of the Navy: cf. letter 131, n. 8.

service. Those that have been adopted have been made either by volunteers from other professions or by Frenchmen. We take their ships and then copy them. Except one German or if you please one Russian, I mean Euler,²² and one Spaniard, Don Jorge Juan or Don Antonio de Ulloa²³ I forget which whatever has been done in the rationale of the art within the present century has been done by Frenchmen.

Sam however went with his papers in hand, to the Surveyor. He reminded him of his former favours: spoke of Ld. Mulgrave: mentioned Shipwrights of whose instructions he had had the benefit and who would speak to his qualifications: offer'd his papers for inspection: offer'd himself for examination upon any points that any body should think proper. The surveyor was civil to him as formerly: but told him in these very words, that 'if he had the abilities of an Angel, they would be of no use to him.'

With abilities not quite equal to those of an Angel, he would be glad to have employment, if he could get it anywhere with some liberty and some opportunity to exercise his invention. For one of his years he has laid in a tolerable stock of knowledge: he has a pretty good person: a sound judgment, an excellent temper, and an inventive genius. His discourse however is on most occasions more hesitating and embarrassed than perhaps any man's ever was who was so well endowed in other respects. In the article of writing, though very slow, he succeeds better: yet rather in point of arrangement than expression. A paper which in point of writing is chiefly his will be printed this year in the *Philosophical transactions*.²⁴ It stands in the name of Nairne the optician who is a fellow of the Royal Society. Nairne had planned the most original part of the experiments, which are on the Air-Pump: but finding himself unable to put them into any sort of form, he applied to my Brother who suggested fresh experiments, and gave an account of the whole in the form in which it stands at present. He has made it about three times as concise as it was originally, by digesting the result of the greater part of the experiment into tables. Nairne has found out that the extraordinary appearance of perfection of Smeaton's Air-Pump, as indicated by the Gage invented by Smeaton²⁵ (it is called from its shape the Pear-Gage) is as to the

²² Leonhard Euler (1707–83), the Swiss mathematician, who was professor of physics and mathematics at St Petersburg: cf. letter 149, n. 13.

²³ Cf. letter 143, n. 9.

²⁴ No such paper is to be found in the *Philosophical Transactions* for this or the following year.

²⁵ John Smeaton (1724–92), the celebrated engineer.

greater part of it fallacious. Nairne and my brother together have found out the cause of the deception. As the Air is exhausted /drawn out of any Air Pump/ the vacuum is supplied by a vapour that is discharged /emitted/ from the wet leather or other moist substances that must almost unavoidably be used for keeping the receiver fast upon the frame. This vapour is recondensed upon the admission of water: which air is not. One sort of gage in consequence exhibits the quantity of elastic vapour of all kinds that is in the vessel: another only the quantity of uncondensable elastic vapour; that is of air.

My Brother intends publishing his papers under the title of *Essays on the Marine*, containing *Disquisitions and Hints* relative to the advancement of the Marine Service in general and of Ship-building in particular.²⁶ He thinks they will stand a better chance of being read in print than in Manuscript. If by that or any other honest means he can get employment in his own country, so much the better. If not he will be glad to get it in any country that were friendly to his own: in Russia in the first place because she is our best friend, and because merit as far at least as depends upon the Empress is sure to be encouraged. If this notion be a mistaken one, the blame is in great measure yours for having taught me to entertain it. When the book is out I will take the liberty of sending you a few copies. If upon seeing his book, you should think him likely to be of any use, will you, my good Sir, be kind enough to get him mentioned to the Ld. Sandwich of your country. My brother has paid a particular attention to the oeconomy of the Dockyard, and has collected hints for various improvements relative to that head.

There are three young Russians I understand in England to learn Ship-building: but they are only in Merchant's Yards. The King's Yards are by the rules of the service altogether inaccessible to them as foreigners. I question whether the Empress has any persons in her service who have been brought up in any of those yards: certainly none of any education. I dare affirm that my Brother is the only person in his line at this time in England who is of any tolerable family and education, and who has any improving views. [*In margin:* and has had an education that may be stiled liberal.] In the mere routine of practise he had and will have had more means of getting information than can ordinarily fall to the lot of a

²⁶ No publication by Samuel as early as this is known. In 1828 he published *Naval Essays*, comprising apparently just one essay; and it is possible that he made use of this early material then.

working Shipwright. He served the first part of his time in Woolwich yard, the latter part at Chatham, and is now going to Portsmouth for 6 months. Portsmouth is the yard from which the greatest quantity of business is done: that being the place for fitting out, as Chatham is for building. Peter the Great learnt Ship-building by working at it with his own hands: I know it. But he gave himself to inspect as well as to work: nor was he confined to work always upon a particular part of the ship under the orders of a Quarter-man. My brother has a decked vessel built years ago under his direction, and partly by his own hands. It is about 10 or 12 tons. He built it partly for instruction, and partly for experiment, and has made several little voyages in it.

Amongst other projects of his, less²⁷ brilliant, but perhaps more sensible, is one for a machine to answer the purposes and more than the purposes of the Diving-Bell: amongst other things he proposes to make it moveable and capable of being steered: upon a principle somewhat resembling that on which the glass bubbles and images, by a variation in the pressure of the air incumbent on the water they float in and thence in the quantity of water contained in each, are made to rise and sink in it. As far as I can judge of it, it promises to be possible. Be cautious to whom you mention this: for the way of the world is, one man steals your invention, while another calls you madman for proposing it. The latter part of the observation my brother has already had occasion in his own instance to see verified. About a year and a half ago he projected an improvement in Time-pieces with a view to the Longitude, by keeping them always in the same degree of temperature, consequently the metals used in it in the same degree of expansion, and what is of more importance the oil in the same degree of fluidity. This you see depends upon chymical principles. Mr Hornsby²⁸, Professor of what is called Natural Philosophy at Oxford but who neither professes nor understands any thing of Chymistry was in a rage at the first mention of it, said it would be madness in any one to encourage it, nor would he listen to any thing that could be said on its behalf. Dr Fordyce who understands Natural Philosophy perfectly and is the most eminent lecturer in Chymistry we have, thought it feasible: But Professor Hornsby is a member of the Board of Longitude: Dr. Fordyce, not. My Brother therefore thought it advisable to drop it: because it was out of the Ship-building line, which my Father pressed him not to wander from: because it

²⁷ 'Less' is actually crossed out.

²⁸ Cf. letter 71, n. 2.

would have taken money to pursue it: and because he has understood that Time keepers are likely to be brought to the requisite degree of perfection upon other principles.

His knowledge and his speculations are by no means confined to Natural Philosophy nor even to the Studies near allied to it. Though he has no memory for history and is less acquainted with facts of that class than one could well imagine it possible for a man with his education to be, he is by reflection not ill read in the science of Human Nature. I find very few so capable as he is of assisting me in my metaphysical and political disquisitions. Several of the articles in the Table of Circumstances affecting Sensibility,* are of his suggestion. He is not wholly unversed in Mathematics. About a year and a half ago he drew up a demonstration of the propositions contained in the 5th book of Euclid on a method much more perspicuous and concise than Euclid's and upon principles somewhat different. He has taught it to several persons who learnt it with an ease that contrasted strongly with the difficulty they found in comprehending the same propositions as demonstrated by Euclid. If ever he has leisure he will probably committ it to the Press.

Adieu my good Sir, I think I have given you a reasonable quantity of scribbling about two persons, who would neither of them have the least ground to complain of you, if they were sure you did not care about either of them one straw.

I hope you will at least favour me with a line to let me know of it's having come to hand. I insist not on any thing more: but a letter from you, considering who you are, and where you are would have its value.

I am etc.

My father and all the rest of the family are well and hearty. I have no message to you from any of them. For I have reasons for not letting them know of my writing to you. I wish sincerely for the same reason that your best friends would, that he may long continue in the receipt of his annuity. I had the pleasure of seeing a letter you wrote to my father from Calais when you were with the Dutchess.

I would willingly amongst all this heap of papers give you something that was worth reading. I will therefore strive hard to get you a copy of Mr. Eden's Bill which is not sold. I mean for the sake of the Preface which you will find spoken of in my Preface. I

* Theory of Punishment. Table II Col. [?] II.

think you told me once that you had heard the Empress was pleased with his Principles of Penal Law, and had order'd them to be translated. If so, she would be much more pleased I should think, with this Preface of his (which for the little there is of it is of a much superior stamp). Probably if you were to let her know of your having it she would like to read it. Were Mr. Eden in the way there would be no difficulty: as it is I must try whether I can get a copy from some of his family. If I should, it may very likely be a means of my sending you more papers still. I mean two long passages which I struck out of my preface on his account. As they contained some little matter of censure on a passage or two of his preface, and Mr. Eden seemed rather to wish they should not appear, I struck them out, upon the importunity of some friends of mine who told me that I should otherwise run the risque of ruining all the good that might be done by my observations on the Bill by giving umbrage to its patron. I was the more loth to part with them as they contain a panegyric on Mr. Howard which I had no other means of introducing. Mr Howard to whom I shewd them upon his paying me the visit I told you of after my Book was out, was much vext at their being left out. He blamed me, (*pour la bienséance*) for saying so much about himself: which made it necessary for him (*la bienséance* also) to appear enchanted with them on other accounts.

I have lying by me in a rough state a Plan for a Digest of the Laws. This concerns the Laws whatever state they may happen to be in for the time being, and is applicable to the Laws of one nation as well as of another. It is what I have hinted at towards the conclusion of the Fragment. I have had it lying by me these two or three years and am every now and then touching it up and making little additions. If I were sure your Empress would read it, I would give it the preference over other parts of my design. But that I suppose is not to be thought of. How goes on your Legislative Commission: Who draws up your Laws in ordinary? Is it the Chancellor, or who else?

I have had the pleasure of seeing a letter of yours in the *Gentlemen's Magazine* for March last.²⁹ If you should ever favour me with a letter, and any part of it should be of a nature not inostensible, I might perhaps, if you did not forbid me oblige the Public with it

²⁹ 'Letter from the Rev. Mr Forster, Chaplain to the Duchess of Kingston, to a Friend in England, dated Petersburg, 27th September' (*Gentleman's Magazine*, xlviii, 111–112). It mainly concerns the honour with which the Duchess of Kingston has been treated by the Empress Catherine and others.

through that or some such other channel. If you have any communications of that sort to make to the Public relative to matters in your country you may as well make use of me for that purpose as another. You will not easily find a person more sensible to their value. Every body for example would be glad to know as much as you could with propriety tell us about the Empress.

Directions of the Packet.

To the Revd. Mr Forster at the Empress's Palace Petersburg—
or in case of his Death to Mr. Petrow Librarian to the Empress.

249

TO JEAN LE ROND D'ALEMBERT¹

Spring 1778

Je viens de profiter une occasion qui s'est présentée très subitement de faire passer à Mr. D'Alembert deux petits livres dont l'un n'avoit pas encore été mis en vente, l'autre a été imprimé il y a environ deux ans. /Je les ai confié au nommé Sylvestre Imprimeur

249. ¹ U.C. CLXIX: 50–51. Autograph draft.

Jean Le Rond d'Alembert (1717–83) was distinguished as a mathematician and a philosopher. His *Recherches sur le calcul intégral* (1746–48) and other works on the same subject were major contributions to mathematics. He was associated with Diderot in the preparation of the *Grande Encyclopédie*. He was a close friend of Voltaire, and on the latter's death (30 May 1778) was regarded as the leader of the philosophes.

This letter, letter 250 to Morellet (which is on the same double-sheet) and letter 251 to Chastellux are only drafts, and we do not know how close they are to the letters actually sent. It is true that they were placed in a folder marked, it seems, by Bentham himself 'Legislaturientes epistolae, Brouillons unsent, 1774? to 1784?'. That letters corresponding to them were sent is, however, evidenced by the letters to Bentham from d'Alembert and Chastellux (letters 261 *ad fin.*, 26 June 1778, and 265 dated 3 July 1778). Bentham's letters were probably composed in the spring of 1778, shortly after publication of *A View of the Hard-Labour Bill*, and sent early in June (cf. letter 252; also the reference at the end of this draft to Voltaire's death on 30 May).

There is in the U.C. collection (CLXIX: 52–66) another draft of a letter, headed 'a D'A' which is more in the nature of a philosophic essay. It is fifty pages long, and outlines Bentham's intentions in the field of jurisprudence. It is mainly concerned with the logical aspect of his work, with the system on which laws should be classified, and with the relationship between the fictitious beings of lawyers and real ones. It is especially interesting as showing early work on 'the theory of fictions' and indeed contains a long philosophical digression which some would think only tenuously connected with jurisprudence. Bentham says in the course of it that he is 28 years old, so that it must have been written in 1776 (or early 1777). Possibly it is one of the French letters Bentham speaks of himself as scribbling in letter 160. Bentham refers to the translation of Beccaria's works by its intended recipient, and to the prospectus of a Commercial Dictionary. In fact it was Morellet, not d'Alembert, who had translated Beccaria, and put out such a prospectus.

à près de Paris/—Ô mon maître, /trouvez bon/ agréez qu'un disciple inconnu vous rende compte de ses études.

Tous les deux ont du rapport à un objet qui m'a paru vous être à coeur, la réforme de la Jurisprudence: ce sont deux petits éclats d'un système dont la construction fera l'occupation de ma vie.

Le premier appellé A Fragment on Government est une critique pour ne pas dire une satire. Les motifs qui m'ont déterminés à l'entreprendre y sont exposés en entier et avec la plus grande vérité. Il n'y en a eu aucun qui soit personnel, ni même de parti. /Je n'avais pas même l'honneur d'être connu de la personne dont le livre (car ce n'est que le livre) en est l'objet./ Le seul sujet de plainte que j'ai jamais cru avoir contre lui (et ce sera toujours assez à mes yeux) c'est que je l'ai cru ennemi juré de toute réforme. Politique bornée, timide et dévote: Juge savant et éclairé, il n'eut jamais reçu de moi que des louanges, s'il se fut renfermée dans les bornes de l'occupation qui fait à present son devoir.

L'autre petit livre est encore une critique: [*In margin*: qui a pour titre A View of the Hard-labour Bill] mais dans lequel on n'a heureusement trouvé matière que pour des louanges. Mr. Eden, Membre du Parlement, Sous-Secrétaire d'état, un des Lords du conseil de Commerce, un des 3 Commissaires du Roi auprès les Americains, vient de m'avouer qu'il est l'auteur du Bill qui en est l'objet. Il peut vous être connu de quelque sorte par un livre anonyme imprimé il y a 6 ou 7 ans, nommé Principles of Penal Law: livre élégant, et qui contient quelques vues généreuse: mais informe, et pleins d'idées superficielles et hasardées.² Sa Préface au Bill susdit est d'un trempe bien supérieure.

Le 'Fragment' vous eut été envoyé dès qu'il a paru, si j'eus pu alors surmonter une défiance dont peut être je n'aurais jamais dû me défaire. Je redoutais la témérité de vous envoyer un présent dont je /apprehendois/ doutai qu'il ne vous fut absolument indigne. Depuis cela il a eu quelque réussite ~~petits succès~~: il a été donné à 5 ou 6 de nos plus beaux génies: dont quelques uns ont recherché l'auteur; qui pourtant n'a pas crus devoir s'avouer: et à l'amertume près que tout le monde condamne, on en a assez généralement parlé en bien. D'ailleurs il a fait en sorte que Mr. le Juge, dans une nouvelle édition, /vient de faire/ a fait mais d'assez mauvaise grace, quelques changemens dans son livre. Ces petits succès m'ont donné enfin le courage qu'il faut à un disciple inconnu pour s'adresser son maître.

² Above these epithets as alternatives or additions occur 'decousues' and 'obscures'.

Vous voici trois feuilles qui contiennent l'esquisse que je vous ai annoncé dans un Billet qui a accompagné les livres dessus-nommés. Elle pourroit servir à vous donner quelques idées générales de l'ouvrage annoncé dans la Préface du 'Revue du Bill.' C'est par là que doit commencer mon systeme, fondé comme vous verrez sur les idées de M. Helvétius.

Ô mon maître, c'est vous deux qui les premiers m'avez mis dans le chemin que je crois être celui de la vérité; c'est vous qui m'avez arraché de l'assoupissement ou le plus ancien de nos universités avaient tenu enchaînés cinq des plus précieuses années de ma vie. Si parmi les idées que mon esprit s'occupe à développer il y en a qui peuvent être de quelque utilité, ce sont le fruit des semences que vos leçons y ont planté.

[*In margin:* C'est de lui que je tiens un flambeau que j'espère porter un jour dans les sentiers les plus étroits de la politique et peut-être de la morale. C'est de vous que je tiens le fil du labyrinthe des connoissances humaines.]

Goûtez-vous mon plan? me suis-je assez expliqué? mes idées sont elles conformes à les vôtres? Suis-je digne de vos conseils, et en trouvez vous à me donner?

Ce que j'écris, bon ou mauvais ce n'est pas pour mes concitoyens seuls que je l'écris; c'est pour les hommes. Je voudrai le faire traduire dans la langue universelle de l'Europe moderne. Sauriez vous quelqu'un qui pourroit et qui voudroit se charger d'un tel travail?

Il s'en faut bien que l'esquisse ci-jointe ait toute l'exacitude que je crois pouvoir lui donner. Compléter l'analyse ce seroit avoir complété l'ouvrage: car il faut avoir ses matériaux, avant que de les arranger. Cependant j'espère au bout de deux ou trois mois faire travailler la presse.

Il y a une chose qui m'embarasse; c'est le sujet délicat de la Sanction que j'appelle Religieuse. D'un côté comment laisser intacte une source de motifs si puissants? De l'autre comment exposer avec franchise les avantages et les inconvénients des peines qui en dérivent? Voyez le catalogue des propriétés qui sont à souhaiter dans une peine TAB. II Col V et penser à quel point elles se trouvent celles d'exemplarité et de frugalité surtout dans les peines dont il s'agit? Exposer un tel tableau sans même qu'on /soi-même/ en porte un jugement, ne serait-il pas assez de révolter les esprits?³

³ The preceding half-dozen paragraphs refer to the 'trois feuilles' to be enclosed with this letter, containing a tabular summary of the work on punishments mentioned at the beginning of the Preface to Bentham's *View of the Hard-Labour Bill*. Letter 252 shows that a fourth page was added to the summary.

Si j'eusse pu vous être /tant soit peu/ avantageusement connu, il y a longtemps que j'eusse fait le voyage de Paris pour vous consulter sur celui-là et bien d'autres objets: mais un tel bonheur n'est pas fait pour moi. Quand vous venez à quitter la vie je vous pleurerai comme j'ai pleuré Mr. Helvétius. Je ne vous verrai jamais: vous êtes âgé: je suis jeune: le siècle vous perdra avant que je sois homme à montrer. [*In margin*: mes récompenses les plus chères, je les verrai évanouir l'une après l'autre avant que je sois en état à y prétendre.]

Adieu, mon maître: vous avez sans doute des disciples plus dignes, vous n'en avez pas de plus reconnaissants que l'Anglois qui s'appelle.

Jeremy Bentham

J'envoie des duplicats des feuilles ci-joints à Mr. l'Abbé Morellet et à Mr. de Chatellux. J'eusse voulu écrire pareillement à Mr. Voltaire; mais je ne savais pas bien par quelle voye, /il est inabordable comme un Roi, et occupé comme il est/ et à l'âge où il est, je doutais si cet homme illustre scauroit gré d'une telle liberté à un étranger inconnu.

[*In margin*: Il a fallu rayer le paragraphe précédent: hélas! il n'est pas besoin de dire pourquoi. Et c'est ainsi que les récompenses s'évanouissent, tandis qu'on travaille.]

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TO ANDRÉ MORELLET¹

Spring 1778

A Mr. L'Abbè Morellet.

Monsr.

Je viens d'embrasser une occasion qui s'est présenté très subitement il y a quelques jours de vous envoyer deux petits

250. ¹ U.C. CLXIX: 51. Autograph draft.

See letter 249, n. 1.

André Morellet (1727–1819), is known mainly as a writer on economics. He was educated in Lyons by the Jesuits, and at the Sorbonne, and took holy orders. In 1766 he translated Beccaria's *Traité des délits & des peines*. In 1769 he published *Prospetus d'un nouveau Dictionnaire de commerce*, but this project on which he worked for many years was never completed. He came to England in 1772 on a commercial mission, and was introduced by his friend Lord Shelburne to Benjamin Franklin. He took an important part in concluding the 1783 Anglo-French peace treaty, and was congratulated for this by Lord Shelburne. In 1788 he published *Observations sur le forme des Etats de 1614* as a contribution to determining the form which the revived

livres dont l'un n'avoit pas encore été mis en vente, l'autre a été publié il y a environ deux ans. Je les ai confié au nommé Sylvestre Imprimeur à | | près de Paris: qui a eu aussi la bonté de se charger de deux autres exemplaires de chacun, l'un pour M. D'Alembert; l'autre pour Mr. de Chatelux.

Le livre appelle 'A Fragment on Government' est le critique d'un ouvrage lequel quoique très célèbre parmi nous est assez peu connu des étrangers et assez peu digne de l'être. Apparemment ce n'est pas de ce côté-là qu'il pourroit vous intéresser. Si j'oserois former une telle espérance, elle seroit fondée sur quelques vues qui y sont répandues, touchant la réforme de la Jurisprudence: objet qui a dû vous être cher, à en juger par le travail que vous y avez si heureusement employé. (S'abaisser jusqu'à) faire la fonction de traducteur et de metteur en ordre des ouvrages d'autrui, même de M. Beccaria, c'en a été à mes yeux un témoignage assez peu équivoque dans un génie si riche de son propre fonds.

L'autre petit livre qui s'appelle A View of the Hard-Labour Bill a été écrit au sujet d'un établissement de détail, qui est relatif /a du rapport/ à ce même objet.

Les feuilles ci-joints contiennent l'esquisse d'une Théorie des peines: ouvrage que je viens d'annoncer dans la Préface de ce dernier. J'en envoie des duplicats à Messrs. D'Alembert et de Chatellux.

Je vous prie Monsieur de regarder tout cela comme témoignage de l'estime et du respect que je ressens pour l'auteur du Prospectus du Dictionnaire de Commerce.

Se peut-il que ce petit présent soit jugé digne de quelque récompense? Je vais vous en demander. C'est de vouloir bien me faire réponse à deux ou trois questions par rapport à ce Dictionnaire-là, ouvrage que je n'ai vu différer qu'avec le plus grand regret.

1. Si on doit encore entretenir quelque espérance de le voir achevé par la main habile qui l'a entamé?
2. En cas que oui, au bout de quel tems on pourroit se flatter de le voire paroître?
3. En cas que non, si l'auteur a en vue quelque ami ou quelque élève auquel il pense confier au sortir de la vie le soin de le compléter et d'en faire part au public.

Etats Généraux should take. He became director of the French Academy in 1792, and preserved many of its manuscripts and archives after its dissolution. His *Cri des familles* (published after 9 thermidor) bravely pleaded the cause of those orphaned in the Terror.

For later contacts between Bentham and Morellet see Bowring, x, 198–199, etc.

Pour mon nom, il ne peut pas qu'il vous soit connu: cependant permettez-moi de vous assurer selon l'usage, mais avec un peu plus de vérité que ce qui est d'usage que je suis avec les sentiments les plus vifs de respect et d'estime.

Monsr.

Votre très humble Serviteur

J'écris aussi à M. de Chatelux et un peu plus amplement à M. D'Alembert.

251

TO FRANÇOIS JEAN DE CHASTELLUX¹

Spring 1778

Qu'il est doux /dites-vous/ 'pour celui qui compose un ouvrage que d'imaginer qu'il est assis près d'un homme d'esprit qui saisit rapidement toutes ses pensées, dont l'attention l'anime dont les regards l'encouragent près duquel enfin il se sent plus fort, plus sûr de lui-même!'—/vol. I. p. 2.²—Ô mon ami, (car ceux qui se dévouent au service du genre humain, ne peuvent qu'être amis) vous êtes toujours à mes côtés.

/Quant à moi/ La réforme de la Jurisprudence est l'objet d'un travail que j'ai commencé à vingt ans et qui finira avec ma vie. Quelles sont elles, les récompenses que je me suis proposé? Le premier, ce sera l'idée d'avoir été utile à mon espèce. Le second, l'estime d'un petit nombre d'hommes tels que vous. Viennent après /s'ils veulent/ les récompenses, qui sont les fruits du hasard.

[*In Margin:* Arrangez tout cela avec Helvétius—je vous le pardonne.]

251. ¹ U.C. CLXIX: 71. Autograph draft.

Said to have been in folder marked 'Legislaturientes epistolae, Brouillons unsent, 1774? to 1784?'. Each side is headed 'Chatelux.' It is now in a folder with the later letter to Chastellux (letter 267). Clearly it is a fragment of Bentham's draft for the letter to Chastellux despatched at the same time as those to D'Alembert and Morellet.

François Jean, Marquis de Chastellux (1734–88), often known as le Chevalier de Chastellux, French soldier and author. In 1780 he went to fight for the Americans, and was closely associated with Washington. He moved in distinguished literary circles and became a member of the Academy in 1775. He published many papers. His main works were *De la Félicité publique, ou Considerations sur le sort des hommes, dans les différentes époques de l'histoire* (first edition, Amsterdam 1772, second edition (Bouillon) 1776, edition with previously unpublished notes by Voltaire, 1822) and *Voyages dans l'Amerique septentrionale, dans les années 1780–81–82* (1786). The former sets out to prove that the increase and spread of knowledge improves the human lot. In July Chastellux sent Bentham a copy of the second edition (see letter 266 at n. 4). For a possible earlier reference to Chastellux cf. letter 226 and n. 2.

² No such passage has been found in Chastellux's book.

Vous m'avez charmé, encouragé,—ça et là /souvent même/ vous m'avez éclairé. Je dis souvent—car pour le fonds, quand vous n'étiez vous pas encore, Helvétius a été mon oracle. Je ne me rappelle pas que vous l'avez nommé, ce grand homme; mais sans doute vous avez été /aussi/ son disciple; son zèle, son savoir, la pénétration de son esprit, tout se retrace dans vous.

Permettez moi de vous rendre compte de mes travaux—Je vous ai envoyés il y a quelques jours deux petits livres—avant-coureurs du corps que j'espère amener avec le temps. Ils doivent vous avoir été delivrés par le moyen du nommé Sylvestre Imprimeur à ... près de Paris.

/Je vous envoie maintenant trois feuilles pour servir de Prospectus d'une Théorie des peines, ouvrages in 4to. que j'espère envoyer à la presse dans le cours de 2 ou 3 mois./

Qui êtes vous? Que faites vous? aimez vous assez les hommes pour continuer à les instruire? Vous avez été en Angleterre.—je ne vous connoissois pas alors, parce que je n'étois pas connu.

On dit que vous avez un rang—et que vous êtes riche—Si cela est, je vous en félicite. Moi je suis assez pauvre—j'attends une succession modique. Si je désirerois les richesses, ce serait pour me mettre à porté de jouir de votre conversation: /la conversation d'un petit nombre d'hommes tels que vous./ /Vous ne connaissez pas mon nom. je vais le signer: mon état—qu'importe? et vous le savez par mon demeure. C'est chez nous une espèce de titre, au-dessus de celui de simple gentilhomme. A moins d'une calamité, je n'en ferai jamais mon profit. Je me suis donné au public je ne veux pas me vendre aux particuliers. Tout cela ne fait rien entre nous. Vous voici mes ouvrages: j'ai les vôtres: et / car à moins que d'être hypocrite, vous ne pouvez que m'aimer comme je vous aime.

P.S. Je viens d'écrire relativement aux mêmes objets à Mr. L'Abbé Morellet, et plus amplement à Mr. D'Alembert.

252

TO JEAN LE ROND D'ALEMBERT¹

Spring 1778

P.S. Voilà deux mois et davantage qui se sont écoulés, et ce paquet n'est pas encore dépêché. C'est que le malheureux état de

252. ¹ U.C. CLXIX: 51b. Autograph draft.

This is on the same sheet as letters 249 and 250, and seems to be addressed to d'Alembert.

mésintelligence où se trouvent les deux nations y ont mis des obstacles imprévus. Le voye de la poste à quoi j'ai pensé d'abord s'est trouvé impraticable à moins que de vous occasionner un forte dépense pour un objet qui peut-être ne vaut rien. Le motif n'est pas noble: mais enfin ç'a été le véritable, et tel à quoi il n'y avoit pas moyen de ne pas obéir.

Dans cet intervalle, j'ai découvert tant d'imperfections dans mon plan, que je me repends d'avoir promis de vous l'envoyer. Les espérances qui m'y ont d'abord déterminé se sont absolument évaporées: et il ne m'y reste d'autres motifs que la honte de manquer à ma parole.

Vous, mon maître, qui avez sçu peindre d'une façon si touchante ce qui peuvent sur une âme sensible les dégoûts et les déplaisirs de l'étude, mettez-vous dans ma place.

Il faut que je vous prie de faire parvenir aux deux Messrs. dessus-nommés les paquets qui leur sont adressés: je ne sçais pas leurs addresses: et on m'a dit que vous les voyez tous les jours.

La feuille intitulée partie 1re. du 3me. Table vient d'être ajoutée il n'y a que quelques jours.

253

TO SIR WILLIAM BLACKSTONE¹

27 May 1778 (Aet 30)

Mr. Bentham presents his respectful Compliments to Mr. Justice Blackstone, and begs leave to return thanks for his obliging present of a copy of the Hard-Labour Bill, with the Observations. Lincoln's Inn

Wednesday May 27th

1778

253. ¹ B.M. II: 188. Autograph copy. Docketed by Bentham: '1778 May 27 / I.B. Linc. Inn to Mr. Justice Blackstone / Copy / Thanks for Copy of H. Lab. Bill.'

In letter 248 Bentham says that he sent copies of the *View of the Hard-Labour Bill* to all the judges, and that Blackstone answered with great civility. Later, it seems, Blackstone sent Bentham a copy of the Bill in the form in which it was finally brought before the House, together with a preface by Eden in a separate pamphlet (cf. letter 267, pp. 149–50).

254

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

3 June 1778 (Aet 30)

I have been with Brind (I must confess not till yesterday) and he promised to send and take back your Coat this morning and let you have another according to directions. This morning however has elapsed and he has not sent. As to the kind of Coat I did not think it advisable to have that alter'd—there is none better, and if you had one of an inferior price you could hardly expect him to return the difference. It was not worth while altering the buttons on account of the weight: the weight is constituted by the kind of cloth—*Yes*, you *shall* have a plain cuff because one with button holes like this lets in the rain.

Wilson has looked over the cursed 'Encouragement' and made his remarks which I will send you when I send the other things. He tells me there are a multitude of mistakes in the copying—How could you send it out of your hands without looking it over and rectifying such mistakes as these? Is it too much trouble to you to do the drudgery part of a concern so much your own? I have not looked it over nor do I believe I shall. Why was not the running title written? it would have contributed to render it a little less detestable.

I am glad to find you are likely to make your Dover expedition answer so well in point of information.

A few days ago I received a copy of the Hard-labour Bill as it has been brought into the House, together with Eden's Preface in a separate pamphlet under the title of 'Observations' on the above Bill. They were sent me as a present by Judge Blackstone without any note but with 'From Mr. Justice Blackstone' on the outside with the direction. In the Bill there are various alterations. They have adopted the greater part in *number* at least if not in value of my suggestions: but some, the propriety of which Wilson

254. ¹ B.M. II: 189–190. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. June 3d. 1778.'

Addressed: 'Mr. Bentham / Dock Yard / near Rochester.' First crossed-out address: 'at Mr. Franklin's [. . . ?] / Dorset.' Postmark: '3 IV'. Stamped: 'DOVER'.

'The Encouragement' was some paper by Samuel which Bentham and Wilson were to look over for him (cf. letter 257). Just possibly it consisted of data to encourage his uncle Grove to obtain a position for him (cf. letter 235, n. 1).

Douglas² and I joined in looking upon as most incontestable they appear to have neglected. In the Observations the passages that I had written against are left out—In the Bill your epithet of ‘*running*’ is prefixed to ‘*water*.’

No notice is taken of my pamphlet in either of the Monthly or Crit. Reviews for last month.—yet Lind says he saw printed of early in the month a very commendatory account of it. Clark the Stationer³ put in to my hands yesterday a very short but very commendatory account of it in the Westr. Magazine.

I have got a Code Russe in French published in 1775 or the beginning of 1776 in a thinnish 4to.⁴ It is in many accounts my delight. Don’t let the title frighten you as if it anticipated us. It is only a plan for the putting the Courts of Justice upon a regular establishment.

A tour to Petersburg and Moscow 1778 by John Richard⁵—No such person I dare swear—a catchpenny performance—an imposture. Cooke’s Travels⁶ I hear have been out these two or three years—I will hunt for them in the Reviews.

I have got a book for you which will delight you you rogue—an Ordonnance de la Marine 4to. Paris 1776⁷ seemingly very well drawn up and digested with pretty marginal contents—one of the pleasantest books to read you ever set your eyes on. There was but that one copy left.

Give me the earliest intelligence of your motions.

² Sylvester Douglas (1743–1823), created Baron Glenbervie of Kincardine (Irish Peerage) in 1800, was a barrister of Lincoln’s Inn. He was more a friend of Wilson’s than of Bentham’s. In 1794 he became chief secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. In 1795 he entered the British Parliament, and enjoyed a successful political career, perhaps partly as a result of his marriage to the daughter of Lord North. He was Lord of the Treasury in 1797, and joint Paymaster-General in 1804 (see Bowring, x, 133).

³ Of 72 Gracechurch Street.

⁴ The title *Code russe* was given to the third edition of the French translation of Catherine the Great’s 1767 *Instructions*, published at Amsterdam in 1775. This, however, is a duodecimo not a quarto; and in any case Bentham appears to have known the *Instructions* at a much earlier date (cf. letter 248, at n. 4). No other work bearing this title has been traced.

⁵ The British Museum has 1780 and 1781 editions of *A Tour from London to Petersburg...*, by John Richards; but the edition mentioned by Bentham has not been traced.

⁶ Captain Cook’s *Account of a Voyage round the World* appeared as Volumes II and III of Hawkesworth’s *Voyages* in 1773; his *Voyage towards the South Pole, and round the World*, was published in two volumes in 1777.

⁷ Presumably *Ordonnance... portant établissement de Contrôleur de la Marine, 27 Septembre, 1776*.

Wednesday June 3d. I believe it is.

1778.

Linc. Inn.

I have reced today a letter from Mrs. D. telling me of Mr. D's having sent over 400£. His letter dated April 23d.

I am in a monstrous hurry—God keep you—Give me the earliest intelligence of your motions.

Q.S.P. went yesterday to his country house at Petersham which he has taken for 3 months. I go there on Friday.

I took your parcel to Nairne's yesterday.

255

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

18 June 1778 (Aet 30)

Thursday 18 June 1778

T'shall have a letter from its nown brother—that it shall.

You have received a letter written yesterday from Wilson, *cum notis Benthami*.

The Russians (their names are Basilewsky)² who I told you had offer'd to take charge of my packet, called on Tuesday or Wednesday sennight to tell me of their being to quit England the latter end of this month: I was just going out: so I asked them to come and drink Tea with me as last Saturday which they did. I collected several particulars from them; which take higgledy-piggledy.

Orloff³ besides the £100,000's worth of gold plate, got inter alia, a set of diamond buttons for a suit of cloaths. They say besides his landed estate which may very well amount to the 50000£ a year I mentioned, he is thought to be worth some millions in ready money. The woman he is married to is his own niece. He got a dispensation for it some how or other: a Prince Gallitzin⁴ was not so fortunate: after having married his niece though there was a

255. ¹ B.M. II: 191. Autograph.

The eyes of the Bentham brothers were often turned towards Russia. Jeremy hoped that the Empress Catherine would one day welcome him as a codifier. Samuel Bentham wondered whether his urge to improve the practice of naval architecture might not find more scope there than in an England, where established interests seemed to block every new proposal (see letter 248). Thus the Benthams cultivated any Russian 'openings' that offered.

² Unidentified.

³ Gregory Orloff (1734–83), Catherine the Great's favourite.

⁴ It is not clear to which of the numerous and influential Golitzin family this refers.

bastardy in one of the degrees between him and her, he was obliged to put her away.

The revenues are about 30,000,000 of Roubles—a Rouble is 5 French livres—The Abbe Chappe⁵ taking his notion from an old calculation of the time of Peter the Great made them but 13,000,000. Of this the duty upon Brandy produces 7,000,000: that on Salt, 3,000,000: the little province of Livonia of which Riga is the capital 3,000,000: there are the Abbés 13,000,000.

The persons who draw up the ordinance for the Judicial Establishment in the provinces I will call it the Judicial Ordinance (it is the book I told you I had got) were one Kozitski who made a bald Latin translation of the Impressions [*sic*] 'Instructions for a Code' and one *Taploff* I think his name is. Kozitski died about 2 years ago at the age of 50. He was in bed with his wife: who finding herself wet in the morning spoke to her husband, and receiving no answer, drew aside the Cloaths and found him with a penknife in his hand, dead, with upwards of 30 wounds about him. Taploff is either out of favour or superannuated.⁶

The numbers of the people are about 30,000,000. A few years ago the Empress published an Ordinance, enjoining her subjects under penalties to present themselves at certain places to be number'd. She saw reason to think the returns were incompleat. She therefore the next year published another ordinance for the same purpose without penalties, inviting all those to give in their names who thought it an honour to bear the name of Russia, or who wished to be looked upon as true sons of their country (*filis de la patrie*) or somewhat to that effect—This produced a million more.

I wish you could get me a list of all our Navy for these Russians—I should think that *now*, and considering where you are,⁷ it would be no very difficult matter. I believe there is such a thing in the Court Calendars. You might take that for your basis, correcting it by the information you get from those who know. If you do it at all, it must be within a few days.

⁵ Jean Chappe d'Aueroche (1722–69) author of *Voyage en Sibérie fait... en 1761; contenant les mouers, les usages de russes etc.* Paris, 1768. English edition, abridged, 1770.

⁶ Bentham is presumably referring here to Catherine the Great's secretaries, Gregory Gregorovich Tieploff and Gregory Nicolaievich Kozitski.

⁷ About this time Samuel Bentham became a pupil at the Royal Naval Academy at Portsmouth.

256

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

25 June 1778 (Aet 30)

Thursday June 25 1778²

Hostilities you will know are commenced by Sea: there are a thousand different reports about it.³

As for the Doctor⁴ I see no particular end it could answer to talk with him about the Russian scheme. Let us count our chickens before they are hatched *to ourselves a la bonne heure*; but not aloud. You might if you wanted conversation talk to him of it in the general, as a thing you had in view: but mention not the particular steps that have been taken with a view to it.

Your things went last night to the Bel Savage for the Waggon. Alas! I forgot to put up the phial. But there must be a necessity ere long to send another parcel; and then I will remember better. If you send me peremptory orders for Falconer's Dicty,⁵ it shall go; and then I will endeavour to get the Phil. Transactions from Lind.

D'Alembert and Helvetius I will enquire about and get if Wilson will let me; which I almost doubt. I was going t'other day to have bought a print of *Don Jorge Juan* the author of the Spanish book on Shipbuilding not yet translated the Title of which begins 'Examen Theorico-Practico,'⁶ but he pulled me away. But I will get them all let him say what he will—these eye-traps are of more use than one can well imagine.

Courage my Boy. I am glad to see thee write in such good spirits. Punishments now go on pretty well—I have got over my great difficulties Circumstances influencing Sensibility—and the cursed Pains and Pleasures. The Introduction is gone through and wants only to be revised. /Daines/ Barrington⁷ the Welch Judge (you have heard

256. ¹ B.M. II: 192–193. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. June 25 1778.'

Addressed: 'Mr. Bentham / at the Navy Coffee house / Portsmouth / Single Sheet.' Postmark: '25 IV'.

² Crossed out, under date: 'Mr. Sam. Bentham Ward's Coffee House upon the Parade Portsmouth.'

³ This sentence is a subsequent insertion in red ink.

⁴ Presumably John Mulford.

⁵ William Falconer's *Marine Dictionary*: cf. letter 130, n. 4.

⁶ Cf. letter 143, n. 9.

⁷ Daines Barrington (1727–1800), lawyer, antiquary and naturalist; author of *Observations on the Statutes, chiefly the more ancient from Magna Charta to 21st James I, cap. 27, with an appendix being a proposal for new-modelling the Statutes, 1766.*

of him) borrow'd my 'View' etc. of Far, and returned it him with a note telling him he had bought it intending to carry it the Circuit with him, where it would be of great use to him. This Q.S.P. told me today. Barrington has taken up a custom of giving to the Grand Juries an account of the Acts that have been passed or brought in the preceding Sessions.

What business have you to refuse invitations to good dinners with the company of musical young ladies? What nonsense that is! I won't have any such freaks as that, not I—Time is not so very scarce as that—Your business is to make and to improve acquaintance. 'Twould have been too much trouble to you to have mentioned their names.

Take care you don't spend your interest with the Commissioner⁸ by asking him for lists of the Navy—a good hint although it be Wilson's. If you mention it at all mention it to him in an indifferent way, rather as a matter of curiosity—first sounding him by asking him whether there are such things, and whether they are looked upon as secrets etc. etc.

News for you to tell at the Commissioners and such sort of places—The Russians told me that they had it from some countrymen of theirs lately come from Paris that the French had made peace for Russia with the Porte, and that in return Russia was not to give us any assistance.

I can not find any thing here of Phineas Pett⁹ or your Air Pump experiments Nairne's printed paper I suppose you mean. You left nothing behind you but a sealed Paper which is I believe your Will.

When I write next it shall be upon a sheet that has Circumstances affecting Sensibility if I can find it.¹⁰

La folle arriv'd here today to take advice for poor Joey—She wonders at not having heard from you since the letter you wrote from Spithead. S.W.¹¹ is alive.

How came you to think it gave me any concern the not having heard from Q.S.P.? He shew'd me your letter to him of the 17. Your plea for not having written to him sooner, viz the not having heard from him was well accepted—and in order to exculpate him to you I am desired to tell you of the letter he put into the blue great pocket for you; which you will see I open'd. My Uncle was

⁸ Presumably the Commissioner of the Royal Dockyard, Portsmouth, namely Sir Samuel Hood, bart. (1724–1816), created Lord Hood in 1782.

⁹ Phineas Pett (1570–1647), shipbuilder and naval commissioner. His autobiography was printed by the Navy Records Society in 1918.

¹⁰ This sentence is a subsequent insertion in red ink.

¹¹ Mrs Wise; Joey was Mrs Davies's son.

here today at the time that Q.S.P. was here, and was shewn your aforesaid letter.

The power of Attorney I will consider about and send you directions—But you must first let me know what Fund the money is in.

As to the Battle House all I can find room to tell you is that there does not seem to be any chance to signify of getting a farthing from it, nor from the Land neither—It does not signify plaguing you nor myself with the particulars.

Peake's pen is taken out of the parcel from Nairne's, and shall go back by la folle unless you order me to send it sooner.

It surely can not be worth giving 1½ Gn. or 2 Gns. to go to the concert—If your white wastecoat is not good enough you had better stay away—I'll tell you what I'll do—I will send you a waistcoat I have just made up. You shall have the maidenhead of it. Make haste and make one or two capital visits in it, and then send it me back again. I will send it you tomorrow or Saturday—so you may figure away with it on Sunday.

I have sent you the Sea man's vade mecum 1776.¹² The man assured me there was no later edition.

The things in the Shagreen case (proportional compasses don't you call them?) I found upon the Mantelpiece of the little room.

257

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

28 June 1778 (Aet 30)

Saturday June 28 1778

Yesterday Wilson and I fagg'd to Bond Street and got Don Jorge Juan—there was not light to hunt after D'Alembert and Helvetius.² This afternoon and evening I destined to that pursuit—but it has been raining ever since we rose from dinner.

I have been three times after Lind to get the Philosophical Transactions, without finding him at home. So these and the two Frenchmen must be postponed.

¹² No book of this precise title has been traced.

257. ¹ B.M. II: 194. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. June 28th 1778.'

Addressed: 'Mr. Bentham / Navy Coffee House / Portsmouth.' Postmark: '2. IV'.

The bottom part of the paper is torn away. It was presumably in the missing part of this letter that Bentham promised to send the parcel by the Sunday night coach from Gracechurch Street (cf. letter 260).

² The prints referred to in letter 256.

James is gone out to see for Falconer³—him I hope you will have together with all that remained of Hannay,[?] whom I have corked up in a Lavender Bottle. It's just as you left it upon onner! I have n't drunk any, indeed I have n't.

Along with all these gentry, I shall return ⟨...⟩ Encouragement⁴ God for ever curse it! I have not looked at it, nor ever will I again.

The Wastcoat you will have with the things aforesaid. There was no sending it on Friday night, on account of waiting for them.

258

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

29 June 1778 (Aet 30)

½ after 10. 29 June 1778

I send you a Bank note of £10 No. C34 payable to Cuthb:⁴ Fisher Esqr. dated 13 Jany. 1778 signed Wm. Jackson.

La folle and La grossiere² are just left me—they have been drinking Tea with me—As for La folle's behaviour I can not say much for it—but I can not stay now to be particular.

We are all in a terrible funk about Keppel's³ return, which is here imputed to his not being strong enough to fight the French. Ld. Sandwich it is said is gone down express to you; and scarce knows whether his head is upon his shoulders—Ld. Suffolk is dead. Ld. Hillsborough it is said is to be Secretary of State.⁴

³ Cf. letter 256, n. 5.

⁴ Cf. letter 254, n. 1.

258. ¹ B.M. II: 195–196. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. June 29 1778.'

Addressed: 'Mr. Bentham / Dock Yard / Portsmouth.' Postmark: '29 IV'.

² Mrs Davies and Mrs Wise respectively.

³ Admiral Augustus Keppel (1725–86) was in command of the western squadron, the main fleet prepared against France. On 12 June he had put to sea with 21 ships of the line to prevent the junction of the Brest and Toulon squadrons. On 17 June there was a single ship action between two frigates, the British *Arethusa* and the French *Belle Poule*. On 19 June the French frigate *Pallas* was captured (see below at n. 5).

Keppel was an M.P. and an opponent of Lord North's Government. Serving under him was Sir Hugh Palliser (1723–96), a Government supporter. After the indecisive battle of Ushant on 27 July, Keppel made accusations against Palliser which were answered with counter-accusations. In 1779 both Keppel and Palliser were court-martialled for their part in the battle and acquitted. Lord Sandwich, referred to immediately below, was First Lord of the Admiralty.

⁴ Bentham's information was distinctly at fault here. Henry Howard, Earl of Suffolk (b. 1739), Secretary of State for the Northern Department since June 1771, did not die till 7 March 1779. Wills Hill, first Earl of Hillsborough (later first Marquess of Downshire) (1718–93), became Secretary of State for the *Southern* Department in November 1779.

You will have a scolding letter from Lind. If the delay happen'd from you take care it happen not again—You have it in your power by giving him early intelligence to do him essential service. Your letter came to him only to day. He writes to you at the Navy Coffeehouse.

Berkely who brought Keppel's letter says that in the papers of the *Pallas* was found a circular letter addressed by *Sartine* to all the Captains requiring them 'not to molest that great Navigator Capt: Cooke'—This at the same time that it does them honour shews the hostility of their intentions.⁵

Sartine is the Ministre de la Marine.

The City is all in an uproar—Stocks falling—No Insurance at any price—all this occasioned by Keppel's mysterious return.

Douglas⁶ (who you know spent a considerable time in France and was in the first company) says that there are two parties there the most numerous against it's setting up for a maritime power—thinking it impracticable, and regretting that in point of Land force it comes third only after Austria and Prussia—The Emperor an ambitious neighbour—whose fingers itch to recover Alsace and Franche Comtè—This party, he says, are for pushing out the Brest Fleet prematurely that it may be demolished, and the Marine plan produce at once all the mischiefs they say it is big with—

Can you learn whether any single ships have been sent out to Lord Howe besides the *Trident* and the *Ardent*?⁷

Let me know the instant you receive this.

259

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

June/July 1778 (Aet 30)

Lind remembered nothing of the promise you mention to lend you the *Phil. Transactions*—Besides, which of them do you mean?

⁵ The *Pallas* was a French 32-gun frigate captured by Keppel's fleet on 19 June. Berkely may be the Hon. George Cranfield Berkeley (1753–1818), later G.C.B., and Admiral. Antoine-Raymond-Jean-Gualbert-Gabriel de Sartine, Comte d'Alby (1728–1801) was Minister of Marine from 1774 to 1780.

⁶ Cf. letter 254, n. 2.

⁷ The *Trident* (64) was commanded by Captain John Elliot, the *Ardent* (64) by Captain George Keppel.

259. ¹ B.M. II: 199. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. June or July 1778.'

The various references to Bentham's efforts to borrow volumes of the *Philosophical Transactions* from Lind for Samuel indicate that this undated letter was written at the very end of June or early in July.

there are a matter of 17 Vols old and two new—I send you one of the new that has a Synopsis of the Conic Sections—You certainly did not mean to have all of them what did you mean—Another time be if you can a little more explicit in your instructions.

I had rather a difficulty to get the Book, I can tell you—‘when would it be returned’—and would it be taken care of? and so forth?

260

TO GEORGE WITCHELL¹

2 July 1778 (Aet 30)

Sir

I take the liberty of giving you this trouble on account of Mr. Samuel Bentham who has informed me of his boarding at your house. He and I are brothers. By the Coach that sets out from Gracechurch Street on Sunday night and gets in to Portsmouth on Monday I sent him a parcel as I promised to do by a letter the receipt of which he acknowledged in a letter of his which was dated that same Sunday, and came to my hands in due course on Monday. On the same Monday by return of the Post I wrote him another letter in answer, in which I inclosed a £10 Bank note, desiring him for that and other reasons to send me an answer forthwith. To this letter of Monday he might I apprehend by the course of the Post have returned an answer the next day: he might have returned one yesterday without doubt: in which case his letter would have reached me today. From my not having received any letter from him to day, I can not but apprehend that either my last letter or one of his in answer to it have miscarried, or what is worse that some accident has befallen him. It is in consideration of the possibility of the latter event, that I have taken the liberty of giving you this trouble, to beg the favour of you to give me some

260. ¹ B.M. II: 201–202. Autograph. Docketed: ‘I.B. to Mr. Witchell 1778 July 2d. Marine.’

Addressed: ‘Mr. Witchell / Master of the Royal Academy / Portsmouth / Post paid 3d.’ Postmark illegible.

George Witchell (1728–85) was a mathematician and astronomer of some note. In 1765 the Board of Longitude had awarded him £1000 for his work on the determination of the longitude. He designed tables for determining longitude by the moon, and was later responsible for compiling the *Nautical Almanac*. He became an F.R.S. in 1767. (Cf. *Gentleman's Magazine*, liv, 156; and W. L. Clowes, *The Royal Navy. A History*, Vol. 3.)

information concerning him if from any cause he should fail of giving it himself.

Sir

Your very humble Servant
Jeremy Bentham

Lincolns Inn No. 6
Old Buildings
Thursday July 2. 1778.

The direction of the parcel was to him at the Navy Coffee house to be left at the Inn till called for: of the letter to him at the Dock Yard.

261

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

6 July 1778 (Aet 30)

Linc. Inn. July 6 1778

Your letter, my dear Sam, which I received this afternoon, deliver'd me as you may imagine from a good deal of anxiety.² It

261. ¹ B.M. II: 207–208. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. July 6 1778.'

Addressed: 'Mr. Bentham / Dock Yard / Portsmouth / Single Sheet.' Postmark: '.. IY.'

² In this letter, dated 'Portsmouth Academy July 5th 1778' (B.M. II: 205) Samuel, just returned from St Helens on the Isle of Wight, says that he has at last received the parcel and letters. He says in reference to Lind's complaints (see letter 258) that he sent him the letter the day it was written. He has dined with Dr Lind and his son-in-law Dr Meek, and is very grateful to Bentham's Lind (John), for the introduction to them.

Also he has dined and slept aboard the *Formidable* and met Sir Hugh Palliser. A proposal he has made for an improvement in the steering apparatus was well received. Dr Lind has given him a letter of introduction to Sir Charles Douglas, captain of the *Stirling Castle*. He has called on board the *Victory*, to see Peake, and also on board the *Bienfaisant* and the *Foudroyant*.

Samuel's new acquaintance was John Lind's cousin, Dr James Lind (1716–94) who had been physician to the Naval Hospital at Haslar, Gosport, since 1758. His *A Treatise on the Scurvy* (1754), recommending the consumption of oranges, lemons and green foods while at sea, was the first work on this subject written by a scientifically equipped observer. Sir Robert Douglas's table of the Lind family gives *Mrs Meek* as Dr Lind's daughter (see letter 12, n. 1).

Dr James Lind of Haslar should not be confused with Dr James Lind of Windsor (see letter 12, n. 1 and letter 295, n. 5).

Bentham sent this letter on to his father, with this covering note:
'Hond. Sir

I take the liberty of sending you these two letters of Sam's, imagining they will give you pleasure, and that you will not grudge the postage of them. My respects wait upon my Mother. My health is better than when I saw you last. I have taken some pills that were prescribed by Dr. Fordyce to Mr. Wilson and they appear to have been of service to me. Your's dutifully and affectionately J.B.' (Addressed: 'Jere:^h Bentham Esqr. / Petersham / Surrey.' Postmark: '7 IY'.)

is to no purpose to tell you all the theories and conjectures I had formed to account for your silence. You have seen I suppose, before now a letter I wrote about you to Mr. Witchell. As the Devil would have it he was in town at the time (so I learnt today from Nairne through Mrs. D.) by which means I was doubly distressed and disappointed. The first that I heard of you was from Q.S.P., with whom I dined on Thursday and Friday.

Friday's post brought me a letter from D'Alembert,³ which put me in bad spirits. I have transcribed it for your edification on the other leaf. It is civil indeed, but rather cold and dry, and very short. N'importe—I am by this time very well reconciled to it—We shall soon see, I hope, what the other men have to say to us.

After I had read your letter to me I posted to Lind to see that which you had written to him—Why could not you as well have sent it under my cover? You were afraid I suppose of my being out of the way. He seemed mightily pleased with it I can assure you and told me he intended to answer it—I told him that as time was pretious to him, I would save him that trouble—All he had to say was to thank you for what you have done, and to exhort you to lose no opportunity of doing the like in future. I do exhort you in his name and my own. I can assure you it has answer'd very well: therefore grudge neither time nor trouble in scraping up whatever intelligence you can. He says it is inconceivable the anxiety they are in in Poland to know every thing that happens between us and France, thinking that if we were disengaged we might take some part or other in the disputes in Germany. The best days for your letters of news to Lind to arrive are Tuesdays and Fridays: because then what is in them goes piping hot the same day to Poland. However if any thing material should happen, don't make that a reason for delay.

Wilson keeps making great preachments to me about the necessity of your having another coat and Waistcoat. I should think you might as well have it there as here.

Mrs. D. observes that her neighbour Mr. Frere[?] is now at Portsmouth and is very intimate with Sr. Charles Douglas.⁴ Nairne told her of a Parson, *Swan*⁵ who is there as being a person you would

³ This letter was in reply to a letter from Bentham corresponding to the draft letter 249. Bowring published a part of it in translation (x, 87). Perhaps he had the original letter.

⁴ Sir Charles Douglas, bart. (d. 1789), commanded the *Stirling Castle* at Ushant; he became a Rear-Admiral in 1787.

⁵ Possibly Henry Swann of Portsmouth, matric. Oriel 1750, aged 16; B.A. 1754, M.A. 1757.

like to be acquainted with. I believe he has mentioned you to him. Amongst other things he is musical.

La folle of late has behaved very well—She talks of departing on Thursday. Very likely I may pay her the compliment of pressing her to stay another day or two.

You may imagine us all very well pleased with your account of your proceedings, which is all I need say about the matter.

Q.S.P. has told you I suppose of Charles's Geneva expedition. It was made a pompous affair of in Q.S.P.'s account of it to me. But the truth of the matter, as I got it from Charles is that he goes by a Carrier, who makes it his business to make up parties as many times in a year as he can. The scheme for eating Ld. Trentham's⁶ toads has not taken—He is gone off by himself to Holland. I concluded at first that it had, from the chuckling and exultation.

My eyes (God blast them) have been almost in the same way as Wilson's. He says you are a good boy, that he is very well pleased with you, and gives you his blessing.

We take it for granted that you will spare neither time nor trouble nor sollicitation nor coaxing nor bullying to get your project put in execution before the fleet sails.

Your letter to Q.S.P, was read by him after dinner in a sort of triumph. I believe it had a good effect. He sat down forthwith to answer it: but his answer I did not see.

[*The letter from d'Alembert*]

J'ai reçu, Monsieur, il y a déjà quelques temps, les deux ouvrages intéressants que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'envoyer, et j'ai reçu depuis peu de jours votre obligeante lettre, dont je vous fais tous mes remerciemens, ainsi que de ces deux ouvrages. Quelque flatté que je sois du suffrage que vous voulez bien accorder à mes foibles productions, je suis bien éloigné de m'en croire digne. Quant à votre projet, et aux tables que vous m'avez envoyées, je ne puis qu'y applaudir et en désirer l'exécution. Il seroit temps que le genre humain reformat enfin tous les absurdités, et les atrocités même, de la jurisprudence criminelle. Mais si nous ne pouvons pas espérer de voir sitôt ce pretieux changement, il est bon au moins que des Philosophes tels que vous, Monsieur, le préparent par leurs

⁶ George Granville Leveson-Gower (1758–1833), son and heir of the second Earl Gower, and as such styled Viscount Trentham till 1786, when his father was created Marquess of Stafford. He then bore the title of Earl Gower till 1805, when he succeeded his father as second Marquess. In 1833 he was created Duke of Sutherland, his wife being Elizabeth, Countess of Sutherland in her own right in the peerage of Scotland. He had been a contemporary of Charles Abbot at Westminster and Christ Church.

7 JULY 1778

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM

écrits. Je ne puis trop vous exhorter à remplir un project si ⟨...⟩ pour vos semblables et si honorable pour vous.

J'ai ⟨remis⟩ à Mrs. Morellet et de Chastellux les paquets que vous m'avez adressés, et je ne doute point qu'ils ne vous en fassent bientôt leurs remerciemens.

Recevez l'assurance des sentimens d'estime, de considération et de reconnoissance avec lesquels j'ai l'honneur d'être.

Monsieur

Vôtre très humble
et très obéissant serviteur
D'Alembert

Paris ce 26 Juin 1778.

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TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

7 July 1778 (Aet 30)

Linc. Inn. July 7th 1778

Dear Sir

Your favour of yesterday is come to hand—I am very much flatter'd by that mark of your condescension—permitt me to make you my grateful acknowledgement for the pleasure it afforded me. I have done myself the honour to communicate it to Mr. Lind, in obedience to your commands. I am just going to dispatch that together with your preceding favour to Mr. Bentham Senr. your worthy father, Sir, imagining it might give him pleasure. Poor Duc de Chartres!² he little thinks that Archimedes is revived in your person, Sir, to direct the preparations of his adversary. Permit me once more, Sir, to assure you with what gratitude I am

Dear Sir

Your most obliged
most obedient humble servant
and brother
Jeremy Bentham

Could not you contrive to go in the train of some of these people Sr. Ch. Douglas for example and pay a visit to Ld. Mulgrave, or at

262. ¹ B.M. II: 209. Autograph.

Only first page of letter extant.

The letter refers to some project of Samuel's which he thought might be useful in the sea war against the French.

² Louis-Philippe-Joseph, Duc de Chartres (1747–93), later celebrated as Philippe Egalité. Due d'Orleans, held a nominal command in the French fleet off Brest.

least come across him in some other way? It might have two or three good effects—the serving as a token of respect—the keeping you in his mind—and the letting him see that you had such acquaintance—At any rate you should think of contriving some way or other that he might know of your improvement. It was Wilson put me in mind of this—This will reach you on Wednesday—probably you will have Thursday good before they sail—But I hope and believe that you have thought of all this before now of yourself.

In your letter of Sunday I have taken care to scratch out the word ‘the bank note also.’ Wilson and I had a consultation about it. I was for having them stand, by way of a reproach to Q.S.P. in case of his not having sent you any money himself. But Wilson thought he would take occasion not to send you any finding you were supplied else where. So I was foolish enough to give up my opinion to his.

I saw a man to day who saw another man who is come from Hallifax after a passage of 24 days—on their way in Latitude and Longitude I know not what they met with Byron’s fleet which brought them to—Byron or some of his people told them that they had before met another ship which at such an hour of such a day had seen D’Estaing steering towards Boston and yt. by their computation the distance between the two fleets was no more than 47 leagues—This story however I dont believe because D’Estaing passed the streights three weeks before Byron sailed from Plymouth.³

I don’t know whether I may n’t send you in a day or two another waistcoat I have. It is a Manchester silk and cotton stuff made in imitation of the Indian stuffs called Gingham’s. Wilson has just got such another made, which is more than any thing I could say for it. I have worn it to dirtiness, so that you must have it washed. I believe I shall make you keep it, for the buttons are cover’d with cloth of the same, and there is a law against that which people are⁴

³ Vice-Admiral the Hon. John Byron had sailed on 9 June with thirteen ships of the line to reinforce the British fleet in American waters. Charles-Hector, Comte d’Estaing (1729–94), was Vice-Admiral in command of the French fleet sent from Toulon in April to assist the Americans.

⁴ The surviving page breaks off here.

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TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

8 July 1778 (Aet 30)

Wedny. July 8th 1778

Linc. Inn.

I send you three reeds for Bagpipes—They were the only ones the man had—They cost 1s. a piece.

I send you the Waist coat I told you of.

'Sciences' you will see I have done little enough of—God help me—Let all the things be copied and let me have the whole tote of them—At the same time return me Lind's Phil. Transn. since you make no use of them. Not that it signifies much neither your letting me have copies of the papers: for I have no heart to do any thing to any of them unless you were with me.

264

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

24 July 1778 (Aet 30)

Friday 24 July 1778

We propose being at the *King's head* Horsham Monday morning by 9 o'clock. The Court will sit at 12. Our cause stands second of the causes enter'd this assizes: but whether 3 or 4 causes that were left untried the last Assizes (they are called *remanets*) will have the priority or no we can not tell.

We shall sleep on Sunday night at Dorking 12 miles short of Horsham.

There came to day by the penny post a letter for you as stiff as buckram from Mr. Davies.² I mean only as to the stile: for it will

263. ¹ B.M. II: 211. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. July 8th 1778.'

This is just the top of the page, the rest being torn away. This means that most of the address (on the other side) is torn away, but what is left shows that it was addressed to Samuel Bentham at the Royal Academy, Portsmouth.

Bentham's reference to 'sciences' remains obscure.

264. ¹ B.M. II: 214. Autograph.

Mrs Acworth's suit against the Sheriff of Sussex (cf. letter 232, n. 3) was about to be heard at Horsham Assizes.

² Joseph Davies was still in America (cf. letter 153, n. 2). Samuel Bentham apparently intended publishing some essays on naval affairs. (Cf. letter 248, p. 111).

rather please you upon the whole. He wishes you to forbear publishing till he sees you: intimating obscurely that he proposes to shew your Essays to Ld. Howe. As to the James Street place he appears not dissatisfied.—I will take care to bring it with you [*sic*].

If you should not meet with us or hear of us at the King's Head you must be lounging about near the Court House.

Wilson is not of our party—He goes before.

Mr. Browne and I come in a one horse chaise. Mr. Browne is waiting for my letter.

It will be some small satisfaction to one to hear of your having made a successful trial of your double rudder scheme when we meet—but the Lord's will be done!

There is a possibility of our cause's not coming on the first day.

265

FRANÇOIS JEAN DE CHASTELLUX
TO JEREMY BENTHAM¹

3 July 1778

le 3 Juillet 1778

ne me loués plus, mon très digne ami (car j'accepte le titre avec joye) ne me loués plus de travailler uniquement pour le bonheur des hommes. votre estime, votre amitié que vous m'offrez d'une manière si touchante et si aimable est une récompense si douce et si flatteuse pour moi que mon intérêt personnel s'identifie avec l'intérêt public et qu'il se trouve que c'est pour moi que j'ai travaillé le plus fructueusement. j'ai cherché à diriger les hommes vers l'objet qui méritoit le plus leur intention et je vois avec satisfaction les heureux effets de la révolution qui s'opère dans les esprits. mais des âmes comme la vôtre n'avoient besoin d'être averties que par leurs propres impressions et je puis dire de cette foible production que vous voulez bien citer et approuver, ce que le Joad de Racine dit de la cité sainte.

d'où lui viennent de tous côtés
ces enfans qu'en son sein elle n'a pas portés?²

265. ¹ B.M. II: 203–204. Presumably autograph. Docketed by Bentham: '1778 July 3 / Le Chevr. de Chastellux, Paris to I.B. Linc. Inn.'

This is in reply to letter 251. We do not know when Bentham received it, but it was before he wrote letter 267 to Chastellux on 4 August, as references in that letter show. Another letter from Chastellux is transcribed in letter 266.

² *Athalie*, III, vii: 'pas' should read 'point'.

le plan de votre ouvrage est vaste et beau, il faut que vous l'ayez bien médité pour l'avoir réduit dans une forme si précise et si analytique. il vous suffira de remplir les cases que vous avez préparées pour faire un magnifique ouvrage; ouvrage très nécessaire dans l'époque présente, c'est ce qu'on peut appeller la *thérapeutique* de gouvernement et sans doute qu'au milieu des maux qui nous environnent cette science est plus pressée à apprendre que l'*hygiène* politique. que j'aime ce que vous avez dit dans votre ouvrage contre blackstone par la nécessité de discuter les loix et de les soumettre à la censure! la vôtre, mon ami, est sévère, mais il est difficile d'y échapper et suivant une expression que j'ai employée dans mon ouvrage vous savez à faire subir la torture aux livres et les forcer à avouer leurs fautes. qu'aura dit votre légiste *courtisan* de cette foudroyante critique? quant à moi j'applaudis à vos principes et en particulier sur l'article de contract social *manibus et pedibus descendo in sententiam vestram*. l'essai on *the hard labour bill* est un ouvrage très utile et rempli d'excellentes vues. elles nous seroient très applicables, et notre digne ministre de finance s'en occupe sérieusement, mais nous n'avons pas les mêmes ressources que vous pour les premières dépenses que de pareilles établissemens exigeroient, parce que des pareilles arrangemens ne venant pas du peuple, ni de la nation, mais de l'autorité tous ce qui seroit levé à cet effet auroit l'air de *taxe* et ne manqueroit pas d'exciter des clameurs. il faut que nous fassions le bien avec plus de lenteur, lorsque nous le voulons. malheureusement le mal chez nous se faisoit trop vite dans les tems ou on le vouloit ou le permettoit. je ne puis pas passer sans silence la dixième page de votre préface, ou vous parlez avec tant de noblesse de raison et d'humanité sur la circonstance où se trouve maintenant votre patrie.³ j'aime encore beaucoup la note de la page 74 ou vous observez combien il est aisé d'allier des principes religieux avec la plus grande immoralité dans la vie civile. Si vous avez la 2de édition de la félicité publique vous y verrez dans une note T II P 300 une idée qui s'accorde avec vos réflexions. j'ai cité aussi dans un autre endroit votre fameux chancelier *thomas morus* pour avoir observé le premier l'injustice de la plupart des loix pénales. j'ai trouvé dans son *utopia* le germe

³ In this passage Bentham sees the loss of the American colonies as at least having one good result: no more transportation of convicts thither and hence attention to prisons at home. What Chastellux is more concerned with, perhaps, is his urging the British statesmen that 'if, after all that can be done, the nation must lose something in external splendour, let them try what they can gain for it in point of domestic peace'. (*A View of the Hard-Labour Bill*, Preface.)

des principes que Mr. Beccaria a répandues depuis avec plus de bonheur et de succès.⁴

vous me demandez qui je suis? un soldat. je vais comme les romains me dépouiller de la toga revêtir l'habit militaire pour commander une brigade dans l'armée du maréchal de Bruglie. quant à ma fortune, elle est très mince, celle d'un cadet de famille qui possède en viager autour de 600 pièces. j'occupe encore le rang de brigadier dans l'armée, mais je serai aide de camp à la première promotion. j'occupe dans la république des lettres un rang plus distingué et que je mérite moins, étant au nombre des 40 de l'académie française. ma vraie richesse, ma vraie fortune c'est d'avoir des amis. vous m'en avez fait acquérir un qui m'est très précieux. permettez-moi de lui offrir les miens et tout ce qui dépend de moi ici, vous vous êtes engagé avec moi; que notre commerce soit suivi—je profite aujourd'hui d'une occasion pour Londres. on attend ma lettre, mais quand j'aurois plus de tems à moi. je ne serois pas plus de complimens à un homme que j'embrasse au nom d'humanité, de la raison et de la philosophie

le chr de chastellux

266

JEREMY BENTHAM TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

5 August 1778 (Aet 30)

Wednesday Aug 5th 1778

I have received two letters from you since we parted.

Tomorrow I go to Colchester²—I shall return this day sennight. I shall not stay late, as Wilson will then be on his return from the Circuit and will stay but a day or two before he goes to Scotland.

On my return from Horsham I found on my table a packet containing a copy of the 2d. edition of *La Felicité* sent by Chastellux with a note which I transcribe for you on the other leaf. It is considerably augmented, and somewhat alter'd.

I congratulate you most heartily on your being so well *etabli*.

A few days ago came a letter from Mr. Wood our friend at Battle—I transcribe it for you on the other side. I have just been

⁴ The first passage is in the body of the text, not a note. There is a reference to Thomas More on t.II, p. 303n., but it is not certain that this is the passage Chastellux means.

266. ¹ B.M. II: 215–216. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. Aug 5 1778.'

Addressed: 'Mr. Bentham / Royal Academy / Portsmouth.' Postmark: '5 AV'.

² To. visit Nathaniel Forster (cf. letter 166, n. 2).

to the Spur Inn—the spinnet is not come, but is to come next time.³

On Monday I was at Petersham, Q.S.P. suggested an idea which I think is not amiss. It is that now you are at the Academy you should make hay while the sun shines, and apply to Mathematics as soon as possible for the sake of making Witchell answer.

There were Ald. Clark his wife and his Father and Mother. His wife (there's for you!) is with child.

I have got a horse that promises to be a good one. Martin recommended it to me this morning.

The wastcoat I can not possibly let you have till I come back.

You shall have a bottle as soon as I return I can give you but bad measure to night—I am tired and have a good deal to do.

I am in no sort of hurry to see D.'s letter you may transcribe for me the material part.

I hope after Sunday to have a letter telling me of the trial of the rudder scheme.

[*The letter from de Chastellux*]⁴

Le Ch: de Chastellux espère que Monsieur Bentham aura reçu une lettre de lui dont Mr. Parker (or some such name) s'est chargée—il profite d'une autre occasion pour lui faire tenir un exemplaire de la seconde édition de la Félicité publique.

Le Ch. de Chastellux supplie Monsieur Bentham de regarder ce mince présent comme un hommage de l'estime et de l'amitié. Il seroit bien fâché que Monsieur Bentham n'eût pas reçu la lettre où il lui temoigne la satisfaction qu'il a éprouvée en lisant le plan de son ouvrage et les deux pamphlets qu'il a reçu presqu'en même tems.

à Paris le 9. Juillet 1778

[*The letter from Mr Wood*]

Sir

I recd. yours, but what you write was false, for I never had a proper notice to resign up the Spinnet before. I write this to let you know that I shall send it up this week, just as I reced it. If you don't like to pay the expence of carriage, the carriers shall bring it back again.

I am

Your's

Dan.¹ Wood

Battle August 1st 1778.

³ See the end of this letter. Nothing further is known of Wood.

⁴ This is a transcript of a letter from Chastellux which is B.M. II: 212–213. Bentham has docketed the original '1778 July 9 / Chastellux Paris to I.B. Linc. Inn.' 'Parker' remains in doubt. The rest of the transcript is correct.

267

TO FRANÇOIS JEAN DE CHASTELLUX¹

4 August 1778 (Aet 30)

Votre présent aussi prétieux qu'inesperé m'est parvenu dans ce moment: et je ne peux guère résister au plaisir de vous en remercier ainsi que de votre lettre, qui m'a été remise quelques jours après la date—Non—à moins que de prendre beaucoup de peine sans motif il ne se peut pas que vous n'éprouviez une partie de ce que je ressens pour vous: et je me livre désormais sans crainte à une idée si flatteuse. Si je n'avois fait que consulter mes premiers penchants /j'eus/ j'aurois répondu à votre lettre sur le champ: mais je craignois et je /craindrois/ crains encore si je faisais voir mes sentimens dans (toute) leur chaleur naturelle de paroître ou hypocrite ou importun. D'ailleurs vous êtes comme vous savez, une des trois personnes de votre patrie, auxquelles j'ai hazardé dans un moment de témérité de tâcher de me faire connoître: et avant que /d'aller/ de m'engager plus loin, j'ai voulu rester quelques temps pour voir l'effet de ma démarche par rapport à tous les trois. De ces trois personnes M. d'Alembert m'a répondu avec politesse: M. Morellet, rien. Vous seul mon /unique/ ami, vous m'avez répondu selon mon coeur. Voulez-vous que je vous exprime de la façon la plus vraie et la plus forte la joie que m'ont causé les marques de votre /estime?/ amitié? c'est qu'elles ont fait que je me suis pardonné l'indiscrétion d'avoir expédié /le total/ ce paquet dont le tiers a été pour vous. Je ne sens que trop bien à quel point /dans toute cette démarche-là/ j'ai franchi les bornes de la délicatesse: mais il est bien sûr que c'est la première fois que j'ai recherché d'une façon si marquée des hommes supérieurs: et je crois bien que ce sera la dernière. Car ne pensez pas, mon unique ami, que ces hommages que j'ai rendu avec tant d'empressement au génie et à la vertu aient jamais été offerts je ne dis pas à ceux qui n'ont que des richesses ou de pouvoir, mais à quelqu'un qui en eut: et si enfin j'ai trop oublié le sentiment de mon indépendance, ce n'est que pour vous et vos deux amis (car pour tels on me les a souvent cités) que je l'ai fait. [*In margin*: On m'avoit dit que vous étiez très riche: et /voilà/ c'est pourquoi en vous adressant je me ressouviens d'avoir mêlé avec les expressions

267. ¹ U.C. CLXIX: 67–70. Autograph draft. Each page is headed: 'A Chastellux'.

That a letter corresponding to this was dispatched on 4 August 1778 we know from letter 269.

de mon estime un certain air /familier et un peu/ brusque /que vous avez sçu pardonner/ bien un peu different du ton respectueux que j'ai gardé envers ces deux messrs., surtout envers mon très honoré maître, qui a repoussé avec politesse son indigne disciple.]²

C'est à vous donc qu'il faut que je m'adresse pour savoir si on doit jamais se flatter de voir exécutés par M. Morellet même le plan trace dans son Prospectus, ou s'il y a quelqu'un à qui il a confié ou pense confier pour cet effet le dépôt prétieux des matériaux qu'il a préparés? C'est ce que vous pouvez faire sans lui en parler de ma part, d'après ce que vous en savez par vous-même.

Et vous aussi (car je vais faire subir la torture à votre lettre) vous qui m'avez bien voulu /entrer/ m'exposer avec une franchise et une confiance si inespérées dans des détails qui n'intéressent à proprement dire que ceux que vous voulez bien honorer de votre amitié, d'où vient que vous ne m'avez répondu sur un chef où j'ai un intérêt qui m'est commun avec tous les hommes? continuez-vous à travailler pour notre instruction? Si c'est par mégarde que vous avez omis d'abord de me répondre là-dessus, répondez-moi ensuite, si c'est à dessein, pardonnez-moi, et n'en dites rien. Il est vrai que votre 2de. édition de 'la Félicité' prouve à ce que j'en vois déjà qu'il s'en faut beaucoup que vous nous ayez oubliés: mais je n'avois garde de /chercher chez les libraires/ demander une nouvelle édition d'un livre que j'avois déjà, et puis restent encore deux années dont on pourroit vous demander compte.

Vous avez bien voulu me nommer quelques endroits qui vous ont plu dans mes petites brochures: je ne sçais pas si en revanche je ne vous donnerai une liste des endroits /j'ai souligné d'abord comme ceux/ qui m'ont frappé le plus dans un livre dont chaque page me sera à jamais cher: C'est le seul (livre) à la réserve de celui de l'Esprit auquel il m'est arrivé de le défigurer ainsi des marques de mon estime. Il me semble que ce n'est pas un mauvais moyen pour se peindre mutuellement que des /aveux/ communications de cette sorte.

Il s'agit dans votre Préface du succès qu'a eu /la première édition/ ce livre en influant sur les opinions. Si je ne me trompe ce n'en est pas (à mes yeux) une des moindres preuves que le *title page* de la seconde: car d'où vient, par tous les dieux, qu'un livre si profane ait pu quitter l'autre de l'ami Mare Michel pour voir le jour en France? Est-ce qu'il y a quelque chose dans les droits de la

² The marginal passage seems to belong here. It runs alongside the passage from 'j'ai trop oublié mon sentiment de mon indépendance' to 'le depot pretieux'.

maison de Bouillon qui ait pu servir d'abri contre Messrs. de sainte Eglise?³

Dès que vous pensez a une 3^{me} édition, si vous voulez bien m'en donner avis je vous communiquerois quelques observations relatives à votre sujet, dont la plupart tendent à justifier ce que vous avez dit au désavantage des Grecs sous les titres de cruauté, d'injustice, de superstition, de mauvaise discipline, de sottise conduite à la guerre. Elles seront tirées principalement de quelques notes courtes et hâtives que j'ai fait il y a 6 ou 7 ans en lisant Thucydide et Xénophon sur les feuilles blanches de mes exemplaires—Vous en ferez ce qui vous plait—En voici un échantillon.

Thucyd. B. 5.⁴

1

The Lacedaem. go upon a secret expedition, but turn back without doing any thing—upon the auspices being unfavourable p. 79 and again 133.

2

The Lacedaemonians pay the least regard of all men to universal justice—urged by the Athenians to the Melians, who tacitly allow it. p 126.

3

—although extremely superstitious as appears from the examples on pp. 79 and 133—which do not occur in the instance of the other Greeks.

4

Curious conference between the Athenians and Melians in which all regard to Justice is openly cast off, and the Loi du plus fort openly recognized. p. 117–132.

Futility of supernatural dependances urged by the Athenians—the Melians as being the weaker, and tinctured with Spartan notions talk a little in the pious strain.

Remarquez que les Spartiates qui sont les plus perfides, sont aussi les plus devots.

Thucydide écrit d'un stile détestable—il est au dernier point

³ The first edition of *De la Félicité Publique* had been published at Amsterdam by Marc Michel Rey. The second was published 'A Bouillon, de l'Imprimerie de la Société Typographique.' Bouillon was then in France.

⁴ The edition of Thucydides's *History of the Peloponesian War* which Bentham used has not been identified. The first reference is to Book V, §54 and §116; the second to Book V, §105; the third to §54 and §116 again; the third to §§85–112.

confus, elliptique et obscur. Mais il est exact, judicieux et philosophe. /Le stile /Xenophon est beau et clair: mais il est un peu romanesque et très dévot. [*In margin*: A proof of it in his computation of the members of the two armies.]

The Melians according to their own account had been a free state 700 years (131). They are exterminated (134) /by the Athenians. The men put to death—The women and children carried into slavery/ without any other provocation than their refusal to desert the Lacedaemonians.

Xenophon. L 1. p. 11⁵

The Syracusans assist the Antandrians in building their Walls, which is the occasion of a friendship between the two states. This is the most pleasing *trait* I have yet met with.

p. 10 The recent danger of the Syracusans and the example of Hermocrates, had now it seems begotten a spirit of disinterestedness union and obedience to the Laws. (See here an example) as the same cause produced the same effects among the Greeks in general at the time of the Persian invasion. But to wait for such conjunctions in order to give birth and exercise to such virtues, is to wish for fevers for the sake of displaying the skill of physicians. In our times equal degrees of virtue are produced by much slighter occasions, and purchased at much /less expence./ cheaper rates.

Mean time it was the conduct of only a part of the Syracusan people that was thus meritorious. What gave occasion for displaying it was the tyranny and injustice of the government which was demeritocratical.

p. 17. Social and friendly privileges granted by the Ephesians to the Syracusans and Selinuntians as an act of gratitude for their assistance. From these together with another such incident mentioned in the 8th book of Thucydides one can not help looking upon the Syracusans at this time as being the most amiable people among all the Greeks.

p. 20. A thunderbolt burns an Athenian vessel—no superstitious reflections—*quod mirum*.

p. 39. Ill policy of the Lacedaemonians in changing their Admirals so frequently—they who from their want of maritime experience could not have a compleat succession of skilful Commanders.

p. 76. The whole Athenian fleet (except 9 ships which Conon

⁵ The references are to passages in Book I of Xenophon's *Hellenica*. The edition Bentham used has not been identified.

saved) taken by Lysander, owing to the supine negligence of the commanders, notwithstanding the warning given them by Alcibiades. It appears by this and other passages that it was the custom for the Ship's crews to go on shore to eat their suppers. The Athenians were so improvident as to station their ships (without necessity it should seem, for their small vessels could swim any where) at a distance from any port or town so that they used to go straggling about the country every evening to get provisions. Lysander observed this and surprised them. It is remarkable that no more than about a year before the Athenians had taken the Lacedaemonian fleet in the same manner. Conon too had but a very little time before taken advantage of the same mismanagement to make his escape from a superior Lacedaemonian fleet. On this very occasion Lysander ~~took so little care of the Sails of his Ships~~ had left behind him the Mainsails of his ships at a place from which the fugitive Conon ran away with them. Experience seems to have been lost on all sides.

p. 77. Detestable cruelty of Athenians. The people had decreed in cool blood with but one dissenting voice to cut off the right hands of all the captives they should take: if they proved successful in a general engagement they expected. Upon another occasion Philocles one of their commanders having taken two straggling ships (if I remember right without resistance) threw the whole crews overboard.

Il me semble que le caractère des Grecs paroît sous un aspect beaucoup moins favorable dans les historiens contemporains tels que Thucydide et Xénophon que dans les compilations tels que Plutarque etc. Dès le temps de Plutarque, celui de ceux deux Athéniens étoit déjà devenu le bon vieux tems.

Il y aussi quelques endroits que je vous proposerais à reconsidérer—par exemple ou vous donnez 15 personnes par maison à Londres Oxford Birmingham etc. Privation[?] à part vous ne trouverez personne ici qui vous en accorderoit la moitié.⁶

Connoissez-vous M. D'Anville?⁷ en ouvrant mon Thucydide et mon Xénophon je trouve quelques notes géographiques qui ont du rapport à ses travaux. Elles ont été faites en lisant les deux livres avec le secours de sa carte de la Grèce. Elles font mention de quelques lieux qu'on seroit bien aise de trouver sur cette Carte, et

⁶ See *De la Félicité Publique* (first edition) II, 142.

⁷ Jean-Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville (1697–1782), the celebrated cartographer, who published his map of Greece, *Graecia Vetus*, at the age of fifteen.

qui n'y sont pas, ainsi que de quelques autres qu'il a placé d'une façon que ne paroît pas conforme à la situation qui leur est donnée par ces deux anciens. Si vous croyez que cela lui feroit plaisir, je serois bien aise de lui en faire part.

Vous parlez dans la préface à la 2^{de} édition de quelques auteurs qui ont adopté vos idées—nommez-les moi, je vous prie, ces auteurs: je voudrois connoître mes condisciples.

Vous allez donc commander à la guerre? J'en suis bien fâché. Ne croyez pas que je vais vous faire compliment sur vos vertus militaires, dont je ne sçais rien—Ce n'est pas l'amour de ma propre patrie qui a dicté ce regret mais de la votre. Je vous suppose pourtant ces vertus: mais ce n'est pas la peine de craindre un homme plus qu'un autre dans un pays où les vertus militaires au plus haut degré sont des vertus de routine. Cependant vous ferez plus qu'un autre pour adoucir les horreurs de la guerre, je le crois: et voilà sans doute un bien: mais il est passager ce bien et je voudrois vous voir occuper un poste où vous seriez à porté à faire des améliorations plus durables (dans le sort des hommes.) Si j'étois Roi de France je vous condamnerais à servir en qualité de Ministre des Finances, ou même de Chancelier, dussé je revolter tout à la fois et votre fierté militaire et votre orgueil de famille. Il est vrai, que par rapport aux détails la il vous prendrait quelque temps pour passer de l'ignorance à la science: mais comme vous n'auriez par l'erreur (à franchir) en chemin ce tems ne seroit pas long. Moi qui suis jurisconsulte de profession, je n'apprens les faits qu'à mesure que je les^s critique. Des faits et le principe d'utilité voilà assez pour construire un monde moral, comme à Descartes /de la matière et du mouvement/ il auroit suffi pour en faire un physique.⁹

Vous me demandez comment mon critique a soutenu ma critique? je vais vous dire. D'abord qu'elle a paru, un de mes libraires /de son propre mouvement/ le lui a envoyé, lui demandant en même temps s'il vouloit bien y répondre, et en cas que oui, lui demandant très humblement l'honneur d'imprimer sa défense. M. le Juge a répondu avec assez d'humeur qu'il n'en vouloit rien. Lord Mansfield lui a fait la même question: il a répondu jamais, pas même eut-elle été mieux écrite. Il a ajouté qu'il savoit très-bien qui en

⁸ Bentham actually wrote 'jes' for 'je les'.

⁹ A rather confused sentence which in the original seems to read thus; 'Des faits et le principe d'utilité étoila /assez pour construire/ [*those words above the line replace 'de quoi' which is deleted*] faire un monde /moral,/ [*replacing likewise 'physique,'*] comme à Descartes /de la matière et du mouvement/ [*replacing likewise 'il'*] auroit [*sic, the word has been altered from its original form 'auroit'*] suffi pour en faire un physique.'

étoit l'auteur: que c'étoit un Ecossois, ce qui étoit aisé à reconnoître aux Scoticismes dont elle fourmilloit: et que cet Ecossois c'étoit un certain Dr. Gilbert Stewart. /Je tiens cela d'un ami à qui my lord a raconté cette conversation—My lord l'a appelle le pauvre Blackstone, et s'est beaucoup réjoui aux dépens de son confrère./ Le vrai est que ma demeure a toujours été à Londres ou aux environs: et que jamais je n'ai été à moins de cent milles /cinquante lieues/ de (l'Ecosse) cette partie de notre isle. Je crois que des lors mylord l'(en) a désabusé de cette erreur: cependant il paroît comme s'il croyoit encore, que ce Docteur y a entré pour quelque chose. Le Docteur vient de donner depuis peu un ouvrage où il a touché sur l'ancienne Chevalerie, et quelques autres lieux communs de l'histoire. Les récits en sont vagues et peu circonstanciés, le stile entortillé et alambiqué tout à fait différent et bien au-dessous du stile pur et facile de M. Blackstone. Cependant ce dernier de son propre mouvement vient d'adresser l'autre /qu'il ne connoissoit guère que par cet ouvrage/ une lettre pleine des plus fortes éloges.¹⁰ Depuis quelques mois il a paru une nouvelle édition des Commentaires ou l'auteur a fait à cause de ma critique quelques changemens, dont il ne me paroît pas cependant que le livre ait beaucoup gagné. Il en a donné avis par un paragraphe d'assez mauvaise humeur vers la fin de la préface, où il s'est emporté contre moi sous le nom de *zealot*, titre que je me soucie très peu de désavouer.

Voilà pour le public: en particulier c'a été autre chose. J'ai sçu de M. Eden, lui qui a rédigé le Hard-Labour Bill, que plusieurs des Juges y avoient pris part, mais plus que tous les autres M. Blackstone. Là-dessus j'ai envoyé en mon nom aux douze Juges un exemplaire de mon essai à chacun et entre autres (sans rien dire de plus) au chev: Blackstone. Pour les autres ils n'ont rien répondu. Lui seul il m'a envoyé un billet ou /après quelques éloges/ il me dit que 'quelques uns de mes remarques s'étoient déjà présentées (à ce qu'il *croyoit*) aux patrons' du Bill, et 'que plusieurs autres méritoient très bien leur attention.' En effet quelques temps après M. le Juge a eu la complaisance de m'envoyer un exemplaire du dit Bill, tiré après sa réception dans la Chambre des Communes par où j'ai reconnu qu'on s'étoit servi d'environ la moitié de mes remarques. Il y ajoute dans une brochure à part la Préface de Mr. Eden, d'où j'ai reconnu que ce Monsr. avoit omis un paragraphe assez

¹⁰ For Gilbert Stuart cf. letter 248 n.12. In 1778 he published *A View of Society in Europe*, which is probably the work Bentham refers to here: a letter from Blackstone was added to a posthumous edition of the book in 1792.

long auquel j'avois pris la liberté de faire quelques objections dans un endroit de ma préface. Il avoit semé dans le sien quelques traits décourageants par rapport à la réforme. Je l'ai fait subir, le plus doucement que j'ai pu, la torture dans le mien; et je le lui ai envoyé en manuscrit: il s'est expliqué—je lui ai sacrifié cette partie: et enfin comme je viens de dire, il m'a sacrifié la partie dont il s'agissoit dans le sien. Tout cela sans aucune convention expresse, et même sans s'entrevoir. Il étoit dans la plus grande hâte, étant sur la veille de son départ pour l'Amérique.

En parlant des 'vues' dont mon essai est 'rempli', vous ajoutez '*elles* nous seroient très applicables, et notre digne ministre *s'en* occupe sérieusement.' Cela à l'entendre à la lettre, me donneroit lieu de me flatter que c'est de mon essai même que ce ministre s'occupe. Est-il bien vrai que mon petit ouvrage a eu cet honneur là? Malgré l'amour propre, je ne peux pas le croire: parce que dans ce cas il me semble que vous m'auriez dit comment et par qui il aura parvenu à de telles mains. Je ne m'étonne guère que des raisons de finance se soient opposées puissamment à un tel établissement: c'est ce qui est arrivé chez nous. Pour y répondre, le projet du Lord North est de vendre quelques communes qui appartiennent à la couronne. C'est ce que m'a dit le célèbre M. Howard qui est l'âme de toute cette entreprise. Avez-vous par parenthe se le livre de cet unique et estimable voyageur? Connoissez-vous son histoire? vous le devez: c'est un homme selon notre coeur—c'est le Las-Casas¹¹ des prisonniers.

Cependant quant à votre nation, si les premières dépenses qu'exigeroient de pareils établissemens seroient trop forts, dût on les entendre par tout le royaume, qu'est-ce qui empêchera d'en faire experience d'abord sur une seule province? D'ailleurs pour obvier aux clameurs n'y aura-t-il pas moyen d'en faire venir la proposition ou réellement ou bien en apparence de la part du peuple? Vous me direz peut-être que c'est une idée /à l'Angloise, idée/ peu monarchique, et que l'exemple en seroit dangereux chez vous. Si cela est, c'est à vous [de] juger; je n'ai rien à repondre. Tout ce que j'en dirai davantage c'est que je serais joyeux qu'un tel établissement se formât dans une monarchie faite pour donner le ton aux autres, et que je serois charmé d'y avoir concouru avec toutes mes petites forces.

Voici une lettre qui ne finit point—n'importe—tandis qu'il y a du feu, vous avez le remède. Cependant il y a encore une prière que

¹¹ Bartolomé de Las Casas (1474–1566) a Spanish Dominican who preached against the slave system in Cuba. He was called 'the Apostle of the Indians'.

je vais vous faire. Notre commerce dont vous avez bien voulu demander qu'il soit suivi, va être interrompu—hélas, peut être anéanti. Je voudrais joindre l'idée de votre personne à celle que je me suis formée de votre caractère. Ni votre portrait, ni celui de M. Helvétius ni celui de M. Morellet ne se trouvent chez nous. Il y [a] une façon cependant que se pratique chez nous de tracer les profils à l'ombre d'une chandelle—sans doute elle se pratique aussi chez vous—faites tracer le votre, qu'il soit réduit à la grandeur de l'estampe de M. d'Alembert, et envoyezle moi par la poste. Ne croyez pas que c'est uniquement pour m'en vanter. Il me consolera /encouragera/, votre image, il m'aidera dans mes travaux: mon ouvrage y gagnera: /que dis-je?/ le genre humain, si mes faibles efforts atteignent tant soit peu de leur bout y pourra gagner. Adieu, mon ami. Si les circonstances permettent, comptez que auprès moi chaque mot de votre plume aura son prix: et quand vous êtes seul, si par fantaisie il vous vient à [l']esprit de faire un heureux, au lieu de caresser votre chien, écrivez-moi quelques lignes.

Adieu, encore une fois. Si, à travers tout ce tas de mauvais François, vous pouvez lire mon esprit tel que j'ai cherché à le rendre et mon cœur tel qu'il est, /surtout par rapport à vous,/ je ne demande pas davantage.

Je vais vous prendre pour confesseur. Il y a un péché énorme auquel je suis tristement adonné, et qui relatera à chaque page de mon /gros/ ouvrage. C'est celui de *τεχνιτενεω* et même quelque fois de *νεωσεθιζειν* en fait de termes: péché auquel le public n'est guère disposé à être indulgent. Ah! qu'il m'a été doux d'en voir non seulement une /mon/ absolution, mais mon apologie même toute préparée par vos mains! 'Ceux qui ne connoissent pas le plaisir qu'on éprouve à voir une idée représentée par un seul mot, ne sentiront jamais le prix de la propriété dans le style. etc.' Ed. 2. T 2 p. 86. Vous auriez pu ajouter, ni de l'ordre dans la composition. Il[s] ne sçauront faire, il[s] ne sçauroit goûter, il[s] ne sçauront entendre /presque voir l'utilite/ un arbre encyclopédique, surtout un arbre porphyriana—laquelle n'est autre chose que l'arbre encyclopédique porté à sa plus grande perfection, l'arbre porphyriana, instrument le plus parfait et le plus difficile que peut construire le philosophe, et preuve la plus complète de l'empire qu'il peut exercer sur les objets de son domaine. Par l'arbre porphyriana je veux dire, un arbre de l'espèce de celui qu'on trouve

dans les livres de logique, qui se ramifiant toujours per *dichotomiam*, montre à force de ramification, et les convenances et les disconvenances de chacun des objets qui en représentent les fruits. Mais pour la perfection d'un tel travail il n'y a d'autre langue que la Grecque qui puisse suffire. Ô que je l'aime cette langue! tout comme vous l'aimez: car il me semble que nous n'ayons qu'un même fond[s] d'idées. Oui, je l'aime encore plus que je ne méprise presque tout ce qu'on y a écrit.¹²

Introd.	p.3.	'L'inventeur... a ses vestiges. ¹³
T I	p.5.	'A ces règnes... à personne
	p.10.	'au lieu d'envisager... choses inséparables
	p.29.	'C'est ce qui m'a fait... horreur de la posterité. Fragm.
	p.43.	'Représentation favorable à la liberté.
	p.47.	'Erreur de compter les esclaves pour rien. Fr.
	p.72.	'Dans un siècle... à la doctrine de l'exemple.
	p.93.	'Tout ce fatras... nulle chose n'est de défense.
	p.151. note.	C'est avec bien de la satisfaction... en tems de paix.
	p.196.	Parmi tant de crimes... de tous les assistans.
	p.204.	Influence de l'intérêt sur les opinions... admirable
p.223.	Sur quoi je remarquerai... les moins hazardés.	
p.228.	La critique saine... tout alliage impur.	
II	p.47.	'mais le grand inconvénient... d'en imaginer un bon
	p.63.	S'il applique... la naissance
	p.66.	En effet pour la plupart... dans le parterre.
	p.75.	c'est alors... plus solvables
	p.80.	Or rien n'est plus contraire... ne s'entend par lui même.
	p.81.	Ils exercent un pouvoir... précepteur du commerce.
	p.84.	C'est le tems d'étudier... sur son education.
	p.200.	Il ne faut pas oublier... abrégier la durée.
	p.200.	L'emploi... ne doute de rien.

¹² Here ends the page marked by Bentham '14'. The list which follows is on the page marked '15'.

¹³ These references are to passages in the *first* edition of *De la Félicité Publique*.

268

TO SARAH WISE¹

7 August 1778 (Aet 30)

Colchester 7 Aug 1778

People here are very much dissatisfied with Keppel and his letter.² There is a man here who upon the first report had given 6 guineas to be spent on merry making.

We did not breakfast very early, we go at 12 to the place you know of,—and I have got to dress, so that you must not expect a very long letter. I shall enclose one to little Mr. Wood,³ which on pain of my severest displeasure I charge you to put into the post the day you receive it.

I reached this place not till after 10 at night—the family were just gone to bed. Mrs. Foster got up, threw on her bed gown and under petticoat and came down into the parlour to give me some cool tankard which was all I chose to have. I got a horse that was as easy as an old shoe, but as dead as ditch-water. The poor beast hung down it's head, and seemed tired when I set out which was a little after 5. I reached Burntwood⁴ (17 miles from London) about 9 and gave my horse a bait till ½ after 12. In the mean time I got my hair comfortably dressed and took the opportunity of viewing the camp at Warley Common, of which there is an excellent view from a field at the back of the Crown Inn where I put up: the best view, the people say, that there is from any place. It really forms a very pretty scene, and immediately I began as usual forming wishes and impracticable schemes for seeing it in company with a certain other person. I had got glimpses of it every now and then on my way to Burntwood from several parts of the road. The nearest part is not ½ a mile from the Inn. I therefore sallied forth but finding it impracticable to master the whole camp I contented myself with surrounding a couple of regiments, who made no resistance. I

268. ¹ B.M. II: 217–218. Autograph. Docketed: '1778 Aug 7 / I.B. Colchester to S.W. Gr. J. Street / Directed to S.B.'

Addressed: 'Mr. Samuel Bentham / No. 6 Lincoln's Inn / London.' Postmark: '8 AV'.

Bentham was staying in Colchester with Nathaniel Forster, for whom see letter 166, n. 2.

² This was Keppel's report on the indecisive naval action off Ushant on 27 July.

³ Cf. letter 266, n. 3.

⁴ I.e. Brentwood.

longed mightily for Wilson to tell me how and about it: being alone and knowing no more about these matters than the Man in the Moon, I could do no more than stare about me like a great goose. In my way to Burntwood I overtook a vehicle that called itself Warley Camp Common Stage Cart. It contained 3 benches with 3 people on each bench who sat one behind another not as in Coaches but as in a Playhouse. They were all very decently dressed, as much so as the common run of people who travel in Machines. The carriages were as thick almost upon the road as in London Streets; and the dust consequently as thick upon my coat as the flour upon a Miller. At Witham a place 20 miles beyond Burntwood (37 from London) I stopped to dine: passing through Chelmsford where Wilson and the rest of his tribe were labouring or lounging in their vacation. Make that fellow write to me and tell me what he has done particularly at Hertford, though I must confess my hopes from Mr. Hodges, late Mole were pretty much at an end before W. left London.⁵ /Your writing I expect of course./ I did not reach Witham till $\frac{3}{4}$ after 4: nor did I leave it till after 8. While I was there the heat of the weather made me fall into a little bit of a half-doze during which I contracted such a hoarseness that when I came in here Mrs. Forster could hardly hear me speak. It is now pretty well gone. I sleep in a large comfortable room with two beds in it, not to mention a soft lying in chair: so that when I am tired of laying in one, I may go to another. With all these invitations to repose, and though it was past 12 before I went to bed, I quitted it this morning a little after 7. When I came in, I was not in the least fatigued: neither stiff nor saddlesick—the(re's) ⟨...⟩ for you! the distance 54 miles. Lord with what contempt do I look down upon your Wilsons and such like puny gentry. The Devil's in it surely that a man should be so stout to some purposes and so weak to others.—There—I have almost written out my paper, and very important and interesting are the contents of it. What follows is for W.⁶

Foster has just read me a letter from on board the Russel: it gives a circumstantial and melancholy account of the distresses on board that ship from storm and sickness. The numbers sick when she came home were 221. She was parted from the Fleet and struggled to get up with it again so long when it was resolved at

⁵ Christopher Mole, son of Christopher Mole of the East India Company, adopted the name of Hodges on inheriting the manor of Rushden, Herts. (cf. *V.C.H., Herts.*, iii, 267). He had been a barrister of the Inner Temple but what Bentham's 'hopes' were we do not know.

⁶ George Wilson.

last to bear away for England, they looked upon themselves as having scarce any chance of reaching it. They were 440 leagues from it: it was not the nearest land but the wind was fair for it so that they thought they had a better chance for reaching that than any other.⁷

I am very comfortable here: every body very civil, and not too much so.

269

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

14 August 1778 (Aet 30)

Linc. Inn. Friday Aug 14th 1778

I have received, I think, in all, five letters from you since we were at Horsham: 2 dated before the 4th of this month, 2 dated on the day (one of them with a parcel containing the Vol. of Phil. Transns. and a letter from Mr. D. to Mrs. D, and one from you to her) and now to day one dated the 11th.

Yesterday sennight being the 6th I went to Colchester: yesterday I returned. The day before I went (the 5th) I wrote to you at Portsmouth; when or how you will receive it God knows, who as you very justly and originally observe knows every thing. I there told you amongst other things the progress of my negotiations with the illustrious Mr. Wood of Battle; the result of which is that the Spinnet is lodged to day in James Street, and that there is 10s. paid for it, carriage portorage and package included.

I have also told you of my having recēd as a present from Chastellux a copy of the 2d. edition of his book; accompanied with a note which I transcribed for you. I dispatched to him an enormous long letter Tuesday the 4th.

Wilson returned to town from Maidstone the day before yesterday: pauvre diable he has got 2 monstrous large boils upon his backside, one on each side, so that he can hardly sit: this will certainly detain him 2 or 3 days in town, and not improbably as many weeks.

I have been making a sanglierical dinner to-day at Browne's upon a Haunch of Venison.

⁷ The *Russell* (Captain F. S. Drake) was one of the ships sent with Byron to New York on 9 June.

269. ¹ B.M. II: 221–222. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. Augt. 14th 1778.'

Addressed: 'Mr. Samuel Bentham /at the Fountain / Plymouth Dock.' Postmark: 'AV. . .'

On Monday sen'night I was at Petersham: Q.S.P. made me promise that when I returned from Colchester I woud spend two or three days with them—O Lord! if it be possible take this cup from me. I shall make Wilson's indisposition partly a reason partly an excuse for delaying it as long as possible.

A day or two before I went to Colchester I saw my Uncle. He is to spend some time at Southampton that Mrs. Gr. may bathe. He talked (in a manner as if he intended it) of going over to Portsmouth to see you. I suppose if he does he will hardly take Madam with him. He talked likewise about sending you some Venison. It may probably go there while you are at Plymouth. Think therefore where it will *answer* best for you to make a present of it, write me word, and I will send word to Mr. Witchel. I have not enquired; but I take for granted from what my Uncle said, that he is gone out of town by this time. I will therefore give him a line to tell him of your not being at Portsmouth.

You may for aught I know have done very right in going where you are: it was however a little disappointment to me, the not hearing as I expected to have done this week, the result of your double-rudder experiments. You must be, I should think, in the way of accumulating anecdotes upon anecdotes, and forming observations upon observations: I hope you have not the laziness and the imprudence to trust the least scrap of any one of them for the space of four and twenty hours to that most damnable of all treacherous faculties, the thing which by an abuse of the King's English, you call your memory. [Set down everything the moment you hear it and when it comes to a sheetfull send it to the post office. G.W.*]²

I spent my time very comfortably at Forster's: the people all perfectly sociable and civil, and not too much so. They pressed me a good deal to stay longer; which I should have done, had it not been for Wilson's going to Scotland. I took down some papers, and read to him what I have written about the Religious Sanction. The evening before I came away, I happen'd while we were riding out together to mention that I should take it very well for the sake of expedition if I had 5 or 6 pupils who were initiated in my principles to whom I should give so many parts of my plan to execute under my eye. Upon that he proposed my giving *him* such a part, for him to execute. I was confounded at a proposal so unexpected: I had

* The hog means news for himself: but I mean *pus* for thine own use.

² The words here placed in square brackets are in Wilson's hand.

not insincerity enough to make fine speeches; so that I scarce knew what to say. However as I found him disposed to work under my direction, I took advantage of it to propose to him a work which he might undertake upon a more independent footing. This was the rationale of the Laws of debate in public assemblies, deduced from the principle of utility. I open'd the subject to him a little: enough to let him see and to make him acknowledge that it was a fine field for speculation, one that he may very well find his account in engaging in, and that lies particularly within his competence. The knowledge of Parliamentary affairs that he has imbibed during the course of his index-making operations gives him a greater fund of materials than almost any other man could have to set out with.³

If by great accident any news for you to talk about should happen to come to my ears I will send it you: but at present all we have to talk about is what the great folks with you have been doing or rather leaving undone. There is not a soul here can conceive the shadow of a reason for Keppel's foregoing a certainty of engaging in expectation of a chance: and we hear various accounts which concur in giving us to understand that people in the fleet are as much at a loss about it as we are. In particular the Lieutt. of the *Milford* I think it is is named on this occasion: the frigate who was between the two fleets employ'd in making signals.⁴ But you have had the whole tale of it from your Landlord or rather Water-lord B. of the F.⁵ If you do not give me a monstrous deal about it by this post, I would not be in your shoes for sixpence.

Wilson's boils are better, and he talks now of setting out on Sunday.

Aug. 14th 1778.

³ This seems to be the earliest reference to what became Bentham's *Essay on Political Tactics* (published in part, 1791; Bowring, II, 299–373). We do not know whether anything came of the proposal that Forster should work on this under Bentham's direction.

⁴ The *Milford* was a 25-gun frigate commanded at Ushant by Captain Sir William Burnaby.

⁵ John Bazely, Captain of the *Formidable*, flagship of Vice-Admiral Palliser (cf. letter 245, and n. 3). Samuel was evidently now on board as a volunteer.

270

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

18 August 1778 (Aet 30)

Linc. Inn 18 Aug. 1778

I received yours of the 14th yesterday—but not till near 11 at which time I had a letter to write to Forster² which I could not well put off. The Post came in so late that at 7 o'clock when I called at chambers there were no letters.

You must let me know what Fund it is your money is in; and then the business shall be dispatched as soon as Posts and Offices will allow.

I want to know what letters I have written to you since July 1st: I have been negligent in setting them down in my letter book and I want to retrieve the omission. But all letters I suppose are at Portsmouth.

Wilson departed on Sunday—Devil take the fellow he has left me as melancholy as a Church Mouse.

He observed and I joined in the observation, that you were a ninny, aye a great ninny to leave your letters behind you when you landed—things so light and portable!

The hypothesis is that you forgot them—And pray how did you get from Poole to Plymouth? Tell me, if you have not already told Q.S.P.

Vouchsafe, good Sir, in your next to write your Landlady's name intelligibly: whether it be Miderige or Widerige, or Muderige or Wuderige, or Stiderige or Studerige, is more than for the soul of me I can make out.

What think you? I have just learnt from Mrs. Green that the Letter Carrier who is such a striking likeness of Davies is Davies himself—in truth Davies is his name.

The Venison which you should have had is come to me. I send you the letter that came with it from Mr. James Carpenter who I suppose is your Jim. Upon my word he writes notably: to tell the truth, if I may take that liberty, I think, better if any thing than

270. ¹ B.M. II: 223–224. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. Aug 18th 1778.'

Addressed: 'Mr. Samuel Bentham / at Mrs. Wuderidge's (or Studeridge's) / St. Aubyn's Street / Plymouth Dock.'

² Probably Nathaniel Forster, with whom he had recently been staying (see letter 268) and not John Forster, to whom letter 248 is addressed.

his Master: although his said Master's last letter to do him justice, is a very good one. The matter, I suppose, inspired him.

Browne sets out tomorrow upon his travels to the West. He will be at Plymouth either in about a fortnight or in about 3 weeks, according as he takes it in going to Cornwall or in his return. I have given him your direction, that is as well as I could give it. He asked me whether he could set me down any where Westward. This put a scheme into my head. It occurred to me that I might run down to you some how or other if you were at Portsmouth, and get him to give me a cast home. The nearest place that lies in his direct road is Whitchurch, which you know is 24 miles from Southampton. But he told me he should like very well to come and take me up at Portsmouth, or at least at Winchester where he has acquaintance. Winchester is but 12 miles from Southampton: and there is a camp there you may remember. He expects he shall be so far on his return in about 5 weeks hence: but Mrs. Browne will be able to inform me from his letters. Now then if your business at Plymouth should be done by that time, the return may probably take place.

I send you your old wastecoat as it is ready-made, and as you are in such a hurry. I send you a pattern of a wastecoat I shall probably have and which I may contrive to let you have a wear of, to make a dash with before you leave Plymouth. It is thought very pretty by all the females I have shewn it to: viz: verte, and a parcel of them at Browne's.

As to the Venison, once more I am vexed that you had it not at Portsmouth to distribute among those who have been civil to you. It consists of a Haunch, neck and Breast. The Haunch I shall send in your name to Fordyce <...> <...> <...>³ This on pretence of giving him an opportunity of calling on you: but perhaps he may take it into his head to send you some more venison, to make amends for the mishap.

If I should send you my new wastecoat perhaps I may send you my lace ruffles to wear with it. It may be of use to be *monté sur un certain ton*, more especially as you have probably been given out by Bazely (who has seen the glories of Q.S.P.) as the son of a gentleman of large fortune. You did very right in subscribing to the Assembly. I should not value a little anticipation especially if there appeared any particular object to make it worth while.

Lose no opportunities of writing to me. At this distance they occur but seldom. The expence is nothing: it is but a penny more than from Portsmouth.

³ The bottom of the page is torn and about a line may be missing here.

Courier de l'Europe 11 Août 1778 Gun charged at the *breech*.
de Paris 5 Aout

Mr. le Marquis de Montalembert après s'être occupé à perfectionner tellement l'art de fortifier une place, qu'elle peut résister aux efforts de l'attaque la plus forte et la plus prolongée, vient de donner une nouvelle preuve de ses connaissances militaires et de la justice de ses idées: il a observé que dans un jour d'action la plupart des soldats, troublés, embarrassés, les uns par les autres, avoient peine à charger leur fusil à cause de la difficulté de trouver sur le champ la bouche du canon, d'y enfomer une baguette et de l'en retirer. Il vient de composer un fusil qui leur évite cet embarras en ce qu'il se charge par la *culasse*. La mécanique de cet arme est ingénieuse, et par sa simplicité et par sa solidité, elle renferme si hermétiquement la poudre qu'elle a par-dessus les autres fusils l'avantage de porter le coup plus loin sans faire craindre l'inconvénient qui résulte d'une charge trop forte, laquelle rend alors l'arme plus meurtrière pour celui qui s'en <ser>t <...> que pour celui contre lequel elle est dirigée. On a fait du fusil de M. le Marquis de Montalambert des essais si reiter<és> qu'il n'a rien a craindre de l'examen le plus attentif.

271

TO JOHN LLOYD¹

August 1778 (Aet 30)

Sir

Your kindness to /a/ my Brother has been the means of my giving you this trouble. Amongst the many agreeable circumstances that have attended his excursion to Plymouth there are none that he appears to mention with more pleasure than the civilities he has met with from Mr. Lloyd. Stranger as I am to you, it would be almost an impertinence in me to offer my acknowledgments for these civilities, but neither this consideration nor any other can ever prevent my entertaining the most grateful sense of them. During his stay on board the fleet He bids me direct to your house any letters or parcels I may wish to have conveyed to him. I am sorry to add so much to the trouble you have already had on his

271. ¹ B.M. II: 232–233. Autograph. Docketed: '1778 / Aug / I.B. Linc. Inn / to Lloyd Cl. / of the Cheque / Portsmouth / Apology for directing / through him to S.B.'

This is perhaps a draft or copy. Letter 272 suggests that a letter was almost certainly sent to John Lloyd, who was Clerk of the Cheque at Portsmouth from 1762 to the turn of the century.

account: but he has given me no other means of corresponding with him. I sent Tuesday the 18 a small parcel to him by one of the Plymouth Coaches that put up in Friday Street. I sent also at the same time by the post a letter giving him advice of it. In a letter dated the 22d. he takes notice that no parcel is come to him as he expected. The direction he gave me to his lodgings was so hastily written that I could not make out with any certainty the name of the Mistress of the House. I wrote it at a venture Mrs. 'Wuderige or Studeridge'—perhaps it may be neither: and from this circumstance I fear that neither the letter nor the parcel may have reached their destination. I think that by the course of the post and of the coach one or other at least should have reached him. You know, I imagine, where he lodges St. Aubyn's Street, I suppose, is not a great way from the Dock Yard—May I venture, Sir, to trespass so much further upon your politeness, as to beg the favour of you to inform me whether they have or no?

I have a letter from him on board the *Bienfaisant*, dated the 23. The introduction you have favoured him with to Capt: Macbride has had such an effect, that he seems doubtful whether he may not change his plan and take his chance on board that vessel instead of going on board a Cutter as he at first intended. The pleasure of the Captain's /company/ conversation and the warmth of his sollicitations are temptations which my Brother seems very much disposed to yield to.²

272

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

26 August 1778 (Aet 30)

I read thy letters, my dear Sam, as thou mayest imagine, with my mouth open, staring with astonishment. Thou were born surely

² The *Bienfaisant* (64), which had taken part in the battle of Ushant, was commanded by Captain John Macbride (d. 1800). Macbride, who was M.P. for Plymouth from 1784 to 1790, became a Rear-Admiral in 1793, Vice-Admiral in 1794, and Admiral in 1799. For his later and somewhat less happy relations with Samuel cf. letters 276 and 277. These relations are perhaps in part explained by a comment on Macbride by Lord Sandwich: 'an extremely troublesome, busy, violent man, very bold but with very little understanding' (quoted by Sir Lewis Namier and John Brooke, *The Commons, 1754-1790*, 1964, iii, 79).

272. ¹ B.M. II: 225-226. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. Augst. 27th 1778 to S.B. at Sea.'

Addressed: 'Mr. Samuel Bentham'

Samuel Bentham was now serving as a volunteer in Admiral Keppel's fleet (opposed to the fleet of the Comte d'Orvilliers in the English Channel) with a view to

under some lucky constellation, thus to prejudice such multitudes of people in thy favour. There's thy poor dear Brother who is almost as good-humoured, and quite as honest, and has three times as much to say for himself, and who though he does look a little like a pickpocket does not look more so than many others who succeed better, might go to the Devil and back again before he would find a tenth part of the friends that thou has done in the same time. What a friendly open-hearted set of people these sea-faring people are!

Agreeably to your honour's commands I shall write to you in future as I do now under cover to Mr. Lloyd²; which I shall always get franked.

I met Lind just now and shewd him both your letters—he expressed himself highly pleased with your spirit and good fortune—He had just been with Jackson³ of the Admiralty; with whom he says he is in a very good footing; and from whom he offers to get your letters to any body at Plymouth or in short any where else that you have a mind.

It's a monstrous deal of trouble we are to give Mr. Lloyd—I have written him a prodigious wonderful fine letter to thank him for it, and to beg him to give me some tidings if he can about a parcel (containing your wastecoast) and a letter both which I sent to you on yesterday sennight the 18th. The parcel by one of the Plymouth Coaches that set out from Friday Street Cheapside: Peg⁴ saw it booked. the letter by the post. I find you had not received them the 22d. They were both directed to you at 'Mrs. Wuderige's or Studerige's' St. Aubyns Street Plymouth Dock. You wrote the first letter or two in such a manner that I could not make it out. Be more careful another time about *proper* names, where there is no sense to guide me.

I go tomorrow to Petersham whither if it had not been for the business your letters cut out for me I was to have gone today. I shall stay till Monday morning when they come away for good.

I heard a day or two ago from Wilson at York—He has found favour in the sight of Sr. James Norcliffe whom I believe you have learning something of the needs of a ship in action, and to improving his qualifications as a naval architect thereby. It appears from subsequent letters that he had the opportunity to move with some freedom from one ship to another.

² Cf. letter 271.

³ George Jackson (1752–1822) second secretary to the Admiralty and Judge-Advocate. He presided at Keppel's court martial. He used his influence with Lord Sandwich on Captain Cook's behalf, who named Port Jackson in N.S. Wales and Point Jackson in New Zealand after him.

⁴ Perhaps the faithful maidservant of Mrs Wise mentioned in letter 228.

heard him mention (an old camarade of Mercers) from whom he is to have a great cause in the H. of Lords next winter—no less than a claim of peerage.⁵

As the conveyance of our letters will now be rather precarious, we should use some caution respecting the contents.

About exposing yourself to danger, I know not very well what advice to give you. It was an observation of Wilson's that any defect in point of personal courage is among the sort of people you have to deal with the sin against the Holy Ghost. If it is necessary to expose yourself, let it rather be in the way of your own profession as in stopping leaks etc. while the enemy are firing, than in doing cabin-boy's work which is all you are fit for. I would not by any means have you fall short of any thing you think will be expected of you; nor accept too readily the *lettings off* which perhaps may be offer'd you to try you. Get the Surgeon to promise that if you are killed he will take your heart out and either inject it or put it in spirits, and send it me that I may have it to cry over: telling him that I will make him a handsome acknowledgment for his trouble.

There is a cool way of talking about these things which you may have observed in Beazeley, not professing to be fond of danger—ready at the same time to do what is ⟨...⟩ if it falls in your way, and so forth.

I send the Bank Note in a separate cover—I tell Mr. Lloyd of it that he may forward it or not according as he thinks it safe.

In my last I wrote to you about getting the Dividend. If that should not come (send me if you can an account of the) tell me what *fund* the money is in without which nothing can be done. I send you a £10 note. I may possibly send you some linen besides—between this and Monday I will consider of it. For God's sake lose no opportunities of writing.

⁵ Sir James Innes, bart. (1736–1823) assumed the name of Norcliffe soon after his first marriage in 1769, his wife having inherited Norcliffe estates in Yorkshire. On her death in 1807 he dropped the name Norcliffe and substituted Ker, being by then a claimant to the Dukedom of Roxburghe. This claim was upheld in 1812. The peerage claim mentioned by Bentham in this letter was perhaps dropped, as no record of it has been traced.

273

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

27-31 August 1778 (Aet 30)

Thursday mornng. Aug 27. 1778

'Well now,' (says Lind after hearing that you were on board the fleet) if there should be an engagement we shall have a good account of it. This observation will serve as a kind of text, on which I may give you, perhaps, a comment.

28th at Petersham.

You see what he expects of you: and you are sensible how much reason he has to expect you should do what little it may be in your power to do to serve him.

I have set down on the other side a few heads to assist you in the investigation and arrangement of the incidents of which it may lie in your way to give an account.²

Who knows? besides serving the private purposes of Lind Wilson and your other friends, what you tell us might possibly be made to answer a *public* purpose. One might cook up a 1s. or a 6d. pamphlet either anonymous or with your name to it, in a letter to a gentleman of Lincoln's Inn or to me, which might answer your purpose either in the way of profit or of credit or of both. What with softenings down, what with blanking names it is possible one might make up something which without departing from the truth of facts you might neither be ashamed nor afraid to own. Such a thing would have a better chance for circulation, especially for *immediate* circulation than any thing else that either of us could write. At any rate be as full and as explicit with regard to names and every thing else as possible to *me*; leaving it to me to suppress what it will be proper or prudent to suppress. One must certainly take care not to fix on you the character of a tell-tale, as that would put a seal upon the hearts and lips of those from whom on any subjects more

273. ¹ B.M. II: 227-229. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. to S.B. at Sea 1778 Aug. 31st. Instructions for Inquirenda.'

Addressed: 'Mr. Samuel Bentham / on board the Victory / or elsewhere on board of Adm: Keppel's Fleet.' The *Victory* was Keppel's flagship.

² Many of Bentham's letters are written in two columns on long sheets of paper. B.M. II: 227 (finishing at 'wax and wafer both') appears to be one such column cut off from the rest. The last paragraph of it is on the other side. The other column presumably contained the heads of enquiry about the fleet, and was cut off by Samuel to fill in.

intimately interesting to you, you might wish to obtain intelligence. If the account you could give were not large enough to make a pamphlet of, one might send it to a Magazine or a Newspaper. As nothing can be more unsatisfactory than the account which K.³ is likely to give (to judge from that he has given) it would be clever to have a comparison made which should turn out to your advantage.

To save your letters from being open'd which you say in your letter to Q.S.P. there is reason to apprehend, use wax and wafer both.

FIRE-ENGINES, Power of.—From Burn and Nicholson's *Histry. of Westmorland* in the *CRIT. REVIEW* for July 1778.

'It appears from pretty exact calculations that it would require about 550 men or a power equal to that of 110 horses to work the pumps of one of the largest fire-engines now in use (the diameter of whose cyclider is 70 inches) and thrice that number of men to keep an engine of this size constantly at work: and that as much water may be raised by an engine of this size kept constantly at work as can be drawn up by 2520 men with rollers and buckets after the manner now daily practised in many mines, or as much as can be born up on the shoulders of twice that number of men as it is said to be done in some of the mines of Peru.

'There are four engines belonging to this colliery, which when all at work discharge from it about 1228 gallons every minute at 13 strokes; and after the same rate 1, 768,323 Gallons every 24 hours. By the four engines here employ'd nearly twice the above mentioned quantity of water might be discharged from mines that are not above 60 or 70 fathoms deep; which depth is rarely exceeded in the Newcastle collieries, or in any of the English collieries, those of Whitehaven excepted.'*

* For these observations on the Coal-mines at Whitehaven we are obliged to the very ingenious Dr. Brownrigg's notes on a beautiful little poem of Dr. Dalton's, on the return of two young ladies from viewing those mines.'

Sunday Aug. 30th 1778.

The above I have just been writing at Petersham. Hussey[?]⁴ came here today to dinner. He and Far are setting out tomorrow for Cheltenham where Far goes to drink the waters. Tomorrow Petersham is completely evacuated. Q.S.P.'s migrate to Suffolk for 3 or 4 weeks making several stops in the neighbourhood of Pyenest⁵

³ Keppel.

⁴ Unidentified.

⁵ One of Jeremiah Bentham's properties, in the parish of Waltham Holy Cross.

and other places in Essex. My F. bids me tell you he sent you a long letter to Portsmouth some time ago directed to be left at the Post Office till called for. He read me your last letter to them. He can't think what possessed you to spend near a page in apologies for silence when you scarce ever in your life he says wrote two letters so close together as that and the last proceeding. His hypothesis is that you had forgot your having written so lately.

Aug 31st

I have just received your letter. I have no time to answer it—I have been copying it for Wilson.

Q.S.P, not content with setting me to write the above would repeat it himself—He gave the letter open that I might put a postscript to it.

You should not have told him of your having written to me—that laid me under a sort of obligation to shew him or at least send him an account of your letter. It was such you know that I could do neither. I was forced to deny that I had received any.

What I feel for thee my child I think I need not attempt to say—I think we are got beyond expressions.

Let it be understood that you neither court danger (when it can be of no use) nor fear it, when it can be of use.

If there are men enough, there can be no use in your taking a job out of the hands of a man who from strength of habit⁶ will be *acknowledged* to be likely to do it better than yourself.

You have two objects—improvement and curiosity. The business you have there is either as a Shipbuilder or as an ordinary spectator—you have nothing to do there merely as a sailor.

As a Shipbuilder, your business is, I suppose to keep an eye to the accidents that may happen during the course of the cruize and the engagements, with a view to the considering whether any of them could be in any degree obviated by a difference in the construction of the vessel.

As a Shipbuilder there may be occasions for aught I know, in which it might answer to yourself and to the public for you to expose yourself—On such occasions I suppose it may be expected that you should expose yourself—As a spectator it surely can not be expected of you; it could answer neither to yourself nor to the public. As a sailor it can not unless from some very particular circumstance answer to the public, because you would only take

⁶ Originally Bentham wrote 'is likely to'.

place of a better man: nor to yourself, since in that line you could not expect to rise.

Out of all this I should think you might extract matter to discourse upon. Whatever you say on these subjects let it be with as much *sangfroid* ease and unconcern as possible.

You may ask your commander whoever he is in an easy chearful manner and as it were for the frolic's sake whether he can find nothing for you to do?—that you dont suppose you can be of much use, but that for your part 'you dont much like the thoughts of sitting idle and unexposed while so many better men or (if you are particularly intimate with him) while *he* is working and exposed. There is little fear of his *accepting* your offer for the frolic's sake; if he does there is no help; you must make the best of it. Consider there was not a single officer killed in the last engagement which was a pretty hot one.

Whatever reasons you may have for declining danger, endeavour to find them out and to suggest them in conversation as long before the danger happens as possible, that they may appear to be the result of reflection not of fear.

I forgot in my last to bid you desire the Surgeon if you are killed, to cut off your hair as close as he can, and give it me—If I cant have both, of the two I would rather have your hair than your heart.

274

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

10-11 September 1778 (Aet 30)

Thursday Sept. 10 1778 L. I.

Yesterday I received a letter from Wilson (the second he has written me since he has been gone and the first since he has reached Aberdeen. What relates to you is *verbatim* thus. You are to understand he had received a copy I sent him of your letter from on board the *Bienfaisant*, but not of that you wrote from the *Victory*.

'I am mightily pleased with Sam's going to sea, because I am persuaded that it will gain him the friendship of these Navy people and that the risque is not great. I hope he will not think of quitting the Deck on the eve of an action—It is a mighty absurd thing undoubtedly to risque one's life, and a life of some value without doing any service by it to the cause: but if the people one has to do with are absurd enough to think that running such unnecessary

274. ¹ B.M. II: 234-235. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. Sepr. 10 1778.'

Addressed: 'Mr. Samuel Bentham / on board his Majt's. Ship / *Bienfaisant*.'

hazards is the greatest possible merit and avoiding them the greatest demerit I see nothing for it but to humour them. I hope therefore that you will advise him or will have advised him to take his chance on the quarter deck, as the course which is likely upon the whole to produce the least inconvenience.'

Last Monday sennight came a letter from Macaulay, dated from Brussels where he has been for some little time past and thinks of being some time longer. He has got me two or three pamphlets as I desired relative to the police of the Low Countries, and tells me of several Folios on the Criminal Law and Jurisprudence at large which he means to get, intendg. doubtless to make me a present of them, especially as he says nothing of the price. This however upon the supposition that it might amount to something considerable I have forbidden. But what is more he tells me of a friend of his (whose name however he does not mention) who recommends as the best method of informing myself of the state of Criminal Jurisprudence in those countries that I should draw up a list of Queries as ample as possible, and to which he engages to give answers. Macaulay appears to have laboured very assiduously and intelligently in my behalf, his letter is as well written an one as you would wish to see, but he talks obscurely of some scruples he has still remaining that have a kind of remote relation to the subject he consulted me about.²

Mr. Lloyd tells me in a letter I received from him a few days ago that he has enquired at Mrs. *Sturtridge's* and they know nothing of any letter or parcel coming there for you: he promises likewise to enquire at the Inns; also at the Post Office for the letter. The purport of this letter was very little more than to inform you of the parcel, in which a pretty long one was inclosed.³ Under the same

² B.M. II: 237 is a note to Bentham from a Mr W.E. Greville saying that he has left a parcel for Bentham from a gentleman (i.e. Macaulay) in Brussels at 17 Somerset Street, Portman Square. Bentham's docket mentions Macaulay and dates it 'Sept.' The postmark is blurred. The letter is dated 'Friday evening'. For Macaulay see letter 244, n. 2.

³ Only one of these two letters seems to survive, namely letter 270. It is presumably the one enclosed in the parcel with the waistcoat, for though addressed it bears no postmark. In a letter to Bentham (B.M. II: 239-240), probably written on 8 September and not much later Samuel says that he received the waistcoat, and also the banknote (announced in letter 272) on Mr Lloyd's return that morning. The parcel contained a letter from Lind as well as one from Bentham. Samuel says he has written to Lind 'by this post what I have been able to pick up that there was any chance of being useful to him'. He writes at length about his work on the covering of ship's bottoms with tinfoil. He mentions Lieutenant Berkeley, now master of the *Firebrand* fireship, as someone 'who will bear hugging very well'. Bentham's docket tells us that he did not receive this letter till 8 October at Birling (whither it was forwarded him by Douglas: cf. letter 276).

cover that encloses this I write to him to tell him that I have enquired in town about the parcel, and find it is booked at the Bell Inn in Friday Street as having gone from thence on Thursday Aug. 20th by the Plymouth Coach that puts up at the Pope's Head Plymouth, and telling him of your being on board the Victory on the 26th upon the invitation of Lieutt. Berkeley to whose care I thought it might be proper to recommend any thing that might be sent to you. Lloyd told me of his having forwarded to you (under cover to Capt. Macbride) a letter I enclosed to him for that purpose. The Bank note of £10 which I sent in a separate cover he tells me he thought it more prudent to keep till he could convey it with more certainty.

I have nothing from you of a later date than Aug: 26th as above mentioned. I am quite sick with expectation.

I shall send you no linen unless there comes another letter from you about it telling me what and how.

Julia is gone to reign with the Angels—God be thanked for all his mercies.⁴

On Monday the whole family in J. Street Peg and all go bag and baggage to Brn. I shall go there when I happen⁵ <...> <...> <...> <...> <...> before company.

Forster is engaged <...>ly in a work upon my recommendation.⁶ Did I tell y(ou of) it before? I forget. Upon my saying once in conversation <...> <...> I should like very well to have 5 or 6 pupils etc. to w(ork) *under* me, he offer'd himself for me: this I would not accept of, but took advantage of the disposition he shew'd himself to be in to put him upon a subject in which he could work upon a line with me. It was a work of the *ensorial* kind on the *Laws of Debate in corporate assemblies*. His knowledge of Parliamentary affairs gives him a fund of materials for it.

Poor Wilson is a good deal out of sorts at finding his Father much more impaired in mind as well as body than he thought to find him: his sister too he does not seem to speak of with much pleasure and fears she will be spoilt.

I have begun my Code of /Criminal/ Law which I take more pleasure in than my Punishments. If there should <be occasion> I shall give it the preference over them as <...> <...> <pre>sent by

⁴ This sentence remains obscure.

⁵ New page starts here. About three lines torn off at top. A tear running down the centre loses us several more words.

Mrs Wise and her family were living in Great James Street. They were now going on a visit to Brompton, the home of Mrs Davies.

⁶ Cf. letter 269 and n. 3.

July next. If it should succeed it ⟨...⟩ ⟨...⟩ 'à produire' any where upon the Continent. Q.⟨S.P.⟩ ⟨...⟩ ⟨...⟩ me not to let it be known, and I believe I shall ⟨take his⟩ advice.

Friday Sept. 11th 1778

P.S. Since the letter I sent with the Bk. note I sent another for you to Mr. Lloyd containing advice about exposing yourself, instructions for a narrative of the proceedings of the Fleet etc. I sent it Aug 31st.

275

TO G.W. GROVE¹

24 September 1778 (Aet 30)

what fund the money is, that I may get the Blank power of Attorney from the Bank, and by that means save the time that it would take to get an answer from him? This even if he were at Plymouth would be a fortnight. All the time he has been on board the fleet he had received letters from me but once before the 11th of this month.

Mean time I advanced him £10 being the amount. of his dividend immediately as soon as he mentioned it to me. This makes an unexpected breach in my slender finances. If you should happen to have that sum lying at your bankers which you could draw for without inconvenience to yourself, it would be a convenience to me if you would be kind enough to send me a draught for it. But as I could rub on without it I would not want you to be at the trouble of getting or sending it in any other manner. You will have to wait for it till the Fleet returns from Plymouth if he should return in a whole skin and as much longer as it will take to despatch the business of the power of Attorney at this distance. All my most intimate friends are at present out of the way: as to my Father he is the last person I should think of applying to on such an occasion.

I am

Dear Sir, with all respect
Your affectionate Nephew
Jeremy Bentham

Linc. Inn Sepr. 24. 1778

275. ¹ B.M. II: 236. Autograph.

Addressed: 'Geo: Woodward Grove Esqr. / Whitchurch / Hants.' Postmark: '24 SE'.

Only the last page of this letter is extant. On the cover there are some jottings in French, probably not in Bentham's hand.

276

SYLVESTER DOUGLAS TO
JEREMY BENTHAM¹

4 October 1778

London—4 Oct.

Dear Bentham—

I am much obliged to you for your *papers* and keys—and the permission to see your brother's letters—I have opened 2 of them, but find no news to communicate to Wilson—The contents of one of them shows that a sensible man, as your brother certainly is, may not have sufficient experience to discover a sea-monster at first sight. You may rely with the fullest confidence on my discretion—The 2 franks you left me were directed to Lincoln's Inn—So they could not serve to forward your letters—But I have got two, and sent all your letters, for tho' you only desire to have those from Aberdeen Plymouth or Paris, there can, I shd. think, be no harm in having the others—There is one fr. Aberdeen This I had a great itching to open for I have not yet heard from that Rogue Wilson—

I have been working at Evidence, and have got deep in all the Nonsense of Metaphysics—I find *that* ocean must be passed—Pray wish me a safe and speedy arrival on the land of common sense and useful practical knowledge—Why did I not send your letters sooner? Why, because I have been in the country for several days and did not return till about ½ hour ago—and in half an hour hence I shall sett out for the Qr. Sessions at Abingdon. Damn this itinerant life—To be sure we are all to be Tully's and Hydes at last—But it is hard that we must begin by being Mountebanks and Merry Andrews—

Thursday I shall return to London and again return to a Friend's in the country, that evening, where I have got all my books—But I shall be in town every two or three days, and forward such

276. ¹ B.M. II: 241–242. Autograph. Docketed by Jeremy Bentham: '1778 / Oct / 4 / S. Douglas Line Inn / to / I.B. Chatham / Recēd at Birling / Oct 8th.'

For Sylvester Douglas see letter 254, n. 2.

It is not known why Bentham was staying at Birling. Douglas was forwarding Bentham's letters from Lincoln's Inn. These included the letter mentioned in letter 274, n. 3, as well as a letter (not known to be extant) in which Samuel recounted a quarrel he had had with Captain Macbride, which ended in his leaving the ship (cf. letter 277).

13 OCTOBER 1778

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM

letters as may come to you—My Laundress will let you have your key, if you should return bef. I come from the Sessions—
yours sincerely S.D.

277

JEREMY BENTHAM TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

13 October 1778 (Aet 30)

When I first mentioned to La Grossiere² your being with Macbride she said she had known him very well in former days when he was the most elegant and accomplished man she ever saw; that every body admired him and that his company she had heard had been much courted by the great. Upon my reading to her what you have written to me about the occasion of your quitting him she told me a circumstance belonging to him which she had forgot to mention before; that he had married a wife with a large fortune £17,000, but though she was a very amiable woman had behaved so brutally to her that in the course of a year or two she died, as people said, of a broken heart. It seems she has been used to people of such tempers as he appears to be from what you have mentioned of his behaviour, apt to take a fancy to people upon slight acquaintance, extremely civil and to all appearance friendly to them as long as the fancy continues, but not withheld by any considerations of generosity or decorum from venting their spleen in the grossest manner upon their conceiving any disgust which they are apt to do without any assignable cause. Never was any thing worse expressed than that, but you know what I mean. She took for granted partly from what you mentioned and partly from what she imagined that upon observing him to behave in the violent manner you mention to the people under him, you behaved to him with rather more obsequiousness, than you might have done otherwise thinking to weather out the storm by yielding: upon that supposition she blamed you and wondered you had not known better for that the only way of dealing with such sort of people was to treat them with as little obsequiousness as they treat you. From all this one may conclude this much that your's is by no means an uncommon case:

277. ¹ B.M. II: 219–220. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. Augst. 13th 1778.'

Addressed: 'Mr. Bentham / at Mrs. Sturtridge's / St. Aubyn's Street / Plymouth Dock / Single Sheet.' Postmark: '14 OC'. Stamped: 'CHATHAM'. Bentham's docket is incorrect.

² Mrs Wise.

but as to the knowing a priori that such as she mentions is the proper way of dealing with them, supposing it to be the proper way of dealing with them and that people who agree on this circumstance that they behave brutally to you without provocation after having behaved cordially to you without obligation are all to be treated in the same way is too much as I told her for any body to divine.

Once more, you are a great noodle for not telling me what to say to people. I see no other method to take but telling them plain truth for unless some other reason can be assigned they will impute it to want of courage. Dr. Simmons³ was here just now, and asked me how it came about: having no answer ready, I knew no better than to say I did not know. I do believe I must go and read him that part of your letter: for he asked, as it was very natural for him to ask, whether your heart failed you? I should have set to work perhaps to frame a story if I had not been afraid of its proving inconsistent with the account (whatever it might be) which you yourself might give of the matter. La grossiere just now suggested a very good idea; which was the giving as a reason your apprehension of offending Q.S.P.—that you took an opportunity of coming on shore in order to apologize for the going out before and to consult with him whether you should return and continue with the fleet as long as it staid out. But this will not do /with Simmons/ after my having told Simmons that I did not know the reason: and as it will not do with Simmons it will not do with any body: for there must be but one story whatever it be.

I am still at Brompton: there is a deal of gabbling all round me, and my head is pretiously confused. Shall I tell you now what I am about? I have been principally employ'd of late upon the Criminal Code—I have made considerable advances in it. At Birling I wrote a defence of Suicide in about 3 of my pages, which will go as a note accounting for my not including Suicide⁴ under the denomination and punishment of murder. One reason for beginning the Code now was the time being limited for giving it in: it must be at Bern before July next. Another is that Q.S.P. pricked up his ears at the sound of the 100 Guineas and seemed to wish me to begin upon it. Another is that I have lately got a little pamphlet which may be called the last dying words of Voltaire which was written expressly upon the occasion of that premium and for the purpose of encouraging people to become candidates. It is entitled *Prix de la Justice et de*

³ Cf. letter 123, n. 1.

⁴ Someone has scored out both references to suicide.

16 OCTOBER 1778

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM

l'Humanité.⁵ This I look upon as a fortunate incident: if any thing can draw the attention of the public abroad, and in particular of the Empress to such a subject, it must be the last dying words of Voltaire. He speaks of the difficulté, presque insurmontable, the tâche pénible etc. This cannot but inspire high notions of the difficulty as well as importance of such a task.

Oct. 13th 1778.

Brompton

From the three weeks I told you in my last of my having spent in this neighbourhood you are to deduct three days that I spent in London in the middle of the first week.

I have got from my Uncle £10 on the score of my having advanced you that sum. It is true I am not in advance quite so much as that but I am a good part of it perhaps almost the whole when I have paid all your debts.

From an incident which I have not time to give you an account of Douglas saw your two last letters. But he made such remarks on them as satisfy me that he takes your part. One may be a sensible man says he as your brother certainly is, without being able to know a Sea monster at first sight.

If you should have an opportunity, Quere whether it would not be better to go out again, by way of proving that it was not from timidity that you came away—On the other side you must consider what Q.S.P. would say to it. My Uncle does not much approve your going out without Q.S.P.'s knowledge. I broke open the letter to write this.

278

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

16 October 1778 (Aet 30)

Linc. Inn Friday Oct. 16. 1778

My dear Sam

I have just received a letter from thee dated Sunday Oct. 11th. I suppose it came to London yesterday, but on account of the

⁵ *Prix de la Justice et de l'Humanité. Par M. de Voltaire. a Genève. MDCCLXXVIII*

It is a small treatise on Penal Law inspired as Bentham says by the competition administered by the Oeconomical Society of Berne for a Plan of Legislation on Criminal Matters (see letter 226, n. 4). Voltaire writes: 'Nous présentons à ceux qui travailleront, nos doutes sur un sujet si important, afin qu'ils les résolvent s'ils les en jugent dignes.'

278. ¹ B.M. II: 243–244. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. Octr. 16th 1778.'

Addressed: 'Mr. Bentham / at Mrs. Sturtridge's / St. Aubyn's Street / Plymouth Dock / Single Sheet.' Postmark: '16 OC'.

Postman's not knowing of my being come to town was deliver'd at Douglas's chambers by which means it did not reach me till now.

Thou has written me a brave parcel of letters since that of the 31 of August it is true. 1. Sept 9th. 2. Sept. 11th. 3. Sepr. 25th. 4. Oct. 2d. 5. Oct — (no day). and now 6. this last Oct. 11th. This is the way, I suppose, you make out your 6 letters; though those of Sepr. 9th and 11th came in one.

As for me I have written none that you have not received except one of Sepr. 11th: about which you may enquire of Mr. Lloyd. It looks as if you had not been to call upon him by your not having any thing about it from him. You certainly should, if it were only in good manners to thank him for the trouble he has had about your letters and parcels including his correspondence with me. I suppose you felt yourself a little disinclined on account of your breach with M'bride. I will tell you in what manner you may mention it to any one whom you imagine to entertain a favourable opinion of the Capt: or in short to any one whatever. For your own exculpation it will be necessary to intimate that he was in an ill humour with every body else as well as you: but you may impute that ill humour to his vexation at not meeting with the French. If you are silent, your silence will condemn you. If you begin abusing him that will not do with people who are more intimate with him than you and disposed to think more favourably of him than of you. But if you preface what you have to say against him with an apology of that sort, people /even his friends/ will be more ready to hear any thing you have to say against him, and at the same time give you credit for your candour, for referring (putting) his ill behaviour to a cause (upon a footing) that (in another way) does him honour. 'So Mr. B. what brings you here? how came you to quit the Bien-faisant?' says Mr. any-body—'Why to tell you the truth (replies S.B.) I found my berth there too hot for me. We were so mad, some of us, because we could not get the French to fight with, that we fell to quarreling among ourselves. Poor —— (here name the officer you told me about without mentioning his name) 'went to pot (or 'got his scoldings' etc. etc.) first: all (or most as the case was) the Officers got it in their turns. I escaped longest; but at last it came (round) to me. We were sitting one day after dinner when all of a sudden (God knows for what reason—I am sure I know of none) he fell upon me in the strangest manner you ever heard of— (Here mention the particulars) 'You may imagine that after this the Bienfaisant was not a place for me to stay in a moment after an opportunity offer'd for me to take my leave. I am really sorry

for Captn. M.'s behaviour (as well) for his sake as well as my own. The polite and cordial reception he gave me on so slight an introduction, and the manner in which he continued to behave to me for a considerable time was such as could not but make me think myself under high obligations to him. It continued all along to be my study as it was my interest to do every thing in my power to let him see as much. I shall always entertain a grateful sense of those obligations: but I wish he had not taken so much pains to cancel them.' etc. etc. etc. There's text and something more than text for you to preach upon.

I wrote a few lines to you two or three days ago from Brompton at the end of a letter from La folle.²

Q.S.P. (with whom I dined to day) takes your pious fraud in the best part imaginable. I saw no help for it but to tell him the plain truth of your quarrel with M'bride. I read to him that part of your letter, Mrs. Q.S.P. present: she behaved very well on the occasion: threw out no sarcasms at all, but seemed to take your part.

I walked hither from Brompton yesterday with ease—sat out at 7: breakfasted at Dartford: did punishments by the way: got to chambers by ½ after 5.

Now for your commissions—but first let me transcribe a passage in a letter from Wilson of Sepr. 27th. 'Thanks to you for Sam's letters. His situation and resolution of continuing on board during the action gave me great pleasure—So does every part of his letters except the Surgeon's projects—The only thing that I am afraid of in Sam's character is his too easily quitting one scheme for another—I don't say that he has such a fault, but only that I have once or twice suspected it, and there can be no harm in your keeping it in mind and guarding against it if necessary.' So far G.W.—I myself J.B. have at least as often entertained the same suspicion—What says S.B. to it.

Let me tell you while I think of it (for I declare I had actually forgot it) I wrote you an entire letter also from Brompton. Did not I tell you in that letter of my having made a considerable progress in my Code (for the Bern premium) and of Voltaire's having written a book (which I have) to encourage people to become candidates?

I understand from Wilson that the packet is gone to Petersburg.³ These are all his words—'The parcel which you sent by

² Someone has scored out 'La folle' (Mrs Davies). The few lines on the letter from Mrs Davies are not extant.

³ Samuel Bentham already contemplated seeking employment in Russia, and the reference here is perhaps to some negotiation towards this end; but it may be that a project of Bentham's own is intended (cf. letter 281).

Sea is arrived' He wrote in this mysterious manner I suppose to prevent his letter from being inostensible to La Grossiere.

1. I have got some *pomatum* for you—hard and soft: the hard in a convenient tin case—I shall send with it half a pound of powder.

2. *Cloaths*—I shall send you your black velvet breeches, Casimeer and green velvet waistcoats—the latter is new lined. A pair or two of laced or edges ruffles thou shalt have. My sattin wastecoat I cannot spare.

3. *Tinfoil* I have not yet had time to see about. I will however to morrow.

I cannot say I have any very sanguine expectations from this Tin-foil scheme.⁴ It seems to me that the waves would wash it off in a week or two, and that a very slight brush from a boat or a cable for instance would fetch it off at once. As to the pressure however of the water that I should think should tend rather to keep the air in than force it out: the escape of the air in the *trough* or tendency to escape I should rather impute to some other cause. All this however I offer with great diffidence. As to the sharing the project with the Surgeon I see no manner of reason for it in point of right or of honour: would there be in point of /interest?/ prudence?

Yes—I should like to take a peep at thee and have a little confabulation with thee, that I should—but I can not now go to you—nor can you come to me till the fleet is come in and you have seen what is to be seen of it. If the fleet does not come in soon, and Berkeley's fire-ship goes out with it, could not you go with him?

Coat—let it be half lined with silk of the same colour (buttons of the colour) (then it will wear with any wastecoat)—somewhat of the French grey like your French Coat—inclining rather to the green than to the red and rather to the blue than to the green. The Collar pretty broad—Pocket flaps not indented but plain terminating in the segment of a very large circle.

⁴ Samuel's project for covering ships' bottoms (cf. letter 274, n. 3).

279

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

24 October 1778 (Aet 30)

Linc. Inn Oct 24 1778.

I have received yours of the 18th

Your Tinfoil instead of a guinea or more as the man talked of, came to but 7s. – 8 ½

I hope by the bye you have received it—It went in Tuesday or Wednesday by the Diligence from the Bell in Friday Street. Q.S.P. took it in the Coach and paid the carriage which came to 3s. In the parcel were the other things I talked of—item certain pair of laced ruffles—1 pr. all lace one pair lace with a footing[?] and one pair of muslin with lace edging. Perhaps I may be able to spare you a wastcoat or two soon, but I am not certain. Give me timely notice i.e: 5 days at the least when you go, that I may not send any thing more.

I have been deferring to write all this while in expectation of getting Franks or recommendations or both from Lind—As yet I have got neither—People are out of town. Perhaps you may have some perhaps not—At Portsmouth the place of your principal residence would be better than at Plymouth where you are to stay so short a time. What advantage to you would it be for example to be introduced at this time to Ommaney,² if you were to quit the place in a week after? I will use my own discretion about the business unless special instructions come to me—My attention will be to husband our interest and not lavish it upon trifling objects—When you come to town there is no doubt but you may be introduced to Jackson³ himself.

Lind is now drawing up a form of Government for our E. India conquests⁴—I called in upon him, t'other day /Wednesday morn-

279. ¹ B.M. II: 245–246. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. Octr. 24th 1778.'

Addressed: 'Mr. Bentham / at Mrs. Studeridge's / St. Aubyn's Street / Plymouth Dock.' The second side of the letter is written across the following address in Bentham's hand. 'Geo. Wilson Esqr. / at Patrick Wilson's Esqr. / Aberdeen.' Postmark: '24 OC'.

² Probably Rear-Admiral Cornthwaite Ommaney (d. 1801), father of Admiral Sir John Acworth Ommaney (1773–1855).

³ Cf. letter 272, n. 3.

⁴ Cf. letter 217, n. 4. U.C. CLXIX. 97 is a manuscript headed 'Exord. Cod. Ind.' which probably belongs to this period. It outlines an Exordium to an Indian Code—though some of it seems facetious.

ing/ to talk with him about you—Soon afterwards he took up his papers and began reading to me—I found he was going to work about it like a horse in a mill—As fast as he went on reading I started this objection and that objection and t’other objection and was answer’d as often with a ‘that’s true’ and down he clapped memorandums of them on a bit of paper—In conclusion he said he would ask me to read over them regularly with him one day next week and then we would shut ourselves up together the whole day—I complied because I thought I might be of some use to the poor devils in that part of the world, because it would give me some pretensions on him which I might make use of in your favour, and because it would make it necessary for me to see some papers on that subject which I should be glad to see. It seems to me that he would be glad to do without me if he could, but that from the lessons I gave him t’other day he thinks it would not be safe. How this world is governd! Lind I take it understands something more of the principles of legislation than Ld. North: but then Ld. North has the King’s ear, connections, Parliamentary habits, and can speak.

I have a letter to day from Forster—‘Every body’ says he ‘speaks of Macbride as you do and your Brother.’

‘I am vexed about you and Lind—Did he not idolize you? and has he not picked up ideas from you? and did he not call you (when I hinted some doubts about—before I had any acquaintance with you—) the first of men? and did I not answer and say ‘Then his *mother* must have been a most excellent woman?’

I have had with me this morning one *Schwediauer*⁵—a German Physician from Vienna recommended to me by Forster—He will be of (service—) he is one of us—He has translated Fordyce’s Elements (of Agriculture into) German—He thinks of going to Moscow (and to) Petersburg in about a month—if not he stays in London about 4 months. I hope he will be of use there in quality of trumpeter. If he does not go his friend *Pilate*⁶ may be of use in that

⁵ Francois-Xavier Schwediauer (or Swediaur) (1748–1824), a German doctor of medicine. He was born in Upper Austria, in a family originally from Sweden. He studied in Vienna under the celebrated Van Swieten, and then travelled some years in Europe, settling finally in England, where with his friends Dr Nooth and Dr Milmann, he continued investigations started by Van Swieten into syphilis and cancer. He returned to France at the outbreak of the French revolution and was associated with its leaders, particularly Danton. He died in Paris in 1824. His works include *Practical Observations on the more obstinate and inveterate venereal complaints* (London, 1784) and *The Philosophical Dictionary: or, the Opinions of modern philosophers on metaphysical, moral and political subjects* (1786) which the *Monthly Review* considered the quintessence of impiety.

⁶ Carlo Antonio Pilati di Tassulo (1733–1802), an Italian jurist. He was a judge in Trentino at the age of nineteen, and shortly afterwards became Professor of Law

way, for Pilate has two young Russian Princes under his care—Pilate did you ever hear me mention him is a man of some fortune a Lawyer a native of Trent a city in Italy subject to the Emperor—He has written books which shew him to be longing for what I am executing. He knows the *Berne* people and Schwediauer (or as they call him for shortness, *Swede*) will get me an account of them from him. The leading man, Swede assures me is one of us.

Reserve one of the franks to send back the power of Attorney⁷ which I will send you in my next.

I shall hug Schw.—the account F. has given him of me, cannot as you may imagine but have prepossessed him in my favour. He is to drink tea with me on Monday—He shall see the beatific vision of the New Jerusalem (Q.S.P.) that he may publish the glories thereof in Russia. ‘He wished much’ (says F.) to be introduced to you, that he might be able to boast in the countries where he is going of having conversed with —’

If you can, look into the Critical Review for August—You will find some superlative general encomiums on me, and some captious criticism in detail.⁸

Code goes on very well.

Have you not had a letter from me franked by Robinson?⁹

This has been a busy day, after Swede was gone came in my Uncle. When I talked to him about repaying him his £10, he looked sulky, observed that your journeys backwards and forwards must be expensive, and in short intimated that he meant to make you a present of it.

Q.S.P., gave me a draught for £20 t’other day. This will keep my head above water some time longer, but I foresee I shall have occasion to lay hold of your skirts before I get any thing for myself.

at the Lycée in Trento. He travelled widely in Europe as a student of the differing institutions, and his suggestions for reform won the attention of several sovereigns, particularly the Emperor Joseph. He was a severe critic of Roman Law. His writings include *LEsistenza della legge naturale impugnata e sostenuta* (Venice, 1764), *Traité des Loix civiles* (The Hague, 1774) and *Voyages en différents pays de l’Europe...* (The Hague, 1777). Bentham seems to write his name ‘Pilate’ in many cases.

⁷ So that Bentham can claim a dividend due to his brother (see letter 275).

⁸ See *Critical Review*, xlvii, 138, for a review of Bentham’s *A View of the Hard-Labour Bill*. The ‘captious criticism’ includes some ironic comments on Bentham’s projects for the performance of church music by the prisoners and for marks which would identify escaped prisoners, but the reviewer places Bentham’s name beside that of Howard as a great public benefactor.

⁹ Probably John Robinson (1727–1802), the M.P. for Harwich, who had been Secretary to the Treasury under Lord North since 1770. See also letter 300, n. 8.

280

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

27 October 1778 (Aet 30)

Linc. Inn. Tuesday 27 Oct. 1778

I am almost blind with bad eyes and beside that I am more than half asleep—Quere whether I shall be able to make out a scrap of a letter to go tonight.

Have you seen Horne's letter to Dunning? an 18d. pamphlet? it contains an important discovery in Universal Grammar. It gives you the Natural History and Chemical Analysis of *conjunctions*: it shews that they are most of them the imperatives of verbs. It tears Harris's *Hermes* all to rags.²

You will know by the News papers and from a thousand other quarters of Ld. Howe's being come to Portsmouth. I heard of it last night only as a report. To day /about 3 o'clock/ I heard of it from Lind as a certainty. I posted to J. Street (where by the bye La folle is along with La Grossiere) with the intelligence. La folle came to town on Monday /yesterday/ with her sister on pretence that verte would not be able to take care of the three children. I had not been there a minute when in came a man sent by Nairne the Optn. to give advice of his having received a letter from Davies at Portsmouth. They said that part of the message was to mention it as D's desire that she should not leave town till she had seen or heard from him: this however must have been a mistake as he could not possibly have known of her being in town; nor did Nairne that I know of. I suppose the message was to desire Mrs. W. to write to Mrs. D. to come to town.

I took that opportunity to give Verte a letter which I had just received for her from L'ecossois.³ He will be in town the 4th or 5th. and from what he heard about you last, he more than half expects to find you here then.

Schwediauer drank Tea with me last night—he and I are as great as Inkle-weavers. He adores Helvetius—He has translated (with large additions and explanations) Fordyce's *Elements* of

280. ¹ B.M. II: 247–248. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. Octr. 27 1778.'

Addressed: 'Mr. Bentham / Plymouth Dock.'

² *A Letter to J. Dunning*. . . [on the conjunction 'That', etc] 1778. For John Horne Tooke see letter 214, n. 7. For Harris's *Hermes* see letter 127, n. 3.

This whole paragraph is a subsequent insertion in red ink.

³ George Wilson.

Agriculture. He tells me of a new edition of Macquer's *Dicty. of Chymistry*⁴ that is coming out in 6 vols 8vo.: and Elmsly (as he told him) is getting translated into English as it comes out. Have not you got the 2d. edition of the English in 3 vols 8vo. If you have quere will you give it to Young⁵ and wait yourself for the new one, or will you wait for the new one to give him—He I dare say, knows nothing about the new one.

I have just been doing a thing which Q.S.P. would think the act of a poor simple mortal that had no regard to his own interest: others perhaps might think it an act of supreme magnanimity. The truth is it is neither the one nor the other; but an act done in pursuance of I hope not a dishonest regard to what I take to be my own interest—In my last I told you about Schwediauer's friend Pilate. Schw. was to write to him this evening. It came in my head this morning to write a note or rather letter to Schw. recommending it to him to press *Pilate* to write for the Berne premium. I had hinted it to him last night. To have such a concurrent I said would be a matter of honour to me if I succeeded, and of consolation if I failed. I urged all the arguments that I could have urged if I had been ever so desirous of his embracing the proposal: putting him in mind of the Empress, Voltaire etc. etc. and of the book that he has already written in which he has exposed some of the defects of the established systems of Criminal Law in a lively and not injudicious manner—that he would not be new to the subject; that it was expected of him, and so forth: and what is more than all this offering to exhibit to Schwed. all my papers without reserve that he might communicate out of them to Pilate any thing which he should think might be of use to him. Now as the time is not very long, as he has countries to travel over and Russian Bears to dandle through them, as he will understand that I am pretty well advanced, and as I imagine will be taught to look upon me as rather a formidable concurrent, what I rather expect is that he will not embrace the proposal. If so he will think it an act of great magnanimity, at least I hope so, and will trumpet it about as such to his young cubs and in Russia amongst other places; the rather as every thing I hear of him induces me to entertain a favourable opinion of him. But even if he should, I am not at all afraid of him; neither I believe are you: for if my plan is not what I look upon it to be,

⁴ For P. J. Macquer's *Dictionnaire de Chymie*, first published in 1766, cf. letter 111, n. 5. A second edition, not in six volumes but in two, was published at Paris in 1778.

⁵ Unidentified.

neither he nor I should get any thing for pursuing it: and if it is, I take it a man must have been used to see the inside of my gizzard for some years before he would be able to furnish as well as I should a thread that I had begun to spin out of it.

Schwede is intimate with *Ingenhaus*,⁶ a Physician of Vienna, a man of eminence, Physician to the Emperor. Schwede and Ingenhaus came over to England together—Ingenhaus is intimate with Franklin,⁷ and is now with him at Paris. Ingenhaus tells Schwede that Franklin has *Helvetius* constantly on his table. Here you see is a ladder by which my Code, and upon occasion either your pretty person or mine might be hoisted up to Franklin. Code might do for America when settled.

Schwede is to get me from Vienna the Criminal Code in force in the Empress's dominions; a book I have heard much talk of.

What you say about recommendations I had foreseen—however you did right to mention it because I might not have foreseen it, and because I sometimes do things rather against my better judgement, thinking you expect them⁸

Wastecoats? you have had your spotter green by this time: that will do for a change for some little time ⟨...⟩ ⟨...⟩ is in it. Here are such abundance of pretty wastecoats ⟨...⟩ ⟨...⟩ for wastecoats here that I don't much like the thoughts ⟨...⟩ ⟨...⟩ going hand over head and getting one there—consider ⟨...⟩ ⟨...⟩ will be here the 4th or 5th—Have you a good Tay⟨lor...⟩ If you have he will make much cheaper than ⟨...⟩ ⟨I⟩ suppose—I could send you down cloth like mine.

Now will you come to town, I wonder to ⟨meet⟩ ⟨...⟩ As soon as ever I hear any thing that can contribute to ⟨...⟩ ⟨...⟩ you, you may be sure I shall let you know.

It is not impossible but I may send you my last wastecoat to cut a dash with once or twice—if I do it will be by the Diligence tomorrow /or Thursday if none goes tomorrow/ which will reach Plymouth as soon as this letter. It is rather summerish so can be

⁶ Jan Ingen-Housz (1730–99), was a Dutch physician and chemist, who had travelled widely in Europe. In 1772 he became physician to the Empress Maria Theresa and a member of the aulic council at Vienna. Later he settled in London where in 1779 he published a remarkable book *Experiments Upon Vegetables Discovering Their Great Power of Purifying the Common Air in the Sun-Shine*, etc., which introduced the concept of an economic balance between the animal and the vegetable world. He published various other works on plants and on electricity.

⁷ Benjamin Franklin (1706–90), the American statesman and scientist, had been in Paris as one of three United States Commissioners since the end of 1776 and had just become American Minister there.

⁸ This paragraph is a subsequent insertion in red ink.

worn but once or twice—You shall certainly have my last winter one there or at Portsmouth.

I have two franks remaining—directed to Lloyd—what shall I do with them?⁹

Lind is to give Schwede a dinner one of these days—perhaps I may have the honour of partaking of it. Schwede hesitates about going to Q.S.P. but we shall talk more about it tomorrow or Thursday.

The plot thickens. The personages of our history seem to be all getting together, like the dramatis personae at the end of a play.

281

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

30 October 1778 (Aet 30)

Yes, so I will—I am a little idlish or so just now, and I will give you a little bit of a treat.

There was a man sent from God, and his name was John for aught I know, but at any rate it was Schwediauer. This man is a man of enterprize, almost altogether one of us—He is to have the best recommendations to Petersburg, that is to say in his own line: amongst others he is to be recommended to a man who is Physician to the Empress. Physicians are wanted all over Russia—his plan is to get sent to *Astracan*—and what do you think for? not merely to stay there, though that he proposes to do for 2 or 3 years but for the sake of travelling from thence through Persia and the countries adjacent to *Thibet*, to pay a visit to the *Grand Lama*. This he mentioned to me in confidence as a great secret and as such it must be kept; because if it were known that he designed to play truant, they might not send him perhaps to Astracan. Therefore mention it not to *Gom*² if you should chance to see him. Upon my mentioning you to him, and your wishes to go to Russia, he observed that Astracan would be the very place of all others for a Dock Yard. This is more than a project of his, I believe, it being already in part executed: and he expects to receive letters from Moscow or Petersburg in a short time. He expects to have an introduction to the Empress herself; and upon recollection I have

⁹ This paragraph is a subsequent insertion in red ink.

281. ¹ B.M. II: 249–250. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. Octr. 30th 1778.' Addressed: 'Mr. Bentham / Plymouth Dock.' Postmark: '30 OC'.

² Unidentified.

a notion that this Physician of her's is an acquaintance ready formed. Upon my disclosing my projects to him he seemed quite delighted, he said that when he was got into Russia, he would take every opportunity of mentioning it in all companies where there was any chance of it's being of use to mention it. I make no doubt but that I might make sure by his means of knowing of my Code's reaching the Empress's hand. He advised me by all means to dedicate it to her at once, to send copies over there, and to give one to the Russian Ambassador here. He says that unless some such method as that was taken, and in short unless she was expressly given to understand that the Author would be glad to be in her service she would never think of taking any personal notice of him: for except the people of the navy, they have no idea that an Englishman would be willing to quit his own country to go and live there. He says he knows a good deal about Russia having been a good deal in Prussia in Poland, and in other countries upon the confines of the Russian dominions, and I am not sure whether he has been any where within those dominions—He gives but a poor account of the Grand Duke,³ he says he is a poor ninny-hammer. He knows his person perfectly well having been for half an hour together so close as almost to touch him, at a Ball where the K. of Prussia was also present, given on occasion of the Gr. D.'s marriage. He bow'd and cringed and behaved like a School-boy to the King: he behaved with childish fondness to his wife who is or was (for I forget whether it was the 1st or 2d) a very pretty woman.⁴

At last I have expedited the blank power of Attorney. I have put it up in a parcel with my pretty wastcoat. I have just been taking it to the Diligence which sets out from the Bell Friday Street at 6 tomorrow morning, and is to reach Plymouth they say on Monday.

I have just received thy letter in which thou mentioned but now for the first time I would have thee to know thy philosophical dispute with Macbride.

The paragraph about Robinson is a mistake—I have not heard any thing of Lind this week—on Tuesday he went somewhere into the country—Clark would not tell me where—possibly to Ld. North's—he was to carry him the Draught of the E. Indian Bill on that day.

If you have it with you (though I suppose you have not) send

³ The Empress Catherine's son, later Paul I of Russia.

⁴ The Grand Duke Paul had married in 1773 Princess Augusta of Hesse-Darmstadt, who died in April 1776; in October of that year he married Princess Dorothea Sophia Augusta of Württemberg.

31 OCTOBER 1778

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM

me my Petersburg letter to Forster to show to Schwede.⁵ Did I tell you that Schw. had written Elements of Agriculture upon Fordyce's plan being a translation of Fordyce's book with great enlargements.

There are but 4 vol's come out as yet out of the 6 that are to come out of the new French chymical Dictionary.

Friday Oct. 30 1778. Linc. Inn.

Davies is not to come to town these 7 or 8 days.

282

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

31 October 1778 (Aet 30)

Linc. Inn. Oct. 31. 1778

What I told you in my last or last but one about Davies's not being to be in town these 6 or 7 days proved a mistake. About 12 o'clock in came my gentleman escorted by the two women into my chambers. He had come to town the night before. He landed at Nairnes, where La folle happen'd to be at the time. She fell they say into a fit, not an hysteric but a fainting fit, and continued insensible for half an hour. They had very near been taken not above 16 leagues from Scilly. As to money matters, the account he gave la folle is that over and above the £400 he is to give Mrs. Accors² he has got as much as will produce him an income of full £300 a year besides his Pursership which produces 4 or 500 clear. They have taken lodgings at Flower's in Warwick Court where La grossiere was once: for a few days they are to be at James Street, where they have got the room above La Grossiere's. La folle won't write to you, being vehemently in dudgeon, on account of your having taken so little notice of her of late. In truth I rather wonder at it. She certainly is not worth your taking so much notice of her as you have done, but that is no reason why you should drop her altogether, especially in the present conjunction of affairs. I told D. of my having told you of what I heard of his staying 6 or 7 days

⁵ Evidently a copy (perhaps the one now in the U.C. collection). The reference to Forster in letter 283 makes it plain that the original had gone off some time before.

282. ¹ B.M. II: 251-252. Autograph. Docketed: 'L.B. Octr. 31 1778.'

Addressed: 'Mr. Bentham / at Mrs. Studeridges / St. Aubyn's Street / Plymouth Dock.' Postmark: '31 OC'.

Joseph Davies had just returned home with Lord Howe from America.

² Evidently a familiar name for Mrs Acworth, mother of Mrs Davies and Mrs Wise.

longer at Portsmouth and I said I thought it not altogether unlikely you might upon hearing that have set out directly for that place in quest of him.

I sent away my letter of last night in too great a hurry to say every thing that I might have said if I had had more time. I did not begin to write the latter and greater part of it till just 11.

Deuce a bit of any hydraulic dispute did you ever tell me about: however whatever it was I rejoice that you came off with flying colours.

I directed my letter of yesterday simply to 'Mr. Bentham Plymouth Dock'.

Yes it was in regard to money matters that I meant when I talked of laying hold of your shirts. When I shall want, if ever, I do not precisely know: possibly not this half year. It was in this view however that I got the power of Attorney so ample; for I might have had one to receive dividends only. It costs 6s. – 6d. But now be you in what part of the world you will, I can get any part of it at a day's warning. As soon then as ever the performers are ready in their parts, the theatre of my exploits shall open with the Battle Tragedy or the Ninny-hammer outwitted. The part of Mrs. Accors by particular desire by Mr. Samuel Bentham. Wise, for the first time, by Mr. Jeremy Bentham.

Your worship seems to be domesticated at Midge's.³

Davies's plan seems to be to stay 3 or 4 days here, then to go down for three or four days to Brompton—They have engaged a Livery Servant. They dined to day at Nairne's I and La Grossiere alone; but they came in at 5 o'clock. He told me of what had passed between Ld. Howe and him about you much to the effect of what I had seen in his letter to you, except that I dont recollect his telling you that he had observed to Ld. Howe that if you did not meet with encouragement here the service might lose you. He says he does not know what sort of influence or power Ld. Howe may have at present, but that if he has any, there will be little fear of his not doing something for you. He talks of his having written ship-building letters to you besides that about the Ballast which I saw.

You must come to town, I suppose, before it is long. Quære would it be best to come from Plymouth directly or to take Portsmouth in your way. Davies said nothing in particular about introducing you to Ld. Howe: but he is to spend an evening with me alone and then I will read over to him all such letters of your's as

³ Unidentified.

will be for the good of the service, and settle more particularly about you.

I suppose you will write either to him or to La folle or both immediately.

Schwede is very much vexed at the thoughts of not being able to go to Petersburg by Sea; the last ships will have been gone before he can set off. If so he must travel over land which at this season of the year will be disagreeable, and will be very expensive.

He was to have been to dine with me at Q.S.P. tomorrow: but I have put him off: however I believe he will drink Tea with me here. When he wrote to *Pilati* on Tuesday he actually made the proposal I mentioned to you.

Yes, your news about the *chace* was certainly worth sending as it tallies so well with former anecdotes.

You must at any rate be in town to see Schwede before he goes to Russia. I don't say that he is altogether a man after our own heart, for I think I have observed him planning schemes to get me to fee him as a Physician, However he appears to be a man of very extensive knowledge, of very liberal views, a man of easy manners, and for any thing I can perceive, an honest man. I make no doubt of his contributing heartily to forward our plans, partly it is possible, from views of interest, but partly from esteem and inclination.

This reinforcement to the Russian Scheme may operate as a Spur to any intentions that Ld. Howe may form in your favour. Does it not, my dear Sam, make thy heart full glad, I can tell thee I work upon *Code* with more pleasure, now that I do it under a moral certainty of its finding it's way to my dear Kitty.⁴ Did I tell thee that Schwede had already seen her book of 'Reglemens' and admires it.

There, you young dog—is not here a good four pen'north for you, so soon after the last?

Lind I hear was expected to be in town today: that is all I know of him.

As what I have respecting Davies's money matters comes not from himself you are not to appear to him to know any thing about the matter: neither should you mention it to any body else.

Schwede's eyes really glistened when we talked of the pleasure we should feel at finding ourselves together he and I at Petersburg or he and you at Astracan where Philosophers are so rare.

In getting witnesses to see you execute the Power of Attorney

⁴ Otherwise known as Catherine II, Empress of all the Russias.

you will consider who you would wish to know of your having so much money, or who you would wish not to know of such a transaction.

283

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM (NOT SENT)¹

4 November 1778 (Aet 30)

Wedn. Novr. 4 1778

Swede says if I publish any thing of my Punishments or Code while he is in the way (I mean in England or hereabouts) he will himself translate it into German. If he is not in the way he wishes me to send the sheets as they are printed off to a friend of his at Vienna, a Bookseller, a man who he says, if he thought a book would be of use to mankind would publish it though he were sure of the greater part of the impression lying on his shelves till doomsday—Did you ever hear of such a Bookseller in your life before?

Swede and I and Wilson (there's for you!) dined today at Q.S.P.—I doubt poor Swede was thought simple—he was such an idiot as to go there with coloured stockings and in other respects not very extraordinarily dressed. Q.S.P. looked a little sulky when I introduced him, and continued so all the time except at intervals when he seemed to put a face upon himself: whether it was that he did not like Swede or that something else had put him out of humour I know not—Mrs. Q.S.P. had sent a general invitation to Wilson by his new servant whom I sent to Q.S.P. on an errand before I knew of Wilson's arrival: and he thought himself very happy in taking this opportunity when he was sure of one man (Swede I mean) whose company he liked. There was nobody else except a miserable female toad-eater of Madam's. Davies talked to me of taking the same opportunity, but he did not come.

On my return this evening at 9 I found your letter of the 1st. My subsequent letter or the parcel it announced² (which ever reached Plymouth first) will I hope have caught you before you left Plymouth.

What I told you of the arrival of the paquet at Petersburg was a mistake³; owing to a misconstruction I put upon a passage in a

283. ¹ B.M. II: 253. Autograph. Docketed by Bentham: '1778 Nov. 5. / I.B. Linc. Inn to S.B. Plymouth. Not Sent.' Cf. Everett, *Education*, 117–119.

² Cf. letter 281, p. 185.

³ Cf. letter 278 at n. 3.

letter of Wilson's which related to a paquet of his own. I know nothing at all about the Petersburg paquets.

Q.S.P. told me this afternoon by way of news of Forster's being at Petersburg—I told him I had heard so too pretending to have forgotten from whom I heard it. It has come into my head just this instant that possibly Q.S.P. may have recēd a letter from Forster in which F. may have mentioned mine—If so there is no remedy, neither is there any great damage done—At any rate I shall hold myself prepared against any thing Q.S.P. may say to me on that subject.

284

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

14(?) November 1778 (Aet 30)

No 13 Saturday Night

It is possible that (your brother) may be blind for three or four days—In that case I could do no Code.—I have therefore a project for employing my time in another manner—It has just occurred to me and W. half approves of it to dress up a scrap of a pamphlet under the title of Naval anecdotes; the heads of it should be taken from the several persons to whom the anecdotes relate—Amongst others Lord Howe, as you may imagine, will be introduced. It may stand a half possible chance of being subservient in some minute degree to his being appointed to a command. For this purpose you must do your part in pumping Davies, making him repeat to you as circumstantially as possible the particulars of Lord Howe's negotiation with the crews of the transports—also of the negotiations for procuring Soldiers to serve as Marines—To this he will have no objection any more than he will to furnish you with any other particulars that can tend to do his Lordship honour. For the sake of swelling the pamphlet and adding to the entertainment make him repeat to you in the like circumstantial manner all the stories you have ever heard him tell about N. American Affairs giving vouchers; not that we shall be to give vouchers but that we might understand with what degree of confidence we might venture

284. ¹ B.M. II: 254–255. Dictated to George Wilson, who writes at times in his own person. Docketed: 'I.B. as G.W. Novr. 1778.'

Addressed: 'Mr. S. Bentham / at Joseph Davies's Esqr. / Brompton near / Rochester.'

The Saturday night on which this letter was written was presumably either 7 or 14 November.

to exhibit each particular—For example the Story about Genl. Howe's² Stealing the Horse, about the Yankee who wanted Lord Howe to protect him against his wife, the story of Davies's Shipwreck on the Island, the escape of the Eagle³ etc. etc. etc.—Collect likewise as many particulars as you can relative to the history of Gambier⁴ not forgetting the history of the knocker. As to Peake pump him too—In the letter which he will deliver you I have already mentioned his having confirmed to me the main substance of your stories about Keppel with some elucidating additions—As to him I suppose you will hardly think it adviseable to let him know any thing of the design—You may depend upon my managing matters so that nobody shall be in any danger of its being traced to him—What renders this the more easy is that the anecdotes will be furnished by several contributors.

What makes me put confidence in Schwede is not any particular confidence in his steadiness with regard to projects but the continual observation I have been making before ever this project came in contemplation of his remarkable indifference for all tittle tattle about persons—The merits of the question depend upon my justness of my observation relative to him for which I am willing to be responsible. Dont forget the neglect or something worse of the Ministry in sending the Convoy of transport to the Delaware to be there by a time at which the Country about the Delaware was to be evacuated—With respect to Authentication recollect the instruction I gave you in the letter I Wrote to you when on board the fleet. Be particularly careful that Mrs. D. have not (the) least inkling of the Matter.

The above was dictated by your brother—on considering this scheme again I am entirely against it—I think it is going out of his way at a great risque and with a very small probability of doing any public service—You must see the mischief which a discovery that he was the author would produce and you will not I believe be so easily satisfied as he is of the certainty of concealment—The person to whom he proposes to entrust the publication is Dr. Schwediawer, whom I believe to be a very good sort of man, but neither you nor I even your brother know him well enough to put

² Lord Howe and General William Howe were brothers. The former commanded sea operations, the latter land operations in the American War. Both resigned their commands in 1778. See also letters 153, n. 2 and 226a, n. 5.

³ Howe's flagship: cf. letter 288.

⁴ James Gambier (1756–1833), later Lord Gambier. He had been Captain of the *Thunder* (a bomb ship) in Lord Howe's fleet in America. The ship was captured by d'Estaing in July 1778.

such a confidence in him—From his history I am inclined to suspect him of fickleness—

285

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

21 November 1778 (Aet 30)

The motion for a new trial was determined finally in our favour on Friday—We came off with flying colours—Wilson I understand spoke very well—better than either of his Leaders—he got many compliments from the Bar. *Ld. M.* pronounced my elogium—said that I had acted like a man of honour in the affair—wonder'd that the Baron's report should not have been more favourable.²

Bargrave and Forster will be it is computed about £20 out of pocket by this motion alone—about 130£ in the whole if they stop here. The misfortune is they seem bent upon taking out a Commission of Bankruptcy against *W.* without any chance of succeeding that I can see—They are quite beside themselves with vexation and revenge. They may still keep *Mrs. A.* out of the money till June or July if they bring a writ of Error in which *(case)* they will not have a possibility of succeeding; so that merely to make him lose the interest of £160 for 6 months they must fling away £20 or £30 or perhaps more. Whether they intend to take this foolish step we shall know by Monday or Tuesday.

Watts of Lewes called on me today with his Bill for what he did with relation to the sale of the House—It comes to £17 or 18 of which *Mrs. A.* will be to pay half. I sent him with it to *Mr. Browne.*

I shall direct this to *Mr. D.* least you should be on the road in your way to London.

Love and occrements[?] and so forth distribute as you like.

285. ¹ B.M. II: 258. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. Novr. 21st 1778.'

Addressed: 'Mr. S. Bentham / or in his absence / Mr. Davies.'

It is possible that this together with letter 286 was delivered by Peake (cf. letter 286 at n. 4). As this is uncertain, however, the two sheets are treated here as separate letters, though written on the same day.

² The appeal of the Sheriff of Sussex for a new trial of the action brought against him by *Mrs Acworth* (cf. letter 232, n. 3) was rejected by the Court of King's Bench, presided over by Lord Mansfield.

286

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

21 November 1778 (Aet 30)

Nov. 21. 1778. Linc. Inn.

The sanglier who will give you this came and attacked me last night at 10 o'clock—seeing no remedy I put him to kennel in your bed—Is not this free and easy?

However he shall be made to answer—the Lord is a gracious Lord and out of evil bringeth good—He (I mean not the Lord but the Sanglier) is upon intimate terms with one Blanquet or Blanket² a 2d. Lieutt. on board the *Victory*—Blanquet was intimate with Adm. Knowles³ and was over with him one summer in Russia. He was with him when he died got a great many of his papers and regrets that he did not get more. He is a free hearty, communicative harum-scarum fellow. For further particulars I refer you to the Sanglier—pump him well—I proposed to him to introduce you to Blanquet—that he would do with all his heart—Blanquet perhaps may not stay above a fortnight in London. P.⁴ talks of returning to London in about a week; but if he does not of his own accord you must make him for the purpose of introducing you. I don't doubt but what you could get B. to let you have the rummaging of his Russian papers.

Interrogate P. about Keppel—what I have collected from him confirms your stories, and in part accounts for them.

Swede has been introduced to Baron Dimsdale⁵—not the Son to whom he remains yet to be introduced, but the old man who has behaved to him with cordiality and promised him all sorts of letters and introductions.

I have got a most divine Bookbinder of Swede's recommending—Bring with you any books you have unbound—Polish letters you have—I want to bind them with Lind's other works.

286. ¹ B.M. II: 259. Autograph. (Cf. letter 285, n. 1).

² John Blankett (d. 1801) was then first lieutenant of Keppel's flagship the *Victory*. In 1763 he had been sent to Russia to obtain information about discoveries on the east coast of Asia. He was appointed commander in 1779 and Rear-Admiral in 1799 (see also letter 302, n. 4). Blankett was a member of the Shelburne circle and Bentham met him at Bowood in the 1780's.

³ Sir Charles Knowles (d. 1777), British admiral and at one time Governor of Jamaica, was admiral in the Russian Navy from 1770 to 1774 while Russia was at war with Turkey.

⁴ Peake: see letter 135, n. 2.

⁵ Cf. letter 211, n. 2.

287

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

6 December 1778 (Aet 30)

Sunday Decr. 6. 1778

I write from La Grossiere's—this is all the paper I can get with a most detestable pen.

I have been waiting till this time to get you a few more pamphlets which I herewith send you upon E. India Shipping. I expected also to have heard from you again that I might know whether you went on board the *Terrible*² or no. If I had been sure of your not going I should have sent you my fine waistcoat Thursday the day for which I wanted it being over.

Last night and not before I sent your letter to Brompton—I wrote a scrap in it myself to tell them of my having met with Parson *O'Berne* at Burton's.³ He is a magnificent gentleman. He assures me upon his honour so and so about what the characters are and what the intentions and so forth of the Ministry. He says the Bp. of Peterborough⁴ (who recommended him to Ld. Howe) is the first character of the age.

287. ¹ B.M. II: 260–261. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. Decr. 6th 1778.'

Addressed: 'Mr. S. Bentham.'

Written (it seems) at the house in Great James Street where Mrs Wise lived.

² Another ship in Lord Keppel's fleet, under Captain Sir Richard Bickerton, bart.

³ Probably Thomas Lewis O'Beirne (1748?–1823) who had been chaplain to Lord Howe's fleet in America, and hence would have known Mr Davies. He published a vindication of the conduct of Lord Howe and his brother in America against their detractors. Later he wrote much as a pamphleteer on the Whig side, and in 1798 became Bishop of Meath. He was born a Roman Catholic.

Mentioning that Thomas Erskine sought him out after publication of the *Fragment*, the old Bentham said to Bowring that one of their common acquaintances 'was O'Byrne, who was afterwards an Irish bishop; but in those days used to dangle about Dr. Burton. This O'Byrne I remember driving an iron skewer through the hand of his black servant. Erskine I met sometimes at Dr. Burton's' (Bowring, x, 565).

There is a further reference to Dr Burton, who is not otherwise identified, in letter 295. He is not to be confused with the Dr John Burton (1696–1771) whom Bentham knew at Oxford (cf. letter 14, n. 5).

⁴ The then Bishop of Peterborough was John Hinchliffe (1731–94), who was also Master of Trinity College Cambridge. He had recommended the *Fragment on Government* to Erskine as containing sound Whig doctrine (cf. letter 303). This may explain Bentham's interest in O'Beirne's 'puff' of him. Hinchliffe took a prominent part in debate on the American war in the House of Lords, objecting to the use of 'savage natives' against the rebels. He supported toleration towards the Catholics, and in 1788 his liberal views led to his resignation as Master of Trinity.

I was a great man with him as soon as I found out who he was and he came to learn that I was intimate with Davies—He speaks of D. in the highest terms—one would not have thought that the Parson had been the but of a company of which Davies was one.

There is yet another pamphlet on the E. India Shipping which I shall get you.

I was pleased t'other day with meeting with the collection of the Laws of Sardinia. It was promulgated in the late King's time in 1770. It consists but of 2 Vols pretty thick ones indeed in 12mo.⁵

I have nothing more to say—nothing has occurred—

There is no room for your Boots and Spurs—Boots 1 pr. you have spurs upon occasion you could borrow—They shall go by next packet.

288

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

9-10 December 1778 (Aet 30)

Wedn. Decr. 9th 1778

I have recēd your letter—but no parcel by the Diligence. Huzza! Curtis² for ever!

I have been to Barker's—unfortunately his stock of every thing is almost out—I have been able to scrape together but 5 shirts ready made with promises for 13 more by Friday night—Those 5 are plain at 15s.—if ruffled they would have come to 18s. The 13 I have order'd to be ruffled. I have got 4 Cambric stocks at 3s. 6d. 4 muslin do. at 2s. 8d.

Why Barker not to wash the Shirts? he says he can get them washed at a minute's warning.

Those I have I shall pack off to Mrs. Green tomorrow at 7 when she comes to light the fire.

I shall wait impatiently for your letter tomorrow which is to determine me with respect to a multitude of these matters.

⁵ *Leggi e costituzioni di sua Maestà. Loix et constitutions de sa Majesté.* 2 tom. Ital. and Fr. Torino. 1770 40. The earliest duodecimo edition in the British Museum was published at Paris in 1791, but there were several different editions. The late king was Charles Emmanuel III of Savoy.

288. ¹ B.M. II: 262-263. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. Decr. 9 1778.'

² Captain Roger Curtis (1746-1816) who had been second in command of Lord Howe's flagship, the *Eagle* in the American campaign that summer. Perhaps it was on the *Eagle* that Samuel soon afterwards set out for a short time at sea. Apparently Curtis offered to take Samuel on an expedition to India (cf. letter 303). See also letter 297.

Wilson is sitting opposite me and is well pleased—

Swede has been very ill with a disorder that has threatened him vehemently and still continues to threaten him in some degree with the loss of a leg—If he should lose it it will not hinder him he says from going to Petersburg.

Davies comes not till tomorrow.

³Partly from curiosity, and partly for fear an additional piece of paper would make the packet overweight I broke open this letter.

I send you a £15 note No. K 281 payable to Chs. Jewson dated 6 Oct. 1777 signed Tho:s Thompson.

There is no getting any Shirts done before tomorrow Friday night—They will go on Saturday morning by the Coach. On Saturday morning or tomorrow night if it sets out then The Cot⁴ etc. will go by the Waggon—I thought (. . .) Wilson concurred with me) that it would be better to send the Shirts by the speedier conveyance as a Cot might in case of necessity be easier got there.

Thursday Dec. 10th 1778

I have received your letter of yesterday—but I have it not by me—Davies has got it with the rest.

289

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

11 December 1778 (Aet 30)

Ruffles

You will not want my ruffles while you are at Sea, therefore send them me back.

Franks to be open'd

There may very likely be means of sending or writing to you while you are at Sea—Therefore leave directions when you go that any franked covers directed to you at Mr. Witchel's² may be open'd. If James³ should be left behind there may be occasion for

³ What follows is on a separate page (B.M. II: 263) but was presumably sent at the same time. It is docketed 'I.B. Decr. 10th 1778'. On the other side it is addressed 'Mr. Bentham'.

⁴ Substituted for a crossed out word, which may be 'Matrass'.
289. ¹ B.M. II: 264. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. Decr. 11th 1778.'
 Addressed: 'Mr. S. Bentham.'

² Cf. letter 260, n. 1.

³ Samuel Bentham's servant James Carpenter (cf. letter 270).

me to write to him; if not to Mr. Witchel; and for that purpose the franks I have directed to you will serve.

Servant for Peake

Mrs. Green has a nephew who is about 15 and served two years of his time to a Carpenter, but was discharged from him by the Chamberlain for ill usage; I mean for the master's having used the Apprentice ill. The Boy wants to go to Sea, and Mrs. G. desired me to ask whether Peake wanted a servant. She says the Boy can write pretty well.

What a monkey you are not to write to me last week to tell me what time I should have!

I have just dispatched the Cot with bedding and sheets by Waggon that goes from the | || | Borough.

I have dispatched the other things by the Coach that sets off at 11 to night from the | | behind St. Clements—Inclosed I give you a list—The things that are not washed you can get washed as well there as here I thought it not worth while to delay them longer for the sake of being washed.

I was afraid to trust the Linen by the Waggon along with the Cot least they should not have been time enough.

The rest of the linen will go I hope by the Coach that sets off on friday night.

Barker had not the handkerchiefs I wanted—Wilson would not let me have any of the spotted or border'd ones. The dozen checked ones I bought at another place.

290

GEORGE WILSON TO
JEREMY BENTHAM¹

Circa 12 December 1778

There was an express over land from India a day or two ago—The news that is certain is that the Maratta war is at an end and

290. ¹ B.M. II: 274. Undated. Docketed: 'G.W. to I.B.'

On 9 December 1778 Vice-Admiral Palliser lodged formal charges against Admiral Keppel. These were forwarded on the same day to Keppel with a letter informing him that a court martial would be held to hear them. Keppel himself informed the House of Commons of this on 11 December.

Sir Hector Munro (1726–1805) had begun the siege of Pondicherry in August 1778. The French garrison finally capitulated on 16 October.

The date of the letter must be near to that given here.

that our army has put a man whose name is Rajobá in possession of Poonah the Capital—The papers add that Rajoba has made us a present of a great slice of country and that Col. Monro is encamped very near Pondicherry.

Keppel is to be tried by a Court Martial, I presume at his own request; Erskine is retained for him, but he will have no opportunity of speaking.

10 o'Clock.

291

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

12-13 December 1778 (Aet 30)

Why have not you in all this while written any thing to Q.S.P. about your voyage? It is impossible to keep it a secret from him, neither is there any reason for it; and it is better he should hear of it from you than from me. Write to him before you go through me that I may see the letter and write such a letter to me as may be ostensible to him.

I send you the remainder of the Shirts—they came here but this morning—also of the handkerchieves.

Macaulay is with me, and has brought me a power of books.

It was Q.S.P.'s birthday to day—66²

Sunday 13th Decr. 1778

Linc. Inn.

I sent you the first part of the linen by the Coach that set off from behind St. Clements on Friday at 11 at night.

The Cot was sent the same night to an Inn at the Borough from whence it was to set off at 9 the next morning and to reach Portsmouth by 3 on Tuesday afternoon.

The Sheets and 2 pillow cases are with it.

Write me word if you receive all these things.

291. ¹ B.M. II: 265. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. Decr. 13th 1778.'

² On the occasion of his entering his sixty-seventh year Jeremiah Bentham wrote a letter to his son, Samuel, at the Royal Academy, Portsmouth, in which he meditates upon life, which 'is made up of Hopes and Fears, of Comforts and Disappointments, in short, of Contraries...' and makes an application of these reflections to the case of Admiral Keppel who is shortly to be tried by Court Martial at Portsmouth (B.M. II: 266).

292

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

19 December 1778 (Aet 30)

Linc. Inn. Dec. 19, 1778

I have not time to night to enquire about the Cot—Remember there are two inns in the Borough from whence waggons go.

I have not seen Mrs. Green, so can not say any thing to you about the Boy till | |

Will you see and get me some pens from Peake? He took 4s. of my money to buy quills—he pretends he will find me in pens for evermore, and yet if one wants a pen there is no getting him hardly to make one.

Yes—be present at Keppel's Court Martial by all means if you can—It will perhaps acquire some interest—it will not be a public trial—You know I suppose that it is to be at your Academy the 7th of next month. All the people must lodge there while the trial lasts, therefore you will be obliged I suppose to turn out. There is to be or is already an Act passed to authorize the holding the trial there instead of on board the Victory. Adm. Pigot² brought in the Bill. Keppel's ill health was the reason.

Davies designed to have written to you to day: but I don't know whether he will have time. He seems to wish you to go on for the present with the Mathematics.

As to the expedience of coming up to town to try experiments, that I can be no judge of, not knowing in what state the invention is. What did you expect me to say to you respecting *the Conduct* of the business?

292. ¹ B.M. II: 268. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. Decr. 19th 1778.' Postmark: '19/DE'.

² Hugh Pigot (1721?–92), brother of Lord Pigot (cf. letter 302, n. 7), Rear-Admiral 1775; a Lord of Admiralty and Admiral of the Blue 1782, when he replaced Rodney as Commander in Chief in the West Indies.

293

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

20-21 December 1778 (Aet 30)

The Waggon went from the *White Hart* in the Borough. Holden the Porter saw them booked. They were to go off on Saturday about 10 in the morning—They were sent about 10 at night to the Inn.

Sunday Morning

I have just seen the Porter who has been to make enquiry. The Cot it seems could not be sent on the Saturday, though they promised he says it should. It went (they told him) on Thursday last, by the Portsmouth Waggon, not the Gosport which sets out from the same place. But if it should not be arrived it were well to enquire about the Gosport for greater certainty.

Along with the Cot I have sent the only pair of Sheets I have clean—I should have them back again. They are for the large bed—much smaller will do for the Cot.

Do you know of any body who wants a person to work under a Captain's Clerk? There is one Shillito son of a reputable manufacturer at Colchester, for whom his father wants such a place.² Forster desired me to speak in his behalf. Davies will take him if he goes out. Forster says he writes a very good hand, better than one he shew'd me which was a good one. He understands common Arithmetic I take it for granted—I believe he is 22 or 23.

Macaulay has promised me (of his own accord you may imagine) a copy of his Father's short hand. His last-invented short-hand: for it seems that he has invented two. This will be of use for James³—You spoke to me I think for such a thing. Macaulay is gone to Yorkshire, where his house is; but he talks of being back again in a fortnight, and then I suppose he will bring the Book.

Peake's boy goes tomorrow; and probably I shall send this letter by him: it will reach you as soon as by the Post.

Your friend Mr. Fowler⁴ asked after you yesterday at Q.S.P.

293. ¹ B.M. II: 269-270. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. Decr. 21st 1778.'

Addressed: 'Mr. Bentham / at Mr. Witchel's / Royal Academy / Portsmouth Dock.' Postmark: '21 DE'.

² The father was perhaps Ephraim Shilliton, who died at Colchester in 1791 (*Gentleman's Magazine*, lxi, 285).

³ James Carpenter.

⁴ Unidentified.

Among the Books brought me by Macaulay is one written not professedly *for* the prizes but professedly however *in consequence* of the prizes. It mentions as a notion that prevailed that one of them had been given by Voltaire. You may see in the papers of last week a letter from *Kitty* to his niece.⁵ Kitty you will find is going to erect a monument to him, in the middle of Petersburg and to have a model of his house in her park at Czarsko-zelo. It is a good sign her making such a rout about him. As she likes legislation, and likes Voltaire, there is a double chance of her interesting herself in a plan of legislation, bespoken by Voltaire.

You have never told me any thing about Blanquet?

Monday Decr. 21.

That you have not found Jones's Synopsis of Conic Sections in the Philos: Trans: is owing solely to your own laziness. It most certainly is there since I have seen it there. I would lay 2 to 1 it was in the volume you had of Lind which I think was 1774 I would lay 1000 to 1 it was within 5 of it.⁶

294

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

23 December 1778 (Aet 30)

Wednesday Decr. 23 1778 Linc. Inn.

I have got for you Sunderland on Ship-building²—Is it not a Book you have been in want of? If not tell me, within this week, and I can return it—it cost 5s.

I have received your's of 22d.

⁵ The letter from Catherine II to Voltaire's niece, Madame Dennis, was published in the *London Chronicle* for 17–18 December 1778.

The Empress had previously expressed to Madame Dennis her desire to purchase Voltaire's library at Ferney. On this, Madame Dennis had presented the library to her as a gift. In this letter of gratitude the Empress speaks of the universal benevolence of the illustrious Voltaire and announces the gift to Madame Dennis of her (the Empress's) picture set in diamonds.

⁶ This was a posthumous paper on 'Properties of the Conic Sections: deduced by a compendious Method' by William Jones (1675–1749), F.R.S. read on 24 June 1773 by the Society's Librarian, John Robertson, and published in *Philosophical Transactions*, lxxiii, 340–360.

294. ¹ B.M. II: 271. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. Decr. 23d 1778.'

Addressed: 'Mr. Bentham / Royal Academy / Portsmouth.' Postmark: '23 DE'.

² Bentham is presumably referring to William Sutherland, author of *Britain's Glory, or, Ship-building unveil'd...*, 1717; and of *The Ship-Builder's Assistant; or, some Essays towards compleating the Art of marine Architecture*, 1711. The latter, which was several times reprinted, is perhaps more likely to be the book Bentham had acquired.

I should like the scheme of taking the Russian Cub mightily: but for the reasons you mention I have no great idea of it's succeeding. I will think about a method of carrying it into execution. Perhaps I may call upon Sambouski³: our name I believe is known to him; but I fear not in a very advantageous way. All that however is mere conjecture, and I have not time to mention particulars.

What mean you by the Book *Ld. Mulgrave* recommended you? is not that the very book I got for you? *Manuel des Marins*⁴ I think the title of it is.

I will see about *Don Jorge*.⁵

If they charge you double at the Post Office for single letters, complain.

I wrote to you by Peake's boy—I thought he was to have set out on Tuesday morning—but I found he was not to set out till Tuesday night.

Here is but an indifferent 3 pen n'orth.

Madam Q.S.P. has lately had a disappointment. Banks⁶ wrote a letter to C.A. asking him to go on from Geneva with him into Italy. C.A. wrote an answer spelling to be treated. Came a civil reply, but the hint was not accepted.

295

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

29-30 December 1778 (Aet 30)

Decr. 29th 1778. Linc. Inn

Mr. Far has quitted his chambers and returned to Q.S.P. there to be nursed etc. till Midsummer when Charles and he go to their

³ Samborskiy was chaplain at the Russian embassy. The scheme was that Samuel should take on some Russian youths as pupils in matters of ship-building etc. and thereby make some Russian contacts and acquire some knowledge of the country. Shortly afterwards Samborskiy arranged for Samuel to take on a young Russian called Afanasiev as pupil (see letter 297 etc.).

⁴ This book has not been traced.

⁵ *Don Jorge Juan*: cf. letter 143, n. 9.

⁶ Joseph Banks: see letter 169, n. 4. 'C.A.' refers to Charles Abbot.

295. ¹ B.M. II: 272-273. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. Decr. 30th 1778.'

Addressed: 'Mr. Bentham / Royal Academy / Portsmouth / Single Sheet.' Postmark: '. . DE'.

On the cover is the following in a strange hand: 'Voulum the First. / 1. Seasonable thouts for the Professors of the Law 1756 / 2 Duty of the eterney 1759 / 3 Freindly hints to Eterney Clarks 1754 / 4 Perpoesls for Reameady for Suets at Law—No date 7th Ed. / 5. Reflections of Tutching the Law 1759 / 6 Groves Six Letters on the Law 1758 / 7 Collet on the Laws in England 1754 / 8 Observations on the State of Bankrupts 1760 / 9 Bohun's Tithing Table 1735 2d. edit.'

new purchase.² He has sent to me a writing table with a green cloth to it and a dumb waiter to take charge of till he comes to want them.

I have just been dining at Q.S.P. to meet our dear friends the Burtons. Burton has asked leave to introduce me to a Dr. Smith³ who wrote a pamphlet giving account of the state of the prisons in London and has spent between 4 and 500\$ in medicines for the prisoners not to mention his own advice. Burton speaks of him as a 2d. Howard. He is busy with Blackstone in framing the Hard Labour Bill. Burton says he is to have the place of an Inspector General of the H. Lab. Houses which is to be £300 a year + all expences.

I have just received your letter—what you tell me of the Cot astonishes me—I told you I believe of my Porter's having assured me that they told him at the Inn it went on the Thursday after the day it should have gone—I will see farther about it.

The day after I received and answer'd your letter about the Cub, I wrote a letter which I sent by a Porter to Sambouski, telling him I understood he had a young Gentleman under his care etc. that if he had not concluded with a person etc. I should be glad to talk with him and should be glad to know when it would be agreeable to him and should wait on him there or if he came my way I should be equally glad to see him here. The Porter brought me word that he was not in town nor was he expected till Saturday (that is last Saturday—Since then I have not heard from him.

Well now Mr. Sam—prepare yourself for news—This very morning I reced a letter from who d'ye think—from Forster at Petersburg⁴

Tuesday night.

Wednesday

I could not finish last night—I shall transcribe the letter on a separate piece of paper.

² This may refer to the chambers at No. 11 King's Bench Walk in the Temple into which Farr and Charles Abbot moved in November 1779.

³ William Smith M.D. of Carey Street, London, author of *State of the Gaols in London, Westminster and Borough of Southwark. To which is added an Account of the present state of the convicts on board the Justitia in the Thames*. London, 1776. He also wrote *Punishments Sound Policy; or Observations on the Laws relative to Debtors and Felons*, 1778, and some popular works on medicine. Howard refers to him as having visited London prisons in 1776 on behalf of the committee of the Westminster charity, and as having thereby discovered many abuses. He had consulted Howard beforehand. (See John Howard's *State of the Prisons*, Everyman edition, 172.)

⁴ Letter 296.

There is less danger in telling Dr. L.⁵ about the Diving Scheme than almost any body else—why? because he is going to leave the country, and probably will not return till it is either put in practise or knocked on the head—You may tell it him without telling him the *particular* use you mean to make of it—If you do, you must exact from him the *most intense* promise of secrecy you can get. You may tell him that though a stranger, and though you had resolved not to mention it to any body (you may add but your Brother) yet you could not resist the opportunity of taking the opinion of a man of his superior knowlege in that way etc. etc. To get evidence of your title to the invention it might be of use to take occasion to write him a note on the subject so contrived that in the answer to it he would naturally be led to drop something by which it might appear that you had shew'd him a proposal of that sort.

Qu. whether to mention it to Sr. Ch. Douglas? It might possibly answer if 1. he is upon terms of intimacy with any Admiral who has a command: or 2. if he has a *pond* on which it could be tried.

Consider in what way Dr. L. knowing of it could be of use to you—As to his *esteem*, that could signify nothing for the present as he is going away. As to his *advice*, have you any particular point that you want to advise with him upon? If you have, can't you talk with him upon that point alone without communicating to him your general design? *Au pis-aller*, you might tell him that you have your reasons for being able to *say* that you had communicated it to nobody etc.

You may depend upon my executing your *Commissions* some

⁵ This would seem to be Dr James Lind of Windsor (1736–1812), not to be mistaken for his cousin Dr James Lind of Haslar (see letter 12, n. 1 and letter 261, n. 2), though likewise a physician and naval surgeon.

The younger James Lind went out as a surgeon on an East Indiaman in 1766 and visited China. On his return he graduated M.D. at Edinburgh. In 1770 he was admitted a fellow of the College of Physicians, Edinburgh, and in 1772 he published a *Treatise on the Fever of 1762 at Bengal*. In July 1772 he accompanied Joseph Banks on his expedition to Iceland. In 1775 he published a paper in the Philosophical Transactions on a portable Wind-gauge. In December 1777 he was elected F.R.S. About this time (according to the *D.N.B.*) he seems to have settled in Windsor where he became physician to the royal household. He was married to Ann Elizabeth Mealy, and both are described in Fanny Burney's diary. He was a lover of Eastern wonders. When Shelley was at Eton they knew each other well (*D.N.B.*).

We learn from letter 307 that Dr Lind set out not long after on a voyage to the E. Indies (after working for a time at Portsmouth), and it seems that Samuel's going with him had been mooted (see letter 297). Although we have no independent confirmation for his sailing to the East Indies in 1779, it seems clear that it was the younger Dr Lind who did so. Moreover he was the one with whom Samuel could expect fruitful discussion of his naval engineering projects.

day this week. If I should send any thing in a frank don't open it before company.

Tell me 1. how Peake likes his boy?

2. Whether you hear any thing of a place for Shillito?

Wednesday night

I have been dining at Davies's. Wilson there and one Roberts a Sea Officer⁶ an old acquaintance of D's (but a stupid sort of animal he seems) and Browne. Browne has this day received the money from Bargrave of Foster's.⁷ I have reced your letter of yesterday.

I have not time to transcribe Forster's letter from Petersburg—the result of it is that from my letter to him there seems some little hopes for me, but none for you. There is however something of a channel of communication open'd. He seems very well disposed to serve us, but not near so able as we had understood from that report. He gives a very good account of the reasons of his silence.

I shall send you the wastecoat and the book—by the Coach that sets off to night from St. Clements.

Hang it I think I will send you Forster's letter: transcribe it, and then send it back to me the first opportunity for instance with the wastcoat—Send me the wastcoat immediately, unless you want it for some particular occasion within a week.

Former Letter. Wind gage Mach

I will look over your former letters Pucelli⁸ I see nothing of. Wind-gage and the other things—I will see after tomorrow.

I have just been carrying the packet to the Angel behind St. Clement's: the Carriage will be in by 3 or 4 in the afternoon at the *Crown* in Portsmouth.

[*On cover*: Observe whether Forster's Letter be in the packet—I forgot to put it in till the packet was done up: so I stuffed it in in an awkward manner, securing it as well as I could with sealing wax.

There was besides the Wastcoat a letter from la folle and Sunderland on Shipbuilding. If it be that which you have send it back quick that I may return it.]

⁶ Unidentified.

⁷ Cf. letter 285.

⁸ Unidentified.

296

REV. JOHN FORSTER TO
JEREMY BENTHAM¹

12/23 October 1778

Dear Sr.

I don't doubt, but that you are surpris'd at not hearing from me before. I took therefore the opportunity of writing by an honest Captn. of a Ship to inform you of the true reason of this long delay.—When I recēd yr Cargo of Books etc. the Empress was at one of Her Country palaces; where She resided during the whole Summer. Balls, plays, Operas, Masquerades etc. were the sole amusements at that place, and no business was ever mentioned. Mr. Petrow² my friend was abroad upon a journey; consequently I was precluded from shewing them to any one, 'till the Empress's return. At last, after a tedious delay, I saw Mr. Petrow, to who, I gave yr letter, and two of yr Books: which he promis'd to deliver to ye Empress with his own hand.—A Month after he call'd upon me, and told me; that he lik'd yr letter extremely; wish'd you had printed it; for had it been made publick in that manner; it would have been a high compliment paid to Her Majesty, and would have met with a gracious reception: but added;—that he could not presume to give it to Her in Manuscript.—you see by this, dear Sr., that the *Love of Fame*, is the real Source of all Her great Actions, and that *Adulation* is the only way of paying our Court to this species of Heroines.—I am now at liberty to present your books to Mr. Betskay; who is president of ye Academy, and at ye head of every Institution relative to Science and Literature, and will push it as far as my limited power extends. I am much griev'd at yr. poor Brother's bad luck; but Maritime Affairs are conducted much in the same Manner in this Country. Little regard is paid to Merit, and our British Officers here complain to me of ye smallness of their pay, and of ye figure they are oblig'd to make; which keeps 'em all poor, and generally in debt.—I am amaz'd at ye puffs, I meet with in yr Newspapers, of ye vast Succours you expect from Russia. Depend upon it, my dear friend, there is not the least Shadow of truth in these idle reports. All ye Russian Ships of War

296. ¹ U.C. CLXIX: 111–112. Autograph. No cover, no docket.

This is Forster's reply to letter 248. It was received on 29 December 1778 (cf. letter 295).

² Catherine the Great's librarian (cf. letter 248, p. 115).

fit for Service, lie quite unrigg'd, to my certain knowledge, in the Harbour at Cronstad. As for Land Forces, I am certain they have none to spare. For the War with the Turks is begun in the Crimea, and they are continually sending off Troops, Physicians and Surgeons to ye Army. This is the only Rule we can judge by; for all State Affairs in this Country are conducted with the most impenetrable secrecy. If you write to me by ye Post, remember ye old adage of *de mortuis*, and if you mention anything of this place or of the Empress, remember it must be *Nil nisi bonum*, for all letters going for me, or Coming to this Country, are constantly open'd at the post-House.—Pray give my best respects to Mr. and Mrs. Bentham, and let them know; that I enjoy my health here extremely well, and that my Eye-sight is still perfectly good; tho I am now advanc'd in my Seventy ninth year.

I have a slight touch of Gout Spring and Fall which I look upon as highly salutary.—The Dutchess' Head Gardiner is just now arriv'd, who informs me; that She is coming hither with all her ffamily. How we shall agree together I know not; for She was enrag'd at my not returning with her; tho' at ye same time She knew I had a fit of ye Gout then upon me; and She was to travel by Land at ye very worst Season of the year. The difficulties She met with upon ye Road are not to be express'd. Her Coach alone weigh'd three Tons, and was oblig'd frequently to be dug out, when twenty Horses could not move it. But Vanity and Obstinacy are two of the most shining parts of her Character. Pray give my Compliments to yr poor Brother; assure him: that as I know his Merit, no one is more griev'd at his ill success than, Dear Sr.

Yrs most sincerely and affectionately

J^{no} Forster

St. Petersburg

Oct. ye 12th O.S.

P.S. My Tackle is miserably bad; but I hope my letter—is legible.

If you write to me, pray direct for me at Mr. Glen's Merchant in the English Line St Petersburg.

297

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

1-2 January 1779 (Aet 30)

1 Jan. 1779

Did not you say that you were to have 4 Guineas for a journey you took on Mrs. Acworth's account? And pray have you brought to account the 3 guineas which I paid to Peter etc. at the first trial over and above what Browne paid, and which I made you give me?

What shall we do about the *things*? I have just been at Orange Court looking at every house and can find no such thing—true it is that it was between 7 and 8—and most of the houses were shut up—I must go again at day light. If I can not find them then neither you must e'en take your chance with caustic Alkali?

I have had to day a myrmidon writing for me.

The weather was so excessively bad yesterday afternoon I could not go after the *things*—I could have wished not to have gone by daylight 1st for shame 2d. on account of the loss of time.

Was the Inn you enquired at about the Cot etc. the Blue Posts? That is the Inn they should have gone to. Send me word immediately, and I will make the people pay me.

2d. Jan

11 o'clock at night

I have just read your letter of yesterday—The wind gage I have got from Nairne's but have not sent to you—I can return it if you please—it costs but 7s. – 6d. It has a sliding ruler to it.

I have just been spending the evening with Sambouski. We are as great as Inkleweavers—he will think himself much obliged to you. He would not hear me talk of referring him to any body else for a character of you—He laments that the Salary (50£) should be so inadequate—He observes by way of inducement for you to take the young man that it might be a means of opening a door to connections in Russia which might be of use to you. His name is Afanasieve: he is at present with a Mr. *Mistiers* at Rotherhith. He does not like being there—Mistiers understands buying Timber very well but does not trouble himself about the building part. He is about 22 or 23. He has not had much intellectual education—no

297. ¹ B.M. II: 275-276. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. Jany. 1st 1779.'
'The things' remain mysterious.

languages—Arithmetic and perhaps a little Geometry—a very good moral education—understands something of Shipbuilding—James the great Ship builder at Petersburg an englishman but a thick scull—Sambouski wants us to make an interest to get an order of admission for Afan: Poushin (the Minister) applied to Ld. Sandwich for something of that sort on a former occasion, but unsuccessfully.—Knowles has often owned to him that he repented leaving Russia—Samb. says he was very violent and fickle, and universally known to be so. Davies confirms this from Ld. Howe who knew him well having been in a manner brought up under him.²

Davies has had Curtis's letter in which he speaks very handsomely of you.

No—your going with Lind³ is certainly not worth a thought.

There has been a dreadful fire in Greenwich Hospital.⁴

Could you get Beazely to ask Palliser to get Afan: admission? You might ask Ld. Mulgrave: and we might attack Penton and Ld. Lisburne etc. as before.⁵

What Davies said is very right that you should have the young man upon liking a little while to see whether it would be worth your while to employ your interest for that favour.

There was the whole tribe of Russian Farmers there—very good [sort] of folks I liked them mightily—Also a Russian who has been serving at Gibraltar but finding nothing to do there is come to town to solicit employment—He is a Lieutenant in the Russian Service.

Good night—Have not I <...> <...> <...>

² For Sambouski and Afanasiev see letter 294, n. 3. 'Poushin' is Count Musin Pushkin, the Russian ambassador. For Admiral Knowles see letter 286, n. 3. Mistiers remains unidentified and nothing further has been ascertained about James.

³ Dr James Lind the younger: see letter 295, n. 5.

⁴ This fire broke out on the morning of 2 January, destroying the chapel and a large part of the building (*Gentleman's Magazine*, xlix, 45).

⁵ This paragraph refers to efforts to obtain admission to the dockyards for Afanasiev (see above at n. 2). For Beazeley—i.e. Captain Bazely—see letter 245, n. 3; for Palliser, see letter 258, n. 3; for Mulgrave, letter 169, n. 8; for Penton, letter 235, n. 2. Wilmot Vaughan (1730?–1800), Viscount Lisburne in the Irish Peerage, created Earl of Lisburne in 1776, was M.P. for Cardiganshire, and one of the Lords of the Admiralty from 1770 to 1782.

298

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

4 January 1779 (Aet 30)

Monday Jan: 4 1779

Sambouski for particulars referred me to his letter to Mr. Witchell. You should write me an ostensible letter but put other things into it that it may not appear to be written for the purpose.

I have not yet said any thing about it to Q.S.P. I have not seen him since I saw Sambouski. Why don't you write to him. It would have looked better if you had written to him before you had occasion to write for money.

Perhaps it may be necessary for you to come to town as soon as the Court Martial² is over to settle all matters with Sambouski—He must be given to understand that you do not mean to preclude yourself from taking a cruize for example with Ld. Howe if he should go out, but that in that case you will leave some body (James for instance) to continue the instruction plan.

Afaniasieve should have a course of Fordyce's Chymistry and you and he should take one or two of the flying courses of Natural Philosophy given in London: but then how is the expence of this to be defray'd?

You may take notice of these things, and say that if you were to engage in any such undertaking you could wish to have it in your power to put him in a way of informing himself with respect to every point of knowledge that would be necessary to him in order to his understanding the rationale of the art: that you take it for granted the views of those who sent him here for instruction are not merely that he should know how to build a ship, for that is what he may learn at Petersburg, but that he should be put in a way of making improvements in the art of Shipbuilding and of building either better ships on the present plans for the present purposes or even upon new plans for the old purposes, or even for new purposes if any such can be pointed out.

That with regard to these extra expences (in order that no time may be lost) you will not grudge defraying them out of your salary, limited as it is, but that you will trust to the equity of the

298. ¹ B.M. II: 277–278. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. Jany. 4 1779.'

Addressed: 'Mr. Bentham / Royal Academy / Portsmouth.' Postmarks: '4. .' and 'AE'.

² Of Admiral Keppel.

Board of Admiralty at Petersburg or whom else it may concern to reimburse you the money upon Mr. Sambouski's certifying his opinion that it has been actually disbursed and not improperly bestow'd: and that if in the course of a few years you should succeed in giving the gentleman such a knowledge of his art as shall be greater than what is commonly possessed by those who practise it even in this country, you will look to their generosity for a further gratification.

3 o'clock.

Q.S.P. has just been with me—I have open'd the matter to him, and he is very well satisfied—He desired me not to mention any thing of it at home /viz: at Q.S.P./ till it is concluded.

I told Q.S.P. of your receiving the invitation from Curtis: not of your having actually accepted of it. He was very well satisfied. He even put it to me whether if you were to go out with Ld. Howe (which I also mentioned to him as a probable event) it might not be of use to you to be rated as a midshipman.

I told him of the hint Sambouski dropped about connections with Russia—with this also he was well satisfied.

Ld. Bute has *ponds* at Loughton-Hoo.³ There would be a rare place to build Diving boats in.

The Davies's are gone this morning.

Before they went I got a piece of *Sattinet* to make a pair of Breeches for you, and gave it to Mrs. D. to send to Byers. (I at the same time sent a piece for myself). It took $2\frac{1}{4}$ yd. at 12s. a yd. It was what I believe I had mentioned to you before—The man had a pr. of it on himself—He said it wore for everlasting—as well as leather was his expression. Wilson said it should be something of silk or sattin, not velvet. This I hope will come within the Law. (I mean the Wilsonian Code.)

Beseech[?] you send us a minute account of what passes on thurs(day and every) subsequent day at the C.M.—not what you see only but what you hear and conjecture and what other people conjecture.—

$\frac{1}{2}$ after 7.

The Postman is but this instant come in with your letter by which I see that you had not received mine of Saturday. It was well enough timed to answer your wish about having the Russian Cub. Courage, mon ami: les choses s'achement.

³ Bute had purchased an estate at Luton Hoo in Bedfordshire in 1763; his house there was built by Robert Adam.

Yes, boy, thou shalt see my answer before I send it: but now we shall have something to tell him about my *poor* Brother.

Old stile is I believe the stile they go by in Russia: It was a Pope (Gregory) reformed the Calendar, for which reasons we Protestants were backward in receiving the alteration, and the Greek church has not yet come into it.

Not understand Algebra thoroughly without teaching it? Pox take you, why can't you read some treatise of Fluids which has Algebra in it as I have said 50 times and teach it yourself that way: or learn it by reading *Euler*?

Q.S.P.'s coming prevented my getting the *things* this forenoon—I wonder when I am to have my waistcoat? I desired you to send it back immediately: do not however if you have any particular occasion for keeping it.

Elmsly has none of the Spanish Shipbuilding book—he expects same next month. As to Ld. Mulgrave's⁴ have a little patience.

I have told you I believe before why you can not have the desk, it is not mine. Would not a Portfolio with a lock to it answer your purpose?

I will think about your having Priestly's tables.⁵

Is there any thing now that I have forgotten?

299

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

5 January 1779 (Aet 30)

Linc Inn. Jan. 5 1779

S.B. to I.B.²

'I need not tell you what pleasure it gave me to find Mr. Sambouski expressing such sentiments with regard to the improve-

⁴ Perhaps *A Voyage towards the North Pole, undertaken by His Majesty's Command. 1771*, London, 1774; Dublin 1775.

⁵ Bentham refers to two charts issued by Joseph Priestley showing the respective temporal positions of famous persons and of empires, kingdoms, nations, etc.; 1. *A Chart of Universal History* (1753); 2. *A Chart of Biography* (1765). They were described and discussed in two books: 1. *A Description of a Chart of History*, London, 1769; 2. *A Description of a Chart of Biography*, Warrington, 1765. There were many different editions of each. Bentham refers to them again in letter 301.

299. ¹ B.M. II: 279–280. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. Jany. 5th 1779.'

Addressed: 'Mr. Bentham / Royal Academy / Portsmouth / Single Sheet.' Postmarks: '51A' and 'AE'.

² There follows the draft of a letter which Bentham wanted Samuel to write to him, with a view to Sambouski's seeing it.

ment of useful knowledge in his country; nor how glad I should be to promote as far as my small ability extends such commendable views. I need not recal to you the feasts we have so often treated our imaginations with, when we have been contemplating the progress of improvement in that rising country. I would strain a point rather than miss of any opportunity of lending a helping hand, though it be ever so distant an one in the prosecution of such a business. I don't see however how we can well settle the matter definitively and talk over all that is to be said on the subject at this distance: I have determined therefore as soon as the Court Martial is over if Mr. Sambouski continues to think of me in the same light to come to town.'

(This will give you the merit of coming on purpose)

I.B. to S.B.

You must send me back my waistcoat on Thursday. On Friday I dine out at Browne's and have nothing to put on—I can return it you if you want it particularly on Friday night.—No—that was my mistake—it is tomorrow that I want the waistcoat: and tomorrow it is not haveable.

Eight o'clock come and I have no letter from you in answer to mine of Saturday—I am perfectly astonished. I fear it may have miscarried: yet I gave it with my own hands into those of honest Davies the Postman.

In consequence of your letter of Sunday I called on Q.S.P.'s Burton to see if he knew of any body that was going to the trial. (Wilson knew nobody and Lind has not been at chambers.) He (Burton) said that he had refused an invitation O'Byrne had given him promising to find him 5 beds on board the Eagle—I should be curious to know whether this be true or no: I mean whether O'Byrne could really have made good such an undertaking: If you ask Capt. Curtis he can tell you.

Burton tells me that his friend Erskine³ has drawn up the speech

³ Thomas Erskine (1750–1823), later 1st Baron Erskine and Lord Chancellor. He was the youngest son of an impoverished Scotch aristocrat, Henry David, 10th Earl of Buchan. His wish to enter a profession, was frustrated by the family's poverty and in 1764 he entered the Navy as a midshipman. In 1770 he used his slender patrimony to buy a commission in an infantry regiment, and in 1772 published a widely read pamphlet on abuses in the army. In April 1775 he was admitted a student of Lincoln's Inn, a step resulting in part from a chance meeting with Lord Mansfield when he visited an assize court where the latter was presiding. He also entered as a gentleman commoner at Trinity College, Cambridge. While a law student he (and his wife) continued in poverty, but on being called to the Bar on 3 July 1778 he enjoyed a rapid and sensational success. As counsel for Keppel at the Court Martial he

which Keppel is to speak: his other Council are Dunning and Lee.⁴ The speech is plain, and without any flowers of rhetoric. Burton says that it has been shewn to a person of high rank in the Marine department (he did not mention who) and that this person declared it was every tittle of it true. If that be the case that person must have been in the fleet—But who then shou'd it be? Perhaps he meant that the reasoning was right, or the conduct right, taking the facts for granted.

Erskine seemed to think the trial would not last longer than Saturday.

300

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

7 January 1779 (Aet 30)

Thursday Jan. 7th 1779.

I have received your letter—I am busy in correcting²—I shall dispatch it to night that it may be returned in form forthwith—There is no time to lose. What apology can you make to me for delaying writing so long? Indisposition will not do for that Witchell can witness against. Particular points in your algebraical studies that you did not care to leave? Opportunities of being with Dr. Lind or other people that you did not care to miss? I can not prescribe. I must leave it to yourself.

delivered the speech for the defence. In 1781 he defended Lord George Gordon after the riots. 1783: M.P. for Portsmouth (and in 1790 again after an interval). 1786–92: Attorney-General to Prince of Wales, a position he lost for defending Tom Paine in 1792. 1806: Lord Chancellor in the Grenville ministry, for its short duration. He was attractively vain, a brilliant orator and a bad Lord Chancellor.

'When the Fragment was published, Erskine sought me out... Erskine I met sometimes at Dr. Burton's. He was so shabbily dressed as to be quite remarkable. He was astonished when I told him I did not mean to practise. I remember his calling on me and not finding me at home: he wrote his name with chalk on the door. We met in 1802, going from Brighton to Dieppe. He did not recognize me, nor I him. He was rattling away about the king, and the books he read; but it was only at Paris that I discovered who my companion was' (Bowring, x, 564–565).

⁴ For Dunning, see letter 188, n. 4. John Lee (1733?–93), a close friend of Joseph Priestley and Richard Price, became a K.C. in 1780 and was Solicitor-General and then Attorney-General in 1782–83. He was M.P. for Clitheroe from 1782–90, and for Higham Ferrers 1790–93.

300. ¹ B.M. II: 281–282. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. Jany. 7th 1779.'

Addressed: 'Mr. Bentham.' On cover: 'Open this alone.'

² I.e. correcting the projected letter from Samuel to Jeremy which is to be shown to Sambouski (see letter 299, n. 2).

If you can contrive to bring in Sr. Ch. Douglas do: you may tell me over again what you told me about your being to go to him on board the Duke with the Linds.

Also Jarvis.³ Samb. seemed to catch at Jarvis upon my mentioning him.

Mind your stops you noodle: and don't begin a sentence with a small letter.

1. A Portfolio I will send thee tomorrow together with
2. Windgage
3. The remainder of the what d'ye call em's of which one or two I may perhaps pack up in this
4. Perhaps Priestley's charts.

The mistake about the Breeches was your numbscullity. You wrote to me of a Monday or Tuesday and mentioned 'next Thursday' instead of saying Thursday sennight—I sent you the Waistcoat time enough for the next Thursday.

I should be afraid to propose to Sambouski to shew Pouskin⁴ your letter, for fear of it's appearing to be a contrivance.

I will send you back both your letters leaving every thing that I think you might insert untouched, and cancelling what should not with a red line.

I think it not safe to trust the name of Pouskin without a C. before it at least for Count which is his Title. Neither he nor even Samb. would endure plain Pouskin.

You will probably have a message from Erskine Keppel's council who brings you a letter from Q.S.P. in which is a B. Note of £15. Q.S.P. desires that you would wait for 3 or 4 days to see whether he will send it you: if not, that you will call on him to ask him for it. Hargrave⁵ it is said, has 300 guineas for going down, besides preceding fees.

Upon turning to your first letter about the Cub I find you tell me there have already been Russians at the Academy, and that what

³ John Jervis (1735–1823) had commanded the *Foudroyant* at Ushant. In 1797 he was Admiral in command of the fleet which beat the Spaniards off Cape St Vincent. In 1798 he put down a series of mutinies with notoriously savage discipline. As First Lord of the Admiralty in Addington's ministry from 1801 to 1804, he launched a most unpopular campaign against corruption.

Bentham is urging Samuel to mention important people whom he knows in the projected letter, which is ostensibly an ordinary letter to Bentham, but is in fact for showing to Sambouski.

⁴ The Russian ambassador: cf. letter 297, n. 2.

⁵ Francis Hargrave (1741?–1821) had become a k.c. after taking a prominent part in Somerset's case in 1772. He was subsequently Recorder of Liverpool and for many years Treasurer of Lincoln's Inn.

the Commr. was afraid to do was the suffering a Russian to be enter'd as an Apprentice.

I read to day first to Q.S.P. alone afterwards to him and Madam your letter giving an account of your first rencontre with Mrs. and Dr. Lind. I have read to him several passages of your other letters all about Dr. Lind and even your random thoughts about going to the E. Indies with Capt. Cooper⁶ which did not seem to shock him at all. I read him a good deal of what you say about the Cub. I read him about Randal⁷ which I find you have copied in the letter which Q.S.P. received from you to day.

I can collect nothing certain about Sr. Grey Cooper.⁸ Lady Cooper was at Court on Friday. Ord a Master in Chancery⁹ an intimate friend of his spoke about him to Douglas 2 or 3 days ago as usual. But the house is shut up: and Far says he heard at the Treasury that there was a board yesterday and Sr. G. was not there. Yet Sr. G. is the man on whom the *routine* of business rests and who never used to fail attending—Robinson is more the confidential man.

A presumption against him is that tho' the General Advertiser (an opposition paper) has been full of paragraphs about it, the Morning Post (a violent Ministerial one) has never contradicted it. It seems allow'd that he has been living beyond his income.

Look at a file of Morning Posts from about a fortnight to about a month ago—You will find I am told by Far an advertisement about a new-invented instrument for drawing called a ⟨Deline⟩ator invented by one Storer¹⁰ a Painter somewhere near ⟨Leicester⟩ Fields. The advertisement takes up almost a whole column. Sr. J. Reynolds it is said makes use of it.

Du Noyer¹¹ dined at Q.S.P. a few days ago, and according to

⁶ This is probably R. P. Cooper, who became a Captain in the Navy in 1778 and in 1780 was in command of the *Stag*.

⁷ See letter 131, n. 4.

⁸ Sir Gray Cooper (d. 1801) was then Joint Secretary of the Treasury along with John Robinson (cf. letter 279, n. 9).

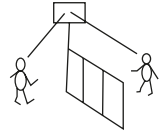
⁹ John Ord (1729–1814) of Bingfield, Northumberland, was M.P. for various constituencies between 1774 and 1790. From 1777 to 1810 he was Attorney-General to the Duchy of Lancaster and from 1778 to 1809 a Master in Chancery. It was Ord who in 1778 succeeded Sir Charles Whitworth as Chairman of Ways and Means in the House of Commons, the post John Lind had hoped to obtain (cf. letter 198 at n. 4); Ord continued as Chairman until 1784.

¹⁰ The very lengthy advertisement appeared in the *Morning Post* for 9 December 1778. The 'accurate Delineator' could be purchased for six guineas, and viewed for 2s. at a public showing. Samuel took one abroad with him and enjoyed showing it to people in Courland (see letter 344, p. 372).

¹¹ Unidentified.

Q.S.P.'s account told wonderful stories of this *Storer*. That he has invented a looking-glass that shows you your picture without *reversing* it. That he has invented another by which a man who is on one side of a hill may see what is done at the opposite—A la bonne heure say I if he has a glass at top, otherwise impossible without making the rays of light travel in curve(d) instead of right lines. He is to exhibit in a few days to two or three members of Parliament, for the sake of getting an Act to secure him the property of his invention.

A Colonel Ross¹² from the E. Indies who was one of the company where this was told by Q.S.P. observed that in sieges they had contrivances for shewing the people in the town what was doing in the ditch without the town, and vice versâ. I had not opportunity to ask him about particulars. It must be by erecting a looking-glass so high as to overtop the walls I must talk with Martin¹³ about this Delineator. Part of the use of the other thing is to shew you the enemy's fleet at Sea.



Du Noyer is to invite the Q.S.P.'s to dinner some day in the week after next. You might then be in town and go with them.

Swede is a great deal better—in no danger of losing his leg.

La Gr. so so.

I have not been able to get to the speech of Lind.

301

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

18 January 1779 (Aet 30)

Linc. Inn. Jan. 18th 1779

WRECKS

In the Lond. Chron Jan 14th 1779 you will see an account of the wreck of a Fr. E. Indiaman at Mostyn in Flint Shire inter alia a box of diamonds worth £16,000, and a wedge of gold weighing Lb 22. If the box should be beat to pieces, at any rate the gold will *stay*. Look in the papers about the wrecks.

¹² Lieutenant-Colonel Ross is mentioned as Chief Engineer at Fort St George in a letter to the Court of Directors of the East India Company from Lord Pigot, dated 15 October 1776.

¹³ David Martin: cf. letter 90, n. 2.

301. ¹ B.M. II: 283–284. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. Jany. 18th 1779.'

Addressed: 'Mr. Bentham / Royal Academy / Portsmouth / Single Sheet.' Postmark: '18 IA'.

When you come to town bring with you the two books of Priestly's belonging to the charts. They will do exceedingly well to bind with Trusler's chronology.²

Did I tell you that a 4th vol. of Priestly on Airs will be out in April?

NORTHERN DISCOVERIES

Lond. Chron. Jan. 14.

'Portsmouth Jan 11. Arrived the Fortune armed Ship from the North Seas, which was sent out some time ago to make new discoveries.' Let me know what you can pick up about this.

VITRIOLICO-MAGNESIAN STONE

7 at night

I have received your letter—What makes you think of setting about trying the experiments on Epsom Salts at present? Have you any prospect of it's being of any particular use to you? If you should try them, take care of your finger. Swede says, that if you put your finger in the water, and strew it the way round about your finger it will *petrify* so fast about your finger that you will be puzzled to get it off, and that a man might almost lose his finger by it. If you were to stay till you came to town, you might try it with Swede's assistance.

I did not enlarge upon the objections on point of disrepute because Wilson was by and because I thought Q.S.P. would expatiate most abundantly; *or* a given reason would be as good from him as from me. What he said applied principally to your leaving Witchel's for the sake of being with your pupil. That would be making him the principal and yourself the accessory.

Make Mrs. L. introduce you to Mrs. Higginbottom. Could not you get from her husband a letter to Dr. Solander?³ Swede knows something of him, but not enough for such a purpose as that: he might however perhaps by some means or other in some small degree facilitate the forming the acquaintance.

I have a notion that Mr. J. Lohmenn⁴ is a man of merit: what

² John Trusler (1735–1820), *Chronology; or, a concise view of the annals of England ... Also an exact chronology of the lives of eminent men in all ages of the world. To which is added a plan of the Saxon heptarchy, etc.*, London, 1769; 4th edition, 1772; 8th edition 1776.

³ For Daniel Solander see letter 169, n. 3. The Higginbottoms have not been identified.

⁴ A Russian studying at the Royal Naval Academy, Portsmouth, who later served with the British fleet in the American war. His father was Catherine II's first physician.

little I saw of him at Sambouski's I liked much. He seemed to have an amazing deal of vivacity for a Russian. You must shew off as much as you can before Lohmenn that he may report favourably of you to Sambouski. You can learn from him how the land lies: you can pump him about Sambouski, about the Embassador, about the Empress etc. etc.

No tidings yet from Sambouski—this is odd enough.

Q.S.P. did not seem to relish the thoughts of it's being understood by other people that you had any notion of improving yourself by teaching Afan: It would be an acknowledgement that there was something you still wanted to learn. I leave it to you to judge how far this may be taken for a sample of the notions of other half-thinkers.

That cursed fellow Byers has made our breeches with linings and with but one pocket of a side. I am just going to put a letter for him into the post scolding him, and telling him he must be at the expence of the alteration. I have a notion you will not find your's too little: for mine are big enough and your's are considerably bigger. Will you have your's sent you as they are? If you had any body notable about you, they might take out the lining and turn it into drawers.

This is but a so so 3 pen'orth—however as I am going to put the letter to Byers into the post, this I think shall go too. Trifling as it is, I don't imagine you will think it dear.

There is a prospect of getting for Mrs. Accors about £60 at last from the $\frac{1}{4}$ part of the farm. Message⁵ has had it valued.

Stay about the books for Young⁶ till you come to Town.

302

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

20–22 January 1779 (Aet 30)

PRIMUM MOBILES

Have we got among our primum mobiles the force of such elastic vapours as be generated for the purpose out of nonelastic

⁵ Unidentified.

⁶ Cf. letter 280 at n. 5.

302. ¹ B.M. II: 285–288. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. Jany. 22d. 1779.'

Addressed: 'Mr. Bentham / Royal Academy / Portsmouth / 2 Sheets.' Postmark: '22 IA'.

This letter was evidently finished and posted on Friday 22 January. The Wednesday mentioned near its beginning would be 20 January. The first two leaves are in

substances, and are not incondensable? A good magazine of vitr. acid and powder'd marble would not only save the expence of air in feeding fire, but generate heat.

Could any thing be done by the firing of gunpowder for instance, a little at a time? or by the generation of inflammable or aphlogistic air, or the detachment of muriatic acid or any such vapour which might be saved and recondensed by means of water? No this is stark nonsense—Nothing could possibly come into competition with plain water, unless it were gunpowder. But all this is old and good for nothing.

Wednesday 8 o'clock

I have received your letter.

I like the thoughts of Lohmenn much—I have a notion he is a fine young fellow—make much of him. Sambouski I have a notion has a good opinion of him—he seemed to speak of him with pleasure. I am glad to hear of your being with Blanket. A good word a piece from him and Lohmen and Sambouski might go a good way towards gaining the Ambassador. At all events you must have Afan: and take what pains with him you can as a means of shewing what you can do. God grant he may be a good subject! I think it is rather a lucky thing Lohmen's coming to Witchel's.

What say you to introducing Lohmen to Dr. Lind; or to Dr. Lind of Haslar²? If you could bring about such a thing and Lohmen proves to be what he promises to be, it might be agreeable perhaps to Lohmen at least, and it might be giving you a kind of consequence with all parties.

Remember you have not told me this age how Algebra goes on, so often as I have asked you.

This is the third time of my asking you about O Byrne.

Q.S.P. was here this morning, and as *I* read *him* only a part of your Letter to me, read *me* only a part of your's to him. He has a mighty hankering for your getting in with Randal; supposing always that you might get into partnership with him for nothing.

It is to be hoped Kudigen and Afan: are acquainted and will have an opportunity of comparing notes. If Afan: should be better pleased with you than Kudigen with Mitchel, Afan: will serve as a decoy-duck.

Did I ever tell you that Alderman Clark's little ugly wife has got a girl? I am to dine there by invitation tomorrow.

the wrong order in the B.M. volume, probably because a sheet has been wrongly folded.

² See letters 261, n. 2, and 295, n. 5.

Yes, to be sure: it was rather a short 3 pen'orth—However never mind—give me as much as you can of it, and as often as you can—It is almost the only pleasure I have, those excepted which arise out of my business, which goes on tolerably.

Swede is mended amazingly, and looks upon himself as out of danger.

It would be very clever if Lohmen and you and Kudigen and Afan: could go all together to Petersburg in the boat you are talking of. It would be a something to attract Kitty's attention.

Did I tell you that Q.S.P. has made a present of a fire-screen? a very smart one, somewhat upon the plan of Wilson's.

I think I won't send this away till tomorrow—I shall then hope to find another piece of a letter in answer to that I wrote you on Monday (the day before yesterday)

Friday 5 o'clock

I have just received your double letter: it was charged 9d: but I got the 3d abated upon sending back the cover.

The greatest part of what is above is very agreeably anticipated.

The scheme of Ld. Shelburne delights me of all things.³

E. India scheme certainly deserves consideration⁴: voici my objections to it.

1. It would supersede the whole scheme with Ld. Shelburne.

2. You would put yourself in the power of a man whom you know very little of, and whom you have even reason to think fickle and not much to be depended upon. You have reason beforehand to fear he may prove another Macbride.

3. If you could not go in the capacity of Naval Engineer you could not go in any; and then you would be altogether dependent. But could Sr. Edw. employ you in any such capacity; and if he could, what do you know of the matter? you do not know the mathematical part, the common technical part of the business?

4. What would the Pearl fishery signify *now* before you have

³ When Samuel Bentham eventually went to Russia in August he went armed with invaluable introductions from Lord Shelburne, and was therefore received as an important person. The reference here is doubtless to a project for encompassing this end.

⁴ A small squadron under Rear-Admiral Sir Edward Hughes was shortly to sail for the East Indies. It included the *Nymph* (14) under Commander Blankett (cf. letter 286, n. 2). Blankett had offered to take Samuel on the *Nymph* (cf. *Life of Sir Samuel Bentham*, 8, where however Blankett is confounded with Bazely). He was interested in Samuel's inventions, but Bentham urges secrecy on Samuel with regard to one particular invention.

brought the invention to bear⁵? I don't imagine the E. Indies to be a place to try experiments in: there are no Math: Instrt. makers there.

5. I am afraid of the climate: your health is rather delicate.

6. It would be giving up the Russian Scheme in future; and Lohmen Afan: and the chance of Kudigen⁶ in present.

7. How soon might you come back? At the soonest it would be two years. But if you came back then you would have sacrificed all the other schemes, and you would not have got any money. To get any money you must stay a monstrous length of time.

8. If either of us were in Russia we might write and have answers in 6 weeks. From the E. Indies—not in a year and ½.

9. To Russia we might go together: or if either of us prosper'd ever so little he might send for the other. If you go to India to stay we are separated very probably for ever: at any rate for the best part of our lives. O my Sam, my child, the only child I shall ever have, my only friend, my second self, could you bear to part with me? If you were sure of succeeding there, and sure of not succeeding any where else, I would consent to tear myself in two, and let you go to India, for the sake of yourself and of the world.

As far as I can judge, B. would really be glad to have you with him: on that account it is probable he would be ready enough to introduce you to S. Edw. Hughes. There is no occasion therefore at any rate for you to give him a peremptory denial. Upon that supposition too it is possible he might keep you in his thoughts when he was in India, and for the sake of getting you there, correspond with you, and turn his thoughts to the getting a fixed establishment to offer you.

In case of his going and your staying could not you get him to give you a letter of introduction to Ld. Shelburne: or what would be better still perhaps, a letter to Ld. Shelburne mentioning you, and desiring him to find you out.

I like Blanket's candour and the confidence he put in you very much: but if he should go to India especially, or if he should not absolutely undertake for introducing you to Ld. Shelburne he can not take it amiss I should imagine, or think the worse of you for

⁵ Presumably his diving invention, referred to several times in the correspondence.

⁶ Another Russian over in England to study naval matters: in later letters his name is spelt 'Kutigen'. It seems that Bentham hoped his brother would also take him on as a pupil, although he was now the pupil of a Mr Mitchell (cf. letter 303). This was presumably the Thomas Mitchell who had been Master Shipwright's Assistant at Woolwich, Chatham, and Deptford successively, and was now First Assistant to the Surveyor of the Navy.

declining to communicate it to him. For to the purposes of war, secrecy would be the very life and soul of a scheme of that sort.

It is possible that by Blanquet's means you might get mention made of the Fragment and the H. Lab. Bill to Ld. Shelburne.

Blanquet's thoughts of going to India are not such a secret but that he communicated them to Peake: whether he communicated to him any of these secret circumstances on which his going depends is more than I know. Pump Peake about this.

VALVE

I will give you a hint of a very pretty kind of valve invented as far as I know by Dr. Swede: it is applied by him to a glyster pipe of his invention.

The tube to be closed terminates in a cup: in this cup plays a loose ball of lead turned exactly round so as to fit into and when in a perpendicular situation exactly close the tube, by its own gravity; much more when pressed by any fluid: it is to prevent the return of the glyster when injected. He shew'd me one which he had got made in Germany, and which answer'd the purpose exactly: but he said it was so difficult a thing to make them fit that a man might make 18 or 20 before he could make one that would do.

I hope you took care to let Bl. know of the offer you had to go with Curtis.

It is very likely the Nabob would be glad to have a marine, but Quaere would the Company let him.

To know something of Sr. Edw: Hughes it might be right for you to read Lind's defence of Ld. Pigot if you could get it.⁷

Swede knows Priestly and Ld. Shelburne—He has dined 2 or 3 times with Ld. Sh. He was introduced by his friend Ingenhaus.

Swede knows not of any leather under the name you mention. He has met with a kind of leather that is very thick and at the same time very pliable manufactured at Liege. It was at Liege he met with it. At Paris he saw a man who had a wastcoat and breeches on that had all the appearance of leather but was not leather. It was of a buff colour.

⁷ George Pigot (1719-77), created Baron Pigot (Irish Peerage) in 1766, was twice Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Madras (1755-63, 1775-77). During his second tenure he was at loggerheads with the majority of his council, and was eventually imprisoned by them, in which condition he died. There was much controversy over the matter in England, and Lind's *Defence* was published in 1777. According to Bentham he received £1000 for writing this. Sir Edward Hughes (see n. 4), had been Commander-in-Chief of the Fleet in the East Indies at the time of Lord Pigot's imprisonment.

Swede thinks that any leather whatever might be made very pliable by soaking in oil after it has been tanned with the astringent matter which makes it hard. That is the common process. The late Dr. Macbride⁸ gave into the Royal Society about | | | ago a paper on the improvement of the art of preparing Leather—Swede was present when it was read and says it was very ingenious and contained several new ideas but the noise was so great he could not hear distinctly.⁹

303

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

26-27 January 1779 (Aet 30)

Jan: 26 1779

It was Blanket² (I think you told me) that recommended Kut: to Mitch—Tell me by what means Bl. became acquainted with M. (how Bl. and M became connected, and of what nature the connection is: by that one may judge of the chance there is of your prevailing against M.

You need not be in the least pain about my spirits: when you are so cock-a-whoop, I am so of course.

If with Ld. E. or L.³ or any of these people you could find means of introducing in a natural manner any thing about the Fragn. you may take occasion to give them to understand *sans dessein* that the Bp. of Peterborough⁴ recommended it to Erskine, commending it much by saying there was 'a great deal of sound Whig doctrine in it.' These people are of *little* account themselves, but they are connected with those who are of *more*.

⁸ David Macbride (1726-78), a medical writer, whose *Account of the Improved Method of Tanning Leather* was published in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1778. His discovery, made in 1767, involved the use of lime water.

⁹ At the end of the letter Bentham(?) has noted in pencil: 'Conduct of Experiments and [. . . ?] Ld. E.' Perhaps a note to guide him if he had continued the letter further.

303. ¹ B.M. II: 289-292. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. Jany. 26th 1779 / Russian Pupil and E. India.'

Addressed: 'Mr. Bentham / Royal Academy / Portsmouth.' Postmark: '28 . . .'

² This name has been scored out, and it is not quite certain that it is 'Blanket'.

³ 'Ld. E.' is presumably Lord Effingham (cf. letter 304), i.e. Thomas Howard, Earl of Effingham (1746-91), who was then deputy Earl Marshal; later he was Governor of Jamaica. 'L.' is probably Dr Lind (cf. letter 295, n. 5).

⁴ John Hinchliffe (cf. letter 287, n. 4).

O-Byrne.

This is the 3d. time of my reminding you of my queries about him.

It is very odd that Samb. should have taken no notice of us all this while. If you are intimate enough with Lohm. and can do it without shewing too much anxiety, suppose you were to talk with him about it, and try whether you can make him contribute in any way towards giving Samb. a spur. Does Lohm correspond with Samb.? if he does it would be easy for him to throw in a word or two in your favour.

RUSS. FARMERS

Learn of Lohm: upon what footing the 6 Russ: who are studying farming here are with Arbuthnot⁵ who I think is their instructor: at whose expence the farm is taken, whether at his or the Empress's: and whether he has any and what salary or other recompense.

Talking with Samb. about going to Russia he said that the best thing wou'd be to take the substance of your letter and turn it into a Memorial for the Ambassador: but then the derangement of the finances, and the probability of your being thwarted in your enterprizes seemed to come across him; and as you had such good prospects at home he seemed to make it a matter of conscience not to send you thither upon a false scent.⁶

WIND GAGE

As you don't like that you have, why don't you return it

Thursday Jan: 27th

I have just now had a visit from a Mr. Beale who is a Purser of an E. India-man (the True Briton I think she is) now in dock at Greenland Dock. He came in consequence of some enquiries made by Q.S.P. to offer his services to me as an amanuensis. He is much too magnificent a man, as you may imagine, for that purpose. But finding what station he had been in, I set to work and have been pumping him on your account. Voici what I have collected.

1. He is acquainted with Capt. Cooper.
2. He came from China and Madrass: the latter place he left the 23d. I think it was of July. He was at a Ball given by the Nabob on occasion of his receiving a letter from our King.
3. There are no considerable Dock Yards at Madrass,—nor anywhere but at Bombay. There there is a great Dock Yard (or two

⁵ Presumably John Arbuthnot of Mitcham, author of *An Inquiry into the connection between the present price of Provisions, and the size of Farms*, 1773.

⁶ This paragraph is a later insertion in red ink.

yards I don't know which) kept by two *Blacks* as he calls them that is natives. Their names he mentioned but I did not understand them.

4. The Nabob is altogether in the power of the English: has no ships at all: no parts of his dominions (as B. believes) are on the sea coast: but there are in them navigable rivers.

5. The Ships built by those people are taken up chiefly by our people (commonly) I think he said Captns. and Mates of India-men in the coasting trade.

6. The Nabob is very much in debt: very backward in paying his debts: not so generous as people here are apt to suppose. As a proof of this Captn. somebody (Capt: I believe of an E. India man) made him a present of a fine gold watch: and in return the Nab. gave him no more than the value of it. This you will say is no proof to signify—to be sure it is not. For a man need be rich and generous with a vengeance to make presents to every one who chose to tax him in that manner.

7. I told him that you had invitations from several people to go out to India: from Capt: Cooper amongst others, in which I now recollect that I was mistaken; for it was Curtis—but no matter. I said that I did not think you would go, but if you did asked him what he thought would be the best articles for you to take with you to make money of: mentioning at the same time Lind's 3 watches; as also what I had heard from Mulford of an acquaintance of his that was on board the London who took out money.

As to money B. was for facing me out that it could be no such thing for the most that was to be made that way was to be made by Dollars; and by them you get no more than 10 pr. Cent: and it costs 5 to insure.

As to watches, he took out a pair himself that cost him 35 Ge. each. one he sold at Madrass for 30 Ges. the other he brought back. Upon his examination he said that it was a time of great confusion, all the people in an uproar on account of Ld. Pigot's death—The new Governor not yet arrived, and every body thinking of securing their property, and nobody of thinking of buying. On this account the conjuncture may be rather favourable than otherwise: for the less they bought then, the more they will have to buy now. B.'s ship does not sail again these 6 months: but in the mean time the fewer competitors he has, the better. He lost £220 he says upon £800.

The best way he said for a man who has no allowance of Tunnage (room in the Ship) is to lend his money to the Captn. who will give

him 10 or 15 pr. Cent for it (He was thinking all the while of Company's Ships)—'If the Capt. can afford to give such interest and yet make a profit, why might not a passenger make that profit?' said I. 'Oh but' (says he) 'The Capt. makes large assortments, and can take bulky articles such as a Phaeton or a Whisky etc. etc.'

B. too came out with the observation, that Captns. were very different sort of people on board and on shore.

When I told him you had invitations also on board King's ships, he said they were not allow'd to trade: there you would have no room but just for your chests etc.

The last express that came from Madras, came in 56 days from Madras to London. Madras is on that coast that is furthest for us. They go (by Sea I suppose) to Bassora in the Persian gulph from thence through the Turkish territories to Belgrade, and Swede says through Vienna.

MULFORD'S PAPERS

Dr. Mulford is in town. He called on me yesterday morning. He is to drink Tea with me this afternoon. Not being able to find his Scotch Papers, I cant persuade him but that he sent them up to me as he talked of. Recollect if you can what passed between him and you on that subject when you were with him at Milbrooke. He asks why you do not come and see him. He talks of going out of town tomorrow night.⁷

Now for Samb: and Afan: They called here this morning before Beale.

As soon as they were sat down Afan: was sent away, and Samb: and I were by ourselves.

We had not talked long before I came to shewing him your ost. letter, making apologies for it's being mixed with other matter etc. I soon saw, (although we had time only to read over those parts that related particularly to Afan:) that it made on him the most favourable impression. In consequence he open'd himself to me with the utmost degree of confidence and candour. But the prospects he holds out are far from being encouraging.

The allowance appointed originally for Afan: by the Admiralty was but £40 or £60 a year I forget which. It has been encreased upon Samb's representations to £100. He seemed to intimate, that there was a possibility that his friends who were not in high

⁷ John Mulford had evidently moved from Totton to Milbrooke, also near Southampton. We do not know what his 'Scotch papers' were.

circumstances upon farther representations might be induced to advance £20.

Nothing would give him greater pleasure than that a countryman of his and one that was capable of profiting by it should have the benefit of your instruction. On that account it grieved him to think that Afan. (as he feared) would not come up to that design. He is a very good lad but his education has not gone beyond writing and reading, and drawing a little in Eames's⁸ Mold-loft.

To save time I will write in future in Sambouski's person.

'Afan is just come away from Mistier's. He could not bear to stay there any longer. They gave him for a Bed fellow a Mulatto prentice who used him brutally: amongst other things taking offence at him for disturbing some birds the Mulatto was going to shoot at, he (the Mulatto) fired at him and shot him in the breast.'

(To have done with Afan. I will tell you, that willing at any rate that you should see him I consented to a proposal that Samb. made me that he should go down to Portsmouth for a month. I told him that board would cost 17s. a week. He said that then the whole expence of the journey might be defray'd for about 5 guineas. You may expect him therefore every day. Afan: is a good well-looking good-humoured young lad.)

'As to *Kutigen*, he is the son of a man who is Quartermaster on board the Grand Duke's Yacht. His allowance from the Admiralty is but the £40 or £60 a year: but the G.D. makes it up £200. He, I much fear would not prove more *trouble-worthy* than the other. He struts about and gives himself the airs of a Macaroni. He talks too of going to be married.

'The G.D. is Admiral. The Vice Admiral the acting person is C. Czernichef,⁹ who was Ambassador here. C.Cz: is my friend: he is disposed to pay some regard to my representations: though perhaps it is not perfectly well taken that I should interfere so much as I do in promoting projects of education and other matters for the good of my country. It is thought perhaps that I should do as well to confine myself to my Chapel.

'In Russia, I am sorry to say it, projects of improvement even when adopted are very unsteadily pursued. Many are begun and neglected every day. At Taganroc a port on the Black Sea 3 Scotchmen went from the Foundry at Carron in Scotland, to cast Cannon. When they came there, there was no work for them to do.

⁸ Unidentified.

⁹ Ivan Gregorievich Chernyshev (1726-97), Vice-Admiral in the Russian Navy, previously Ambassador in Britain.

They did not know what to do with themselves. They took to drinking. They petitioned for work to the Commissioner there who is called Admiral but none was given them. At last they said it was to no purpose their staying there if they could get no work: it was picking the Empress's pocket: they would therefore go back again to Petersburg; and so they did. Being Englishmen, this liberty, although it occasioned surprize, was pardoned, and they returned to Taganroc.

'Peculation which is said to be but too much studied *here*, is the chief and in a manner the only study *there*. When Adm. Knowles was there a quantity of dung and other rubbish was accumulated in the Admiralty (so they call that mass of buildings with their appurtenances which includes the Dock Yards and every building and yard that relates to the Marine) which dung it was thought proper to remove to the opposite side of the River. Instead of putting it on board a barge, they took a long circuit and convey'd it over by land. The Adm. made a calculation and found that what might have been done for £400 by water, would cost in the way it was begun, £2000. He represented the affair to the Empress, and she reprimanded the people concerned very severely. However the continued mortification the Admiral met with forced him at last to quit the field.

'The great misfortune at present is the derangement of the finances: to that perhaps it was owing that the three Scotchmen from Carron could not get materials to work upon. For these two years past neither the Ambassador nor I have touched a farthing of our salaries. If it had not been for the friends I have here, I should have found it difficult to subsist. You have seen the little colony that we have here to study Agriculture. If supplies do not come soon I must e'en ship them back again for Petersburg. The expression "beggarly grandeur" that Ld. Chesterfield uses in speaking of our Monarchy, is but too applicable to us still. What I tell you is but too true. Lohmen who is passionately fond of his country, may be apt for that reason to put a better face upon things than in strictness they will bear.

'In Astracan we have no Dock Yard. No attention is paid at present to the Caspian Sea. Our attention is at present directed exclusively to the Baltic and the Navigation of the Black Sea. At Taganroc, a port on the Black Sea we have a Dock Yard. At Taganroc if your Brother was Shipbuilder, he might do very well, provided he were upon good terms with the Admiral (Commissioner). But would he connive and join in peculation and all the

abuses it gives birth to? ⟨...⟩ ⟨...⟩ would disdain to do it—and therefore, there is but too much ⟨...⟩ ⟨...⟩ apprehend he would not be upon good terms with the Admiral.’

(O, Sam! if a man were but Admiral there himself!)

‘C. Czernicheff I dare say, means very well: but most things go by favour: and there is no withstanding sollicitation. Robinson¹⁰ of Edinburgh (who was Professor at Moscow and in 6 months time acquired such a knowledge of the language as to give lectures in it,) brought with him back to Scotland (or had sent to him) three Russian Pupils. One of them did extraordinarily well, and made a very great proficiency in the Mathematics—the two others but indifferently. They were allow’d to stay but 3 years (which is another fault with us; we do not allow time enough for education.) At their return, the proficient in Mathematics was sent to Sea: the two others were retained as Mathematicians.’

This is the chief of what passed: as he said a good deal in the way of wishing that you could but have fit subjects to work upon, and what advantage it would be to his country, and so forth, I proposed to him the trying whether he could get such. He seemed sincerely willing: but he seemed to look upon the omnipotence of favour, and the derangement of the finances as obstacles scarcely to be surmounted.

Seriously, if you and Lohmen could build and navigate to Petersburg a vessel that should have something of singularity in it sufficient to engage the Empress’s attention, it would seem to be one of the likeliest means of coming to the speech of her: and unless one can deal with her directly, one can do nothing.

How charming it would be, if you and I and Lohmen could spend a little time together.

No letter to night—Oh, fie upon it Sam, how could you serve me so.

I understood from P. that Bl.¹¹ came away from Petersb. in a kind of disgrace owing to some pranks he play’d. This you should be aware of.

¹⁰ John Robison (1739–1805), Professor of Natural Philosophy at Edinburgh. In 1770 he had gone to Russia as private secretary to Admiral Knowles. In 1772 he had become Professor of Mathematics at the Imperial Sea Cadet Corps at St Petersburg, but had returned to Edinburgh shortly afterwards to become Professor there. In 1762 he had tested Harrison’s chronometer for the Board of Longitude on a trial voyage to Jamaica. Samuel’s later friend Dr Guthrie (see letter 355, n. 1) was a relative of his. Bentham seems to have written the name as ‘Robinson’.

¹¹ ‘P.’ is probably Peake, ‘Bl’ probably Blanket.

Samb. seems not to have been concerned in placing Kutigen. He knows nothing of Mitchell.

Where the deuce did Lohmen <gain> his knowledge, and his public-spirited views? make him tell you.

304

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

29 January 1779 (Aet 30)

I forgot to observe to you that what Samb. said about his Russians not being *trouble-worthy* was in reference to the extensive plan chalked out in your letter: which seemed to half-frighten and half-please him. He wonder'd how Nat. Philosophy and Chymistry, but particularly Chymistry should be of use, at least how they should be necessary: however a few words were sufficient to convince and satisfy him.

Q.S.P. with whom I dined today is so hot upon the Randallian scheme,² that he does not much care to hear of any other. Even the £170 that might be had from the 2 pupils has no charms for him. He knows of the bad payment of the Russ: allowances; and we are agreed that you must take care not to be in advance to them, nor yet to give them your credit with tradesmen and people where they board. How it would be with Afan: I can't say. As to Kutigen I should be in no pain about him, as the G.D. will certainly take care of the people that belong particularly to him.

I have just been trudging to Bond Street and got the pamphlet on the Mot. of floating bodies.³ I there likewise met with a little pamphlet on Air and smoaky chimnies which I thought might possibly contain some hints that might be of use for Div. Scheme.

I shall send you likewise a paper on Gunnery which Swede received this morning as a present from the author Sr. J. Pringle.⁴

304. ¹ B.M. II: 293–294. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. Jany. 27th 1779.'

Addressed: 'Mr. Bentham / Royal Academy / Portsmouth / Single Sheet.' Post-mark is blurred. It seems to be: '29 IA'.

² Randall (cf. letter 131, n. 4) is mentioned in later correspondence between Samuel and his father as the senior partner in a private shipyard. The 'scheme' was apparently that Samuel should enter Randall's business (cf. letter 320, n. 1).

³ Perhaps *Abstract of the Mechanism of the nature of floating bodies*, translated by Admiral Knowles from the French of — de la Croix, Commissaire Générale de la Marine; the French text was published in 1735, the translation in 1775.

⁴ Sir John Pringle, bart., (1707–82), F.R.S. had been Professor of Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh from 1733 to 1744; he subsequently practised medicine, was created a baronet in 1766 and appointed physician to the King in 1771. He was President of

I thought it might be of use for you to shew to Dr. Lind. It must be returned.

Read in the papers this week a letter from Silas Deane to the people of Philadelphia. You will find how Lord Shelburne got intelligence of the Treaty of America with France from the fountain head.

The self-directing boat might be made I suppose out of any of the boats that are there already—there is no occasion (is there?) for building one on purpose. If so, you could presently do something to satisfy curiosity and excite expectation. Have you mentioned *that* to Bl.? Would Ld. Eff.⁵ think you, concur in the recommendation of you to Ld. S.?

Don't you now (to shew the superiority of your judgement) go to thwart these people in any of their political notions, and prove them to be ninny-hammers—Join with them where you can with relation to particulars, but without running into their violence, or formally enlisting yourself with their party. When you can't honestly join with them, either suggest doubts, or keep silence, accompanying it with such a sort of smile as sanguine men if they please may construe into approbation.

I believe I shall put up a Ms Paper containing a project for the uniformity of measures. It is an original by Wilson's friend Anderson who has sent it here to be given in to the Royal Society.⁶ I should like to hear what Dr. L. says to it. I send it without consulting Wilson. It must be returned forthwith. Make James take a copy of it.

I know nothing at all of Lind of this place, except that he is an unaccountable being.

I have been a fool in not opening your letter till 9 o'clock: so whether I shall have time to make up the parcel to night God knows.

By way of cherishing Bl.'s notion of your attachment to him it might be of use perhaps to give him reason to suppose that you continue to look forward with pleasure to the event of accompanying him to India.

I find it impossible to distinguish your breeches from mine without trying them on; so I can not send the parcel to night. It the Royal Society from 1772 to 1778, and the paper Bentham mentions, published as *A Discourse on the Theory of Gunnery*, had been read to the Society on 30 November 1778.

⁵ Lord Effingham: cf. letter 303, n. 3.

⁶ This paper by James Anderson (cf. letter 149, n. 8) does not seem to have been published in the *Philosophical Transactions*.

therefore can not go till Sunday night—Then you may expect it for certain.

Put up ½ a doz. covers, annex to one of them a slip of paper directed to J. Bentham Esq. Lincoln's Inn London then the next time that you meet Ld. Eff. at a convenient place make him direct them. If you don't meet him in a day or two, give them to Bl.

305

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

11 February 1779 (Aet 30)

Linc. Inn. Thursday Feb: 11th 1779

You Mr. Sir, what's the matter with you that you don't write? Not to tell me any thing yet about Afan: about Blanquet, about Randal? Understand all this while that I have got your scrap of a letter but that's $= \frac{ax + -y^2}{\sqrt[3]{sm}} = 0$

This afternoon /forenoon/ crossing Linc. Inn Square to go to Q.S.P. I met Fitzherbert²—He quitted the company he was in to come and speak to me. He asked me after you—whether you had got yet what you wanted; and what the state was of your expectations? I told him, as they were: That the vacancy you were then wishing to fill up was filled up long ago: that there was no immediate expectation of a vacancy at present, and that if there were, you had no prospect of succeeding to it. He said his friend to whom he had spoken about it before had mentioned it again to him tother day taking notice of the rule that he had understood had been laid down about the task work (saying or Fitzherbert himself saying I am not sure which) that he thought it a very absurd one: and offering to do whatever was in his power to renew the application for your benefit. Cursed stuff I am writing—but no matter—you understand me. His friend (Perrin is his name) had added that he was intimate with Middleton the new Comptroller³: and if he thought it would be of any use he would speak to Middleton.

305. ¹ B.M. II: 295–296. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. Feby. 11th 1779 / Fitzherbert offers his Interest.'

Addressed: 'Mr. Bentham / Royal Academy / Portsmouth / Single Sheet.' Postmark: '11 FE'.

² William Fitzherbert: see letter 138, n. 30; also letter 307.

³ Captain (later Admiral) Sir Charles Middleton (1726–1812) became Controller of the Navy in July 1778; he was created Lord Barham in 1805. Perrin has not been identified.

Fitzh. concluded with wishing me to state your pretensions in an ostensible letter to him in the manner before proposed—I forget whether any such letter was sent. I believe not: but somewhere or other you have a rough draught of it. Find it if you can *immediately*, and send me. If not you must give me by memory the materials it contained about the time of your being bound, the time of Gray's death, etc. etc.⁴

Upon his mentioning Middleton, I asked him whether he thought Mr. Perrin would introduce you to Middleton? he said, he made no doubt he would, if he found it would be of any service. I recollect your telling me in one of your letters that you had projects you would like to communicate to Middleton. I therefore thought this might give an opportunity.

He put it upon a very obliging footing, saying that what he wished to do was not on your account, but on his own for the sake of the credit of being instrumental in getting you into the service.

[*In pencil*: Blanket acquainted with Fitzherbert.]

306

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

19 February 1779 (Aet 31)

PRIMUM MOBILE Vapour

What think you of a new one being found out? a new vapour? Swede fell by accident in the way of a Dr. Williams² to ⟨whose⟩ house he went at Pimlico. Williams was bred a Physician but has devoted himself for many years to Chymistry. It was he who got £2000 a few years ⟨ago⟩ from Parliament for inventing the new greens and yellows you see upon Cotton and Linen Gowns. He has since that invented several other colours: amongst the rest a straw colour and a lilac that will never fade. Williams sees not a creature: has not for some years gone out of his house or conversed with any of his former friends: it was by accident that Swede got to the speech of him.

Well this Dr. Williams told him of an engine erected ⟨by⟩ his neighbour that was worked as he said by a new discover'd ⟨vapour⟩: and he promised to get him a sight of it. What the ⟨vapour⟩ is is

⁴ Cf. letter 235, n. 1.

306. ¹ B.M. II: 299. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. Feby. 19th 1779.' Postmark: '19 FE' and 'AE'.

² Unidentified.

kept a secret. When Swede goes I am to be one of the party. I shall then I hope be able to give you some account of it. But my expectations from it are not very sanguine. Swede is apt to give an air of mystery to ordinary things.

Write single sheet on your letters—I am perpetually plagued with double charges.

307

TO WILLIAM FITZHERBERT¹

21 February 1779 (Aet 30)

Dear Sir

I am now enabled to send you the particulars you were kind enough to require.

Aug. 2. 1770.

My Brother, Samuel Bentham, went apprentice to Mr. Gray, then Master Shipwright at Woolwich, for 7 years. In 1771 | He followed Mr. Gray to Chatham upon his being made Master Shipwright at that place.

In 1771 |

Mr. Gray died: whereupon my Brother continued in the yard at Chatham as apprentice to Mr. Gray's Executrix.

~~11 Jany. 1778 His time being out he was discharged of course~~
Aug. 2d. 1777 The term of his apprenticeship according to the Indrēs should have expired. However on account of some uncertainties that arose from the time and manner of his being enter'd on the books at Chatham, he continued to serve till 11 Jany. 1778 On which day his apprenticeship being clearly at an end, he was discharged in course.

It was on that day that he came of age.

He did not apply to be enter'd upon the footing of a common

307. ¹ B.M. II: 302–307. Autograph draft. Docketed by Bentham: '1779 Feb 21 / I.B. Linc. Inn to W. Fitzherbert Charlotte Street Bloomsbury / On behalf of S.B.'

This is a rough draft for the letter to William Fitzherbert which Bentham wrote on his brother's behalf. It is the ostensible letter which Fitzherbert had requested (see letter 305) and rehearses Samuel's qualifications for a post in one of the dock yards.

Bentham talks of Dr Lind (the younger) as having set out for the East Indies whereas letter 309 suggests he was still in England in February. Perhaps Bentham did not intend delivering this letter till a later date.

man: had he been enter'd upon that footing he would have been confined to some one particular part of the work not of his own choosing: which would have effectively precluded him from taking that comprehensive view of the whole business which it was his object to obtain.

During the course of his apprenticeship, (through the indulgence of his Master (Mr. Gray) and those who had succeeded Mr. Gray in the disposal of him) he had mostly been put to indoor work, such as drawing Draughts: a branch of the business in which he thinks he has made improvements; and for assisting him in the manual part of it he contrived and made several years ago a little instrument of his own which he calls a Curvator.

He used however *frequently* to work along-side with the common Men. I can not say *constantly*: for it had all along been his hope (however romantic it may prove) that he might come to do more for his Majesty's services as well as his own benefit by diligent observation than by manual labour.

It was an ambition that took him at a very early age to contribute some thing to the advancement of the art of Shipbuilding; and in that view he has for several years at leisure times been employing himself in gaining an insight into those sciences from whence whatever light that art is capable of receiving must certainly be drawn. I mean Mathematics, Mechanics and Chymistry: the two former with a view to the *form* of vessels, the latter with a view to the Materials.

It is now a little more than a twelvemonth that he has been out of his time. Since then, though his name has not been upon the Books he has continued his attendance at the Yards.

Desirous of taking every possible method of improving himself he has visited every Yard in the Kingdom: and in the same view he has been twice to Sea. In the Spring he went round from Chatham to Portsmouth with Captn. Bazely in the Formidable: and in Autumn he was out in Adm. Keppell's fleet on the second cruize.

In the Summer being then at Portsmouth he hit upon a little improvement in the construction of a rudder: which upon leave obtained from the Commissioner was put in practice on board of the Formidable by Capt: Bazeley, and of the Foudroyant by Capt Jarvis. Time did not allow of the proposing it for any other ships.

That improvement was trifling enough; otherwise it could not have been put in practice under that authority and in that expeditious manner. But he has ideas of many other improvements or

what he looks upon as such, /of a very different importance/ if he were fortunate enough to get an opportunity of pursuing them.

Capt: Blanket ~~of the Nymph from~~ /upon a very short acquaintance/ a very few conversations with him, partly from a view of giving him an opportunity of extending his observations by a Voyage to the E. Indies I can venture to say, and partly from a view of the benefit the naval service in those parts might upon any emergency receive from his suggestions, was very desirous of taking him with him in the Nymph. The Capt: was with me about it: but my Father could not be persuaded to consent.

Mr. Sambouski Chaplain to the Russian Embassy wishes much to engage him to perfect the education of a young Russian who has already studied shipbuilding some time at Petersburg and about a year in this country. He was sent down to Portsmouth about a fortnight ago for my Brother to make trial of his capacity.

My Brother is at present at Portsmouth in the Royal Academy: where he resides partly for the sake of ~~seeing what is going on in~~ the Dock Yard, and partly for the benefit of Mr. Witchel's assistance in the Mathematics.

I should hope the circumstance of his having had a liberal education, begun at Westminster School, continued ~~at Caen in Normandy~~ in France, and applied in the manner I have been mentioning to the particular study of this Art, that such an education may, if it prove no recommendation, may however not prove a decisive objection against him, as I have some times the mortification of hearing it said it will—and that the extraordinary pains and expence he has been at in hopes of qualifying himself for the service will not be an insuperable bar to his being placed. In France men of great learning and great names (I need only mention Mr. Du Hamel)² were for that very reason placed at the head of that line in which he wishes to be placed.

As to his qualifications in the /mere/ practical part of the business, I wish it were possible to procure a certificate of the nature your friend /Mr. Perrin/ was obliging enough to suggest upon a former occasion: but (besides that Mr. Gray you will observe is dead) I understand it is contrary to positive orders for any officer to give such a certificate. Mr. Peake however 1st Assistant at Chatham, who knows my Brother perfectly and from whose voluntary instructions he has derived a great part of what practical knowledge he possesses will be ready to take him as his Foreman (that is his right hand man) if ever it should be in his

² Cf. letter 143, n. 7.

power: that is if ever he should be promoted to the place of Master. This is what Mr. Peake has given both my Brother and myself assurances of.

Mr. Sambouski tells him he may be certain of employment in Russia, if he should think proper to accept it; and thither to be sure his views must be directed if he finds himself precluded of all hopes of advancement in his own.

/To obviate the objection of inexperience/ He would readily submit to any kind of examination that should be proposed; or offer any proof that could be suggested of his proficiency in any branch of the business which he might be thought most likely to be deficient in. I wish I could point out a method by which any gentleman to whose notice you were to recommend him could collect some idea of his qualifications from a quarter less partial than the representation of a Brother. The good opinion of such a man as Dr. Lind who to his very extensive stock of philosophical knowledge of other kinds—adds, I understand, a very considerable acquaintance with the theory of Ship-building, would I should hope operate something in his favour: That good opinion I imagine he is fortunate enough to possess: and during the time of the Dr's working at Portsmouth my Brother has spent a great part of his time in his company: and it is from thence I suppose that Mrs. Lind has been kind enough to offer of her own motion to introduce my Brother to Dr. Solander. Dr. Lind I find has received a number of ideas of my Brothers relative to Shipbuilding with approbation: and made him many valuable communications in return. But unfortunately the Dr. is by this time on his voyage to the E. Indies.

Sr. Ch. Douglas of the Duke who in the fortunate part of the Canadian expedition distinguished himself not less by his skill in naval architecture than by his abilities in his own immediate line has also taken a good deal of notice of my brother; has at different times communicated with him a great deal on the subject: and I should hope, though I speak without authority, would not be backward upon any occasion, in expressing a favourable opinion of him.

I mention all these particulars merely with a view of taking off any impression that might arise to his prejudice by the peculiarity of his situation, and in hopes of inducing you to believe that he would not disgrace any recommendation which you or any friend of your's might be kind enough to give him, and that any patronage which such recommendation might procure for him would not lay open to the imputation of being a favour shewn to idleness to the prejudice of industry and merit.

The places he wishes for are those of Master Caulker, Master Boat-maker, or Master Mast-maker in any of the Yards or if he could get to be Overseer of any Ship building for government by ~~Contract~~ in a Merchant's Yard, this though not a permanent appointment might be a step to one of those that are.

I understand from my Brother that there is a report of a very pretty near prospect of 3 Master Shipwright's places being vacant from the ill health of Mr. Pownol at Chatham, Onslow[?] at Plymouth: and the superannuation of Hayes at Deptford.³

I had the mortification this morning my dear Sir, of finding your name in my window: I don't know how long it has been there. If you should find the fatigue of wading through all these details intolerable, I must needs say you have yourself to thank for it: as nothing less could have induced me to trouble you with it than the spontaneous and therefore the more obliging sollicitude you have testified to befriend on this occasion one who will ever think himself Dear Sir

Your much obliged humble Servant.

Will you think me pardonable for adding that last night Mr. Davies, Ld. Howe's 1st Secrety. read this letter? When he returned it he said, without a syllable on my part, and with some emphasis, certainly you have not said too much of him. Mr. Davies though himself no Shipbuilder knows how my Brother is thought of by those who are. Mr. Davies knows him perfectly and has gone hand in hand with him in several of his Studies.

308

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

24 February 1779 (Aet 31)

Feb. 24 1779.

I committed a Benthamism on your letter to Mrs. D: but it turned out more fortunately than it deserved. I forgot to put it

³ Israel Pownoll (cf. letter 131, n. 5) was no longer Master Shipwright at Chatham by 1780, when he had been succeeded by Nicholas Phillips. John Henslow (whose name Bentham seems to have written as 'Onslow') continued as Master Shipwright at Plymouth (where he had succeeded Pownoll in 1775) until the middle of the 1780's: by 1786 he had become Surveyor of the Navy. Adam Hayes, Master Shipwright at Deptford since 1762, was apparently not so near his retirement as Bentham supposed, for he continued in office until at least 1782.

308. ¹ B.M. II: 300-301. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. Feby. 24 1779.'

Addressed: 'Mr. Bentham / Royal Academy / Portsmouth.' Blurred postmark apparently: '24 FE'.

into the post till this afternoon: and this evening she is come to Town. I have been using all my rhetoric with the Postmaster I mean the Shoemaker who lives opposite me: and it has been crowned with success. I should have told you for what I mean, to get back your letter. This afternoon came a formal note from D. by his servant to invite me to eat an oyster with him at $\frac{1}{2}$ after 8 in the evening: and thus it was I learnt that she was come to Town. It is almost that already: I will go but cannot stay: if I do I shall not have time to finish this. I am almost batter'd[?] to death with writing for you whence the Almighty of his infinite mercy ⟨...⟩². The plague of it is I was forced to take a copy: partly because I could not be satisfied without correcting (not being in a writing humour for want of exercise etc. etc.) partly because I thought it right that you etc. should see it—It goes to night or to morrow morning. I did not get the materials till yesterday or Monday was it? when D brought them to me. When he called the Hairdresser was with me all the time. Yet he mentioned your having complaints against him and his having complaints against you, and how sorry he was there should be any misunderstanding considering that he had a great regard for you and besides was under great obligations to you as well as to me and Mr. W.—It was nearly in these words. His note to me to night was directed to W. therefore I supposed there was a counter-note for W. directed to me: and so it proved. W. does not go.

What signifies your writing ostensible letters to Sambouski now? with a pox to you—What new can you have to say to him? mind your business, study Algebra now you pay so dearly for it, and don't be restless. You are like me, you want to reap before you have finished sowing.

I received yesterday a letter from C.A.³ The books I wrote to him for are on their way.

² This word scored out. It is letter 307 to William Fitzherbert of which Bentham complains.

³ Two long letters from Charles Abbot to Bentham are not included in this edition. Although they throw light on the interests of the bright young man who was later to be Speaker of the House of Commons, they do not add much to our knowledge of Bentham. They do show however that Abbot turned to Bentham for advice on his reading, particularly on law.

The first (B.M. II: 256) is dated 'Geneva Novr. 19th 1778'. He comments on the authors he has been reading, such as Beccaria, Rousseau and Blackstone (on whom he takes a Benthamic line) and on the literary scene at Geneva, mentioning among others Charles Bonnet (1720–93), the naturalist, and Tremblet (Abraham Trembley 1700–84), distinguished for his discoveries on the Polypus. He mentions the Commission at work on a Political Code for Geneva. He talks of objections raised there to the English criminal law, in particular to the jury system. Finally, a friend wants

to know De Lolme's whereabouts in England, and as Abbot recollects that Bentham saw him occasionally he hopes he can help.

The second (B.M. II: 297) is the one mentioned here. It is dated 'Geneva Feby. 12th 1779'. In his docket Bentham notes 'Lind's Books'. (Postmark: 'FE 22'). Abbot is sending some books Bentham had asked him for, including 'three little duodecimo Volumes of the Laws of Savoy, which you had not desired' but which 'are sent at a venture'.

'As to the Berne Society I can learn no very material circumstances, nor as yet can I tell you any good way of sending what you intend. In the first Volume of their Memoirs for 1762 you will find their original Laws—the People themselves who compose it at present are said to be the principal people of the Country, and as they are all a thinking Nation, probably Men of Knowledge—The Decision of a prize upon a question of Jurisprudence seems to have been placed in the Hands of an Oeconomical Society whose chief objects are the improvement of Agriculture Arts and Manufactures merely as they bear the character of a Body divested of all prejudices and partiality. In Conversation with some Law people here I have heard great Encomiums passed upon a work of *Procédure Criminelle* by a M. Jousse Conseiller au Présidial d'Orléans [Daniel Jousse 1704–81]—*The Codex Fabrianus* by Favre Président of the Senate of Chambery is a work of credit here [Antoine Favre 1557–1624]—The *Style Criminel* of Dumont Conseiller au Parlement seems only a collection of Legal Formulae for all case of Criminal proceedings (J.C.N. Dumont de Saint Croix 1730–88)—The *Droit Criminel* of Soulatges Avocat au Parlement in 3 vol. duod. is esteemed also. The *Constitution Caroline* of Charles the 5th. is the foundation of all the modern Criminal Law of Germany—For Switzerland in particular there is a work by *Segnux de Corevon* at Lausanne which is in general received as authority. Of These Books I speak at random never having opened any of them myself but what is more to your purpose as having heard them well spoken of by Men of some Knowledge here—As their contents seem to be analogous to your present Business in hand I put their names down here though they are perhaps none of them new to you.'

He is studying Roman civil law with the aid of the German jurist, Johann Gottlieb Heineccius (1681–1741) and also Pilati. He finds it extraordinary that no nation has established a periodical revision of their civil laws. Perhaps he shows the influence of Bentham here:

'Happily however a Project of Revision seems more practicable in our Constitution...If a true spirit of Philosophy consists in any thing else besides writing at London to prove very happily the Materiality of the Soul which would undoubtedly be a discovery of the greatest consolation to mankind or teaching Poetry at Paris by Geometrical Theorems another modern attempt equally laudable and extraordinary;—it means a desire to comprehend and a readiness to execute the dictates of Sound Reason in all Matters whatever in defiance to ancient prejudice and authorized absurdity—And if this is a Philosophical Age—is it not the Season with us for accomplishing a work of this nature'—taking encouragement from the Censorial Commission established in Pennsylvania?

He thanks Bentham for his 'little Sketch of Modern History', endorsing the parallel between Sully and Clarendon, and also for his general advice on reading. 'It is the more satisfactory to me as I have long made it my Rule to hear all and judge only from my own conviction.' He talks admiringly of *Grammaire Universelle* (being Volume II of *Le Monde primitif* etc.) by Antoine Court de Gebelin (1725–84) also of Condillac, Bonnet, Montesquieu and Adam Smith. He asks Bentham's view on the problem of free will, and discusses the Roman laws concerning adoption.

In both letters he gives his address as that of 'Le Pasteur Romilly', whom he describes in the second: Romilly knew Rousseau, Diderot, and Helvetius well and contributed articles on *Tolerance* and *Virtue* to the Encyclopedia.

Abbot's landlord was Jean-Edme Romilly (1739–79), at one time minister of the French Protestant congregation in London.

¼ before 10.

Just returned from Warwick Court. I gave D. my letter to Fitzht. to read, and in the mean time Mrs. D., perhaps secretly perhaps not, took from me your letter. Wilson went with me. I left him there. Mrs. D. came with me down stairs: and told me such things as though not physically impossible, I must confess, considering who they come from, I do not believe. The result is that Ld. Howe is coming in to the Admiralty.⁴ The purport was that Mr. D. had said to her 'that they flatter'd themselves with the thoughts of going into the country, but that that was likely to be at an end, that they should probably have to live at the other end of the town: but that one comfort was, if they did it would be just in the manner they would like'—that either then or at another time he had said that' it was now not improbable but she might see what she had so often wished to see—Sam Surveyor of the Navy.' All this d'ye mind she told me before the Servant. Thus much however is certain that when he called on me he said in answer to something in the pumping way I said to him, that from some papers Ld. H. had put in to his hands he should imagine he had not absolutely given up (as I told him has been reported) all thoughts of public business: and if I am not' very much mistaken' he had said before that Ld. H. he believed would not have the command of a fleet. Remains, you know, the Admiralty. And this evening, when we were all together after he had read my letter to Fitzh. what I had said of you was certainly not too much: and thereupon talking of the effect it might produce, when Mrs. D. said she should be vext if you got any thing from such a quarter as this rather than Ld. Howe, Mr. D. joined with her but instead of holding up the uncertainty of Ld. H's having it in his power to serve you—said, at any rate it wou'd do no harm, your having already got one step, for that it would make it so much the easier for you to get higher. Toutes fois it is a very faint ground to go upon—therefore don't set yourself to work to build castles on it, to the neglect of Algebra.

On Saturday or Sunday Mrs. D. told me they were to back to Brompton, and then return to Town for a considerable time.

From a passage in one of your letters I see she had given you to understand that my angry letter to her was written principally on the occasion of his not having made any money offers to you to save the selling out: the truth of it is that circumstance was only

⁴ This hope was not fulfilled. Lord Sandwich continued First Lord until 1782.

glanced at in the most oblique manner in a parenthesis by way of argument to prove that I could not do every thing for S.W.⁵ and that they (must) share the burthen. The real purport of my letter was to answer a canting, unfeeling letter to me in which upon shuffling reasons she had refused supplying S.W. with money to enable her to go into the country.

309

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

2 March 1779 (Aet 31)

Linc. Inn March 2 1779

Peace is agreed upon between Austria and Prussia—So Swede was told a few days ago by Baron —— /I forget his name/ Secretary to the Imperial embassy. The Emperor had augmented his army to 390,000 men.

Dry-Rot

No—you never said any thing to me about *Dry-Rot*. Examine it particularly. Fix upon a piece of wood on which this vegetation is just commencing: observe it from day to day, and trace it through all its progress from it's first appearance to its decay, if ever it does decay. Watch the changes the timber undergoes at the same time. I can very easily conceive it to be a *symptom* of putrefaction in the wood, putrefied wood being the proper *pabulum* for this kind of plant. But that it should be a *cause* of putrefaction is odd enough.

If you collect any specimens for Banks or any body else, take care that the collection be *complete* exhibiting it in all its stages and well *preserved*: that is not bruised; and let some of the wood it grows on be taken off along with it.

Banks

Yes—do try if you can get Dr. Lind to write such a letter about it to Banks as may afford you an introduction. You may say to him that 'When you write about it and mention me to Banks, you may tell him if it should happen to be true, that you know no harm

⁵ Sarah Wise.

309. ¹ B.M. II: 308–309. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. March 2d 1779.'

Addressed: 'Mr. Bentham / Royal Academy / Portsmouth.' Postmark: '2 M.'

of me: you may even speak a good word for me, if you think you can do it with a safe conscience: in short you may say as much in my favour as your conscience will let you say; for the truth of the matter is it might be in Banks's power to be of service to me, by means of the interest he has with Ld. Sandwich.' And then you may tell him the story of Fitzherbert's first attempt to make interest for you through Banks, and of Banks's objection that you had not worked alongside, and of his wanting you to produce a certificate and so forth; objections which if you had some sort of introduction to him from such a man as Dr. Lind, you might be able to get over.

Make him give you particulars about the long lived ship—when it was he saw it? who it belonged to? who told him of it's being so old? whether there were any circumstances to corroborate such an assertion? you might have leave to vouch him for it upon occasion?

After I had sent my letter to Fitzherbert came a letter from him in answer to an application I had made to him on behalf of Mrs. Green. In conclusion he says

'I open this to say, your letter relative to your Brother is very satisfactory, and shall be sent immediately: you know I said there would be no harm in shewing this: but I hope I shall not be the cause of any disappointment.'

The rough draught I have of mine is in 3 4to. sheets of gilt paper: it is therefore too bulky to send you without a frank.

Davies when he talked to me about your disagreement with him said it affected him so much that for two days he could scarcely eat or sleep—that he had never felt himself in all his life so attached to any man as to you.

What is it you mean, when you say 'I don't like the appearance of Davies's returning to Chatham'?

He said that when he mentioned you to Ld. Howe (which proceed upon the supposition of his Ldships. having the Admiralty) he should put it on the footing of a favour done to his Ldship etc.

TEAK

Orme's Hist: of Indostan Vol. 1, B.5. Ao. 1753. p 337.²

'In Rajahmundrum are large forests of *Teak* Trees: and it is the only part of the coast of Coramandel and Orixia that furnishes this wood, which is equal in every respect to Oak.'—

² Robert Orme, *A History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan from the year MDCCXLV*, London, Vol. I, 1773; Vol. II, 1778.

GRABS and GALLIVATS

Ibid p 408. Ao. 1756 Description of vessels of war so called, belonging to Angria the Pirate, whose fortress was taken by Adm. Watson (and Colonel Clive). It occupies near a page. Ask Lind about them.

BUILDING etc under WATER

See Crit. Rev. Feb 1779 p. 147³

A very interesting publication—I will send for it. Read the account of it in the Review if you can before you see Dr. Lind.

Perpetual Motion

I have brought for you two lectures read and published in 1775 by Dr. Kenrick on the Perpetual Motion⁴—Comyn⁵ was one of the Auditors—I remember hearing him mention it at the club. I don't believe there is much in it—however it is but 6d. thrown away.

Suppose you were to ask Dr. Lind to write to you from the E. Indies to tell you the result of his enquiries and observations in matters relative to Shipbuilding?

310

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

6 March 1779 (Aet 31)

Linc. Inn. March 6 1779

ID:SB:: $\frac{\text{GW:IB}}{\text{SD}}$

There is a thereom for you; which considering the proficiency you have made in Mathematics, you will not find difficult to solve. N'importe—you know the fable of the dying man with his sons, and the bundle of faggots.

³ An account is there given of *Essais de batir sous l'Eau, faits... par M. Daniel Thunberg, etc. donnés au Public par M. Jean Fellers, etc.* 4to. Stockholm et Paris, 1776. The book contains 40 plates, two showing the basin and the new docks at Carlsrona, the building of which involved complicated underwater operations. The designer was the Swedish engineer Daniel Thunberg (1712–88).

⁴ William Kenrick (1725?–79), *Two Lectures on the Perpetual Motion*, published, according to the *D.N.B.*, in 1771.

⁵ Alexander Cumming: cf. letter 156, n. 3.

310. ¹ B.M. II: 310–311. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. March 6th 1779.'

Addressed: 'Mr. Bentham / Royal Academy / Portsmouth.' Postmark: '6 MR'. Stamped: 'AE'.

You may see by the papers how hard pushed Ld. North and Ld. Sandwich have been: and Keppel bearing the most honourable testimony to the conduct of Ld. Howe.

I have heard by Elmsly's means of a not improbable method of conveying Code to Berne by the Post *franco*: which would give me till within a fortnight of July in point of time. I am going to write about it to the Secretary Triboulet.

I have bespoken for you a copy of that book I mentioned to you in my last giving an account of the methods used to execute a great work relative to Shipbuilding (something of the Dock kind) by sinking a vast frame of wood work under water. It will apply to *Div. Scheme*. Elmsly wrote for it last night. It was at *Carlsrona* in Sweden. Get the Crit. Review by all means. It will serve you to talk with Lindegren² about. It is possible he may have the book: it is probable he may know the Engineer Thunberg.³ Get out of Lindegren how it fares with the spirit of improvement and reformation in Sweden. I have designs upon the King thereof.⁴ He seems to be a great man, and a good man. He must have a copy of Code. I have an account of the Revolution in Sweden written by one Sheridan of the Temple, an Irishman who was Secretary to our Embassy at the time.⁵ I like it much.

I believe I can help you to besiege Solander. Swede knows him pretty well. Ingenhaus still better. I will try to get them to mention you separately to Solander.

I will tell you how you might get acquainted with Ingenhaus—It would do you no harm. He is on good terms with Banks, Priestly, Ld. Shelburne, etc. in short all the literati and amateurs. When Swede and I go to Pimlico (not Pimblico) Ingenhaus is to be of the

² Samuel had evidently struck up a friendship with this merchant of Swedish extraction at Portsmouth. Lindegren was married to the daughter of Charles Hanbury, a merchant in Hamburgh, of whom Samuel was to see a good deal when he went there (see letter 333, n. 1). In a letter to Samuel dated 26 July 1779, from Imley Park, Northamptonshire (B.M. II: 343 unpublished), his father says 'your acquaintance and connection with Lindegren seems to promise more to your advantage than any you have made of late'. Samuel corresponded with Lindegren while on his travels (see B.M. II: 389, Samuel to Jeremy, 9 October 1779, unpublished). Bowring publishes a letter from Jeremy Bentham to Lindegren at Portsmouth dated 28 August 1798 which shows them on an intimate footing (x, 323). See also letter 350, §2.

³ Cf. letter 309, n. 3.

⁴ Gustavus III (1772–92).

⁵ *A history of the late revolution in Sweden: containing an account of the transactions of the three last Diets in that country. Preceded by a short abstract of the Swedish history etc.* London, 1778. By Charles Francis Sheridan.

party.⁶ You may come to town and be of the party too, either *with* me, or *au pis aller* instead of me. (Swede goes sometimes to Banks's). The day is not fixed yet. I imagine it may be about a week hence—so there will be time enough for you to come.

Could not you come, and return time enough to go on in Algebra with Lohmen?

As to Mears and Wachum,⁷ they will keep.

Shall I talk with Fordyce about Dry-rot? Tell me by return of Post.

I see no reason why you should not keep Mrs. L. to her promise.⁸ I don't imagine she would have any real objection to perform it. She might not choose perhaps to appear to have seriously made such a kind of offer before the people she was with: as it includes the necessity of her receiving you and being on a footing of some sort of intimacy in town.

4 o'clock—The above I had written before I had received your letter. Don't have money of them. I'll tell you reasons when we meet.

I have nothing to say to relig. cons, only joke him for form sake for not keeping the appointment he had made to come and drink Tea with me.⁹

I am not certain whether I shall be able at so short a warning to get a 15£ note to send you: and I can hardly afford to send you a £20. At any rate I will put up £10. As to what you may want besides you may tell Witchell how the case stands and concert with him the means of your paying it on his account in London as soon as you get there, or my paying it for you immediately by return of post.

Between you and me I have wished for you here ⟨.⟩: for tho' I dine very cheap, I do not dine c⟨.⟩ without you.

Write me word immediately of your having received this.

My lobsters are come.

⁶ Presumably they were going to Pimlico to see the engine worked by a new vapour which is mentioned in letter 306.

⁷ Mears was the author (or perhaps only the owner) of what is later described as a 'Masting book', which Samuel took abroad with him and was remiss about returning. Probably it existed only in manuscript (see letters 325, 360 etc.). Samuel later tried to get him out to Russia. Probably he was a shipwright. Wachum is unidentified.

⁸ Mrs Lind, wife of Dr Lind, had offered to introduce Samuel Bentham to Daniel Solander, the botanist (cf. letter 307).

⁹ We do not know to whom 'relig. cons.' refers.

311

TO FRANZ LUDWIG TRIBOLET¹

30 March 1779 (Aet 31)

Monsieur

C'est en votre qualité de Secrétaire de la Société Oeconomique que j'ai l'honneur de vous adresser:

Conformément au Programme qui a paru sous le nom de cette Société, je travaille actuellement à composer un *plan de Législation sur les matières criminelles*, et je crois pouvoir vous assurer que je suis le seul anglois qui s'occupe à un tel dessein.

Voici une idée très courte et par conséquent tres imparfaite de mon plan.

Je distingue les délits d'abord en quatre classes

Savoir en delits, contre 1^mo les Individus

2^o Un voisinage ou autre classe d'hommes.

3^o Soi même (autrement dit contre la morale)

4^o L'Etat.

1. Les délits contre les Individus, je les partage en un certain nombre d'ordres soit sous divisions: savoir en délit contre 1^o la personne. 2^o les biens. 3^o l'honneur, 4^o l'Etat (Statum) soit qualité permanente de la personne (par exemple filial, conjugal etc.) 5^o la personne et les biens à la fois et ainsi des autres délits composés.

2. Je fais même division à peu près des délits contre une classe d'hommes.

3^o La même division est encore pour les délits (tant véritables que prétendus) contre soi même, soit contre la morale.

4^o Quant aux délits contre l'Etat, je les partage, d'abord en 8 ordres, Savoir en délits contre 1^o la Justice ou bien la Sûreté intérieure. 2^o La sûreté extérieure. 3^o la force publique. 4^o Le fisc. 5^o La richesse nationale. 6. l'interêt national en général. 7^o la souveraineté qui préside à tout.

311. ¹ B.M. II: 312-314. Docketed by Bentham: '1779. I.B. Linc Inn to Triboulet—Berne / Copy taken at Geneva.' There is an autograph draft of this letter in U.C. CLXIX. 45-47.

This is a copy, apparently made by Charles Abbot, who was then in Geneva and was responsible for forwarding the original to Tribolet. Franz Ludwig Tribolet (b. 1743), a physician, had been since 1769 secretary of the Oeconomical Society of Berne, which was organising a competition for the best plan for a new code of criminal law (cf. letter 226, n. 4). In letter 314 (4 May 1779) Bentham mentions that Charles Abbot has received and forwarded this letter.

8 la Religion considérée et comme alliée de la Justice et de la souveraineté et comme capable par abus d'en devenir la rivale.

Chaque *ordre* des délits que je partage en un certain nombre de *genres*; chaque genre fait un titre séparé.

Un genre je partage en plusieurs espèces qui se distinguent, quelque fois par le moyen de quelques autres circonstances, mais communément par l'application de quelques circonstances exténuatives ou aggravantes (des quelles ci-après) au fait principal.

Voici le plan selon lequel je traite chaque titre de délit, je donne:

1° la définition du délit, portant le texte de la Loi, *in ipsis terminis*.

2° Exposition de chaque mot fondamental de la définition, aussi *in terminis*.

3° Peines ordinaires du délit.

4° Moyens d'exténuation, avec les rabattemens (là où il y en a de fixes) quelques fois avec des expositions.

5° Moyens d'aggravation avec les augmentations (là où il y en a de fixes) (quelques fois aussi avec des expositions)

} toujours *in terminis*

6° Raisons pour servir à justifier une chacune des dispositions qu'on peut distinguer dans la Loi.

7° Par occasion je donne des Instructions au Législateur. Elles sont destinées à servir de supplément aux Lois mêmes, là où les circonstances particulières ne permettent pas qu'on en donne pour tous les Peuples.

8° Par occasion encore, Instructions de la part du Législateur au Juge; Elles sont destinées à servir de supplément au texte de la Loi, là où des circonstances qui peuvent être particulières à chaque individu ne permettent pas qu'on resserre davantage pas des règles invariables le Champs où doit s'exercer la discrétion du Juge.

Le recueil des N.^{os} 1, 3, 4 et 5 formera un abrégé très portatif (et qu'on pourra même mettre en forme de table) à l'usage de tout le monde. ce sera pour le coup d'oeil et pour la Mémoire.

Si on y ajoute les N.^{os} 2 cela formera en y ajoutant les 11 N.^{os} qui s'ensuivent immédiatement ci-après et le N.^o 10 de l'introduction dont je vais parler un recueil complet de toutes les matières qui doivent entrer dans le code criminel à l'usage du peuple, à la réserve de ce qui appartient à la procédure. Ce sera pour consulter à besoin.

Enfin en y ajoutant les N.^{os} 6, 7 et 8 en dessus et le reste de ce qui ensuit, on aura un recueil complet de Jurisprudence théorique et pratique en matières criminelles à l'usage du Juge et de l'homme d'Etat.

Tout cela cependant doit s'entendre avec des restrictions qu'il n'y a pas moyen ici de détailler.

À la tête du recueil des délits séparés je place quelques titres qui se rapportent indistinctement à tous: savoir.

1° des circonstances criminalisantes en général et la combinaison desquelles résulte le caractère essentiel de chaque délit.

2° Des circonstances justificatives (soit moyens de Justification) dont la propriété est de l'emporter sur les mauvais effets du délit ou bien de les effacer.

3° Des circonstances, exemptives dont la propriété est de détruire les qualités remédiantes de toutes punitions. par exemple la folie.

4° Des circonstances exténuatives (soit moyens d'excuse)

5° Des circonstances aggravantes.

6° Des complices, receleurs et fauteurs.

7° Des attentats soit délits commencés.

8° Des peines en général; Règles pour guider le Juge dans l'interprétation des dispositions pénales.

9° Des peines pécuniaires et règles pour déterminer la quantité.

10° De la compensation, soit dommages et intérêts, règles pour en déterminer la quantité.

11° Détail de l'exécution de chaque peine.

Pour servir d'introduction je donne un chapitre sur chacun de sujets suivans: savoir.

1° Méthode d'évaluer un plaisir ou peine quelconque.

2° Catalogue des espèces simples de plaisirs et de *peines*.

3° Catalogue des motifs qui se rapportent à chaque plaisir et peine.

4° Des divers rapports que peuvent avoir et l'entendement et la volonté avec un événement quelconque: là-dessus, de l'ignorance, de l'absence d'intention etc.

5° Règles générales pour déterminer la proportion qui doit se trouver entre chaque délit et chaque peine.

6° Analyse du dommage que peut causer un délit quelconque.

7° Division des délits.

L'introduction se finit par trois titres qui contiennent des Lois faites au sujet des Loix mêmes (*Leges Legum*, comme le Chanr. Bacone les appelle) savoir.

8° De la composition des Loix

9° Promulgation

10° Interprétation.

Quant à la procédure (dans laquelle je comprends la jurisprudence des preuves) il n'y a pas moyen ici d'en donner une idée tant soit peu détaillée; Ici comme ailleurs je donne la Loi in terminis avec raisons justificatives.

Le tout finit par une analyse des moyens que semble fournir la nature des choses pour prévenir les délits.

* * *

Quant à la langue, on a donné aux concurrens le choix de plusieurs; entr'autres de l'anglois. J'ai cru mieux faire en usant de cette permission, que d'écrire en mauvais François qu'il eut fallu faire corriger après, ou en Latin, qu'il eut fallu faire traduire, avant qu'il auroit pu être de quelque usage.

Quant à l'ouvrage même, les circonstances ne m'ont pas permis d'y mettre la main que depuis Sepre. dernier: mais quant à la réforme des Lois en général, c'est un objet auquel je me suis dévoué depuis plusieurs années. Cependant j'ai été dans la persuasion jusqu'à présent, que rien ne seroit plus facile que d'envoyer quelque chose que ce soit d'ici à Berne dans tout tems dans l'espace d'un mois tout au plus: et c'est sur cela que j'ai toujours fait mon compte; mais les recherches particulières que je viens de faire m'ont appris que c'est bien autre chose. On me dit quelques voyes ordinaires du Commerce, tout à la fois très incertaines, très hazardeuses et très lentes, pour ne pas s'arrêter a une dépense de deux ou trois guinées à laquelle je ne trouverois pas à redire: que celle de la Poste conteroit 12*℔*. /Tournois/ ou bien 12 Schelings par once à Lyon seulement, je ne sais pas à quoi cela pourroit monter pour l'ouvrage entier, peut être 30 à 40 Louis; dépense un peu trop forte pour un particulier qui n'est pas riche; car, pour parler à hazard, l'ouvrage ne sauroit être moins que 10 ou 12 fois plus gros que la brochure de Mr. Voltaire sur ce même sujet.

On me dit cependant qu'il y a un certain Mr. Haller (fils du Célèbre feu Mr. le Docteur Haller)² qui est commis sous Mr. Necker et qu'un paquet qui lui seroit adressé pourroit aller France de Calais jusqu'à Lyon.

Or voici Mr. pourquoi je prens la liberté de vous écrire.

² The father was Albrecht von Haller (1708–77) the famous Swiss writer, Professor of Medicine at Göttingen and doctor to George II. The son mentioned here was probably Emmanuel de Haller (1745–1820) who left his native Berne as a young man in order to pursue a commercial career in Paris. In 1796 he was treasurer of the French army in Italy under the command of Napoleon.

1

Comme vous devez vous-même, ou bien quelques membres de la Societé doivent être en liaison avec Mr. Haller, pourriez-vous et voudriez-vous bien me faire le plaisir de lui demander cette grâce? En cas de difficulté il est possible que Mr. D'Alembert et Mr. le Chevalier de Chastellux de l'Acad. françoise (aux quels j'ai l'honneur d'être un peu connu par deux petits ouvrages sur la Jurisprudence dont le principal est anonyme) voudroient bien contribuer à les faire lever. Mais pour commencer du moins la voye la plus naturelle seroit celle que je viens de proposer. On pourra bien se rapeller que c'est un cas privilégié un cas de Science, et de Philosophie, où il n s'agit que de l'Intérêt des hommes en général; que les intérêts particuliers de Commerce et de la guerre n'y entrent pour rien etc. etc.

2

Je voudrois savoir en cas que je sois en état de prouver que j'ai fait partir 'mon paquet d'ici avant le 1^{er} Juillet, s'il faut absolument que l'ouvrage soit rejeté à moins qu'il n'arrive à Berne avant ce jour là, et si des circonstances qui ne dépendant pas de moi pourroient ainsi opérer mon exclusion, ou bien s'il n'y auroit pas quelque indulgence à espérer, et jusqu'où elle pourroit s'étendre, Je voudrois aussi savoir.

3

Si la Societé trouveroit bon que je discustasse à fonds le sujet dégoûtant et hazardeux des délits d'impureté, et que j'en dise ouvertement et pleinement mon avis? C'est ce que j'ai fais pour ma propre satisfaction; mais j'ai peine à déterminer si je dois en faire part à personne.

4

De même quand à la Religion; et si la Societé puisse agréer qu'on se borne à indiquer ce qui paroît en être politiquement utile, sans se mêler de chercher ce qui en est vrai.

5°

De même par raport à quelques délits temporels qu'il est d'usage de considérer comme ayant un raport particulier à la Religion, tels que le Suicide et le duel etc.

6

Si vous avez déjà des pièces de concours; si vous en attendez et combien? J'ai fais tout mon possible pour y engager Mr. Pilate de

Trente par le moyen d'un ami commun qui est en commerce de Lettres avec lui, et j'ai offert de lui communiquer mes papiers etc. etc. mais cet ami n'en a point reçu de réponse, Mr. Pilate a du être en voyage, et cela peut être la cause de son silence, vous devez Mr. le connoître, il a beaucoup de connoissances à Berne. En savez-vous des nouvelles? Son ami est très inquiet à son égard?

7°

Si par hazard la Société s'aviseroit de couronner mon ouvrage, que feroit-elle de mon Anglois? Parmi les membres, y en a-t-il beaucoup qui l'entendront. S'il y auroit quelques titres en particulier qu'elle seroit bien aisé de voir traiter en François ou en Latin je tacherois très volontiers de leur satisfaire. En ce cas je pourrois à tout moment les détacher ces titres et les envoyer d'avance par la même voye que celle ci.

De ces questions il y en a quelques unes auxquelles vous seriez en état d'y répondre de vôtre propre chef: d'autres peuvent exiger que vous en faissiez part à la Société; Ne seroit ce pas Monsieur vous donner trop de peine que de vous prier de faire réponse d'abord aux premières, sans attendre ce qu'on pourroit faire à l'égard des dernières?

Peut être que j'aurois pu vous épargner ce déplaisir, si j'eus été à portée de consulter les règles de la Société, on vient de me mander de Genève qu'elles se trouvent dans les Mémoires pour l'an 1762. mais par malheur cet ouvrage ne se trouve nulle part chez nos Libraires: à la bonté de nous autres Anglois, il faut même que je vous avoue, qu'il n'y a pas même apparence qu'il se trouve dans aucune Bibliothèque soit publique, soit particulière, du moins si je dois m'en rapporter à l'opinion de Mr. Banks P.R.S. de Mr. Solander du Min, Brit, et plusieurs autres savans que j'ai consulté là dessus.

Cette Lettre vous sera remise par le moyen d'un jeune parent que j'ai maintenant à *Genève*, il se nomme Abbot, il demeure chez Mr. le Pasteur Romilly rue de la Pelisserie, c'est à lui Mr. que vous auriez la bonté d'adresser la Réponse.

Il me semble que, dans des occasions comme celle-ci, il est d'usage de vouloir ne pas connoître la personne, c'est pourquoi je ne me nomme pas. Vous pourriez Mr. me désigner sous le titre de l'auteur d'un code Criminel.

à Londres ce 30^e Mars 1779

312

TO ANN ELIZABETH LIND
(FOR SAMUEL BENTHAM)¹

1779

To Mrs. L. for the Laws of Naples.

Madam

Conceive me to have made the properest apologies and with the best grace in the world, for the trouble I am wishing to give you. My Brother wishes much to have a book which Mr. Polli² was obliging enough to give me information of. It is the collection of the Statute Laws of Naples down to the present time. I think he said it was in Latin: if it can not be had in Latin my Brother would be glad to have it in Italian. He would wish likewise to have the most modern institute of the common or unwritten Law of that country, if there is such a thing: of the Criminal branch in particular and in Latin rather than Italian. There is no getting such books from Booksellers. Mr Polli corresponds with Naples of course, and I suppose sometimes receives parcels from thence. Will you therefore be kind enough, Madam, to employ upon the aforesaid gentleman a little of that influence which I am sure no gentleman could resist, and persuade him to oblige my Brother in that respect? ~~In such case will you likewise be kind enough to put me in some method of securing Mr. Polli against any pecuniary risk or in convenience for example by paying him immediately what the Books will come to?~~ This is certainly not the topic of all others on which a man who was perfectly free to choose his subject would wish to address himself to Mrs. L. but as that is not my good

312. ¹ U.C. CLXIX: 47. In Jeremy Bentham's hand.

This draft is written on the second leaf of the last double sheet of the draft for the letter to Tribolet. Evidently it is a letter which Bentham wanted Samuel to write to Ann Elizabeth (née Mealy) wife of Dr James Lind the younger (for whom see letter 295, n. 5). Mrs Lind had already been approached for an introduction to Dr Solander, the botanist, and moved in the scientific circles where she would be likely to meet Professor Poli (cf. n. 2). She is described as a large handsome woman (see *D.N.B.* article on Dr Lind).

² Giuseppe Saverio Poli (1746–1825), distinguished Neapolitan savant, known as the *Neapolitan Pliny*, had been born in Apulia. At this time he was Professor of Geography at the military academy in Naples. He had been despatched by the King to France, Germany and England (where he became an F.R.S.) to buy scientific equipment for the academy. Later he was tutor to Ferdinand IV's eldest son, the future Francis I of Naples. He published many works on many subjects, his major work being a study of Testacea entitled *Testacea utriusque Siciliae eorumque historia et anatome* (1791–95).

fortune I have nothing left for it but to subscribe myself with all expedition

Her very respectful and obedient humble Servt.

S.B.

My Brother, with whom I commonly am when in town has chambers at Lincoln's Inn Old Bgs.

313

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

16-17 April 1779 (Aet 31)

Linc. Inn April 16, 1779

Before you quit the neighbourhood of Brompton go and scold Byers. You know the breeches he made for me were too big, and that I was at the pains of sending them back accompanied by a pair of old breeches which I sent with them to take them in by. When you brought me the new ones did you bring back the old ones? I believe not—but certain it is that the new ones are come back without any thing being done to them to take them in. What am I to do? they are so big I can not wear them as they are. He took out the lining and converted it into drawers: how could he be so stupid or so obstinate after such express directions as I gave him, and a pattern into the bargain to send them back with—not taking them in—Here am I writing the same stuff over and over at Wilson's, Douglas and Wilson chattering.

Go and pay Mariner for your shoes, late mine.

April 17th.

You should not have said any thing to Q.S.P. about Mrs. W.² It was running a risk of their making troublesome enquiries. However it is now over and no harm done. Mrs. Q.S.P. knew what she died of. It was a broken heart. I did not contradict her: but changed the subject: and there seemed no disposition to press the continuance of it.

I have not a syllable to tell you—Adieu. My love to the good folks with whom you are.

Wilson is still upon his couch—he has a little bit of a relapse.

313. ¹ B.M. II: 318-319. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. April 16th 1779.'

Addressed: 'Mr. Bentham / at Jos^h: Davies Esqre. / Brompton / near Rochester.' Postmark: '17 AP'. Stamped: 'AE'.

² The mystery here found surrounding the death of Mrs Sarah Wise suggests that she may have committed suicide, after being abandoned by her husband and left without financial resources.

Discoveries in Chymistry by Bergman a Swede. A new metal got from Manganesia with very singular properties—particulars when we meet—I had it not from Swede, but from Wilson's friend Dr. Hunter.³

This Regulus of Manganesia has a more violent passion for Phlogiston than any thing else in nature. It takes it from Muriatic Acid which nothing else could do: and leaves it a lazy sluggish beast of an acid like the vitriolic. So that volatile-vitriolic: common vitriolic: : common muriatic: what muriatic may be turned into by the help of this Reg: of Manganesia.

314

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

4 May 1779 (Aet 31)

Linc. Inn May 4 1779

To S.B.

In the letter I received from Mrs. D. (did I mention it?) before I received that from Mr. D. *he* desired me to tell you that he had no further use for James Carpenter and wanted to have your directions, what to do with him.

I have been 3 or 4 times trying to get to the speech of Lind: but have not yet been able. This is rather unlucky: however I think I can make sure of seeing him tomorrow. As soon as I do, you shall be sure to hear.

Dr. Mulford has just been drinking tea with me. I have communicated to him your Russian scheme, with which he is much pleased. He approves of it '*totibus manibus*.'

This afternoon came a box with some of your things from Brompton. Your books are to be sent hereafter. I have not had time yet to take out the things. At top was a letter from her to me containing nothing very material.

I suppose you have heard the news from Jersey²—I'll say nothing of it.

On Sunday I had the happiness of dining at Q.SP. in company

³ Bentham later formed the highest opinion of the work of Torbern Olof Bergman (1735–84): cf. letter 345, n. 10. Dr Hunter is presumably either John Hunter (cf. letter 169, n. 9), or his brother William (1718–83), first Professor of Anatomy to the Royal Academy, 1768, and a distinguished physician.

314. ¹ B.M. II: 320–321. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. May 4th 1779.'

Addressed: 'Mr. Bentham / Royal Academy / Portsmouth / Single Sheet.' Postmark: '4 MA'.

² The repulse of a French attempt to land a force there.

with your dear friend Dr. Chelsom. He told us that Dr. Thurlow³ the Chancellor's Brother may have the vacant Bishoprick (Lincoln) if he chooses it: but that it is thought he will decline it: on account of the laboriousness of the duty, owing to the largeness of the Diocese. I can tell you however from still better authority that he will accept it—does it not make you very happy? Douglas was at the Chancellor's on Sunday; and heard Ld. Townsend⁴ give him joy of it.

Your letter of yesterday is come to hand: all the readable parts of that and the preceding one I read to Dr. Mulford.

Swede has enter'd into a partnership with a German Apothecary—They are to take a house and live together. The circumstance of the partnership is a secret: which remember.

Mulford does not return till the beginning of next week.

Yes—to be sure your Russian scheme cannot fail of proving a very agreeable one, if nothing better.

Charles has received my letter and forwarded it to Triboulet. This he mentions in a letter to his mother. As soon as he has an answer from Triboulet he is to write to me.

I seal with a seal Wilson has had sent to him as a present from Ireland.

315

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

16 May 1779 (Aet 31)

Dear Sam

This afternoon came a letter to me from Baron Maseres² written yesterday, in which are the following words

'I have called this evening at Ld. Shelburne's, and mentioned Mr. Samuel Bentham to his Lordship, who has promised me to

³ Thomas Thurlow (1737–91), younger brother of Edward, 1st Baron Thurlow, (Lord Chancellor 1778–92). He was then Dean of Rochester and became Bishop of Lincoln later in the year. For Chelsom cf. letter 214, n. 6.

⁴ George Townshend (1724–1807), 4th Viscount Townshend of Raynham, at this time Master-General of the Ordinance; created Marquess Townshend of Raynham in 1787.

315. ¹ B.M. II: 325–326. Autograph. Docketed by Jeremy Bentham: '1779 May 16 / I.B. Linc. Inn to S.B. Portsmouth.'

Addressed: 'Mr. Bentham / Royal Academy / Portsmouth / With speed—if absent to be open'd by Mr. Witchel etc.' Postmark: '16 IV'.

There is a drawing of some sort of chemical experiment on this letter—possibly by Samuel.

² Bentham had met Francis Maseres in 1776 through Lind (see letter 149, and n. 9). Maseres was now, it seems, effecting Samuel's introduction to Lord Shelburne, so that the latter might give Samuel recommendations for his projected visit to Russia.

write to Count Czernichew³ in his favour. Lord Shelburne desired me to inform Mr. Bentham that he should be glad to see him at Shelburne House on Thursday or Friday morning at 9 o'clock, to talk with him about his intended Journey and to give him the letter of recommendation.'

I have just called at the Baron's to tell him how you were circumstanced in point of time and distance by which he would see it was next to impossible you should comply with either appointment: to desire him to inform his Lordship accordingly, and to let me know what he could collect of the probable time of his Lordship's stay in town, and that I imagined you would [not] grudge if it were necessary waiting on his Lordship in the country. The Baron was not at home, so I left a letter, to the above effect, mentioning likewise that I should write to you at both places to night, Portsmouth and Southampton. My fear was, that his Lordship might be going out of town, before you could be in the way to wait on him. But that apprehension is pretty well banished by the great event of day, which I mention because you can hardly have it in the papers.

Ld. North acquainted the house this afternoon, that tomorrow he should lay before them a Memorial of the Spanish Ambassador's, in the course of which his Excellency mentioned his having received letters of recall. A Spanish war therefore is certain. Mr. Burke thereupon got up and made a long speech and at the end of it a motion for an enquiry into the state of the nation.

I forgot to tell you that Burkit is to be in town the 20th, and will call on me.

It will be hardly worth while travelling post—it were better to go down to Ld. Sh's in the country.

316

TO THE EARL OF SANDWICH¹

June? 1779 (Aet 31)

Jeremy Bentham to Ld Sandwich. Intelligence.

Possibly the following intelligence may contain nothing but what is known already: possibly, nothing that is even worth

³ Cf. letter 303, n. 9.

316. ¹ U.C. CLXIX. 48. Draft for a letter to Lord Sandwich.

Originally in the folder marked: 'Legislaturientes epistolae, Brouillons unsert 1774? to 1784?' As it does not answer to the first description, it may not do so to the

attention: but as the contrary seemed possible, I thought it my duty as an Englishman to make your Lordship Judge.

Extract of a letter from Portsmouth written 23d. received 29 of May 1779.

Here followed the extract

My brother, Samuel Bentham, /the writer of the above/ served an Apprenticeship to Mr Gray late Master Shipwright at Chatham: but having had in other respects a liberal education is going in the course of a month, out of motives of curiosity to see what he can get access to see in the Dock Yards belonging to the Northern Powers.

~~If your Lordship thinks it not worth notice, I shall think so too: but at any rate it is my /humble/ request that neither his name nor mine may be mentioned without necessity.~~

As neither he, nor any of the persons above mentioned have the least idea of my taking the step I am now taking, it is my humble request to your Lordship that neither his name nor mine may be mentioned on this account to any one without necessity.

I have the honour to be, with proper respect, My Lord, Your Lordship's most obedient humble Servant, J.B.

Marginal notes *to the above extract*

Christianen² a Swede—Qu? Whether a Spy? Lohmen*—A spirited, intelligent young Sea-Officer; by birth a Russian—at heart an Englishman,—known, I believe, to your Lordship.

other. Moreover letter 318, which is on the same double sheet, implies that it was sent.

Evidently Bentham was forwarding an extract from a letter of Samuel's about some suspicious or undesirable events in the Portsmouth dockyards. Samuel's letter has not survived.

Lord Sandwich was First Lord of the Admiralty, and Bentham doubtless hoped to find here a way of interesting him in Samuel, and perhaps obtaining letters of introduction for him when he went abroad. Bentham wrote another letter to Lord Sandwich a month or so later (letter 318) and another in June 1780 (letter 363). Early in 1781 he drafted a further letter to him, on a more delicate subject: the sale of commissions by loose women, whom rumour even goes so far as to associate with Lord Sandwich himself. It is not clear whether the letter was sent (U.C. CLXIX. 49).

The words which are italicized here are in red ink in the original. The opening words of the letter, 'Possibly... thought' are in pencil.

² When Samuel Bentham set out on his travels in August 1779 he took with him letters of recommendation written by an unidentified Captain Christiann to a Major Valborne, also unidentified, and to Mr Chapman, head ship-builder at Stockholm—i.e. Frederik Henrik of Chapman (1721–1808), Admiral in the Swedish Navy, and author of a treatise on ship-building published in 1775, of which a French translation appeared in 1779. He is mentioned towards the end of this letter.

Lindegreen† A merchant of eminence at Portsmouth of Swedish extraction—known, doubtless, to your Lordship.³

Another Swede, a renegade to the French.
Christianen collected drawings of our Ships.
Chapman* A Master Shipwright in the Swedish service.
Another Swede making drawings of our Dock Yards.

317

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

12 June 1779 (Aet 31)

A reprieve! a reprieve! Adjudication of the premium put off for a whole year! yesterday came a letter from Charles copying one from Tribolet announcing the news.

If I write three lines more it is as much as I shall be able. I am writing upon Mrs. Lind's harpsichord she strumming thereon—the animal is improv'd amazingly—Letty chattering just by—Miss Borthwick² pouting with a swelled face.

Brereton's affair is coming on before the Privy Council. Lind is his counsal and the only one—It was to have come on last Wednesday, but is put off. It comes on next Wednesday I think it is or Thursday. By Brereton's affair do you know what I mean? I mean the sentence given against Capt. Brereton of the *Duke*—I do believe by what I hear from Lind that the Court exceeded their authority. But the Council doubts whether it is competent to give him redress. But if it should give him redress in point of Law, by pronouncing the proceedings of the Court Martial informal, what will that better him in point of honour?³

³ Cf. letter 310, n. 2.

317. ¹ B.M. II: 331–332. Autograph. Docketed: '1779 June 12th I.B. to S.B. Portsmouth.'

Addressed: 'Mr. Bentham / Royal Academy / Portsmouth.' Postmark: '12 IV'.

² Mary Borthwick was the daughter of John Lind's sister Elizabeth (1735?–64), who had married Captain William Borthwick of the Artillery. Borthwick went to Canada with General Burgoyne, commanded the artillery at Ticonderoga, and subsequently settled at Quebec where he was said in 1781 to be 'making money very fast' (cf. a letter dated 11 February 1781 from Nathaniel Forster to his cousin Peter Forster: B.M. Add. MS. 11277 f. 75).

³ Captain William Brereton had commanded the *Duke* at Ushant, but was deprived of his command by a court of inquiry held at sea after allegations about his conduct during the battle. It would seem that the attempt to secure a reversal of this sentence failed, since in 1781 there was published a supplement to an earlier pamphlet stating the case for his defence.

Nothing could come more seasonable than the reprieve—just at the instant that Touch⁴ had failed me—and Tribolet tells me that I may make use of the channel which I indicated to him which will free me from all anxiety and expence.

There—there's enough for one letter—Code goes on very tolerably now.

Saturday June 1779

Lind says the French Fleet came out the 4th and that our's is gone out after it⁵—'how came you not to let me know of it?' says Lind.

318

TO THE EARL OF SANDWICH¹

August? 1779 (Aet 31)

My Lord

I have just had with me a Sicilian Gentleman, Il Cavaliere di Statella, /who, I understand is/ a Knight of Malta and brother to a Prince of Spaccaformo.² He is just returned from Portsmouth, where he tells me he was admitted into the Dock Yard, and had a perfect view of it. He would not have been admitted into Chatham Yard, if I may judge by the ceremonies which, /a few weeks past/ I, an Englishman, and one not unknown there, was obliged to undergo. A relation of mine gave him recommendations to Portsmouth; but we had no idea of his obtaining admittance into the Yard: That he obtained through another channel.

Statella, a
foreigner has seen
Portsmouth
Yard.

Chatham,
inaccessible.

If I mistake not he came last from France; where he says he spent 5 years and was in every corner of the kingdom. He viewed the inside of Brest Yard though not without some danger having been put under arrest, on

Is acquainted
with Brest Yard.

⁴ Unidentified: mentioned again in letter 342, § 4.

⁵ The Brest fleet put out on 4 June to join the Spaniards. The British Channel fleet, however, did not put to sea till 16 June.

318. ¹ U.C. CLXIX. 48. Autograph draft.

Bentham says he last wrote to Lord Sandwich a month or two ago, and seems to refer to letter 316 (which is on the same double sheet as this). If the previous letter is correctly dated as early June, this was probably written in early August. It also, of course, comes from the folder marked 'Legislaturientes epistolae, Brouillons unsent, 1774? to 1784?', but it may nonetheless have been sent.

² The Statella family held the title of Marquis of Spaccoformo in the province of Ragusa, Sicily; this member of the family has not been identified.

suspicion of his being an Englishman. /I think it was before the rupture; whence I conclude that Brest Yard is at all times inaccessible to an Englishman./ Is any information wanted about Brest? /the French Dock Yard?/ that is /a question/ for your Lordship to resolve. Is the gentleman capable and /would he be/ willing to furnish any? that is more than I can take upon me even to guess at: my acquaintance with him is slight and casual. I write this altogether without his participation.

/As to Mr Statella, I have no reason for supposing him to have had any political views either in the observations he made in France, or in those he made here: but if I understand him right they are consigned to a journal, and were made in both places with that sort of attention which a Traveller naturally bestows on observations which he has thoughts of making public. By his card it appears that he lodges or at least did lodge a week or two ago in Suffolk Street No 7./

It would be a satisfaction to me, if one of your Lordship's Clerks were order'd to inform me, of this letter's having been received: /and I should hope it were not too great a return for the good intentions of a man who looks not for any other./ I had the honour of addressing your Lordship upon an occasion somewhat similar a month or two ago, by the penny post. Whether the letter was received I know not. As the purport of one part of it was to throw a shade of suspicion on a person³ who very likely might not prove deserving of it, and whom from what I have heard since, I should now rather conclude not to be deserving of it, I thought myself bound to make myself responsible for it, by signing my name. That part of the task was not a very pleasant one then; and by the uncertainty I am under concerning the light in which my former letter was viewed is become still less so now; but partly from the reasons already just hinted at, partly from the consideration that the use of this information /address/ if it has any might in part be frustrated by such an omission, I have once more the honour to subscribe myself

with all respect

Your Lordship's

most humble Servant

Did I think myself at perfect liberty to consult my /own/ private feelings, I should not have bestowed even that much of my own time and possibly of your Lordship's under the extreme uncertainty of it's turning to any account. But at this anxious crisis it seemed

³ Probably Christiann the Swede: cf. letter 316, n. 2.

to me that an excess of zeal though it were to border on impertinence would be an error on the safer side: and I conceive that any obligation /which I or anybody else to whom chance may have given the means/ (I) may lay under of making such communications as according to my /his/ imperfect views of things seem to stand a chance of being of use, is not at all varied by the manner in which they may be received.

319

JEREMY AND SAMUEL BENTHAM TO
GEORGE WOODWARD GROVE¹

17 August 1779

Lincolns Inn Aug. 17 1779

Dear Sir

This waits upon you with my Brother's grateful acknowledgements for the kindness manifested in your letter of the 15th:² I have taken upon me the office of Secretary upon this occasion, being the person who at present is rather the less occupied of the two. He has this morning received an offer of being convey'd to Helvoetsluys on board a Dutch fishing vessel /now off Billingsgate/ which sails on Friday, and thinks of complying with it: but for greater safety he will send the greater part of his baggage to Hamburgh on board a Hamburgh vessel, vessels from that place having never been so much as stopped. His course will be from Helvoetsluys to the Hague, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Sardam and Gröningen. All that way he will go by water in the Treckshuyts

319. ¹ B.M. II: 353–354. In Jeremy Bentham's hand. Docketed (by Mary Bentham?): 'S. and I. Bentham / 17 Augt. 1779.'

Addressed: 'Geo: Woodward Grove Esqr. / Whitchurch / Hants.' Postmark: '17 AU'.

² This letter, not so far as we know extant, was presumably in answer to a letter Samuel wrote to G. W. Grove dated 'Lincoln's Inn Augt. 12th 1779.' (B.M. II: 351, unpublished). In that letter he says that his father, after having originally opposed it, is now quite happy about his expedition 'to visit the several Dock yards and Ports of the Northern Countries', and authorises Samuel to inform his uncle of this. The expedition is relevant to various 'mercantile and other money getting projects upon the anvil'. Its duration is uncertain but will hardly be less than a twelvemonth. It is approved by all his friends, by Mr Mulford so much so that he has promised a present of £100 for it (letter 370 suggests that Mulford kept his promise.) He also mentions a loan of \$55 which Mr Mulford made him about a month ago, in order to let him postpone selling out money in the funds. This money is to be paid back to his uncle Grove, to whom it is due from Mulford, and he asks where he should remit it to him. He had hoped to be seeing him in town, but now understands that this is unlikely. Letter 324 at n. 4 suggests that Grove waived repayment of this sum.

which are cheap and expeditious. From Gröningen there are a kind of stage-coaches that go twice a week to Hamburgh through Bremen; the distance, about 150 English miles, is performed in about 2 or 3 days. This will be safer than going by the packet-boats from Harwich to Helvoetsluys which have once been taken and several times chaced. The only risk he will run will be that of losing the contents of a small cloak-bag he will take with him. It will likewise save considerably in point of time as there is no Hamburgh Vessel that goes before Sunday se'nnight. He will likewise get the opportunity of taking a view though but a cursory one of the Dutch Dock Yards. At Hamburgh he proposed at any rate to stay a week at least, in order to get information relative to the Timber Trade. From Hamburgh he will go to Lubeck by land: the distance a short days journey less than 40 miles: there are stage-coaches every day. From Lubec by Sea to Copenhagen, from thence to Dantzick: from Dantzick to Lieba in Courland a little place you will hardly find in your maps: from Lieba to Mittau an inland place the capital of Courland where he is expected by the Duke to talk with him about some shipbuilding and mercantile projects, and will probably stay some time. There if you please we will leave him for the present. If you have a mind to know a little about the D. of Courland, consult Wraxal's Tour to the North printed in 1775.³

I have a petition to present to you from Alderman Clark who wishes you to use your interest with Mr. Townsend as one of the Trustees of Bromley College on behalf of a Mrs. Sarah Ellison Widow of the late Rev. Mr. Stanhope Ellison.⁴ Bromley College is a kind of Almshouse founded for the benefit of Clergymen's Widows. This Lady is related to Mrs. Clark, is left in very low circumstances and (Mr. Clark says) is in every respect a qualified candidate. A vacancy has lately happen'd, and great application is making for two other candidates. I know Mrs. Ellison very well,

³ Sir Nathaniel William Wraxall, *Cursory Remarks made on tour through some of the northern parts of Europe, particularly Copenhagen, Stockholm and Petersburgh*, London, 1775. Jeremiah Bentham mentions this book in a letter to Samuel dated 26 July 1779, and recalls Samuel telling him that the author 'had availed himself of your friend Lindegreen in an unworthy manner' (B.M. II: 343, unpublished). We do not know what this was.

⁴ Bromley College was founded by the Bishop of Rochester in 1666 as a home for the poor widows of clergy. Mr Townsend is probably James Townsend, or possibly his brother the Rev. Joseph Townsend (see letter 96, n. 6 also letter 235, n. 1). Stanhope Ellison (1719?-78), son of a Wigan grocer, a member of Brasenose College, Oxford and of St John's College, Cambridge, was Rector of St Benedict's with St Peter's, Paul's Wharf, London, from 1757 to 1774; Vicar of Thorpe, Surrey, from 1765 to 1774; and Rector of Wittersham, Kent, from 1774 to 1778. His wife was Sarah Wilby of Boston, Lincs.

having often seen her at the Alderman's, and have every reason to believe she h(as) the best of characters. She has lived for this last year (...) chiefly with Mrs. Clark.

We are

Dear Sir

Your much obliged and
most affectionate Nephews
S. and J. Bentham

As soon as I hear of Sam's safe arrival across the Sea, I will take the liberty of informing you. My Father etc. were all well at Imley Park on Friday last.⁵

320

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

25–27 August 1779 (Aet 31)

Linc. Inn Wednesday morning Aug 25. 1779

1

I am now writing to you for the last time on thick paper. I shall send you I believe some exquisite thin paper called Bank

⁵ Jeremiah Bentham had taken a house called Imley Park, near Brackley, Northamptonshire for the summer months.

320. ¹ B.M. II: 357–358. Autograph.

On 24 August Bentham had seen brother Samuel off at Billingsgate on a Dutch eel-boat bound for Hellevoetsluis in Holland. Britain was now at war with the French, so Samuel could not take a route through France. The war added an element of risk to Samuel's sea voyage. This letter was doubtless for delivery to him on board the ship during its progress down the Thames.

The letter-book at the British Museum contains letters bearing on Samuel's departure. Among them are (B.M. II: 333) a letter from Baron Maseres to Jeremy Bentham, giving times when Samuel could wait upon Lord Shelburne; several letters from Jeremiah Bentham to Samuel showing him being gradually won over to the sense of the Russian expedition; and some of the letters of introduction which Samuel took abroad with him. B.M. XX: 4 contains a complete list in Jeremiah Bentham's hand of the letters of introduction Samuel took abroad. Lind seems to have helped him obtain many of them.

Samuel Bentham did not in the event return to England until 1791, having meanwhile entered the service of the Russian Empress. When he set out, however, he had no firm intention of so long an exile, or at least his relatives had no idea of it. His declared plan seems to have been simply that he 'should spend some time in visiting maritime countries abroad, to study the shipbuilding and naval economy of foreign powers', thereby following, as his widow informs us, the suggestion of Lord Howe (*Life of Sir Samuel Bentham*, 8).

Jeremy Bentham was enthusiastic about the expedition, and not only as a step in Samuel's career. He hoped that Samuel might prepare the ground, particularly in

Paper; doubting whether the like may be to be got in Holland. You may make use of it for all your correspondents—They will not take your letters the worse for costing them little. Divide each page into two columns—by this means you will lose less room by breaks.

2

I am not at all melancholy—I have perfectly got the better of the shock at parting, and think of nothing but the flattering prospects that are before us.

3

You a Mechanic, and bid me get a box on purpose made for the Delineator stand? I sent for the Carpenter in blind obedience to your orders: but when he came it occurred to me that upon farther taking to pieces it might very likely be puttable into the box with the smooth inside. The honest obliging fellow came in to the proposal very readily and put it into execution. He has marked the claws 1,2, 3 and put correspond marks to the part of the foot into which they are respectively to be inserted. The box was not full

Russia, for reception of advice on law reform. The two brothers felt that their cause was in a sense the same, a critique of existing practices in terms of their utility, a study of what ought to be rather than what is, and a battle against vested interests to effect the reforms dictated by that study. For Jeremy the enemy was outmoded legal institutions; for Samuel, outmoded methods of shipbuilding and naval administration.

Jeremiah Bentham had at first opposed the plan. His hopes were that Samuel would join a private shipbuilding yard, and he doubted whether a visit to Russia would add to his qualifications. He was clearly depressed at Samuel's going so far away. Samuel pointed out that his father was not offering him the money to join such a business as a partner, and that his best opportunity for carrying out nautical experiments was in Russia, where the First Lord of the Admiralty, Count Chernyshev, was a man 'who interests himself in making improvements'. He would obtain excellent letters of recommendation. 'I should go recommended to him not as a poor man who not being able to subsist in his own country would be glad to go anywhere for a livelihood, but as a man of Science as well as a Shipwright, and who is considered such a man in his own country. I should not go to him as one begging a favor. I should not ask for any post in their service, nor would I accept of any which there is much probability of their offering me...I should make some proposals which it would be to their interest to attend to and would probably appear to be to their interest to attend to.' If he had an opportunity of testing his ideas in this way, he would be well qualified to join a private business on his return home. (To his father, 9 May 1779, B.M. II: 322.)

His father continued to oppose the Russian project but without putting forward any very constructive alternative proposal, although he had an inconclusive interview with Mr Randall, senior partner in a merchant's yard. Gradually he accepted the project, and agreed to pay Samuel his regular allowance (cf. letter 370). It seems that Samuel also had £100 from his cousin Mulford (see letter 319, n. 2). He also had some money of his own in 'the funds' to fall back upon.

Various people to whom Samuel had introductions are alluded to in this letter. Notes have been deferred until they figure more prominently in the text.

by a great deal: so I put 4 Priestly into it and Restaut² and Hume. Also Contract and Principal Dimensions: item the flannel sailing jacket merely to fill up chinks. There were 6 boxes of them in all. I dispatched them by two men and a wooden horse part last night and part this morning. With a letter for Sambouski who said it was very well and renew'd his promises of taking care of them. They are marked S.B. Paper No. 1,2, etc. on the wood in thumping large capitals.

4

It would have been better by the bye if I had number'd them 1/6 2/6 etc. meaning No. 1 out of 6. No. 2 out of 6 etc.: then by seeing any one a man would know at any time how many of them there should be. Suppose you were to adopt this contrivance and number your boxes and gimcracks accordingly. You and I ought to neglect none of the helps to a weak memory.

5

I have been and got a memorandum book to set down every thing that relates to you, and have entitled it S.B.

6

I see by a paper of today that Sr. Ch: Douglas has lately lost his wife.

7

Endeavour to see the 2d. vol. of Dr. Burney's Musical tour through Germany. I have just been running over it on your account. He had recommendations to Matthias and Hanbury at Hamburg of whom he makes honourable mention.³ They probably have the book. In the Stadt-huys at Amsterdam and elsewhere take notice of the *Carillons* or Chimes that are play'd upon by fists and feet: There and elsewhere in your route take notice of the Organs which are in many places of an immense size. 32 feet in height with 4 rows of keys beside pedals for the feet and from fifty to 64 stops and 8 or 6 pairs of bellows. In Hamburg there are a matter of 5 such.

² Possibly Pierre Restaut, *Principes généraux et raisonnés de la grammaire française par demandes et par réponses*, Paris, 1730. The Ms word actually looks more like 'Restant'.

³ Charles Burney, Mus.D., *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces, or the Journal of a Tour...* In Two Volumes, 1773. The reference to the hospitality at Hamburg of Mr Matthias, English resident, and John Hanbury, the merchant, is in Vol. II, p. 255. For these two gentlemen see letter 333, nn. 1, 20.

These may be worth examining if not on a musical account, at least as mechanical contrivances. They will afford *pus* for mechanical digest.

8 Key

~~Have not you got mine with you—I have your's I remember your returning it me: but it is possible that upon coming away, you may have locked the door and put the key into your pocket. At least I can not find it since you have been gone. I have found it.~~

9

I send you my laced ruffles—the sheet they are inclosed in will serve to write your Will upon.

10. Law and Language Books.

When you are at Hamburgh if you could get Grammar and Dictionaries of the Danish and Swedish languages cheap (either in French or English) I should be glad to have them. Grammars at any rate. Dictionaries too if you can get them under 10s. the two. At Hamburgh likewise you might get me the body of Danish Laws as cheap probably as at Copenhagen. See Facienda. Likewise Harpsichord Music if you hear any that you like, and if the price should not be more than 3s. for 6 Lessons or whatever they are. Here the price is 10s. 6 with only one accompaniment.

August 22. 1779.

I Samuel Bentham do make this my last Will and Testament.

Whereas my capital will be considerably reduced by the expence of the excursion I am about to undertake, and whereas my Brother Jeremy Bentham stands more in need of what little I may leave than any body else whom I could think of leaving any thing to, I hereby revoke all former Wills and Testaments, giving him whatever is in my power, and making him sole Executor of this my Will.

I will send you a Sheet of English Paper like this to write it on. Send it back to me by means of Strachan.⁴

By the same means send also a copy of the 'Journey through Holland' or whatever the book is which he told us of. It will be a great delight to me to follow you on your travels: and I may collect from it inquirenda, videnda etc. for you against you return that way. I mean if you can get another in addition to your own.

⁴ Cf. letter 350, § 22.

Send me also by the same means the map of Courland if you can get it. It is by a Mr. Groll I think his name is or Grot a Clergyman of that country.⁵ Don't fob me off with an old antiquated one of a prior date to his.

Mr. De Court tells me of a certain sort of Biscuit, which he exports to France, which is very common in Holland, but which he has never seen here. If they are good and you find that the encrease they make in the parcel would not be attended with any considerable trouble to Mr. Strachan or expence to us, but not otherwise, you might send a small parcel of them to Mr. Lind.

I hope you have been in no need of being reminded of the force of HABIT.

The name of the new Padlock is 'Habit' as well as of the other. The fewer burthens upon the memory I thought the better.

Friday morning.

Yesterday I received your letter—there's a dear good boy for writing. Yesterday also came one from Q.S.P. to both of us. Very kind, but = 0 as usual.

I received a day or two ago a letter from Davies in which he says he shall not go to sea; and I expect him every day to pick me up and carry me to Brompton.

I have transacted the business with Otley⁶; which hung upon me very much. He is to take back all but 16 of the inlaid steel buttons, and to allow $\frac{1}{2}$ a guinea for the plain cut ones. This half guinea alas! goes for the D. of C.⁷ As he is so dear, there is no such thing as having two of him; but the one I have got you shall have, attendu that to me it could give pleasure only, and to you it might afford pleasure and profit too. You might produce it before him at taking leave or sooner, asking leave to examine it with the original: who knows but it might give him occasion to make you a present of his picture in another form? What put this into my head was, the parable of the nest eggs in Hudibras.

You left behind you your liquefiable amalgam: also a gimcrack for weighing. The former I shall send by Strachan: together with the best set of inlaid buttons: which (as also certain papers of the D. of C.) I forgot to put up in the Hamburg Box. In the Hamburg

⁵ This map has not been identified.

⁶ G. and R. Otley, Woollen-drapers, Men's Mercers and Button-sellers, 43 Holborn and 71 New Bond Street.

⁷ He had bought a miniature of the Duke of Courland. Samuel Bentham's travels were to take in the little state of Courland, of which Mittau was the capital: he had obtained a letter of introduction to the Duke.

box you will also find a pamphlet on the marine which I gave 9d. for at a Bookseller's in Oxford Road. I can not get any good lights yet about a Surveying Book. I don't think therefore that I shall send one. You will hardly want one unless you have *M.* to bring it.

I have enquired at Cadel's—Of Mungo Murray's⁸ there is nothing else but what you have.

I have settled the matter with Ravenscroft about Richard and got William in his stead. Hairdressing is now a very comfortable operation.

In short I am altogether very comfortable, Mr. Sir: howsoever your vanity may dispose you to think otherwise: and not the less so from having observed the Wind to change amain. I hope it has for some time been very favourable to you. You will make me a connoisseur in winds.

321

SAMUEL BENTHAM TO
JEREMY BENTHAM¹

25 August 1779

We have just now past Woolwich which is the last place in the River till we come to Gravesend the appearance of which is connected with any interesting ideas. As we shall probably come to anchor for about 8 hours somewhere near Gravesend I will send you a bit of a letter from thence. Whenever we come to anchor our Skipper must go ashore at the Custom house at Gravesend, and I must go with him to procure some provision or starve. You left me so suddenly that we had no opportunity of speaking any of those kind of speeches to each other which could have answered no purpose but that of furnishing us both with such a set of melancholy ideas as we might not for a long time have gotten rid of. It is now so little a time since we parted that the Idea of the probability of our not seeing one another for so long a time had affected me very little and I hope we shall neither suffer much on this account. We have long intended to part on such occasion but never could have

⁸ Mungo Murray (d. 1770) was a shipwright at Deptford, and a teacher of mathematics and navigation. He published *A Treatise on Shipbuilding* (1754) and *The Rudiments of Navigation* (1760) and other works.

321. ¹ B.M. II: 359. Autograph. Docketed by Jeremy Bentham: '1779 Aug 25 / S.B. Gravesend to I.B. Linc. Inn / On board the Jonge Maria on his voyage to Helvet-sluyts.'

the expectation of circumstances favouring us so much. Could I only know that you eat your breakfast and drink your tea tolerably comfortably without me I could be no otherwise than happy myself. The variety of objects which must necessarily engage my attention will give me *no time* to be long uneasy on any account. If I meet with a disappointment in one place I have another to turn to and a happy memory that will soon put the unsuccessful one out of the way. Well but you shall have no more such general reflections for your amusements. I must begin to get into a habit of giving you some idea of my present circumstances.²

322

JEREMY BENTHAM TO
SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

29 August 1779 (Aet 31)

I will talk to Strachan and De Court about Hats if I can remember it.

I found it necessary to put the buttons up in the deal box to guard them against the wet. I wrapped them up in two or 3 papers, then in a piece of old dirty bays: then in a leather powdering-bag tying it up as tight as possible: that again in another piece of bays and then in a sheet of paper to prevent it's dirty⟨ing⟩ other things. I had the ingenuity to string them together by the shanks in order to prevent from rattling about and scratching one another.

The trunk and box went off to Grills² this morning at 12 o'clock. Grills people told me last night that there would be no need of sending them to the custom-house. Observing in and about the trunk places for leather straps I got a pair price 5s. 6d. I directed

² The remainder of the letter is omitted. Samuel describes his fellow passengers and notes his arrival at Gravesend on Wednesday morning (25 August 1779). Although they do not seem under any apprehension of the French, he will rejoice when he is safe landed.

322. ¹ B.M. II: 363. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. Aug 29 to S.B. Holland by favour Mr. Strachan.'

Samuel's friends Strachan and De Court were Dutch merchants, who were travelling to Hellevoetsluis by the packet and taking some things for Samuel with them. In fact the *Jonge Maria*, being a slow fishing boat, arrived at the same time as the packet, and Samuel met the two Dutchmen as they were all landing on 31 August (see Samuel's letters B.M. II: 361 to Bentham and B.M. II: 365 to his father, both unpublished). Samuel had evidently been introduced to Strachan by his friend Macaulay (cf. letter 324).

² A carrier, mentioned several times in later letters.

them for you at John Hanbury's Esqr. Hamburgh; sending a note to Grill to desire him to send a letter of advice if necessary.

I must make haste and put this up. The Dutchmen go off at 4 or 5 o'clock this afternoon which is sooner than I expected.

323

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

30 August–4 September 1779 (Aet 31)

1

Hamburgh is an Imperial Town: at Hamburgh therefore you will probably be able to get the Edict of the Empress Queen, abolishing Torture throughout her dominions: if you can, do; as likewise all other edicts if there are any, relative to criminal law and posterior to the Code Therese published in 1711.

2

Amongst other reveries it came into my head t'other day that if the D.² does not employ you he deserves to have his head cut off if he does not give you a carriage to go to Petersburgh with: and that you might even spell for it, by asking Bar. Klopman how you should manage about a carriage, and where and how such a thing was to be got, and how much it would cost; and if told the price shake your head, saying it is a good deal of money to pay for coming so much out of your way etc.

3

You may take occasion to mention Lindegreen to Klopman, speaking of the regret he expressed at his not having done what he undertook to do for him. and of his taking shame to himself for his neglect: asking him at the same time whether it is any thing that you could do for him, and that you wou'd endeavour to acquit yourself better, and endeavour to make atonement for your friend's forgetfulness etc. etc. If it is any thing that I can do, in order to save time you may write to me, that I may do it: but whatever it is, it is probably already done by Offenbourg.³

323. ¹ B.M. II: 364. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. to S.B. Hamburg 1779 Augt. 30th.' Addressed: 'Mr. Samuel Bentham.'

² The Duke of Courland. Baron Ewald de Kloppman was his Grand Marshal.

³ The Baron d'Offenbourg was Chamberlain to the Duke of Courland. He was or recently had been in England and Samuel travelled with a letter of recommendation to the Duke from him (cf. B.M. XX: 4). His son was evidently studying in England, probably at the Naval Academy, Portsmouth, and it is probably he who is intended here (cf. letter 342). See also letter 347, § 3.

4

Monday Aug. 30

I have just settled with Otley. He allows discount for the whole: though some of it is not less than 7 weeks standing: so that by one means or other his bill is reduced from near £25, to £20 13s. or thereabouts.

5

⟨...⟩ after 2.

Just received your letter from the Nore.⁴ But how the deuce came it *from you? to me* it came by the penny-post. What a disappointment! before I open'd it, j'ai cru bonnement that it came from Helvoitsluys. Ten thousand millions of plagues upon these cursed Dutchmen! and when and how am I to write to Q.S.P.? The wind seems to be at the South: but still too much, too much to the East. If we could but have known this, we might have gone down together to Rochford and staid at my farm. N'importe, you will have learnt experience, and patience, and how to fare hard.

6

I wonder whether you will meet with ⟨Strachan⟩ and De Court at Helvoetsluys, or any where before you get to Rotterdam. I was with them on Friday from 3 to 5. and saw them just setting off in a Postchaise for Harwich. Nothing could be more friendly than they were both: Strachan more particularly who told me he should offer you a bed. I was a great ass that I did not desire them to enquire after you at Helvoet, and let me know if they heard no tidings of you.

7

Send you Introd. to Petty⁵ and some blacking. Yes—but how and whither?

8

Wilson's friend Johnson after all goes not to Thorpe. He is swept away as well as Wilson's other friend Trail,⁶ by the Warwickshire

⁴ In this letter of 27 August 1779 (B.M. II: 360) Samuel complains at the ship's delaying around the mouth of the Thames, and at having to share a bed with a dirty Dutch sailor.

⁵ Samuel Bentham had recently composed a Commentary on Sir William Petty's Plan for a System of Instruction relative to the business of the Marine Department. It is set out as a chart and seems first to have been published as part of *Naval Papers*, Number 1 (1828), bearing however the dating 'Chatham 1779'. Sir William Petty (1623–87) was a writer on political economy and naval policy. In his letter from the Nore Samuel had asked Bentham to forward the Introduction to his Commentary.

⁶ Johnson is unidentified. James Trail (1750–1809) was a barrister much respected

Militia. And now comes a letter from Wilson (Aug. 27) pressing me to go down to him. But I received a letter from Davies t'other day in which he tells me he shall not go to Sea, that he looks every day to be in town, and hopes to take me down with him. However as it is a matter of uncertainty, I believe I shall pay Wilson a visit for a few days, but write to D. on Saturday, telling him that as soon as ever I heard from him for that purpose, I would come to Town from Wilson's and meet him.

9. Saturday Sept. 4 1779

These cursed people at Grill's though I called and wrote, and saw the Clerks and received promises and assurances over and over, and sent the things in time, missed the Ship that was to sail this day sennight, by which you will be a fortnight later in receiving the things, than you expected. What the consequences may be the Lord knoweth, but there is no help for it. If you receive this it will be through means of Mr. Hanbury, to whom it goes by the post.

10.

The key of the Trunk is in the Box.

11.

I came from Wilson's this morning with Douglas, and am going back to stay with him till Davies comes to town from Portsmouth.

12.

I have not yet seen the Barons. I called once or twice in vain. They called a day or two ago to take leave and left cards.

by his colleagues, but not very successful in his profession, as the attorneys ignored a man not well connected. So, at least, says Romilly, who met him on circuit in 1784 (*Memoirs of Sir Samuel Romilly*, 1840, I, 434). He was an intimate friend of George Wilson's. He was M.P. for Oxford, through the influence of the Earl of Hertford, from 1802-6. Bowring (x, 134) says that he had at an earlier stage held a situation in one of the colonies.

324

TO JEREMIAH BENTHAM¹

1 September 1779 (Aet 31)

Linc. Inn. Wednesday night Sepr. 1st
or 2. 1779

Hond. Sir

This is a letter I had much rather have delay'd and would have delay'd still longer, if I had not thought that the not hearing from us at all would be productive of more anxiety to you than the hearing what I have to tell you. The truth of the matter is that yesterday sennight at $\frac{1}{4}$ after one I left Sam under sail on board a Dutch Eel-boat bound for Helvoetsluys: and so heavy is the ship and so adverse have been the winds, that I much question whether he is got there yet. Elmsly with whom I have been talking just now says that a person whom he knows, embarked on board of such a vessel upwards of a fortnight ago, which has been so dilatory that the persons friends have had time to write over here to enquire what is become of him. However within this day or two we have had a tolerable share of South and South-west winds; so that I should hope that by this time he may have been landed. I have heard from him twice already; the first time on Friday by a letter dated Wednesday morning.² He was then got no farther than Gravesend. The second time on Monday by a letter dated on Friday. He was then got no farther than Lee. When I left him the vessel swarmed with Jews: but these were either left at Gravesend, or at least are not Cabbin Passengers: for of these there are but one besides himself; a decent civil well-behaved man; with whom he agrees very well. The account he gives of himself is that he has been a Lady's Hairdresser: and is going in quality of Hair *Merchant* to Frankfurt Fair which is to be held I think the 5th: if so I doubt he will come more than one day after the fair. But now I think of it, he shall speak for himself. I will send you both the letters; save and except the cover of the first which I was forced to send back (as I am continually) to the Post Office, on account of an over charge.

324. ¹ B.M. II: 369–371. Autograph. Docketed by Jeremiah Bentham: 'Fils Jeremy / Lr. dated Lincoln's Inn / Wednesday 1st Sepr. 1779 / Reed. at Imley Park the 5th Sepr. 1779.' Docketed by Mary Bentham: 'S.B. at Sea on way to Holland.'

Addressed 'Jeremiah Bentham Esqr'.

² Letter 321. The second (unpublished) one is B.M. II: 360.

The reasons which determined him to go in the manner he has are these. Had he accepted of the Russ. Ambassador's offer he would have overshot Holland and Hamburg; the latter of which places it is very material to his plans that he should spend some little time at. It will doubtless likewise be an advantage to him at Petersburg and elsewhere to have to say that he has been in Holland and examined what belongs to shipping there. This was part of the advice which Sambouski gave him and seemed to lay a good deal of stress upon. Had he gone by a Hamburg vessel, he would still have lost Holland, and wou'd not have set out so soon by 4 or 5 days. As he can go all the way to Groningen in Friesland in Treckshuyts, and from thence to Hamburg through Bremen in Stage Coaches, I should hope that part of his travels will not prove very expensive. To Hamburg the passage by Sea is 4 Guineas: to Helvoetsluys the way he goes, only 1. The 3 guineas difference I should hope would go a considerable way towards defraying the extra expence of travelling by land. He will have one great advantage in the good offices of Mr. Strachan Macaulay's friend, whom I parted with on Friday, just about to set off for Harwich. Strachan's behaviour both to me and him is beyond imagination friendly. There is nothing he will not do for me in the way of procuring information for my work or in any other in which he can be of use to me. Three days which he has been spending with Macaulay in Yorkshire I suppose have not hurt me in his good opinion: and it has fallen in my way to shew some little civilities to a very intelligent friend of his, a Mr. De Court of Dort. He told me he had a bed for Sam during his stay at Rotterdam. He had no opportunity to make the offer to Sam himself, being gone upon his Yorkshire tour before Sam's route was settled.

By all the accounts I hear, Sam is in no sort of danger from the French. However, for greater security and to save expence he has sent the bulk of his baggage to Hamburg. By the packet he could not have gone for less than 5 guineas pass Custom house extortions, Harwich expenses and every thing included. The pass alone is £2 - 2s. - 6. The Packet boats too have been taken once and chaced several times: for which reason they stop at Harwich by the week together, not choosing to trust to any but the fairest winds.

I should in course have written to you on Saturday last; but my hope then was not to be obliged to write till I could inform you of Sam's arrival. What you mentioned in your last of your having met with a disappointment one post gave me the hint: and I was in hopes that charity might lead you to impute the want of letters

from us to a similar cause. The reason of my writing now in the middle of a week is that I am going tomorrow to pay a visit to my friend Wilson who is settled at Thorpe near Chertsey for the summer season; and as I shall hardly return this week, if I were not to write now it might be a long time before you could hear from me. In order that you may not suffer from my absence, I have taken measures for getting all my foreign letters convey'd to Q.S.P. immediately, that Buckmaster³ may give you immediate information as soon as any one comes from Sam.

I shall send you together with his two letters to me a list of his letters of recommendation. These he takes with him for greater safety: since these as being of no use to any but the owner, it is to be hoped he would be allow'd to keep at any rate.

In answer to a letter of his to my Uncle⁴; Sam received a very kind letter, in which after mentioning losses by way of apology for not assisting him more effectually, my Uncle authorises him to receive of Mr. Mulford a sum \langle of \rangle £55 the repayment of which he says shall depend upon \langle the \rangle success of the plans he has in view. To attempt to give either him or you, Sir, any idea of those plans in the compass of a letter would be a vain attempt. They will serve us for the subject of many a conversation when we meet.

I shall likewise send you a transcript which I took for you of Lind's letters in his behalf.⁵ Pray return the whole cargo by the next frank that I may have it in my power to shew any of the items to any of his friends.

Pray remember me affectionately to my Mother and Far: I beg to know when she heard last from Charles. I wish she had been a little more explicit, that in case of Sam's being in any part of Holland at the same time, he might have had some clue to find him out by.⁶

Your's dutifully and affectionately

J.B.

³ In an unpublished letter to Samuel of 7 July 1779 (B.M. II: 335) Jeremiah Bentham refers to young Buckmaster as his tenant at Q.S.P. Presumably it was let to him while Jeremiah was at Imley Park.

⁴ George Woodward Grove (see letter 319, n. 2).

⁵ These letters of recommendation from Lind on Samuel's behalf were directed to Mr Huzarzewski, Commissary to the King of Poland in Danzig, Prince Replin in Petersburg, the Duchess of Kingston residing at Petersburg, and to Mr de Greir in Stockholm, late the Swedish Envoy to Holland. (See B.M. XX for a list of Samuel's letters of recommendation and copies of some of them.)

⁶ Charles Abbot was returning from Geneva via Amsterdam with 'his friend Dr Chelsum' (see letter 214, n. 6) who had been in Geneva with a young pupil. (Jeremiah Bentham to Samuel Bentham, 17 August 1779, B.M. II: 355 unpublished.)

325

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

10-28 September 1779 (Aet 31)

Thorpe near Staines Sept. 10 1779

1

Yesterday thy letter from Dordrecht came to this place.² Thou art a very good boy, that thou art, for writing so minutely. More than that, thy letter was exceedingly well penned: even Wilson, the severe-judging unapproving Wilson, observed to that effect.

2

I have just enclosed it to Lind, making provision for his not being at home, and desiring him to forward it to Q.S.P.

3

At the same time with thine, I recēd a letter from Q.S.P. who is in very good humour, and gives me such an invitation to Imley³ as it will be rather difficult to me to fight off against.

4

The time of my going to Brompton remains still in uncertainty, as the St Albans after going out to Sea, came back again with Sr.

325. ¹ B.M. II: 387-388. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. Thorpe to S.B. Hamburg 1779 Sept. 28th'

Addressed: 'Mr Bentham / chez Mr Hanbury / Hambourg.'

Bentham was staying at Thorpe with George Wilson (cf. letter 324).

² Since his previous letter to Samuel, Jeremy had received two letters from him. The first (B.M. II: 361-362) was finished on Tuesday 31 August on arrival at Hellevoetsluis and describes the crossing, which had taken a week on the slow Dutch eel boat. Samuel had taken the helm at times, which was amusing and instructive. Their arrival coincided with that of Strachan and De Court in the packet. Bentham sent this letter to Queen Square Place whence it was forwarded to his father at Imley Park. Bentham wrote on the cover: 'I wish I had another hat at Petersburg if not in Courland Pray return me this by the weekly frank. I wrote amply by the last. J.B. Thorpe—Sunday 5th 1779. What a lucky recontre that of Sam's with his two Dutch friends!'

The second letter (B.M. II: 367-368), started on 1 September at Rotterdam and finished on 3 September at Dordrecht, describes Sam's journey through Holland in the company of Strachan and De Court. For an account of part of the contents of this letter (which, as we learn from letter 328, was forwarded to Lind, who sent it on to Jeremiah Bentham), cf. letter 327, n. 1.

³ Cf. letter 319, n. 5.

Ch. Hardy.⁴ This recalled Davies to Portsmouth after he was come to town in his way to Brompton. He went on however to Brompton, though only just to say how do ye.

5

I fear it will be impossible for me to write to thee at Amsterdam owing to the circuits and delays occasioned by my being at Thorpe: besides that Q.S.P. has not returned me at the time I desired him the list of recommendations.

6

I wrote to you to Hamburgh on Saturday last, by a letter enclosed to Mr. Hanbury. It was to tell you that you were not to expect your things by the Ship that sailed the Saturday before: I wrote a letter of complaint to Grill, and received a very civil answer assuring me they should be sent by the next conveyance together with the promised letter to his 'cousin', which I reminded him of.

7

If you should ever write any thing to me with Symp.⁵ put before the passage an *Si* drawing a line or two across it, and beginning a fresh line thus

Si

Then go on in common.

8

Friday Sept. 17th still at Thorpe

This morning came your 3d. letter from Holland dated Amsterdam Sept. 10th.⁶ 7 days out of the 10 days you are to stay longer being expired, it is in vain to think of writing after you: ains, I must be content with writing to Hamburgh. Your letters afford me the greatest pleasure my nature is at present capable of. The misfortune is I must part with them almost as soon as I have got them. Your last is already dispatched for Q.S.P. through the hands of Lind and Swede.

⁴ Admiral Sir Charles Hardy (1716?-86) was in command of the Channel fleet opposing the French and Spaniards; he had returned to Spithead on 3 September.

⁵ Sympathetic (invisible) ink.

⁶ B.M. II: 372-376. Written between 6 and 10 September: Samuel describes visits paid in Dordrecht (to De Court's house), Rotterdam, Delft, Leyden, The Hague, and Amsterdam. At The Hague he dined with Sir Joseph Yorke, the British Ambassador. He is making many useful observations at the dockyards, etc.

9

I had a letter today from Mrs. D. Alderman Clark I believe will give me a cast to town on Thursday, and I shall go I believe to Brompton on Saturday or Sunday.

10

Came a letter yesterday from Poli, about that damned stuff of Stellini, of which the damned Reviewers have taken no notice in all this time.⁷ From hence I have taken occasion to invite him to breakfast at Q.S.P. on Friday to the end that his eyes may be blessed with the glories thereof.

11

As it has pleased God, you have been a little idle, I perceive: not keeping Courland sufficiently in your view. After seeing the Timber floats you flung away a day at Dort: item several at Rotterdam. Well, God's will be done. Here's a spur for you: the misfortune is it will not reach you till you are got to the end of your journey.

12

The day before I came to Thorpe Lind gave me a pamphlet of his that was just come out, being an answer to the French and Spanish manifestos or whatever else they are called.⁸ I believe I may as well send it you along with this letter.

13

Whitehall Evening Sept. 21

Portsmouth Sept. 20.

'Saturday the Sandwich, of 90 guns, came out of Dock. This is the first second-rate sheathed with copper; which was begun and completed in 15 hours.'

14

Saturday Sept. 25

Came to Town from Thorpe as Thursday found your curvators sent hither from Mrs. Ramsden's⁹—item letters from Q.S.P. very

⁷ For Poli, see letter 312, n. 2. It is possible that the 'damned stuff' was the post-humous works of Jacopo Stellini (1699-1770), Professor of Morals at Padua, published as *Opera Omnia*, 4 vols., Padua, 1778-79, which presented a general theory of ethics. See also letter 358, pp. 451-2.

⁸ See also letter 338 at n. 6. The pamphlet in question was perhaps *Remarks on the Rescript of the Court of Madrid and on the manifesto of the Court of Versailles*, though the number of anonymous publications on this occasion makes it difficult to be certain.

⁹ Presumably the wife of Jesse Ramsden (cf. letter 106, n. 5), i.e. Sarah, youngest

affectionate and very ready to let me off from coming to Imley, before he had reced my letters of excuse.

15. Naples

Poli breakfasted with me yesterday. Acton¹⁰ is to have 15 Ships of the Line; but as yet they exist but in his head. Poli will have it, that since the present Minister (Sambuca) has been in office, which is about 7 years, Naples has not been at all under the influence of Spain. This is not absolutely immaterial as matters stand at present. Naples has about twice as many people as Sweden *has*: and about half as many as Gr. Brit and Ireland are supposed to have, which is about 9,000,000. In Naples they are number'd every year: in Sweden sometimes. There were 10 Neapolitan officers on board our fleet; besides 4 or 5 pilots, and several common men: 4 officers and several of the common men were taken on board the *Ardent*, and nobody has since heard from them.

16

A Lieutenant *Coger* (so Poli calls him—do you know such a person?) of the *Marlborough*,¹¹ told the Venetian Ambassador and the Marquis Caraccioli,¹² from which two Poli had it, that being in the *Marlborough* he saw the *Ardent* surrounded and fired on by 5 or 6 French ships of the line at once; and that she did not yield till dismasted and quite ungovernable. This altogether inconsistent with the Paris account published by authority.

17

It is clear now that the French and Spaniards if they had been so disposed had more than one opportunity of bringing Hardy to an action: and that Hardy virtually offer'd them battle by forbearing to crowd sail etc. At one time upon his standing from them,

daughter of John Dollond, F.R.S. (1706–61), under whom Ramsden served his apprenticeship as an optician. Ramsden's shop, previously in the Haymarket, was now in Piccadilly.

¹⁰ Sir John Francis Edward Acton (1736–1811), born in France, the son of an expatriate Irish physician, had recently been seconded to Naples from the Tuscan navy to reorganize the navy of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Subsequently he became first minister there.

¹¹ The *Marlborough* (74), with the *Ardent* (64), fell in with the French fleet on 17 August on their way to join Hardy's Channel fleet. The *Marlborough* escaped, but the *Ardent* was captured.

¹² Prince Francesco Caracciolo (1732–99), a distinguished Neapolitan sailor, served in the British navy during the American war. In 1799 Nelson had him hanged on board the *Minerva* for having served under the Republicans in Naples after the flight of Ferdinand IV.

d'Orvilliers¹³ sent forward 3 frigates¹⁴ to watch him: upon this Hardy detached 3 of his frigates to meet them: they retired behind the main body. Hardy's retired of course. Some time after D'Orvilliers sent out 3 frigates as before: Hardy but a single one. that single one requested permission to stay for the 3 alone: leave was given him and he did so: still the enemies retreated as before. From the Venet. Ambass: and Carraccioli through Poli. I should have told you that these few days ago they were on board our fleet.

18

Hardy's stopping for the French is confirmed by a Mr. Leycester a Nabob¹⁵ whom Wilson dined with on Wednesday at Col: St Paul's¹⁶ at Chertsey, and who that morning left Plymouth, where he had been spending a good deal of time on board the fleet. Officers as well as men in the highest spirits, deeming their 3 deckers irresistible, and depending much upon sickness of the enemy's landmen in rough seas.

19

Col. St Paul a year or two ago on his return from Paris was in many of the Dutch barrier towns, and being known was suffer'd to examine their fortifications. He says they are in a very bad plight indeed: a circumstance which is sufficient to justify the Dutch in delaying to assist us, and even in forbearing altogether, unless supported by some continental power such as Russia or Prussia.

¹³ Louis Guillouet, Comte d'Orvilliers (1708–91), in command of the French Channel fleet.

¹⁴ A new column starts here. Bentham has written 'Mear's Book' at the top, presumably to remind himself to mention it.

¹⁵ Unidentified.

¹⁶ Horace St Paul (1729–1812) had fled England as a young man after killing his opponent in a duel. He served with distinction on the Austrian side in the Seven Years' War, under Archduke Prince Charles of Lorraine. In 1759 he was appointed Colonel of Cavalry, and at the end of the war the Emperor created him a Count of the Holy Roman Empire. After fourteen years' exile he returned to England in 1765 with the help of Lord Stormont, then Ambassador in Vienna. He obtained a free pardon from George III. In 1772 he became secretary to the Embassy in Paris, where Lord Stormont was now Ambassador. In 1776 he became Envoy to Stockholm, but financial difficulties forced him to resign. He settled with his family in Chertsey, where he lived until 1787, when he moved to Ewart in Northumberland. He kept up an active interest in political and military affairs.

George G. Butler in his *Colonel St. Paul of Ewart, Soldier and Diplomat* (1911) (from which the above details are derived) seems to imply that Bentham first met St Paul in Paris. If so, this must have been in 1770. But it is not clear that there is any evidence for this meeting. Butler also publishes a letter Bentham wrote to St Paul in 1785.

20

On former occasions the French had triangular things (I have no other description of them) to tear our rigging to pieces; of these Hardy has now got a supply: most or all the 3 deckers have got the 8 additional guns. So far Leycester. Gov. Johnstone who at first spoke with contempt of the *carronades*, has since retracted and adopted them.

21

Adm. Barrington has been in the neighbourhood of Thorpe and Chertsey. He speaks in the highest terms of Byron so that all reports of a misunderstanding are groundless. He complains much of Ld. Sandwich: through whose fault, but for an accident, he says he should have been starved. At his going out he found he had not provisions enough: he asked for more: Ld. S. refused, saying he would find plenty at Barbadoes. This he did not care to trust to: but got a supply from Sir T. Pye. (Of this last circumstance Qu? for how could Pye satisfy him without and even against orders from Ld. S. ?)—when he came to Barbadoes, he found none were to be had.—Great complaint also of his powder: when the Balls from the French ships went through and through his balls made no impression upon them. So says Barrington (Qu. might not the superior length of the French guns be one cause?) This was some of the Dutch powder. B. assigns no other reason for leaving the W. Indies than ill health: which however appears not in his looks.¹⁷

22

How unlucky that L. did not think of introducing you to Count Welderen, the Dutch Ambassador! you might then probably have got access at Rotterdam. L. is upon as good terms with him as with Nolken.¹⁸ This may do perhaps on your return.

23. Book on Sweden

‘Memoires pour servir a la connoissance des affaires politiques et economiques du Royaume de Swede jusqu’a a la fin de la

¹⁷ On 6 June 1779 Vice-Admiral the Hon. John Byron (1723–80), second son of the fourth Lord Byron, had succeeded Rear-Admiral the Hon. Samuel Barrington (1729–1800), fifth son of the first Viscount Barrington, in command of the Leeward Islands Station. Both were involved in the disastrous action off Granada in July from which Barrington had returned home wounded. Sir Thomas Pye (1713?–85), M.P. for Rochester 1771–74, Admiral since 1773, was at this time Commander-in-Chief at Portsmouth.

¹⁸ Baron Nolken, the King of Sweden’s Minister in London. Samuel travelled with an introductory letter from him to Baron de Falkengreen, First Lord of the Admiralty in Sweden.

1775me année—A Londres (false title) 1776—et se trouve a Dresde, chez George Conrad Walker.' 2 Vols petit en 4^{to} pp 431.¹⁹ A most ample and particular account of the present state of Sweden. I got it yesterday at Elmsly's. It is a perfect treasure. I would have sent it you; but that you may certainly meet with it at Hamburgh or elsewhere. Elmsly says it was published at Stockholm: probably he is mistaken; as there the Press is or at least professes to be free. The Société Typographique has sold 6 copies: one to Ct. Malzahn, the Prussian Ambassador here. The Author in his dedication signs himself J.G.C. Make yourself perfect master of as much as relates to the Marine; perfect it, and continue it down to the present time. You must have it now immediately without regard to the time of your going to Sweden, on account of it's usefulness as a *pump*.

24

Mears has written to me to return him his Masting book. I forget how it was disposed of. If you should have it, you must return it by the first opportunity.

25

Besides the 2 Mahogany Curvators you mentioned, one for yourself, the other for Lindegreen Mrs. Ramsden has sent a Brass one. This I know nothing of—I fear there may have been some mistake: she supposing you to have ordered what you did not. However I have thought it best to send it you. If you are sure you did not order it, you must send it back.

26

I shall send tomorrow the following things for you in a box directed to you at Mr. Hanbury's: 1st. 1 Brass Curvator. 2. 1 Mahogany do. and in short all the articles in Mrs. Ramsden's last Bill except Lindegreen's Curvator. I send you her two Bills: (you will see what a sum!) 3. Your cypher Seal. 4. 10 cakes of patent blacking at 6d. each. 5. Your own Swordhook etc. 6 Your razor strap with one razor. 7. 1 box of tooth-powder. 8. Lind's pamphlets. Wilkins 'secret and swift messenger.'²⁰

¹⁹ The author of this book was J. G. Canzler. Apart from putting 'Swede' for 'Suède', Bentham gives the title correctly.

²⁰ John Wilkins (1614–72), Warden of Wadham College, Oxford and Bishop of Chester, *Mercury, or the Secret and Swift Messenger, showing how a Man may with Privacy and Speed communicate his Thoughts to a Friend at any Distance*, 1641. It is 'a very ingenious work on cryptography and modes of rapid correspondence' (*D.N.B.*). Wilkins's work on universal language was *An Essay towards a real Character and a*

27

(This was written before the invention of flags). 8. His life with an account of his book on an universal language. (It is extant in folio.)

28

1. Things from Blamires²¹ I have forgot, and very likely you may not have them—No hat, nor any thing from Plymouth.

29

Perhaps I may put up some scraps of the rough draft of a memorial I drew up for Champagne²² (Ald. Clark's friend) the object of which was to bring about a direct trade between him and some Russian Mine-Proprietor for Iron. They are imperfect and not worth keeping.

30

Swede has got a catalogue of all the books printed in Germany in the course of this year. There are 2 for every year which are distributed as he says among the *trade* (Booksellers) only at the Book Fairs of Frankfurt and Leipsic. Je serois charmé to take them in: but he makes a great mystery about it (as he does indeed about every thing) and says they are not to be had for love or money—that he has them as a particular favour. Now if he were always to have them it would be well—but as his stay is so uncertain I should be glad to take them in. Furthermore I should like to have them for a good way back—suppose from the year 1760. They are thinnish pamphlets in small 4to. Abundance of translations of English Books—There is a possibility of the Fragment's being among them—look from the year 1776. They are in alphabetical order—several articles begin with the word 'Fragment' which is *germanized*.

[*Insertion in red ink*: My eyes are bad just now—hence I write so bad.]

Philosophical Language, to which was appended *An Alphabetical Dictionary wherein all English Words according to their various significations are either referred to their places in the Philosophical Tables, or explained by such Words as are in those Tables*, 1688. He was a founder of the Royal Society, and wrote a discourse concerning the possibility of a passage to the moon.

²¹ Richmond Blamire, stationer in Northumberland Street, off the Strand. Samuel had asked for his things from Blamire's to be sent: these may have included a rather special pocket-book his father promised him from Blamire's in a letter of 7 July 1779 (B.M. II: 335).

²² Unidentified.

31

Mind you don't let Hanbury lose any thing in postage of letters etc. Take measures for his sending after you all over the Baltic. By that means you may have things in winter.

32. Cloaths

The cut Steel buttons require a ratteen coat with them—brown or glossy blue for instance or ash colour.

33.

I saw Nairne to day. He said he would send me an account of the glasses with their prices as soon as he could find his minutes which are at Hampstead.

34.

Monday 27th Sept. 4 Dutch Mails are come in to day, and I am waiting with impatience for a letter. If no commands of your honour's come to detain me, I shall go to Brompton tomorrow.

35.

I have got a general Index: 3 leaves to a letter. Remember as often as you have occasion to recommence the paging of a subject, do it by prefixing 100—instead of *Inserenda*. This saves the word *Inserenda* in references, and enables you to change the paging toties quoties. Thus I have 'Pleasures and Pains' 1, 2 etc. 101, 102 etc. 201, 202, etc.

36.

*Bibliotheca Navalis*²³ I have found, but cannot copy now on account of my eyes.

37.

11 o'clock

Mrs Mann²⁴ left Q.S.P. at 9 o'clock, and no letters yet. As there are 4 Dutch Mails come in together, I am in hopes the case is the letters are not yet deliver'd—If you have let 4 mails pass without writing what tortures are bad enough for you? I have been writing to tell them I shan't go to Brompton tomorrow.

²³ This is presumably what is later referred to also as *Bibliotheca Maritima*—i.e. a bibliography of books on naval subjects compiled by Samuel (cf. letter 355, n. 1).

²⁴ Unidentified.

38

Q.S.P. I should have told you was much delighted with your letters; with the minuteness and so forth of your observations: better humour mortal can not be in; although he complains of the gout flying about him. I made my eyes start out of my head tother day writing a long letter to amuse him. This good humour too was before he had seen your Amsterdam letter: which I hope has not contributed to lessen it.

39

I have settled the doctrine of *'Motives'* charmingly. Item that of *'Dispositions'*. People's intentions, motives and dispositions will now be clear as the Sun at noon-day.²⁵

40

'Relation de la derniere Revolution en Suede—dans une lettre a un Noble de Venise par l'Abbé Michelessi' pr. Raspe.²⁶ (L'Auteur fut present et y eut quelque part) Enquire about this and get it for me if you can. Nobody knows any thing of it here.

41

Schursper[?] de motibus fluidorum. Vendeboni 1776.²⁷ I believe there are two parts—thin 4to. This is a book for you.

²⁵ Cf. *Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*, Chaps. X, XI.

²⁶ Domenico Michelessi, *Lettre à Mgr. Visconti Archevêque d'Ephèse... sur La Révolution Arrivée en Suède. le 19 Aout 1772*, [translated from the Swedish], Stockholm, 1773.

The word 'pr.' is not very clear. It could be 'tr.' but this does not seem very likely. Presumably Raspe had recommended the book to Bentham.

Rudolph Eric Raspe (1737–94) is several times mentioned subsequently in the correspondence. Letter 341 shows Bentham considering him as a possible translator of the *Code* into German. Raspe had been Professor of Archaeology in Hesse-Cassel, and inspector of the collection of antiquities and coins in Cassel. He was also a member of the Landgrave's Council. In 1775 he was arrested for having stolen parts of the collection. He escaped and came to England where he spent the rest of his days, till his death in Ireland. He supported himself by teaching German and translating German books into English. He also had work in a tin-mine in Cornwall, and planned to operate his own mine in Ireland. After he had been struck off the list of members of the Royal Society he threatened to publish *Unphilosophical Transactions* of the members in the same format as the *Philosophical Transactions*. He published various works on his own account, on gems, painting, antiquities, manufactories. In 1765 he had published an edition of Leibniz's works. Thirty years after his death it became known that he had been the original author of the *Adventures of Baron Munchausen*, which was first published in 1785 at London.

²⁷ Not traced. The name of the author is hard to read.

44

Tuesday Sept. 28

Just received your letter dated Friday 17th.²⁸ I am vext to think of your disappointment at not hearing from me but you will know the cause.

45

I have got the Diamond from Blamires²⁹: and I hope to get the Bibliotheca Navalis copied.

46

I believe I shall put you up a book or two on surveying.

47

Ingenhaus is coming out with something in English about Airs and evaporation: and at the end of it will be a short account of Fontana's apparatus.

48

Fontana³⁰ called on me tother day with Schwede; we are afraid of losing him next month.

49

Swede is translating into French out of German a capital book of Scheele's the Swedish chemist about the constituent parts of fire and other things. It seems to promise much.³¹

50

My next I shall probably direct to Bar. Klop. in Courland.

²⁸ Dated 15-17 September 1779 from Amsterdam, unpublished (B.M. II: 378). Samuel gives an account of the people he has met there, including Cornelius Munter to whom he had an introduction from Lindegreen, and Job May (cf. letter 332, n. 3).

²⁹ Kent's London Directory 1778 lists John Blamire of 1 Cross Street, Hatton Garden, where the diamond market is situated.

³⁰ The Abbé Felix Fontana (1730-1803), an Italian scientist, who had previously been Professor of Philosophy in Pisa and was now director of the Museum of Physics and Natural History in Florence. He was probably in England collecting for it. He published numerous scientific treatises, on physiology, on the motion of the iris, and on the venom of the viper. In 1776 he had published a work on 'dephlogisticated' and nitrous air. He had devised a new eudiometer, i.e. apparatus for measuring the quantity of oxygen present. He had a particular reputation for his wax models of parts of the body, of which he made an immense number.

³¹ C. W. Scheele, *Chemische Abhandlung von der Luft und dem Feuer* (Upsala and Leipzig, 1777). See also letter 336, §11.

326

TO GEORGE WOODWARD GROVE¹

12 September 1779 (Aet 31)

Thorpe near Staines Sept. 12 1779

Dear Sir

I promised to give you tidings of my brother when he should have reached the other side of the water; the kind part you take in his concerns leaves no room to doubt of your wishing to see me fulfill my promise. Last Tuesday sennight being the 24th of August, I left him off Billingsgate on board a Dutch Eel-boat sailing for Helvoetsluys. He chose that conveyance in preference to the Harwich packet boat, partly for cheapness, partly for safety, the packet boat having been once taken and several times chaced. His situation was unpleasant and his voyage tedious. I heard from him twice before he got out of the river: once from Gravesend on the Wednesday; and again from Lee on the Friday or Saturday. I was under difficulties with regard to my Father; who not knowing all the reasons my Brother had for wishing to take Holland and Hamburgh in his way, wished him for safety to accept the offer that was made him by the Russian Ambassador of a particular protection in case of his going directly by Sea to Petersburgh. I had already missed one of the times on which we had been used to write to my father since this expedition had been on the carpet: and in our last we had said nothing of the time or means of my Brothers going. My plan was if possible not to apprise my Father of the danger till it should be over: I found however that this would do no longer; and on Thursday the 2d. instant on my leaving town to come to this place, where I am on a visit to a friend, I sent a letter to Q.S.P. to be forwarded in the weekly frank to Imley Park, telling my father how the matter stood, and letting him know, as the winds were, how uncertain it was, when we should have any news from Holland. Fortunately a letter came from Helvoetsluys the next day: and in consequence of measures I had taken at the

326. ¹ B.M. II: 376-377. Autograph. Docketed by Mary Bentham: 'J. Bentham 12 Sept. 1779.' In pencil, probably by Mary Bentham: 'Giving account of S.B.'s departure for Holland.'

Addressed: 'Geo: Woodward Grove Esqr. / Witchurch / Hants'. Postmark: '13 SE'. Stamped: 'STA'.

This letter was sent before letter 325 was concluded, and so before Bentham received the letters mentioned in nn. 6 and 28 thereto.

Post-office my Father heard of it's being arrived at the same time that he received mine. Since that I have received another dated Dort in Holland Sept. 3. He landed at Helvoetsluys Tuesday the 31st. a week after his setting sail. At landing he had the good fortune to meet with two Dutch Gentlemen with whom I had brought him acquainted: they were landing from the Harwich packet-boat. From them he has received every possible assistance and civility: he went in their company to Rotterdam; which is about 20 miles from Helvoetsluys: and his last letter is dated from the house of one of them at Dort. The next day (Sept. 4) he was to return to Rotterdam: and from thence proceed to Amsterdam by way of the Hague: where he has a letter to our Ambassador. At Amsterdam he thinks of staying (one) week; and will then make the best of his way to Hamburg.

I heard on Thursday from my Father at Imley Park: all well. He had then received my Brother's first Dutch letter, which I sent him: and has by this time received the 2d.

I hope this will find yourself and family in good health; being with the sincerest affection and gratitude Dear Sir

Your most obedient Nephew
Jeremy Bentham

327

TO THE EARL OF SHELBURNE¹

17 September 1779 (Aet 31)

Sept. 17, 1779

My Lord,

The doubts I have so much reason for entertaining whether such intelligence as I have to communicate and from such a quarter

327. ¹ Lansdowne MSS. Autograph.

No address or docket. Someone has written the following at the end of the letter:
η ΑΙΑ³ η ΑφΙθη.

Lord Shelburne (cf. letter 125, n. 3) had provided letters of recommendation for Samuel's journey, and this is the second of a series of letters Bentham sent to Shelburne communicating extracts from his brother's letters from abroad. The first of the series is not preserved among the Lansdowne Mss. at Bowood, but B.M. II: 428-429 are torn fragments of a draft or copy of a letter in which Bentham transcribes parts of Samuel's letter of 1-3 September (B.M. II: 367-368). The opening paragraph, with crossed-out words omitted reads as follows:

'Though unknown, I <...> <...> <...> <...> <...>
myself as under high <...> <...> <...> <...> <...>
on account of my Brother who <...> <...> <...> <...>

will be worth the reading, and whether the presumption of this address will be overlooked in favour of the sentiments which dictated it, have not prevented me from sending an extract from another letter of my Brother I have just received dated Amsterdam Sept. 10 1779.²

Should anything in the political way present itself in future in any of his letters which appears to stand any chance of proving interesting to your Lordship, I believe I shall take the liberty of transmitting it without adding to what may be thought the importance of the thing itself the importance of fresh apologies. I have the honour to be with great respect

Your Lordship's most obedient humble Servant
Jeremy Bentham

(At Rotterdam) 'Before Strachan went to England' (about 7 or 8 months ago) 'there were not above one or two Ships in hand' (in the public Dock Yard) 'now' (Sept. 6) there are 5 or 6 of 'the Line building and repairing.'

'Sir Joseph Yorke gave me two political pamphlets...one that of Sir Jas. Marriot entitled *Memoire Justificatif de la conduite de la Grande Bretagne en arretant les navires etrangers et les munitions de guerre destinées aux insurgents de l'Amerique Londres—Harrison and Brooke 1779 4to...*The Language is not his: Sir Jos^h put it into somebody's hands to correct, as Sir Ja^s is not perfectly master of French.'³

'The other Sir Joseph calls a libel but says at the same time that

the way of Holland, honoured by y(our Lordship's recommenda-
tions. It is the sense I have of ⟨...⟩⟨...⟩⟨...⟩
induces me to venture on the liberty of ⟨acquainting your⟩
Lordship with the following intelligence, ⟨which may indeed a-
mount to nothing, but which as ⟨...⟩⟨...⟩⟨...⟩⟨...⟩.
little appearance of some secret nego⟨tiation; and may⟩
on that supposition prove not uninteresting ⟨...⟩⟨...⟩⟨...⟩

The first of the two passages Bentham transcribes from Samuel's letter concerns a Mr Lloyd who had arrived with them on the packet, who corresponded with Lord North and with John Robinson of the Treasury, and who was on his way to Paris. He claimed to have 'a particular list of the combined fleets' which 'consisted of 66 vessels of the line including 50 Gunships'. The second passage refers to the anger caused in Rotterdam by the delay of the packet at Hellevoetsluis because Lord Spencer (cf. letter 83, n. 2), who was travelling with his wife and his daughter Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire (1757–1806), was afraid of crossing without a convoy. Samuel also reports in this passage that people in Holland 'seem to think that poor England is very soon to become a province of France' and that they 'are growing rich at present at our expense as greatest part of the English trade is now carrying on through the hands of the Dutch'.

² B.M. II: 372–376, 6–10 September 1779; cf. letter 325, n. 6.

³ Hon. Joseph Yorke (1724–92), 3rd son of the 1st Earl of Hardwicke, K.B. 1761,

it is every word true. He insists much on the use or almost necessity of Libels against Libels: Professes himself to have been the cause of a yard-full of them being written; and says after the King of Prussia that it is as necessary to *write* out an enemy as to *fight* him out: an apophthegm he had from his Majesty's own mouth. This pamphlet is entitled *Memoire sur l'importance et la necessité ou se trouve les Provinces-Unies de fournir a l'Angleterre les secours stipulés par les traités. Utrecht 1779.*⁴

Extracts of a letter from Mr. Samuel Bentham dated Amsterdam Sept. 17th.⁵ 'Sir Joseph (Yorke) said that Spanish Officers who had been at the Hague came to him, but not to the French Ambassador.

'Sir W. Hamilton in the letter I saw of his to Sir Jos^h said that the body of fire at the eruption (of Vesuvius) which lasted some hours was 3 miles broad and 4000 yards high. Cinders, (a very few) were flung to the distance of 100 miles.'⁶

'Tuesday I went on board the immense frigate built here for the French: but Sir Joseph has I believe stoped her going to Sea; so that she is now almost unrigged again. The English would buy her, but the proprietors ask too much. Her dimensions agree with those of the Ship Schwediaeur saw here a year or two ago.' (186 feet in length: 148 in breadth.)

328

TO JEREMIAH BENTHAM¹

17 September 1779 (Aet 31)

Thorpe near Staines Sep. 17 1779

Hond. Sir

I fear it will not be in my power, or at least worth while to either of us, for me to wait upon you at Imley Park. By my Brother's

m.p. for various constituencies 1751–1780, was British minister at the Hague 1751–61 and ambassador 1761–80. In 1788 he was created Baron Dover.

James Marriott (c. 1730–1803), son of a Hatton Garden attorney, had been Master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge since 1764. He was knighted in 1778, when he became an Admiralty judge. He was m.p. for Sudbury 1781–84 and 1796–1802.

⁴ This pamphlet has not been traced.

⁵ B.M. II: 378, 15–17 September 1779: cf. letter 325, n. 28.

⁶ Sir William Hamilton, F.R.S. (1730–1803), nephew of the 4th Duke of Hamilton, m.p. for Midhurst 1761–64, was British envoy in Naples from 1764 to 1800. (Nelson's Lady Hamilton was his second wife). Cf. letter 342 at n. 14.

328. ¹ B.M. II: 380. Autograph. Docketed by Jeremiah Bentham: 'Fils Jeremy / Lr datd. Thorpe, Surry / 17th Sepr. 1779 / Reed. at Imley Park.'

Addressed: 'Jeremiah Bentham Esqr. / Queen's Square Place / Westminster.' This

2d. letter² which I sent you and which I hope you have ere now received, you will perceive that I have several little commissions to execute for him. I have likewise others besides those. This will make it necessary for me to watch times and persons, and not be absent from London for any considerable length of time. I am likewise a visit in debt to Mr Davies. He happens to have some particular reasons for wishing to see me down at Brompton; now that my Brother who might otherwise have answer'd the same purpose is abroad. There has been a negotiation of, I suppose, a dozen letters between us on the subject; and I am so far engaged by many repeated promises that he could not but take it very much amiss were I to disappoint him. By one which I received from him t'other day I find he is not yet altogether without expectation of being called upon by Lord Howe: to whom I believe a great part of the nation continue to look up with greater confidence than to any other man in his line, notwithstanding the disappointments they have met with in his brother.

I am much obliged to you for your kind offer of bearing my travelling expences: it is true that for a few days or so, I might accept it, notwithstanding any of the reasons that I have mentioned: but for so ⟨short⟩ a time it would hardly be worth while to put you to the expence of a couple of guineas, and myself to the trouble of two Coach—that is sick—journeys one of them by night. You say nothing of the time of your further stay: but I conclude it cannot be more than a month at farthest.

I am just now made happy by a letter from Sam dated Amsterdam Sept ⟨10⟩.³ I hope you will receive it at the same time with this: but his obligations to Lind are such, that as Lind is very desirous of seeing his letters, I can not do otherwise than give him the opportunity; and as some of the intelligence in it is political, and earliness is every thing in intelligence of that sort, I can not wait the return of a packet from Imley before I send it him.

My brother's 2d. letter went from hence on Friday last /the same day I rēced it/ directed to Lind. I desired him to forward it the day of his receiving it; and took measures which I hope have proved effectual for it's being forwarded in case of his not being at home. My respects to my Mother and Far. Not to overload the weekly

letter was sent to Queen's Square Place, so that it could be included in the weekly frank to Jeremiah Bentham at Imley Park, Northamptonshire.

² Meaning (it seems) the second actually sent from Holland, i.e. the one finished on 3 September (B.M. II: 367). See letter 325, n. 2 and letter 327, n. 1. It was forwarded to Jeremiah by Lind (cf. below).

³ See letter 325, §8.

frank, I have just room to tell you that I am Your dutiful and affectionate Son

J.B.

I shall take advantage of a cast from our friend the Alderman to return to London on Thursday 23; and from thence the next day or day after shall go on to Brompton. Pray let me have all Sam's letters etc. by that time to shew to his friends there.

329

TO JEREMIAH BENTHAM¹

23-24 September 1779 (Aet 31)

Lincoln's Inn Thursday Sept. 23 1779

Hond. Sir

This morning I took the opportunity of Alderman Clark's coming to town to get a cast with him, as I believe I told you I intended. I dined with him: after dinner called in Mr. Sealey the Grocer and a certain Parson Desternal who was the Alderman's Chaplain when Sheriff.² From a paper they had I copied the article of news I sent you. I hope it has come gratis: I have written in that manner before: and as you would have it by that means two days the sooner, I thought it was worth running the risk. By the Papers of this Post you will no doubt have it confirmed, as I have seen it in the papers of this evening with this difference that the 14 ships said to be taken are unfortunately destroy'd. Alderman Bull and Wilkes have lately quarrelled; and that so violently, as not even to be on speaking terms.³ Wilkes abuses Bull in all companies: calling him the pawnbroking Alderman, because some time ago when Wilkes was distressed to extremity for £50, Bull would not let him have it without Wilkes depositing a silver cup which was given him by I don't know what public body upon I don't know what occasion. Bull admits this, but says that he neither meant to take nor had taken any interest, and that after being out of his money

329. ¹ B.M. II: 381-383. Autograph. Docketed by Jeremiah Bentham: 'Fils Jeremy / Lr. datd. Lincoln's Inn / 23d. Sepr. 1779 / Reed. at Imley Park.'

Addressed: 'Jeremiah Bentham Esqr.'

² John Sealy was Warden of the Grocers' Company, 1779-80. Desternal is unidentified.

³ Frederick Bull (1714?-84), previously a prominent supporter of Wilkes and later a supporter of Lord George Gordon, was Lord Mayor of London 1773-74, and M.P. for London from 1773 until his death.

6 months, he got it from Wilkes's Mother or Mother-in-Law I don't know which, upon transferring the cup to her. Reynolds,⁴ Wilkes's Attorney has filed a Bill against Bull for £4,000, claiming to be paid that sum in preference to other creditors out of Wilkes's estate which Bull is in possession of as one of three Trustees on Trust to pay a certain sum yearly to Wilkes, a certain sum to Mrs Wilkes and the rest among Creditors. Reynolds has already had £1500. Wilkes, poor Devil, is in a miserable plight: his books and household furniture were taken in Execution about 6 weeks ago and sold: he goes about quite shabby now and almost in rags. He says in all companies, he will undertake to prove that Bull has got more by him, than he by Bull. The *voyes-de-fait* between the Ld. Mayor⁵ and Aldm. Plomer⁶ afford as you may imagine much matter of diversion to the gay, and of discomfort to the grave. Our friend, whom I think one may rank in the latter class, speaks of it with a long visage: he gets roasted about it wherever he goes. Plomer it seems hit the Ld. Mayor a slap of the face before his Ldship. lifted up his hand against him, which he did, not to strike, but only to push him away: what makes it worse is the Ld. Mayor was and is in a very bad state of health, and very feeble. This from Sealy, who had it from the other Alderman who was present. I think it was Kennet.⁷ It was he who cracked the joke which you see in the papers.

In my way this morning I called at Q.S.P. and had the satisfaction of finding your two letters one of which was notified by that I received at Thorpe. I don't like, my dear Father, to hear of this gout, so slight and so universal: I had the pleasure however to hear from Mrs. Far that she had a letter from you yesterday in which you mention your being then much relieved from it, if not free: and I hope to have the satisfaction of seeing you some time in the winter equipped in a regular decent way, with a proper kind of shoe, upon a proper kind of stool, and all in order: and however much amiss you may take it, if you chance to be in that predicament already, I would for the sake of that satisfaction readily submit to receive a broken head or two from your stick for the traitorous and rebellious offence of coming within 2 yards of the said stool. In the mean time under the apprehension lest you should be in want of a little amusement, and in hopes that you will not be incapable of

⁴ John Reynolds, father of the dramatist Frederic Reynolds (1764-1841).

⁵ Samuel Plumbe (d. 1784), brother-in-law of Henry Thrale the brewer.

⁶ William Plomer (d. 1801), Lord Mayor 1781-82.

⁷ Brackley Kennett (d. 1782), Lord Mayor 1779-80: it was during his term of office that the Gordon Riots took place.

receiving it, I thought it meet by these presents to endeavour to throw in my mite. But the post man is calling $\frac{1}{2}$ after 11, and so, good night.

Friday morning

I have just been giving a breakfast at Q.S.P. to a Mr. Poli, a Neapolitan friend of Sam's whom I believe you have heard us mention, and who has done or is doing some little services to both of us. There were 10 Neapolitan officers in all on board of Hardy's fleet besides Pilots and common men: four Officers and some men were taken on board the Ardent and have not been heard of since; neither Poli to whom they were recommended nor their Ambassador Count Pignotelli have heard any thing from them. Poli insists upon it, that since the dismissal of Tanucci the late Minister and the appointment of Sambuca the present Minister the Neapolitans have not been at all under the Spanish influence.⁸ Poli was at the Club of Ambassadors a day or two ago: he says, it seemed to be the general opinion of the company that the Dutch would not, indeed could not give us any assistance, unless supported by Prussia and Russia. The misfortune is that the Government there is very poor, and their Barrier towns in a very defenceless condition. This I understood from De Court: so also Col. St. Paul who a year or two ago was in most of them, told Wilson. (The Colonel you know lives in the house that was Mr. Blakes in Chertsey.⁹) Adm. Barrington has been in the neighbourhood of Thorpe and Chertsey: he speaks in the highest terms of Byron; so that the report of their having quarrelled is altogether false: he alledges no other reason for coming home than ill health; which does not appear however in his looks. He complains much of Ld. Sandwich for not victualling him properly, and says that had it not been for an accident he must have starved. He applied for more provision but was refused: He was told that he would get enough at Barbadoes: there however he could get none, and had it not been for his precaution, in getting what he wanted else where (I think it was from Sr. Tho:^s Pye) he would have been sadly off. He complains sadly too of the powder: his balls made no impression on the French ships, when their balls pierced his ships through and through. This powder was bought in Holland, the board of Ordnance not caring to give the price demanded here by the English manufacturers It is certain now that

⁸ The Ambassador was presumably Francesco Pignatelli, Prince of Strongoli (1732-1812). Bernardo, Marquis Tanucci (1698-1783), had been superseded by Sambuca as Prime Minister in Naples in October 1776.

⁹ Unidentified.

the French had the option several times of fighting: that Hardy virtually offer'd battle, by forbearing to crowd sail, and by chasing back their frigates when sent forward to watch him. This Poli had from the Venetian Ambassador and a Marquis Caraccioli who were on board several ships of the fleet not many days ago. Wilson also heard to the same effect from a Mr. Leycester a Nabob whom he dined with at St Paul's on Wednesday and who came that morning from Portsmouth where he had been on board the fleet and conversed with numbers of the officers. All the officers and men are in the highest spirits, and are satisfied it is impossible the French ships can stand against our 3 deckers, which have all 8 guns each in addition to the ordinary compliment of 90, besides *carronades* on the maintops. These Governor Johnstone spoke slightly of to Lind when first he saw them but has since adopted them. This invention is peculiar to us, and then on board the Duke there is Sr. Ch. Douglas's invention (which he shew'd him) for firing any number of guns at once at the word of command by means of locks. We have likewise now provided ourselves with a quantity of 3 cornered canisters used by the French with great success for tearing rigging to pieces. The French crews consisting chiefly of landsmen will be terribly sea-sick with the surges of the Biscay. This our people said (and you may imagine from experience) must make a prodigious difference in our favour.

I find from Lind that my brother's 3d. letter¹⁰ has been forwarded to you in due course: I was in hopes to have had it back to take with me to Mr. Davies's. I hope you were not altogether balked in the 'feast' you expected from it. There are now 3 Dutch Mails due: the last I hope will bring us another letter.

Sardam¹¹ my brother is well aware of, and will make it one of his principal objects.

'Petri des graces'—'petri' means '*made up of.*' Pétrir is literally to make dough for bread.

I have had the benefit of a horse at Wilson's: and shall have again at Davies's.

I have almost written my eyes out as well as my Paper. They are so much inflamed that I must give over sooner than I should have done otherwise: but I know what will cure them.

¹⁰ Originally '2d. and 3d. letter'. This altered, and 'them' etc. changed to 'it' as above. The third letter would be that dated 10 September (B.M. II: 372). See letter 325, n. 6 and letter 327.

¹¹ In Holland: cf. letter 319.

330

TO JEREMIAH BENTHAM¹

20 October 1779 (Aet 31)

Hond. Sir

For some little time past I have been troubled with a complaint in my eyes, which for 5 or 6 days past have been altogether closed. This is all I have to complain of, since when I keep them shut I am free from pain. As soon as I recover my sight, the first use I shall put them to will be to conduct me to you. This at any rate cannot be later than the fourth of next month, that being the day on which Mr. Wilson comes to town. I borrow his hand to assure you that I am with or without eyes.

Your Dutiful and affectionate Son
Jeremy Bentham

Thorpe 20 Octr. 1779

My respects wait on my Mother and Farr. I beg to know what account you have of Charles—Sam's last was dated the 23d. of Sept. The next day he was to quit Amsterdam in his way to Hamburg—You have two letters due neither of which I hope will prove displeasing—Mr. Wilson desires his Compliments.

Mr. Wilson opens this to acknowledge the receipt of yours of yesterday—I beg to have Sam's forthwith, that being one of the few amusements of which my condition leaves me capable.

330. ¹ B.M. II: 399–400. In Wilson's hand. Shaky signature by Bentham. Docketed by Jeremiah Bentham: 'Fils Jeremy / Lr. datd. Thorpe Surry / 22d. Octr. 1779 / written by Mr Wilson as his Emanuensis on Accot. of a disorder in his Eyes.'

Addressed: 'Jeremiah Bentham Esqr. / Queen's Square Place / Westminster.' Postmark: '21 OC'.

Since the last note to his father Bentham had received two letters from his brother in Amsterdam. The first is dated 15–17 September 1779 (B.M. II: 378–379: see letter 325, n. 28 and letter 327). The second is dated 23 September 1779 and it is this which Bentham calls 'Sam's last' (B.M. II: 384–386). Both concern the many interesting people Samuel had met in Amsterdam. (For some of these see letter 332, n. 3).

331

TO JEREMIAH BENTHAM¹

23 October 1779 (Aet 31)

Thorpe Saturday 23d. Octr. 1779

Honoured Sir

The regimen recommended by Mr. Welch is precisely that which I am pursuing under the advice of Mr. Mapletoft² and such care is taken of me in every respect that on that score I have nothing left to wish for—You see therefore that the consideration on which you grounded the proposal of my coming to town immediately ceases, and as we shall have the satisfaction at any rate of meeting in a few days I think it will be hardly worth while to anticipate it at the expence of a post chaise. I write this by the coach which sets out from the Crown at Chertsey at $\frac{1}{2}$ past two—There is a coach or Diligence which sets out from the Bell Savage Ludgate Hill on Sunday as well as every other day time enough to get to Chertsey by 12. By that Coach I hope you will be kind enough to send me Sam's two letters³: I am very anxious to see them and I hope you will indulge me in it—Considering how I am circumstanced you will not I hope take it unkind that I should send but a short letter in answer to your long and kind one—I expect to open my eyes tonight but you need not fear my poisoning them. My writer is my reader—

I am

Hond. Sir

Your ever Dutiful and affectionate Son

Jeremy Bentham

331. ¹ B.M. II: 401–402. In Wilson's hand. Shaky signature by Jeremy Bentham. Docketed by Jeremiah Bentham: 'Fils Jeremy / Lr. datd. Thorpe Surry / written by Mr Wilson as his Emanuensis, on Accot. of a Disorder in his Eyes 23d. Octr. 1779.'

Addressed: 'Jeremiah Bentham Esq. / Queen's Square Place / Westr.' On cover: 'Pray let the letter herewith enclosed be put into the post tonight—I send it thus for expedition.'

² Welch and Mapletoft are unidentified.

³ Probably these were the two letters despatched from Hamburg on 12 October, namely letter 332 and B.M. II: 392 (unpublished), which had been sent on to Queen Square Place in Bentham's absence from Lincoln's Inn.

332

SAMUEL BENTHAM TO
JEREMY BENTHAM¹

2 October 1779

Groeningen Saturday Octr. 2nd. 1779

I folded up my last Letter² to you just as I was going on board the Vessel to leave Amsterdam. If circumstances would have permitted it I should have liked very much to have staid there till the winter roads were settled. I breakfasted with Job May³ yesterday and got a good deal of information about the timber trade. When I called on the other brother I thought I would ask him about the existence of the *pump house* which brought on some Stories relating to the police of this country which I could scarcely put an end to and were near making me too late. As to the pump house where a

332. ¹ B.M. II: 391. Autograph. Docketed by Jeremy Bentham: '1779 Oct. 12 / S.B. Hamburg to I.B. Linc. Inn / Written at Groeningen.'

About the first three quarters of this letter are omitted here.

There is a copy of this, as of most of Samuel's letters from overseas, in B.M. XX, starting at page 51. Probably all these copies, and certainly many of them, were made by Jeremiah Bentham himself. Some may have been made by a clerk. According to the copyist of the present letter, it was enclosed in the unpublished letter, B.M. II: 389–390. It is also stated by the copyist (XX: 54) that this present letter was finished at Groeningen, and sent from Hamburg on 12 October 1779, and this agrees with Jeremy Bentham's docket. Presumably this and Samuel's next two letters from Hamburg (see letter 333, n. 1) all came together. B.M. II: 389 (–390) is docketed by Jeremy Bentham thus: '1779 Oct. 9 / S.B. Hamburg to I.B. Linc. Inn.' It is addressed to Jeremy at Lincoln's Inn, and forwarded from there to Queen's Square Place.

² B.M. II: 384–386 (see letter 330, n. 1).

³ Samuel Bentham saw a great deal of two of the three May brothers when he was in Amsterdam (see especially B.M. II: 378, B.M. II: 384, and B.M. II: 389). They were Englishmen long settled in Holland. Their father had held a post in the public Dock Yard there. The eldest, John May, then probably in his sixties, to whom Samuel's letter of introduction from a Mr Hennicker was directed, was a leading merchant, partner in Messrs Cross, May and Co. The second, Job May, was a shipwright with his private yard. The third, whom Samuel did not meet, was a Captain in the Dutch service. All three were men of singular ability and wide knowledge, and were very influential in Holland. John May was much consulted in connection with improvements in commercial law: he had been consulted in the recent new modelling of the Bankruptcy Laws. Job May was consulted 'with respect to all mechanical engines erected at the public expence as Mills, Steam Engines, etc.' (B.M. II: 384). The latter spent every winter in England, partly in order to conduct business with the Navy Board to whom he and his brother apparently hired ships for transports, etc. Samuel obtained a fund of information from them on divers subjects (including Dutch law) some of which is related in B.M. II: 384. He found John May 'to be the greatest philosopher I have ever conversed with' and that both brothers were the greatest experts on the theory of shipbuilding of whom he had ever heard. Sir Joseph Banks had spent some time with the Mays when in Holland, but they had not 'opened' to him as they had to Samuel.

Criminal must pump or sink, there is no such thing. It is a Story only, to amuse and to get money from Strangers. He has been himself with Strangers to see the Rasp house where a fellow has begun pumping and telling a pitifull Story to them of the danger he was in and begging of them; but it was entirely a cheat. Their criminal laws stand the same with a few additions as they were before the Confederacy of the States took place. Commissioners have been appointed from time to time to draw up a new Code. Some of the most reputed Lawyers have been commissioned for this purpose almost without intermission for I think these 100 years and there are some at present but nothing has yet been done. As the Law does not admit of any one's being executed without his confession the torture is made use of if he won't confess without, but never till his guilt is fully prov'd. The Torture is limited and if the Criminal can resist /bear/ it, they cannot afterwards execute him or torture him any more but they send him to the rasp house or prison for they don't let him go free.

It appears then the torture is never used to obtain a confession to serve as an evidence of guilt, but merely on account of that old law which forbids an execution without a Confession. Trials are carried on some parts in private other parts in public. The criminal is present to hear the whole of the examination of all the witnesses. No pains are spared to get at the truth and May thinks the whole is conducted in a much better and more impartial manner than in England. It is the Majority not the unanimity of those who are left to judge of the guilt that fixes it.

333

SAMUEL BENTHAM TO
JEREMY BENTHAM¹

15 October 1779

An Old Man who kept a public house and whose family had on some account or other left him at home alone for a few hours or a

333. ¹ B.M. II: 394–395. Autograph. Docketed by Jeremy Bentham: '1779 Oct 15 / S.B. Hamburgh to I.B. Linc. Inn. Reced at Q.S.P. Oct. 23.' Also by Bentham: 'X Troestwyck Leipzic. Entabl.' Docketed by Jeremiah Bentham: 'Reed. at Q.S.P. Saturday night 8 o'clock Octr. 23 1779.'

Addressed: 'Jere^v Bentham Esqr. / Lincoln's Inn / London.' Forwarded: 'Queen's Square Place / Westminster / Single Sheet.' Postmark: 'OC 23'. Also illegible foreign postmark.

Bentham had received two previous letters from his brother in Hamburg, the first dated 9. October 1779 (B.M. II: 389–390), the second dated 12 October 1779 (B.M. II:

night was found at their return murdered. Upon enquiries being made, the Neighbours had seen a man come out of the house by himself sometime after all other company was gone. This Man by the description which they gave of him was taken up. His cloaths were found bloody and I believe things found upon him which had belong'd to the old man, or in short so many circumstances seemed to prove him the author of the murder that the Judges though not without a great deal of deliberation found him guilty, and of course as he was not disposed to confess, the torture was applied. He immediately upon the application of the torture not only confessed himself guilty but pointed out a private place in which he had secreted the money he took away with him, and which was his motive for committing the Murder. He gave an account of the number of each species of the money[?] which just agreed with what the old man had been known to have. He also told them the place from which he had taken it and confessed many other circumstances which were of such a nature as could not have been known but by his confession. By this means such of the Judges as had been diffident with respect to the Justice of the sentence were perfectly satisfied. The man was of course executed. This May told me as an example of the use that torture is of now and then. The only use was the satisfaction of such of the Judges who were not satisfied before, for the man was before condemned and was at any rate to submit to the torture and perpetual imprisonment if he had not confessed or even if he had really not been guilty.

I told you, in a former Letter, that Mr. May's opinion was that the whole of the police is much better regulated in Amsterdam than in England. He told me of his having been present at several trials at the Old Bailey when he was last in England and among others 392–393). They describe Samuel's arrival and stay in that city. He ate most of his meals and spent most of his time with the merchant Mr Charles Hanbury, some of it in his country house outside Hamburg where he was most cordially entertained. Hanbury's sister was married to Samuel's friend Lindegreen, and Samuel had previously met Hanbury in Portsmouth 'when my acquaintance with Lindegreen was but just commencing and the friendship not thought of'.

In B.M. II: 389 he says: 'I just mentioned to him [Hanbury] the kind of Review you speak of as well as the Book on Sweden, and he makes no doubt but we shall get them: the Law Books also. He says he is acquainted with an exceeding clever man of a bookseller who is well acquainted with the contents as well as the titles of books; from him we shall get whatever is in general kept to the *trade*.'

In B.M. II: 392 he says: 'Mr. Hanbury is very much afraid that you should think him wanting in respect to you on account of his not having answered your letter to him, but he thought there was no occasion to put you to the Expence of the Postage for saying what I could say for him.'

For a draft letter to Hanbury from Bentham see letter 382. But this can hardly be the letter to Hanbury mentioned in this passage.

at one on a man for Sodomy. He was with an Alderman of London. When the witnesses were heard to prove the crime which they did in a very particular manner, one man, the *subject* /patient/, I believe swore to the perfect commission and others gave testimony of circumstances confirming it. This companion of his asked him if it was not as clear as could be saying at the same time Oh the fellow must be hanged there is no doubt of it. However when the man came to call his witnesses, he proved by the testimony of 5 persons that he was some where else at the time. May asked his Companion what he thought of the matter now. 'Oh', says he, 'these are nothing but *false witnesses*.' This and the air of indifference with which it was pronounced quite astonish'd May; but however some how or other the man was found guilty and hanged but no notice taken of the false evidence. May lifts up his hands and eyes with astonishment and concern at the thoughts of such instances as these which he saw of the seeming indifference with which all the criminal proceedings were conducted in his native country.

I have forgot to whom I was to take Abbè Fontana's book.
Troestwyck's² Experiments.

I believe I have not as yet written to you any thing about a Mr. Troestwyck a young man, a Merchant in Amsterdam in a good way of business. I went to his house by Invitation with Cuthbertson³ the Instrument maker, to see his apparatus for air experiments. His apparatus is by far the completest of any I have seen or heard of, not excepting the Abbè Fontana's. And I think his genius for invention and accuracy in the conducting of Experiments also equals at least the Abbè's. He has made some very important discoveries with respect to Aphlogic, Phlogistic and Nitrous airs: as also respecting the effect of Vegetation and respiration on Airs. It is with this same apparatus that Dr. Deiman⁴ makes his experi-

² Paets von Troostwyck. See n. 3.

³ John Cuthbertson, an English mathematical instrument maker settled in Amsterdam. In 1797 he published (in Amsterdam) *Description of an Improved Air-Pump* which he had designed. In 1807 he published (in London) *Practical Electricity and Galvanism, containing a series of Experiments*. The title-page describes him as 'Fellow of the Philosophical Societies of Holland and Utrecht'. It was a collection of earlier publications dating from 1769.

In the 1787 work he refers to suggestions for improvements in Air-Pumps made by 'my friend Mr. *Paets von Troostwyck*, a gentleman well known by his writings, as one of the best Philosophers, and, in his sphere of life, one of the greatest promoters of the arts and sciences that the country can boast'.

⁴ Johan Rudolph Deiman (1743–1808), like Adriaan Paets van Troostwijk (see preceding note), was a prominent Dutch scientist.

ments. It belongs to them in Conjunction. They make their experiments in conjunction and they share in the expence. It is a large Room in Troestwyck's House that is fitted up for the purpose; he seems to be the chief experimenter and Dr. Deiman the writer. I have I believe mentioned Dr. Deiman to you before as the man who obtained a premium for his discovery relating to Airs.

It has long been a matter of enquiry what was the cause of the diminution of air when mixed with Nitrous air, so much of it indeed as could arise from the decomposition of the Nitrous air itself appears to have been very satisfactorily accounted for by Priestley and agreed to by other experimentors but the reason why the compound becomes less than the common or Aphlogistic air only had not that I ever heard of been accounted for by any hypothesis proved by experiments. Troestwick has proved by numberless experiments that it is owing to a great quantity of fixed Air which the very best aphlogistic air that had ever been made has been found to contain, and which he supposes to be precipitated I think by the Phlogiston in the nitrous Air.

He has though with great difficulty perfectly deprived some Aphlogistic air of its fix'd air, when it has been left at least 4 times as pure as that which with nitrous air had been diminished as much as any whatever and yet this very pure air could be diminished by no process whatever and he tried all which had ever been found to diminish air.

Nitrous air put to it did not perhaps add anything to its bulk, at least not till a certain quantity had been put, but at the same time it never diminish'd the original quantity of aphlogistic Air.

Candles burning, Pyritical mixtures etc., were all tried, but nothing could diminish it.

He found that no air was capable of being diminished but in as much as the fixed Air which was mix'd with it.

Vegetation Respiration the burning of Candles etc. all diminish air only by precipitating the fixed air.

He has found sometimes that an animal by respiration in a certain quantity of air has done it more good by precipitating the fixed air from it than harm by the phlogiston which it communicated, so that after the animal has been dead another being put in to the same has lived longer than the first did, and candles have burnt in it far better than in Common Air. This last experiment I saw.

If a plant be put in a jar of air growing in water but the neck of the jar is so narrow as not much more than to admit the stem so in short that a very small surface of water be exposed to the included

air, that plant will sicken and dye presently but if there be a large surface of water or any substance be put into the jar which will attract the fixed Air as it is precipitated then the plant will continue in full vigour.

I can't have time to reason with you upon these experiments, be satisfied in believing that I made several queries and objections to his Theory, but it seemed well established by a number of excellently well conducted experiments. You might talk about it to Fontana if you see him; If I could find time I would send him a description of Troestwyks Eudiometer.

I will now tell you of an Electrical Experiment which Troestwyk and Cuthbertson together have made, and which is publishing in Dutch, and shall be sent to you if you please. The Account has been sent to Priestley.

A Pidgeon was killed by an Electric shock entering in at its head and out at the feet. Upon cutting off the head no blood appeared, upon cutting the feet the blood gushed out to the distance of 6 or 7 feet. Another Pidgeon was killed by a shock passing the opposite way and then the effect was reversed. When made to pass from one side to the other of a third Pidgeon, the bird continued for about 3 minutes as if nothing ailed it then was seized with Convulsions and died. These and numberless other experiments proved that the Electric shock drives the blood from the part it enters to that at which it leaves the subject and that it is in this way that the death is caused. In the case of the shock passing from side to side a blood Vessel was broken.

There are two Governors of the Academy here besides Professor Bush.⁵ One of them is named Normann,⁶ is Jurisconsult, and well acquainted with the law and law books of this part of the world. Cha^s Hanbury and I were with him and Professor Bush and got from them the following intelligence etc.

The Schwaben Spiegel and the Sachsen-Spiegel, each of them one volume folio, are the foundations of the German laws, the 1st of the Southern, the 2d. of the Northern division.

The following books are the best and latest publications relating to the laws of the Germanic body, and in them all the ancient and the best modern publications are quoted, particularly in Pütter.

⁵ Johann Georg Büsch (1728–1800) had founded an academy of commerce in Hamburg in 1767, and was its director for thirty years. He was the author of numerous works on economics and commerce.

⁶ Gerhard Phillipp Heinrich Norrmann (1753–1837), who later published geographical studies of Switzerland and of the Dutch colonies in the East and West Indies.

Elementa Juris Germanici—Selchow⁷
 Geschichte der deutschen Rechte—Selchow⁸
 Visiones diversae—Senkenberg⁹
 Litteratur des Staats Rechts—Pütter¹⁰
 Principia Juris Feudalis—G. L. Boehmer¹¹
 Grundsätze des Vechsel Rechts—Selchow¹²
 Compendium Juris Criminalis—Muster¹³

J. S. F. de Boehmer meditationes in Constitutionem criminalen Carolinam 4to¹⁴
 G. L. Boehmer Principia Juris Canonici speciatim Juris Ecclesiastici, publici et privati, quod per Germaniam obtinet. Editio 4to. 8vo.¹⁵
 Westphals Systematische Anleitung zur Kentniss der besten Bücher in der Rechtsgelahrtheit.¹⁶

The Edict for the abolishment of Torture in the Austrian Dominions is published in a large collection of Austrian Edicts, but I am in hopes of getting it for you separate.

I have got the Catalogues¹⁷ for you from 60 to 79, 23 of them only, but the man will get the rest. They cost 8 pence a volume. You shall have them sent.¹⁸

I told you in my last that I was much better in health. I think now I am as well as ever again, and have my senses as much about me as *usual*.

What ever Queries you wish to have answered send them to G. P. H. Normann Governor of the Academy of Commerce at

⁷ Johann Heinrich Christian von Selchow, *Elementa juris Germanici privati hodierni ex ipsis fontibus deducta: praemisso specimine Bibliothecae juris provincialis et Statutarii Germanici*. Hannover, 1762. (It was the second edition of *Institutiones jurisprudentiae germanicae* 1757.)

⁸ J. H. C. von Selchow, *Geschichte der in Deutschland geltended fremden und einheimischen Rechte*, Göttingen, 1767.

⁹ Heinrich Christian von Senckenberg, Baron, *Visiones diversae de collectionibus legum Germanicarum, earumque usu, praecipue etiam Speculi Saxonici in Belgio*, Leipzig, 1765.

¹⁰ Jh. Steph. Pütter, *Literatur des deutschen Staatsrechts*, Göttingen, 1776–83.

¹¹ Georg Ludwig Boehmer, *Principia juris feudalis, praesertim Longobardici, quod per Germaniam obtinet*, Göttingen, 1765.

¹² J. H. C. von Selchow, *Grundsätze des Wechselrechts*, Göttingen, 1777.

¹³ Not traced.

¹⁴ Halle, 1770. By Johann Samuel Friedrich Boehmer.

¹⁵ Göttingen, 1762.

¹⁶ Leipzig, 1774. By Ernst Christian Westphal.

¹⁷ Bentham had asked for these catalogues in letter 325, §30.

¹⁸ About fifty lines omitted (but cf. letter 338): Samuel is hoping to get a vessel to Danzig from Lübeck on 19 October.

Hamburgh, and he will answer them for you himself or procure the answers. He and Charles Hanbury between them or either of them will get you any books which you wish to have. Direct your Letter to Mr. Hanbury to prevent Normann's paying the Postage, but I shall write further to you upon this.

Some of the Books /of which I have given you the title/ which I thought you would like best shall be sent with the Catalogue. As to the rest you may send your orders to Mr. Hanbury. He is so obliging as to offer to send them and to manage every thing for you. He will set down the expences to my account. He is very much pleased with the Fragment and wants much to have one. I told him it was out of print. If you think the Booksellers have any, get one and send him. Remember him also for a copy of Punishments. Won't you?

I gave a Dentist here a ducat for putting my teeth in better order. It was in consequence of a piece of advice from Old Hanbury.¹⁹ The fellow poked cotton into a hole in one of my teeth and took it out again repeatedly to cleanse it out and then he stuffed in some fine sheet lead to fill it up. On the other side where I had two or three stumps he broke off a little piece which was in the way and then filed them over quite smooth, so that there is now no harbour for the food to lodge in. He said they did not need sealing, and advised me only to clean them with a brush.

Old Hanbury tells me he does not call this a visit and that if I won't stay longer with them next time I come he dont desire to see my face again. He certainly is one of the most friendly of men of the common stamp.

He seems always cheerful and happy himself and does his utmost to make his family so, though he is no Philosopher. I had often heard his Character from Mr Lindegreen and from every person I heard speak of him. He has an old arm chair belonging to Baron Kloppmann which was left here many years ago. Matthias²⁰ also sends his remembrances to the Baron.

Do tell me how Punishments go on. I long more than ever that they were finished.

¹⁹ John Hanbury, Charles Hanbury's father. Lindegreen's letter of introduction was to the father.

²⁰ Emmanuel Matthias, Esqr., to whom Samuel had an introduction from William Frazer (one of the Under Secretaries of State) was British Resident at Hamburg. Samuel would be seeing Baron Klopman when he reached Courland.

334

JEREMY BENTHAM TO JEREMIAH BENTHAM¹

26 October 1779 (Aet 31)

Thorpe 26th Octr. 1779

Hond. Sir

I have been seeing these two days though my eyes are extremely weak as you may imagine. Sam's next letter will come from Dantzich or at least after he has been to Dantzich. Mr. Lind expects it may contain something relative to some private concerns of his at that place on which account I must beg the favour of you to send the next letter to him unopened—Excuse my saying more than that I am

Your Dutiful and affectionate Son
Jeremy Bentham

335

TO JEREMIAH BENTHAM¹

1 November 1779 (Aet 31)

Thorpe 1 Novr. 1779

Hond. Sir

Your favour of Saturday has been received—I shall come to town on thursday but whether on horse back or by the Chertsey Coach or in a postchaise will depend on the state of the weather and of my eyes—On friday Morning I shall hope to see you at Lincoln's Inn. In a carriage I can visit you but not otherwise since the apparatus I find necessary to protect my eyes is such as I can not make my appearance in the streets.

Candle light I cannot bear; for which reason I cannot accept your kind invitation to take up my quarters at Q.S.P.—After sunset my abode will constantly be in a dark room with my spinnet.

334. ¹ B.M. II: 403–404. In Wilson's hand. Signature by Jeremy Bentham. Docketed by Jeremiah Bentham: 'Fils Jeremy / Ld. datd. Thorpe 26th Octr. 1779.'

Addressed: 'Jeremiah Bentham Esqr. / Queen's Square Place / Westminster.' Postmark: '27 OC'. Stamped: 'STAINES'.

335. ¹ B.M. II: 405. Wilson's hand. Docketed by Jeremiah Bentham: 'Fils Jeremy. Letter datd. Thorpe 1 Novr. 1779.'

Addressed: 'Jeremiah Bentham Esqr. / Queen's Square Place / Westminster.' Illegible postmark.

My eyes are considerably better—I don't find they trouble me much till Candles come—I do not find myself subject to take cold, so that you need not be under any apprehensions on that score—

I am

Hond. Sir

Your Dutiful and affectionate

Son

Jeremy Bentham

336

JEREMY BENTHAM AND OTHERS TO
SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

9 November 1779 (Aet 31)

I.B. to S.B.

1

It is J.B. indites, tho' it is Q.S.P. yt writes, ever since my last which you recd. at Hamburgh, my Eyes have been bad, but by force of Leeches, blisters and Purges, they are nearly set to rights again so yt I cod. have written myself but on won't let me. you have by this means, ye Satisfaction of hearing from my Father and me at ye same time and trouble.

2

It is settled, yt all ye Correspondence shall pass between you and me, therefore don't expect my father to write to you, nor need you write to him, nor take up Paper in making more speeches upon this Subject.

3

I think it was a day or two after my last, yt I went to Brompton, about ye 10th Octr., Mr D. was sumond away to Portsmouth on Accot. of his Deputy being laid by ye heels for Smugling, which made it necessary for him, to go down Post haste in order either to

336. ¹ B.M. II: 408–409. In Jeremiah Bentham's hand until otherwise indicated. Docketed (in Jeremy Bentham's hand): 'I.B. Q.S.P. and C.A. to S.B. 1779. London Novr. 9th to Mietau.'

Addressed: 'A Monsr. / Monsr. Bentham / a Mietau / en Courlande / Aux soins de M. le Baron Klopman / Chambillan de S.A. Sme. / jusqu'a ce que Monsr. B. se presente.'

extricate him from Limbo or go to Sea himself. Since then I have had one l̄r from him but ye matter was then still uncertain, soon after that Hardy sail'd, and ye St. Albans with him,² so I think it's probable Mr. D. is gone himself, probably before I close this I may be able to let you know. Mrs. D. when I heard from her last, which was abt. a week ago, was together all ye family very well at Brompton.

4

Since you have been gone I have reed. two l̄rs from Lohman, one datd. Sept. 28 t'other Octr. 23d. in ye former he gives me an Accot. of the Condition of the *Unicorn's* Sheathing, She was just then come in from America after havg. been 4 year's out,³ he accompanys His Accot. with a Box of Shells taken from her Bottom, they are of the Barnacle kind rising about half an Inch from the Surface to which they were attach'd, I cod. have wish'd he had sent ym. as they were with ye metal they were adhering to, they are broken off, but ye Verdigrease is plainly visible upon a [...] part, which appeard to have been ye place of Contact, he says 'the Shells stuck so fast to the bottom yt. I was not able to force ym. off without the help of a hammer, the Copper by itself was entirely Clean, and without the least Sign of having had any of that Substance upon it, but ye Nails with which ye Copper was joy'nd together had such a hard Shell upon them. The Nails are at the distance of 2 or 3 Inches from each other.' To the Shells adhered a quantity of Sea Weed. It seems therefore, yt. it is owing more to ye Smoothness of the Copper as Lowman justly observes than to ye poisonous quality of it, yt. it is in general exempt from Incrustations. Lohman says yt. that the Nails are of a Composition. Q. what can that be? it must I think have Copper in it, but if not, as they are contiguous to ye Copper, and ting'd by it, it comes to ye same thing.

5

L. Promises you the Draft and Dimensions of a Spanish Frigate just then taken and brought in by the Pearl, The Prize is a new Ship and this her first Cruise, She Carrys 26. 12 pounders and 2 Six Pounders—He is to have the Draft from Mr. Wenham, the Assistant

² Cf. letter 325, n. 4. Hardy's fleet had sailed on 22 October. Joseph Davies was purser of the *St. Albans* (cf. letter 226a).

³ The *Unicorn* (20) had not 'just' returned from America in September, for she took part in repelling the French attack on Jersey in May.

at Portsmouth Yard. What he means by the Draft and Dimensions I don't very well know, but you, I suppose, do.⁴

6

He promises me 2 Journals, one taken on board of Hardy's Fleet ye last Cruise, ye other, on board Sir John Ross's.⁵ They appear to be his own, but I am not certain, if on examing ym. I find ym. likely to be of use to you, and he can part with ym. you shall have them.

7.

L. has had a Commission offer'd him by Capt. Walsingham,⁶ which he is very desirous of accepting, but fears the displeasure of Czernichef, and ye Jealousy of his Countrymen, particularly Aprelef.⁷ I have advis'd him not to accept it without asking leave, as soon as this Cruise is over which he expects will be in Jany. he comes to Town, we shall then concert Instructions for you to act from, on his behalf, I have offer'd him a Bed at Lincoln's Inn.

Dr. Sam in return for ye assistance I have given your Brother as his Emanuensis, he has allow'd me to Convert myself into a Principal to tell you how much I have been pleas'd with the Perusal of your Letters, and to find by ym. yt. you have made your way so well, where ever you have been, nothing can be more flattering than the Receptions you have met with, nor more encouraging and Stimulating to pursue your progress. As yr. acquaintance you have made and the Conversations you have had prov'd to be of Startling Value, go on my dear Sam and continue to make ye most of them. We have left Imley Park these 3 weeks, Charles came to us hither about a week before we left it, making Oxford our way home, we dropt him at Xt Church for a few days to do Exercise for his Degree of L.L.B. He soon after follow'd us to Town, and with his Brother Farr have been totally engag'd in fitting up and furnishing

⁴ The *Pearl* (32) captured the 28-gun Spanish frigate *Santa Monica* in the Azores on 14 September.

⁵ Sir John Lockhart Ross (1721–90), Rear-Admiral March 1779, fourth in command of the Channel fleet, had been sent in September with a small squadron in unsuccessful pursuit of Paul Jones in the North Sea. Ross became Vice-Admiral in 1787; he had been M.P. for Linlithgow Burghs 1761–68 and for Lanarkshire 1768–74.

⁶ Captain the Hon. Robert Boyle Walsingham (1736–80), fifth son of the Earl of Shannon, M.P. for Knaresborough, had commanded the *Thunderer* (74) at Ushant. In the summer of 1780 he was sent as Commodore to the West Indies, but was lost with his ship in the hurricane of October that year.

⁷ Jeremiah Bentham's list of Samuel's letters of introduction includes letters from Mr *Lohmanne* and Captain *Apritive* to Mr Bardeviche of the Admiralty Office at St Petersburg.

their Chambers No. 11 Kings Bench Walk Temple, whither they are both to remove to settle in them to morrow. we finish'd ye business of our Enclosure but ye day before we left Imley Park, and upon our return home I found as much upon my hands, in the Brick and Mortar Way in Consequence of the King's Permission, to pull down 150 feet of the Park Wall upon which I have made a handsome Front instead of the old weather board One between my Dwelling House and Queen's Square and a handsome new Wall with 3 open Arches by way of Perspective from the Park to the Garden, and vice versa, between my House and the Recruit House Wall—agreable to Design which has been shewn to, and approved of by his Majesty—so that by means of an Elegant Piece of Architecture we look like somebody at home, if no where else, it being admir'd by every body as the handsomest Building any where round the Park, from hence you may well conclude, I shall dye with a Trowel in my hand; perhaps you will think I ought to have one in my Coat of Arms. Charles has got his Golden Medal, from the Secretary of State's office that was sent him from the Empress of Russia by Sir James Harris,⁸ it is thought to be the largest ever seen in England, and is worth at least 30 gns by Weight at a Goldsmith—but as you yourself wod. think the Letter or rather Extract of a Letter which accompanied it from Sir James, was of still more Value. for the Polite Expressions which Sir James Harris made use of with regard to himself, you may make Charles's thanks to him, when you see him, if you think fit.

The Account you gave in some of your Letters of Disorder in your Stomach gave me much concern, and the more so, as I am persuaded I cod. prescribe to you a certain speedy Relief, were you within Distance, but as it is Practicable where ever you are I entreat you to make use of it, and experience will soon convince you of its efficacy. It is neither more nor less than a few Shavings of Rhubarb taken into your Mouth, as a Quid, in the manner some do Tobacco. let it continue long enough in your mouth till by Suction, it becomes Soft like pulp, and then swallow what remains. you will find it Strengthen your Stomach, promote Digestion, and

⁸ The gold medal was sent to Charles Abbot by the Empress Catherine for his verses on Peter the Great (cf. letter 221, n. 3). Sir James Harris (1746–1820), later Lord Malmesbury, was British Ambassador at St Petersburg from 1777–83. He was son of the author of *Hermes*. Letter 342 shows Bentham considering him as a channel for presentation of *Code* to the Empress. When Samuel arrived in St Petersburg early in 1780, Sir James became a good friend to him. When about to leave St Petersburg in 1783 he proposed that Samuel should be Chargé d'Affaires at the Embassy until the new Ambassador arrived, but this proved incompatible with Samuel's entry into the Russian service.

Secretion, and Remove Wind, and other Effects of Indigestion; the precise quantity is not material, and you may take it any time, 2 or 3, thin slices about the size of a Shilling, or as many more may do at a time, apply it when ever you find the disorder in your Stomach; I have found amazing benefit from it, it has even removed the Gout from my Stomach, which has ever been of the windy kind, and therefore not so lasting tho' sometimes, not often, I thank God, very affecting not only to my Stomach but almost my whole frame, so much as to affect my mind, in a manner perhaps not dissimilar to the Sensations you yourself have Complain'd of. let me Conjure you, not to fail to take Rhubarb in the manner I have recommended, which is by much the best. It is an easy and ready Remedy and can't possibly do harm on which accounts of all others the most desirable, as a medicine; use will make it pleasant.

⁹ I.B. iterum. 8. New METAL.

Fordyce called on me yesterday and showed me a piece of a new Metallick Composition invented he says by Keir of Birmingham who is in partnership I believe or under some sort of engagement with Bolton, either he or his Brother who made Lectures in London is author of the English Edition of Macquer's Dictionary¹⁰; it is yellow but the beauty of it, as it was Candle-light when I saw it, I could not judge of; Fordyce says it is malleable both hot and cold; it possesses all the properties to be wished for in the yellow Metals in greater perfection than any that has yet appeared and it will come cheaper than Copper. I had heard of it the same morning from Sweede who together with Fontana had either seen or heard of it at Ramsden's. He spoke of it only as adapted to the use of Mathematical Instrument Makers; Fordyce spoke of it as applicable with particular advantage to Ships Bolts; it is soon to come into use; Keir has thoughts of getting a patent for it, but doubts whether a Patent will serve effectively to secure the property of the invention; I tried to beg a piece of Fordyce to send you as a specimen; but he excused himself saying that if it should come to be analysed he should be very sorry to have it known that he had let

⁹ The second side of the first sheet begins here. What follows is in Charles Abbot's hand.

¹⁰ James Keir (1735–1820), a well-known chemist, was a friend of George Fordyce, and first cousin of the younger Dr James Lind (cf. letter 12, n. 1). The new metal was 'almost identical with that now called "Muntz-metal"' (*D.N.B.*). Keir had been offered a partnership with Matthew Boulton and James Watt in the works at Soho, Birmingham where the latter's steam engine was in use; but though associated with them he did not enter into partnership. He had published a translation of Macquer's *Chemical Dictionary* in 1771 and 1776 (cf. letter 111, n. 5).

any go out of his hands; I shall hope however to be able to get a bit for you by hook or crook since the piece which would be too small to be analysed might serve very well as a specimen.

9

Against FIRE

A paper of Ld. Mahon's containing an account of his Method of preserving Buildings against Fire is published in this last Vol. of the Phil. Transactions and has been reprinted in a News Paper.¹¹ It exhibits the process, but the principles are to come afterwards; the principles as you may well imagine consists in nothing but the covering the combustible materials of the Building compleatly with such as are incombustible. David Hartley¹² uses I understand iron-plates for that purpose (and I saw the experiment). Ld. Mahon uses nothing but Lath and Plaister; this must of course be much cheaper than the other. Ld. Mahon's experiments seem to have succeeded as well as Hartley's. Now it will be your business to transfer it to Ships, and combine it with the other projects. It is wonderful that his Lordp. should not have given the least hint of the principle which is so easily stated and without which the process must be unintelligible to those who are not acquainted with the Theory of combustion; his Paper you will have by the next Packet.

10

Airs Ingenhouse,

Ingenhouse has come out with an 8vo. volume upon Airs.¹³ I have had it in my hand, and as you imagine have not read it yet. From the glance I could take of it and from Swede's account as far as I can collect it contains nothing but an account of the change undergone by respirable air in consequence of its having been absorbed or emitted by various plants, possibly I may send it you in the next Packet.

11

Scheel

Swede at the recommendation of Fontana has been translating out of German into French a Book of Scheel's a Swedish Chemist

¹¹ *Description of a most effective method of securing buildings against fire, invented by Charles, Lord Viscount Mahon, F.R.S. (Philosophical Transactions, Vol. LXVIII, pt. 2, p. 884). Viscount Mahon (1753–1816) was father by his first wife (William Pitt the younger's sister) of Lady Hester Stanhope.*

¹² David Hartley (1732–1813) was the son of the author of *Observations on Man*. He was an active M.P. In 1785 he published an account of his experiments on fire-prevention.

¹³ Cf. letter 280, n. 6.

on Fire.¹⁴ Swede says it contains an account of a good many experiments but I believe it contains as much Metaphysical matter as Physical turning probably upon the question whether Fire be a real or fictitious entity. Swede in his precipitate and enthusiastic way went about to persuade himself that it contained prodigious discoveries and had exhibited the analysis of Fire into its constituent parts; but I believe these constitutive parts are no other than Light and Warmth which he seems to be for ranking alike under the class of real entities. I believe the Book touches likewise on some other subjects, it is but a moderate sized duodecimo, the original has been printed these five years. Sweede's translation is now printing at Paris. It may be worth your while perhaps to look out for it. I lost the opportunity of seeing the MSS by my blindness.

12

Eudiometer¹⁵

As to the method taken by Fontana to prevent the water from adhering to the Inside of a Glass Tube I believe it is no other than that of getting it ground with emery. this will at least prevent the water from adhering unequally that is collecting itself into drops. Sweede is getting a Tube prepared under the direction of Fontana.

13

Fontana

Fontana is on the point of leaving England, he waits only for the ship which is expected to sail every day; he was to go to Holland; and in consequence of what I have told him by means of Sweede, for I have not yet been at leisure to see him myself, intends to visit Troestwick. I think Fontana's books have to go all of them to Murray, for whom you have his letter. He tells Murray, I suppose, whom to send them to.

14

Court Calendar

Court Calendar you shall have by the next Packet cum notis Wilsoni, but as to news Wilson says it will be less trouble for you to look over News Papers than for him to be at the plague of copying them. I am of the same opinion.

¹⁴ Cf. letter 325, n. 31.

¹⁵ This is in answer to a question put in Samuel's letter of 23 September (see letter 330, n. 1).

15

Letters from S.B.

What Letters I have received from you I can hardly reckon considering that there are some that I have not yet read with my own eyes, and that my Father has impounded the whole stock of them: From Hamburgh one dated October 9th; another Octob. 12th, and I believe a third without any date that any body has been able to find, this you deserve to be whipped for! In one of them half a sheet written at Groeningen; relative to your Journey over Land from thence to Hamburgh nothing but hiatus valde deflebilis, this you deserve to be whipped for also.

16

Parcel to S.B.

About the latter end of September I sent you a Box to Hamburgh, the contents of it I believe I gave you an account of in the last of the two Letters you received there. I hope you have had the *vovç* to establish an Entrepot at Hamburgh and to keep informing Hanbury of your motions that he may forward Boxes and Parcels to wheresoever fortune leads you. I should hope that by this means they might reach you at Petersburg even during the Winter. Whether I put any thing of a Letter into this last Packet I cannot perfectly remember possibly not as I wrote you by the Post much about the time of sending it.

17

S.B. Answers not full

I doubt you did not make very exact answer to every Paragraph in my last, nothing about Mears's Mast Book nor about the Curvators from Mrs. Ramsden's. your letter to Lindegren was sent off by my Father the day it came: I did not see it: I was then at Thorpe; it was he who opened that as well as all the other Hamburgh Letters. I sent Lindegren his Curvators by Davis. I have neither seen nor heard from him.

¹⁶18

'The Stettin timber has answered every thing asserted of it by the noble Lord in another Assembly: Some part of it was prime good, some middling and perhaps some indifferent; but I can

¹⁶ New sheet begins here. At top of page in Jeremy Bentham's hand: '1. Lohmen. 2. Ingenhaus. 3. Scheele. 4. Davis at Portsmouth. 5. Letters from S.B. 6. Indigestion. 7. Q.S.P.'s writing. 8. C.A. 9. Ld. Mahon.' Section 18 is in another hand, possibly Wilson's. What follows is again in Charles Abbot's hand.

affirm of my own knowledge that much the greater part of it is equal to any of native growth'—Capt. Walsingham's speech in the H. of C. on Fox's Motion for an address to remove Lord Sandwich April 19th 1779.—Almon's Parl. Register No. 82. p. 306—¹⁷

C.A. to S.B.

In recompense for having been Scribe of a part of the preceding I am now permitted to speak a few words in propria personâ. If you did not recollect my hand in the foregoing page you will here know who I am by my initials, and who it is that steps forward in his turn to wish you health pleasure and success at Mittau or wherever else you may be.—While you are setting out on your expeditions I am just returned from mine having been in England at present about Six Weeks. I was in hopes at one time that our Routes might have found a point of intersection some where in Holland; but as ill luck would have it I came down into the Low Countries two or three weeks too late, and even from thence did not penetrate farther than Bergen op Zoom on the Dutch-side. I envy your stay at Amsterdam and especially while you were able to contemplate so noble a *May Pole*. As to my own residence at Geneva and journey homewards tho' they answered in every respect to me I believe they would have afforded you but little entertainment; Laws and History are I know not much of the sphere in which you delight: and a Road through an Inland country would have made you go to sleep, the Rhine is the only thing of all we saw which would have pleased you much, and I should imagine that the Elbe at Hamburg is still much finer. Bridges of Boats and Flying Bridges have the honour I suppose of being well known to you, or these otherwise might have furnished you with some little matter of speculation.—Since my arrival in England I have been in one continued series of Motions first into Northamp(tonshire) hence to Oxford, and thence into Dorsetshire, and upon coming to Town have been engaged (with) Farr in the pursuit (...) (...) of settling in Chambers in the Temple, My Father has already told you whereab(outs) (I) am now therefore (...) (...) set out for a Law Voyage and your Brother is so good as to Pilot me at least out (...) It is not impossible by the time you come back that you may thus find a New Tye Wig in the family. (Farr) joins with me in every good wish and will not let me finish without shoving in his name.

¹⁷ *Parliamentary Register*, xii, 306–307. Walsingham was defending Sandwich as First Lord of the Admiralty. Fox's motion was defeated by 221 votes to 118.

In atonement for the crime of having occupied all the above space I have only to offer you one fact relative to your own more immediate objects of pursuit, which has lately come within my knowledge. Adml. Barrington some time since the last Peace made a proposal to the Admiralty to try the experiment of putting the Masts of a 64 Gun Ship into one of 74 Guns, as in his opinion all our Ships were too much loaded with Mast and he thought a change in the above proportions would prove of the greatest advantage in Sailing. This Opinion of so respectable and experienced a Seaman I mention for your consideration. The experiment as you may imagine was never put to the trial, and its effect hitherto remains to be ascertained. My authority in the above is the Admiral's own Nephew who is of Christ Church.—Dixi.—I now quit my place to make room for whoever chooses to take up the Pen —— C.A. I forgot to add a circumstance he mentioned to me, viz: that Ld. S.'s answer to the above proposal was, 'the gentlemen of the Navy want something to amuse them; they shall have a new button to their uniforms.'

¹⁸ Tuesday Novr. 9, 1779

And now, my Sam, comes a line or two that is I.B.'s compleatly, that you may have compleat evidence of my having regained the use of my eyes, after having lost it for above a month. You will regret the not having been here to nurse me; but Wilson has been every thing to me but you: applying leeches, spreading plaisters, dressing sores, cutting victuals, swallowing a thousand disgusts his delicacy must have felt with great good humour, reading to me books he had read before, and treating me in all things with much real tenderness and affected bluntness. I have read to day for the first time, and that without inconvenience—and am writing this by candle-light, not having been able to get it by day-light from Q.S.P.

Q.S.P. to be sure is crazy. Besides the idle and unprofitable expence he mentions, they have added a Foot-boy to their establishment. Q.S.P. says he has no wages: but this signifies little so long as he eats and wears cloaths. He is a great favourite: indeed he seems to be a very good-humoured clever boy. He is about 13. They have a man too, who seems to be an excellent servant.

Q.S.P. is wonderfully pleased with what you do and write: and now he says that he was never seriously against the expedition;

¹⁸ What follows is in Bentham's own hand.

and takes merit to himself for having opposed that to the E. Indies. This to me in private. Yesterday as he was expressing his satisfaction in public, Madam could not contain herself but said she never could understand what it was you went for. I could have asked in return, what it was that Charles went for: but I thought it best to let it drop.

What think you of Charles's attending a course of Chemistry? he mentioned it to me t'other day of his own head: you may imagine I did not endeavour to discourage him. His talents and understanding are certainly exceedingly good: but whether it will be possible to reclaim him from Q.S.Pishness is much to be doubted. There is no avoiding the giving him some assistance: and you and I when we go about serving people, don't like doing things by halves. I must e'en try I believe whether by behaving myself to him as if I loved him, I can make him worthy of it. He seems already to have got the better of most university prejudices; and recognizes or pretends to recognize the absurdity and tyranny of forced subscriptions and oaths impossible to be observed. But the grimaces of ceremony and his mother's artificial smiles have got such entire possession of him that there is no knowing as yet whether the sentiments he professes are his own. Who do you think he has been travelling with since he left Geneva? The divine Dr. Chelsom, who has been bear-leading a Mr. Wood, son of the Wood who published the antiquities of Palmyra.¹⁹ He was maintained all the while by eating Wood's toads at second hand: just as at Kamschatka, one man gets drunk by catching the piss of another man who has been regaling himself with their inebriating mushrooms. Their establishment in the Temple consists of an old woman 'a very proper person', and a boy taken from a charity-school to serve as a sort of Mungo, acting as a footboy at home in the morning, and writing for Far at the office in the afternoon. He is to be bound apprentice to both of them conjointly.

Q.S.P. open'd all your Hamburgh letters: but by God's providence there was not a syllable in any of them but was ostensible. How this happen'd I have not room to tell you. But it can not happen again.

In a few days I shall sit down again to Code and Punishments. In the mean time I have found out an excellent job for a man to do

¹⁹ The father was Robert Wood (1717?-71), M.P. for Brackley 1761-71, who published in 1753 *The Ruins of Palmyra*. The son, also Robert Wood, (b. c. 1762; d. sometime after 1803), matric. Christ Church June 1779, entered the army and was lieutenant-colonel by 1796; he was M.P. for Minehead 1786-90 and for East Looe 1790-96.

without eyes. This is to get a boy and set him to read Johnson's Dicty., for me to class the words by bidding him mark one with M. for Metaphysics, another E. for Ethics, another U. for Universal Law. L. for Local Law. P for Physics etc. I shall also number them M_1 , M_2 etc. By this means one may get a compleat vocabulary for each science. One may also where to begin in the business of *expounding*, and how far to go. The present and particular use I mean to make of this process is to supply myself with a compleat list of the names of a man's good and evil qualities, for the purpose of titles 'Defamation and Verbal Censure' in the Code: but with a little more trouble, I can sort all the other words in the language. I have no room for further particulars.

Davies is not gone in the St. Albans. I have his mare in town, and in consequence of a letter from Mrs. D. have been expecting him from Portsmouth ever since Saturday.

Don't you make me any fine speeches on occasion of my blindness; I have made them for you. I can not afford you time or room to write me any thing but facts.

How I rejoice that you are well in the grand point—I will make provision for you as well as I can—but how am I to know what was the length of the last.

337

SAMUEL BENTHAM TO
JEREMY BENTHAM¹

19 October 1779

Hamburgh Tuesday Octr. 19th 1779

1

Here am I still, and I begin to think I shall never get away. No summons yet from Lubec: but people say the Vessel must sail on Saturday. We have had fair winds for this week past and if it should turn contrary I must go by land at last which will be terrible. Am I to be thus always out of luck in water Conveyance?

337. ¹ B.M. II: 396–397. Autograph. Docketed by Jeremy Bentham: '1779 Oct 19 / S.B. Hamburgh to I.B. Linc. Inn. / Countess Bentinck / Execution / Sheet 1st. / Reed. Novr. 18.' The second sheet is docketed in a similar manner.

Addressed: 'Jere' Bentham Esqr. / Lincoln's Inn / London.'

Samuel's next letter (B.M. II: 407) is dated 2 November 1779 Berlin. The boat from Lübeck to Danzig did not sail at the proper time and he travelled to Berlin by land.

I sent you a letter last post I believe without a date, it was Fryday 15th.

2

I gave you a list of some law books in my last, they were what Norrmann and Dr. Matson particularly recommended. There were two or three which I omitted.

De singularibus quibusdam et antiquis in Germania Juribus et observatis.

Der Stadt Hamburg Gerichtsordnung und Statuta 1603.

Statuta und Stadt Recht der Stadt Lubeck 1688—²

The 2 last come under the description of the books which were noted in my "Aquirenda": but as there were many which I was doubtful whether you would wish to have or not, I have not (I think) ordered them for you. The books I shall send you by the first opportunity will be chiefly such only by which you may determine what others you would wish to have.

3

A direction given to the Judge in the Schwaben-Spiegel is that "he shall sit in his chair with a countenance like a fierce lion, and his legs across."

4

I don't know whether I told you in any of my letters from Amsterdam, how much I admired the very great parade and ceremony with which the executions of criminals were said to be conducted. The different chambers for pronouncing and repeating the sentence ornamented all of them with sculpture and designs emblematical expressive of the use each of them is allotted to. The very public and elevated situation of the Scaffold which is put up before the Stadthouse and taken down again at each execution. The obligation which all those who have had any part in the Judgment are under to attend at the window of one of the Chambers to see the execution. In short, the greatest pains appeared to be taken to produce the greatest effect possible in the way of deterrment.

5

Ceremonies a good deal similar and perhaps not at all inferior to what I heard of at Amsterdam I have had an opportunity of being

² (a) Unidentified. (b) *Der Stadt Hamburg Gerichtsordnung und Statuta*. Hamburg 1605. 4°. (c) *Der kayserlichen Freyen und des heiligen Reichs Stadt Lübeck Statuta und Stadt Recht*. There were many different editions of this collection. The earliest at the British Museum is dated 1595. There is one dated 1680.

an eye witness of here myself. I saw a woman executed here yesterday for the Murder of 2 young Children. She was beheaded: for hanging here is the Punishment for theft only.

The place of execution is a little mount seemingly artificially made of the form of a frustrum of a Cone of about 50 feet diameter at the base, perhaps 30 at the top, and about 25 or 30 feet high—it is surrounded by a wooden paling about 8 feet high and a broad deep ditch over which is a drawbridge on the side towards the City. It is situated about a mile out of the Gates. The Sentence was pronounced last fryday in the great chamber of the Senate house, in the presence of all the Senators in their black gowns large wigs and Ruffs, but the woman was so ill of an epilepsy that she could not attend to hear it. It was read by one of the Senators and the Secretary was obliged to go to the Executioner's house where the woman was lodged to communicate it to her.

At twelve o Clock at noon, I was told, an officer for that purpose accompanied by Constables and 4 men on Horseback dressed in Yellow went to the Executioner's House and with 3 knocks at the door made known their unwelcome summons, a Company of horse guards and, I suppose, about 2 or 300 foot attend at the place of execution and a few horse make part of the procession. A Clergyman a Physician a Surgeon the Executioner an Assistant who carries the Sword together with 10 or 20 constables are obliged to walk with the criminal to the place of execution.

I went an hour before to avoid the greatest crowd, and by an introductory Message from Mr. Hanbury to the Captain of the guard I got within a ring formed by the soldiers and stood close to the drawbridge which led to the mount. One should not conceive that the City of Hamburgh contained so many inhabitants as were collected on this occasion. All the windows of the houses in the streets through which the procession was to pass were crowded as full as possible. The Ramparts near the gate were compleatly covered, and the streets were as full as those of London at a Ld. Mayors shew but there were no disturbances. All seemed very orderly.

The woman was supported by a man on each side, but, as she passed me she seemed to walk very well and were it not that she was the only woman I should not have known by her countenance that she was the criminal. She was dressed in a dark brown or black gown and clean linnen. She and the Parson and I believe some of the rest sung as they walked along.

As soon as she got upon the Mount she appeared lower for a few

minutes. I believe she was kneeling: but that I could not see. She then stood very patiently while her handkerchief was taken off and a kind of bandage was put over her eyes. Her shoes were then pulled off which is what the Executioner always insists upon: alledging that he cant perform his business so well without, and when he has been asked why? answers that is a *secret* of his business.

The usual mode is for the criminal to stand down in a little kind of pit sunk about a foot or two so as that the head may be at a convenient height for the Executioner: but this woman on account of her sickness had a chair prepared in which she was sat and tied down by 2 cords which passed over her shoulders. The Parson stood before her giving her his blessing, while the executioner behind her was taking off his coat and drawing the Sword. This instrument is not shaped like an ordinary broad sword, but is longer and of a parallel breadth of about 4 inches. The assistant was in the mean time taking up her hair all around, and tying it together at top. When all was thus prepared, the Executioner standing behind and the assistant holding the hair in his hand, the blow was given in a horizontal direction, as the woman sat upright in the chair. One blow usually does the business: but probably owing to the embarrassment of the chair, the first blow did not quite cut through: but it was instantly repeated, and thereby the head was perfectly separated. The blood gushed out to the height of 5 or 6 feet: and the assistant, holding the head in his hand, and pulling off his hat with the other, swung the head round him two or three times. The Parson then came and shook hands with the Executioner; which I understand is the Custom. The body remained about ten Minutes in the chair; and then was put in a coffin and carried to a burying ground near, appropriated to the burying of malefactors. There it was to stay till night, and then to be taken to the Anatomical Theatre.

The Executioner, as soon as his business was done, wiped the blood off his sword and put it up into the sheath. He gave it then to the assistant who carried it back as he had brought it, under his cloak, I believe, for I could not see it.

I cannot but think it would have been better if the Sword had been carried back exposed to full view bloody as it was.

There was a perfect silence just before and during the execution: so that I could hear the blows very perfectly.

At the instant the head is off a Messenger is dispatched on horseback to the Senators, who are waiting in or before the Senate house

to acquaint them of it, and they are not suffered to depart till the messenger arrives.

If it had not been for the sake of giving you some account of it, I should have been far from being disposed to be present at such a sight.

That I might not be in the croud I walked into Town at the side of the commanding Officer between the Horse and foot Guards.

I hope you have by this time received some things from Mr. Strachan at Rotterdam, amongst others the book on Sodomy which I believe I told you of. I have enquired if there was any publication on that subject here or in Germany, but cannot learn of any. It is frequently known to be committed here, and there seem to have been no instances of any prosecutions for it: but the punishment annexed to it by the law is burning alive.

6

I have been very lucky in meeting with a very honest intelligent fellow for a Valet de place who puts my things in order and saves me a good deal of trouble, and whom I know I can trust: but the fellow speaks all manner of languages and english among the rest so that by my being so much with Mr. Hanbury's family and by this fellow's speaking english in complaisance to me I learn very little German.

7

If you happen to hear any thing public or private of Ld. Shelburne or in short relating to any of my *recommenders* remember to give me some account of it, least any thing relating to them should have reached Russia before I do and without my knowing anything of it.

8

If at any time you, Lind, or any body else for whose good treatment &c one could answer should be in want of a kind of secretary or Assistant who must understand several languages and be a man of universal learning Cha^s Hanbury is the person of all ⟨those⟩ that I have met with who has the best opportunities of procuring such.

There is a man here now who has but a place of 50£ a year and his board, who is a man of most extensive learning particularly with respect to the laws and politics of this part of the world and whom on account of his most excellent disposition as well as learning Cha^s Hanbury and some other Gentlemen of learning here are very much attached to.

He appears on every account to be the man who would be most usefull to you, more so perhaps even than Raspe³ even on account of his learning and on other accounts much more so. If at any future time you should have an opportunity of having a man in such a character it is possible this man might be procured for less than 100 a year.

9

I was to have taken a servant from hence, however I have none as yet, and the great wages they ask to go where I am going such at least as could be of any use to me makes me determine to alter my plan.

10

When I shewed my 'Petty Plan' to May at Amsterdam a remark he made on it was that there was no head which could comprehend a particular contrivance which they have in Holland to send off a rope to a ship in distress at a time when the wind blows right from the ship to the shore and there is no possibility of a boats going off: nor in short all expedients in general to be made use to which recourse may be had in times of the several dangers and distresses to which a Ship or its crew are liable (incident to the Marine Service). You know I have mentioned to you and noted down an Idea I have of a work which should contain a collection of all such expedients not only for such cases of distress as actually have happened but of such as can be conceived possible to happen, arranged in such manner as to be referred to with as much expedition as possible. Publications of Voyages and verbal anecdotes furnished by Seamen must make the first foundation for such a work, but the expedients actually used may be traced up to their genus and the circumstances in which they are to be used traced up in like manner and afterwards both extended out to other species and thus one may procede in many instances in an exhaustive method.

A work of this kind May perceived very clearly the importance of, as well as the advantages that would arise from examining officers according to such a work instead of in the present mode. But what I want you to do is to coin me a word for the head which we want.—Naval or Marine *Preservatics*—something that will stand with Naval Tactics, Semantics, Engineering etc. As soon as you can think of such a word, send it me.⁴

³ See letter 325, n. 26.

⁴ 'What think you of Naval Alexeterics for the Title I spoke to you about in my last letter? Praesidia Malorum Navalium or rather Nauticorum Prophylactics I don't

11

I want you to desire Poli to ask the Venetian Ambassador whether they continue or ever had the custom of keeping their Timber with which the Galleys are built for 15 or 20 Years in salt water before it is used. and whether they pretend that their Galleys last longer than Vessels of other nations. Or in short what they do do to their Timber, and how long they do last without repair. I was led to ask this from an account I have met with in a Small thick Quarto of Travels through Holland etc. and Italy by M de Blainville translated into English by Turnbull and Guthrie 1743 page 543.⁵

12

I am afraid there will be no more opportunities of sending things to Petersburg this winter. Yes, you may always send things here to Mr. Hanbury and when the frost is set in He will have many opportunities of sending things (small packets) to Petersburg by travellers.⁶

338

JEREMY BENTHAM TO
THE EARL OF SHELBURNE¹

18 November 1779 (Aet 31)

Lincoln's Inn Novr. 18th 1779

Extract of a letter just received dated

'Berlin 2d Nov. 1779'²

'All sorts of preparations are making here for war with the utmost diligence.'

think is quite apposite.' (From B.M. II: 407 Samuel Bentham to Jeremy Bentham 2 November 1779, unpublished.)

⁵ — de Blainville. *Travels through Holland, Germany, Switzerland, and other parts of Europe... Translated from the author's own manuscript... by George Turnbull and William Guthrie*. 3 volumes. 1743–45. 4to.

⁶ These two sentences, which follow a request that certain books should be forwarded to Samuel, occur in the middle of a long passage omitted here but partly reproduced in letter 338 to Lord Shelburne.

338. ¹ Lansdowne MSS. Autograph. No docket or address.

² B.M. II: 407. Together with Samuel's letter of 19 October quoted below and partly printed as letter 337, it was received on the day the present letter was written.

'When I was at Mr. Liston's³ the day before yesterday⁴ the conversation happened to turn upon our⁵ answer to the French Memorial.⁶ He said it had done more good than could be conceived to the English cause in this part of the world. He had sent it to many people who had confessed that their opinion was much changed with respect to the light which France stood in. He mentioned the names of some great people here who were before very much against the English, but who had made this confession or rather recantation.... At Matthias's at Hamburgh and in short in every company I have been in that publication has been spoken of in the highest terms imaginable.'⁷

'Hamburgh Oct. 19 1779'⁸

'There is a most extraordinary woman who lives at this place and has a house out of town close to Mr. Hanbury's. She is widow to Count Bentinck father of the late Capt. Bentinck.⁹ You know I dare to say that she is a Princess born, a woman of amazing spirit and possessed of more universal and political knowledge than most *men*. She was ordered once by the K. of Prussia to quit his dominions in 24 hours, and when she went to Vienna she did not stay there long before she was found to meddle too much with public affairs there

³ Robert Liston (1742–1836) became tutor to the sons of Sir Gilbert Elliot (cf. letter 96, n. 4) in 1764, and subsequently secretary to the second son, Hugh Elliot (1752–1830), who became British Minister at Munich, at Ratisbon, and from 1777 to 1782 at Berlin. Liston himself later had a distinguished diplomatic career: Secretary to the Madrid Embassy 1783–88; Minister at Stockholm 1788–93; Constantinople 1793–96; Washington 1796–1802; The Hague 1802–04; and Constantinople for the second time 1811–21. The extensive collection of Liston's papers now in the National Library of Scotland includes several items relating to Samuel Bentham's journey to Russia, and one later letter which indicates that the acquaintanceship was maintained or resumed after both men had returned to this country.

In the letter from which Bentham is making his extract Samuel explains that 'Mr Elliot the English Minister is not here, so that his Secretary Liston is chargé d'affaires. He seems to be a sensible clever man in his way.'

⁴ The word 'yesterday' is an insertion by Bentham.

⁵ Samuel in fact wrote 'Lind's'.

⁶ Samuel added: 'which he spoke of as by far the best political publication which we have had this long time.' For Lind's pamphlet cf. letter 325 and n. 8; but, as Bentham explains to Samuel in letter 340 (at n. 7) Liston was in fact referring to the *Mémoire justificatif* drawn up for the ministry by Edward Gibbon.

⁷ The extract transcribed by Bentham in this paragraph departs from the original in several minor respects.

⁸ This is part of the omitted portion of letter 337 (at n. 6). Bentham's extract again varies in minor details from the original.

⁹ Countess Charlotte Sophie Bentinck (1715–1800) was the widow of William Bentinck (1704–1774), 1st Count Bentinck of the Holy Roman Empire, a younger son of the 1st Earl of Portland. She was the daughter of Anthony II, Count of Oldenburg. The distinguished sailor John Albert Bentinck (1737–1775) was her son.

also, and obliged to decamp. She has a most extensive correspondence with ministers in most nations in Europe, and is in short one of the greatest *intriguantes* imaginable. She is about 64 years of age, but still is in a constant hurry of business with two Secretaries to assist her.... The first day I dined with her I found her with her two Secretaries to whom she had been distributing the letters she had received by the post which was just come in.... The K. of Prussia is certainly going to establish a Marine for commerce at least, and she thinks that will end in his having some ships of war to defend that commerce.'

'Hamburgh Oct. 15th 1779¹⁰

.... 'The Duke of Mecklenburgh (our Queen's Brother)¹¹ has a great deal of excellent timber for masts, as well as oak-timber; and he would fain send it to England; but it must pass through the K. of Prussia's dominions and he won't let it without paying a duty of about 50 pr. Ct. This can't be agreed to. The King of Prussia has got a parcel of small timber which he can't sell; which has put him upon building small vessels with it. So that he (or rather his timber-company) are going to build a vast number of vessels of about 50 tons to draw 6 feet water only somewhere very high up the Elbe, I believe, which passes this city. They are to be for sale to whoever will please to buy them.¹² It is supposed that he has thoughts of setting his merchants to trading on their own bottoms. C.H.¹³ is intimate with one or two of his Ministers (the principal one I believe) and they want him to go into the woods (he tells me) to look at some Mast Timber, and manage a Contract for them.'¹⁴

¹⁰ This is part of the omitted portion of letter 333 (at n. 18).

¹¹ Samuel in fact wrote 'the Prince of Mecclenburg'. Adolf Friedrich (b. 1738) had succeeded his uncle as 4th Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz in 1752. He and Queen Charlotte were the children of Karl Ludwig Friedrich, Duke of Mirow.

¹² Bentham omits about ten lines of Samuel's letter at this point.

¹³ Charles Hanbury: Bentham substitutes the initials where Samuel has written 'Hanbury'.

¹⁴ This extract, like the others varies from the original in several minor respects other than those already noted.

339

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

19 November 1779 (Aet 31)

Friday Novr. 19 1779

1

This is the 2d letter, my dear Sam, I have written to you at Mittau. The former went last Tuesday se'night (the 10th) recommended like this to the care of Baron Klopman. Yesterday came two letters of your's at once: the 1st dated Hamburgh Oct. 19th: the 2d, Berlin Octr. 2d.²

2

My eyes are so well recover'd, that since my last I have been using them without ceremony. I have the satisfaction of assuring you that altogether I am very comfortable, and very well satisfied with things in general: the one half of me sitting at home by it's fire side prosecuting it's work very composedly with an assured prospect of it's timely completion, while the other is rambling abroad in quest of adventures, amusing, polishing and informing itself.

3

Ld. Stormont has for some little time been Secretary for the Northern Department. Benjamin Langlois (pronounced Langley) who was his Secretary at Vienna, and has always been on the most intimate footing with him, is under him. This appointment I suppose will not have the effect of superseding your official recommendations: but if it does, no matter, since if there should be occasion they may easily be revived and re-inforced. Lind is upon such terms with my Lord (through Ld. Mansfield's means indeed) that if Langlois had not been the man, he would. Langlois he knows still better: and Douglas knows him intimately.³ Douglas, I am

339. ¹ B.M. II: 411. Autograph.

Addressed: 'A Monsr. / Monsr. Bentham / a Mittau / en Courlande / Aux soins de M. le Baron Klopman Chambellan de S.A. Sme.' On cover: 'pr a votre de votre très hble et obedte. serv. B. Klopman le 12 Xtre 1779.'

² Letter 337 and B.M. II: 407 (unpublished). The latter was dated 2 November, not October: an extract forms part of letter 338. The reference later in this letter to 'votre Comtesse' and to the woman who was decapitated concerns letter 337.

³ Stormont (cf. letter 117, n. 4) had become Secretary of State for the Northern Department on 27 October. He had been Ambassador at Vienna from 1763 to 1772.

satisfied, would be glad to take any occasion to be of use to you. He and I and Wilson form a pretty constant trio. You stand very high with him, I can assure you, especially since your late adventures, several of which have been communicated to him, and the rest will be. Quant a votre Comtesse politique et la bonne femme qui s'est faite decapit(èe) pour vous faire plaisir, tout le monde, ainsi que lui, en est charmè, on ne peut pas davantage.

340

JOHN LIND AND JEREMY BENTHAM
TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

19 November 1779 (Aet 31)

à Londres ce 19 Novembre 1779

Monsieur,

Votre Frère a eu la Bonté de me communiquer régulièrement vos Lettres, ou, pour parler plus correctement, vos Journaux. Que des Remerciemens ne vous en dois-je pas, à l'Un et à l'Autre. Je voudrais bien être à même de Vous donner votre Revanche. Mais que peut-on vous mander d'ici? Vous parlerai-je de la Campagne navale? Eh! Qu'en dirai-je? Les Généraux tantôt se sont mis en mer, et tantôt se sont retirés dans leurs Ports respectifs; sans pouvoir, ou bien sans vouloir jamais se rencontrer. Voilà cependant tout ce qui s'est passé. Vous dirai-je que les François se sont emparés de la Jamaïque? On l'a dit; Mais je n'en crois rien. Vous dirai-je que D'Estaigne a bloqué la Nouvelle Yorke, avec la Flotille de l'Amiral Arbuthnot? Voilà encore ce que l'On a dit; Mais encore, Je n'en crois rien. Il y a plus de Vraisemblance dans ce que disent les Autres qui prétendent, qu'ayant été rudement traité par des Borasques, Il s'est retiré à Boston pour radouber ses Navires. Et si cela est, la Saison n'est pas encore si avancée que Nous ne puissions faire quelque Tentative, ou pour reprendre les

The acquaintanceship between Lind and Benjamin Langlois dated from at least 1766, when Lind went from Constantinople to Warsaw. At that time Langlois took Lind's side in the dispute with John Murray, the British Ambassador at Constantinople (cf. letter 99, n. 2).

Samuel's 'official recommendations' would have been issued by Lord Weymouth (cf. letter 340, n. 6) who was temporarily Secretary of State for both Departments after the death of Lord Suffolk on 7 March 1779.

340. ¹ B.M. II: 410. First part from Lind. Presumably autograph. Second part from Jeremy Bentham. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. and Lind to S.B. Mittau Novr. 19th'.

This was presumably sent with letter 339.

Grenades, ou pour Nous rendre Maîtres de quelqu'une des Îsles Françoises. Le Chevalier Rodney va prendre le Commandement qu'avoit Byron. Pendant qu'Il étoit hors d'Emploi, Messieurs de l'Opposition se plaisoient à rappeler les Services qu'il avoit rendu à la Patrie pendant la dernière Guerre; et se répandoient volontiers en Invectives contre Un Ministère ingrat qui laissoit sans Emploi Un Officier de son Mérite. Dès qu'il plut à Sa Majesté de Lui donner ce Commandement, tout cse changea; son Mérite s'évanouit. Il devint Un Homme sans Connoissance, sans Courage; indécis, imbécille. On découvroit même que Monr. Pitt avoit prit la Résolution de Lui ôter le Commandement de l'Expédition contre la Havanne. Bien que cette même Démarche fournit dans le Tems un des Grieffs les plus criants contre my Lord Bute. Nous ne savons rien de certain de ce qui se passe à Gibraltar. Les Bruits qui se répandent actuellement paroissent cependant avoir de la Vraisemblance; savoir que le Gouverneur a laissé tranquillement travailler les Espagnols à dresser leur Batteries, et qu'au Moment où ils étoient prêts à les faire jouer, Il a si bien pris ses Mesures qu'Il les a toutes renversées.² Pour les Affaires domestiques ils vont à l'Ordinaire. L'Opposition est, comme de Raison, acharnée contre le Ministère: jusqu'à toutes les Parties en sont d'Accord. Mais quant aux Moyens de le culbuter, et aux Personages qui doivent les remplacer, Elles ne s'accordent nullement. Par conséquent Elles ne feront rien qui vaut ni pour Eux Mêmes, ni pour le Public. Stormont, au grand Regret du Parti de Bedford,³ est Secrétaire d'Etat, à la Place de Suffolk, C'est un Homme actif, laborieux, adonné ni au Vin, ni au Jeu, ni aux Femmes; élevé dès sa Jeunesse dans le Corps Diplomatique; Mais froid, hautain, et donnant peut-être trop de Poids aux Formes, et aux Minuties; C'est aux Gens de cette

² Lind's scepticism as to the reports he mentions was fully justified. D'Estaing had in fact sailed for Europe after his abortive attack on Savannah at the beginning of September.

Marriot Arbuthnot (1711?–94), Rear-Admiral January 1778, Vice-Admiral March 1779, at this time Commander-in-Chief of the North American station. He had reached New York on 25 August.

George Brydges Rodney (1719–92), Rear-Admiral 1759, Vice-Admiral 1762, Admiral 1778, had been appointed Commander-in-Chief in the Leeward Islands in October 1779. He was M.P. for various constituencies from 1751 to 1754 and from 1759 to 1774, and for Westminster from 1780 until 1782 when he was created Baron Rodney.

For Byron see letter 325, n. 17.

³ This was the Whig connection, otherwise known as the 'Bloomsbury Gang', led till his death by John Russell, 4th Duke of Bedford (1710–1771). The group survived throughout the decade led by Sandwich (cf. letter 131, n. 7), Gower (cf. letter 341, n. 7), and Weymouth (cf. n. 6 below).

Trempe-là que les grands Objets échappent si souvent. Pour ne pas effaroucher ce Parti formidable On a eu soin de pourvoir aux Besoins pressans de my Lord Carlisle; et pour cet Effect l'On a démembre la Poste du Lord George Germaine; le laissant Secrétaire d'Etat, ayant le Département des Affaires Américaines, et donnant au Lord Carlisle la Poste du Président du Bureau de Commerce. Vous vous rappelez sans Doute, que my Lord Nugent tenoit cette même Poste quelques Années après que la Poste du Secrétaire d'Etat pour le Département Américain avoit été crée en Faveur de Lord Hillsborough.⁴ En Ireland l'Esprit Américain domine. Pour y donner l'Essor On commence à se concilier les anciens Habitans, proposant de casser les Loix odieuses sous les quelles Ils ont gemi depuis la Révolution. En Ecosse les Montagnards demandent des Armes pour être en Etat de se défendre contre l'Ennemi. Demande qu'appuiera sans doute le Due de Richmond.⁵ Car Il aimeroit bien qu'On fournit des Armes à tous les Habitans de Sussex. Voilà bien de Besogne pour la session prochaine: Ajoutez les Moyens de lever douze Millions pour le Service de l'Année 1780. et Vous croirez bien que le Ministère ne doit se sentir trop à son Aise. Cependant à juger par les Apparences, On diroit, que tout est aux mieux dans ce meilleur des Mondes possibles. North dort profondement. Weymouth⁶ boit à long(s) Traits. Sandwich court les Filles à toute Bride, et entonne les Chansons à pleine Tête. Dans quel Monde done les Choses peuvent-elles aller mieux! Ce qu'il y a de consolant cependant, c'est que le Ministre a déjà arrangé les Moyens de lever les Subsidies; et que l'Argent est prêt. Ainsi Nous vivrons encore Une Année. Adieu, mon cher Ami, Conservez Moi les mêmes Sentimens d'Amitié et d'Estime que J'aurai toujours pour vous.

Lind.

[Remainder in Jeremy Bentham's hand]

Vous voilà un portrait que notre ami a bien voulu vous donner de l'état présent des affaires: portrait lequel, bien que bref, me paroît

⁴ Frederick Howard, Earl of Carlisle (1748–1825) was later prominent in the Fox-North coalition of 1782. For Lord George Germain cf. letter 215, n. 2. Robert Nugent (1702?–88), previously Viscount Clare, had been created Earl Nugent in 1776. For Lord Hillsborough cf. letter 258, n. 4.

⁵ Charles Lennox, Duke of Richmond (1735–1806) had been Lord Lieutenant of Sussex since 1765. At this time he held the rank of Lieutenant-General and had been sent to Exeter in August in command of troops to repel a French invasion.

⁶ Thomas Thynne, Viscount Weymouth (1734–1825), created Marquess of Bath in 1789, was Secretary of State for the Southern Department from 1768 to 1770 and again from 1775 till 1779. A few days after the date of this letter he was succeeded in that office by Lord Hillsborough.

non seulement exact, mais même assez ample. Au milieu des travaux qui l'occupent vous devez lui savoir assez bon gré d'avoir tant songé à vous que de vous donner même ce peu de lignes. Il travaille toujours pour Ld. North, qui sans lui ne sauroit bien comment faire en beaucoup de choses. Cependant pour le coup, cette mémoire, que vous avez tant entendu louer, n'est pas de lui. On l'attribue à Gibbons [*sic*], auteur de l'histoire de la décadence de l'empire Romain, et qu'on vient de faire un des Lords du Bureau de Commerce.⁷ C'est une méprise dont vous n'étiez pas à même de vous défendre, attendu que son pamphlet, que vous saviez qu'il vous avoit envoyé, ne vous étoit pas encore parvenu. Mais celui dont on vous a parlé, étoit apparemment en François: le sien est en Anglais.

C'est le département des Indes qu'on lui confie principalement. Les plans de législation qu'il a dressé pour ces pays-là, et qu'on a remis la session passée, autant qu'on a pu, à l'ordinaire, ne scauroient guère s'empêcher d'être mis sur le tapis la session prochaine. Vous voilà aussi du françois de ma part, parce que j'en avois devant moi. Mais le tems s'écoule—il faut que je vous dise adieu—Apparemment vous aurez encore quelque chose d'ici l'ordinaire prochain.

341

JEREMY BENTHAM TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

19-26 November 1779 (Aet 31)

Novr. 19 1779 (Dernier date 26 Novre.)

1

Il se trouve ici, depuis quatorze jours, certain Baron de Hongrie, que Schwediauer veut que je lui permette de me présenter. Il me vante beaucoup sa connoissance dans les loix, dont il a fait une étude particulière (dit-on) en plusieurs universités de l'Allemagne. M. le Baron a environ trente ans: il voyage pour s'instruire: après quoi il espère obtenir le poste de Chambellan auprès de Maj. Imperiale. Il est ici pour 6 mois: mais cela à la

⁷ Cf. letter 338, n. 6.

341. ¹ B.M. II: 412-413. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. to S.B. at Mittau 1779 Novr. 26th.'

Addressed: 'A Monsr. / Monsr. Bentham / a Mittau / en Courlande / Aux soins de M. le Baron Klopman Chambellan de S.A. Sme.'

dérobée, crainte de son auguste maîtresse, laquelle ne manqueroit pas de lui donner le fouet si elle le savoit pour un seul moment dans ce pays pire qu'hérétique, et abandonné à tous les diables. On verra: s'il répond à l'idée qu'on m'en a donnée, je serois bien aise d'entrer en liaison avec lui: si non, il faut que je le mène à Q.S.P. pour que notre cher pere lui donne à dîner. Je n'ai pas encore pu trouver du tems pour le recevoir.

2

Ce qu'il a plu à V.E. de me mander par rapport à l'homme de lettres qui (dîtes-vous) me sieroit si bien, je m'en resouviendrai à besoin: mais quand viendront-ils, ces beaux jours, ou je serois assez riche pour pouvoir entretenir un tel Secrétaire.² En attendant priez votre Comtesse de m'épargner un des siens: il lui en resteroit encore plus qu'assez pour une dame de son âge.

3

R.³ vient de me demander si je voulois faire connoissance avec M. le Comte de Malzahn Ambassadeur de Prusse: il m'en a parlé à plusieurs reprises, en s'offrant pour cet effet. Pour le présent, je l'ai remercié: mais d'abord que le Code sera achevé ~~peut-être que~~ je pourrois <bie>n profiter de ses bonnes intentions à cet regard. Je pourrois alors me servir de ce canal là pour faire parvenir mon Code au R. du Prusse.

4 Code

Quant au Code, il paroît décidé que je le ferai imprimer d'abord: et que dans cet état-là j'en enverrai l'exemplaire à Berne. Je pourrois peut-être saisir cette occasion pour en envoyer aussi à Franklin, lequel avec D'Alembert et quelques autres, travaille actuellement, dit-on, à un Code criminel pour l'Amérique.⁴

Fontana qui vient de partir il y a quelques jours pour Paris doit lui parler de moi à cette occasion. Vous vous imaginerez bien, que je n'oublierai pas alors notre chère Impératrice. Par occasion, il faut que je vous dise, que je viens de voir la médaille dont elle a fait présent à Charles: C'en est vraiment une magnifique: elle ne pèse pas moins de 30 guinéas.

² See letter 337, § 8.

³ Rudolph Eric Raspe (see letter 325, n. 26).

⁴ U.C. clxix. 118 is the rough draft of a letter intended to accompany a book 'written for the use of leading men'. It is headed 'C/Afran' and is not dated. In Benthamese 'Afran' means 'To Fran[klin]'.

5

Je vois bien que Raspe possède parfaitement bien tout ce qu'il lui faut pour bien traduire mon Code en Allemand. Schwediauer l'a demandé pour soi: mais il s'en faut bien que je voulusse le lui confier: ses idées ne sont pas claires: il n'est point du tout au fait de la morale, de la politique, ni de la métaphysique. J'ai tout lieu de croire que Raspe ne seroit pas fâché de s'en charger. Si cela est je n'en demanderai pas mieux. Je lui ai lu mon chapitre sur les *motifs* lequel a reçu des corrections et des additions depuis que vous l'avez vu: et je sens que de là il n'a pas manqué de tirer une très haute idée de l'ouvrage. Savez-vous qu'il a traduit déjà en Allemand le Code Gentou? On lui a donné pour cela £50; et pour un journal en même langue de ses voyages; desquels vous avez été témoin d'une partie, £100 le dernier doit faire un modique 8vo.

6

Il doit aller à Paris dans quatorze jours—imaginez pourquoi—pour transcrire un Commentaire sur l'histoire naturelle de Pline fait de 4^{me} siècle. Ce manuscrit est du 14^{me}. Cela doit être un morceau assez curieux à moins: attendu que dans ce temps-là les arts et les sciences n'avoient pas encore commencé à tomber en décadence. Son dessein est de le donner (comme on dit, c'est à dire de le vendre) au public. Il doit être de retour vers la fin de Janvier. Il a connu très bien Franklin en 1766. Peut-être qu'il s'abouchera avec lui: et alors il est probable qu'il lui parlera aussi du Code. Il paroît être tres bien à son aise. Il dîne bien, il achète force livres: il va souvent aux spectacles. Il dit qu'il peut gagner par sa plume, sans se fatiguer, £s400 par an. Il est actuellement d'accord avec la libraire Kearsley⁵ pour un traduction en abrégé des Voyages des Professeurs envoyés par la Cour de Russie. Cet homme outre son savoir a les façons les plus honnêtes: et quelque peine que je me suis donné pour l'épier, je n'ai rien pu tirer de lui qui ne marquoit l'homme de la probité la plus parfaite—Quel dommage qu'il a cette tâche!

7

On a des nouvelles du Capne. Cook: il se trouvoit bien à Canton en Chine. J'appris cela hier d'un particulier qui venoit de s'en informer chez le Ministre de Saxe et celui de Prusse. Cela n'avoit pas encore paru dans les gazettes.

⁵ George Kearsley of 46 Fleet Street.

8

Notre ami dit toujours, que c'est chose certaine que le R. de Prusse seroit charmé de vous posséder⁶: que ce n'est pas vrai qu'il paye mal, ce Monarque, qu'il en sait le contraire par expérience: et ce qu'est plus il est actuellement en traité avec lui pour une pension, pour des services qu'il ne m'a pas encore expliqués. Vous voilà au moins un pis-aller.

9

Faut il, que pour te faire plaisir, je souille ma plume législative en parlant de la misérable politique du jour? cela-ci fera en peu de mots. Gower a resigné: Weymouth est chassé⁷: le Chancelier chancelle.⁸ Parmi les Communes, tout le parti de Bedford dit-on doit se tenir /à l'écart/ *aloof*, et s'absenter: ce qui laissera à North à peine 25 hommes de majorité: fondement peu assuré pour un Ministre. Plût à Dieu, que l'ami Sandwich s'en aille avec eux. Cela ne paroît pas improbable, alors voilà carte blanche pour my lord Howe.⁹

Vendredi ce 26 Novr. 10

L'avant hier pour la première fois parut une brochure contenant 4 lettres de M. Eden à son confrère dans le conseil du commerce My lord Carlisle, sur la situation présente des affaires.¹⁰ Il a mis son nom dans le title-page; chose un peu singulière dans un homme timide et réservé, (quoique assez altier) qui en quelques occasions a paru tant craindre de se compromettre, qui ne parle jamais dans la Chambre, qui n'a jamais mis son nom à ses livres quoique assez content d'eux, et qui ne s'en avoua l'auteur à moi qu'avec tant de réticence. Là-dessus votre ami Luttrell¹¹ haranguant hier dans la

⁶ Samuel had some thoughts of entering the King of Prussia's service in connection with the shipbuilding schemes mentioned in letter 338.

⁷ Granville Leveson-Gower (1721-1803), 2nd Earl Gower, created Marquess of Stafford in 1786, brother-in-law of the 4th Duke of Bedford (cf. letter 340, n. 3), Lord President of the Council 1767-79 and 1783-84. For Weymouth see letter 340, n. 6.

⁸ In 1827 Bentham recalled with pleasure his joke about Lord Thurlow, the Lord Chancellor (Bowring, x, 27).

⁹ The Bentham brothers were constantly hoping that Lord Howe would succeed Lord Sandwich as First Lord of the Admiralty, and thus open a way (via Joseph Davies) for Samuel's advancement. Lord Howe did eventually become First Lord, in 1783, but by then Samuel was settled in Russia.

¹⁰ William Eden (cf. letter 238, n. 1) had published *Four Letters to the Earl of Carlisle*..., two editions appearing in 1779. A third edition and a fifth Letter appeared in 1780.

¹¹ James Luttrell (1751?-88) was a naval officer and M.P. for Stockbridge in Hampshire.

Chambre à l'ordinaire a pris occasion de le tourner au ridicule. Le Bureau, dit-il, ou s'assoit l'honorable membre qui nous fait tant de plaisir par les productions de sa plume étoit jadis comme on l'appelle encore, un Bureau pour les Colonies et le commerce: mais maintenant que tout cela est allé, il est devenu Bureau de littérature: voilà tel Lord, qui nous donne un traité sur l'évidence interne de la sagesse du ministre (faisant allusion à la 'Vue sur l'évidence interne de la Religion Xienne par Soame Jenyns)¹² voilà tel autre, qui nous prépare à ce qu'on dit, un histoire de la décadence de l'empire Britannique (Gibbon) tandis que le premier entre eux (Carlisle) compose des élégies sur la mort d'un *lap-dog*. vous savez que Carlisle a publié en son nom quelques poésies d'une importance à peu près pareille.¹³

11

Voici quelques des matieères qu'auront ceux de l'opposition pour faire feu avec sur le ministère. 1. la conduite de Ld. Sandwich par rapport à l'approvisionnement de la flotte de Barrington dans les Indes occidentales. 2. la mauvaise qualité de la poudre lors de l'action avec l'Estaing dont se plaint Barrington devant tout le monde. 3. l'état dégarni de Plymouth lors de la visite des Francois. (On dit, qu'il n'y avoit pas deux barils de poudre dans la garnison) et le Due de Richmond vient de faire une petite tournée sur la côte pour rassembler des informations.) 4. le mécontentement de l'armée contre son capitaine général, my Lord Amherst, lequel en refusant une grâce très modique à un officier d'un mérite universellement reconnu ⟨...⟩ ⟨...⟩ Col. Campbell qui fit de ⟨...⟩ ⟨...⟩ commencement en Georgie) et à la ⟨. .)tation des negocians intéressés à ⟨...⟩ marque qui ont voulu qu'il y [?] ⟨...⟩mandât, et cela sous prétexte des règles, a voilé ces mêmes règles d'une façon beaucoup plus marquée en faveur de plusieurs particuliers (qu'on nomme), gens sans expérience et sans mérite.¹⁴

¹² Soame Jenyns (1704–87), M.P. for various constituencies 1741–58 and for Cambridge 1758–80, had published *A View of the internal evidence of the Christian Religion* in 1776.

¹³ Carlisle (cf. letter 340, n. 4) had published in 1773 *Poems, consisting of the following pieces, viz. i. Ode... upon the death of Mr Gray. ii. For the monument of a favourite spaniel...*

¹⁴ Jeffrey Amherst (1717–97), Governor of Virginia 1759–68, K.B. 1761, created Baron Amherst of Holmesdale in 1776, was at this time Commander-in-Chief of the Army. Archibald Campbell (1739–91) of Inverneil, Argyllshire, M.P. for Stirling Burghs 1774–80 and 1789–91, had returned from America as a popular hero after his share in the capture of Savannah at the end of 1778. Bentham is referring to Amherst's successful opposition to Campbell's desire to join the Western Fencibles. Campbell was subsequently Lieutenant-Governor, 1781–82, and Governor, 1782–84, of Jamaica, and Governor of Madras 1785–89.

12

Ce jour même, il est venu un paquebot de New York: par où il y a quelques nouvelles du Comte d'Estaign. Après avoir quitté les Isles il est venu à *Tydee* en Caroline le 1 Septre. d'où il est allé à Charles Town. De Charles Town il a été chassé le 4 Septre. par une tempête, qui l'a obligé de couper ses cables et d'abandonner ses ancres. De ce jour au 10^{me} Octre. (jour du depart du paquebot) on n'y en a eu nul part aucunes nouvelles: mais ici on a quelques bruits assez incertains, selon lesquels une partie de sa flotte s'est réfugié à Porto Rico et une autre a Boston. Si cela est les voilà donc dispersé, et pour longtemps hors d'état de nous faire aucune dommage. On peut ajouter foi à ceci: Wilson le tient ce moment immédiatement de Atkinson, un des conseillers privés de Ld. North.¹⁵

13

Hier quant on vint à la division, les voix étoient en bas 233 à 134: en haut 82 (+ 8 proxies) à 41: majorité beaucoup plus grande qu'on n'attendoit après ce que je vous ai mandez au No. 9. Mais l'opposition s'étoit tant comporté dans leur *amendement*, qu'il n'y avoit pas moyen que le parti de Bedford s'y prêtat, sans trop brusquer leur défection. Cependant les ministres ne sont pas encore d'accord entre eux. Le Procureur général Wedderburn¹⁶ ne s'empêche pas de protester contre la conduite du Ld. Hillsborough qu'on a fait Secrétaire d'Etat à la place de Weymouth. Je tiens <ces> choses en parti de Wilson, en parti <de> Charles qui a assisté hier aux débats jusqu'à une heure du matin. Il en a attrapé un rhume, aussi bien que moi et tout le monde.

14

Atkinson disoit que la maladie dont l'équipage de la flotte combiné a tant souffert, étoit une espèce de peste; laquelle s'est étendu sur quatre provinces de la France, au point que de porter l'alarme jusqu'aux Provinces Unies: on en vient de donner un *placart* au réglement là-dessus. Je ne sçais pas cependant pour certain si cela est venu véritablement d'Atkinson, ou seulement de Fordyce (homme à qui on ne peut pas se fier sur de telles matières) chez qui Wilson vient de dîner avec Atkinson.

No wonder you did not receive your box. It is still here. I called at Grills on Saturday (20 Nov.). I saw him to day (26 Nov) for the

¹⁵ Probably Richard Atkinson (1738–85), M.P. for New Romney 1784–85.

¹⁶ Cf. letter 201, n. 5.

first time. He said there was no opportunity of sending it till he heard from you, and then he understood you had but 2 or 3 days more to stay before you went to Lubec. Remember Sympathy,¹⁷ when you receive my next: I see no signs of it in your letters. Vous voyez donc, qu'il n'y a pas moyens que j'exécute vos commissions avant le printems. Je vois que l'expédition par terre vous occasionne une forte dépense: mais ne vous en affligez pas, mon enfant: on ne manquera pas d'y faire face: tu as moi, et tu a des amis. Je n'aurai nullement pas besoin de ce qui est à toi: au contraire je pourrais de donner la moitié, et en cas de besoin le tout de ce que n'a promis notre cousin. Porte-toi bien, amuse toi bien, et donne moi souvent de tes nouvelles.

Quand j'écris derechef, je relirai soigneusement tes lettres, pour être sûr de ne rien oublier qui demande réponse.
Ce 26 Novre. 1779

342

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

4-28 December 1779 (Aet 31)

Take care of the bees wax near the seal of the letter that accompanies this.²

1

Crit. Review for Novr. 1779. p. 383.

Foreign Literary Intelligence.

'Recherches sur les moyens d'exécuter sous l'eau toutes sortes de travaux hydrauliques, sans épuisement; par M. Coulomb, Capit. en premier dans le corps royal de Genie 8vo with cuts Paris.

'Mr. Coulomb employs an air-boat, divided into three chests, of which the middlemost is open below, for lodging the labourers: the air in it is compressed by means of a pair of bellows, by which the water is driven and kept out. This useful improvement, it's

¹⁷ Invisible ink.

342. ¹ B.M. II: 423-424. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. to S.B. Mittau 1779 Decr. 28th'.

Addressed: 'Monsr. / Monsr. Bentham / a Mittau / en Courland / Aux soins de M. le Baron Klopman Chambellan de S.A.Sme'. Also 'P. Pd. 1s.' On cover: 'Open this first'.

² A subsequent insertion. There are also the following deleted jottings: '1. Letters free. 2. Alkali. 3. Gov. Transports. 4. Finance S.B. 5. Sub aqua. 6. Mr G. Mourning. 7. Whalebone. 8. Crawford. 9. Gascoyne.'

manoeuvres, and the figure of the boat, are exactly represented in the present memoirs published under the sanction and privilege of the Parisian Academy of Sciences.³

This above I shall get a copy of by Raspe long before the first vessel sails for Petersburg. (See No. 15).

2

Quand tu seras arrivé à Petersburg, on s'écrira l'un à l'autre tout à son aise, et sans dépense. On se servira pour cet effet du Bureau des affaires étrangères. Cela est réglé par le canal de Sneyd.⁴ On pourroit même t'envoyer des petites feuilles imprimées, comme des morceaux de gazettes: en prenant soin pourtant de ne pas surcharger. Par ce moyen je pourrois avoir de tes nouvelles aussi souvent (si non aussi tôt) que si tu etiez à Portsmouth. [*Insertion in red ink*: They may be open'd tho' at Petersburg; except when they come or go by a special Messenger. Watch always that opportunity.] Cela est vrai au moins dans un certain sens, on peut s'écrire deux fois par semaine. Voilà aussi par où Lohmen peut avoir des nouvelles de sa maison. Voilà enfin par où on peut se dire des choses qu'on ne voudroit pas confier aux canaux ordinaires.

3

Outre Fitzherbert que je lui avois procuré avant votre départ, Mme. Verte a trouvé deux autres maîtres.⁵ Voilà aussi de quoi se réjouir; cela me décharge d'une espèce de fardeau.

4. Decr. 4

Quant à l'autre fardeau, Mr. Touch⁶: depuis deux mois je ne sais pas ce qu'il est devenu.

5. Code.

Quand tu te trouves à Petersburg voici ce que tu as à faire par rapport au Code. Dès que tu es sur un certain pied auprès de Harris, il faut savoir s'il veut bien se charger de le présenter: s'il non, il faut que vous tâchiez d'être présenté vous-même; ou pour cela

³ Bentham's transcription is substantially correct and has been followed here, except for the spelling of the author's name, which has been corrected from 'Colomb' to 'Coulomb'.

⁴ A friend of Jeremiah Bentham, evidently employed in the Northern Department (cf. letter 376, n. 1).

⁵ See letter 211, n. 3.

⁶ Cf. letter 317 (12 June 1779) towards the end, which suggests that the 'other burden' referred to here was the problem of sending the *Code* to Berne.

ou sur votre propre compte. Si cela ne peut pas se faire non-plus, il faut bien tâcher de se servir du père de Lohmenn; ou bien de tout autre par qui on peut venir à bout. Plutôt que de manquer, tu la guetteras dans les rues, tu te prosterneras devant elle, et après avoir mangé autant de poussière que tu as envie, tu lui jetteras mon billet au nez, ou bien à la gorge, si elle veut bien que les mains soient là. Allons, mon enfant, ne perdons pas courage. Elle vaut bien qu'on prenne un peu de peine pour elle. En tout cas il faut d'abord s'informer sûrement, si elle comprend facilement l'anglois: à moins de cela, il faut attendre qu'on en ait une traduction Allemande. Ce que tu m'écris au sujet de code écrive toujours sur une partie du papier qu'on peut détacher du reste.

6 Cloaths.

Quand aux habits il me semble que tu pourriez en procurer à meilleur marché à Mittau qu'à Petersbourg: vu que dans ce dernier lieu les denrées Françaises au moins ont eu un peu plus de chemin à faire, et auront en apparence de plus forts droits d'entrée à payer: De tout cela informe-toi.

7. Curvators. Whale-bone wanting.

En ouvrant le paquet que j'ai retiré de chez *Grill* pour faire voir à Q.S.P. vos *Curvators*, j'ai trouvé qu'il n'y avoit point de *Whale-bone Battin*. N'en faut il pas? où comptez-vous d'en trouver à Petersbourg ou partout ailleurs? Ne manquez pas de faire réponse à ceci.

Linc. Inn ce 27 Decre

8 Lettres recues

Cet instant, mon cher enfant, je viens de recevoir ta lettre si longtemps attendue de la date du 5^{me} Courant.⁷ C'est le première

⁷ The original of this letter is not now to be found, but B.M. XX: 75b-78a contains a copy of it. It is dated from Liebau (now Lepaya) then in Courland, 5 December 1779. Samuel had recently come from Memel (Klaipeda), then in East Prussia, where he was entertained by an informative English merchant called Simpson, owner of a small shipyard. The prospects in Liebau for a merchant or ship-builder with English connections would be bright and Samuel wonders whether his father could advance the money to set him up in partnership there. Simpson gave him further introductions for Courland: see B.M. XX: 4. An earlier letter (B.M. II: 414) Samuel wrote from Memel dated 1 December 1779, mentioning a visit to the Margrave of Schwedt, miscarried at the Post Office and did not turn up till 5 January 1780.

que personne a reçu de votre part depuis celle du 2d Novre. daté à Berlin. Point de lettre de Memel: ~~on ne sait pas même si vous aviez été à Dantzick~~ /Oh, oui, dans une seule ligne./ Il y a quelque tems que j'ai été un peu inquiet sur votre sort, et par conséquent un peu chagrin. Ce jour même, si je n'avois pas eu de vos nouvelles, j'aurais été prié le Sous-Secrétaire d'Etat Langlois d'écrire à Berlin pour en avoir. Je commençois déjà é mettre dans le plus brillant jour que je pouvois les avantages que je devois tirer de ta mort. Je pensois à qui je pourrois adopter en votre place; mais hélas, je n'en trouvois point d'adoptable.

9. Lettres envoyées.

Et toi, étourdi! tu t'es fâché, parce que tu n'as pas reçu de mes lettres par le canal de M. Immerman!⁸ et tu oublies toujours que tu m'as mandé toi-même de t'écrire par celui de M. Klopman. Il en a déjà fait tenir *trois* /3/, (à ce que j'espère) dont une est à moitié de M. Lind: le ler un mélange de Q.S.P., C.A. et moi; le 3^{me}, de moi seul. Je t'écris toujours dans un espèce de François pour t'exercer et moi aussi. Désormais, que tu manques de recevoir quelque lettre que tu auras attendu de ma part, croye-bien que c'est quelque étourderie de ta propre part qui en est la cause, et non pas quelqu' oubli, ni de la part de la fortune, ni de la mienne.

10. Gascoyne.

L'autre jour notre père reçut visite de M. Bamber Gascoyne. M. Gascoyne a loué une maison dans le voisinage de notre père, savoir dans Park Street. Il est venu a-t-il dit, pour renouveler son ancienne amitié avec Q.S.P. Savez-vous qui est ce Monsr. Gascoyne? Je gagerois que non. C'est lui qui a été le Seigneur de Barking, du tems ou notre père avoit la sa maison de campagne. Il a été longtemps Lord du conseil de commerce: il vient depuis quelque d'être fait un des Lords de l'Amirauté⁹: Cela pourroit il se tourner à votre profit? Qui sait? voilà du moins une possibilité.

11. Caust. Alkali.

I have got the account for the physician /at Petersburg/ what's his name? for whom you were to get the method of making

⁸ Agent for the Duke of Courland in Liebau (cf. letter 344).

⁹ Bamber Gascoyne (1725-91), son of Sir Crisp Gascoyne (Lord Mayor of London 1752-53), Queen's College Oxford and Lincoln's Inn, M.P. for various constituencies 1761-63, 1765-68, 1770-86; Lord of Trade 1763-65 and 1772-79, Lord of the Admiralty from July 1779-82; from 1786 till his death he was Receiver-General of Customs.

use of the caustic alkali. The point is to avoid it's driving the peccant matter before it into the bladder. The business therefore is to close the canal with one hand perfectly, and then you inject boldly with the other. The misfortune is that it pains confoundedly: else it does no good. You are to hold it as long as you can; which however will be but an instant. The advantage is that it will cure even after the running is begun. So far Swede. The proportion is about 1 part alkali to 900 parts water: but this you see will be liable to vary according to the causticity of the alkali, and the purity of the water. If the water has in it a salt with an earthy basis, part of the alkali will go to the neutralizing the acid of that salt. The way is to try it in your mouth. This is Fordyce's direction. See No. 21.

12. Govt. Transports.¹⁰

I have looked, and you may depend upon it, the Government is free to hire transports and other vessels wherever it will. I can find nothing in any act to hinder them from hiring foreign vessels, and in point of fact, you know that they do have such vessels. If they may hire, by the same token they may buy. The reason of their not buying has been that they have wanted them only as Transports for a limited time. It is an invariable rule that Acts laying restraints on private persons extend not to the King unless specially named.

13. Ship-Timber.

A month or two ago the Imperial Academy of Sciences at Peterburgh gave a premium to the amount of about 41£ St. to a Mr. Grassman a Clergyman somewhere in the dominions of the K. of Prussia for the best dissertation on a Question published by the Society last year concerning the best methods of cutting and preserving Timber for Shipbuilding. The questions for this year seem to contain but little interesting—nothing at all in your way. This is taken from the General Advertiser of Thursday or Friday Decr. 24 or 25th. There is about a column in the whole respecting the Transactions of the Socy. Perhaps I may send it you when you get to Petersburgh.¹¹

¹⁰ This paragraph answers a question put by Samuel in the omitted part of letter 333 (cf. n. 18 to that letter).

¹¹ This work has not been traced.

14. Heat

Crawford on Heat.¹² An interesting publication; containing several original views and interesting experiments. I have seen only an extract in the Reviews. I shall get it and send you: it is well spoken of. The 1st edition is out of print: the 2nd in the press.

15. Airs

Fontana has found that air receives more injury from the lungs by fix: air than by phlogiston: and by breathing dephlogisticated air insulated by a /lime-/ water stopple, he breathes it thirty times as long as he could if insulated by a stopple of common water. The receiver floats in a cistern of limewater, and he breathes by a bent tube. This seems to agree with Troestwyck. It is published in the ⟨...⟩ to Ingenhousz's book which I have. ⟨...⟩ ⟨...⟩ in 24 hours 21,6000 cub. inches of ⟨...⟩ ⟨...⟩ ⟨...⟩ say what air.) 1 lb of nitre yields 12,000 ⟨...⟩ of dephlogd. air. Ingenhous's book you shall have; it contains many various facts. 1 This. 2. the calculns. in the Histry. of canals, and 3. the french book mentioned /No. 1/ will afford excellent pus for div.

16. Strachan

Nothing yet from Strachan.

17. Bukati.

I understand from Lind's Clark that Lind has heard from Huzarjevski of Buchati's¹³ being at Dantzig. The young lady (Bukati's

¹² Adair Crawford, F.R.S., *Experiments and observations on animal heat and the inflammation of combustible bodies. Being an attempt to resolve these phenomena into a general law of nature.* 1779. No second edition seems to have been published for several years.

¹³ Bukati, a Pole (d. 1797), appears to have come to England at about the time of John Lind's return there in late 1772 or early 1773. From then until 1780 he acted as Secretary to the Polish Agency in London, while Lind, though not formally Minister, performed the duties of that post (cf. Bowring, x, 58). Through Lind, Bukati would have known the Bentham brothers during the 1770's. He was now (it seems) travelling back to Poland, a visit followed by his appointment as the Polish King's Minister Resident in London: cf. letter 372 at n. 20, which shows that he was back in London by August 1780, with the official appointment of Resident there. While Samuel was at Hamburg, he had corresponded with Bukati, who was waiting at Lübeck for the boat to Danzig. With Bukati was a female charge, pronounced 'charming' by Emmanuel Matthias, the English Resident at Hamburg (omitted passage of letter 333). Samuel eventually travelled to Danzig overland via Berlin. When he reached Danzig, Bukati was not there, and at Memel he heard of the wreck of a boat from Lübeck to Danzig which he feared might be Bukati's (B.M. XX: 75-78).

Huzarjevski was the King of Poland's Commissary at Danzig and Samuel travelled with an introduction to him from Lind (B.M. XX: 4).

charge) whom Matthias and every body was so charmed with is no less a personage than the daughter of a Mr. Elbel, Lind's Taylor who either is a native of Poland, or has connections there.

17. Bibl. Navalis.

Bibliotheca Navalis you shall have a copy of when you get to Petersburg. It was put up in the box designed for Hamburg. I have added to it the articles you mention.

18. Vesuvius.

Les deux Jedis passés on a lu à la Société Royale une lettre du Chevr. Wm. Hamilton¹⁴ sur l'éruption dernière du Mont Vesuve. On a voulu que j'y passe, mais comme c'étoit une affaire qui n'aboutissoit à rien, et le tems, comme vous savez, vaut présentement quelque chose, je n'y allois pas.

19. Norman

Le Baron Podmaniezki¹⁵ connoît les deux Professeurs Büsch et Normann. Il a étudié avec le dernier à Göttingen. Il ne me donne pas une très-haute idée de ses talens. Il dit que ce Professeur a pris des engagemens pour avoir part dans un espèce d'Encyclopédie qui se publie ou bien doit se publier quelque part en Allemagne: mais qu'il y a apparence que l'entreprise est au-dessus de ses forces.

20. Metaphysics.

Expounding Table as you call it, I will think of for you against you get to Petersburg but you seem to look upon it as finished which is not the case. Useful Metaphysics you will have some of in the Introd. to Code and in title Evidence in the Book (of) Procedure. 1. Actions. 2. Intentionality. 3. Cons(cious)ness. 4. Motives. 5. Dispositions. 6. Consequen(ces) form so many chapters in the Introd: and all (fin)ished. Dicenda de I.B. I will think (of) occasionally: but whether I shall send you (<...> incertum.¹⁶

21. S.B.'s commissions

I have just now for the first time been looking over your letters in regular order, and noting down /in my S.B. book/ with the utmost exactness all your commands. If there are any which I have

¹⁴ Cf. letter 327, n. 6.

¹⁵ Presumably Baron Joseph Louis de Podmanieczky, F.R.S. 1780.

¹⁶ The page is somewhat torn in the last few lines. '5. Dispositions' replaces deleted '5. Consequences'.

not yet executed, it is not through heedlessness. You mention on a certain occasion 'a little longer than the last:' but how should I know the length of the last? You must send it me. Some few, I think, you had with you. See No. 11.

22. Wetsch.¹⁷

Swede desires you would write to Wetsch at Moscow, telling him what you have for him, and when you think it likely you shall be able to let him have it. Wetsch writes in French.

23. Keir's Metal /v. 25/

Keir has just taken out a patent for his metal mentioned in a former letter. Being cheaper even than brass, it will do excellently well for Ship's bolts, and therefore supersedes your plan. I dare say I can get the receipt for making it from the Patt. office time enough for you to have by the time you are in Petersburg. You m<...> <...> <...> <...> <...> <...> <...> <...>script <...> <...> to your Memoire. This perhaps can do for you.

Tuesday Decr. 28. 11 at night. Good night.

24. Rasp:

Raspe is come back from Cambridge. He has <not> brought his lecturing scheme to bear: but he is notwithstanding vastly happy, having met with two old manuscripts relative to the arts. He has transcribed them both. One is a Monkish author of the 7th Century, by whose work it appears among other things not only that the art of making glass was known to the people of those days, but that they were even acquainted with the composition of the particular species which we call crown glass and flint glass. So says R. for I have not seen his copy, though I am to see it. What the other M. is he has not told me. It was yesterday only that I met him in the house we both frequent. The Cambridge people he says were very mad that a stranger and a foreigner should have found such a treasure in their possession without their knowing it. He appears to have been mightily well received there by the Bishop of Peterborough (Master of Trinity College)¹⁸ and a number of the other Dii majorum gentium.

25. Keir's Metal v. 23

He had also with him a piece of Keir's metal which he shew'd me: it was in a very thin plate. There was no judging very well of the

¹⁷ Unidentified.

¹⁸ John Hincliffe (cf. letter 287, n. 4).

colour; it being dirty and perhaps tarnished. It is from its other properties chiefly that it derives its value. It seems to have more of the Pinchbeck in it than of the common brass. ~~I don't know very well whether I shall not venture in my next letter to send you some small piece in the~~ ~~(...)~~ ~~in the manner~~ ~~(...)~~ ~~(...)~~ ~~(...)~~ See the other letter.

343

JEREMIAH AND JEREMY BENTHAM
TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

31 December 1779

Decr. 31 1779

[*Insertion in Jeremy Bentham's hand: No bad letter this, as you will see, to close the year with.*]

My Dear Sam!

Nothing can exceed ye pleasure I have rec^d from reading the Letters you have sent, from time to time, to your Brother, which to save you the trouble I look upon as written to myself, and am convinced yt no body ever carried so large a freight of valuable recommendations, as you have done, but the agreeable and respectful Reception you have met with where ever you have been, must have been very flattering to you, I am sure it has been to me on your Account, as I am sensible bare recommendations alone would not have done had not your own Conduct and behaviour given a Sanction to them. It shows how truly friendly and useful Sambousky's advise was to you, to visit and make yourself acquainted with other maritime places in your way to Petersburg, where the beneficial progress you have made in your Route thither, will I make no doubt, gain you a much better welcome in giving you so much additional consequence, to what you carried out with you by your Letters from home—The occurrences you have met with and the good use you appear to have made of them cannot fail to have

343. ¹ B.M. II: 425–426. Sections 1–6 constitute an autograph letter from Jeremiah Bentham, the date and probably the numbers dividing the sections being inserted by Jeremy Bentham. The remainder is autograph from Jeremy Bentham. Docketed: 'I.B. and Q.S.P. to S.B. Mitau Decr. 31.'

Addressed (by Jeremy Bentham): 'A Mons: / Monsr. Bentham / a Mittau en Courlande / Aux soins de M. le Baron Klopman Chambellan de S.A.S.me.'

The letter from Jeremiah Bentham is mainly in answer to the letter from Liebau mentioned in letter 342, n. 7.

enlarg'd your Ideas and qualified you, to turn still more to your advantage what future Incidents may occur to you, your last Letter from Liebau of the 6th instant pleases me above all—as the Intelligence you have gather'd respecting the advantages likely to accrue to you by connecting yourself in Trade with some responsible Merchant or Merchants in the plan you mention'd seems at first view and upon the first report to be very encouraging—My Assistance, my dear Child, as far as my abilities enable me you may be assured of; you are not ignorant, that my property tho' something considerable is yet all in Land, but I shall be willing to raise you £1000 and charge my Estate with it, upon a reasonable Satisfaction of it's being to your advantage and I am so far from being against it, that I wou'd have you by no means to lose sight of it—nevertheless, I dare say, you will think it rather premature, to decide absolutely upon it, or as to the mode of engaging in it, till you have been at Petersburg, and given yourself an opportunity of seeing and judging how far or in what respect your other Schemes shall be practicable—you may possibly find yt some of those Labours you propos'd to put in practise or to attempt there, may coincide and tend to forward and facilitate the business of such a kind of Partnership with some House upon the Baltic—you have had and will have great advantages in making acquaintance with Persons upon the spot, and making yourself so known to them, as to be able to correspond with them for the purpose of procuring from them any further useful Intelligence, you may find you have occasion for, upon your return to England—for there is nothing attaching as a personal knowledge of People upon the Spot of their own Ground, it creates a Confidence beyond what is possible to subsist between persons not immediately acquainted with or known to each other.

2

I was much pleas'd with the specimen you gave us of your writing German, which I suppose was your own Penning. The Letters and words make a pretty appearance, but to a Stranger to the language they appear confused. It is certainly of the greatest Consequence to you to make your self thoroughly master of and acquainted with the german language, especially for the purpose of a future Mercantile Correspondence; and tho', as I hope and trust you will be settled here in the main, yet in visiting those places upon the Baltic, occasionally, the being able to speak the language of the People your branch of business leads you to converse with, at

the first hand as it were, will be found very beneficial—as by that means you will be able to transact with Principals themselves—The Duke of Courland, or rather his agents, should you have concerns with him or them for him, will in all probability entertain a more advantageous opinion of you, for tho' you may converse or negotiate with the Duke himself, in French, yet his agents may not be qualified for it.

3

You tell us my dear Sam of a happy Escape, you have reason to think you have had in not accompanying Baccarti in the ship expected to Sail from Lubec; I have been made to Shudder, at reading an Article in several of our Papers, that the Ship with the Houghton Pictures² which Pouskin and myself press'd you so much to go in, was founder'd at Sea and every Sail and all the Cargo lost—That article indeed has been since contradicted; but which is true, I am not certain and could wish to be inform'd on your arrival at Petersburg. In all events I am made extremely happy that you have taken the Route you have done; and when I hear, as I hope soon to do, that you are got safe to Petersburg, I shall be perfectly easy about you; for then I shall consider you as it were at home—from the Number of Recommendations you take with you thither, and others corroborating them you have pick'd up by the way.

4

The Dutchess of Kingston³ will soon hear of the Death of the Earl of Bristol, who died a few days ago, so that she is now to all intents and purposes a Widow, and at own Disposal, whether as Dutchess or as Countess, or neither one nor the other, with respect to which her Situation, or Circumstance is most curious and paradoxical—She may not however have it less in her power to confer her favours upon you, by any Interest she may think fit to use in your behalf with the Empress—

5

When you arrive there don't forget my Tenant Bush, her Majesty's Head-Gardener, and let him know I shall continue his name

² Lord Orford had just sold the entire collection of paintings at Houghton House, mainly built up by Robert Walpole (his grandfather) to the Empress Catherine of Russia, much to the indignation of his uncle Horace. The negotiations had been conducted by Musin Pushkin, the Russian Ambassador. The paintings were not in fact lost.

³ See letter 248, n. 1.

as my Tenant, in the Receipts I give to his Substitute, Lodiges, at Hackney.⁴

6

Our Political Affairs here wear a much better aspect than they did—The Minister Lord North has settled ye dispute between this Country and Ireland much to the Satisfaction of the Latter, with respect to Trade etc. We have taken a place of great value from the Spaniards called Fort Omoa, in the Bay of Hondurass, with some rich Register Ships, and the French Americans under D'Estaing have reed, a Capital Defeat at the Savannah from General Prevost and our forces under him, which will probably occasion an irreconcilable quarrel between the french and Americans.⁵

[Remainder of letter in Jeremy Bentham's hand]

7

Well Mr. Sir, does this please you? I think, what with one thing or another, this letter and it's companion will be worth quelque chose. Not but that I am a little jealous or so, sensible as I am that the Q.S.P.ian part will be more acceptable than all the rest. Though he talks only of £1000 (that being the least sum of the two you mentioned) according to my calculation it will be very hard if by pushing and squeezing we cannot get it up to at least £1400. I mention that as being the sum of which the 70 year is the interest. Now then if any thing turns up upon the precise sum of £2000, I should hope the remaining 600 might be got by way of loan from Messrs. G.⁶ and Mulford.

8

Finding him in such good humour as he was in from the receipt of the Liebau letter, I told him all your schemes except the idea of engaging Mosby⁷ and the potting etc. He seemed mightily well satisfied with them all, especially that of getting pupils in Russia and bringing their labour to account: to which you find he has been

⁴ Lodiges is unidentified.

⁵ Omoa and two treasure-ships had been captured in October by a naval force under Captain the Hon. John Luttrell (1740?–1829). The fort was held till 28 November. Savannah, where General Augustine Prevost had been in command since the end of 1778, had successfully resisted an attack by D'Estaing in September.

⁶ George Woodward Grove.

⁷ Mosberry was evidently a shipwright, but not employed at any of the royal dockyards so far as the available lists show. Samuel was very anxious for him to come out to Russia (see subsequent letters, and unpublished letters from Samuel in B.M. III).

alluding. I should think that might be equally feasible at Liebau as in England. I mean with regard to the under-rate people, the mere Ship-builders, Master Shipwrights and Under-workmen. As to the Admiralty people, it could not answer to them unless the scene were to be in England.

9. Waggons

The weight which Waggons may draw in England is not limited by Law. What limitations there are extend only to Waggons whose wheels are of less than such or such a particular breadth. I hope to have talked with Mr. Sharp⁸ and to have answer'd your questions by next post.

10 Cire artificiel

Le *cire* que tu trouveras (à ce que j'espère) auprès du sceau de cette lettre, c'est de la cire artificiel. Je ne puis pas encore te dire le particulier qui en a trouvé la composition. C'est quelqu'un de la connoissance de notre ami R. de qui je tiens ce petit échantillon. Pour le former, on mêle ensemble 4 poudres, qu'on prétend être différent. On a présenté une mémoire là-dessus à notre Société Royale, ou l'on a prétendu détailler l'histoire de l'invention sur quoi les membres principaux ont offert à l'inventeur la médaille d'or: en exigeant toutefois une description parfaite des ingrédients et de la manipulation. Vous devez savoir que cet homme ingénieux se flatte de pouvoir vendre son cire *brut* artificiel pour 8 à 10 sous de notre monnaie la livre: tandis que la cire naturelle en même état se vend pour 2 schelings. Or dit-il, Messrs. votre médaille d'or est une très belle chose: mais si mon projet vient à réussir, je compte en faire /si j'en garde le secret à moi,/ une fortune de 100,000£ en assez peu de temps; ce qui est une plus belle (chose) encore Il a dessein cependant de se pourvoir d'une /priviège exclusif/ *Patente*. Il tâchera de se pourvoir de pareils privilèges partout où il peut. Si cela est possible je guetterai le moment, et je vous en enverrai la *spécification*. R dit l'avoir vu travailler avec ses 4 poudres. Il dit maintenant il n y a que deux points où la composition cède au cire naturel: savoir, 1^{me}. l'artificiel est un peu plus adhésif (*clummy*) que le naturel. 2^e. il donne un peu plus de fumée. Quant au blanchissage il en a fait l'essai en petit, lequel a très bien reussi: pour l'en faire en gros, il faut du soleil et un été: et ce n'est que depuis l'été que la composition a été trouvée. Schwed: me dit ce moment qu'il y a

⁸ Unidentified.

longtemps que Margrauf⁹ lui a dit, qu'il y a plusieurs plantes de l'Europe dont les feuilles ou les tiges donnent de la cire quand on les fait bouiller.

11

I have had the precaution to take a copy¹⁰ of the most material parts of my Father's letter, least it should undergo the fate of some of your's to me. I wish you would write to the Post-Offices you put them in at. Schwed. tells me they are very careful in most of the places he has known in Germany, and that if you write enquiry will be made from post to post.

12

Je comptois vous avoir donnée quelques nouvelles publiques, mais j'ai été si occupée de nos affaires particulières que le temps me manque. Sachez en général que tout va à merveille. Les Irlandois sont heureux on ne peut pas davantage—L'opposition ici est au désespoir. Les Irlandois disent hautement que ce sont eux qui les ont trahi, et que les ministres sont leurs meilleurs amis—qu'ils sont prêts à tout sacrifier pour l'Angleterre. Avez vous des gazettes a Mittau? On a des nouvelles assurées de Capt. Cook qui a passé par Kamchatka l'avril dernier. On a mis cela ici dans la gazette de la Cour.

31 Dec a 11 heures—bon soir—et bonne année mon frère, mon enfant, mon ami.

13

What I scratched out in the last letter No. 25 was to tell you I should perhaps put a bit of the new metal in my next as I did the ¼ guinea once.

⁹ Perhaps Andreas Sigmund Marggraff, whose *Chymischer Schriften* were published at Berlin in 1761–67.

¹⁰ B.M. II: 427. Docketed: '1779 Dec 31. Q.S.P.Q.S.P. to S.B. Mittau. Extract.'

344

SAMUEL BENTHAM TO JEREMY BENTHAM¹

12–19 December 1779

1.

I don't know how much Government give pr. pound for the portable soup which they contract for the use of the Navy. What a blockhead I was not to take a little of it with me by way of sample. Would the importation of it be permitted? Would it be liable to duties? to what amount?

2.

I ought to have the contract price of all the species of provisions. Jonas Hanway² could and I dare to say would have given it me, but I should not like to ask him by letter: it would make a talk. Lindegren could get it me. yes and he would, too: make him.

3.

Consult him about the feasibility of contracting for such species of provision or any thing else which might be furnished from this place at a lower price, than is at present given. I wrote to you from Liebau Decr. 6.

4.

Could I by any means depend upon knowing any time before hand, when the importation of wheat will be permitted (when the ports will be opened as it is called). If I should at any time have any concern in trade in this country; intelligence of that kind would be of very great consequence, so much as to make it worth while to send an express or half a dozen expresses to outstrip the post and to pay handsomely also for the intelligence, but at the same time

344. ¹ B.M. II: 416–420. Received 11 January 1780.

Addressed: 'Jerrey Bentham Esqr. / No. 6 Lincoln's Inn / London.' On cover: 'France à Amsterdam.' Postmarks: 'Mittau' (with ducal emblem) and 'IA 10' (London postmark).

This letter was received on 11 January, before the bulk of letter 345 was written, so it is here placed first.

² Jonas Hanway (see also letter 221, n. 4) was a commissioner for victualling the navy. It is unclear whether Samuel had met him, but he may be presumed to have consulted his *Historical account of British Trade over the Caspian Sea with a Journal of Travels & c.* (London, 1753).

if it should be false much would be lost. Might not Lind be able to do it.

5.

Have you already or will you when you go next to Brompton get a description of the improvements and innovations in the oeconomy (the arrangement of Stores etc.) which Middleton³ has introduced compared with the methods before observed? You can do this much better than I can do, only take care not to frighten him with too many questions.

6.

I have eat a particular kind of bread here at Mittau which is excellent and will keep good a twelve month. Is the importation of such things permitted?

You will perhaps wonder to find me ask so many questions about trade and to see me so intent as it were upon it. You may think I have taken up an entire new plan and laid aside my old ones, that I forget all my expectations with respect to Russia and think only of getting money in a way which I am not at all suited for.

The case is that from the different accounts I have heard of the trade between this country and England it appears in its present state very advantageous and to be capable of great improvements. Moreover I think it probable that if I were to have any thing to do with the building of ships here I might have very advantageous opportunities of engaging in trade at the same time.

This I hope is a sufficient general excuse to wish to have all the information as soon as possible which may assist in deciding.

The last letter I sent from Liebau and was obliged to finish it in a very great hurry.

In it I desire to know what sum of money I could be furnished with if it should so happen that I should have any very advantageous opportunity of employing it in trade. This certainly I should wish much to know, but I doubt very much if anything would tempt me to hazard any sum.

How I long to hear how 'Punishments' and 'Code' go on, the latter I suppose is laid aside for the present, but I hope to hear a very good account of the former before this year is out.

Charles I take for granted is returned long before now. How is he? How does he? Do you see any thing of him?

³ Cf. letter 305, n. 3.

Do you hear or see anything of Lindegren? How does Davies and Wilson do? Are ye all dead or asleep?

I have been frequently uneasy about my having mentioned Lind as the Author of the Answer to the Declaration of the French Court without being certain that he would like it should be known. I told you in my letter from Berlin that I had mentioned it to Mr. Liston, I hope therefore in the first letter that I receive from you I shall have some answer about it.⁴

I do hereby desire that you will not for the future tell me any such secrets, seeing that my memory is so very bad in all matters in which my reasoning will not assist it. 'Tis true that I received a very great pleasure from hearing it spoke of in such very high terms on account of my knowing my friend to be the author, yet perhaps that very pleasure might perhaps tend to make me forget my injunctions to secrecy. In short you should never tell me a secret which it does not concern me to know. I began a letter to him at Dantzic but I had told him in it of my having mentioned him as the Author, when I came to consider that if I had done wrong in telling it, there was no occasion to give him the pain of knowing it, I laid the letter aside.

I have a great mind to sit up all tonight to give you my Journal from the time of my quitting Hamburgh to the present.—No it cant be tonight for tomorrow morning I shall get to Mittau and possibly see Klopman, and therefore I will sleep well tonight, least I should not otherwise have my sense well about me.⁵

Mittau Decr. 13th 1779

I arrived here about ½ past 1 in the afternoon.⁶ The country a

⁴ See letter 338 and n. 6.

⁵ The preceding is scored across with red lines: probably by Jeremy Bentham, possibly by Samuel Bentham, to distinguish from the rest.

⁶ Mittau is now Yelgava in Latvia, within the U.S.S.R. It was then capital of Courland, a small dukedom nominally a tributary of Poland but in fact under Russian influence.

The present Duke Peter Biren (1742–1800) had succeeded his father in 1769, and reigned until 1795, when Courland ceased to exist as a separate entity, and came under the rule of Catherine of Russia. This was brought about by the Courlandish Council with whom the Duke had quarrelled. He had recently married (as his third wife) Anne-Charlotte-Dorothee de Medern (1761–1821) the youngest daughter of Count Jean-Frédéric de Medern.

His father was the better known Ernest-Jean Biren (1690–1772) who had once been virtual ruler of Russia. The son of a Courlandish peasant he had become the favourite of Anna Ivanova, widow of a former Duke of Courland. She was also daughter of the Russian Emperor Ivan Alexeyevich and in 1730 succeeded to the Russian throne. Biren became her chamberlain and exercised his power ruthlessly. In 1737 the Empress had him elected Duke of Courland. When she died, her son being a minor,

few miles distant I can imagine is exceedingly pleasant in Summer but the situation of Mittau itself appears very flat. There are only two steeples or Towers which distinguish themselves from the houses, and they only by their height—for there is nothing at all to be admired in their appearance. The town itself certainly has not much the appearance of the Capital of so fertile though small a country. If the Houses were high the streets would appear very narrow but as they consist chiefly of but 2 Stories the streets appear quite broad enough. The badness of the Pavement which Wraxal takes notice of either must be hid by the snow with which it is entirely covered or the town must have been new paved. When I arrived at the Inn everybody had dined and in $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour when it was scarcely past 2 O'Clock a plain looking english post chaise with 8 horses went by in which was the new Dutchess.

As soon as I had collected my things and got a Valet de place I sent him with a note to Baron Klopman begging to know when I might have the honour of waiting on him. The answer was that he was not at home, but was expected in $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour. The $\frac{1}{2}$ was scarcely over before an humble imitation of an english /chariot/ carriage with small windows and bad glass came to the door: my servant had just time to tell me that it was the Baron's carriage before he entered the room in propriâ persona.

As I heard much about his quick and all-seeing eyes I employed mine in watching their motions as narrowly as possible while we made our first bows and compliments. I believe it was I who broke silence first at least in any intelligible terms by asking if it was to Baron Klopman that I had the honour of paying my respects. Apologies were next of course to be made for the disorder of the room, and he was to be beg'd to sit down but notwithstanding I used all the rhetoric I was master of and repeated my sollicitations, from time to time during the hour or half-hour which he staid with me I could not prevail on him to be seated. Whether his dignity or the Etiquette forbad him to sit down, or whether he had

he was for a time Regent of Russia, but was soon removed, and exiled to Siberia, stripped of all his titles. In 1759 Augustus III of Poland had his son Charles elected as Duke of Courland, in the hope that this would facilitate his inheritance of the Polish throne. When in 1762 Peter III ascended the Russian throne he pardoned the political enemies of the Empress Elizabeth, including Biren, and restored their titles. Under Catherine II Biren was restored as Duke of Courland (in 1763) and the unfortunate Duke Charles turned out, although he still had supporters in Courland. His father was then dying and Poland acquiesced in the Russian action.

Baron Ewald de Kloppman was Grand Marshal of the Court. He had been a leading opponent of the Duke Charles and in 1761 had published a pamphlet against him and in favour of Biren in London (see also letter 323, nn. 2 and 3).

been so much accustomed to stand in the presence of the Duke his master as to find any other posture unnatural: or whether he thought of staying only a minute or two and on that account kept himself in readiness to take his leave, I shall not pretend to determine. We were not absolutely motionless all the time but I believe the motions we both made did not exceed the limits of a circle of a 3 feet radius.

But however if our bodies were a little genè our conversation was far from being so. I gave him my letter which he stuf immediately into his waistcoat pocket, and began talking about something else. To be sure I had rather he had opened it and talked about the contents.

Our discourse turned chiefly upon my journey and upon the different people from whom I brought him remembrances. He wished he had expected my arrival as yesterday that he might not have engaged himself this evening: but he would do himself the honour of calling on me at 11 o'clock tomorrow morning to take me to the court and introduce me to his Highness the Duke as also to his Dutchess.

We shook one another by the hand in appearance most cordially, but no mention was made of the business in question. I on my part did not choose to begin it especially as he had not read Offenbergs⁷ letter nor had the Duke yet got the one for him.

However as he enquired after Simpson of Memel⁸ of whom I have already wrote you, I had occasion to observe with what alacrity he was applying himself to shipbuilding wishing even to employ the whole of his capital to that—and we both seemed to agree in the advantages there were in having ships that could pass at these times under neutral flags.

The Baron is rather small in stature, a very pleasing and indeed handsome countenance, with small regular teeth which he keeps perfectly white and shews when he smiles. One eye looks a little dim and seems to stand out further than the other, which gives it a different turn though not at all the appearance of squinting. He has a blue riband the order of the white eagle, lately I believe given him by the King of Poland.

Tuesday 14th

At eleven o'clock or a very little after comes the Baron according to promise to take me to court. He stopt only while I put on my

⁷ See letter 323, n. 3.

⁸ Cf. letter 342, n. 7.

sword and Pelise and lockt up my letter case. I shewed him that I had 2 letters one to Baron Medern the father of the new Dutchess the other to a Baron Fonk both given me by Immerman of Liebau by the desire of Simpson at Memel.⁹ He desired me to put them in my pocket as I should probably see both those gentlemen at Court. I did so accordingly and into the carriage we got.

Though the Palace is not above a stone's throw from my lodgings yet in the time we were going there we were coming to the point. He told me that Ofenberg had written about me to the Duke and that the Duke had — — I know not what the expression was I believe he muttered it to himself even as your dear brother is wont to mutter sometimes but the idea it conveyed was that the D. wished me to come.

I then took occasion to tell him it was on that account and from the persuasion of Ofenberg that I came this way and that I had made it my business to acquire all the information at the several ports between holland and here which I thought could be subservient to the plan which I imagined the Duke had in view.

I told him my plan had otherwise been to have gone straight to the Sound and to have taken Denmark and Sweden in my way to Petersburg. He then told me that the former Duke had built Ships and that the Island of Tobago had belonged to him that there was a treaty between the Duke and our Charles the first about it but that it was afterwards taken by the Dutch. We then got to the difficulty there was in procuring Shipbuilders, (the advantage there would be in building Ships seemed to be agreed upon) and I was just about obviating that difficulty when the carriage stopt at the door. There was now of necessity an end to our conversation on that subject. As we were going up the stairs He told me he should introduce me to the Dutchess and that I was to kiss her hand but as to the Duke himself that was not necessary. If he had not told me I was just that instant going to ask him if the Dutchess's hand was not to be kissed. He first took me into a small room where the Dutchess's 2 maids of honour or Ladies in waiting were waiting, introduced me to them and left me for a minute or two. neither of these ladies were very beautifull and one of them had much the appearance of having been her Mistress's Maid Servant before she arrived at the rank of Dutchess.

They could neither of them speak a word of french and therefore (as) I have made no great progress in my german our conversation

⁹ Fonk is unidentified. For Immerman cf. letter 342, n. 8.

was a little straightened. The Baron then carried me to another room in which was a billiard table and 8 or 10 persons of the Court. I was introduced to 5 or 6 of them separately but don't remember the name of one. One however was an uncle of Kleist's¹⁰ and of course we talked about his Nephew. We amused ourselves here for about a quarter of an hour some playing at billiards others looking on. I was as you may imagine of the latter number. On a sudden the balls were flung on one side the maces and cues on the table or the floor and all ran towards the door. I began to be a little surprised at this disorderly movement, but as I am not very susceptible of any sudden motions or emotions, my surprise had not acted strong enough upon me to make me follow up towards the door also before I saw the train coming in. The Duke and Dutchess were in the middle and Baron Klopman who had just before stepped out of the room followed close by him. When the Duke had entered the room and passed those who stood crowding at the door to receive him, the Baron stepped forward to me by the time the Duke was coming up and presented me. As soon as we had made a sufficient number of bows to each other and he had told me how happy he was to have the honour of seeing me and I had told him how happy I was in the honour of paying my respects to his Highness; the Baron advanced with me to the Dutchess where the same compliments were repeated with the addition of the kissing the hand which on my side was by no means a disagreeable part of the ceremony. I then turned again to the Duke and gave him my letter which he put immediately into his pocket. We then talked a little about Ofenberg how pleased he was with his stay in England what civilities he had received there upon which I got a bow for what share I had contributed. We talked also of my journey and then he began enquiries about Mouskin Pouskin whom he had expected several weeks to stop a few days in his way to Petersburg. The young Baron Ofenberg the elder brother has got a house ready furnished for his reception and the Duke told me he had sent a Carriage to his frontiers a fortnight ago to wait for him and with horses prepared to bring him on. He then said he was exceedingly sorry that he had not known the time of my coming as he had intended to have done the same for me for that I should come by that means more expeditiously with less trouble, but that as it was he must content himself with reserving to himself that honour till my return.

¹⁰ Samuel travelled with a introductory letter from the Baron Kleist, whom he had presumably known in England, to his Excellency, the Baron de Medern (for whom see n. 6, above). See B.M. XX: 4 and letter 347, § 3.

This to be sure is mighty clever but I would rather he should afford me inducement to stay than send me away with such honours: beside that he means when I return to England when it is not very probable that I shall pass through this way. However at all events as it is not improbable but that I may have something to do further northward it is no bad thing to have such a half way house.

The Dutchess then came up and the Duke turned to somebody else. Madame and I then had a tête à tête together at one of the windows for I suppose 4 or 5 minutes till somebody else came up. Klopman then came and presented me to the Dutchess's father and then to Baron Fonk that I might give them my letters. Afterwards I had a little more conversation with the Duke and Dutchess about their going to England. He talks much of going for a twelve month, but that he should by (no) means confine himself to London intending to travel to the extremities of Scotland and Ireland. He is about 56 or 57 but thinks I suppose because he has got a young wife scarcely 18 that he may be talking of making¹¹ such a tour and of learning the language at the same time.

Baron Medern the Dss' father now took me by the hand and I perceived all the company was in motion we followed close up till we came into the room where the dinner was served. The old gentleman placed me between the 2 Ladies with whom I had before found myself a little matter awkward. The one who looked like a workmaid but who sat uppermost did me the honour to whisper 2 or 3 very long sentences in my ear of which I could actually not understand a single word. I really believe she made use of the jargon of a language which the common people talk here.

The Duke however and Baron Klopman addressed their conversation frequently to me. The D. did me the honour to help me to one or 2 dishes but particularly to a kind of game they have between a Partridge and a Pheasant which is I think rather superior to either in taste. You may imagine there were dishes in abundance: I am sure I cant tell you how many. I believe there were 30 people at table. The plates and dishes were of silver nothing very elegant for they looked more like pewter; D and Dss are distinguished from the company by their spoons knives and forks and the stoppers of their decanters being of gold. I dont suppose I eat 10 mouth fulls for I had breakfasted on my honey milk and bread about 9 or 10 and it was but twelve when we sat down to dinner. After dinner which last scarcely an hour the Dss retired to her apart-

¹¹ Sheet 1 (2 leaves) ends here. Docketed (by Bentham): '1779 Dec. 18. S.B. Mittau to I.B. Linc. Inn. Arrival. Leaf | | Sheet 1. Recevd. Jan 11. 1780.'

ment out of one door and the D and we marched into the billiard room. I was then asked to play at billiards with his highness and one or two others but that of course I declined, we staid about $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour looking on and then without saying a word to anybody Klopman and I marched off.

He engaged me to sup with him at his own house, set me down at my lodgings and told me he would call for me at 5 or before to take me to the concert there was to be at the Court.

At about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4 comes the Baron according to promise to take me to the Palace. We went down directly to the Concert room, and the D and Dss came in also presently after us.

As the concert was not begun and could not begin for a quarter of an hour or twenty minutes for want of 2 or 3 of the Musicians I got the Duke to myself not only into the next room where the Dutchess and one or two more followed, but to the farther end of it quite by ourselves seperated even from his fair consort by a large Billiard table. The turn of our conversation was as nearly as I can recollect as follows. The wind being somewhat high so as to make the windows rattle a little the D. observed to me that he could not help being concerned in such stormy weather for the safety of the multitude of Ships which are now cruising on the Seas, and particularly for those of the English nation as he considered himself quite an Englishman in politics. Of course came a bow and an acknowledgement of the honour which his highness did our nation. For my part, says he, I have no Ships to be exposed, if I had I think I could not but be under anxiety for them. *Oui, Monseigneur, mais de posséder, d'être le propriétaire des Vaisseaux à ce tems-ci pendant cette guerre vaut bien l'anxiété pour leur sécurité. Et pourquoi est-ce que votre altesse ne peut avoir une petite marine. Oh, dit il, en m'interrompant mes finances ne le permettraient pas.* By this time we had got by ourselves and without giving me time to say anything in reply he told me how a former Duke (Duke Jacques) had built frigates and navigated them to the sound where he sold them to the English and French, and that at that time he had worked an Iron mine which was in the country had got a foundery where he cast guns with it, he had also a manufactory for Cordage. *Et pourquoi done est ce que votre altesse ne peut faire le même. ou au moins vous pouvez faire construire des Vaisseaux pour faire transporter vos propres marchandises, votre altesse scait bien comment la transportation coûté a ce tems. Oui Monsieur elle est bien chère en vérité j'ai donné moi-même 25s Shillings (I think it was) pr Last pour la transportation d'elles[?]. mais (poursuivit il) nous n'avons*

point de bois de chêne pour la construction. Nous en avons eu beaucoup, mais par la négligence et je ne scai quoi il est presque tout détruit. Il y a été des conflagrations terribles dans plusieurs forêts. Something more of this kind had passed between us when in this manner our tête à tête was put to an end by the striking up of the music, and we rejoined the company.

In returning to the concert room I perceived an old hag looking woman bowed almost double with age seated in one of 2 chairs that were placed in the middle of the room. Before I came up to her Klopman came to me and told me that was the old Dutchess and he must introduce me to her. I found I must kiss her hand too: however it was tollerably clean. The young Dutchess after having stoopt down as upon her knees to embrace the old one set herself down by her in the other chair.

The Duke and of course all the company stood.

The band or chapelle as it is called consists of about 24 and is altogether most excellent but the first Violin everybody will have it is the best in Europe for an Adagio. He is a little humpbacked man and his name is | | He has had great offers from England and other countries but the Duke pays him handsomely and gives him apartments in the palace and besides he is married to a Courlandish woman: this the Dutchess told me and that the latter was the tye by which they kept him.

The first piece was a full piece in which more particular execution in a single part was very distinguishable. In the 2d (I believe it was) the Dutchess herself played a Concerto on the Harpischord, a very difficult one and most charmingly she performed: in short she is a most charming woman altogether as well in her air and deportment as in her person. There is all the appearance of her being of the mildest disposition imaginable and she must have had the greatest attention paid to her education. D'une bonne fille (me dit l'Oncle de Baron Kleist) on peut bien faire une excellente Princesse: mais d'une Princesse on ne peut pas toujours faire une bonne fille.

She told me this was the first time she had play'd as Dutchess for (says she) it is but 5 weeks that we have been married that I have had the honour of being Dutchess.

After the Dss's concerto came another full piece; which I shall pass over: but then came next a Violin Concerto by this | | The D. and Dss and all the company now but the old lady drew as near as possible and Baron Medern who understand once more for all is the Dss's father pushed me through before all to be close to the music stand telling me that otherwise I should loose a great deal.

The Music was the man's own composing. It began with I believe a Symphony which had the effect upon me which you know pleasing music always has. My Spirits were raised up to the tip top and I was most perfectly delighted. This was with the Symphony but when he began the Adagio I was scarcely able to bear it. The most exquisite delicacy with which he played the piano together with the turn of the air, affected me so much that it was no longer a pleasure to hear it and I was most heartily glad when there came a forte to give me a respite, upon another change to the piano. I was so affected that I pressed my hat which I had under my arm to a nothing. My hands which I stuffed into my breeches pockets were as it were so convulsed that I could not keep them still but clenched my fists just as cats do their paws when they receive an great pleasure from being made much of. I perceived the eyes of the D. and Dss and some of the company upon me, and was unwilling they should see how I was affected which increased the violence of my sensations so that I became all of a sudden in a violent perspiration and was in very great distress for about the space of a minute till the conclusion restored me to my peace.

Thursday 15. [*sic*]

I am just now returned from dining at the Court, and as I have 2 or 3 hours to spare before I go again to attend the concert I would fain employ them in continuing my narrative but to confess to you the truth and tell you the real state of my mind, not so much the honour and attention I have had paid me as the affectionate behaviour of the old Baron Medern has flattered me so much and raised my spirits so much that though an hour and more of the time is elapsed I have not been able to set down to continue my said Narrative in a regular manner. I am however never idle when I am in such high spirits whether they are produced by music or any other cause (unless it be | | Adagios) the means of pursuing my present plan occupied almost the whole of my attention and I have thought of some promising expedients. During this same hour and ½ which I have been walking up and down my room in this state of mind, I have also added a line or two to 'œconomy' as also to 'Experimenting.' I am now come to my sober senses again and therefore I will continue from where I left off yesterday.

Tuesday continued.

It was not necessary that I should tell the D and Dss the effect the music had on me, for Baron Medern to whom I had during the

intervals expressed my extacy, told them of it immediately they seemed much pleased at it as it was a Compliment to their Musician. I told them I hoped there was to be no more Adagios, however in consequence I believe of my hopes which were not supposed to be real, orders were given for another to be played soon after. The second was not quite so touchant as the first but yet was too much so unless I had been alone or in a private company to have enjoyed. You I know wont laugh at this over great sensibility nor will you doubt the truth of it, first because I dont much think you will doubt the truth of anything I tell you however extraordinary it may appear and secondly because you have often seen me very much affected by music.

A card table was introduced about the middle of the Concert and the Duke asked me if I never played at any kind of game having understood as much from Klopman. My answer was as it always has been and ever will be that I absolutely cannot play at any game whatever. He told me that they played very low which I found to be really the case however I repeated the same answer only lamenting at the same time that I could not profit of the honour he intended me. at perhaps $\frac{1}{2}$ after 7 the D and Dss retired and we moved off.

The D told me that Ofenburg had wrote to him so much about the Ships at Portsmouth and with expressions of pleasure at what he had see that He in answer desired him to go out as a volunteer for a cruize and sent him 100 guineas to defray the expences that might attend it: but that his letter did not get to England or at least to his hands till he had left England, however he got the 100 guineas. It is 500£ a year that he allows Ofenberg. O's father told me so. When the concert was over Klopman took me to his house to supper. ⟨...⟩ ⟨...⟩¹² an englishman or rather a Dutch man of English parents born in Amsterdam, he is a merchant and has spent a year and half in Courland and Riga but is now returning. His name is Bull. He was of the company, there were 4 or 5 of us only altogether I cant remember that any part of our conversation was worth the trouble of telling it you. Another anecdote I must tell you.

The D asked me if I had seen one of the harpischords which pushed down the notes as they were played. I had not: but he had. He told me the name of the Inventor which as usual I have forgotten. He is at Berlin. D said he had sent for him to Mittau and offered him a good Salary as he was a man of very extraordinary Mechanical

¹² Two different phrases have been used to open the sentence and then crossed out.

genius, but the King of Prussia understanding that he (the D) had sent for him gave him in charge of the Academy to get him instructed in the Theory of Mechanics which he had not knowledge of and told him he would take care of him. On account of this promise of the King's the man could not except of the D's offer. The care that the king has taken of him is to give him a salary of 18£ odd shillings English upon which he is now starving at Berlin.

Wednesday

Baron Klopman promised to go with me to the Academy etc. but some business of the Court prevented him. In the morning came a man in his carriage to be sure, but it was but a shabby equipage all together. He spoke only German and that very indistinctly so that I could scarcely understand a single word. However by the interpretation of Mr. Birkil I understood that he offered me his carriage such as it was whenever I should have occasion for it: also if I wanted money or any thing else Mr. Simpson of Memel had desired him to show me all civilities and he was at my commands. The mention of the word *money* made me entirely neglect his offers of civilities and I considered him in the same light as the kind of Pedlars that are perpetually thrusting themselves into the room to offer their goods to sale: but I was much surprised when after finding I was not engaged to dinner he asked me to dine at Baron Medern's. I could not say no but I wondered what authority he could have to invite me, and before I could determine what I should say to him for the purpose of getting the matter explained, he told me he would call to take me in his carriage at the proper time, took up his hat and took his leave. When he was gone I found it was no other than Baron Fonk who had made me this visit, and whom I had already seen at Court and to whom I had given a letter of introduction from Immerman of Liebau. I comforted myself that my want of the language would apologize for my not treating the Baron with more respect, and prepared myself to accompany him to dinner. Instead however of taking me to Baron Medern's the father of the Dutchess he took me to another brother. the elder brother indeed of the two though neither the richest or the most respected. There was nobody but the Madame who could or would speak french with me and I did not much like her manners so that I was glad when 2 o'Clock came and set off as is the custom here without saying a word. As soon as I got home Mr. Bull called on me and took me in his sledge to a little Palace of the Duke's about 4 english miles from the Town called Schwetoff or some such

name. It was small but ornamented in an elegant taste and the back front of both wings which were very long were green houses in which there were a number of fine orange trees also at one end a small aviary. There is a gallery of pictures some of which appeared to me to be very good. In the stables were a great number of very fine horses, the Duke had just sold 7 to a Polish nobleman for 170 Ducats a piece. When I returned I supt with Mr. Bull at his lodgings and thus I spent a whole day without being able to write any thing and not at all to my satisfaction except from a little information which I got from Bull. I believe he is a mighty good sort of man is very well acquainted with most of the people here and disposed to show me all manner of civilities.

Thursday 16th

Last night to my no small joy I received your letter of the 9th of November. It had come here a week ago but Baron Klopman had sent it back as far as Liebau to meet me. He also sent another by the next post which I believe is from you likewise from his account of the seal this I may receive perhaps Saturday night. I received also at the same time and by the same means 2 other letters one from Stettin containing some information I had written for: the other from Sr Trevor Corry¹³ at Dantzic containing 2 letters of recommendation for Copenhagen. Baron Klopman *aye even in his blue ribbon* had called on me as soon as ever he had got the letters to bring them me himself and not finding me at home would not leave them. I must now continue my narrative, for it is Saturday that I am writing this and as I expect your other letter tonight I will stay to answer them both together if possible before the post goes out tomorrow. At about ½ past 11 as before Klopman called for me and took me to court. The Duke and Dss did not make their appearances till the table was served but I was exceedingly well entertained by the conversation of the company who were there but more particularly with Baron Medern the Dss father and Kleiserlinck Kleist's Uncle. In due time you shall be acquainted a little with both their histories. At table I was better placed than the first day between Klopman and Kleiserlinck instead of the 2 ladies, and immediately opposite the Duke instead of 3 or 4 from him on his right hand. The table is very long and narrow, the D and Dss are seated in the middle on one side and I was consequently in the middle on the other, by this means I could profit of his highness's

¹³ The English Resident at Danzig who had treated Samuel with almost too engrossing politeness. (See Samuel's unpublished letter mentioned in letter 349, n. 5.)

conversation much better and the greater part of it was directed to me. This I believe for the future is to be my place and it is also I believe the more honourable as I am between the two first of the Court: for Kleiserlinc is I think high Chamberlain. They laughed at me a good deal about my former seat between the ladies especially the D for it happened that to day one of the Ladies's nose began to bleed so that she was obliged to leave the table. The seperation after dinner was nearly the same as the former day and we got home a little after 2. I had before told you that when I came home to day my mind was so much occupied with the behaviour of Baron Medern to me, I must now tell you something of it.

First as to his person, he is about the size of Lind, but not quite so fat, his hair almost white curling naturally but disposed by art according to the fashion, a florid open countenance, and a deal of softness in his language and deportment. I should suppose his age to be nearer 70 than 60.

He had on the first day I was at court paid very particular attention to me and seemed much pleased by the expressions I made use of in speaking of the Dutchess his Daughter. The manner in which I was affected by the music seemed to give him favourable impressions of me also, to day before dinner he told me a little of his history, that he had been a firm friend of Duke Charles who reigned during the present Duke's father's disgrace and who is still I believe alive that he spent a vast deal of money in his support even so as to contract debts and that in short he had opposed the present Duke with all his might but that now he was perfectly reconciled with him. in this manner was he talking to me without the least reserve whenever we were both of us disengaged from the Duke. At one time when I made use of some expression which happened to please him I suppose he took me round the neck and kissed me. If you are not sufficiently apprized of how much¹⁴ it is the custom for the men to kiss one another in Germany, you will be very much surpris'd at this behaviour in the middle of the room too, and the Duke not six feet from us. It is the custom here for men of equal rank to kiss each other at meeting and for the inferior to pay his compliments by kissing the shoulder or somewhere thereabouts.

¹⁴ Sheet 2 (2 leaves) ends here. Docketed by Jeremy Bentham: '1779 Dec. 11. S.B. Mittau to I.B. Linc. Inn. Arrival Sheet 2d. Reced Jan 11. 1780.'

The first leaf of Sheet 3 is missing. However there is a copy, probably by Jeremiah Bentham in B.M. XX: 89a-91b. What follows up till 'Saturday Dec: 18th Answer to I.B.'s Letter' is from the copy. Certain spellings etc. thought to be Jeremiah's rather than Samuel's have been altered.

When one man kisses another at any other time than at meeting or taking leave it is always considered as an expression of regard, and from his Excellence (Baron Medern) it was a very great compliment, especially as I saw the eyes of the greatest part of the company upon us, but as I thought their looks seemed to be expressive of respect and no smiles of astonishment I passed it off very well. This custom of kissing among the men is by far the most disagreeable one I have met with in use in the countries through which I have passed. I found it in Holland and in every place I think I have been at. It is also the only custom which I have not yet been able to reconcile myself to. It has been very seldom but what I have contrived to avoid receiving any of their embraces and I have never returned them till on this occasion. At some places I have seen the men as soon as they got up from table after dinner or supper, kiss one another all round. I supped at a Merchant at Stettin where the company consisted of eight or ten men and three ladies, one old and her two daughters, one of which was married and her husband of the company, the other going to be married and her lover of the company. After supper the old lady and gentleman who were master and mistress of the house got to one corner of the room and the men after having embraced one another in a formal manner at rising from table began kissing one another on the mouth too and seemingly with the greatest gout imaginable. Sometimes three or four would join in to a separate kissing party and then change again. The ladies were retired to one end of the room without appearing to take any notice of the manner the men were amusing themselves, and I with some precipitation followed them to be out of the way least I should be obliged to partake of this diversion also. In a little time one or two of them came to the ladies and favoured them with a salute—Till then I had been an idle spectator of a scene not the most pleasing, but now it bethought me (just out of compliment to the company, you may be *sure* from no other motive) that I might as well have a little kissing too. I therefore applied myself as good manners required to those objects which seemed least to the liking of the rest of the company but which I must confess to my poor taste seemed more agreeable. In short during the hour or two which we stayed I had nothing left for my amusement but to kiss these two ladies while the men were kissing and hugging each other. The Lover as well as the Husband seemed very indifferent about their Ladies and only came to them now and then to be satisfied they were in the room. The whole cause of the men's kissing one another so much was that some of them had not seen

each other before for a few years and were going to part again in a day or two. But you must understand they were quite Bourgeois, though probably in very good circumstances. So much for this long digression about kissing, now to return to Baron Medern who had just done me this honour.

He made me several compliments about my disposition and I know not what of which I scarcely remember a word. He told me he had two sons whom he wished might have the honour of my acquaintance and friendship, beg'd that I would come and dine with him the next day where he would introduce me to his Lady whom though not the mother of his children, had brought them up from their infancy, and whose chief attention ever since had been their education. The mother, his former wife, died the moment after his youngest son was born. After dinner we two seemed to separate ourselves a good deal from the rest of the company. I can't remember particularly what we talked about then, but the kiss was once or twice repeated. He is in no post at the court but one of the principal Barons and of the most antient family. He has a red ribband of the order of Stanislaus.

Mr. Bull took me home in his carriage and brought me again at five o'clock to the concert. The concert was again most excellent, that is the execution was very great, but the pieces were not so much to my taste as the first of the Adagios at the former concert, so that I kept myself within the bounds of decency and indeed was talking almost the whole time.

I had taken notice of the Duke's mentioning at dinner that Offenberg had neglected to send him one or two things which were wanting for the furnishing of two or three rooms which he had a mind to furnish with everything from England. I did not then offer my service to send for any thing for him but intended to do it upon some future occasion. This occasion now presented itself. He had just finished his party at the card table and came up to me as I was standing close to the music and told me he was very happy to find by his Marshal that I proposed spending eight or ten days at least here, for that he then should have an opportunity of shewing me a palace he had which was much better than that which I had seen and where he had got these rooms almost furnished with things from England. I then told him of my having remarked what he said at dinner and asked if I might have the honour of charging some of my friends in England to supply the deficiency. 'Très volontiers' with a low bow, was the answer and immediately he took me sometimes by the hand and sometimes by the button, led

me through the company, out of that room and almost to the end of the other. When he had got me there he began to tell me how much he, and his father before him, had been attached to the English nation, that he discouraged as much as possible the use of the french manufacturers for dress, that he himself and the Dutchess wore only English, that the French took none of his exports, and that he intended by little and little to break off all trade with them.

He then told me as it were in answer to what I had offered that Mouskin Pouskin (the Russian Minister lately Resident in England)¹⁵ had recommended Newman his secretary to him to do his business in London, but that now Simolin (the new Russian Minister) was gone to England he did not imagine Newman would answer to his purpose, for he was very far from being good friends with Simolin. He said a good deal against him which I wish but in vain I could remember, but I think an insinuation at least that he was of the French party—just then came a fellow (who to be sure deserves to be fled alive and quartered) to tell the Duke it was his turn at the card table, and he to shew his agility set off with a kind of run. The Duke I found had misunderstood me and thought I meant to recommend a kind of agent for him with a view to profit either of myself or my friends and as he seemed disposed to listen to it in that light I certainly ought not to let slip the opportunity. Lindegreen then immediately ocured to me, first because if I do anything in that way myself it might be through his means, and secondly if I could not profit by it myself I had rather he should than anybody. You may suppose I attended, at least in sight, at the conclusion of his party at cards. I caught his eyes on me as if coming towards me again, but another fellow, (who deserves a worse death than the first) engaged him in conversation. I have 150 reasons not to introduce this subject again yet awhile. I have scarcely any prospect at all of success on account of Baron Klopman's connections in England, and his disposition to catch at anything to make money, but however I certainly shall try, though as I said before, not yet. I contrived to sound Klopman upon it without telling but very little of what the Duke said and without shewing my intention. He said the Duke had a number of people in England to do his business. One thing I know that Immerman the Duke's Agent at Liebau has no connections in England and that he employed another merchant in Liebau to get some furniture in England for the Duke.

¹⁵ This and the next passage in parentheses are probably added by Jeremiah Bentham.

If I mistake not the Duke told me he had exported or sold for exportation last year butter to the amount of £10,000 Sterling. He supposed it was for the Fleets. Now Merchants tell me, that is, Bull told me, that the importation of butter was not permitted except from Ireland.

Baron Medern's two sons were at the concert and the father introduced us to each other.

Friday Decr. 17th 1779

Breakfasted with Baron Klopman. You know I wanted some lace ruffles, and had not as yet bought any, as there are so small duties here those things of course must be cheap. I asked Klopman about it, and he told me he had sent for some from the manufactory for the Duke, and that they had sent a great number, more than were wanting, and that he was going to send them back again, but if I wished to have any I might. I saw they were ready sealed up and directed, but he opened them, and I chose one pair the cheapest of the sort, but they cost eleven ducats which is almost five guineas. But what will you say to me when I tell you that from the advice of every body I have talked with upon the subject it has seemed absolutely necessary that I should have a whole suit of velvet, not plain but striped. This from Klopman's account is cheaper here than any where except at the very place where it is made. He sent separately for each of the merchants to bring their velvets to him and beat them down as low as possible. It is sold in pieces for a suit, but as there is a little more than necessary he cut off a yard and a quarter before he let the taylor have it and made him confess there was still quite enough for the suit. The velvet alone will cost however near £17 and there must be white Satten.

Saturday Dec: 18th Answer to I.B.'s Letter

The Prussian Minister certainly would be the best means of introducing your Code to the King but in case you had no better, it might be done by the means of *my friend* the Margrave of Schwedt first cousin to the king from whom I have received so much honour and expression of friendship, especially as he desired me to write to him as soon as I was arrived at Petersburg. I have not yet found time to give you an account of my reception, and *detention* at his Court: but I will sometime or other.

Continue to direct your letters here although I shall not stay more than a fortnight if I don't succede. that time I shall stay at

any rate. Letters must pass through here (so) the expense wont be increased nor any great delay.

Mears's book I wrote to Lindegren about.

With respect to Symp, it is all gone, lost, never used.¹⁶ I shall begin another letter this afternoon.

I have set up since I have been here generally till 1 or 2 in the morning and never in bed after 7. I was obliged to do this to write thus much to you as you know I take a good deal of time to deliberate upon any thing I do. and you may imagine I have enough at present to deliberate about.

I hope you don't expect I should even have read all this over after having written it much less that I have given any time to correct the first expression that came into my head.

Raspe¹⁷ is certainly the best of men for you or for me or indeed (<..>) for any body were it not for his tache however (you) should know how, I think, not to run a danger of suffering by that part of his Character. He had temptations to

Many thousand thanks to Lind for his news and you also for yours. I shewd Lind's to the Duke and read yours. He was as the rest to whom I shewd it, charmed with Lind's style of writing, but don't fail to tell him of one fault by which alone they found it was not a french man who wrote it. Poste he makes of the feminine gender. true it is so when it signifies the post which carries letters but when a *place* then it is Masculine.

Adieu. I am just come from Court and have a Levee at my Lodgings, to see Storer's Delineator.¹⁸

One of the young Mederns has just called on me. The embraces of the Old Man and of Old Keiserlinc I am very well reconciled to but I cannot *stomach* yet such kissing from the young. I know you will scold me that I cannot conform myself with less difficulty to this as well as other customs. I will as soon as I can: why not kiss a man as well as a Cat, Dog, horse, or in general a substance of the heat of a human body.

Sunday

I had intended not to have gone to Court today at least not till after dinner that I might have had the more to write to you for the Post goes out at 2 o Clock, but Klopman wont let me stay away,

¹⁶ This refers to sympathetic (invisible) ink which the brothers used for private communications.

¹⁷ The name has been deleted but is given in the copy (B.M. XX: 92b).

¹⁸ Cf. letter 300, n. 10.

and I shall the news to tell them from your 2 other letters which I have just now received.

I have just been told second hand from one of the Musicians that the last concert was ordered on my account as it was not on the usual day, but I dont believe a word of it for the D would have told me so if it had.¹⁹

345

JEREMY BENTHAM TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

3-11 January 1780 (Aet 31)

Monday Jan. 3 1780

1. Husarjevski²

Ne rien savoir de ce qui pourroit t'être arrivé à Dantzick, voilà ce qui ne laissoit pas de me donner un peu de mécontentement. Ce mécontentement vient d'être guéri en partie par une lettre de Husarjevski à Lind qui nous est arrivée vendredi dernier le 31. En voici ce qui vous regarde.

A Dantzig ce 17 de Xre 1779

'Je suis toujours occupé Monsieur et cher ami. Je l'ai été dans ce tems-ci, plus qu'à l'ordinaire, tellement que je répons seulement aujourd'hui à vos lettres du 21 Août et du 22 d' Sre. dont la première étoit de recommandation de M. Bentham, qui ne se plaindra pas sûrement de moi, parce que j'ai fait pour lui, tout ce que je devois faire pour une personne que vous m'avez adressée. Indépendamment de cela, j'ai été enchanté de sa figure, de sa douceur, et de ses belles manières. Il a été généralement goûté ici, et je suis sûr qu'il le sera également à Petersbourg, pour où il partit y a environ trois semaines.'

¹⁹ Sheet 3 ends here. Docketed by Jeremy Bentham: '1779 Dec. 18 S.B. Mittau to I.B. Linc. Inn. Reced Jany 11. 1780. Arrival. Sheet 3d. Leaf 2d.'

The address and postmark are also on this sheet.

345. ¹ B.M. III: 1-2. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. Jany. 11th. to S.B. Mietau 1780.'

Addressed: 'A Monsr. / Monsr. Bentham / a Mittau / en Courlande / Aux Soins de M. le Baron Klopman Chambellan de S.A. Serme. / Single Sheet.'

The 'other half sheet' (namely B.M. III: 2) mentioned in section 5 begins with section 15. Thus sections 15-22 were written before section 5. The numbers were presumably added later.

² Husarjevski was Commissary to the King of Poland at Danzig. There is a copy of Lind's letter, dated 21 August 1779, recommending Samuel to him in B.M. XX: 11b, and on p. 72b of the same volume is another copy of part of the letter.

2. Buchati

M. Husarjevski marque aussi que Bukati dont il annonce l'arrivé a couru grave risque à la mer: par où il me semble qu'il a dû être au bord du même vaisseau dont tu as parlé dans ta lettre de Liebau.

3. Letter received

Wedny. Jan. 5

Ce moment on m'apporte ta lettre de Memel³. Elle est arrivé à Londres le 20 dernier: et pendant tout cet intervalle elle m'a été détenue par la stupidité des gens du Post-Office, que Dieu confonde.

4. Letter Sent⁴

Le dernier jour de l'année nous vous avons envoyez deux très longues, moi et Q.S.P. ensemble.

Il consente avec toutes les amitiés du monde de vous fournir £S1000 en cas qu'après délibération suffisante il paroît que le projet de négoce etc présente un prospect de solidité. Il faut que t'en dise ce peu de mois, crainte d'accidens auxquelles toute lettre est sujette.

5. Letter reced

Tuesday Jan. 11

I have just received your long letter of the 18th last⁵: the other half sheet of this was written in the morning. There is a fine parcel of it for Q.S.P. to copy. I believe I have not told you yet that he copies every scrap you write. Your letter contains 3 sheets; but one of them being divided into two I pay as for 4. viz. 4s. Remember this another time. Raspe is just with me. It is near 10 o'clock. I fear I shall not have time to send you much by this post. Wilson opposite me reading your letter.

6. Cooke dead

Je viens ce moment d'apprendre une nouvelle très fâcheuse. Le pauvre Capitaine Cooke est mort: il a été tué par les Sauvages.⁶ La nouvelle en a été porté hier à l'Amirauté dans une lettre de M.

³ See letter 342, n. 7.

⁴ This heading has been moved a sentence backward: it seems to be a later addition, inserted in the wrong place.

⁵ Letter 344.

⁶ Cook was killed at Karakakoa Bay, Hawaii, on 13 February 1779.

Clarke commandant de l'autre vaisseau. Je n'en ai pas encore appris les détails.

7. Lindegreen and Contracts

What belongs to Lindegreen I shall copy out and send him probably tomorrow. In the mean time as to Corn, know that at present it is worth nothing nor will be worth any thing for a long while. Take this as general rule that the Navy and Victualling boards may contract for any thing: prohibited or not prohibited: since none of these prohibitions bind the King.

8. Bread

If any opportunity should offer, I wish you would send some of the bread you mention as a sample. I would then send it about to Hanway: possibly even to Ld. Sandwich and other people. It must certainly be very useful for sea-stores. If you get it fresh you might send it by ever so long a circumbendibus. Is it not the same thing with the biscuit which De Court exports to France. But could not you get the process there; or what would be much better, learn how to make it, and actually make a batch or two of it yourself? It would pass I should think for a frolic very well. You might pretend to be monstrous fond of it; and to wish to be able to have some of it, go where you will. Observe particularly what the *keeping* quality depends on.

9. LAWS

Ne manquez pas de vous instruire de tout ce qui regarde les loix du pays ou vous êtes. Vous me ferez une petite bibliothèque des livres sur ce sujet-là. If you contrive to introduce the subject before the Duke, mentioning the reason for your asking, viz. Code etc you may get such assistance from him perhaps as you could not from any body else.

10. Prices

Get from the people there the prices they sell their things for. What for instance did the Duke get for his butter? You ought to make a table of all their exports with the prices. This would be soon done: their exports can not admit of much variety.

11. Ships

Get likewise an account of the number of ships that have entered the Courish ports for as many years back as you can: distinguishing them according to their nations.

12

I have not yet been to Sharpe's⁷: and I can not imagine what use it could be to you there to know how we load our Waggons here. I wish you had told me something of the purpose.

13

Depuis quelque tems les affaires publiques vont très bien. La prise d'Omoa avec tous ses trésors, la défaite des forces combinées des Rebelles et de la France, le mésintelligence la haine même qui s'est mise entre ces deux puissances, l'accomodement si heureux et si inopiné avec l'Irlande, tout cela joint à quelques petits succès de moindre conséquence a mis une certaine allégresse dans l'esprit du peuple. Quant à l'affaire d'Omoa on l'a introduit sur le théâtre au fin du pantomime de Harlequin Fortunatus.⁸ On y représente la bravoure étourdie du matelot, qui s'étant grimpé avec deux coutelas sur le mur et ayant surpris un officier Espagnol nud et en chemise lui en présenta un. Tenez, Signor, dit-il: maintenant nous voilà égaux. Vers le même tems deux autres s'étant portés vers un autre côté avec leurs mousquets présentèrent leurs pièces à 50 ou 60 Espagnols et leur inspèrent tant d'effroi, qu'ils restèrent immobiles sans songer à les attaquer. Ces deux traits sont rapportés dans la Gazette de la Cour.

14

Que diriez-vous si le Parlement vint à supprimer les sinécures, les appointemens sans emploi. Vous direz sans doute que le patriotisme n'est pas encore éteint, et que la vertu ici est un peu plus qu'un vain nom. En vérité la chose commence à ne plus paroître invraisemblable. *Burke* a proposé un *Bill* pour cet effet, et il aura le secours de bien de Membres qui ordinairement ne se rangent pas du parti de l'opposition: entre autres de votre ami Sr. Gilbert Elliot de Adam, et d'autres Ecossois. 14 *Counties* ont déjà /arrêté/ présentés des *pétitions* pour appuier le projet, et il paroît probable que tout le royaume suivra leur exemple.⁹ [*Inserted*: See No. 22]

⁷ Cf. letter 343 §9.

⁸ The pantomime has not been traced. For Omoa cf. letter 343, n. 5.

⁹ Burke's Bill for 'economical reform' was introduced on 11 February 1780. Sir Gilbert Elliot (1751-1814) had succeeded his father (cf. letter 96, n. 4) as fourth baronet in 1777, and was at this time M.P. for Roxburghshire; he was created Baron Minto in 1797 and Earl of Minto in 1813. He at first supported Burke but later voted against economical reform. For Adam cf. letter 201, n. 10.

TRAS 15

Tuesday Jan: 11

I have now before me Bergman's 'Commentationes Chemicae tertio novorum Societatis Reg. Scient. Ups. actorum tomo excerpta. Upsaliae apud Joh. Edman. Reg. Acad. Typograph 1777. 4to.¹⁰ It consists of two papers: one exhibiting a chemical analysis of the contents and productions of Volcanos; the other a chem. analysis of the several sorts of pretious stones. In the first, p. 65 is an account of the puzzolana, and which is nearly the same thing the Dutch Tras. It gives the theory of the mortar made with those substances most clearly and perfectly. I have therefore extracted what relates to these subjects: which is as follows.

16

In two specimens 100 parts of Puzzolana contained	I	II
Silicious (that is chrystalline) earth	55	60
Argillacious	20	29
Calcarious	5	6
Calx of Iron	20	15
	<hr/> 100	<hr/> 100

This substance as every body knows mixt up with quick-lime slacked in water presently grows in to a stone: which most useful property is much illustrated by the account above given of its composition.

17

The firmness of mortar depends in a general view upon the lime-water, with which the whole mass ⟨...⟩ ⟨...⟩ed. This attracts the aërial acid ⟨...⟩ ⟨...⟩ from the atmosphere: which being ⟨...⟩ ⟨...⟩ saturation the particles which were ⟨...⟩ ⟨...⟩ separated (this is rather obscure) (quo ad saturationem hausto, particulae solutae secernuntur) grow on as it were to the others and glew them together, whereas before they were connected only by a kind of

¹⁰ The two papers are: *Producta ignis subterranei Chemice considerata* and *Disquisitione Chemica de Terra Gemmarum* both by Torbern Bergman (1735-84) and to be found in the third volume of *Nova Acta Regiae Societatis Scientiarum Upsaliensis*. Later in this letter (§ 21) Bentham gives a reference to Volume I of Bergman's *Opuscula physica et chemica*, which was published in 1779. Bentham had a very high opinion of Bergman; and said indeed that he would like to follow the method in jurisprudence which Bergman followed in mineralogy. (See Elie Halévy, *La Formation du Radicalisme Philosophique*, I, 313.) He also translated a work of Bergman's (see letter 350, n. 14).

juxtaposition accompanied with a very weak degree of cohesion. This combination is the sooner effected, the quicker the water evaporates.

18

Common mortar is made with sand a pure silicious earth: the particles of which being like glass, neither take up water, nor contract any adhesion with any other particle, by which means the whole mass takes a long time to dry and harden.

19

Now then if instead of sand, the puzzolana be employ'd, the case is very different. The particles of the clay not only greedily absorb the water, but by their spongy texture serve admirably well to connect and fasten with the other ingredients. Besides this, there is the calx of iron, and which has still some portion of phlogiston adhering to it. This, as has been found by experience, contributes greatly to the strength of the whole: insomuch that if to your puzzolana you add fresh quicklime (by which the water is not only most greedily absorbed, but by means of the heat produced by the mixture presently driven off in vapour) the whole mass, if your workmen are lazy, will harden as they are working it, and become unfit for use.

20

The Dutch *Tras* he says (which signifies mortar) is very nearly of the same nature as the puzzolana except that it contains rather more heterogeneous matters (~~he seems to mean silicious earth~~) at least that does which is brought from *Andernach* (I) believe somewhere in Germany near the ⟨.⟩ for beside particles of *mica* and iron ore particles of *schoerl* and granate, and other substances may also be distinguished by the eye and in some measure separated by lation. In general too it contains more calcarious earth, as appears from it's effervescing more violently in acid.

21

With respect to silicious earth, you are to understand that common clay, is commonly half or even $\frac{3}{4}$ of it and more, silicious earth (See Bergman Opuscula Vol. 1. p. 289. Holmiae Upsaliae and Aboae 1779 Tract de confectione aluminis S.3) clay perfectly free from all heterogeneous matter being neither more nor less than so much earth of alum. It appears therefore that the sand which is

used to make common mortar is precisely the worst of earth that can be employ'd, and it should seem that common clay would do as well as the Dutch material to make even the terras cement, if the clay were hard enough to bear pounding without sticking together and growing ductile. The puzzolana and the Dutch or Andernach stone possess this advantage owing to their having been baked by the fire of the Volcano to which they owe their origin. Broken pitchers and other earthenware would answer equally well I suppose if they were to be had equally cheap. It appears therefore that this terras mortar is nothing more than what common mortar ought to be.

22

Une chose qui arriva à l'assemblée du comté de York ne contribuera pas peu à la réussite de ces projets d'économie. M. Smelt ci-devant Sous Gouverneur du Prince de Galles et connu pour l'ami particulier du Roi (d'ailleurs homme de bien) y alla exprès pour tâcher de les empêcher. Là-dessus il donna un bel harangue, et fit tant qu'il révolta tout le monde. Il dit entre autres choses, que le Roi n'avoit pas à beaucoup près assez de pouvoir, que c'étoit une fausse idée qui le regardoit comme serviteur du publique: qu'il n'y a actuellement qu'un seul patriote dans la nation, et que cet homme unique est sur le trône. Le Roi paroît être également l'objet de la haine et du mépris de tous les partis. Il veut faire tout par lui-même: il brouille tout: il gâte tout. On dit que Lord Gower a dit dans une assemblée assez publique 'Enfin il n'y a pas moyen de ne pas lier les mains à ce fou-là.† Enfin il ne paroît pas avoir d'ami que ce Mr. Smelt. Heureusement notre constitution et notre bonheur sont établis sur une base un peu plus forme que la sagesse de tel ou tel particulier.¹¹

† That madman must have his hands tied.

¹¹ The meeting of Yorkshire freeholders took place on 30 December 1779 (cf. I. R. Christie, *Wilkes, Wyvill and Reform*, London, 1962, 76-77). Leonard Smelt (1719?-1800), a Yorkshireman, formerly a Captain in the Royal Engineers, was appointed Sub-Governor to the Prince of Wales and Prince Frederick (Duke of York) in 1771. It was on the occasion mentioned by Bentham that Smelt 'publicly renounced his pension... in order to have the pleasure of uttering some unpopular royalist opinions' (Richard Pares, *King George III and the Politicians*, Oxford, 1953, 6, n. 4).

For Earl Gower, cf. letter 341, n. 7.

346

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

17-18 January 1780 (Aet 31)

Lundi ce 17 Janv. 1780

Ce moment je reçois ta lettre du 26 dernier.² Je m'occupe d'abord de tes questions: je leur donne la préférence sur toute autre chose; et lorsque j'y répons, ce sera avec un degré de soin et d'assurance proportionné à l'intérêt que je t'y vois prendre. Ne craigne point que je sois inquiet de ne rien savoir des personnes, des motifs, ni des circonstances. Eh! comment as-tu pu croire qu'il falloit que tu me fasses des apologies à cet égard? Et comment pourrai-je te confier mes propres secrets, si je te voyois trahir ceux d'autrui? Tu sçais assez si je t'aime, et cependant combien de fois m'as-tu vu agir de même avec toi, que tu agis maintenant avec moi. D'ailleurs puisque tu te soucies tant de la promptitude aussi

346. ¹ B.M. III: 4-5 and X: 603. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. to S.B. Jany. 18th 1780.'

Addressed: 'A Mons: / Mons: Bentham / a Mittau / en Courlande / aux soins de M. le Baron Klopman / 2 sheets / 2 feuilles.'

The latter part of this letter—the 'private' English as opposed to the 'ostensible' French part—is addressed 'To / Miss Paris'. It is in fact the 'sham letter directed to Miss Paris' referred to in Bentham's letter to Samuel of 30 March-4 April 1780 (letter 350 at n. 18). It is not quite clear whether this part (B.M. X: 603) was enclosed with the main French part of the present letter or with the letter from George Wilson to Samuel (cf. letter 350, n. 17) sent at the same time; but it seems most properly to belong where it is placed here. For Miss Paris cf. n. 10 below.

² B.M. II: 421, dated 19-26 December 1779 at Mittau. It gives a further description of the Courland Court, and of a visit paid to a country house of the Duke's where the manners were much less formal. There was evidently quite serious question of Samuel's settling in Courland to build ships for the Duke, but 'there are those whose interest it is to oppose me'.

The following merits quotation:

'If you don't send a copy of Code and Punishments too here to the Duke the very instant they are published, never see my face again. He has sense enough to admire them, and what is still more extraordinary I believe application enough to read them. You do not say any thing of the time when Code is to be finished although you tell me it is to have the preference.'

The letter concludes with a set of eight queries, the gist of which may be inferred from Bentham's answers in the present letter. He may seek help from their father or from Alderman Clark. Samuel emphasizes the importance of the queries, but must keep their purpose secret. They concern the possibility of a foreigner's purchasing land in England. It is implied that the foreigner is Polish, but this must not be said to those he consults.

Bentham, it seems, took it that this foreigner was in fact the Duke of Courland and intended the 'ostensible' French part of his answer to be seen by the Duke.

bien que de l'exactitude de mes réponses, je suis bien aise que tu me l'aise fait savoir; autrement je suis maintenant si occupé que j'aurois deféré cette affaire comme j'ai été obligé de faire à l'égard de celui des voitures. Tu sçais très bien que depuis plusieurs années je me soucie beaucoup moins de ce que sont les loix, que de ce qu'elles doivent être: mais heureusement les chefs sur lesquels roulent vos questions sont l'A B C de notre jurisprudence: ainsi je suis aussi bien porté d'y répondre, que si je n'avois jamais fait autre chose que de soutenir le juste ou l'injuste selon qu'on le commande. Cependant je n'ai garde de me fier à mes propres forces: et les réponses quelles qu'elles soient tu pourrois t'assurer qu'elles sont le résultat unanime (à moins que je marque le contraire) des opinions de tous les gens de loi de mes amis que je pourrai trouver moyen de consulter sans faire trop d'éclat.

Vos questions, mon cher, sont si bien conçues, et le plan qu'on y a formé pour tirer toutes les connoissances dont on pourroit avoir besoin pour se déterminer est si bien tracé, qu'il me semble qu'il n'y a rien à désirer à cet égard. Cependant je ne les répéterai pas: et je ne bornerai à y donner les réponses pour épargner le tems et l'écriture.

1

Un étranger (à moins de se faire naturalizer) ne peut pas acquérir en son propre nom aucun bien-fonds, hormis une maison pour sa demeure, et cela pour quelques années seulement. Cela s'entend de l'hypothèque (mortgage) aussi bien que de l'acquisition directe.

2

Mais s'il mène sa femme ici, et qu'elle accouche ici ou partout ailleurs dans les états du Roi, ses enfans seront citoyens Anglois. Aussi si vous vous mariez en Courlande par exemple vos enfans quelconques qui y naîtront, seront Anglois: comme aussi les enfans quelconques de vos enfans males.

3

Tout étranger, *Protestant* et non ennemi, peut obtenir un Acte du Parlement pour le naturalizer. C'est ce qu'on ne refuse à personne. C'est un objet de £S150 à £S200 quand un seul en fait les fraix: ordinairement plusieurs se joignent ensemble pour cet effet: de façon qu'il ne leur coûte à chacun qu'environ 20 à 30 ou 40 £S.

4

Un tel *naturalisé* peut acquérir des terres et çtre Anglois en toute façon: excepté qu'il ne peut prétendre à aucun emploi: à moins d'un dispense particulier dont il n'y a que très peu d'exemples, entr'autres le Prince Hereditaire de Brunswic.³ Cependant à l'égard des emplois militaires, on ferme les yeux tellement quellement dans la pratique: témoin le vainqueur d'Estaing, le Général Prévôt⁴ qui est Suisse, et quelques officiers de la Marine: mais la lettre de la loi leur rend toujours la condition précaire.

5

Cependant à l'égard des terres qu'il voudra acquérir, un étranger, par les moyens que vous avez imaginé, peut très-bien s'en assurer la jouissance. Pour cela, il n'a qu'à se servir du nom d'un Anglois. Pour que cet Anglois ne puisse pas le vendre, votre ami n'a qu'à en garder les titres de jouissance (Title-deeds). Alors tout le mal que cet Anglois peut lui faire, c'est de lui en voler les profits à mesure qu'ils se produisent: et à cela il pourra mettre fin dès qu'il veut par un procédé très court. Supposons donc que les terres valent £S 4000 par an: pour se garantir, il ne lui fait qu'un homme d'affaires qui puisse donner caution au montant de £S 4000: alors il sera sûr de ne rien perdre, en prenant garde de ne pas laisser courir les arrérages plus d'une année.

6

Vous voyez bien qu'il n'y a pas moyen de dispenser votre ami de la nécessité de mettre sa confiance à quelque Anglois au montant de la somme qui lui deviendra due dans l'espace qui s'écoule entre un jour de payement et celui qui le suit: par exemple la rente pour une moitié de l'année. Pour cela il faut bien se fier à quelqu'un: On prendra caution pour £4000: mais qui est-ce qui peut assurer que celui qui le donne a des effets de cette valeur-là? Il faut que ce soit quelque autre Anglois: et ainsi de suit. On peut (de la façon que vous indiquez) établir un autre homme d'affaires pour poursuivre en justice en cas de besoin, le premier.—*Sed quis custodiat ipsos Custodes?* En supposant que tous les deux sont des gueux et des fripons et se mettront d'accord pour le tromper il peut toujours perdre. Cette espèce de risque, il faut qu'on le court partout: mais

³ Prince Charles William Ferdinand of Brunswick (1735–1806), who succeeded his father as Duke in 1780, held commands in the combined British and Hanoverian armies during the Seven Years' War.

⁴ Cf. letter 343, n. 5.

il sera toujours plus grand dans un pais étranger. Cependant si votre ami veut bien le courir, vous pouvez lui marquer, que la chose peut se faire à son gré.

7

Quant à l'homme d'affaires (the Agent) il me paroît que le bon homme Browne,⁵ le même qui a toujours fait si bien les affaires de mon père, lui conviendrait à merveille. Il a des biens immeubles et visibles [de la] valeur dont il est question ci-dessus. Je crois qu'il ne lui seroit pas difficile de trouver pour certifier en faveur de sa probité des gens d'un rang capable de rassurer un étranger qui ne peut juger que par les noms. Je me rappelle entre autre le Juge Buller, neveu de l'ancien Chancelier le Comte de Bathurst.⁶ Se donner pour caution voilà encore qui est bien autre chose. Si mon père par exemple par amitié pour Browne voudroit bien s'exposer en cette capacité. Sa caution seroit bonne pour £S 1200 par an en biens immeubles et visibles: mais qui est-ce qui pourroit s'assurer de cela en Pologne?

8

Tout ceci est entre nous, et seulement pour vous mettre à même d'obliger votre ami dans le cas qu'il s'adresse à vous de son propre mouvement pour lui recommander un homme d'affaires. Mais n'allez pas lui en proposer s'il est dans le cas de pouvoir s'en pourvoir par quelque autre canal. Vous n'êtes pas si bête que d'attendre qu'on mette une pleine confiance dans un étranger comme vous: ainsi en vous mettant trop en avant, vous courez[le] risque d'être soupçonné d'un intérêt que vous n'avez pas: et alors vous pourrez vous baisser dans l'estimation des gens, seulement pour une très petite chance de rendre des services à deux personnes dont une est un ami nouveau, et l'autre un particulier qui bien que très honnête homme vous est à peu près indifférent. Si vous ne scaurez vous défendre de proposer des moyens qui renferment le choix de telle ou de telle personne, qu'ils ne soient fondés que sur la supposition que vous ne soyez qu'un fripon. Là-dessus vous pourrez proposer, par exemple, qu'on choisisse par quelque autre canal un homme d'affaires qui ne me soit pas connu: en ce cas vous et moi

⁵ Cf. letter 45, n. 3.

⁶ Henry Bathurst, 2nd Earl Bathurst (1714-94) was Lord Chancellor from 1771-78. In 1779 he succeeded Earl Gower as Lord President of the Council. His sister, Lady Jane Bathurst, was the mother of Sir Francis Buller (1746-1800), who had been appointed a puisne judge of the King's Bench on Mansfield's recommendation in May 1778.

nous pourrons très-bien servir par occasion pour éclairer la conduite de cet homme d'affaires: ou bien on pourroit en prendre un à votre recommandation: et dans ce cas-là on doit se procurer par un autre canal un inspecteur qui ne nous sont pas connu. Vous voyez que je m'offre à vous pour cela en cas de besoin: mais n'allez pas m'impliquer dans une telle affaire sans des motifs bien déterminés. En vérité je ne comprends pas qu'est-ce qu'il peut t'avoir déterminé à te donner tant de mouvement pour un Polonois qui apparemment ne scauroit en aucune façon concourir à tes vues. Est-ce pure amitié? eh bien, je m'y rends: tu ne peux pas avoir d'ami qui ne soit le mien.

9

Toutefois pour me mettre dans le cas de pouvoir servir plus efficacement à cet ami, il me semble que tu dois me le faire conn(oltre.) tâchez donc d'obtenir permission à cet effet. Par exemple est-il Catholique? si cela est, il ne faut pas penser à la naturalization: à moins que pour l'amour de l'Angleterre il ne veuille déclarer en justice qu'il ne croit pas à la transsubstantiation, ni que le Pape n'ait ici aucun droit. Mais même dans ce cas-là il pourroit posséder des bien fonds de la façon indirecte mentionnée ci-dessus: c'est à dire sur le même pied que les Catholiques nés ici les ont possédé jusqu'à présent.

10

Vous voulez sçavoir à quel prix on peut maintenant en acheter? hélas! pour une bagatelle. Avant les troubles actuels le prix courant en étoit 30 fois la rente annuelle: notre père a donné pour une partie de Q.S.P. 33 fois. Maintenant ce n'est environ 20 fois: L'autre jour une partie des biens du feu Comte de Halifax⁷ s'est vendue pour 18 fois seulement. En Angleterre la distance de la capitale ne fait aucune différence: mais en Ecosse le prix en est un peu moindre. C'est le vrai tems de moisson pour les gens à argent. Si nos succès continuent il haussera sans doute: et lors de la paix il reprendra son premier niveau. Je parle toujours des *terres*: quant aux maisons, le prix en est moindre: mais c'est une vile denrée qui à plusieurs égards ne conviendrait pas à une personne qui fût en état de faire son choix. Elles ne donnent aucune considération: elles exigent des réparations: on n'est pas sûr de les mettre à bail: témoin mon pauvre *Malthouse*.

⁷ George Montague Dunk, 5th Earl of Halifax (1716-71), after whose death the earldom became extinct.

Point de place pour des nouvelles: il y a d'autres qui t'en donneront peut-être. Il me semble, mon cher, que votre séjour est un peu long en Courlande: je crains que les Medern et les Klopman etc. etc. et surtout les bontés de votre Prince à coeur Anglois que vous vantez tant, ne vous fassent perdre de vue votre objet principal. Eh bien done, il l'aura mon code: il l'aura dès la fin de Juillet: je dois en envoyer un exemplaire à son seigneur suzerain,⁸ qui l'attend. Les deux exemplaires pourroient aller ensemble. A propos de ce Roi-là, savez vous les bruits étranges qu'on a fabriqué en Hollande touchant sa prétendue démence, et l'abdication qui devoit s'ensuivre? Il n'y a pas 14 jours que j'ai vu une lettre de lui qui venoit d'arriver par la poste, pleine de sens et d'esprit.

Ce voyage de votre Duc dont vous parlez dans votre avant dernière, marquez-moi, dès que vous le savez, quand il doit se faire. Qu'il vint maintenant il trouveroit un petit compagnon de métier, un Prince Souverain d'Anspach⁹ lequel se plait ici singulièrement: à en croire le Baron Podmaniezki qui le connoit particulièrement, et qui alloit souper chez lui en partant de chez moi Samedi. En effet on pourroit beaucoup voir dans le cour(s) d'une année: mais cependant que fera le Province?

Ci-dedans vous trouverez une lettre de notre ami Lohmen à sa princesse.¹⁰ Il ne sçauroit l'envoyer par la poste, crainte de la famille: c'est pourquoi il vous prie de trouver occasion de la lui remettre vous même, de façon que personne n'en sache. Adieu! Adieu!

Mardi ce 18 Janvr. 1780.

⁸ The King of Poland, Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski. Among the various drafts for letters to Sovereigns and Ministers in U.C. CLXIX is one to him written c. 1780 on page 42, also a later one on page 44. The former like most of these unsent letters concerns the proposed presentation of *Code*.

⁹ This was presumably Christian Frederick Charles Alexander, Margrave of Anspach and Bayreuth (1736-1806), who in 1791 sold his principality to the King of Prussia and retired to England.

¹⁰ This is evidently the Miss Paris of letter 350, § 20. She seems to have been Lohmen's fiancée and may perhaps have been stepdaughter to the Dr Kruse of whom Samuel saw a good deal in St Petersburg and for whom he obtained agricultural information. In Samuel's undated letter received by Bentham on 1 May 1780 (see letter 353, n. 1) he reports that he delivered this letter with due secrecy on a visit to the Kruse family—'the mother was ready to eat me up'. In a later letter Bentham received from Samuel, dated 23 October 1780 (see letter 378, n. 1), Samuel talks of Miss Paris as going with Dr Kruse, his wife and unmarried daughter to his estate in Polish Liepland. He also says 'Kruse's chief merit is that he is father in law to one of the best sea officers in Europe'. He is certainly referring here to Lohmen and one must understand him to mean 'is to be'. See also letter 372 at the end, where Miss Nancy is evidently the same lady again. Letters to Madame Kruse and to Mlle Paris from Lohmen are listed in Jeremiah Bentham's list of Samuel's letters of recommendation; also a letter to Mlle Lohmen (B.M. XX: 4).

1¹¹

Your secret is so transparent that I cannot help questioning whether you meant to keep it from me. Indeed what helped me to the bottom of it was a circumstance I have heard from several quarters, that the E. of R.¹² was not at all satisfied with this new march. On this account it seems as if a sort of asylum was looking out for by way of a *pis-aller*. The letter I meant should be every syllable osten: and therefore I have made its appearance as inost: as possible. The supposition is that you have been telling me a wrong country in order to keep the promise a secret the better by holding out false lights. Did you really mean your gauze covering as a contrivance to cheat the Devil, and to let me know without having told me. I hope not: and I think not, from the circumstance of your mentioning Q.S.P. in that manner. Now as to him he is the last person of all others to be ⟨...⟩ the least suspicion of such an affair. ⟨Be⟩cause his vanity would lead him to talk of it to everybody who would hear him: by which means it would sooner or later come round to the ears of 8 Russians who might prevent it. Do you know that they even talk of Siberia again to make way for Orloff? who they say is become a sanglier and must be sent out of the way. But this is all vague stuff not taken from any authority that can be depended upon, and besides mixed with incons(istent) ideas of the K. of P's¹³ being to be disgraced for interfering in the affair, and your man being to be put in his place. Such ⟨as⟩ it is I have it from L.¹⁴ who mentions not ⟨...⟩ neither nor gives great weight to it.

Mind what I am going to say to you now. For the future till I hear of your being elsewhere I shall direct to you at Mittau, and I shall take care that every thing shall be ostens: however otherwise in appearance. For most matters I shall make use of ~~Symp~~ or ~~Sy~~ /or ~~Si~~: whenever you see it in the first page try all over. I shall direct to you at Mittau generally; not as before, because you may have your reasons for wishing that person should not know of it. Now then you may give a general commission to D.¹⁵ or anyone else in trust for him to open all letters directed for you. This will have the appearance of the utmost trustiness. The time for offering to do it will be when D. happens to express any particular satisfaction at any of the letters of news that come to you. Then after abundance of apologies for the trouble it may give him to hunt over the letter through a parcel of stuff that relates only to your own

¹¹ B.M. X: 603 begins here.¹² The Empress of Russia.¹³ Stanislaus, King of Poland.¹⁴ John Lind.¹⁵ The Duke of Courland.

trifling affairs you may propose his opening the letters for the sake of the news, or on account of the chance there may be of their containing any thing relative to the project. L. will write to you by next post: so if you should be gone, there will be a letter for them to read.

2.

To Mosy¹⁶ I shall not write, because I will not have any thing appear under my hand: but Thursday (the day after tomorrow I will go to talk with him: that is to show him that part of your letter: for no solicitations shall I use on my own account for obvious reasons.

3.

Lohman called on me this morning: I have had scarce time to say a syllable to him. He comes again tomorrow. Poor fellow he has been very ill, and has been confined here at Portsmouth instead of going to Gibraltar with the fleet as he was to have done.

I shall set Browne to work tomorrow. The Query about children already born is virtually answer'd. They must be naturalized along with the father.

Yes the scheme of indentures will do perfectly. I will send you a form if there should be occasion.

The new initial I will still endeavour to send you under a seal. You may mention to D. the possibility of such a thing, I leave it him as a legacy. The fusible metal Swede has no more of. I could perhaps get you the receipt whereby you might make it and send it from Petersburg if desired.

Since my last I have been rummaging the books of Patents. It costs a shilling to examine each, ~~so to claim an~~ an office copy is not to be had but an enormous price 1s. for every 92 words at the least: possibly she might let me make extracts gratis. For office copies are wanted only for evidence in trials. They are distributed (devil take them) among three offices: of which as yet I have seen but one, to which *Standham*[?] introduced me. I looked over the index which begins at the reign of Ann about the beginning of the present century at which time Patents were first allow'd. But patents yet unexpir'd will be all that it can be material for you to know of. I remarked inter alia somebody's steering machine: the patent granted but a few months ago: also one to one of the Fordyce's for pearl ashes to be made of new materials, also another to one Champion for another new metal.

¹⁶ Mosberry: cf. letter 343, n. 7.

You must take care not to mention any of the contents of this letter, because you can not produce it, and must not be supposed to have had it.

Take occasion to open ~~the succeeding~~ future letters if they should come while you are there before D. that he may see there is nothing more than what you shew him. I may possibly scold you in a cheerful way about the extraordinary expence occasioned by your going there, that D. if he pleases may take a hint.

347

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

7 February 1780 (Aet 31)

1. Code

Peut-être que vous pourriez faire ensorte que Monseigneur² vous donne une lettre à sa soeur qui est à Petersburg. Cela pourroit vous être essentiellement utile: surtout s'il est vrai, comme on dit ici qu'elle est très-bien avec l'Impératrice. Ce sera mieux sans doute, s'il lui vient en l'esprit de vous faire cette grâce de son propre mouvement: c'est à vous [de] juger cependant, si vous ne pourriez pas hazarder à la lui demander, en lui disant la raison. Le point capital est de faire ensorte que le Code parvienne aux mains de l'Impératrice: et pour s'assurer de cela on ne peut pas se ménager trop de canals. Harris, Sievers,³ Kruze⁴ car pour les Orloffs les Repnins et les Czernichiefs,⁵ dans un cas comme celui-ci je ne les compte pour rien. En voilà trois: mais peut-être que ce quatrième-ci sert le meilleur de tout. Cela fait tout est fait qui dépend de nous.

2. Keir's Metal.⁶

Enfin j'ai acquis quelques morceaux de la nouvelle composition métallique dont je vous ai tant parlé. Je vous en envoie un sous le

347. ¹ B.M. III: 12–13. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. to S.B. Feby. 7th 1780.'

Addressed: 'A Monsr. / Monsr. Bentham / Gentilhomme Anglois / Mittau / en Courlande / Single Sheet / Post paid 1s.'

² The Duke of Courland.

³ Johann Jakob Sievers (1731–1801) Russian diplomat and administrator. He was then Governor of Nowgorod-Veliki. Later he was Ambassador to Poland, and in 1793 negotiated the second partition of Poland. He is said to have played an important part in preparing Catherine's *Instructions* of 1767.

⁴ See letter 346, n. 10.

⁵ For Orloff cf. letter 255, n. 3; for Repnin, n. 14 below; for Chernyshev, letter 303, n. 9.

⁶ See letter 336 at n. 10.

sceau de cette lettre. On en a fabriqué déjà des *bolts* pour les vaisseaux. On a fait des expériences sur ces *bolts*, pour en connaître la force et la dureté. On a pris deux de ces bolts avec un de cuivre, tout à fait semblable aux deux autres: on les a appuyés tous trois par les deux bouts sur deux enclumes; on a frappé dessus dans le milieu. Les deux bolts de Keir's-metal ont cédé beaucoup moins que le cuivre: mais enfin un des deux /se cassa en deux/ rompa: l'autre se plia en double tout comme le cuivre. Je tiens cela de Mosberry qui en a été témoin oculaire. Voici quelques autres particularités que je tiens de Raspe. Ld. Sandwich en avait commandé un assortiment pour l'équipement d'un vaisseau. Après cela il en a ordonné des épreuves qui se sont faites en présence de deux membres de la Soc. Roy. le Président Banks et Solander. Ces deux Messrs. ont trouvé ou cru trouver que les bolts au lieu de passer de l'un à l'autre surface des parois du vaisseau, comme font ceux de fer sans perdre de leur diamètre, ont cédé à la réaction du bois de sorte que leur diamètre a diminué vers le bout qui s'avancait, en grossissant vers le milieu: comme on dit que fait le cuivre en pareil cas. Là-dessus on a contremandé la commission; au grand mécontentement du particulier qui a *occupé* en cette occasion (comme on dit en termes de Jurisprudence Française) pour l'inventeur. Je n'ai pas eu le tems pour examiner plus particulièrement dans le droit de cette affaire: mais je le ferai avec le tems. Il est constant toujours par le rapport de Ramsden que c'est le meilleur métal qu'on a trouvé encore pour les instrumens de Mathématique.

3. Offenburg. Raspe

A propos de ce Raspe, je suis très fâché de t'apprendre que c'est un coquin, et que cette *tâche* (qui cependant est plus grosse que nous nous sommes imaginés) n'est pas à beaucoup près le seul qui défigure son caractère. Il a traité d'un facon indigne nos aimables amis Offenberg et Kleist. Lors de leur départ ils lui ont fait présent de la façon la plus généreuse de 50 guinées outre les fraix de voyage, qu'ils ont porté pour lui partout. Après cela mon homme leur a présenté un mémoire où il leur a fait une grosse demande sur je ne sçais quels prétextes en montant de je ne sçais quelle somme: et sur leurs refus, il les a actuellement fait arrêter; et ce n'a été que par l'entremise de Mouschin Pouschkin que l'affaire a été arrangé de façon qu'ils ont pu continuer leur route. C'est ce que j'apprens par le Baron Podmaniezki mais c'étoit à la hâte: aujourd'hui que je vais dîner avec lui, j'en tirerai des détails ulterieurs. J'étois alors à la campagne: Si j'avais sçu l'affaire dans son commencement, je

crois que j'aurois pu leur sauver cet affront. En effet je ne puis que le sentir vivement pour eux: (si tout cela est vrai désormais ce coquin là n'entre plus chez moi). Toutefois je suis bien aise que ce n'est pas un Anglois qui le leur a fait. Je me rappelle maintenant qu'un jour que je disois quelque chose qui marquait mon amitié pour ces deux Messrs. 'Passe' (me dit il) pour Kleist: mais pour Offenberg, il connoit un peu trop bien le monde. Mais comment? (lui repartis-je) mais il ne vouloit rien expliquer.

4 Naturalization etc.⁷

Encore un mot pour votre ami le Polonois. Je ne vous ai pas marqué dans ma dernière (ce que pourtant sans cela vous pourriez aisément vous imaginer) qu'on peut augmenter le nombre des *Trustees* (possesseurs fiduciaires) tant qu'on voudra: cela augmenteroit la sécurité mais en même tems l'embarras. S'il est décidé pour le projet, plutôt il peut envoyer l'argent ici, et mieux il fera. De cette façon on peut guetter les occasions, et acheter des bienfonds dont les propriétaires sont circonsciés de façon d'être obligé de vendre à un jour marqué. Une grande partie des biens qui se vendent à l'encan sous les ordres de la cour de Chancellerie sont dans ce cas-là. Aussi ce sont eux pour la plupart qui se vendent maintenant au bas prix que je vous indique dans ma dernière: car pour ceux dont le propriétaire peut attendre la voie de la négociation, ils se vendent même à présent à raison de 22 à 24 fois la rente annuelle.

Votre ami sera t'il bien aise de voir son fils Membre de Parlement? Il le pourroit pourvu que ce fils /vint/ venait à naître ici. Quand il s'agit d'un bienfonds au montan(t) de £4000 au £5000 par an, il arriv(a) souvent que cela se trouve dans des circonstances qui donnent au propriétaire une influence sur quelque ville, qui suffit pour les déterminer /les électeurs/ à donner leurs suffrages en faveur de tel représentant qu'il voudra leur nommer. Tantôt ces suffrages sont com(me) attachés à la possession de telle ou telle terre comme dans le cas de M. Townsend⁸ par rapport à Whitchurch. Tantôt la possession de la terre ne donne au propriétaire qu'un certaine influence, /sur les electeurs/ dont il peut tirer ce profit ou non selon qu'il se leur rend plus ou moins agréable. C'est (à la) première façon que (Li)nd avoit autrefois un projet pour se placer en Parlement par le secours du Roi de Pologne. Le Roi même (a en juger par quelques

⁷ See letter 346, n. 2.

⁸ Thomas Townshend (1733–1800), later Baron and Viscount Sydney, M.P. for Whitchurch 1754–83.

⟨lettres⟩ de sa part que je vis) paroissoit s'y prêter avec une sorte de plaisir: mais enfin les fonds lui manquèrent.

5 Rousseau⁹

M. Boothby jeune Anglois a été fort lié avec J. J. Rousseau pendant plusieurs années avant la mort de ce dernier. Mons. Rousseau a écrit des Mémoires de sa vie en 3 parties. Il en a confié une à M. Boothby. Elle a pour titre—'L'Histoire de mon âme.' Elle est dédiée à Dieu. Pendant qu'il demeurait à Paris il alla plusieurs fois à l'église de Nôtre Dame pour la déposer sur le Maître autel mais comme il trouva la grille fermée toutes les fois qu'il s'y rendit, il conclut que Dieu n'approuvoit pas de cette façon d'en disposer. Il se decida donc à la laisser entre des mains jeunes et pures—(C'étoient ses propres paroles). M. Boothby lui parut digne d'en être le dépositaire, et (après la mort de l'auteur) l'éditeur. Il est actuellement occupé à la faire imprimer à Litchfield où il demeure, et un tiers en est déjà imprimé. Outre l'ouvrage lui-même cette édition contiendra une Préface et des Notes de M. Boothby, Le Dédicace à Dieu par l'auteur, et une espèce d'avant propos aussi par l'auteur, adressé à celui qui auroit pu avoir trouvé le Manuscrit sur l'autel de l'église de N.D. si son projet de l'y déposer avoit reussi—Je tiens tout ceci d'un ami intime de Mr. Boothby, qui a lu une bonne partie du livre. Il est rempli, selon lui, d'idées neuves extravagantes, et singulières—L'Eloquence inimitable de Rousseau y règne partout, et cette éloquence est prodiguée pour persuader le lecteur que tout le monde s'étoit donné le mot, et cela dans tous les pais, pour persécuter l'auteur.¹⁰

C'est à l'instance de vôtre frère, et à côté de son feu, que j'écris ce petit *procès verbal*, comme il l'appelle. Je serai véritablement charmé s'il pourra vos amuser. Je vous souhaite autant de plaisir et autant d'instruction dans ce qui reste de vos voyages que vous y avez trouvé jusqu'à présent.

S. Douglas

6. Suede

[*About one line cut out*]

en Courlande. Vivre avec un Prince, et ce Prince très honnête homme, voilà ce qui est très beau, mais qui ne donne point d'argent,

⁹ Section 5 in hand of Sylvester Douglas. Below it Jeremy Bentham has written: 'Levascheve Sambouski'.

¹⁰ Brooke Boothby (1743–1824), who succeeded his father as seventh baronet in 1789, edited, from a manuscript entrusted to him by Rousseau, *Rousseau juge de Jean-Jacques* (Lichfield, 1780), the first of the dialogues on this theme.

dont (je ne sens que trop bien) qu'avant que votre tour soit fini vous ne scauriez qu'éprouver une furieuse disette. Car pour le projet de créer une marine en Courlande, je conçois bien que cela éprouveroit trop de difficultés. Je serois très fâché que tu n'irois pas en Suède: car je prétends que tu y fasses un cours de Chymie chez Bergman, le plus grand physicien qui soit à présent au monde. J'ai déjà appris de ses ouvrages force choses qui te seroient utiles pour l'Architecture Navale: mais *lire* et *voir* sont choses bien différentes. Pauvre gueux, tu n'auras pas argent pour cela: vraiment ce sera bien dommage.

7. Cements.

Il a paru ici depuis quelques semaines un traité sur les ciments par le Professeur de Chymie, Higgins.¹¹ C'est un véritable chef d'œuvre. C'est un parfait trésor surtout pour vous. Il explique toute l'étendue de ce sujet-là par une théorie des plus belles et des plus solides, appuyée par des expériences sans nombre, dont la suite a duré des années entières. Il les a déjà appliquées en grand à la construction des maisons avec le plus grand succès. Ce n'est plus que par curiosité <...> je voudrai savoir la composition <du> <...>-*nam* et du Goulgoul des Indes <dont on> se sert pour /radouber/ conserver[?] les vaisseaux. <Je m'>-adresserai à Randal ou quelque autre qui a des liaisons avec quelques Capitaines de vaisseaux qui font ce commerce pour avoir un morceau, pour qu'on puisse le décomposer et en savoir les ingrédients. Je t'écrirai plus amplement sur ce sujet-ci, dans une autre lettre.

8.

L'autre jour un Russe qui s'appelle *Levascheve*¹² vint me trouver avec une lettre que Sambouski avait écrit en sa faveur: elle est datée à Sheerness le 30 Septre. car dans ce tems-là il ne faisoit encore que partir pour Petersburg. C'est un garçon de 26 ans qui paroît avoir de bonnes dispositions, et d'être assez bien instruit de ce qui regarde sa patrie. Il est maintenant dans les gardes du corps de l'Impératrice. Il a été envoyé avec des dépêches d'abord à Constantinople, après à Paris, ensuite ici ou <i> il a déjà passé plus d'une année et où il compte passer encore une autre. Avec cel<a>

¹¹ Bryan Higgins, M.D. (cf. letter 155 n. 3) *Experiments and Observations made with the view of improving the art of composing and applying calcareous cements and of preparing quick-lime, and specification of the author's... cement*, London, 1780. Not long after publishing this Higgins visited Russia at the invitation of the Empress.

¹² For Samuel's reply to this section see letter 353. Nothing further has been discovered about Levascheve.

il s'est appliqué à la Chymie, a la Physique générale, et maintenant il veut que je mette en train pour acquérir quelque idée de la Jurisprudence. Car dit-il on fera de moi un espèce de Juge à mon retour. Il apprend encore le Latin. Son éducation, comme c'est le coutume en Russie, a été entièrement négligé lors de son enfance. Son oncle est auprès de sa Maj. Imp. en qualité de Secrétaire.

9. Sambouski. Agriculture.

C'est de lui que je viens d'apprendre avec la plus grande satisfaction que l'Impératrice va établir à Petersburgh un Bureau d'Agriculture d'après un projet dressé par Sambouski. Il doit même en être le Directeur. Tout est arrangé selon ses souhaits. Mais vous scaurez tout cela mieux que moi avant peut-être que celle-ci vous parvienne. N'oubliez pas à cette occasion le livre d'*Anderson*.¹³ Je vais lui écrire là-dessus.

10

Je vous parlerai dans ma suivante ~~sur~~ du projet d'aller /d'abord/ à Moscou, avant que d'aller à Petersburgh.¹⁴ Il y a long tems que je n'ai pas de vos lettres. Quant à la sympathie, il n'y en a pas pour vous cette fois-ci.

10. Lundi ce 7. Fevrier 1780.

Demain je vais à Brompton pour 3 semaines. Tout le monde la se porte bien. Point de réponse encore de Lindegreen.

¹³ Probably James Anderson's *Essays relating to agriculture and rural affairs*, 3rd ed., 1779 (for Anderson see letter 149, n. 8).

¹⁴ Samuel's decision to go to Moscow before proceeding to St Petersburg was first announced in a letter (B.M. III: 3) which he wrote to Jeremy dated from Mittau 12 January. The London postmark is '1A 31' i.e. 31 January. He says he will tell Jeremy subsequently of the many advantages he promises himself from a fortnight's stay in Moscow. He transcribes a letter he has written to Count Pushkin (formerly Russian Ambassador in England) asking for an introduction to his mother in Moscow, and hoping to meet the Count himself if he is there. He also sends Jeremy the draft of a letter in French which he wants Lind to write on his behalf to Prince Repnin, General in Chief of her Imperial Majesty, Governor-General of Smolensk etc. Lind had already furnished him with one letter of introduction to the Prince but Samuel has been advised by a Frenchman that as the letter stands at present, deficient in various formalities, it will earn Samuel little regard, but altered as in the draft the Prince will be ready to serve him. 'What I command you to do is to go immediately to him fall down before him and kiss the earth then with tears flowing in abundance intreat him by all the ties imaginable to copy this letter word for word and letter for letter and inclose it for me at Petersburgh immediately.'

B.M. III: 3 is a short letter but Bentham's next remark is somewhat odd, unless he means that Samuel's letters are on loan to others.

11.

Je viens de faire connoissance (par le moyen de Podmanieski) avec un certain Comte de Schönberg,¹⁵ très honnête garçon de 20 à 22 ans. Il est de l'Electorat de Saxe. Marquez-moi si dans vos voyages vous avez entendu parler de cette famille. Elle est très répandue dit-on, en ce pays-là. ⟨On⟩ les reçoit ici lui et le Baron dans nos meilleures maisons. Le Roi ici s'entretenant avec eux (ce qu'il fait en ⟨de⟩ très bon Allemand) leur a parlé entre autres choses de Göttingen où ils ont étudié. Il connaît tous les Professeurs, leurs femmes, leurs enfans et tout l'intérieur de leur ménage. C'est un trait parfaitement caractéristique. Cet homme la sçait tout, et n'entend rien.

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GIUSEPPE SAVERIO POLI TO JEREMY BENTHAM¹

14 February 1780

Sir,

I beg you will excuse my not having sent you the two volumes of the *Histoire des Voyages* before this. It was only last Saturday that I happened to know that those Books had been carried to another friend of mine thro' mistake. I was very sorry for the accident, and I hope you have not been in want of them during such a long delay. I take this opportunity for inquiring after your Brother, and I have the honour to be

Sir

Your most obedient Servant

J. Poli

Monday, 14 February
1780.

¹⁵ Unidentified.

348. ¹ B.M. III: 14–15. Autograph. Docketed: '1780 Feb 14 / Poli South Street to I.B. Linc. Inn. Returns Pilati.'

Addressed: 'Mr Bentham / N. 6 Old Buildings, Lincolns Inn.'

Poli was evidently returning Bentham a copy of *Voyages en différents pays de l'Europe...* (The Hague, 1777), by the Italian jurist Pilati di Tassulo. For Poli see letter 312, n. 2 and letter 325 at n. 7.

349

SAMUEL BENTHAM TO JEREMY BENTHAM¹

21-29 January 1780

1

Jany. 21st 1780

Some time ago (says the Duke) the laws of Russia were such that if a wife murdered her husband she was put into a hole in the ground in an erect posture buried up to the arm-pits. In this situation she was left to remain till killed either by the vermin which came about her or some such effect as uncertain with respect to time. Victuals she was provided with to prevent her from starving. Sometimes a woman has been known to live in this state for 8 or 10 days.

With respect to husbands who had murdered their wives, they were sent to do pennance, viz, to pay certain fines to the priests put on a different dress and say a certain number of prayers.

He has himself known a man mix in Society without any sense of shame after having killed 3 wives one after the other through jealousy and expiated each crime by such pennance. At present now capital punishments except in cases of treason are entirely abolished. Murders are more frequent in Russia than ever. This by the bye I must have some other credence of than his Highness's word. I will not fail to enquire about the proportion.

2

The day before yesterday I went by invitation to another of the Duke's country houses.²

349. ¹ B.M. III: 8-9. Autograph. Docketed: '1780 Jan 29 / S.B. Riga to I.B. Lincoln's Inn / Free-Masonry.'

Addressed: 'Jere:y Bentham Esqr. / Lincoln's Inn / London / Franco à Amsterdam.' London Postmark: 'MR/6.'

² About half the letter is omitted at this point. Samuel talks of his hope of establishing a 'connection' with the Duke, who has presented him with a gold medal, but he must visit Russia first. He urges Bentham 'to send a copy of Punishments and Code as soon as they are published in German', and hopes that they may come in his parcel to St Petersburg. He has been received into the Free Masons with the help of Baron Medern, and this will be very useful in Russia. If Bentham ever comes to Russia he too should become a Mason, but in St Petersburg, not in London. He has received letters 342 and 343 and comments on various matters raised therein. He is 'infinitely obliged' to his father for the financial offers made in the latter, but his present plans do not require immediate capital. Kleist has heard from his son that he has been successful in a lawsuit against Raspe for exorbitant charges for accompanying him on his travels (cf. letter 347, § 3).

Patents

How much does it cost and by what means may one get copies of Patents which have been taken out for Inventions? In this way one might get perhaps perfect descriptions, so as to profit by them in foreign countries. The Metal or the wax for example might be made here but probably Copies are not to be had till the expiration of the terms.

We all believe here that poor Captain Cook is murdered on an Island near Kamshatka.

About 10 days ago I sent you in a letter a copy of a new letter which I begged Lind to write for me to P. Repnin.

With respect to Code, you may satisfy yourself that I shall have very favourable opportunities of getting it presented to the Empress. There is no doubt but I shall be presented to her. I will take upon me now the air of all-sufficiency and tell you to leave that affair to me and trouble yourself no more about it than to send me the book. If you were to wish to give her any manuscript letter with it, write the letter immediately and send it me for *my approbation* and *correction* for it is ten to one that I *let* it go such as you would have it.³

I hope to inform myself before this post goes out whether the Empress reads English or not. in the mean time I will give you a little account of my views here.

The D. you must know wants somebody to do his Mercantile business for him in England, to execute his Commissions, to send him intelligence of different kinds and in short to be his *chargè d'affaires*. M. Pouskin had recommended Newman⁴ to him for this purpose, and the D. had accordingly lodged some money in his hands and given him some Commissions.

The D. shewed me a good while ago a letter which he had just received from N in which N desired to know if he was to continue to execute his commissions insisting at the same time on an immediate answer as he had other things of equal importance to himself to manage. Upon this occasion D. told me that N was not the man who suited him, that he had made abominable blunders in executing his commissions and besides that as he did not at all like his new master Simolin, he wished to have no further connection with him. At the same time he talked to me of the extension of the trade between

³ This paragraph has been crossed right through with two diagonal lines in red ink, probably by Jeremy Bentham.

⁴ Newman was secretary to Musin Pushkin, the Russian Ambassador until recently, and to his successor Simolin (cf. letter 344, p. 370).

th(is) country and England and that he as a *reigning* Prince (...) could give a man in that station an appointment which should be honourable and quelques cents de livres per an(num). I enlarged a little upon the qualifications which a man (should) have to fill such a place, and was agoing and even had almost proposed Lindegren when as usual we were interrupted and nothing more was said. Since that time I have had opportunities of judging what there would be to do for such a chargè des affaires. He would have to execute the commissions not only for the D but for the Nobility also by which he would get so much pr. Ct. without the least hazard. He would have the direction of the Studies and the superintending of the young men who the D. may from time to time send over. He would have to send account of new inventions and to introduce on all occasions possible English manufactories. He would also have other things to manage which would be profitable but which I cant very well now explain to you.

After a full consideration of the matter I am of opinion that this place would suit me very well that it would be a very agreeable one and that the D would give me the preference to any one he knows. You may think then that I have nothing to do but to offer my services and that of course they would be accepted and all be settled immediately. But this is by no means the case, as much management is necessary to bring such a matter about as if I had no reason at all on my side. One great thing in my favour is that D consults nobody on such matters. I shall write to him from Petersburg when I see how matters go there: but I am not without hopes of better fortune further North. Adieu. Work hard at Punishments.

If you see anything of Mosberry ask him how he goes on with his German.

The management of the Academy is also a matter which I have my eye upon, in case I should succeed in the other more Principal matter, though alone it would be nothing. There are nine Professors to some of which the D. gives 200£ a year besides perquisites. There are also a multitude of other expenses and all turned to very little account. I am sure *we* could direct it much better. I dined yesterday with Kreudner the Russian Minister here and took an opportunity of enquiring if the Empress reads English. Yes— She does. besides reading English news papers She has her favourite English books of which Fielding's Joseph Andrews seems to have the preference. If she loves bawdy there will be a little no doubt in Code and Punishments. You must send me 2 or 3 Copies of the English and ½ a dozen at least of the German Translation.

As to my health at present it is pretty good. I have been better in my life but not since I left Holland.

It plagues me to see how much money I have spent yet I have both studied and practised Oeconomy very m(uch). I will confess to you that upwards of twenty pounds I have spent in a useless manner for want of a little more fore(sight the) greater part of it however at a time when on account of my bad health I was more excusable. I have lost nothing worth mentioning except the *shirt bosom pin* of which Mr. Davies gave us one apiece. It was stolen from me at Berlin I believe by a female hand.

Not a word have I heard from Lindegren. Do ask him if he did not receive a letter from me which I beg'd him to answer immediately directing to this place?

Have you had no parcel from Hanbury?

This young lady whom I mentioned in one of my letters from this place as one that people here choose to say I was in love with, has an amazing fortune for this country, though it scarcely exceeds thirteen thousand pounds sterling. If I was really in love with her, it is probable I should succede but as that is not the case I dont much think I shall bring you a sister in law from Courland. Of all the girls I have seen since I left England Huzarzewski's⁵ daughter of Dantzic would please me the most for a wife. She was all accomplished all softness and pretty if not beautifull: but the old fellow will I suppose want a fortune equal to what he will give his daughter, a certain degree of rank also, and a French man rather than an Englishman. You must look out for somebody for me against I come home if I dont suit myself abroad. Alas the vain shadow of Miss *Martin* or some such name.

Riga Jany. 29th. Here am I at last in the dominions of the Empress. The instant I entered Livonia I thought of our friend Lohmenn. I am not however yet quit of Mittau. I left it this morning but must return there again the day after tomorrow and stay till the 6th which is the Dutchess's birthday. The 7th I shall pass through this place again but without stopping longer than to take horses. Passes, Permission to take horses etc. etc. I shall settle now, that I may meet with no delay in my way. Perhaps you may not hear from me again till I get to Moscow: but from Petersburg you shall often.

⁵ See letter 345, n. 2. Samuel's next letter (B.M. III: 10) dated 4-11 February from Mittau, and 18 February from Riga, and not published here, acknowledges letter 345 and gives some account of his stay in Danzig in response to Jeremy's complaint therein. In the same letter Samuel wishes that Jeremy could 'see a little *more of the world*, before you engage in any public business whatever.'

350

JEREMY BENTHAM TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

30 March–4 April 1780 (Aet 32)

² Allen to Burkit

Pembroke 17th of Feby. 1780

[*Insertion by Bentham*: See No 15]

Sir

I remember you formerly mention'd thro' Mr. Marshal that a person of his acquaintance had offer'd 70£ or Guineas for the 1st Rate Model and case which I then thought—and still do not worth acceptance; but if the said party or any other person of honour will deposit with you or Mr. Marshal 100 Guineas, tho' not half the value, I will ingage to ship the same in good condition for London, and consign the said Model and Case to the purchaser; the Risque of damage per voyage, Capture by the Enemy, all accidents and charge of Freight (the whole of which on such advantagious an offer I think triffling) to be ingaged for by the purchaser—I will consult the other proprietors on, and think I may engage for the bargain. Please when in your power to let me know if these terms are approved; worse will not be accepted

I am Sir your obliged Hble Servant

J Allin

P.S. the Vendor to have right to claim the 100 Guineas on bringing proof of the said Model and case being shipped and consign'd where order'd, with the best account he can procure when the Ship, who received them proceeded on her Voyage.

2. From Lindegreen to I.B.

Portsmouth 25th Feby. 1780

Dear Sir

I was in London about 3 weeks ago on very particular business and intended to have waited on you in order to have had a long

350. ¹ B.M. III: 23–26. Partly autograph, partly in Mrs Davies's hand. Numbering of paragraphs is autograph.

² These first two sections are in Mrs Davies's hand. The first section is a copy of a letter from Allin, a shipwright at Chatham to Samuel's friend Burket, about a model of the flagship *Victory* which he has for sale. Section 15 shows that Bentham hoped Samuel might pocket a handsome sum as middleman in selling the model to some Russian.

conversation with you on the subject of your and your Brothers interesting letters. unfortunately I was obliged to quit London before I could effect my business or have the pleasure of seeing you. I proposed being in town the middle of this month, but the Cartel business for the french prisoners detain'd me, and I now fear it will not be in my power to be in London before the middle of next month till which time it would be very wrong to detain the letters you was so obliging to permit me the perusal of, therefore must send you, what I proposed delivering myself—My friend Lohmen has often mention'd to me about sending them—to tell you the truth I do not reconcile it to myself sending them at all and shall be anxious till you acknowledge the receipt of them—I do not like sending what are so very interesting to you and myself more so on account of having been in those countries and your Brother will never forgive me should they be lost—I however flatter myself they will come safe to your hands—I shall write your Brother under your cover by next post—I am a very bad correspondent indeed to him—But the hurry of the business I am engaged in prevents my attention to my friends and may make them think they are forgotten and neglected when had I an opportunity I should convince them to the contrary

and believe me ever to be
etc.

A Lindegreen

3³

Names of the persons concerned in drawing up the Empress of Russia's Code of Regulations for the Government of Sievers' province—pr Lohmen.

1. Jacob Sievers, then a Colonel (now Govr. General) a Livonian.
2. Baron Fursen[?], a Land-rath in Livonia.
3. ...Bemern /then or now?/ President of the Chief College of Justice at Petersburgh—a Prussian.
4. ...Liewenhaupt—a Livonian.⁴

⁵4. G. W. Grove to Q.S.P.

Dear Brother

I am greatly obliged to you for the opportunity you have given me of being acquainted with Sam's situation for which I began to

³ Section 3 is in Bentham's hand.

⁴ For Sievers cf. letter 347, n. 3. The other persons listed are unidentified.

⁵ Sections 4-8 are in Mrs Davies's hand.

⟨have⟩ some uneasy apprehensions. As soon as I received your Paquet I could not leave off till I had read it through as every succeeding letter gave me additional pleasure and entertainment. The reception and civilities he has received from so many Strangers are amazing. The recommendations he and his friends had procured for him and more particularly his capacity and address in supporting them with due honor and credit exceed my most sanguine expectations. a Court seems as easy and familiar to him as a Coffee house, but the caresses he receives at the former, which would divert the minds of most young men to gaiety and pleasure, seem to sharpen his attention to business. His plan for this Excursion appears to me now more extensive than I at first imagined, and I am glad to find he has spirit and address sufficient to carry him through it. When he has been at Petersburg I suppose he will begin to form some conclusions from the Event of his Excursion for I do not observe that he mentions any thing of that kind except an inclination of entring into partnership at Liebau. Sam is undoubtedly a better judge than myself of what advantage he can make from this excursion and I shall be perfectly satisfied in his determination, but I must own my affection for him makes me wish that he may find it as suitable to him to settle in England as abroad. As I have mention'd Petersburg it reminds me of Mr. Lind's recommendatory letter to the Dutchess of K which drew a smile from me; had the Dutchess or the E—s been some years younger his letter might have borne a Jocular interpretation. Tho I have read the letters through, I am so pleased with them that I must read them over again at more leisure and will return the Book to you in a few days, I believe the perusal of it will be very acceptable to Mr. Mulford, for Sam I suppose is too much engaged to keep up a correspondence with him. I believe Mr. Mulford has a regard for him which I hope Sam will endeavor to cultivate.

When you hear further from Sam I wish you would acquaint me with it, it will give me great pleasure to hear of his welfare and success.

Si⁶ 4*

Morning Chronicle March 10 1780

⟨...⟩sday several curious experiments were tried at Woolwich for setting fire to the shipping at certain distances, which though

⁶ The deleted 'Si' is Bentham's symbol that something is written there in sympathetic ink, but no such writing is revealed by ultra-violet light. The same applies to the undeleted 'Si' at section 9.

deservedly applauded through some accident fell short of the expected efficacy.

5

Morning Chronicle March 10 1780

Navy Office March 10 1780

The principal Officers and Commissioners of his Majesty's Navy give notice that they will be ready to treat with such Persons as are willing to contract for the stores undermentioned for his Majesty's service on the days against the same express'd at 12 o Clock at noon that they may attend with their proposals accordingly Viz Iron and tar Monday 27 March 1780 Dantzick and Stetten goods Wednesday 29 Ditto.

Riga Masts fryday 31st Ditto

Hemp Monday 3d of April

[*Insertion in Bentham's hand: This has been frequently repeated*]

6

The little gold Heart which you had lost is found in an old pocket Book

E. D.

Morning Chronicle March the 13 1780

Saturday last passed the Great Seal a grant for a patent to John Champion of Newcastle Court, St Clement Danes, in the county of Middlesex, Locksmith, for his new invented alteration of Locks and latches in general, as not to be pick'd or open'd but with the key made for them—

7

March the 16 1780 Price 1s this day is publish'd Observations and remarks respecting the more effectual means of preservation of wounded Seamen and Mariners on board his majesty's Ships in time of Action.

By J Rymer S R N printed for J Donaldson on Strand.⁷

8 Pressure of Sea Water

From Bergmanni Opuscula 8 1779 Tractatus etc. De Aquâ Pelagicâ.⁸

Andrew Sparrman Dr. of Physic who with the Forster's lately visited the Southern Ocean and there with indefatigable industry

⁷ Bentham's transcription of the title is exact. The author was James Rymer, a surgeon, and a second edition was published in 1782.

⁸ Torbern Olof Bergman, *Opuscula physica et chemica*, Vol. 1, 1779, p. 179.

investigated together with his Associates the wonderful riches of nature tryed (in the course of his navigation from the cape of good hope to Europe) to discover the qualities of Sea Water drawn from great depths. Several bottles well and closely cork'd were successively sunk in the beginning of July 1776 about the latitude of the Canary Islands. One bottle drawn up from a depth of 80 *(orgyæ)*/ fathoms was found broken by the pressure of the Water in the part where the Neck begins to swell. In another, which was let down only thirty fathom, the Cork was driven in a little farther: but not as to have let in any of the water: it was therefore let down a second time, to the depth of sixty fathom; and was then drawn up fill'd with the Water up to a third part of the height of the Neck: where the Cork stuck fast, perfectly excluding the Water from without. In this way a number of Bottles were fill'd which Dr Sparrman brought home for me to examine.

[*Addendum in Bentham's hand*: It seems that when the cork had been driven so far down instead of being drawn quite in it gave way a little, just enough to let the water pass it.

	J.B.]
9 Bergman's	Latin phrases.
	Si
Examinare aquam <i>quâ</i> calorem = as touching (or respecting) it's heat.	
<i>Ansa</i> = a handle or means	
<i>Momentum</i> = a head, article or consideration	
<i>Pars anatica</i> = an equal portion	
<i>Reagens</i> = a substance employ'd as a test in Chemistry: ex: gr. in the examination of waters.	
Nyctemeron = a day and night = 24 hours	

This is to assist you in reading the above volume, which you must get, for the sake of the Essay De indagando vero: and that de Analysis aquarum.

¹⁰10 Dr. Robertson Empress

By a Gentleman lately arrived from St Petersburg the Empress has sent to Dr. Robertson¹¹ a present of a very handsome gold Snuff box, richly set with diamonds desiring his acceptance of it, as

⁹ Section 9 is autograph. It ends the first sheet, which is docketed (in Bentham's hand?): '1780 March 31 / I.B. / E.D. to S.B.' It is also docketed (by Lady Bentham?): 'March 30 1780.'

¹⁰ Section 10 is in Mrs Davies's hand.

¹¹ William Robertson (1721-92), the distinguished Scottish historian. The gold snuff-box was presented for his *History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V* (1770).

a mark of her esteem, and of the satisfaction she has received from perusing his historical works. Her Imperial Majesty during her reign has not confin'd her encouragement of literary merit to her own dominions. Several eminent persons of France and Germany have been distinguish'd by marks of her favor. Dr. Robertson as far as we know is the first British author who has been honour'd with any mark of her attention.

Morning Chronicle March 25 1780

¹²11

Bull Inn Dartford Thursday March 30th 1780

I am thus far (half-horse-man, half footman as usual) on my way to London from Brompton where I have been ever since about the 6th or 7th (I think it was) of last month. The day before I left London I sent you a letter, the last of those directed to you at Mittau. I have appointed to dine with Wilson at the Crown and Rolls to meet Anderson, who has been in London for this month past. He came to town the day Wilson left it to go to the *Norfolk* Circuit. Wilson likes his new circuit much: he has made 5 guineas to begin with.

12. Anderson

From this same Inn I finished and sent away my long neglected letter to Anderson, telling him of Sambouski's success, and offering him your assistance in getting him an account of the plan: and agricultural correspondence, if he wanted any, at Petersburg. You know he is quite one of us: if occasion should offer I shall depend upon every thing you can do to serve him.

[*Addendum in red ink*: N.B. I have seen him since: he does not want any thing at present.]

13. I.B. at Brompton.

I have been passing my time very comfortably at Brompton; more so perhaps than any time I ever spent there before mixing exercise business and amusement. On horse-back every day between 7 and 9: between breakfast and dinner employ'd as you may imagine: between dinner and tea, Chess, Music or *Bergman*, about half an hour or $\frac{3}{4}$ before Tea commonly a game at Cricket with Joseph,¹³ in which we were frequently joined by his father: after 10: Chess or Music.

¹² The remainder of the letter is autograph.

¹³ Mr and Mrs Davies's son.

14. Bergman translated.¹⁴

Guess what I mean by 'Bergman'. Bergman means a sugar-plum which I have been coddling up for you to pop into his mouth; that you may find favour in his sight even as Jacob did in that of his Father Isaac by cramming him with Scotch-collops. Schwediauer has lately imported a little tract of Bergman's of about 100 12mo pages (in German) on the chemical arrangement of bodies, and on the application of Chemistry to the common purposes of life. I wanted sadly to see it: Davies had been talking to me about applying himself a little to Chemistry. Schwede disappointed in the former scheme seemed to hanker after something of mine to set his name to. Davies was willing to lend a hand, but his time indispensably engrossed by his pursery affairs. The result of all this is that in the course of the time I have been at Brompton Bergman has been translated, by S. from German into Lingua Franca, by J.B. from Lingua Franca into English, J.B. walking up and down the room after dinner and dictating, E.D. (who you find has since got the place of J.B.'s secry. in ordinary) scribbling. I believe I shall send you the whole lot of it together, Swed's Ms. my Ms, and certain copies, 4 or 6, out of about a couple of dozen I am to have for my pains. I have written an Advertisement of about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a ruled sheet, stating the history of the translation, and flattering Bergman. I have in my pocket a sheet of 'Inserenda of' Preface palavering Chemistry and Bergman, and bobragging our nation but more particularly the Universities for not cultivating it. I shall probably make it up into a Preface to the tune of from 10 to 20 pages. It cost me no time whatever: I never did a stich to it at any other time than dinner, when I knew by experience that I could not work without disordering myself. How I have sped with Code you will know before I close this letter.

15. Model.

Key to Allen's letter. My scheme is that you should make people there beg the model giving £200 for it which will be £100 for

¹⁴ The manuscript of this translation is now in U.C. CLVI. It is entitled 'Tobern Bergman's Introduction to Lectures on the State and Usefulness / Utility / of Chemistry and the most general varieties / differentiae / of *natural bodies*. Translated from the German by F. Schwediauer M.D.' It is preceded by an Advertisement and fragments of a Preface in Bentham's own hand.

An anonymous translation of this work was published by J. Murray of No. 32 Fleet Street in 1783 under the title *An Essay on the Usefulness of Chemistry and its application to the various occasions of Life translated from the Original of Sir Tobern Bergman*. There is no translator's preface. It seems to be a quite different version (see also letter 356).

yourself. I understand from Burkit that it is an *unique*, and upon a fair calculation of the labour cost £300. I shall write to you in French an ostensible letter about it. The Lord knows, but I should imagine they would jump at it.

16. News Instructions

Whenever you write tell me regularly whether there are any naval preparations going forward where you are, and in general mention any other circumstances from which it is probable that we shall or shall not have your assistance. Negatives will be as well worth sending as affirmatives. Well it is true I should be pushing on, and so Good morrow to you.

17. Fir Timber.

From Arthur Young's Tour thro' Ireland 1780. 4to in the Crit. Review for Feby. 1780.

(Ld. Bective) 'confirmed what Mr. Young had been told before, that the way to make our own firs equal to foreign, is to cut them in June, and directly lay them in water for 3 or 4 months. This was done by his Lordship's father 35 years ago, and the buildings raised of them are now fully equal to those built of *Norway* fir.'

I suppose that the case is, that the firs being cut when the sap is abundant, that is when the extractive mucilaginous matter is in the state of a dilute solution, the water mixes with it and washes it out easier than when the mucilage is coagulated and the pores of the wood closed by cold. J.B. There are some more anecdotes in it relative to machines such as corn mills etc., which seem likely to be interesting to you. You must endeavour to see it. Some of the people in Russia, Kruze for example, I take it for granted, will have it. The price is 1 Guinea.

18. Moscow Scheme.

Friday evening March 31. 1780.

I have not yet seen Q.S.P. I shall dine there however tomorrow: mean time let me give you a scolding about your Moscow expedition, from which I know before hand that no good will come. It is some wild-goose chase, castle-building scheme, which you are asham'd of, else you would not for three letters together have been <..>ing yourself to keep me in the dark about <it>, talking all the while in parables. What in the Devil's name can you be the better for any connection which you must go to Moscow to make?

What can you have to expect from any body but Czernichef, Greig etc., or some other of the Admiralty folks? Your confident in all this business the French man whose name you take care not to mention is no other than your French servant: and one of the effects of your devotion to this oracle is the blackguardism with which you began your letter to M. Pousckin, in stiling him in the vocative case, *Votre Excellence*: just as if in English you were to begin with *Good your Lordship*, or *Your honour*: so at least it appeared to me and Wilson, and Douglas, whose opinion on such matters is worth ten times both ours put together.¹⁵ Q.S.P. grumbles cursedly at this damned expedition, and I have not a syllable to say for it, except the inculcating in general terms the duty of implicit confidence in your worship's superior understanding. I suppose we shall have him grumbling more, now that two more letters are come which make the darkness still more obscure.¹⁶ Possibly your idea of getting to be the D's Agent may smooth him down a little that being the very idea that had occurred to him.

19. Agency.

My fear is that that same agency will have been disposed of, before you find a proper time for applying for it. Possibly the Czernicheffian pupil scheme might combine with it: if so it would be a very comfortable affair. I have written *pus* for a letter for you: see the other Sheet.

20. Wilson's letter and I.B.'s

By your not acknowledging it I am sadly afraid that you did not receive a letter of Wilson's¹⁷ which went from hence the same

¹⁵ See letter 347, n. 14 for the letter to Count Pushkin in which the 'blackguardism' occurs, and for a reference to the Frenchman. Bentham's view that he is Samuel's servant is based on Samuel's saying in his letter of 4–18 February (see letter 349, n. 5) that he has two men of learning as servants, one master of French, the other allegedly of German.

¹⁶ Letter 349 and the letter mentioned in n. 5 thereto.

¹⁷ This very long letter recounting the public news of the day is in B.M. III (pp. 6–7) and is dated 'Lincoln's Inn 18 Jany. 1780'. It includes the following passage:

'Voici une grande lettre—Comme je ne me soucie pas (de) grammaire et que mon manuscrit est un peu difficile (il) (se) peut que vous n'en viendrez a bout tout a fait. Si cela est prenez vous a votre frere—C'est lui qui m'a defendu ma propre langue—Vous lui demandez comment va son Code et ses punitions—Il ne vous repondra pas. Je lui a demandé la meme chose plusieurs fois sans pouvoir obtenir aucun eclaircissement sur le temps ou l'on puisse les attendre, et cela suffit meme pour le mettre en courroux—D'ou je conclus que la Code va un peu lentement. La raison est qu'il fait trop de ehoses a la fois, non qu'il est oisif—Il commence a ecrire du Code mais dans une heure il a ecrit sur vingt autres sujets, et tout cela pour ne pas perdre des idées, qui se presenteroient sans doute de nouveau, et qu'il a peutetre deja dans des papiers

night with my first ostensible one enclosing a sham letter directed to Miss Paris.¹⁸ It was exceedingly long, and contained a monstrous deal of excellent political information. I fear there has been no means of making my subsequent ostensible letters (of which I think there were two) pass through the hands of the Duke.

21.

No parcel yet from Hanbury.

22

A parcel from Strachan containing a letter from him, a note from De Court, your *will*, and sundry book catalogues. The delay has been occasioned by some thing that happen'd to the ship they were first put on board of.

23 Sunday Newspapers.

What think you of a Sunday news-paper? how will your pious spirit grieve! Such a paper is actually publishing every Sunday morning in Fleet Street.¹⁹

24

Now we talk of news papers, I desire that you would take particular care to inform yourself as soon as possible what Newspapers they are which the E. takes in. [*Addendum*: In order to make sure to get a sight of one of them.] You may imagine divers reasons for wishing to know this [*Insertion*: Appear not to have any particular reason for enquiring: rather mention by way of blind the goodness of the Morn. Chron. as if you wanted to recommend it.] Ask particularly whether the Morning Chronicle is among them: which is the best[?] of all possible papers.

Saty. April 1st 1780

Q.S.P. has been with me this morning and has been reading your two Riga letters. Beyond all hope he was much pleased with them and did not say a syllable expressive of any vexation about the

ecrits il y a long temps et oubliés. Je suis persuadé que le seul moyen praticable c'est de faire un livre a la fois (et) (de) rejeter tout idée qui n'appartient pas au sujet—
Mais je ne puis lui persuader cette conduite—'

¹⁸ See letter 346 and nn. 1 and 10.

¹⁹ This was *The British Gazette* started by Mrs E. Johnson in Ludgate Hill. The earliest issue known to be extant is N. 66, 24 June 1781 (it is in the Burney collection at the British Museum). It was the first London Sunday newspaper. After several changes of name it came to an end in 1829.

article of expence. While he was with me came in also my Uncle: who has been in town this fortnight after having been in the country 11 months. Q.S.P. after having received back his transcript of your letters from my Uncle sent them to the Dr. from whom came yesterday a letter expressing his highest satisfaction with them, and apologizing for keeping them till the beginning of May when he comes to town. Then shall I at him for money for your honour: and if all other expedients fail we will have the whole Trinity meet together in Parliament assembled, to consider about ways and means.

Code.

Know that this very blessed morning I gave Hughes²⁰ some of the Copy of Code to print. But the length of time it will take up I tremble to think of. It is in 4to. I can get but 3 sheets a week. The Introduction, containing what is common to Jurisprudence and Ethics I will send you before the rest. It will contain all the general principles.

Alliance.

We have it here that you are going to send us 15 sail of the line, and 6 frigates to our assistance, as soon as the ice permitts: tell me what you can learn about that matter.²¹

Progress.

I heard a man say just now that the Empress was to set out upon a progress through her dominions in May next. Tell me what you hear about that affair.

Fir-Ships.

The great difficulty is or at least used to be at Petersburg to get Oak. It used, it is said, to be brought an immense way. I think from Astracan. Qu. could not fir be made to answer the purpose being well bedded and cased all over, partly in Tarras, partly in Higgins's hard cements? It might likewise by the same means be render'd incombustible upon Ld. Mahon's plan.

In my next I shall send you a letter for Kitty: that you may return it with observations: but I don't much like the thoughts of

²⁰ Henry Hughes, printer, Great Turnstile, Lincoln's Inn Fields. Evidently he was printing the *Introduction* for Payne.

²¹ The Empress Catherine had in fact refused the British alliance in January (cf. Isabel de Madariaga, *Britain, Russia and the Armed Neutrality of 1780*, London, 1962, Chap. 5).

your taking into consultation God knows who may thwart it under hand, or spoil it bonâ fide by destroying the originality of it, and cramping it by forms which a foreigner is not expected to understand nor on such an occasion would be thought the better for observing.

If people there should be inclined to have the model, take care you do not engage for it without a positive order from them in writing. This if they mean really to buy it they can not object to giving. Will they buy a pig in a ⟨poke⟩ or must there be a clause allowing them to send it back if they don't like it paying all expences, and so much ⟨...⟩ ⟨...⟩ ⟨...⟩ of sending it. Take care that you do not appear to be otherwise than indifferent about their buying it. If they shou'd be for employing Newman to get it, Burkit must be the man for him to be addressed to. Burkit I am persuaded wou'd join in the business, as he gave me something of a hint about it, though not till after it had occurred to me. He said he was sure that if Allen knew who it was designed for he would not part with it under £500. This was upon my proposing at first to tell Allen of my writing in order to induce him to wait till an answer might come.

Sj²²

With regard to people there don't be too forward in telling them all you know: perhaps they will set no value upon it, seeing that you set none: perhaps if they do, they will make use of your communicativeness by getting it all out of you and gutting you, without paying you in any shape. The best way is ⟨...⟩ ⟨...⟩ ⟨...⟩ ⟨...⟩ by which they may see that your in possession of such or such a piece of information; and then leave it to them to ask you for it if they think proper: or you might cause it to be insinuated by a third hand (S. for example)²³ that you are in possession of such and such things, and he might appear to be concerting with them the properest means of getting them out of you. If they ask you directly to tell them so and so without offering you any thing, you may turn

²² Ultraviolet light does reveal a longish passage in sympathetic ink written between about the next twenty lines, but only odd bits of it can be made out, such as 'that the salts of the sea will corrode' 'The paper marked at' 'found to' 'nothing but brown paper' 'I was so struck' 'a contrivance which' 'the varnishing'. In a letter completed on 24 April O.S. (see letter 360, n. 6) Samuel writes: 'What a ninny you were to give yourself so much trouble in writing and me in reading about Copper Sheathing and Guns. What was there secret in that? It has cost me a monstrous deal of time, to say nothing of the anxiety least I should not make it all out.' Bentham certainly had a love of secrecy.

²³ Probably Sambouski.

it off without affronting them or affecting incommunicativeness by saying if it is a matter of instruction that is wanted 'cela n'est l'affaire d'un moment; or cela demande du tems a expliquer: if a paper you are in possession of, you may pretend not to be able to find it: then, in order to induce you to be at the trouble of giving the instructions or finding the paper, they may make you offers.

Code.

The Introduction to Code containing the metaphysical part and all the general principles I shall send you as soon as it is printed without waiting for the rest. It will make a little bit of a work by itself: and who knows? probably it might be advisable to present that first.²⁴ It will be printed in the same letter and sized paper as the Gentoo Code.²⁵

In my next will probably be a Wilsonian list of the Navy—I shall write soon: probably in a post or two.

Si Tuesday morning April 4

Lindegreen has just been calling on me pressing me much to go and spend a week with him: up to the chin in business with 21 prizes to take care of. He has been enquiring of a Comr. of the Victualling: he has no particular answer to give to the queries, but says in general that there are no provisions but what can not be imported by law, or what it will not answer to import: that biscuit for instance can not now be imported: and that as to portable soup very little is used, and what is used can not be made cheaper any where than here. All this you see is very vague: if upon any particular occasion it should be worth while, I will go down and canvass the matter with him compleatly.

The powder-room of the Spanish prize-line of battle ships he [says] is close to the gun room: the powder stow'd in bulk; and served up open in buckets.

Malgré²⁶ la confiance dont il a plu à V.A. de m'honorer, et les bontés en tout genre dont elle a bien voulu me combler, je ne crois pas qu'elle s'attend que j'osasse /prétendre/ <en> entamer une correspondance avec elle. En voici la raison. Depuis le jour où il a

²⁴ This seems to be the first suggestion that the *Introduction* might be separately published—as, of course, did in fact happen, though not until 1789, when it appeared as *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*.

²⁵ See letter 223 (29 July 1777).

²⁶ This is a draft for a letter Samuel is to write to the Duke of Courland proposing himself as the Duke's English agent. Except for the final paragraph, it is on a sheet docketed: 'April 1 1780 I.B. to S.B.'

plu à V.A. de me parler du besoin où elle est d'une personne /homme/ de confiance /au quel (qu) elle pourroit confier le soin de/ ses affaires en Angleterre, je n'ai cessé de /réfléchir sur ce qu'elle m'a dit à cette occasion:/ et enfin je me suis enhardi /résolu/ au point d'oser /dire/ très humblement à V.A. que je /serois/ le plus heureux des hommes, si /je pourrais faire ensorte que V.A. me crût capable de remplir cette charge./ Je sens très bien que ma jeunesse et le peu d'expérience que j'ai dans le négoce pourroient très bien donner lieu à des /présomptions/ qui ne me seroient pas favorables: mais de l'autre côté il y a des circonstances qui ne me permettent pas absolument de perdre absolument tout /espérance./ Si je ne me trompe pas, il ne s'agit pas ici d'une longue expérience ni de combinaisons très compliquées en fait de négoce: il ne s'agit que de commander et de payer; opérations qui n'exigent que des /talens/ auxquels /on pourroit/ prétendre sans trop risquer /d'être accusé/ de vanité. Les qualités principalement requises ne sont que de la probité et l'industrie: qualités dans lesquelles je ne crains pas /que personne/ me trouve /déficient:/ surtout dans un cas comme celui dont il s'agit. Il y a encore /un point sur lequel/ je pourrais encore sans trop de vanité m'attribuer /la supériorité/ sur ⟨par-dessus⟩ quelque autre Anglois que ce soit: c'est /l'occasion/ que j'ai eu pendant un séjour de deux mois d'être auprès la personne de V.A. et d'en étudier les goûts. Encore un avantage qui m'appartient plus qu'à un autre: c'est que je serois le plus /ingrat/ des hommes, si je venois perdre le souvenir des bontés de V.A. et qu'ainsi par-dessus celui d'intérêt j'aurois encore le motif de reconnoissance pour m'animer et me disposer à mettre tout le /mon/ zèle possible à remplir dignement les fonctions de ma /cette/ charge. Outre cela j'aurois le loisir, qui manqueroit presque infailliblement à quasi tout homme qui en fait d'expérience /à quelques autres egards/ pourroit être plus digne. Si c'étoit en faveur d'un autre que V.A. se déterminât, ou cet autre n'auroit point d'autre négoce à faire, en quel cas il ne seroit que sur un même pied avec moi: où il en aura, et en ce cas là il seroit toujours possible qu'il pourroit négliger celle dont il s'agit en faveur de ces autres affaires négliger celui-ci. Pour moi, n'ayant pas d'autres affaires de la sorte, je me donnerois tout /naturellement/ et sans effort à ceux de V.A. d'autant plus, que le salaire qu'elle a destiné d'accorder, ôteroit le besoin qu'on pourroit avoir de chercher d'autres affaires, en le mettant à l'abri de l'incertitude a l'égard du profite qui pourroit en revenir.

Lorsque je suis parti d'Angleterre, j'étois bien loin de tourner mes

vues vers le négoce: mon goût et mes études me portoit vers un autre/ objet/ plus difficile, (que celui dont il s'agit), et à n'en envisager /ce dernier que par rapport au/ que les cas ordinaires plus honorable(s). Je ne crois pas devoir désespérer de réussir dans mon /premier/ plan, originel d'autant plus /moins/ que je suis peut-être le seul dans mon pays qui se soit élevé au-dessus le pied d'un simple ouvrier, pour l'étudier. Mais enfin /l'ambition/ de servir à un Prince tel que V.A. et le désir de témoigner les sentiments que je ne cesserai d'entretenir pour elle, par le zèle que je mettrois à exécuter ses ordres l'ont emporté sur toute autre considération. Un des plus puissants motifs c'est l'occasion que j'aurois à jouir de l'honneur d'une espèce de correspondance avec V.A. d'entendre souvent de ses nouvelles, d'obéir à ses volontés, de contribuer en quelque sorte à son bien-être, de me confirmer dans ses bonnes grâces, et de voir lier de plus en plus mon sort à la sienne. Sans cela je doute si le profit seul de la charge seroit un motif assez puissant pour me déterminer à vouloir sortir de la route que je me suis tracé. Il est vrai que n'étant que cadet de deux frères dont le père est encore en vie, il ne me conviendrait pas de rester oisif: pour que ma vie se passe commodément, il faut que le travail marche à côté de la jouissance. Mais quand il n'y a eu que la richesse d'un côté et l'honneur accompagné du nécessaire à l'autre, je n'ai jamais hésité à donner la préférence au premier. Cependant l'honneur de soutenir un rôle public dans le service d'un Prince comme V.A. en /accordant/ ensemble le profit et l'honneur /et le profit/ ne peut qu'emporter entièrement la balance. A tout cela se joint l'amour de la patrie, et le plaisir que (je prendrois) j'éprouverois en contribuant à l'extension de son commerce et en resserrant les noeuds de l'amitié entre elle et la Courlande.

Quant à l'assiduité, en fait de correspondance, j'espérois être /en état/ de faire voir à V.A. [. . . ?] par le témoignage de mes amis que je passe parmi eux pour un homme dont ce n'est pas la coutume de s'épargner /les/ peines pour faire ce qu'ils attendent de lui dans le cours d'une correspondance ordinaire: je laisse imaginer à V.A. si l'honneur que j'ambitionne est dans le cas de diminuer la force des motifs qui me portent à faire ce qui dépend de moi pour remplir (de) tels devoirs

Si après en avoir fait l'essai, V.A. ne trouvât pas que ma capacité répondroit à mon zèle, elle n'auroit que de me congédier: j'espère qu'elle n'appréhendera pas beaucoup que je /me comporte/ pire que ceux /avec lesquels/ elle a déjà trouvés raison d'être mécontent.

Pour ce qui regarde la probité je supplerois à V.A. de n'épargner aucun des moyens qu'elle croit pouvoir prendre pour s'assurer de ce côté là. /C'a été toujours mon sentiment/ Il m'a toujours paru que la probité ne doit jamais trouver à redire à aucune des /épreuves/ moyens /qu'on/ dont on pourroit /employer/ se servir pour /mettre en usage/ la distinguer d'avec le défaut contraire. Les revenus de mon père sont pour la plupart en fonds de terre, dont /quelques uns/ une partie par leur proximité à la residence royale sont assez connus: ainsi V.A. pourroit très aisément s'assurer que je ne suis pas (un) aventurier, et qu'en m'employant elle n'auroit à faire qu'avec gens responsables...

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TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

10 April 1780 (Aet 32)

N.B. I wrote to you by the last post but one to wit Tuesday 4th April. This is the 10th.

Madame

1

Voici un livre qui sera à l'usage ou de v.m. ou de personne. Il y a tel pais où si le bien s'indique, c'est /à risque de vie/ au dépens de la vie: chez nous il se conseille impunément: chez vous il se (met en) pratique.

2

Il y a dix ans et davantage que j'ai commencé à voir dans l'imperfection des loix un objet de réforme. Mes parens me destinoient à en faire mon profit: profession la plus lucrative chez nous, et cultivée par la première noblesse. Ils m'ont montré les playes de la justice comme un source de richesse et d'honneur même pour quiconque y sauroit verser (adroitement) le poison de la chicane. (A mesure que je les ai approfondies,) j'en fus touché, et au lieu de

351. ¹ B.M. III: 28–29. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. to S.B. April 10th 1780 / Letter to Kitt.'

The letter opens with the draft of a letter to the Empress Catherine of Russia, which, it was intended, would accompany presentation of *Introduction to a Penal Code*. An earlier draft of this letter to Catherine is in U.C. CLXIX: 32.

vouloir envenimer j'ai formé des vœux pour les guérir. (Enfin) en étudiant toujours la science, j'ai pris le métier en horreur: (j'ai chassé mes cliens) je me suis déterminé à rester pauvre, et au lieu de débiter ce poison-là, je me suis mis à /le combattre/ (y préparer pour antidote cette baume précieuse dont l'usage et le prix vous sont si bien connus Madame la baume de la philosophie.)

3

A peine j'avois commencé à rassembler mes idées, qui les Instructions de v.m. me sont tombées dans les mains: Je les ai lues; et dès-lors je me suis dévoué à votre service. 'Ou mes idées ne valent rien,' (me suis-je dit): ou Cath. 2d. ne manquera pas de les recueillir: espérance douce et téméraire, qui m'a fixé sans retour dans la carrière où je suis entré, et à laquelle je n'ai cessé de sacrifier le plaisir, la santé et la fortune. Ce n'a été jusqu'à présent qu'un beau songe: (mais) si v.m. voudroit le réaliser, cela ne dépend que d'elle. Elle trouveroit dans moi un homme qui aime le travail pour le travail même, et qui n'estimeroit la vie, qu'autant qu'il pourroit l'employer à votre service.

4

Que je vous voye, Madame, que je vous entende, que je vous parle, et enfin que je vous serve! Vous verrez alors ce que c'est que le zèle. Ai-je déjà quelques talens? un regard approbateur de v.m. en décuplera la force. Ai-je déjà fait /quelques pas/ quelque chose? Ç'a été avec quelques foibles lueurs d'espérance, à peine au-dessus du désespoir. La marche de mes idées a été trainante pénible et tardive. Revivifié par votre faveur, mon âme se sentiroit une existence nouvelle: les idées se succédoient comme les éclairs.

5

Le livre qui doit accompagner cette lettre n'est encore que l'introduction d'un plan entier et détaillé d'un code pénal: mais le corps même de l'ouvrage s'imprime actuellement, et est déjà fort avancé dans le tems /que/ où j'écris.² Cependant j'ai cru devoir soumettre de bonne heure cet avant-corps aux yeux de v.m. tel qu'il est. D'abord j'ai voulu éviter de les effrayer par le spectacle

² For Bentham's prospectus of his *Plan of a Penal Code* cf. letter 372 n. 18. There seem to be no grounds for the statement that the body of the work was already printing when the present draft was composed, and it is to be surmised that Bentham did not intend his letter to Catherine to be presented until that stage had actually been reached.

d'un livre énorme: d'ailleurs (ensuite) j'ai cherché à savoir de bonne heure les /intentions/ résolutions de v.m. pour y conformer les miennes. Si ce qui est ici se trouve (soit) assez à son gré pour qu'elle daignât dire, 'Je garde ceci, et qu'on me fasse voir le reste,' c'est tout ce que je demande. Dans ce cas-là, je voudrais bien savoir si elle trouve à propos que je le réserve pour elle seule, ou si elle me permet d'en faire part au public. J'avais conçu le dessein de l'envoyer à Berne, pour le prix qui y doit s'adjuger par la Société Oeconomique le 1. de l'année prochaine: et j'ai écrit même là-dessus au Secrétaire. Cependant Berne n'a été qu'un canal détourné, par où j'ai cherché à approcher de v.m. /Il m'a paru/ J'ai cru que si je remportois le prix, peut-être que la voix de la renommée pourroit aider à l'accomplissement de mes vœux. C'étoit avant que le canal dont je profite à présent se fût offert a mes espérances.

Pardonnez-moi, madame, (toute cette) ma hardiesse; et songez que si les Souverains qui osent entreprendre l'ouvrage vraiment héroïque (comme l'appelle notre Chancelier Bacon) de former un corps de loix, sont ce qu'il y a de plus rare et de plus prétieux sur la terre, les particuliers même ne se trouvent pas partout qui osent entreprendre /à/ de les seconder. Je suis Madame, avec l'admiration la plus passionnée et la plus continue, de v.m. le serviteur très humble et très dévoué etc.

[*Later insertion:* I shall correct the stile by talking over particular passages with C.A. and others without letting them know of the *tout ensemble.*]

There, Sir, there's a letter for you: now do you mind and take care who you trust it with: upon my soul I don't much like the thoughts of your trusting it with any living creature for fear of the intelligence getting abroad and people taking measures either to prejudice her against it, or to prevent your getting access with it. /They and perhaps/ You will be for putting it into the Court forms; but be pleased to consider that if there are any such I am not to be supposed to be acquainted with them; It might even have an intriguing look if it were found that I was acquainted with them. I don't recollect observing any particular forms in the letters that I have seen adressed to her from D'Alembert and Voltaire. I think it will be no bad scheme to give her the Introduction first; 1. because I think it will be most readable (it will contain all the general principles) 2. because it will be ready very soon: (the whole together will take up a cursed long time.) so that I shall the sooner

know what I have to expect. This is of consequence on your account, because the possible ways and means of keeping you where you are will certainly not hold out for ever. It is in 4to closely printed. I have got two sheets of it already. They began this day sennight (viz. April 3d. it is now Monday April 10th) They promise me 3 sheets a week (each sheet in 4to you know contains 8 pages) and I see no reason to doubt of their performance. It always takes up a considerable time before the form of the page is settled and other preliminaries adjusted: that business is now over: besides the 2nd of the above sheets was uncommonly crowded with notes. There certainly can not be less than 24 sheets more of the Introduction: that makes in all 208 pages. I would not promise that there will not be 300. [*Later insertion:* See p. 6 of this.] But suppose two months' work more: that will make it the 10th of June before it is finished; allowing a week for binding, that will make it the 17th. It may then get to you about the beginning of July. You shall have as much as happens to be done /for your own reading/ with the first parcel I send out. The 1st Chap (on the principle of Utility) ends at p. 6 the 2d sheet goes pretty near to finish Ch. 2. (Principles adverse to that of utility.) Wilson expressed more satisfaction at the 2d Sheet than I ever knew him to express in my life. No translation from Raspe: he is in jail for about 70 or 80£. where I suppose he will lie. To tell you the truth I had pretty well ceased to wish it: for I found him very confused upon the subject, nor could I beat into his head for example the difference between 'what we *shall* do, and what we *ought* to do. En revanche there is another offer. There is a German in town whom I have seen and who speaks English perfectly, and whom Schwediauer puffs off mightily. Schw. says this man will undertake it, and will translate it as it comes out, sheet by sheet. Schwede says he is a man of learning, possesses the German perfectly and has already translated things into it from the English: that he understands the niceties of Grammar, for he has taught it here to some particular persons. I have not learnt his name yet. Schw says he is moreover a man of honour, for whom he could be responsible. I must tell him of the uncertainty there is whether any more of it will be published than the introduction. I have got *pus* nearly sufficient for letters to the K. of P. and the K. of Sw.³ to

³ U.C. CLXIX, Folder 4 contains various rough drafts for letters in French to sovereigns and leading ministers of various nations. Some are intended to accompany presentation copies of Code or Introduction thereto. Others make an offer to codify for the country in question. They may briefly be listed thus, with Bentham's heading and its interpretation where known. Pp. 14–15: Alfred. Corp [To Frederick II of Prussia. Concerned with Corpus of Prussian law.] Pp. 16–17: Alfred. [To Frederick

whom the German shall go, please the Lord above. Now, Mr. Sir, is not here news for you.

Colonel St. Paul called on Wilson t'other day, and told him he had a great favour to beg of him. It was that Wilson would get him an early sight of my work, before it was published and if possible before it was printed. W. says he will make use of it to give him consequence with Ld. North, etc., and will therefore go puffing of it about. W. however says he won't understand a word of it. St. Paul has a house at Chertsey, where Wilson (when at Thorpe) got acquainted with him by means of Douglas and visited him. I was never of the party being either blind or absent.⁴

To judge by the size of the MS papers, the first part alone of the body viz: the substantive part (meaning all which does not relate to Procedure) will contain twice as much as the Introduction so that we may set it down I think at about 600 pages.

Perhaps you may have written to the D. before this reaches you.⁵ Quant aux inventions nouvelles, peut-être qu'il ne seroit pas aisé à v.a. de trouver une personne qui pourroit aussi bien remplir ses vues que je me flatte de pouvoir faire. Pour toute invention de tant soit peu d'importance l'auteur ne manque pas de se pourvoir d'un privilège qu'on accorde à tout demandant, et qui lui donne le monopole de son invention pendant 14 ans. Ce privilège là il faut qu'il fasse coucher sur les registres de la Chancellerie dans l'espace de 4 mois, avec une *spécification*, comme on l'appelle, c'est-à-dire une description détaillée de son invention. Cette spécification il faut qu'elle soit assez parfaite pour que en suivant, on puisse (mettre en l'usage l'invention aussi bien qu'on pourroit l'auteur) imiter parfaitement l'invention: /l'invention puisse s'imiter parfaitement par tout le monde/ sans quoi le privilège est nulle. Il n'y

II of Prussia.] P. 18: Aje: [To George III. In English. Sending Proposal for an East India Code.] P. 19: Achan. [To the Chancellor of France?] Pp. 20–21; Alep. [To Leopold I Grand Duke of Tuscany.] Pp. 22–26: Alep nouv. [To the same?] Pp. 27–35: Alimp. [To Catherine II of Russia. Various letters, including the above.] P. 36: Alos. P. 38: Acarac. [To the Marquis Caracciolo, Viceroy of Sicily.] P. 39–40: A Gust. [To Gustavus III King of Sweden.] P. 41: Asam [To Sambuca, the Neapolitan prime minister.] P. 42: A Stan. [To Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski, King of Poland.] P. 43: No heading. Draft for part of letter 344. P. 44: A Stan. Not Sent. [A much later letter to the King of Poland, written after Bentham's return from Russia.] Pp. 45–47: A Triboulet. [Draft for letter 311]. In U.C. CLXIX, Folder 19 there is some further material of the same kind. P. 118 Afran. [To Benjamin Franklin. Presenting *Introduction to Code*.] P. 119: Age [To George III. Presenting Introduction to Code, without much hope of his approval.]

⁴ A few very faint words including 'D of C' occur here, but appear to be jottings unconnected with the letter.

⁵ What follows is an addition to the draft of a letter to the Duke of Courland in letter 350.

a point d'année qui ne produise 20, 30, 40 de ces spécifications-là. Cependant il s'en faut beaucoup qu'elles soient faciles à consulter. Tout cela est dans un chaos qu'il n'est pas aisé à débrouiller aussi n'y a t'il presque point de gens qui s'en mêlent. Toute fois par des liaisons particulières que j'ai je pourrois en venir à bout: et pour commencer je pourrois (moyennant quelque argent qu'il faudrait donner aux Secrétaires) dresser un catalogue complet de tous les privilèges de cette espèce qu'on a jamais accordé. Ce catalogue commence à l'année 1710: Celle-là étant l'année où le parlement a permis à la couronne d'accorder de tels privilèges. (L'autre jour par exemple on a impétré un privilège pour une nouvelle espèce de serrure laquelle à ce que prétend l'auteur ne scauroit d'aucune façon (be picked) comme les autres.

Quant aux sciences, je me flatte aussi de pouvoir /être à/ rendre a v.a. des services d'une utilité qu'elle ne scauroit tirer facilement d'un négociant ordinaire. Par des liaisons que j'ai avec des membres de la Soc. Royale (dont on me dit que je n'ai qu'à me présenter pour devenir membre) et autres savans, je suis toujours en état de savoir assez bien ce qui se passe de ce côté-là.

If you have written to him already without touching upon those topics, perhaps it might be worth while to give him a supplemental letter.

With regard to the model, you might manage matters so that Sambousky for example, or Bardewich⁶ etc. etc. might of their own heads propose your mentioning it to Czern: or might mention it themselves. This would effectually obviate all suspicion. You might shew them the letter by way of news; without appearing to have a thought of any such thing. If nobody shou'd take it up of their own head, then at the worst you cou'd but mention it yourself.

I don't think there can be occasion for Maria Cobalte⁷ by this conveyance. It is rather troublesome to use and make it permanent. I bought it.

Lind eg. seemed to apprehend that they might be jealous at your court if the D. were to have an Agent here. He recommended strongly to you to insist as a preliminary upon the having ready money. (So you should at least with private persons: as to the D. I suppose it will come from him of course.) He said he had found the ill consequences of the contrary arrangement in the transactions of that kind he had had with a foreign Court: he did not mention what

⁶ See letter 336, n. 7.

⁷ I.e. invisible ink, consisting of a solution of cobalt in muriatic acid (i.e. hydrochloric acid).

Court and I had no time to ask him. I made no scruple of letting him know of your having turned your thoughts homeward in that business; especially as he had taken no notice of what you said with regard to him in former letters. When I mentioned the circumstance of the Salary he began to prick up his ears. That he might continue to look upon his own interest as being concerned, I threw out the idea of a partnership; to which he seemed to listen with attention. He seemed much struck with the pains you were taking about various matters, and particularly with your assiduity in letter-writing. He took the direction to pay for the curator, but observed that he could make no use of it without the battens which I suppose he went and bespoke. He read as much of your letter as related to himself: but had not time to read the whole of it.

N.B. Leading of other bears besides Sea-Bears (but they must be great ones) would combine very well with the Agency scheme.

352

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

11 April 1780 (Aet 32)

A Londres ce 11 Avril 1780

Je ne t'écrirai pas beaucoup par cette poste: toutefois ce que je te donne sera en François, puisque tel est ton plaisir.

News.

Samedi vint ici un lettre de Turin à un particulier que connoit Q.S.P. L'auteur en mande qu'on venoit de recevoir nouvelle à la Cour de la part de l'Ambassadeur Sarde à Madrid, que Rodney après le depart de Digby avait rencontré le reste de l'escadron Francaise dont Digby avait pris un vaisseau de 64 canons (savoir la Prothée): qu'il l'avait toute prise: qu'après cela il a rencontré encore une escadron Espagnole composée de 3 vaisseaux de ligne et de 12 fré gates: qu'il avait aussi pris toute cette escadron-là, hormis un seul vaisseau.² Wilson dit que le premier article n'est pas croy-

352. ¹ B.M. III: 30. Autograph. Docketed: 'April 11th J.B. to S.B.'

Addressed: 'Samuel Bentham Esqr. / at Mr Shairpe's / British Consul / Petersburg.' This is the *ostensible* letter promised in letter 350. Probably this and letter 351 went together.

² The following is written in red between the lines from this point to the end of the paragraph:

'De Aere, fluidisque ad aëris genus pertinentibus: auctore Jos. (.)nobil de Herbert Presbytero, Physices et Mechanices in Universitate Vindoboniensi Professore.

able, puisque comment Rodney (avec son escadron leste de 4 vaisseaux de ligne et une frégate) comment se seroit-il laissé atteindre par des vaisseaux de transport? Q.S.P. a paru vouloir éviter de me nommer la personne à qui la lettre étoit adressée: je ne sçais pas pourquoi: La personne (ajoutoit-il) l'avoit portée cette lettre à Sr. Grey Coø(per.) Cependant on n'en faisait pas mention dans les gazettes d'hier.³

Model⁴

L'autre jour vint une lettre de la part de Allen ci-devant Ingénieur-Constructeur à Chatham, où il offre de vendre son modèle de la Victoire qu'on dit que vous connoissez: ouvrage tout-à-fait unique, à ce qu'il prétend. Il demande 200 guinéas, et dit qu'il ne veut pas prendre moins. On n'a pas voulu me laisser tranquille, que d'après que j'ai promis de vous mander cette nouvelle: là voici donc: mais sauf votre plaisir, il me semble que vous trouverez assez à faire avec votre argent sans en prodiguer pour un tel bijou.

Wax

Le Baron Podmaniezki est un homme des plus honnêtes, des plus instruits et des plus raisonnables: il dit que De Bray (l'apothicaire à Cambridge qui a inventé la cire artificielle) lui en a dit le secret: s'il est possible je tâcherai d'en venir à bout pour le vous communiquer: mais c'est ce dont je n'ai pas grande espérance: toutefois je crois pouvoir vous en procurer une certaine quantité.

Pour les affaires de famille, apparemment qu'on vous en mandât l'autre jour. Adieu—je vais vous envelopper une lettre, dont les nouvelles vous seront plus intéressantes que les miennes.

Vindobona[?] 1779. Ex-Jesuite a ce qu'on dit. A book imported by Swed. It contains two or three new facts, but written in such a cursed stile, that I could not without more trouble than I shall probably give myself, make it out. It contains 183 pages 8vo. with figures. At the end is 'Assertiones by one Antinous (<...> Sacri. Rom. Imperii Equis. 12 pages. It contains some fundamental (<...>) about attractions and repulsions etc. which may be worth attending to. This is readable. I dont believe it is to be bought here.'

³ Rodney was on his way to the West Indies after relieving the Gibraltar garrison. Rear-Admiral Robert Digby (1732–1815), later Admiral, was in command of a Channel fleet detachment returning to England with Rodney's prizes. The *Protée* was captured south of Madeira on 24 February while escorting French supply ships. For Sir Grey Cooper cf. letter 300, n. 8.

⁴ Cf. letter 350 and n. 2.

353

SAMUEL BENTHAM TO JEREMY BENTHAM¹

24 March 1780

to I.B. alone

Take care you don't become too *liè* with the person who was recommended to you by the letter from Sheerness.² Let his abilities or disposition be what they will by no means put him in /our/ your confidence. It might hurt me very much. Get information from his for curiosity sake and *shew off* if you please but dont think it necessary to spend much time or thought about either. I have better means of informing myself about every thing you wish to know and with less trouble.

I know nothing of this man's Character yet but I should wish to say the same to you with respect to any body else whatever.

Don't you plague yourself about considering nor *presume* to point out to *me*, the means of introducing Code. You a poor stupid grovelling wretch who has scarcely been out of the smoak of his own chimney pretend to dictate to *me* who have seen the great bell of Moscow. Rest assured that it will be introduced in the manner most proper for a matter of that kind as soon as ever your honour will be pleased to send it me. But alas it must be translated.

353. ¹ B.M. III: 19–20. Autograph. Docketed: '1780 March 24 / S.B. Petersburg to I.B. Linc. Inn / Return from Moscow.'

Addressed: 'Jere:º Bentham Esqr. / Lincoln's Inn/London.' Stamped: 'ST PETERS-BOURG.' Postmark: 'AP 24'.

What is here published is only the last and private sheet of this letter. The earlier part is dated: 'Petersburg March 13th O.S. 24th N.S.' It describes his arrival in Moscow. He failed to meet Musin Pushkin's mother (cf. letter 347, n. 14). He was however entertained by the Governor, Prince Wolkenski. He made acquaintance with a charming Mr Pleschejeff, a man of about 28 years—Sergei Ivanovich Pleshcheyev (1752–1801)—'who had been 3 years in the English Sea Service as well as in the Archipelago against the Turks, and now has the command of a 64 Gunship'. He is well connected, well informed, much travelled, a good linguist and a sterling character. Samuel travelled to St Petersburg with Pleshcheyev, instead of waiting to do so with Sambouski. On the journey he was overturned in his carriage, lost some letters and money, and is now confined to bed. He ends by exclaiming what an advantageous use he could make of any money his friends might trust him with, obtaining 10 per cent interest therefrom, partly for Samuel, partly for themselves.

This last proposal is dwelt on further in Samuel's next and undated letter, (B.M. III: 22) which is not included in this collection. According to Jeremy Bentham's docket it was received on 1 May 1780 and written in March. Samuel has received invitations from Sir James Harris, the British ambassador, but has not been well enough to accept. Count Chernyshev expresses his wish to see Samuel. Samuel may go off on a visit to Sweden in a few weeks.

² See letter 347, § 8.

English after all is not understood. Why not German? Why not french? The latter is the language more relished here as well as elsewhere. Though I suppose the former language would admit of the translation being closer. Are you provided with a Translator now Raspe fails you? Evelyn at Hamburg³ I believe could do it exceedingly well if he has time. If you write to Hanbury about it he could tell you what books Ev: has already translated, and settle the price etc. with him, and I dare to say would do it with pleasure as he was so exceedingly pleased with the Fragment. Lindegren would also write to him about it.

Or you might send it here beginning immediately to send 3 or 4 sheets at a time closely written by means of Sneyd or in the first ships.

I could here get it translated printed and the press carefully corrected. either into french or German. but this is an idea which strikes me only at this moment I must consult my friend make inquiries, and think more of it by the next post. Above all things do make what haste you can to finish it. I hope you and Wilson are employed of evenings to examine such parts as are finished and that you submit to hear and examine at least all his criticisms. Yes I think you told me Douglas was also of this party. all the better. I have acquired vanity enough to wish most anxiously that I was of the party also.

354

JEREMIAH BENTHAM TO
MRS WILLIAM HENCHMAN¹

4 May 1780

The Proof you have given me, my dear Madam, that I have sometimes a Place in your Thoughts, by the kind Token of your Remembrance which was forwarded hither by Mr. Crowe, was so flattering to me, that I shou'd be wanting to speak for myself if I did not make you my acknowledgements for so agreeable a mark of your

³ Unidentified: mentioned again in letters 374 and 375.

354. ¹ B.M. III: 42–43. Autograph draft or copy.

This letter shows the picture Jeremiah Bentham liked to present of his two sons. It is addressed to the wife of William Henschman, surgeon at Earl Soham, near Monk Soham, Suffolk. Jeremiah Bentham's cousins, William and Samuel Ray were both dead by this time, but the Suffolk connection was evidently maintained.

Esteem; and it is with the greatest truth that I assure you, nothing could be more wellcome to me, unless it was (to make use of an expression of gallantry) to have received it from your own hand, by your accompanying it hither . . .²

You were inform'd by Mrs. Bentham's Correspondence, with you, that we passed the last Summer in Northampton Shire, where we were five Months at a House, my friend, Sir Francis Basset,³ was so obliging to give me the use of called Imley Park, and where our time was Chiefly taken up in attending the Inclosure of an Estate of my Wife's adjoining to his; in Consequence of an Act of Parliament that passed ye last Sessions for Inclosing the Common Field Lands in that Parish—before we left Imley Park her youngest Son return'd to England from Geneva, in Switzerland, where he had been above a Twelve Month, since which He and his Brother have purchas'd Chambers of their own in the King's Bench Walk in the Temple, and where they live very comfortably together. The Eldest has a place in the Crown Office which is near to their Chambers, and the Youngest, is preparing himself by Study, and attending the Courts at Westminster Hall for the Practise of the Law as a Council, but as he is obliged to be of such a Standing in Point of Time, he will not be able to be called to the Barr these Two years—and then his friends have no doubt but he will make a Figure by his own personal abilities, and the acquaintance he has to introduce him into business.

And in Answer to your obliging Enquiries after my Sons, particularly my Eldest, you shall have the best account I can give of them both.

The Eldest, was in a manner born a Philosopher. He was called one, when he was but Six years Old, from his early fondness for Study, and his turn for thinking, but tho' I wish'd to have him distinguish himself in Literature I wish'd likewise to have him mix in Life, and (Parent-like) to have him qualify himself to figure a little [in] my world. with this View, from the rapid Progress he had made at School, I sent him very early to the University but it had rather a Contrary Effect, for in Setting him upon his own Legs as it were, before he was well Thirteen—, he followed the Bent of his own genius, and continued the pursuit of his Studies, so closely that he contracted such a habit for abstract Thinking, that, tho' he was

² About 350 words omitted.

³ This was presumably Francis Basset (1757–1835) of Tehidy, Cornwall, created a baronet in 1779, M.P. for Penryn 1780–96, Baron de Dunstanville 1796, Baron Basset of Stratton 1797.

bred to and called to the Bar, under the hopes I had of his making a practical Lawyer,—it indispos'd him for the practise of his Profession, tho' it qualified him with the knowledge of it—in Short he acquired Ideas too enlarged and at the same time too exact and I may say, refin'd for the Common Tract of Business—instead of which his happiness and Satisfaction consist in striking out or attempting to Strike out something new, from the hopes of benefiting Mankind, not confining himself to his own Country only, by his Studies—and so long as he has no purpose of Changing his Condition of Life for a married one, he can afford to do it even in his father's Life time. especially as Temperance and Economy make a Part of his Philosophy. He has publish'd Two Books which have been well received by the best Judges of the Subjects, but he is now actually engaged in correcting the Press for a Third of much greater Consequence and upon which principally will depend his reputation as a Writer, or rather an Author, since the work itself is new, and very different upon the Subject, from any thing that was ever published before; I have as yet seen but little of it myself, not above 100d Pages of it has yet been printed off, the whole may probably be finish'd in about Six Weeks or two Months' time, but when finish'd it will be no Book for a Lady, and therefore you must be contented with a general Character of it; which I am satisfied your Friendship for him makes you wish may be a favourable one; as it is natural, so it is allowable for me to entertain such a wish, and it is still the more so as it's view is truly philosophical in that it is directed to the Information, and the good of Mankind, and Society in general without restrictions to Place or Country.

My youngest Son, to gratify a mechanical Genius, which wou'd not otherwise be Satisfied, I bred a Ship builder; but his great Opinion of his Brother, and the Warmth of affection accompanying it, has given him also a tincture of Philosophy, tho' in a different way; In the Course of his apprenticeship he struck out some Improvements in that Profession, that met with an approbation, which established his Credit for Ingenuity, and gave him an Ambition to aim at something by which he might be distinguish'd in a Profession which had never before in any Instance the advantages of so liberal and so scientific an Education as he had himself. Upon this Basis, and by the Encouragement of his friends, he conceived a Design of going abroad, for the purpose of giving himself an opportunity of seeing the State of Naval Architecture or Ship building among the more Northern Maritime Powers, and from which Quarters we ourselves are chiefly supplied with all the other

materials for Ship building except Oak Timber.—accordingly, having procured a Number of Letters of Recommendation, [not very [far] Short of a hundred in all, from Persons of great Consideration here at home, to Persons of the greatest Eminence at the difference places he meant to go to abroad,—He sate out upon the 24th August last, alone by himself, for Holland...⁴

...—but that I may tire you no longer with a Detail which requires no small degree of friendship on your part to have any relish for, and which I can imagine may give you occasion to recollect by way of Consolation, comes from an Odd Pen, You have not been much accustom'd to, but which I cou'd not satisfy myself, shod., in any other hand than my own, tho' ever so clear to me, convey my thanks to you and assure you how much I am Dear Madam,

your obliged and obedt. hble. Servant

Jere^h. Bentham.

P.S. Mrs. Bentham joyns me in sincere respects to Mr. Henchman, as well as to yourself.

355

SAMUEL BENTHAM TO JEREMY BENTHAM¹

11-12 April 1780

Petersburg April 11th N.S. 1780

How exceedingly do I wish now that you were here with me. The usefull information and experience you would have opportunities of acquiring are greater than you can conceive.

⁴ About 600 words omitted, recounting Samuel's travels to date and the gratifying reception he has everywhere met with. Jeremiah Bentham mentions that the Duke of Courland presented Samuel with a gold medal, and that they suspect his curious detour to Moscow before going to St Petersburg may be on some secret service of the Duke's.

355. ¹ B.M. III: 31-34. Autograph. Docketed by Jeremy Bentham: '1780 April 12 / S.B. Petersburg to I.B. Linc. Inn.'

Addressed: 'Jere:^v Bentham Esqr. / No. 6 Lincoln's Inn / London.'

An earlier letter (B.M. III: 27) from Samuel received on the same day, 6 May 1780 (see letter 356, n. 6) is not included in this collection. It is dated '28 March O.S. 1780' (8 April N.S.) from Petersburg. He says: 'Navy thing goes on as well as it can go' but does not expatiate upon his prospects. He asks for various nautical books etc. to be forwarded to him, including what he calls his *Bibliotheca Maritima*. The language suggests that this was a bibliography of naval books compiled by Samuel for his own use. It may be the same as what he elsewhere calls *Bibliotheca Navalis*. His health has improved but he is still keeping to his room, largely through an inherited disorder he has his father to thank for, the piles. Mr Forster (see letter 248, n. 1) has paid him a

The same expence of Carriage and servants which I must necessarily be at would serve you also. You would have nothing to buy but cloaths.

If you would make the same determination as I have made and kept, never to play at cards a capital of 3 thousand pounds would yield interest enough to bear all our expences both together, except that of Cloaths. I think we might between us be able to raise that Sum of our own.²

It was I do assure you your own particular interest and advancement *and in England* too that first makes me wish you were here, and not any consideration of the use you would be of *to me*. not but what I had the latter (myself) only in view and with respect to yourself it was a matter of indifference I do think but if you had an idea of all the considerations which determine me you would not hesitate at coming.

I have considered as far as I was able to consider how this excursion would affect your *works*. First I hope that by the time this reaches you Code will be finished: that is written. As to its being published I should very much wish that you could make your journey here first and neither publish that or Punishments till your return. In this case you would send Code to Bern written and not in print. You certainly will find some things to alter in it which will make it much more esteemed. You want nothing but a little travelling to *perfect you* but *that* I am well persuaded you *do* want. I have been more and more sensible of this from every incident which has happened to me since I left England; but have never ventured to insist so much upon it till now that this means of making or rather *increasing* money gives me hopes of the practicability of it. Don't you think nor I hope that my father won't think that I have in view your settling here, no, there is no employment here which is good enough for you. Your disposition must be quite changed or you could never succeed here in *your* way if you

lengthy visit. Forster is returning to England with Sambouski in June, but Sambouski will later return to Russia to establish his Agricultural College. The British Consul Shairpe has called, and introduced him to Dr Gutherie of the English Line, physician to the corps of cadets, a man of extensive scientific knowledge.

² About 420 words omitted on how to raise the money. An advance from their father, together with Jeremy's selling his estate, might raise this sum. Jeremy had been given a malt-house as a source of income, but it proved impossible to let, and his father was compensating Jeremy annually for this loss. Samuel suggests that their father could take the malt-house into his own hands in lieu of some of this advance. If three thousand could not be raised in this way, then double the sum wanting might be borrowed at 5 per cent interest which, yielding 10 per cent in Russia on Samuel's unrevealed scheme, would come to the same.

wished it ever so much. No country is like England for you, but at the same time it is not there that you can perfect yourself, it is here better than any where: besides that our being together alone will procure the means. You will [be] surprised perhaps at *my* taking upon me to judge for *you* and in so peremptory a manner, over and above the persuasion I have of the expediency of what I advise, it may procede in some measure from my being applied to on some occasions *here* as a kind of *oracle*.

As the advantages I have acquired have in most respects very much exceeded my expectations, so have my expences.³

My Father has often expressed his wishes to both of us that your circumstances were bettered that you were able to live in a more comfortable and /in appearance/ respectable a manner till you had *made your way*—adding at the same time that the utmost exertions in his power should not be wanting to accomplish that end. He now has it in his power to do this without any other exertion than that of confidence in *our honesty*. I take for granted that in making us the allowance which he does, in giving you the estate which he gave you and in making up to you the loss from the Malthouse, he sets apart as much of his fortune to our use as he can spare, and all that I can therefore reasonably hope for is that he would be kind enough to advance me the capital which he can procure by the paying 70£ pr. year interest. If he would do this I should be under the greatest obligations to him and owe him the warmest gratitude: He would do me a very essential service without any injury to himself. Now then with respect to you. If he would raise a sum of money for your use for which you should pay him the interest he is to pay for it. If that sum was to the amount of six thousand pounds, you would have five hundred a year with the addition of what you have at present without his being a penny the loser. He would then have the satisfaction of seeing you live in a manner much more agreeable to his wishes as well as so much more comfortable to yourself. He would then I am sure see you frequent company which if not altogether precisely that which he now wishes you sometimes to mix in, would be such as would be much more flattering to him.

~~Neither would you be the less dependent on you would then be~~

³ About 500 words omitted in which Samuel defends himself against the charge of extravagance but admits he will soon be in difficulties unless some capital can be raised for him to invest in the advantageous manner he has spoken of. But it need not be feared that he will involve himself in 'inextricable difficulties'. In an emergency Pleshcheyev has assured him of his help, but Samuel would be loth to call on this as Pleshcheyev would have to borrow at exorbitant interest.

under infinitely greater obligations to him without being at the same time less dependent on him. It would be in his power to demand the sum of you again whenever he should think proper, and it would be in your power to return it to him at the expiration of each year, thus he might reduce you again to your old pittance.⁴

Dr. Guthrie can furnish me if he will some very curious accounts and I believe Specimens of rapid[?] animals birds etc. for Daynes Barrington.

You may let Lindegreen know that Eaton /the great traveller/ is here.

If I choose⁵ to accept of the place of Director /Surveyor/ General of all the Shipbuilding and Mechanical works relating to the Marine with a Salary of a thousand roubles (equal to scarcely two hundred pounds) a year with occasional douceurs and presents upon the finishing of a piece of work, the man at the head of these matters says he should be very glad to give it me.⁶ But we have not seen one another yet to talk the matters over more particularly. Their thousand roubles does not come up to my price. and besides I must be satisfied of the power and assistance I may have in making experiments which would be the principal consideration.

To p. 10 at top

[Page 10 at top: From p. 9 No. 1.]⁷

C. first said I should be master Shipwright but that he was given

⁴ About 1600 words omitted, about money matters, about the route Jeremy would travel and the clothes he should bring, etc., etc. Even if he decided not to come he should still try to raise the capital for Samuel's scheme as it would enable him to live more comfortably at home. If he comes, then they could return to England again next summer, by way of Sweden, Denmark and Holland, even if Samuel has a position in Russia. Jeremy should start putting his papers in order immediately. Transport of books will be easy. He has read Crawford on Heat, and almost agrees with Dr Guthrie in calling him a second Newton. He has also read submissions for a prize offered for the best method of preserving timber. He describes Pleshcheyev's family. The father has 6000 boors (slaves). Besides Pleshcheyev, he has two daughters, one unmarried. Pleshcheyev will be rich one day, 'and if he pleases powerfull'. Pleshcheyev and Samuel are now sharing lodgings in the English line. Dr Guthrie is to have Samuel made a member of the Oeconomical Society. There is a rather obscure reference to Schwediauer, followed by ten lines which have been effectively deleted, probably by Jeremy.

⁵ This paragraph begins a new sheet (B.M. III: 33). Bentham has docketed it: '1780 April 12 / S.B. Petersburg to I.B. Linc. Inn / Least most.' It was evidently intended to be kept separate and secret. Its two sides are numbered '9' and '10'. This continues the numbering of the *columns* in the main part of the letter. The numbering on this sheet (alone) is however in red and may have been added by Jeremy Bentham.

⁶ Probably Count Chernyshev.

⁷ These two lines are in red, and probably in Jeremy Bentham's hand. Samuel just tacked on the passage in question at the top of the next page without fitting it in to the course of the letter.

to understand I would not accept. He then said he would make me as overleaf and *more* says he he should have—but the *how much more?* requires some explanation.

This must not be shewed to any body. If you shew both $\frac{1}{2}$ sheets to my father it must be when he is alone and under injunctions of Secrecy from his family.

[*End of insertion*]

If I had not some reasons to imagine that the concluding this matter would be better put off for some months or even a year I certainly should have said nothing to you about coming till it was settled and I was by that means furnished with more money for the expences but as it is I do wish very much more even on *your* account than on my own that you were here.

If you were to come early in this Summer in June for example, you should stay here till the middle of the winter and then we would contrive with very little expence to go through Moscow etc. to the Southern parts the Ukraine, etc. The accounts given by people of this Ukraine are almost enchanting it is the only part of the world our old friend Forster wishes to see but he says he is too old now to put those schemes in practise which he should have if he went there.

What a treasure Burkitt or Mosberry would be to me here. I fear the former would not come however well I should be able to pay him and yet he would have an amazing extent to exercise his genius upon and he would be very happy if he could but leave that Brompton. The latter I make no doubt would come and I dare to say it wont be long before I shall send for him that is if matters go on here. I should then indeed have the Commission and endeavour to engage Peake and Mears, the 2 latter in the public account but the former in private for you are to know if I engage in public service I shall do private business also by which I hope to get no[?] small sums[?]. They have nobody to build them pleasure boats now. They send for them sometimes from England. They pay for such things and I should have a few slaves of my own carpenters, already to make Shipwrights of to put to that purpose. Mosberry would be the person to superintend them as I should have no time for giving any more than very general directions.

Any Officer here has liberty to resign and quit the service whenever he pleases. This was a most noble priviledge established by the present Empress.

As I may be able to tell you /in my letter before you set off/

whether I engage in any thing here immediately or not, if you should be going to Brompton on any other account have an opportunity of seeing Burkitt. Ask him if he would come with you to remain with me in the Character of Secretary, though his chief business would be to assist in experiments etc. and to turn to account his several inventions which he has already as well as the many more he would have here. People here are very fond of ingenious inventions but have but very few of them. The kind of terms I should think would be a certain Salary the execution of his inventions and a share in the profit from them.

If my father liked the second part of the plan, the employing some of the money he uses himself in this way on your account he would certainly like to employ more in that way and to receive the whole benefit from it himself. this might also be done as far perhaps as much more: but more than that don't think of at any rate as yet for I am not certain whether so much greater a sum could be managed with the same conveniency.

As to Code⁸ I have not yet had an opportunity of hearing of anybody here who could translate it well yet if you should approve of the plan I dare to say somebody may be found. I am not however much for it as it is very uncertain how long I shall stay here. I may be perhaps *sent* to pursue my travels very soon.

Perhaps Cousin or Uncle might be induced to lend me money to make that interest of upon my paying them what they make of it. or any body else if there be any body who has faith enough in me. You can see I could give them 6 7 or 8 pr. Cent and yet get a profit. but that I should not choose to do unless I were firmly settled here because I could not trouble my friend for so much.

⁸ This paragraph starts a new sheet (B.M. III: 34). Bentham has docketed it: '1780 Apr. 12 S.B. Petersburg to I.B. Linc. Inn.' It was also probably intended to be kept separate.

356

JEREMY BENTHAM TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

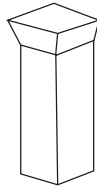
8-9 May 1780 (Aet 32)

Linc. Inn May 9th 1780

/No Sim. this time./

1 Timber-preservg. Frankl.

Franklin's method of seasoning Ship-Timber; communicated by him to Ingenhouz and by I. to Swede. Observing to cut it at the *proper* season (what that is Sw. does not recollect—but you know I dare say) he sets the pieces on end: the lower end supported by a *slanting* floor. The upper end is made the bottom as it were of a kind of funnel, which is made of a considerable depth, to hold a quantity of a strong solution of common salt. The weight of the column of water /enclosed/ supported by the funnel forces the lower stratum down through the interstices between the longitudinal fibres of the wood's and thus the whole is impregnated with the salt. What suggested the idea of this to Franklin was, the hearing that ships used in the salt trade lasted remarkably longer than others.



2 French x Spaniards

Capt. Montagu of the pearl Frigate² related that in his return to England with the convoy of Spanish Transports taken by Rodney's Squadron, he saw a Ship which he supposed to be an Enemy and cleared the Ship for Action. the Capt. had French and Spanish prisoners on board who were put into the hold while they were in this State the Crew were alarmed with cries in the hold and upon enquiring into the cause they found that the Spanish sailors had fallen upon the French, had actually killed *four* and it was supposed would have destroy'd every Frenchman on board if they had not been prevented. This Clark had from Master Montagu, Uncle I

356. ¹ B.M. III: 44-45 and 123. Autograph. Docketed: 'May 1780' (B.M. III: 44).

Addressed: 'Sam: Bentham Esqr. / at Mr Shairpe's / British Consul / Petersburgh'. (B.M. III: 123).

The two parts of the letter have been bound separately. On B.M. III: 123 someone has noted: '? circ 1780.' B.M. III: 123 commences with section 15.

At the top of B.M. III: 44 projected subjects for numbered paragraphs have been deleted. They do not correspond very closely with the actual letter. '9. Naples' may be noted.

² The *Pearl* (32) was commanded by Captain George Montague.

think he is of the Captain. This is the case all over England wherever there are French and Spanish Prisoners. I have heard fifty accounts of it private as well as public. Howard in an appendix to his book (a late publication which he has made me a present of) says that at Liverpool the Fr. and Span. Prisoners are obliged to be kept separate for this reason.³

What think you of Clark's being nominated for Member for London and being very likely to succeed.⁴

3 Bergman.

I have been so much hunted with my printing work of late that I have had no time to revise my translation of Bergman mentioned in a former letter. I have now got a little respite, and shall probably get it some how or other into the press. If it should not be printed time enough to have it reach you before the time by which I may have reason to think you will be set out for Sweden, I may possibly send one to Kruze that he may forward it to you: in that case I shall send him one or two as a present to himself and possibly one or two for any other person (such as Guthrie) to whom I may have reason from any intermediate letters of your's to think it would be acceptable.

3. False Progresses

By talking with Guy,⁵ I think I am got perfectly to the bottom of the mystery of false progresses. It is nothing more nor less than a contrivance pour manager l'amour-propre of the Builders. When a Ship is docked for repairs the Builder forms his estimate and delivers it in. When the repairs come to be done, they are found greatly to exceed the estimate. The Builder that he may not appear to have been mistaken, charges to the account of other Ships as much of the work done upon this as exceeds the estimates. The use of this contrivance is to blind the eyes of the Commissioners altogether and put skilful and unskilful Builders upon a level. I do take it that in these cases perfect accuracy is impossible. An in-

³ The late publication presented by John Howard to Bentham was his *Appendix to the State of the Prisons in England and Wales etc.*, 1780. The remark about the French and Spanish prisoners at Liverpool occurs on p. 99 of the first edition.

⁴ Richard Clark stood as a government supporter in the General Election of 1780, but Bentham's estimate of his prospects was wide of the mark, for he came bottom of the poll (cf. I. R. Christie, *The End of North's Ministry, 1780-82*, London, 1958, 80, 132, 136-7).

⁵ Presumably G. Guy who had been involved in the affairs of the Wise family: cf. letter 196, n. 10.

accuracy that happens in any given instance will therefore be owing either in whole or in part to the unavoidable uncertainty of the subject: but it may be owing in part also to a want of care or judgement on the part of the builder. When this is the case it might be of use perhaps that it should be known: now this you see is effectively prevented. Perhaps the blame and the cause of this system of deceit may originally have lain either in whole or in part at the door of the Commissioners; who may have scolded Builders merely upon the face of the difference between the estimate and the Progress, without paying due attention to the circumstances which may have rendered that difference unforeseeable.

4. Letters

This is the 3d letter I have written through Sneyd, all since my return from Brompton. Your two of April 8 and 11 came on Saturday.⁶ By the two first you will have seen how I am engaged in printing, and therefore I dare say have given up the idea of my visiting Petersburg in a hurry.

5. Money

As to the money-investing scheme I am sorry you should have set your heart so much on it as you appear to have done. If it had depended only on myself, I should have been contented probably to have pinned my faith upon your judgement; but I much wonder you should be so sanguine in your expectations that Q.S.P. should. Contrary however to all expectations he did seem to lend an ear to it upon reading the ostensible letter (April 8th) in which the subject is lightly touched, and went so far as to talk of raising[?] to the extent formerly proposed. I then thought I could do no otherwise than leave him the other (all but the $\frac{1}{2}$ sheet against Mrs. Q.S.P.)⁷ (We were alone together at Q.S.P.) This however blew up the scheme altogether. You talked of so many things at once, that they quite confounded him. I had begun with assuring him (before I shew'd him either of the letters) that I for my part should not think of going. This was a great comfort to him. This was yesterday (Sunday 7th). This morning, (Monday 8th) he came to me and we discussed it. He began bellowing against it; but I soon made him

⁶ Letter 355 and that mentioned in n. 1 thereto. The first of the letters Bentham sent through Sneyd was letter 350. If letters 351 and 352 count as one, then a letter is missing between 11 April and 9 May 1780. This may be the one which went to Constantinople (see letter 376, n. 1).

⁷ This parenthesis has been scrawled out, probably at some subsequent date. The page in question was probably destroyed.

lower his note: however the result is that he will do no such thing. The truth is, that had he been ever so well disposed it is much to be doubted whether he could have effected it. Money is scarcer here than you can conceive. What you throw out at random about going to the Ukraine without any earthly reason but that of it's being a fine country, produced a very bad effect, and gave a bad colour to your journey to Moscow, for which in truth, taking the matter upon your own shewing, I condemn you altogether. It is unlucky too that you have not given some circumstances respecting your overturn, as your silence on that head has given Mrs. Q.S.P. a handle for treating it as a fiction.

5

What you would hardly have expected, he seems perfectly well satisfied and even desirous that you should accept the offers made you and settle there: he even seems to put it upon a level with the Courland scheme. Should the former take place, I should not absolutely despair of bringing him to advance some money, which then you might lay out in the manner you propose. One might trump up a story of a capital being wanted for some purpose or other, for instance to buy materials for boats etc. or by representing to him that there is no more hazard in this than in trade etc. Being then settled on the spot, he would be satisfied that you might have it in your power to watch over the security and so forth. All the while I am certain Mrs. Q.S.P. was not taken into council. *D'ailleurs* he was very affectionate, said that if we were both to be over there he verily believes he should go over too, and talked rather slightly of Madam: that to be sure she was a very agreeable companion to him and contributed to render his life comfortable; but that with regard to money matters he certainly should not do more than leave her Q.S.P. during her widowhood, nor had she any expectation of any more; nor was he by any means determined to leave her even that: that if we could but rub on any how so long as he lived he had the satisfaction of thinking we shou'd each of us find a very comfortable competency upon his death.

6 Terms. v. 20

With respect to terms, I think a *sine quâ non* should be your being paid your salary a twelvemonth, or at least half a year in advance. By that means you would have it in your power to force them to punctual repayment by threatening to resign and even actually

resigning in case of any delay: whereas if they once run in arrear to you, you will lie at their mercy, and poverty may force you to stay whether you will or no. I should hope you might be able to get a seat at their board of Admiralty, for which demand the attention you have paid to the subject of Oeconomy would be a very good foundation. If you got any extraordinary powers, such a seat would be almost a necessary means of supporting them and getting them respected.

7.

Considering the state of your finances, I can not but be inclined to hope you may have laid aside your intended tour to Sweden, unless, what I think not probable they should have been disposed to *send* you thither. In the case I should think you must first have engaged in their service, otherwise I don't very well comprehend what should be their inducement. After all it would be a great confidence for them to put in you: for what should insure to them your coming back?

8.

In all points too I hope you will draw your affairs to a crisis as soon as possible: first trying the agency scheme, and if that fails, closing with Ch. as soon as you are satisfied that nothing more is to be made by affecting indifference and holding out.

9. Code

As to my part, 120 of my 4to. pages are printed off; I think there will be about as /not quite so/ much more, exclusive of the Preface, which is not yet digested out of Prefat. My Translator I find has been at a stand owing to my not undertaking peremptorily that he should have liberty to publish it without waiting for the decision of the Berne people: I have now given up that point (in consequence of your intelligence) and Swede tells me he /(Leonardi^s is his name)/ is now satisfied and will go on. I am to see Leonardi to morrow, and then we shall settle every thing. He has written to his bookseller. I understand he had translated some time ago two sheets out of the 15. I will now do every thing I can to hasten him. The translation will be sent by 6 sheets at a time to Leipzig. From Leipzig Swede says the conveyance is easy to Petersburgh. *Tell me*

^s The German recommended to him by Schwediauer to translate the *Introduction* into German (see letter 351). Nothing further has been ascertained about him.

without fail whom you would have the copies directed to that are to be sent to Petersburg. The Introd. will I think be printed by about 16 of next month (June) The Preface will I hope take up about a week or 10 days more, unless I should think it worth while to give it to another printer. I go on very regularly with my 3 sheets a week.

10 Letters ost. x. inost.

You don't take sufficient care to separate the ostensible from the inostensible part of your letters. Q.S.P. has himself been suggesting the expediency of writing on separate sheets of paper.

11 Peake etc.

On Saturday I wrote to Peake, copying your words, mentioning your illness as a reason for your not being more particular, and telling him of the offers made you (*pour eblouir*) without naming the Salary. I don't see after all that you have much chance of any of those people. I don't see what you can have to offer them. Mosberry shrunk back at the idea of the cold in Courland. If you should ever have to make them offers, you should write to them yourself: it will be safer (as you are out of the kingdom) and more engaging to them, than if I were to do it.

[*Insertion:* 11* When F. or S. return, or any private conveyance offers, suppose you were to send me any thing that you could pick up worth sending to Ld. S. particularly as much as you can pick up of the life character and conversation of your intimate friend's great friend.]⁹

12. Agency

The offers made at Pet.^h will be an excellent basis for you to go upon in your negotiation for the agency: 1. you will have the merit of making a great sacrifice: and 2, if you are thought fit to be trusted with such important concerns, *a fortiori* with the other lesser ones. Perhaps it was something of this sort that you were waiting for. If he listens to the proposal, you may bring to his view the contingency of (your losing the place by) his dying in which case you would be left without employ. This might be a ground for demanding some little matter perhaps, such as a hundred a year or so not

⁹ 'F. or S.' means John Forster or Sambouski. 'Lord S.' is Lord Shelburne. 'Your intimate friend' is doubtless Pleshcheyev, and his great friend probably Catherine's son, the then Grand Duke and future Emperor Paul.

subject to such contingency: a contingency which you would not be subject to at Petersb: because let the Emp. die it would not be likely to make any difference. The Marine must go on just the same.

13 Foster

As Foster is coming back to England, be aware of that circumstance of his being catechized by Q.S.P. (particularly about your overturn and illness) and take care accordingly that he should be possessed of no notions, but what you wish Q.S.P. to entertain.

Thank him cordially in my name for the trouble he gave himself about my letter.

14. Mulford to Q.S.P.

Millbrook 30 March 1780

Dear Sir

I thank you kindly for the loan of the Journal, which on perusal gave me great pleasure and satisfaction; it affords many instances of your sons personal qualifications likewise the great advantage of his own and Brother's high and useful connections made in England. Though the gaiety of Courts are too apt to divert the mind from the useful and profitable, it must be great pleasure to his friends they can not discover they have in the least detached him from his first and *principle* view; unless indeed in one instance, viz: that of the concert: and though grey hairs may be supposed to fortify against passions, yet upon reading the journal my servant came thrice into the room to remind me the fire was quite out. There are few instances *were* a young fellow has introduced himself on the great theatre of the world in so respectable a manner, and much fewer, *were* two Sons in one family are such exalted characters; had they fallen to my lot, it might possibly (had there been occasion) reduced me to one suit, and a 2 pair of stairs room.

I shall ever wish on such like occasions, your concern greater than what you felt at the report of the vessel's being cast away, and hope no one will ever be able to lessen your affection for your own children; but that they may meet with seasonable assistance, and suitable encouragement to further their *studys*, and promote their advancement in life. These little barks that are now tossed on the waves of this world will you know often prove leaky, and must *goe* into dock to be repaired—

As a second perusal will be a second pleasure, you will see nothing of the Journal till the latter end of next month, when I purpose,

God willing, being in town, unless I am commanded otherwise. I am Dr. Sr.

Your affectionate hum. Servant
J. Mulford.

N.B. Mulford is not yet in town. May 9th.

15

If you were to agree with C. possibly you might persuade them to (send) let you go and take a peep at the Venetian Gallies: when you were so far on your way, you might stretch on as far as Naples, and see whether you like that place better.

16

Mittenda to S.B.

I shall send you a copy of Bergman's opuscula in Latin price 7s. 8,vo. and I believe a little tract of his on the use of the blow-pipe.¹⁰ I think (it prob)able I may be able to send you a little acid of Sugar discover'd by him. Anderson will get it me from Saunders the lecturer.¹¹ Scheele's book on light and phlogiston is just coming out.¹²

17

I forget whether I mentioned in my last Fordyce¹³ the Bankers manufactory at Shields for making Fissile Alkali (Barilla) from Common Salt. I believe he makes use of clay to diminish the attraction between the acid and the alk. upon application of heat, and so drive off the acid. Anderson has some of the residuum that is left after driving off the acid. I shall probably send you some.

18. Tourmalin Stones.

The summer before last a mine of Tourmalins was discover'd in the mountains of Tyrol (Pilate's country and Fontana) by Müller

¹⁰ The tract on the blow-pipe was *De tubo ferruminatorio ejusdemque in examinandis corporibus usu, commentatio*. 1779. See also letter 345, n. 10.

¹¹ William Saunders, M.D. (1743-1817). He was educated at Edinburgh University and came to London in 1769, where he was admitted a licentiate of the College of Physicians. He lectured on chemistry and pharmacy and was physician to Guy's Hospital. In 1807 he was appointed physician to the Prince Regent. He published works on mercury, mephitic acid, mineral waters etc.

¹² *Chemical observations and experiments on air and fire. With a prefatory introduction by T. Bergman. Translated from the German by J. R. Forster*, 1780. For Scheele's book, which Bergman had translated from the original Swedish, cf. letter 325, n. 31.

¹³ Possibly Alexander Fordyce (d. 1789), banker and uncle to Dr George Fordyce (for whom see 84a, n. 6). However as Alexander Fordyce had gone bankrupt in 1772, it is perhaps another member of the family who is intended here.

Counsellor of the board of Mines and Mint-works in Transylvania. Swede has just imported an account of this translated into French from Müllers German by one De Launay of Bruxelles, and printed at Brussels in 1779. pp 35 4to. including the translator's notes.¹⁴ The Tourmalin you remember properly is a kind of superior precious stone which becomes electrical by being treated, as glass does by being rubbed. By applying then a quantity of 'moving heat' you precipitate a quantity of the electric fluid (is that the case?) (if so the electricity should be negative. Qu) or dispose the stone to attract a certain quantity of that fluid from the atmosphere. Hitherto Tourmalins have not been known to come any where but from the Dutch Island of Ceylon in the E. Indies. Stones which have the electrical property of the Tourmalin but do not agree with it in some other properties are brought from Bra(zil) <Be>rgman has given a chem: analysis of the Tourm. in <his> <. >.dish Memoirs. When entire it is brown like rosin: but Müller by cutting it transversely and obliquely and grinding it as thin as paper has made it green. This with an account of the manner of it's appearance in the place of it's growth is all there is new in Müller's book. Ergo I don't send it you.

19

I send to day May 9th to Raikes¹⁵ to enquire when Ships go to Petersburg.

20 Terms v. 6

In case of a rupture between this country and that, you must not continue in that service.¹⁶ Stipulate therefore for half-pay during such war. Do not engage without written articles signed by C. Ask what deductions there will be for fees of office etc. and make him

¹⁴ *Lettre à M. Le Chevalier de Born sur la Tourmaline du Tirol par M. Müller, Conseiller du Departement des Mines et des Monnoyes en Transylvanie.* Brussels, 1779. Translation from German by Louis de Launay.

There is an article on the Earth of the Tourmalin Stone in Bergman's *Opuscula physica et chemica*, Vol. II, 1780, p. 118, which refers to Müller's discovery of Tourmalins in the Tyrol, and gives a chemical analysis. But Bentham evidently refers below to an earlier work. This is probably *Commentarius de indole Electrica Turmalini, auctore Toberno Bergman* etc. which appeared in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1776, p. 236.

¹⁵ Unidentified.

¹⁶ Russia preserved an 'armed neutrality' during the war in which Britain was engaged against France, Spain, and later Holland, but the risk of war with Russia might have made some Englishmen look askance at Samuel's entering the Russian service. Samuel was therefore very pleased to have the support of Sir James Harris, the British ambassador.

guarantee you against such deductions. Don't engage in any expence for them, without writing, for fear of misunderstanding.

21.

What you said about my not liking Petgh. was I hope ostensible only, not sincere. If she will give me that business to do, I don't see how it is possible I should not like it. I could bring more of my ideas to bear there in a month than here in my whole life. Those are the only terms, my Sam, upon which we shall ever meet there. Don't think I can bear to go about foreign Courts dragging about an obscure and insignificant existence. But more about this in my next.

22.

I have cut to pieces Ingenhousz's book¹⁷ to send you that part of the Preface which contains a summary of every thing in it that is material. I wish I had done it before. I fear the book may have reached you entire before now. The book itself will go with your things, and then you must patch it together again.

21 Welsch¹⁸

Don't sell Welch's apparatus so as to lose by it. If you can not get what it cost, send it back: Sw. desires you will.

22 Spanish Sheathing. Lohmen.

Did I tell you in my last that Lohmen sent me in a letter a small specimen of sheathing that was upon one of the Spanish prizes? I wrote the letter you desired to him directing it to him on board with Com. Walsingham Torbay or elsewhere: but have received no answer.

23 Dicty. diving.

Anderson knows a Scotch Parson who will read a book through and remember it verbatim. Such an animal might be made of use. D'ailleurs he is quite a ninny; as your great-memory-men frequently are.

¹⁷ *Experiments upon Vegetables etc.* (1779). See letter 280, n. 6.

¹⁸ The confused numbering has come about through the odd lay-out given to the page in the original.

357

SAMUEL BENTHAM TO JEREMY BENTHAM¹

15 April 1780

In the account I gave you in my last of my friend Ples(chejeff's) circumstances I confounded them with those of another family. Instead of 6,000 boors his father has but little more than 3,000, so that there comes but 2,000 to him. In other respects I believe the account I gave you was just. It was not necessary I should have troubled myself with saying any thing about the matter but as I did I don't like to have represented it falsely. Correct therefore my last letter immediately.

In my letters now I shall always suppose that you have determined upon coming here this summer and are provided with the means in the manner I pointed out. I shall therefore always have a letter for you begun lying by me or in my pocket and clap down in it whatever happens to occur to me relating to your expedition.

I am very much affraid that Code is not as yet finished and that on that account you won't be able to think of coming till after the last post which may be supposed to carry it to Bern in time.

If it is finished so far as to have no further occasion for books—no—if it be entirely finished and has passed *Wilson's examination*, then if you have nothing to prevent you, set off for Holland as soon as possible, you would like perhaps to go to Rotterdam to see Strachan however hasten as much as possible to Amsterdam. There you will find (unless the man should be dead out of spite) the man of all men to afford you usefull information.² There if you can get enough into his good graces for him not to be ennuyè or frightened by the infinity of questions you would wish to put to him I am sure you will receive the greatest satisfaction. You might humble yourself in the manner the most flattering to him, I mean by giving him to understand that it is to him alone that you would so humble yourself. If you could get him by any means to look over Code or rather to read it with him, you certainly would receive very great advantages from it.

357. ¹ B.M. III: 35. Autograph. Docketed by Jeremy Bentham: '1780 April 15 / Recd. May 12 / S.B. Petersburg to I.B. Linc. Inn. Priv.'

Addressed: 'Jere' Bentham Esqr. / No. 6 Lincoln's Inn / London.'

In letter 358 Bentham indicates that a letter about the Duke of Courland was enclosed with this, but it is not now to be found.

² John May, for whom see letter 332, n. 3.

The general idea of the development of the principle of Utility in a steady uniform and impartial manner, is certainly what you have stronger and more deeply implanted in you than any body else, but with respect to the practical possibility of executing such laws depending on the disposition of the *Governer's* and *Governed*: as well as abundance of /curious/ facts from which the calculation must be made of the quantity of happiness or unhappiness which a given code of conduct would produce: /depending upon prejudices and customs/ in such practical considerations as these he must from his great experience and discernment be able to give you great assistance. From Amsterdam if you *must* be straightened for time you can be more certain of the time of its arrival at Berne than you could from England on account of the crossing the Sea.

When you have dispatched Code you would then set off for Hambourg I suppose by land, on your arrival there you would beg Hanbury to write to his correspondent at Lubec to let you know when there is a Vessel sails for Petersbourg and stay at Hambourg two or three days till you get information of the day of sailing. There are I dare to say 2 or 3 vessels every week which make that passage especially at that time of the year.

I forgot to tell you in my last the little difference that there would be in our *joint* expences here and those which I must necessarily be at alone to answer any purpose to my being here. It is between 40 and 50£ besides the expence of your cloaths which I have all along considered as separate but which cannot be considered as such entirely as they would otherwise be of great use to you at your return. As I can see myself no other impediment to your coming but the expence I cannot but depend upon your coming.

You cannot conceive the advantageous circumstances which I am in and the still greater which I shall most likely be in for gaining usefull experience. The seeing into gizards and the observation of *springs*, as well as the acquaintance with facts. By circumstances I mean chiefly acquaintances and connections.

Petersburg April 4 O.S. 1780.

I may probably give you a few lines more next post and then I shall tell you how I shall contrive to make my letters stop in Holland upon the chance of your going there when they contain any thing I may have to say to you there, and shall at the same time tell you what you must do to prevent their laying there in case of your not going. All this in my next.

358

JEREMY BENTHAM TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

10-16 May 1780 (Aet 32)

1

From Lond. Packet Wed. May 10 1780

... 'A discovery is made by a person in Wiltshire of a method of rendering salt or putrid water fresh without the help of fire. This has been communicated to Ld. Sand: and the Board of Admy. who have appointed Saty. fortnight for the experiment before the Board, the person being order'd to attend for that purpose.'

2

Anderson is upon the point of setting up a weekly newspaper here.² If you can send over any literary intelligence etc. to feed it with, do. This may be turned to some account: we might make him put in paragraphs that would be for the good of the service. Might it not answer, if you became a member of the oeconom. society to make a paragraph giving an account of the proceedings the day of your reception, and so introducing incidentally the account of your being admitted?³

3

Wilson tells me that Q.S.P. called here today (May 10th) to desire me to recommend it you to establish yourself there in preference to the Courland scheme: and with regard to terms to say that you could not accept of less than Busch has,⁴ who is said to have 4 or 500 £S a year besides a Coach kept for him.

4. May 12. Friday 2 o'clock.

I have just received your letter enclosing one about D.⁵ I am vexed to think of your being so sanguine about my coming, and of

358. ¹ B.M. III: 48-50. Autograph. Docketed: 'May 13th 1780.'

At the top of the letter are jotted proposed headings for numbered columns. They are barely legible.

The letter opens with a quotation from *The London Packet or New Evening Post*.

² In 1794 Anderson started a weekly called *The Bee*, but we do not know the name of the present paper, which apparently failed after six numbers (see letter 372).

³ See letter 355, n. 4.

⁴ See letter 333, n. 5.

⁵ Letter 357.

your disappointment which must be the consequence of it: as if you had nothing to do but to beckon to me at 3000 miles distance, and I must come of course, and to form a complicated scheme depending upon a thousand contingencies, and it must succeed of course. I think however that you have learnt to bear disappointment tolerably well, and what you will have heard before this about my beginning printing, will have contributed towards letting you down by degrees. I shall not shew a syllable of this letter to Q.S.P. he will be confirmed in his suspicion that your head is turned: and he will be disappointed *beyond measure* at seeing no account of your reception at Cz: and Sr. James's.⁶ You mention indeed 'acquaintances and connections.' But a quoi bon any other acquaintances than Cz? or such as may lead to Cz. You talk also of 'springs' and 'gizzards'—but a quoi bon see into any other gizzards or set to work or be at the pains of watching any other springs than such as may contribute to give him the proper bias? Unless indeed by great chance there should be any rich and powerful fathers who have beautiful and accomplished daughters. Well, for my part, I would take up with Miss P.⁷ for a sister-in-law notwithstanding her papa's *sangliers* are dwindled from 6 to 3,000. What I want above all things is to see you secure of a subsistence for how any more money is to be got after that you have is gone, is more I protest than I can tell.

The objections to your closing with Czern. immediately are that you will be genè and will not be at liberty to compleat your scheme of travelling. Another thing is that then you would sink in certain respects, and not being on an independent footing would not have so good a chance of obtaining audiences for presenting Introd: to Code. Qu. whether you could not for a certain time be employ'd without any formal appointment: for instance to inspect the state of the Dock Yard or Yards (if there are more than one) and make your report? But then there should be a certainty of some recompense, otherwise it were better to close with the offer, and get an appointment immediately.

Alas! my dear Sam! I have sinned against heaven and before thee, and am perhaps but the more worthy to be called thy brother. I have let the first convoy go without sending thee thy things: you can not have them sent you therefore till the next: which Raikes tells me will be in about 3 weeks time.

⁶ For Chernyshev cf. letter 303 and n. 9. Sir James Harris was the British ambassador at St Petersburg.

⁷ Sister of Samuel's new friend Pleshcheyev.

I send you herewith enclosed M's calculation of the no. of hands employ'd On board vessels.

I am writing this instant at the dirty chop-house /Swede/ I have found out in Cov. Garden stinking indeed from the quantity of victuals and multitude of people—but in other respects less dirty than those we were wont to visit. You, for your part I suppose have lost all idea of such places.

Send me a Russian and French Grammar and Dictionary by F. or S.⁸ and any book in Russian that you think I should like best. For instance some of their Laws, or a book of History.

136 pages of Introd. to Code are printed; to night there will be 144. Before I close this I shall probable be able to tell you within 10 or 20 how many there will be in all. At my translator's desire I have drawn up a short *Prospectus* of the whole work, which he intends to translate and get inserted in a German paper in which he says all book advertisements are inserted and which circulates all over Germany. He says the translation will be printed ready for the Michaelmas fair, but not sooner. A little after Michs. therefore it will probably be, before you have the transl. to present: but you will have the original long before. Leonardi my translator writes for (one of the) the Hamburgh News-paper. This is his principal employment here. He likewise teaches German.

5.

On, and inter alios, even the unapproving Wilson, takes notice of the improvement in your stile. But there is one awkward word sticks by you which is the word exceedingly. Exceedingly has flatten'd (in your scrap about D.) a sentence which you meant should be energetic. In such cases you may say beyond measure, conception, imagination: more than you can, would, could conceive, imagine; have imagined, have conceived: more than I can express: etc.³-orum.

Sat. 13. May. Mulf

Le cousin has just been here. He did not stay long. He is going out of town for some days: at the latter end of the week he returns: and then, some-how or some-how, we shall settle your affairs.

Agency.

If you have not written to the D. of C. as I dare say you have not do not till you hear from me again. Get it for our friend the Privy

⁸ Forster or Sambouski.

Counsr.⁹ and he will give you *half*. I will give you instructions in my next which will be the next post or the one after.

If should ever get an opportunity, *entre tenez* Miss P. about the pretty things there are to be seen in England: *cela lui donneroit envie* to see them: *cela* will make her *trouver bon* any scheme that holds out a prospect of seeing them: *cela* will make her associate the idea of pleasure with England and what belongs to it, and what is born in it, and what might carry her there. *Elle se trouveroit bien* en passant too with your friend the Dutchess of C. The brother might consent perhaps, and join in it: but is there any chance, I wonder, of doing any thing with the old folks? What a difference between the 9,000 roubles a year of the other and the 7000 once paid, which at the utmost Q.S.P. might be induced to give you down upon the nail! *oultre* about £1500 a year which perhaps he might settle on you: though if he will oust Madam, I will throw you in Q.S.P. itself into the bargain which will tell for near 1,000 a year more. I don't see what can operate upon them unless it be the *attrait* of forming a connection with England.

Tell me where the Docks are: whether there are any at Arch-angel: any at Woronitz, as there were in Peter's time: or whether they are now transferred to Azoph or any other place on the Black Sea? Are there any at Astracan? Would they like to have one there? or elsewhere on the Caspian? and would you like to have the making of it? *En tout cas*, if you are to run up and down the country you should have travelling charges over and above your Salary.

Anderson has just given in to the Royal Society a paper about Potatoes.¹⁰ He has fermented them and distilled an ardent spirit from them which he insists upon it is fully equal to French Brandy. It is free from the nauseating flavour of the malt, and it has besides a fine flavour of it's own (he says) like Raspberries. He is this instant making some, and if the experiment succeeds, you will have some of it with the first cargo. He recommends the culture of Potatoes for this purpose. I asked him how much spirit might be got from an acre of Potatoes in comparison of what might be got from an acre of wheat? his answer was *ten* times as much. It seemed to me a good opportunity for you to figure away at your oeconom. society and shew that you are not an idle member. He gets about a gallon from $\frac{1}{2}$ a 100 of potatoes. The fermentation is just begun:

⁹ Apparently a humorous description of Lind.

¹⁰ This paper does not seem ever to have been published in the *Philosophical Transactions*.

but it will be a fortnight before it is completed. I proposed to him that he should get a copy of his paper taken and give it to me to send to you; adding that I would undertake for your getting it translated into French and /giving it in/ publishing it in his name. This I make no doubt you will be glad to do. You may add as your motive for wishing to have it public there, your own idea that Potatoes /might/ wou'd be an advantageous object of culture in many parts of the Russian Empire in which Barley would not succeed well: for as there is nothing to ripen above ground, and the roots may be taken up as soon as the frost begins, in short at any time /the violent and short-lived heats/ the short and hot summers of northern countries would suit them very well. Potatoes are among the very few plants which are cultivated even in Iceland, where the summers too (owing to the quantities of ice-mountains that are driven upon the coast) are seldom hot. (See Letters on Iceland p. 41)¹¹ at the same time that no corn will grow there. *ib.* p. 47. These letters on Iceland are just published here: they contain an account of Banks and Solander's visit to that island in 1772 or 1773 by a Dr. Troil a Swede who was of the party: with Bergman's analyses of some of the earths they collected there. It is indifferently enough render'd into English by some foreigner. Swede fancies that it is Solander: having been told that upon somebody's speaking slightly of it tother day where Solander was in company he seemed wonderfully chop-fallen, and scarce spoke a syllable afterwards.

Before you give the paper in however inform yourself what use is made of Potatoes there, whether they are in use to distill a spirit from them: lest you should be carrying coals to Newcastle. Andersons says it is best not to use it solely but to put the value of a glass of it to a large bowl of punch.

Copying-invention

There is just come out here an invention that will make you and every body who has ever so slight a notion of chemistry wonder that they had never hit upon it themselves. It is for taking a copy of any thing you write. Take some thin paper like this, and steep it in infusion of galls: then take the paper you want to copy and apply

¹¹ *Letters on Iceland: containing observations on the civil, literary, ecclesiastical, and natural history...made during a voyage undertaken in...1772, by Joseph Banks... assisted by Dr. Solander...: also Professor Bergman's curious Observations, and chemical examination of the lava,...produced on the island etc.* 1780. Translated from a book in Swedish by Uno von Troil, published 1777.

them to one another: rub them hard together, which is most commodiously done in a common rolling press: the *galled* paper will receive a black tinge from the ink of the paper written on. Douglas and some more of them tried the experiment at Alice's Coffee-house in Westm. Hall a day or two ago. All they did was to put the two papers together in a book and stamp upon it with their feet. It succeeded perfectly well. I have not yet learnt the man's name—he has got or is going to have a patent for it: the way he avails himself of it, it is said is by selling the rolling-presses which he does at 12 guineas. Anderson says you may have one for 10s. that will answer the purpose. He, I think impregnates the paper with the galls: but Anderson says he imagines the solution of gr.[?] vitriol might do as well. The paper to be copied must be applied as soon as the ink is well dry, they say: otherwise it may be necessary to damp it. [*Added later*: Lind tells me it is the invention of Bolton of Birmingham.]

Anderson's News-paper

Anderson is going to set up a newspaper here. It is to come out weekly, to contain 32 8vo pages, and to be sold for 4d. He has completed his agreement with a Bookseller who is to be the undertaker, and wants nothing but a proper Printer. He thinks he shall begin the first of July. It will have the advantage of all the others in point of intelligence relative to the sciences etc. but I fear it will be inferior to them in point of stile. Now, Sir, I do desire of you that you would collect every thing that you can there where you are and send him: every thing I mean except what might be traced to you and turned to your prejudice. I shall give him for example your account of the execution at Hamburgh, your short account of Grassman's process for seasoning Ship-timber: the paper I now enclose to you about the number of men to a ship with popular mob-catching remarks—etc. etc. In return I shall be supplied with the paper gratis: and so shall you; by the lump when opportunity offers, at any rate; and periodically by Sneyd if I find that it can be done without impropriety. You need not be at the trouble I should think of composing and writing every thing you send, yourself. You might find people I should think who would do it for you. Forster has done such things before now. He or Samb. might be made to give an account of the institution of the Board of Agriculture.

The paper is to come out every Saturday night; to have the benefit of the gazette: it is calculated chiefly for the country.

Send me a Petersburg Court-Calendar. I think there is such a thing in French. By this means I may be able to form to myself a sort of moral map of the country: and to refer to it any anecdotes which you may chance to send me. If this Calendar has ms notes to it, so much the better.

Of the men to whom you had letters from Ld. S. there is one whose name begins with an S. See whether you can hear of his having any enemies—I may perhaps say something of him in my next. You will then perceive ~~by Sym~~ what I mean.¹²

The D's are both extremely well.¹³ When I was there he seemed to have nearly recover'd his former chearfulness and tranquility. By her letters since, I shou'd imagine he had recover'd it quite: for she declares herself quite happy: and that he is as kind as she could wish.

Monday May. 15. 1780.

If upon the nearer acquaintance you have had, you find Sambouski to be what you know I take him to be, I wish you would do what depends upon you for disposing him to be intimate with me. As far as I could judge from what I saw or heard of him in point of public affections, which is the main point, he seemed to be altogether one of us. You know I can not afford time to be with him often, no more than he to be with me: but if I am not mistaken in him, when we are together, I could wish it might be upon as unreserved a footing as ⟨..⟩⟨..⟩

I would introduce him and Anderson to one another: from Anderson he would get a great deal of the sort of information that he wants. Anderson seems to be a very ⟨..⟩ character; but he requires to be explained or a man would be apt not to like him at first sight—The first time I saw him I could hardly get him to say a syllable: but now we are as great as inkle-weavers.

I can't say but I feel a little bit of curiosity to see this same extraordinary young man, this new-made acquaintance, and yet cordial and confidential friend of your's, who is 'every thing that you would wish to be.' Poor Lohmen! I am afraid he will be elbow'd out a little by the brilliant and all accomplished Pleschejeff. I trust however that you know better than to forget him, or to omit any

¹² Samuel carried a letter of introduction from Lord Shelburne to General Showalof (see B.M. XX: 4). This was presumably Ivan Ivanovich Shuvalov (1727–97) a leader of the Enlightenment in Russia, when he had returned in 1777 after a long residence in Paris. No evidence of a passage in the next letter or so in sympathetic ink has been observed.

¹³ Joseph Davies and his wife.

opportunity of bearing testimony to his merits. I can not help fearing for him, with the /scorbutic/ bad habit of body he has got, encountering such a climate as the W. Indies. If he should drop, it will be a great loss to Russia.

A point of naval oeconomy—most probably you are aware of it already: but lest you shou'd not, I will mention it. Never grant a letter of marque to a store ship that goes with a convoy where the cargo of it is a matter of importance to the service. The officers have no interest worth mentioning in the preservation of the cargo: but they have a great interest in the taking of prizes. Consequently they take french leave of the convoy, and go to seek their fortunes. We stood a good chance t'other day to lose the W. Indies Squadron together with certain of the Islands perhaps, by an oversight of this kind. Witness the following extract of a private letter which (was) copied from the original. It is from C⟨...⟩ ⟨...⟩rey to Dick who was Secretary to Adm(iral) ⟨Gamb⟩ier.¹⁴

'Phoenix between Barbadoes and Antigua
Feb. 20th 1780.'

... 'Our ⟨...⟩ are all arrived safe, but the ⟨...⟩ has carried all my things down to St. Lucia having contrived to part company with us almost the instant she had got her instructions and rendezvous, and was picked up by our fleet several days before our arrival. This matter I shall enquire into by and by; the ship has a letter of marque which I think a storeship should not be allow'd'.
'I conclude some storeships will immediately be sent out, as those we brought will be totally swallow'd up by the present wants of the fleet.'

Tuesday May 16

You will have an answer from the Venetian Ambassador to your queries about their Ship-timber the next time I write. I saw Poli this morning. He sets out next week on his return by way of Holland. He is to reach Naples by the end of August. I may perhaps make a packet for May with as much Introd. as is printed off. Pignatelli the Sardinian Ambassador is to lend me a new publication on politics in Italian which Poli magnifies to the skyes: but

¹⁴ Rear-Admiral James Gambier (1723–89) had been Resident Commissioner of the Navy at Portsmouth from 1773 to 1778, when he became second-in-command to Howe on the North American station. Dick has not been identified. The *Phoenix* (44), from which the letter that Bentham goes on to quote was written, was commanded by Captain Sir Hyde Parker (1739–1807), later Admiral, and was one of the ships lost in the hurricane of October 1780.

For Gambier's nephew, James, later Lord Gambier, cf. letter 284, n. 4.

I can not say I expect much from it, after that damned piece of stuff which (I) had in Latin from the Venetian. Sambouca who governs Naples reads English it seems. Poli gives me so good an account of him that he shall have a Copy of Introd. and if nothing happens to prevent, of Code.

I saw t'other day upon paper a very pretty contest between poor Capt. Griffiths who was killed in the W. Indies and Ld. Howe: Ld. Howe insisting that Griffiths was entitled to between 3 and 4,000£ a great part of which would have come out of his Ldship's pocket: and Griffiths insisting as strenuously that he was not. The case was, that while Ld. Howe commanded in N. America he stationed Griffiths near Rhode Island with a ship under his command beside his own: this made him a Commodore, provided the appointment of the commander of the subordinate ship were confirmed afterwards by the Admiralty. Ld. H. having been so disrespectfully treated in so many other particulars by Ld. S. Gr. had no notion that the appointment would be confirmed: nor would he believe it when he first heard of it; however as it turned out, confirmed it was. And this was the subject of the dispute. By the death of poor Gr. a plan of his for cutting off 2 French ships miscarried: a plan of which Ld. Howe speaks in terms of perfect admiration. What a loss this to the service!¹⁵

359

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

19 May 1780 (Aet 32)

May 19. 1780.

In my last written by last post I gave you an intimation which if it came time enough will I hope have been sufficient to stop you from taking any step incompatible with the idea suggested to you by this. I asked L. whether he would have any objection to take upon him such an employment: he said, no, provided there was a salary. But what is there to be done said he, 'with regard to the

¹⁵ Captain Walter Griffith, in command of the *Conqueror* (74), was killed on 18 December 1779 in an action between Martinique and St Lucia. Under Howe in 1778 he had commanded the *Nonsuch* (64).

359. ¹ B.M. III: 51. Autograph. Docketed by Jeremy Bentham: '1780 May 19 / I.L. and I.B. to S.B. / Courland Agency.'

In this letter Bentham proposes that Samuel should get for Lind the post of English agent to the Duke of Courland.

young men that may be sent over here for education'? I answer'd, nothing more as I understood, than just to give an eye to them now and then: to see that they are provided with proper masters, and settled in proper families and to pay them their allowances so many times a year. To this he would have no objection. I then told him what your views were with regard to the getting the appointment for yourself, and the reasons you had to think it would be given you were you to ask for it: and thereupon asked him whether upon your getting it for him instead of yourself, (if you could do such a thing) it would be any injury done to him were you to have a share in the profits? he said, no certainly: I thereupon asked him what share he would think a reasonable one? he said, you should have an equal share. I think this perfectly fair not to say generous on his part; and therefore can not but recommend it to you to close with it, and write to the D. immediately. You will then be at liberty to accept the Russian offer, which if less in point of profit than what you would give up by this plan, would be more in your own way and afford you such a scope for exercising your invention as you could not have by any other means.

You are by this time grown so saucy I suppose, that you would scarcely say thank you for any assistance that my pen cou'd give you; however as a means of saving your pretious time, Sir, I take the liberty of suggesting the hints contained in the other leaf, with the most profound deference to your better judgment and superior *savoir faire*.

²I have read over the above, and subscribe very heartily to the terms your Brother mentions. But before any engagement with his Highness I should wish to see a Lre[?] from him: As then I could judge not how far the thing suits me—which as times go is the first question a man asks but what is of more Consequence, whether I suit the thing. We are in hourly Expectation of news from Clinton and Rodney. The latter has been ill, but is recovered, and writes in high Spirits—Sir Charles Hardy is dead—If Barrington succeeds to the Command it will be no loss to the Country, or the Service—You would name Lord Howe—Give me Barrington.³

² Remainder in Lind's hand.

³ Sir Henry Clinton (1730–95) had been Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in America since May 1778. Admiral Rodney had reached St Lucia to take up his West Indies command on 27 March.

Sir Charles Hardy (cf. letter 325, n. 4) died on 19 May—the date of the present letter—when about to resume his command of the Channel fleet. Admiral Barrington (cf. letter 325, n. 17) was offered the command, but refused it, and Hardy was succeeded by Admiral Francis Geary (1709–96); he however resigned in August 1780,

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TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

31 May-5 June 1780 (Aet 32)

May 31 1780

1

I.D. to I.B. in answer to queries rather more ample than those sent by S.B.²

Ramelli's plates of mechanical engines: with explanations in Italian and French.³ There is a fine copy of it at Wade's for
 £ s d
 4 - 4 - 0.

Pringle's discourse and Capt. Cooke's letter on the means of preserving the health of Seamen.⁴ I have got it for you at ½ price at Wade's, viz: for 9d.

For heaven's sake do give me an account of what you have done with all the books letters etc. with which you were charged for Denmark and Sweden: Wilson's, Fontana's, and any others if

and Barrington, who was his second-in-command, was again offered the post and again refused. Geary was succeeded by Vice-Admiral George Darby (1720?-90), M.P. for Plymouth 1780-84, and a Lord of the Admiralty 1780-82.

360. ¹ B.M. III: 54. Autograph.

Since writing letter 359 Jeremy Bentham had received a longish letter (B.M. III: 39) from Samuel dated 'Petersbourg April 8th O.S. 1780' and 'April 19th O.S.' Bentham notes in his docket: 'Recd. May 24.' It describes Samuel's meeting with Sir James Harris, who has taken him to visit many prominent Russians and has been warmly hospitable himself. He has been presented at Court and kissed the Empress's hand. He names many leading Russians whom he has met including Count Chernyshev, the Grand Duke, and Prince Potemkin. He has also met Mr Eaton, the famous English traveller. He asks some questions about Lord Howe's appointing Captain Duncan as Adjutant General. He continues to press Jeremy to come out to Russia. Bentham has effectively deleted some of these passages, presumably to prevent relatives seeing them, but a sheet survives on which he first transcribed some of them (B.M. III: 47). Letters to Samuel should be addressed care of Sir James Harris in future.

² 12 lines dated '30 May' and in a different hand, doubtless that of Joseph Davies are here omitted, in answer to Samuel's query about Lord Howe and Captain Duncan (see n. 1). and supplying a name omitted in Samuel's *Bibliotheca Navalis*. After this passage about 8 lines have been cut away.

³ This work has not been traced.

⁴ James Cook, *The method taken for preserving the Health of the Crew of His Majesty's ship the Resolution during her late Voyage round the World...* This was published in 1776 together with *A discourse upon some late Improvements of the means for preserving the Health of Mariners, etc.*, by Sir John Pringle, Bart., (for whom cf. letter 304, n. 4).

there were any. Winslow the Dane⁵ was disappointed at finding that his letter had not reached its destination. It was not merely a letter of introduction for you: it concerned business of his own: he wishes still to have it forwarded, as I understand from Swede. No answer neither about Mears's Manuscript that he wrote to me about.

June 2d. Received yours of Apr. 24 O.S.⁶

Nothing at Beauclerk's⁷ sale that seemed worth getting for you. Anderson and I went together.

June 4. Sunday

[*List of Seeds*]⁸

The above observations I have just now got Anderson to make. He is a solid man—a man who speaks and writes not from imagination but from experience: in point of real knowledge worth a thousand Youngs.⁹ Young is like the Alchemists, who, if you would give them a little gold ready made, were generous enough to teach you the art of making as much of it as you had a mind for. According to him a man has nothing to do but to turn Farmer, and he may be as rich as Croesus whenever he pleases. If this be the case, then pray, Mr. Young, how comes it that you prefer the trade of book-making to that of Farming?

June 5 Monday. Have just been with Anderson to Sharp's—S. not at home. All the things in your list we saw.


⁵ Unidentified.


⁶ This has two parts, B.M. III: 38 and B.M. III: 41. (The latter includes the cover with postmark 'IV 2', but the other seems to belong with it.) In B.M. III: 38 Samuel acknowledges two letters from Jeremy. One of them is certainly letter 350. The other seems to be letter 351, together with letter 352. He thanks Jeremy for his trouble over the Courland scheme, which is now however a very secondary project. He says that the model of the *Victory* 'is not a thing for the Empress' (according to Sir James Harris) and that though he could sell it at a large profit if he had it with him, he will 'not get people to buy a pig in a poke'. He complains half humorously that Bentham with his small experience should give him counsels of prudence. A lengthy passage about *Code* has been effectively deleted, presumably by Bentham. The few legible words express pleasure that the *Introduction* is so near publication, even though it will not have had the advantage of review by certain people, meaning perhaps John May or some of his Russian friends. The second part of the letter lists various agricultural machines and seeds which Dr Kruse wishes to purchase, and for the price and obtainability of which Jeremy is to apply to Mr Sharp. Cf. also letter 362.



⁷ Topham Beauclerk had died on 11 March 1780.

⁸ A list, in James Anderson's hand, of types of seed, with directions as to times for sowing, follows but is here omitted. Cf. letter 365 n. 8.

⁹ Arthur Young (1741–1820), the writer on agricultural and economic matters who in 1784 started the *Annals of Agriculture* to which such diverse figures as George III and Bentham both contributed. At this time he had already published many works including the *Farmer's Letters to the People of England* (1768) and the *Farmer's Calendar* (1771). Two books recounting his travels were very successful, *Tour in Ireland* (1780), and *Travels in France* (1792).

		L - s - d
{ 2 Chaff-cutters with double knives at }	5-15-6. /Sharp keeps them ready made/	11 - 11 - 0
1 Drill-plough for single dropping		6 - 6 - 0
1 Horse-hoe		4 - 4 - 0
Kentish Plough		6 - 6 - 0
<p>N.B. This is upon a late improvement: the old one is but 4s 4s. Od. In this the expanding part  changes from one side to the other gradually by the turning of a wheel, instead of taking off and on.</p>		
1 Jointed Horse-rake		4 - 4 - 0
1 Wincing Machine		10 - 10 - 0
1 Hand-mill for Beans, Parsley etc.	}	5 - 5 - 0
or Malt-bruise		
1 Quern-stone Mill 18 - 18 - 0	}	25 - 6 - 0
with bolting annexed 6 - 6 - 0		
1 Wheelbarrow for manuring with Lime		3 - 3 - 0
<p>N.B. There was remarkably little work in this for the money—Anderson said it was extravagantly dear - - -</p>		
2 Turnip sheers at 8 - 18 - 6		17 - 17 - 0
1 Four-wheeled rolling Waggon		63 - 0 - 0
1 Single-shafted Cart		21 - 0 - 0
1 Double-shafted Cart		30 - 0 - 0
		208 - 0 - 0

There was a weighing-engine which weighs as far as 4 Tons for £10 - 10. Anderson commends it much for its exactness and simplicity. He says it is the only cheap thing there. A pretty iron Roller made in two so as to turn very easily and very sharply; with a ballance to the handle, so that when you let it go the handle does not fall into the dirt—at 2 or 3 g:s. A very pretty barrow which Anderson commends much for its simplicity at £0 - 15 - 0. It turns over with great ease by being narrow in front, and by having the handles stand out wide  prevents your arms from rubbing against your body.

A pair of Sheers for 15s. which are not forced asunder by pieces of gravel or hard sticks. The knife part is single and in cutting shuts in between checks, as a pocket clasp knife does (when clasped)  within the handle—As to the 10 guinea winnowing machine  Anderson says he has brought a much simpler and better in Scotland for 2s. 7s. which he intends to tell Sharp of. He thinks it might be shipped here in London for about £4 the whole expence.

The method we propose for naming the parts of figures in mathemat. diagrams may be stiled *characteristic*: as being expressive of the relations they bear to the other parts: the common method by A.B.C. etc. is *uncharacteristic*.

Cantins

A man that Anderson knows is making by order 1000 cantins for the army—upon a new plan—They are what soldiers use for carrying their drink—They are slung by their sides. Till now they have been made of Tin, and were liable to rust and be batter'd etc. This man turns¹⁰

Mac-cullock¹¹ has invented a pretty way of applying strings to a Harpsichord, so that the two must always be in exact unison. The 2 consist of one which is doubled turning round a pin A. one end of the string. B. the pin: C. the other end. At A the string is fixed: at C it is tighten'd or slacken'd by a screw. He has not yet applied it to practise nor does he mean to do it, as the Harpsichord must be made on purpose, and he has business enough of other kinds.



361

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

5 June 1780 (Aet 32)

June 5th 1780 9 in the eveng.

Q.S.P. called on me this morning and we settled the matter, as mentioned in my last. I shall write to M. about it to night.²

The public prints will inform you of the outrages committed here for some days past by the anti-catholic mob set on by Lord George Gordon—Many houses have been pulled or burnt down in various parts of London. The Sardinian Ministers Chapel near Lincolns Inn Fields I saw in flames on Saturday evening from my chamber window. Newgate is in flames while I am writing; a gentleman has this instant called on me who has been seeing it. This was done to free some of the rioters who had been committed

¹⁰ Part of the letter is cut out here, so that about eight lines are missing. It is the other side of the earlier excision (see n. 2 above).

¹¹ Unidentified.

361. ¹ B.M. III: 55–56. Autograph. Docketed: 'June 5th 1780.'

Addressed: 'Samuel Bentham Esqr.'

The anti-Catholic riots into which London was now plunged were in protest against the Catholic Relief Act of 1778 and its extension to Scotland. The mob was stirred up by the mentally deranged Lord George Gordon.

² 'M' is presumably John Mulford. Bentham is probably referring back to the excised part of letter 360. In letter 358 Bentham indicates that he is getting together with his father and cousin Mulford in an effort to determine Samuel's financial position. Mulford had promised Samuel assistance to the extent of £100 (see letter 319, n. 2).

thither: whether that part of the design has succeeded or no I have not yet learnt. The two Houses I believe are still sitting. Ld. Sandwich and several other members have been insulted again to day. Proclamations have at length been issued offering rewards for the discovery of offenders. While I was at dinner today at my fathers came a card from the D. of Northumberland³ desiring his attendance 'on business of the utmost importance' in the most pressing terms. The Soldiers are not yet permitted to fire. The mob attack them with impunity and take their bayonets from them. My Hairdresser saw yesterday a parcel of bayonets that had been wrenched off the musquets of a party who were on their return from Newgate, and thrown under the grate of the common Sewer near Temple Bar.

361a

TO THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL¹

8 June 1780 (Aet 32)

Sir

I am a member of Lincoln's Inn. I have this instant been with my friend Mr Burton,² to whom I took the liberty of suggesting the idea of seizing the arms at the several Gunsmiths, Pawnbrokers etc. in our neighbourhood. He acceded to it altogether, and a circumstance that contributed to impress on him the propriety of it the more forcibly was, the ease he had found in equipping himself from one of those places. The mob if any of them have common sense will take this measure if we are not beforehand with them. He wished me therefore to lose no time in communicating this idea to you: in order that you if you approved of it might suggest it to the Commander in Chief and that if advisable it might be carried into

³ Hugh Percy, formerly Sir Hugh Smithson, bart. (1715–86), Duke of Northumberland, was Lord Lieutenant of Middlesex and Master of the Horse.

361a. ¹ P.R.O., W.O. 34/103, f. 188 (Amherst Papers). Autograph.

Addressed: 'Mr Attorney General. / From Mr Burton, Linc. Inn. / Haste Haste'. Docketed: 'Mr Bentham to the Attorney General. Recd. by Lord Amherst the 8th June '80.'

The Attorney-General (since April 1780) was James Wallace (1729–1783), M.P. for Horsham since 1770; Solicitor-General 1778–1780; Treasurer of Lincoln's Inn. Wallace sent Bentham's letter on to Amherst, the Commander-in-Chief, as Bentham proposed.

² It is not clear whether this is the Burton mentioned in earlier letters as a friend of Bentham's father; nor is it possible to identify him among a number of persons of that name who were members of Lincoln's Inn at this period.

execution upon a large scale. At any rate we might execute it within the circle which the force we are to have with us could command. Should not the orders, if any are issued for this purpose, go all at the same instant? that the mob might not have scent of it till it would be late for them to oppose it

I have the honour to be, with proper respect, Sir,
your most obedient humble servant,

Jeremy Bentham.

Postscript: Mr Burton was in bed resting himself from his fatigues, or would have waited on you himself.

362

TO THE EARL OF SHELBURNE¹

early June 1780 (Aet 32)

Petersburgh May 5th 1780

The Swedes are fitting out a fleet of 12 ships of the line and 6 Frigates. Here they are fitting out a fleet of 15 of the line and 6 Frigates. I shall be able to tell you more about them in another week, as I shall go to Cronstadt to see them. They will some of them at least, go out of Dock at that time. It is the Ice which prevents their going out now, and they are applying hot water and red hot balls to thaw it from the Dock Gates.

The Empress sets out the 21st or 23rd of May, and returns the 5th of July. She goes to visit her new Polish provinces and the Emperor is to meet her at Mugeleff: but not the K. of Poland, as is reported.

362. ¹ Lansdowne MSS. Autograph. No address or docket.

This extract from one of Samuel's letters (described in letter 360, n. 6) survives in the archives at Bowood without preamble or accompanying note of any kind. Since the letter from which it is taken was received by Bentham on 2 June, it may be supposed that it was sent to Shelburne sometime between then and 10 June, the date of letter 364. Bentham has converted Samuel's dates to New Style throughout; but the date given at the head of the letter is that on which Samuel's letter was concluded: the passage Bentham quotes comes from a section dated 19 April O.S., i.e. 30 April N.S. 1780.

363

TO THE EARL OF SANDWICH¹

9 June 1780 (Aet 32)

My Lord

The inclosed extract containing a more particular account of the state and destination of the Russian fleet than perhaps your Lordship may be furnished with from any other quarter, I thought it ~~my duty to lay it before your Lordship~~ might possibly prove not unacceptable. If I find that to be the case and any further intelligence which should appear worth communicating, should come to me from the same quarter, I purpose taking the liberty of laying it before your Lordship as soon as it arrives. The original came by this day's post—The writer is my Brother.

363. ¹ B.M. III: 56. Autograph draft. Docketed by Jeremy Bentham: '1780 June 9 / I.B. Linc. Inn to Ld. Sandwich— / with Russ. Intellig.'

Letter 364 shows that a letter on the lines of this draft was in fact sent to the First Lord of the Admiralty, together with an extract from a letter (B.M. III: 46) which Bentham had received from Samuel that very day. This letter bears the London postmark 'V 9' and is dated from St Petersburg 'April 29th O.S. 1780' and '3d. May' (O.S.). It describes a visit to Admiral Grieg, Commander-in-Chief at Cronstadt to whom he had introductions from Count Chernyshev and Sir James Harris. Samuel had feared the Admiral might be in influential opposition to his views, but in fact they got on very well and the Admiral gave Samuel Bentham a good deal of information about the state and destination of the fleet. 'One Squadron is to cruise in the Mediterranean the 2d. in the Channel and the 3d in the North Sea. The object is said to be the protection of the trade, but perhaps the real and more reasonable one is to exercise the men and make a show as a maritime power.' Samuel mentions the antipathy to the French of the sea officers as likely to operate in our favour, and does not apparently anticipate Russian intervention in the war. Seyer the American is in Russia, attempting to have two ships built at Archangel, but Samuel does not know with what success. (This was Stephen Sayre (1736–1818). According to the *Dictionary of American Biography* his Russian venture had private ends in view.) Besides naval matters, Samuel mentions that Eaton the famous traveller hopes that he will accompany him to Constantinople, and that 'the Empress takes in 2 English newspapers of which the London Chronicle is one'.

364

TO THE EARL OF SHELBURNE¹

10 June 1780 (Aet 32)

June 10th 1780

I fancy the enclosed account of the Russian Fleet may be depended on for a pretty exact one as far as it goes. On this account I thought it my duty to send a duplicate to the 1st Lord of the Admiralty. Coming from a professional man, I thought it might prove more instructive perhaps, in some particulars than any thing that might have been furnished through the ordinary channel. My brother, if I am to believe him, could not have wanted for opportunity at least. Admiral Greig, (says he) 'devoted the whole of his time to me during the 3 days I staid there whenever his great business did not prevent him; and I was almost constantly with him notwithstanding his business.'

The letter came by yesterday's post.

'The Empress sets off, according to the time appointed, on Saturday next after dinner, the 10th of May O.S.'

I may perhaps have more particulars of the Russian Fleet before it is long.² 'I believe' (says my Brother) 'I shall go down to Cronstadt again today, but as Count Panin dines at Sir James's I won't set off till after dinner. It is about a 4 hours row.'

365

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

7-20 June 1780 (Aet 32)

1

Who would have thought, my dear Sam, that I should have had to date my letter from such a scene of desolation! Will you

364. ¹ Lansdowne MSS. Autograph.

Addressed: 'Earl of Shelburne.'

The enclosure with this letter, which seems not to have survived, was evidently an extract from Samuel's letter of 29 April-3 May (O.S.) 1780 (B.M. III: 46) similar to that sent to Lord Sandwich with letter 363 (cf. n. 1 to that letter).

² See letter 367.

365. ¹ B.M. III: 57-58. Autograph. Docketed: 'June 20th 1780.'

Addressed: 'Samuel Bentham Esqr. / at his Excellency Sr. James Harris's / Petersburg.'

§1 must have been written on 7 June, when the King's Bench Prison was set on fire. The last sentence of this letter shows that Bentham himself played a brief part in keeping law and order.

believe your own eyes when I tell you that London is in the position of a beseiged town. If I open my windows, I see two fires before me at a view: one is the King's Bench Prison, the other is somewhere to the Eastward. How many more there may be God knows—

When I wrote the above, I thought to have given you a narrative—But there was no finding a time for it.

2 Oars = Sweeps

It seems that Oars are used on board of our small ships of war. In the Whitehall Evening of 23d. Oct. 1779 mention is made of their being used onboard the Atlanta of 16 guns. They are called Sweeps. This I find upon looking over my Index—I forgot to mention it at the time.

3 Mirrors burning

An apparatus of proposed as a kind of fire-arms—Each soldier to carry one—Buffon to melt lead at 120 feet distance used 400. See Brydone's Travels in Sicily and Malta I. 284.²

4. Mortars

Mortars at Malta made by hollowing out the Rock. The charge a barrel of gunpowder at a time ib. 330. You have no rocks I believe that would do any where in the Russ. Dominions. Anderson says he has heard of such a thing being at Gibraltar.

5. Scheele. Heat and Light—Inflam. Air.

The translation of Scheele is not out yet, but will be soon.³ His positions according to Bergman are, 1. that the *matter of heat* is nothing but respirable air combined (*intimè*) with a determinate portion of phlogiston: 2. that *inflammable air* is resp. air combined with a greater proportion of phlog: and 3. that *light* again consists of the same elements only the proportion of phlogiston greater still.

² *A Tour through Sicily and Malta. In a series of letters to William Beckford, Esq ... From P. Brydone F.R.S., London, 1773.*

Brydone discusses a possible military device in which mirrors are used to set fire to enemy fortifications. He mentions an experiment made by Mr Buffon. In a letter dated 14 Octr. O.S. 1780 (see letter 378, n. 1) Samuel says he does not think burning mirrors would serve as useful weapons comparable to fire-arms, but that 'such implements might make the sun serve for *culinary* purposes, and thereby render wood for fuel unnecessary, the scarceness of which is the chief impediment to the peopling and cultivation of the immense deserts beyond the Dnieper.'

³ See letters 325, n. 31, and 356, n. 12.

And that the hepatic air (of which Bergman) consists of sulphur dissolved in the matter of heat by the intermediation of phlogiston. These positions Bergman says agree admirably with the phenomena hitherto known—*de volcanis* p. 101.⁴

June 20

Kit.

I agree with you and Plesch. perfectly in some of your remarks, and do not disagree with you in any. It shall be new-doctored according to the best of my poor abilities in conformity to your good pleasure. Perhaps you may have it by next time I write. The letters to the other people whom you mention you shall likewise have time enough for me to have the benefit of your observations. You will find them *fieres* enough for you I imagine. After all, is it not a cursed thing that I must not say to that woman what is true, because other people in whose mouths *perhaps* it might not be true, might *perhaps* be for saying the same thing.⁵

Parcel for S.B.

Here's another plague has happen'd about your things. Mair⁶ was applied to about them by Wilson to give him notice when the fleet would sail. Mair chose not to say a syllable about the matter till Sunday on which day he called on W. and told him that the fleet was allready gone down to the Nore that it was uncertain whether a parcel would be sent after them, but that however he would try, if it was sent to his country house in Cloak lane Dowgate-hill. On that day there was no such thing as sending it. For you are to know that Q.S.P. an age ago had been making a rout about the curvators, and nothing would serve him but he must have them unpacked for him to pore over and sit in judgement on. Being completely tumbled I did not choose to trust to any repackage I could give them, but determined to send them to Mrs. Ramsden⁷ for that purpose. I thought the later this was done the better, in order that whatever other things there might be might go with them. Of

⁴ This refers to the first of the two papers mentioned in letter 345 at n. 10. There is a footnote on Scheele on p. 101.

⁵ Pleshcheyev and Samuel had evidently proposed changes in the letter with which Bentham was to present the *Introduction* to the Empress. This probably occurs in the lengthy deleted passage about *Code* mentioned in letter 360, n. 6.

⁶ Cf. letter 244, n. 3.

⁷ Cf. letter 325, n. 9.

course they were not packed up on the sunday when the intelligence from Mair was given me. Sunday you know, nobody at work. Yesterday morning however they were sent with directions for them as soon as packed to be forwarded to Mairs, directed to Sr. James, with only a B upon the lid. Whether they will go, God knows: however there they are to take their chance. There is a possibility of their reaching you before this letter: in that case you will have been apprised of them by the box's containing a number of little parcels with your name on them.

Contents are as follows, upon recollection.

Books

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Curvators 2. 2 pr. Shoes according to last order. 3. Cake Blacking. 4. 1 box of tooth-powder. | } | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Bergmans opuse. Vol. 1 2. Wilkins's secret and swift messenger. 3. Books on Land-Surveying. 4. Valesnod[?] sur la defense de l'eau dans les Machines etc. 4to. 5. Pringle and Cook on the health of Seamen 6. A book with tables for measuring Timber. 7. An old book of mine containing a number of arithmetical and other tables, with Geography and the Lord knows what all—a sort of pocket-book. |
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5. 1 piece of Ca-outchou[?] in form of a vast french bean pod. 6. Silver compasses 7. Cypher seal 8. Some more small pieces of varnished copper Sheath. | } | |

Code 200 pages. I have got in all 224, but the last 8 not yet corrected: there wants about 16 more of the last chapter but one.

I find I have got your diamond pencil—Mrs. G. picked it up out of the shavings that were taken out of the box when I sent it to be packed up at Ramsden's.

There are two more convoys go to Petersburg in the course of the summer.

I am writing now from the City Coffeeshouse, where I am drinking tea with Anderson and a friend of his after having been to Gordon's Nursery to enquire about Dr. Kruse's seeds. This gave me an opportunity of going over that beautiful spot, one opportunity I am always glad to embrace. The following is a copy of what Gordon wrote down in answer to your queries.⁸

⁸ Bentham and Anderson had been to Gordon's nursery garden to ascertain the prices of the seeds which Anderson was recommending Samuel's friend Dr Kruse to purchase. The list here is the same as Anderson's previous one with the prices added (see letter 360, n. 8).

	£	s.	d.
2 Bushel red clover - - - - -	2	8	0
2 Bushel winter tares with yellow blossoms - - -	0	10	0
1 Quarter Black Oats - - - - -	1	4	0
1 Quarter Barley - - - - -	1	4	0
1 Quarter Wheat - - - - -	2	8	0
1 Bushel Nicol's Pease - - - - -	0	10	0
1 Bushel Horse-beans - - - - -	0	4	0
1 Peck Turnip-seeds /12 lb/ - - - - -	0	6	0
2 Pound large Scotch cabbage - - - - -	0	8	0
1 Bushel Rye-Grass - - - - -	0	3	6
1 Peck Rib Grass - - - - -	0	2	6
1 Bushel Suffolk grass - - - - -	0	1	6
4 Bushel St. foin or Esparcette - - - - -	0	16	0

All the above except the last article, Gordon says will grow at a year old—But the last article he says must be fresh sown; so that the last years will not do for the next sowing season.

Gordon has lately enriched his collection greatly; guess how? The Congress had employ'd a man to make a collection of American plants and seeds to make a present of to the French King. The cargo was taken by the Captain of a Privateer a friend of Gordon's.

Gordon's shop is in Fenchurch Street: but the commission if any may come to me if it be of any convenience to Dr Kruse.

Priestly, Treenails—Pipe-staves. Pigeon.⁹

There is a man near Guildford has a kind of engine for making tree-nails. They are made true to a hair, I am told, by an instantaneous, stroke—Staves for Barrels are also made in the same manner.

I called at Nairne's this morning. He has tried the experiment with the Pigeon according to your letter from Amsterdam: but it did not succeed. Nothing like the appearances you mentioned took place.¹⁰

Priestly

Priestly is going to quit Ld. Shelburne. I do not find that there is any quarrel. He is going to settle in or about Birmingham and to dedicate his time altogether to philosophical physical pursuits. A subscription is to be made by some opulent individuals to defray the expence of his experiments. Ld. Shelburne according to (previous

⁹ To remind himself how to continue.

¹⁰ See letter 333.

agreement) continues P part of his allowance. I think it is to be £150 pr. annum.

In a post or two you shall hear about my German translation—I must put up the letter—Good night!

Mulford comes up to town this week to settle your business with Q.S.P.

Tuesday night—June 20th—from Wilson's chambers.

I believe we shall, go to Thorpe again for the summer.

We are all mightly happy about the taking of Charles Town¹¹: and it looks as if party-rage had been extinguished with the Protestant fires. The opposition in both houses joining unanimously in complimentary addresses.

I was a military hero for a night—patrolling the Streets under arms.

366

SAMUEL BENTHAM TO JEREMY BENTHAM¹

28 May 1780

Code

With respect to the means of presenting it in Prussia, it may perhaps be better to do it by means of our Minister at Berlin than by the Prussian one at London. Sr. Gilb¹ Elliot would send it to his brother, and I would write to Liston our Chargè des affaires,² who

¹¹ Charlestown had surrendered after a six weeks' siege on 12 May.

366. ¹ B.M. III: 53. Autograph. Docketed: '1780 May 19 O.S. 29 or 30 N.S. / S.B. Petersburg to I.B. Linc. Inn / Priv. Code.'

This is the second sheet of a letter dated 'May 17th O.S. 1780'. The first sheet (B.M. III: 52) is docketed: '1780 May 17 O.S. S.B. Petersburg to I.B. Linc. Inn.'

The date in Bentham's docket on the second sheet seems to be merely that mentioned in the letter as the date of Samuel's departure from St Petersburg.

For some extracts from the first part of this letter cf. letter 367 to Lord Shelburne. Elsewhere in the first sheet Samuel relates how the Duchess of Kingston had told Mr Forster that she could not introduce an architect like Samuel into good company, so that when an invitation from her did come he was pleased to be able to plead a prior engagement *at Court*. He also tells Bentham very secretly that he may engage in the Russian service 'for the purpose chiefly of making some experiments and directing and assisting in some works in the Marine very usefull to all countries and particularly to this and my own.' He has the support of the Russian Admiral Greig and Sir James Harris, the British ambassador, approves. But 'there will be opposition from a quarter whose offers I have declined.' This doubtless refers to Count Chernyshev (see letter 355 at nn. 6 and 7). Finally he is to set off on 30 May for two months with Eaton the traveller to the Black Sea, and may see Prince Potemkin on the way. His financial situation is precarious, but the expedition is too advantageous to be missed.

² For Hugh Elliot and Robert Liston cf. letter 338, n. 3.

remember on any occasion would I believe give himself some trouble to oblige me. I have given myself a good deal to oblige him. This we can think more of by the time it is ready and has been presented here.

To Sweden I should take it myself.

But first of all it must come here, I wish it was in french, English the Empress absolutely cannot read, and German she does not like so well as french.

It is probably extracts from the journals of Pallas³ (Dr. Pallas perhaps they call him) which compend the work which Raspe was translating.

This Pallas is a man of the strictest veracity and of a most universal knowledge, at the same time the greatest modesty so that others have profited by the knowledge he has communicated more than himself.

The pursuit of knowledge etc. is all mighty well, but the turning it to account, the getting money in short that is a matter we have to attend to also. Yes, be of good cheer, we shall get money one time or other and power too. No—this journey of mine won't impede the presentation of Code I shall be back as soon as it can get here even in English.

But above all let me beg of you to have so bright an opinion of my *judgement* as not to take any step in pushing it without my approbation. Indeed most sincerely I am sure I can convince you that you are not fit to manage such matters as depend upon the dispositions of people and how to engage their assistance, not as yet. but at the same time when we come to talk over all these things together and you have had a little of your own experience in addition to *my tuition* you will then far exceed me. I am the most extraordinary character you can conceive, O had I but your reading, quickness, and choice of words I should manage people as I please.

³ Peter Simon Pallas (1741–1811), the famous German naturalist (born in Berlin) who had come to St Petersburg in 1768 as a member of the Academy, his *Elenchis Zoophytorum* (1766) and *Miscellanea Zoophytorum* (1766) having won him a great reputation. In 1769 he accompanied the expedition into Siberia for observing the passage of Venus, and continued his travels for six years thereafter, widely exploring Southern Russia up to the Chinese frontier. His *Reisen in verschiedenen Provinzen des Russischen Reiches* was published in St Petersburg (1771–76). In 1777 he was appointed to a commission charged with producing a map of Russia. He then turned to botanical pursuits, which resulted in the unfinished *Flora rosica* (1784–85). He published many other works, on the Mongolian peoples, on insects, on Philology, on Geology, etc., etc. In 1793 he went on another expedition to the Crimea, and subsequently settled there at Simpheropol on lands donated by the Empress. His health ruined by his travels, he returned to Berlin shortly before his death.

I should gain any point. It is something to have had the refusal of what I have refused. Perhaps you may think me a fool for so doing. but what signifies what you think

Reglemens de S.M. Emp. Catherine 2d. etc. pour l'Administration de Gouvernements de l'Empire des Russies. traduit d'apres l'original Russe à St. Petersbourg 1778. Have you this or shall I get it 196 pages very small quarto.⁴

I have just been to the principal Church here where the declaration of the new mode of Government has been read.⁵ I am promised different accounts of this matter from those who have less else to do and are more in the way of making enquiries about it. Illuminations Balls and Masquerades will be the chief object of peoples attention here for some time to come. (I wish heartily you were here just now. You would see a great deal into people's gizzards, and the proof of many problems in the art of Governing.) I understand that the laws which are now about to be introduced here are the same kind which are already introduced in the other experimental provinces. but other accounts say there is a new Code coming out. Nobody seems to know any thing of the only matter which is of importance. It is sufficient that there are Hollidays and Rejoicings.

The great lead the way and the rest are too fond of any kind of dissipation to trouble themselves to enquire about the reasons.

I should not have liked to have sat out on my *little excursion* before these matters were began but now what I have seen already has given me the same lasting Ideas as if I were to attend 150 other processions.

Never shall I remember ten Russian names or above twenty names of any other country as long as I live.

May 19th. I set off.

⁴ This was presumably a translation of the decrees of 1775 embodying Catherine's administrative reforms (cf. n. 5 below).

⁵ It is not entirely clear what is intended here, but Samuel appears to be referring to a stage in the reorganization of provincial government inaugurated by Catherine in November 1775.

367

JEREMY BENTHAM
TO THE EARL OF SHELBURNE¹

June/July 1780 (Aet 32)

‘Petersburgh May 17th O.S. 1780

‘On Monday evening, the fleet being all out in the road at Cronstadt, about 7 o’clock, a smoke was seen to issue from the middlemost ship. Admiral Greg saw it from his window, ran instantly to the water side, and went off on board. With some difficulty he made his way through the smoke towards the magazine or powder room, in the passage of which he found a large bundle of oakum just lighted and the match which was still burning. He got it out before it burst into flames, and by that means saved the ship, if not the greatest part of the fleet. It is imagined, scarcely with any degree of doubt, that it was done on purpose. Many circumstances were well calculated to favour such a design. The ship was the middlemost of the fleet: The wind was very high, and in such a direction that the ships could not be separated from each other; and they lay exceedingly close. Something of the same kind had happened before, and last year a ship was burnt at Revel. This is the account I have from sir James. It will probably be talked of in England from a report that is circulated here of its being done by some English sailors, and this owing no doubt to the ill will we are supposed to bear this country at the present for acting upon a plan so firmly neutral. This report however does not gain ground. The Admiral examined every body on board immediately, and has found one man who is very much suspected.

‘The Duchess of Kingston is about buying an estate in Livonia of the Prince of Potemkin for which she is to give upwards of 100,000£ sterling. She is so full of the thoughts of having so many subjects to lord it over, that the poor woman is almost out of her senses. Sambouski, by the Prince’s desire goes with her in about a

367. ¹ Lansdowne MSS. Autograph. No docket or address.

The preamble to this letter, if it had one, is not preserved. The letter consists almost wholly of extracts from Samuel’s letter (printed in part as 366) of 17 May (O.S.)/28 May (N.S.) 1780. Bentham received that letter on 24 June and previous instances suggest that the present letter to Shelburne would have been sent soon afterwards, i.e. in late June or early July.

As in previous cases, Bentham’s extracts vary in points of detail from Samuel’s text.

week to take a view of the premises. Before she can purchase an estate she must have a rank in the country, that is a military rank. This the Prince can give her or rather get for her, as high a one as she pleases. She will then be wanting *orders*. She spends five or six hours at her toilette now; when she has a ribbon and star to adjust she will have no time for eating and sleeping. As to the last indeed she needs very little time in that way, a nap or two while she is in company seems to serve her.

'I have just been to the principal church here, where the declaration of the new mode of government has been read. I am promised different accounts of this matter from those who have less of other things to do and are more in the way of making enquiries about it. Illuminations, Balls and masquerades will be the chief object of peoples attention for some time to come. I understand that the laws that are now about to be introduced here, are the same which are already introduced in the other experimental provinces, but other accounts say there is a new code coming out. Nobody seems to know any thing of the only matter which is of importance. It is sufficient that there are holidays and rejoicings.'

My brother concludes with telling me that he was to set off, the second day after the date of his letter, for the Black Sea, in company with a Mr. Eaton, mentioned in several of his former letters under the name of the great traveller. They are to return in two months.

'I believe I shall have a MS account of this country by a man of strict veracity who has been sent to travel, and which is not nor probably will be in print. If I get it, I think to send it to Ld. Shelburne.'

368

THE EARL OF SHELBURNE
TO JEREMY BENTHAM¹

26 July 1780

Lord Shelburne presents his Complimts. to Mr. Bentham. He has long wish'd for an opportunity of thanking him for his great

368. ¹ B.M. III: 66–67. Autograph. Docketed by Jeremy Bentham: '1780 July 26 / E. of Shelburne Berkeley Square to I.B. Linc. Inn.'

Since September 1779 Bentham had written half-a-dozen times to Shelburne, communicating information from Samuel's letters. According to the *Historical Preface* intended by Bentham for the second edition of his *Fragment on Government*

civility and attention and his more than ample /tho' very acceptable/ return for any trifling Services he could render his Brother. The Ignorance in which he left him of his Direction first prevented him, and lately the Health of his Family which has engross'd Ld. Shelburne's attention for some time past. If it's not taking too great a liberty, Lord Shelburne would be glad of an opportunity of seeing him any morning except Fryday in this week or Monday in the next, as early as Mr. Bentham pleases.

Shelburne House Wedy. Night.

369

JEREMY BENTHAM
TO THE EARL OF SHELBURNE¹

27 July 1780 (Aet 32)

Mr. Bentham presents his compliments to Ld. Shelburne, and hopes it will not be imputed to any want of respect or gratitude that he declines waiting on his Lordship for the present, being about to leave for London for the summer in the course of a few days, and in the mean time confined by very particular engagements. Mr. Bentham will be in town again in the beginning of November, and will then endeavour to avail himself of the honour of his Lordship's invitation.

Lincoln's Inn July 27th 1780.

and written in the late 1820's, Shelburne sought out the author of the *Fragment*, stimulated to a particular interest by a breach between himself and Blackstone, whom Bentham had attacked. (Cf. Bowring, i, pp. 248-9). However this may be, Bentham avoided a meeting at this time (cf. letter 369). A year later Shelburne himself called on Bentham at Lincoln's Inn and invited him to his country seat at Bowood in Wiltshire. This was the beginning of the close relationship between the two men which was to be so important a factor in Bentham's life throughout the 1780's and early 1790's.

369. ¹ Lansdowne MSS. Autograph. No docket or address.

B.M. III: 68 is an autograph copy of this letter, docketed by Bentham: '1780 July 27 / I.B. Linc. Inn to E. of Shelburne Berkeley Square / Copy.' The copy is exact except for the omission of 'in' before 'the beginning'.

Bentham also copied his letter, together with letter 368 from Shelburne, towards the end of letter 370 to Samuel. He gives there some account of his reasons for declining Shelburne's invitation (for Samuel's reaction see the end of letter 374). It may be remarked, however, that the refusal of such opportunities is a recurrent pattern in Bentham's career.

370

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

6 August 1780 (Aet 32)

That ever it should be a task to me to write to you! and yet such it has been for some time, yea for a long time, because I must needs give you a scolding, which is bad, and having nothing particularly good to accompany it with and sweeten it. Possibly you may be returned from the Black Sea before this reaches you: if so you will have been cursing and storming at me for not sending you a recent letter to meet you at your arrival. Your eyes will then have been saluted with the pure unmixed misery of a Q.S.P.ian letter unaccounted for and unsoftened by any one of mine.² That letter I did not read: it was offer'd me, but having been bothering myself with him and Mulford about you more than enough already, I did not care to bother myself any more.

I have various articles of accusation against you circumstanced as you were in point of money 1. For going to this damned Black Sea. 2. For refusing the offer made you: 3. for building on so ideal a foundation as the event of your getting a capital from this country: 4. for writing in a rambling stile of expectation, grasping at 150 impossibilities at once without any grounds to go upon. 5. for expecting that with all these documents, before my eyes I should place an implicit and idolatrous confidence in your judgement and *savoir faire*. Other articles perhaps may start up before I have done.

1. About the Black Sea. In what possible shape could it advance your views? A la bonne heure if you had had money of your own to pay the expence with. It would have been an agreeable journey, and in some degree an instructive one. As it is too, it may enable you to talk with Kitty to some better advantage. But is it possible your success with her can turn at all upon any such point? If it be an advantage to you, it is nothing that can serve to distinguish you in her eyes from a thousand other people she is seeing continually. To anticipate the objection on the score of the expence, you assert boldly that the expence will be no greater than if you were to stay at Petersburg the same time. This plea upon the face of it seems

370. ¹ B.M. III: 69–72. Autograph. Docketed: 'Augt. 6th 1780.'

Addressed: 'Samuel Bentham Esqr. / Petersburg'.

² This letter from Jeremiah Bentham to Samuel is not, so far as we know, extant. Cf. letter 376, n. 1.

as if it could not be true; and therefore I am sorry that you urged it: and if indeed it is true, the case is as bad that way. It was the 19 May O.S. (the 30th N.S.) that you were to set off. Your stay was to be two months. In that time you were to have spent about £70 I think over and above your 1st. letter of credit. Now on the | of | you had still a hundred pound of your letter of credit unspent: therefore had you staid at home you could not by your own account have spent less than £170 in the interval between the | of | and the 30th of July the time by which you reckoned to be returned: an interval of | months and | days. This is at the rate of | a year. You were then living at the rate of so much a year at a time when all your own money had been gone: when near as much more as you left England with, was spent, and when you had no assured means that you know of of getting even that debt paid, still less of getting a supply to serve as a fund for fresh credit: my honour all the while in Lob's pound, with the chapter of accidents to rest upon. Mulford's £100 when got in (at the same time that you know his idea was not to furnish it all at once) you knew in general could not by a great deal (it is not necessary to enter here into dissensions for the sake of stating exactly how much) make what you had sufficient to answer your letter of credit.

Under these circumstances surely it was your business to have accepted C's offer: or at least to have given very strong reasons for not accepting it.³ You do not even intimate that you have left a door open for accepting it at a future time. One must conclude therefore that you have not: though I by way of making the best apology for you I could to Q.S.P. made as if I took for granted you had. Q.S.P. has two hypotheses for accounting for this refusal: one is that no such offer was made: the other is that upon it's being made you consider'd with yourself and found yourself not equal to the duties of the office: 'being fit' (says he) 'as he says himself, for nothing but to invent.' Wilson has a third, which seems more probable at least than the first: viz: that some wishes to have you in the service were thrown out in a general way to third persons; but no express offer made to yourself, or express commission given to third persons to make any such express offer.

Well then—instead of accepting this offer (supposing it to have been made), you embark on another project in which you are forced to appear in opposition to the person who had made it you.⁴ And

³ See letter 355 at nn. 6 and 7.

⁴ See letter 366, n. 1.

have you a *probable* chance of bringing your project to bear in spite of *such* an opposition? very likely you have. I hope you have, and from the part you have taken am rather inclined to think you have: certainly it is not for me with so few *data* before me to pronounce that you have not. But Mr. Samuel, have you made provision for the contingency of your failing in that, and have you settled with yourself what is to become of you in that event? Have you secured any *pis-aller*? or any means of continuing to subsist in Russia or any where else?

And this brings me to my 3d. head of accusation, the building upon the prospect of getting a capital from hence. For this, I very much fear was the *pis-aller* you had in view. Being to have that, you need not care a fig for any body's offers: being to have that, it would be a pity to forego the opportunity of going in agreeable company to the Black Sea. For on what else upon earth could you have been building when you mentioned (as you have done in several passages) as a matter of doubt whether you should stay there and accept of any thing whatever? Moreover in the same breath you were to come over here, and to go to Sweden: and still without any other means than those.

But the most disheartening of all to me was the idea you threw out of claims and expectations you would have were you to return.⁵ Now this was a matter that I could judge of, and what is more, that Q.S.P. could judge of, as well as you. But not being able to see the least reason for supposing, that so long as Ld. S. continued at the head of affairs here you could possibly have a chance worth a straw for a single penny, it perfectly astonished me to see you building upon any such hopes. Finding then your judgement so unsound upon this article, what degree of confidence can I place in it in others?

One good thing is, that my mind has been for this long time quite made up about the matter, and as I now no longer have any expectations of your making a farthing there or any where, I am proof against all disappointments on that score. I don't mean by this to say that I can pretend to be positive your project will not succeed; but only that I do not build upon the success of it at all, and that should it miscarry, it is what I am perfectly well prepared for. Should it succeed, the success will be a strong presumption you had reason on your side when you refused the offer. Should it even miscarry, the miscarriage, though it will be a presumption

⁵ A reference to some remarks in the unpublished part of letter 366.

will be no conclusive proof to the contrary. But be that as it may, your success in this, be it ever so great will never serve to acquit you of the other charges.

It is a great comfort to me all this while, and a great happiness you will think it, that Q.S.P. not only is satisfied that you should stay abroad, but even makes a point of your doing it, in case of miscarriage: and I really thought it was behaving like an Angel when he told me what I suppose he has told you, that on that consideration he would allow you £100 a year: 30£ in addition to the former £70 is no mean advance, considering how matters are circumstanced.

The misfortune is, that with that allowance it would be impossible for you to continue to live at Petersburgh in the stile in which you have been living hitherto. What then is to be done? If you continue to live there, and drop your former connections, how will you be able to resume them in order to solicit the Code business when it comes over? A better way probably would be to pass the interval in Sweden, were it not for the expence of getting there. In Sweden there is no luxury—things are still cheaper than at Petersburgh; and there I should think you might live upon £100 a year very comfortably: as well as upon thrice that sum here. If the expence of travelling thither would be too great, could not you make some pretence for retiring some where into the country, at a distance from the luxury of the capital?

Before I have done with you, I must scold you for your exaggerated expressions about I know not what inestimable and inconceivable advantages you have been deriving from the plans you have been pursuing, and the society you have been in. With regard to present pleasure, a la bonne heure: I give you credit for it: I enjoy it along with you: and it can be no news to you, that you can not taste a single particle of pleasure which I can know of and not share. This indeed is but stuff and Q.S.P.-ism as between you and me: but I can not help saying as much now it comes across me. Well then, but as to future benefit, I have seen it averred by very grave authors, and I am inclined to be of the same opinion, that in order to live *well*, a man must *live*. Now I pray, in what shape have the aforesaid inestimable advantages contributed to that first requisite? and what will you be the better for seeing into other people's gizzards when you have got nothing to put into your own? 'More Q.S.P.-ism' you will say, 'here is this brother of mine going out of his way and exaggerating my errors merely for the satisfaction of exhibiting this witticism.' Be it so: but when you have

laid aside the exaggeration, be so good as to give me credit for the dry and simple truth.

There is one thing I must tell you of, though without being able positively either to blame or to approve. This is the air of mystery which reigns in all your letters. Q.S.P. is continually complaining of it: so is Wilson though with less vehemence: other people too have taken notice of it. To me it is rather unpleasant on account of the disappointment it occasions me. Yet possibly it may have contributed to work upon the imaginations of the parties you depend on, and to give them a bias in your favour. It is possible that this vaunting and puffing may have had its share in procuring you this offer of an additional £30 a year, accompanied with the fortunate wish for your staying abroad. The higher the expectations Q.S.P. had been taught to form the less he could bear to see you return here penniless and disappointed. He had been holding up a magnificent picture of you to Madam: and therefore dreaded the thoughts of her turning the tables upon him at your return. And as to myself, I think upon the whole that where deception is necessary I had much rather be of the party of those who are to be deceived, than to be let into the secret. Yes, I am clear in this opinion: and therefore I command you to deal with me accordingly. What I do not know, I can not betray: and what is the use of my knowing any untoward circumstance which I cannot remedy? To let me into the secret would only be giving me a part to act, which I might not choose or might not be able to go through with. I more than suspect that all was not fair and smooth in the *overturning* business⁶: but whether I am right or wrong I beg you would not say any thing more to me on the subject. As it is, if there were any occasion on account of any sneers of Mrs. Q.S.P. I could stand up boldly in your defence: which perhaps I could not do if I knew all. But my dear Sam, treasure up in your mind (let me beg of you) the key to all these mysteries that we may discuss them all to the bottom if ever we should meet? What a heap of things then would you have to tell me of! I will put you to death if you do not give me the most circumstantial account of every hour and every minute. But in all your puffs, let me caution you once more against ever holding up any prospects so palpably vain as that of getting any thing in this country under your present circumstances. I hold this up to you as a rock that you may never split upon it again. To make the best of it I could for you, the construction I put upon it

⁶ See letter 353, n. 1 and letter 356, § 5. Money.

to Q.S.P. was that what you had in view was, not any thing from Government, but the private scheme with L. at Portsmouth.⁷

Wilson (who is now upon the circuit) when I told him of the scolding letter I intended to write to you, regretted that he should not be in the way to see it, apprehending (that was his word) 'that I should be too *severe*.' As I could not give you the benefit of the corrections he thought it might be proper he should give me, all I could do for you was to apprise you of the circumstance of his thinking in general that I should be likely to stand in need of them. On this occasion he brought the ghost of poor Blackstone to my view. Blackstone, you perhaps know, is in the shades below.⁸

The scolding sheet being written out, now for news, such as it is that I have to tell you—which is not much. Poor Code is out of luck. Leonardi had written twice to his Bookseller without receiving any answer. About a fortnight ago he wrote a third time in a more peremptory stile. If an answer does not come as soon as there is time enough for it to have come, which will be in about a fortnight, I shall give up all expectations from that quarter, and shall try another scheme of which presently. Leonardi in the mean time not getting any answer stopped his translation presently, so that there is nothing of it done to signify. When I had the conversation with him in consequence of which he wrote (as he told me at least) his third letter, I thought I should hazard nothing by telling him where his translation was to go: giving him to understand at the same time, that if I had not been engaged to him, French was the language I should have preferred, that being better liked; so that if no answer should come from the Bookseller by a certain time, our engagement was at an end, and I should take measures for getting the book translated into French. That he might not think I affected secrecy, I let him know that it was not till we had come to an agreement that I knew for certain my book was to be presented. At the same time by way of a spur I shewd him an account in a french review of a present that had been made to Euler by the Empress of 2000 roubles for his book on ship building, + 100 ducats to a Russian translator. It is droll enough by the bye that this was not given till after a handsome present had been given to Euler on the same account by the French King.

My succedaneous scheme is this. In this town there liveth a

⁷ Lindegren was a merchant at Portsmouth: see letter 310, n. 2.

⁸ Blackstone had died on 14 February 1780.

German of the name of *Schiller*⁹ who has translated Smith's wealth of nations as all the Germans say to admiration—They say there never was a book so well translated in this world, and that the man is *au fait* of the German language and of metaphysics. Yet they say at the same time that some former translations as well as some original pieces of his own are very poor stuff. He lives here by his pen being employ'd by German Booksellers. Him then I think of applying to if Leonardi fails me. I am afraid I should have to pay the dog; which Wilson would be very much against, not having the least hopes of the success of any part of my Russian schemes on which he has thrown all the cold water he could from the beginning, as he did upon my original application to Sambousky which you know was the foundation (fortunate I think it may be called at any rate) of your plan of emigration. Since our dear Kitty has begun to look a little askew at us, he can not bear to hear her name mentioned without abusing her like a Cinder-wench.

Well but let that pass. This cursed Introduction still sticks in hand. After having begun printing the last chapter I find it necessary to go back and cancel I don't know how many sheets of the preceding chapter for the sake of making alterations. It will be upwards of 300 pages.

When it is out at last, two copies of it in the original will go to the two Sicilies. Sambuca the Neapolitan Prime Minister of whom Poli gives so high a character, understands English perfectly. The Marquis Caraciolli, who was so many years Ambassador here, and as Poli and other people say was excessively fond of the English, I see by the Gazette is lately made Vice Roy of Sicily.¹⁰

I have a charming book in French (printed at Brussels) containing a chronological abridgement of the laws made by the present Grand Duke of Tuscany.¹¹ He or his Minister or both must certainly be men of most excellent talents and most admirable publick spirit. He and Sambouca I propose asking for a copy of their laws.¹²

⁹ The first two men, Raspe and Leonardi, in whom Bentham had hoped to find translators for *Code*, failed him. He now turned to Johann Friedrich Schiller, a German from Württemberg resident in England, and with some reputation as a translator from English into German. His translation, made in conjunction with one C. A. Wichmann, of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* appeared in 1776 as *Untersuch der Natur und Ursachen, von Nationalreichtümen*. In 1777 his translation of W. Robertson's *History of America* appeared as *Geschichte von America*.

¹⁰ Cf. letter 325, n. 12.

¹¹ *Indication sommaire des réglemens et loix de son Altesse...l'Archiduc Léopold, Grand Due de Toscane par ordre chronologique, depuis 1765 jusqu'à la fin de l'année 1778. Avec des notes*. Brussels, 1779. 12°.

¹² See letter 351, n. 3.

I should imagine the request would be as great a compliment as the present I send them. The letters to all these people are all but finished; but I shall not have spirits enough I fear to put the last hand to them till after I have got over my present difficulties.

¹³ Sunday Aug. 6th

Baron Podmaniezski set off a few days ago for Paris by way of Ostende. During the two or three last months he had been taking pretty near such a tour as Offenburg.¹⁴ Schonberg the Saxon Count, and Dr. Koeraer his tutor set off this day. Schonberg was a pretty lad, though but a stripling so that I did not think it worth while to pay much attention to them. Were I ever to visit Germany all these people would be of considerable use to me. Podmanieski was latterly very assiduous in his visits, talked about friendship and proposed keeping up a correspondence. By way of legacy he left me Baron Ragersfeldt Secretary of legation to the Imperial Embassy, a very conversable and intelligent man. Ragersfeldt (who has read some of Code) seems without affectation very desirous of doing every thing he can think of to serve me. It was he that got me the book about the Tuscan laws from C. Belgioioso¹⁵ to whom it came over officially. He is coming to morrow to translate for me a long account given in a German review of a censorial book on penal law printed at Berlin in 1777. I dare say he will manage for me the business of introducing Code to the Emperor and the Grand Duke of T. He has lived in England these 12 or 13 years.

On Thursday morning July 27th between 8 and 9 before I was up (for it happen'd to be a lazy day with me) came a footman of Ld. Shelburne's with a note of which the following is a copy.

[There follows Bentham's transcription of letter 368.]

You may easily guess what the more than ample return was. I had been copying and sending him all the passages in your letters which had any relation to political affairs, with a fine exordium of my own to the first of them. The last was that in which you talked of sending him the ms book of travels. Here follows my answer.

¹³ At this point are written the letters 'Si'. These letters when crossed out were the sign that there was something in sympathetic ink between the following lines. Here they are not crossed out. The paper looks somewhat burnt down to 'use to me', suggesting Samuel held it to the fire to bring out the hidden words. There certainly is no sign now of any such words, even under ultraviolet light.

¹⁴ Cf. letter 323, n. 3.

¹⁵ The Austrian ambassador, probably Lodovico Barbiano di Belgioioso (1728–1801).

[There follows a copy of letter 369.¹⁶]

As to the reasons of my declining—1. I had a mind he should see Introd. to Code before he saw me: 2. I did not want him to fancy that his acquaintance was a thing I ⟨was⟩ disposed to jumped at. 3. My letters I was afraid had gone rather too far on the side of humility, and he had not taken an early enough notice of them. Upon the whole I thought we should meet upon a much better footing in November than now.

The 13th or 14th Wilson and I go to Thorpe for the summer. If you have any thing inostensible vis-a vis de Q.S.P. to write and that would get here before Novr. 6th, write it rather by the post than by Sneyd, for fear of accidents, though I shall take measures for preventing their getting into Q.S.P.ian hands before mine. I shall write again before I leave town and therefore will write no more at present.

Q.S.P. went about 3 weeks ago to a bit of a country house they have taken for the summer at Epsom. He has been ill of a fever, at one time rather dangerously, but is recover'd.

De Court Dordrecht 18th July 1780

'I gave already orders for the books which you desired, and if there is any opportunity of sending the work of Mr. Vial de Clairbois* to Petersburg, I will address it after your orders. The queries of Mr. Bentham were so extensif, that a compleat answer would fill 2 volumes, for the greater part of no use to him (I am afraid that these queries were a little vague)¹⁷ who has already a greater knowledge in that articel as I may give him; therefore I will pass slightly those universal queries, and insist a little more upon those which are more particular, but I want myself to be instructed first, for which I apply myself in entering in discourse and questioning persons of that profession. As soon as I see that I can't compleat it more, I will send it you.'

De court you are to know has been taking my advice about a law dispute he has been having with a Merchant here; to which circumstance I suppose may be attributed what ⟨...⟩ you may have of getting answers to ⟨your⟩ queries. The dispute however is just accomodated; which circumstance is rather against you.

* Essai geometrique et pratique sur l'architecture navale par M. Vial de Clairbois, sous-ingenieur-constructeur de la Marine, un volume de discours, et un volume de Planches, a Brest chez R.

¹⁶ In the copy Bentham has left a blank space in place of his name.

¹⁷ Presumably this is Bentham's own comment.

Malassis: et se trouve a Paris chez Durand, nouveau, libraire rue Galande—8vo. 1776.

371

SYLVESTER DOUGLAS TO JEREMY BENTHAM¹

16 September 1780

Saturday

Dear Bentham

I give you joy of the recovery of your Muse and condole with you on the Defeat of your friend Clarke—Here is the passage I mentioned out of Wieland's Diogenes.

Jede öffentliche oder privattugend hat zum gegenstand etwas gutes zu befördern, oder etwas Böses zu verhindern, oder zu vergüten; Und analysieret ihr dieses Böse und Gute, so löset sich immer jenes im schmerz, und dieses in vergnügen auf.²

Every public or private virtue has for its object to promote some *good*, or to prevent, or change to *good* some evil, and if you analyze this *Evil* and *Good* the first will always resolve itself into *pain*, and the other into *pleasure*.

You will find by my letters to Wilson that I have been so out of humour, or so hurried, that I have not been able to read your Compensation—I shall be in town the first Week of October, but if you should want the M.SS before, my Laundress has directions to deliver it to any body you send for it.

Yours truly S. Douglas

371. ¹ B.M. III: 83. Autograph. No address or postmark. Docketed: '1780 Sept 16 / Douglas <...> <...> / to / I.B. Thorpe / Wieland.'

For Douglas see letter 254, n. 2.

For the reference to Clark see letter 372 at n. 19.

² ΣΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΜΑΙΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ, oder die Dialogen des Diogenes von Sinope, Leipzig, 1770, p. 189. Purporting to be a translation from Diogenes the Cynic, this was in fact written by the German poet Christoph Martin Wieland (1733–1813). An English version entitled *Socrates out of his Senses* appeared in 1771.

372

JEREMY BENTHAM TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

25 August–30 October 1780

PEAKE

Pray it is true that Old Peake paid you Harrison the Taylor's bill upon Jack Peake?² Do not fail to answer this.

Anderson is gone back to Scotland. Nothing would serve him, poor man, but he must engage in an attempt to set up a weekly magazine; which failed after 6 Numbers.³

Friday Aug. 25 1780

In my last which was of the 9th inst. I told you I should write again before I went to Thorpe; and so have begun. The plague of it is I do not recollect what I have wrote to you in my last about Schiller.

I had heard his translation of Smith's wealth of nations highly spoken of by a multitude of Germans: and in particular Raigersfeldt⁴ recommended it to me to get my book translated by him if I could. I accordingly called upon him at his lodgings No. 73 High Street Mary-bone about 10 days ago, taking with me the three first sheets of Code with a corrected copy of the Prospectus. I had appointed a time of meeting by letter: I choose to go to *him* that I might judge of the man the better by the stile he lived in. A mean lodging though on the first floor: and though not dirty, fetid to the highest degree: and the appearance of the man quite that of the Grub-Street Poet; tall, thin and ugly and seemingly half-starved. He turns out after all to be a more responsible man than one should easily meet with, having been 19 years in this country. I never saw a man enter more into the spirit of any book than he did to that of mine, stopping short every now and then and reading aloud with

372. ¹ B.M. III: 75–76. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. to S.B. 1780 Aug. 25th Petersbourg.'

Addressed: 'Sam:¹ Bentham Esqr. / at Mr. Shairpe's / British Consul / Petersburgh / Single Sheet.' Postmark: '31 OC'. On cover: 'Post Paid 1s. 2d.'

² Old Peake, as we learn from letter 381, was Jack Peake's father—i.e. presumably Henry Peake the shipwright (cf. letter 135, n. 2).

³ These first two paragraphs are subsequent insertions. The first is fitted in at the top of the second column of the first page. The second is written between the lines of what is here the third paragraph.

⁴ Secretary at the Austrian embassy: cf. letter 370, p. 479.

an emphasis which plainly shew'd him to have a through comprehension of the contents: the passages which seemed to strike him the most were those which I myself should have pitched upon as the most striking. I watched his countenance, and saw in it all along marks of the most unfeigned satisfaction. He asked me with great eagerness for the rest of it: making abundance of speeches about not making an improper use of it, and referring me to people for his character. While I was there came in a packet to him from which he took occasion to inform me that he was employ'd to write the foreign articles in the *Critical Review*: I looked at the sheet, and upon my word no bad stile even in English. He says he writes in French with the same degree of facility: but in that language I think I should be almost afraid to trust him. Upon my mentioning Raigersfeldt, he caught at the name, and asked me whether I were upon an intimate footing with him: after some little discourse on that head, at last out it came that he wished I would introduce him to R.¹ I told him I would try. I thought it would be a good thing for me in several respects: 1. R upon the supposition of his having a good opinion of my book, would contribute to infuse the like opinion into Schiller:

2. the fear of losing any connection he might form with R. by my means, might be a sort of security for his good behaviour. 3. I could set R. to pump S. upon occasion in matters in which I could not so conveniently appear myself. This I think was on Monday the 14th. I told him at the same time how I was circumstanced with regard to Leonardi, but declined mentioning his name. He seemed anxious to know, pressed me upon the subject rather more than consorted with civility, and at last it appeared that it was out of apprehension lest Leonardi should have applied to the same Bookseller. Thus much however I knew and could therefore venture to assure him, that Leonardi's bookseller was not his. He did not positively

3 o'clock

This instant comes your letter dated Chernobyl.⁵ I shall say

⁵ This letter, dated 'Chernobyl July 23d. N.S. 1780', and with the London post-mark: 'AU 25', is in B.M. III: 64–65. Samuel says that he last wrote from Poltawa. Apparently this letter never arrived.

Samuel travelled to the Black Sea with Mr Eaton, but instead of accompanying him to Constantinople went on alone to the new town of Kherson. He was now returning to St Petersburg by way of Chernobyl in Poland (now in the Ukraine), where he was staying with Count Chodkiewicz, whose acquaintance he had made in Moscow and who was one of the four principal nobles of Poland. (This was presumably Jan Mikolaj Chodkiewicz (1738–81)). He will probably visit Mittau again briefly, travelling in the

no more about it till I have finished my present subject. That from Poltawa I have never received.

say he should make the proposal to his bookseller: but asked leave to call for the other sheets: and in that state of uncertainty I quitted him. I did not care to ask whether he intended to write, for fear of shewing too much eagerness.

What a blockhead I am drawing through all these minute details about my management? What are they all to you exclusive of the event? The event is that he wrote immediately to his bookseller: the very next post. If by possibility the Bookseller should refuse I must then propose terms to him myself to make up what deficiency there may be in point of inducement: such as to take off all that remain of a certain number of copies at the end of a certain time.

Octr. 27. 1780. Thorpe

[*Insertion:* Q.S.P. has been in a bad state of health: a journey to Bath has set him up again: he is now returning.]

A good decent interval of two months and two days! and in the mean time I have recēd a letter from Pl.⁶ which I answer'd, (about

equipage of the Count. He promises a journal of his expedition to the Black Sea at a later date.

Samuel wrote a second letter to his brother from Chernobyl, dated 1 August 1780 (B.M. III: 73-74), which Jeremy did not receive till 6 November (see letter 375). He here pursues thoughts which were hinted at in the previous letter of setting up in trade between Poland and Russia via the Black Sea, in connection with the Count, who has five manufactories of Potash. He would need the support of the Russian Court, whose darling project at the moment is the establishment of a Marine at Kerson under the management of the negro General Hannibal under Prince Potemkin. In fact Samuel himself was later to be involved in this scheme, which he here strongly criticizes.

He again strongly urged Jeremy to come out to Russia, but warns him not to be led into forming such a number of intimate attachments as Samuel has done, not always to his own advantage. Pleshcheyev is the only person met in Russia who has deserved his entire confidence.

⁶ This letter from Pleshcheyev is dated from St Petersburg, 21 June O.S. 1780 (B.M. III: 60-63). It cannot have reached Bentham till after 8 September.

Pleshcheyev addressed it: 'Jeremiah Bentham Esqr. / in Park place / Westminster / London.' It was then forwarded to Jeremiah 'at Farmer Yaldon's / Epsom / Surrey.' It is stamped 'ST PETERSBOURG' and bears the London postmark '8 SE' twice.

Pleshcheyev relates his meeting Samuel in Moscow, and recounts the favourable impression Samuel made on all, including the women. Samuel conceived a partiality for Pleshcheyev's sister, which the brother would have gladly seen prosper, but the obstacles proved too many. In St Petersburg Samuel forgot his disappointment and after recovery from his slight indisposition was presented at Court, where the Empress watched him attentively and with a smile as he kissed her hand. Offers were made to him to enter the service, but very much against Pleshcheyev's advice he went off with Mr Eaton to visit the new settlement at Kherson. 'Nothing but his own neglect and carelessness can stop his career.' Pleshcheyev speaks also of current affairs, including the visit to Russia of the German Emperor. In a letter dated 12 October (see letter

3 weeks or a month ago) and your note from Mittau⁷ which I proceed to answer now. The second letter you mention to have written from Czernobyl never came⁸: here then are two that have miscarried: think what a gap this must leave in your history, and what a loss I must be at to know what you have been about! You must give us some idea of what you have been doing at ⟨...⟩,⁹ and some account of your reception at your hospitable friend's.

You tell me of my letter's having been got into Shairpe's hands and sent rambling up and down the country, where possibly they may be lost. This circumstance has been taken into consideration by Q.S.P. and it is by his orders that I have the honour of writing to you at present. I am setting down again therefore like a dog to his vomit to give you a recapitulation of the most essential parts of the contents of these probably miscarried letters. It is a little less bad than being hanged, and that is all. Capital—none to be had: it vexes me 'even like a thing that is raw', to think of the disappointment you must feel from the miscarriage of a project which you seem to have built so much on: yet that vexation is velvet to the idea of the want of judgement which to my eyes you have betray'd on that occasion: to think that such a man as Q.S.P. would encumber his estate and hazard the whole of what he has to spare for both of us together, upon credit of a man quelconque whom he never saw; and whose character in pecuniary matters he could not have from report as he would that of a merchant. If S.B. is so much out in his expectations concerning the conduct of a man he has been living all his life with, how much less likely is he to [be] right in the expectations he may be led to form concerning that of strangers? This is a damned sort of a syllogism which I can not get over and which has been rankling in my gizzard for these two or three /or four/ months past. But a truce for that subject.

378, n. 1) Samuel urges Bentham not to take Pleshcheyev's letter too seriously as it was written in a mood of temporary irritation with him.

⁷ In B.M. III: 78, dated 'Mittau Septr. 7th N.S. 1780', written at Baron Offenbergs, before setting off for St Petersburg. He has not received any letters from his family for five months, as Mr Shairpe the British Consul at St Petersburg sent them on to Moscow against express directions. Thence they may get sent even further on. Someone has endorsed it: 'This letter Rec'd from Baron Offenberg / under cover at Messrs. Stapel, Coxe and Meilar / No. 118 Bishopgate / within ye 5 Oct 1780.'

⁸ It was received on 6 November (see n. 5 above).

⁹ Words crossed out by Bentham. The paragraph originally ended with the name of the hospitable friend, but this has been carefully deleted. Also deleted are the later letters of 'Pleschejeff' above, leaving 'Pl.' as in text. These deletions were presumably to hide information from possible censors. The hospitable friend is Count Chodkiewicz.

At Hamburgh being disappointed at different times of the passage he expected by sea, he grows impatient, and upon good or bad grounds changes his plan and at a great and unlooked for expence goes by land: it happens however that Buchati, notwithstanding his disasters gets to Dantzich but two days after S.B. has left it. At M.¹⁰ a great deal of time and no inconsiderable sum of money is expended after it is ascertained that nothing can be done there. Thereupon away goes he to another place¹¹ many hundred miles off, without any reason that he can assign though so much pressed for it, without knowing a creature there and without a single recommendation in his pocket. A chance which he could have had no right to reckon upon throws into his arms a valuable friend: and at last when all the money he had any right to reckon upon is spent, he gets to the place of his destination. Offers are made him in point of profit not contemptible and in point of favour equal at least to expectation.¹² These offers are refused: another and very hazardous project is set on foot. Meantime he hears of a person who is going to a very charming country, well worth seeing¹³: leaving then the new-project to shift for itself, away he goes against the persuasion of his friend (whose prejudices if he has any, certainly do not seem to lean towards the cold side of a question) and without any other reason than what is picked up in the course of the expedition, to this charming country. 'But he had the advice of a friend in favour of this peregrination' yes—but of a friend who knows nothing of his circumstances; the only one who did was strong against it. The journey was to have lasted but two months at farthest—It had already lasted 3 months and a week—and was then not at an end: in the mean time the 2d. project for which the first was abandoned, left at ⟨sixes⟩ and sevens, and the parties I can not help fearing, disobliged. The more incomprehensible all these proceedings appear to be upon every other hypothesis, the stronger the proof they afford of an absolute dependance having been placed upon the success of ⟨a scheme⟩ which to my eyes could have carried not the least shadow of feasibility upon the face of it¹⁴: at least if I admit that it carried enough to warrant the being at the pains of so much letter-writing it is a great concession. This was

¹⁰ Mittau.

¹¹ Moscow, where he met Pleshcheyev.

¹² By Count Chernyshev (see letter 355 at nn. 5–8 and below).

¹³ This refers to his Black Sea expedition with Mr Eaton (see letter 366, n. 1). Evidently the friend in favour was Sir James Harris, the friend against Pleshcheyev.

¹⁴ The scheme put forward in letter 355.

the light in which I view'd the matter at first: and this is the light in which I can not help viewing it after 3 months reflection.

Well but I must contract my stile, or I shall never get through.

1. After 100 got from Mulf:^d and 300 drops of blood from Q.S.P. there remains after discharging the 1st. letter of credit only about £150, and of that the best part of £100 was taken up it seems for the last journey. I can not speak precisely not having papers with me.

2. Q.S.P. would not have you come home by any means, which is happy.

3. He accordingly makes an effort and offers to add £30 a year to the former allowance: this is very well.

4. It gave him great comfort to hear of the 60 or 70£ I had, because it lessen'd the amount[?] of the extravagance.

5. Nothing more than as above will or can be done: so that if any more money is drawn for without leave the bills will return protested etc., etc.

6. What is the end of all this scolding? neither more nor less than to put a final stop to all those expensive projects and expeditions: of which the benefit, make the best of it is uncertain, and the mischief certain.

7. Finding yourself accused as you will think unjustly, you will naturally be for wishing to justify yourself: but this is what circumstances, I see plainly, will not admitt of. Nor indeed is it material. As for Q.S.P. he will approve or disapprove according to the event: if favourable no justification will be necessary: if unfavourable, none will be availing. As for me, I am perfectly content to put off the decision of the cause till we meet; and then it will be time enough to settle whether you are to beg my pardon, or I your's.

8. The one thing needful is to engage in some plan of certain profit: or to fix upon some plan of retrenchment: if the latter, I have no fresh mortification to undergo upon that score, it being what I have perfectly made up my mind to. The great [thing] is to subsist tellement quellement and not go down hill till my experiment has been tried: which can scarcely be yet this half year.¹⁵

9. It is unfortunate that I can not tell you of any certain ground to go upon with relation to C. even yet: however I shall by the

¹⁵ Presumably the experiment was the presentation of *Code*, or more accurately the *Introduction* thereto, to the Empress Catherine, with the hope of consequent favours to the Bentham brothers.

6th or 7th of Novr. and this is Oct. 29. In all this time I have not heard anything from Schiller; though he promised me to write as soon as he had heard from his bookseller. I wrote to him about a week ago, but had no answer. Some how or other it will certainly be done by him: the only question will be whether it will be necessary for me to be at any expence about it.

10. As to the original, mistakes discover'd in a cursed chapter about the Division of Offs, at a time when CCXXXII pages were printed off and by indulgence 56 more set without being printed off.¹⁶ Well: it has been necessary to rip up as far back as p. CCVIII, and by that means to sacrifice 3 sheets of those that were printed off, besides 2 of those that were not: 5 of the latter however are saved, and will be employ'd after some alterations. The discovery was made the beginning of August; and now the 29th Oct. I am but just got out of the puzzle. However at last got out of it I am, and there are two sheets dispatched and all the difficulties got over. Great insertions have been requisite. It cannot consist now of so little hardly as 350 pages, besides Preface. Comfort yourself however with the thoughts that it is impossible I should ever be so hamper'd again: having given an exhaustive view of the system of possible offences, and found myself obliged to lay the foundation of another work by drawing up (without inserting) an analysis of the possible modifications of *property*. The last section (which is finished) of the last chapter but one contains a plan for an entire C. civil as well as penal.¹⁷ In my last (by Sneyd) of Aug. 9th I sent you the Prospectus in its corrected state.¹⁸

¹⁶ Page CCXXXII of the first edition of the *Introduction to the Principles* starts shortly after the beginning of Chapter XVI (Division of Offences) Section XXVII.

¹⁷ At this stage Bentham envisaged an eighteenth chapter on 'Indirect Legislation' (cf. *A Fragment on Government and An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*, ed. W. Harrison, Oxford, 1948, p. 345, n. 3). The present reference may thus be, not to Chapter XVI (Division of Offences) which is, as the work was eventually published, the last chapter but one, but to one of the sections of Chapter XVII which, as described in the long footnote added at the end of the book when it was published in 1789, did not appear. Material for these sections (and a great deal more) is to be found in the MSS. used by Professor C. W. Everett in his edition of *The Limits of Jurisprudence Defined* (New York, 1945).

¹⁸ No letter bearing the date 9 August 1780 is extant, but it seems likely that Bentham is referring to letter 370, which may well have been finished on that date. Comparison of the third paragraph of the present letter with the concluding part of letter 370 supports this supposition. It is true that Bentham had not in fact mentioned enclosing the Prospectus in that letter, nor does Samuel mention it when acknowledging letter 370 in letter 374. But a copy of the Prospectus is included in B.M. XX (139–142), a letter-book consisting mainly of transcripts of Samuel's letters from abroad.

This copy has the running title 'Plan of a Penal Code—Prospectus' and is headed

I keep up my spirits mightily well, in hopes of a happy issue to my own affair. A multitude of anecdotes bien averées which I have picked up contribute to assure me of success.

St. Paul you know lives at Chertsey—I have a valuable friend in him: he is perfectly zealous in doing every thing he can think of to oblige me, although we have never yet had a tête à tête. I shall make a confidant of him. He can assist me in various ways by correcting and by pushing in other countries.

Octr. 30th 1780 Thorpe. G.W. is far advanced in a Digest of the Law of Bankruptcy. The D's are well and still at Brompton. I.D. has been to Wales. E.D. junr. is come to live at home. Alderman C. has stood for the City and lost it: but he stands again the next vacancy—Who is afraid?¹⁹

Q.S.P. has taken it into his head to be in dudgeon about your not writing to him *en droiture*: you must therefore write to him, and that without loss of time: you need not scruple owning that it is in consequence of what I tell you, as it was settled before as I reminded him that you should write to me.

I have advertised you once or twice already of a box I sent you through *Mair* directed to Sr. J.H. simply: I had reasons for that, too long to give. It went the latter end of July or beginning of Aug. to Mair's. I have not had any opportunity of learning by what ship. This when I go to town. I met Buchati in Augt. in the Street. He is appointed Resident and has been presented.²⁰ He told me without my spelling for it that S.B. had left behind him a great character

'Prospectus of a Work entitled Plan of a Penal Code by Jeremy Bentham'. It adumbrates a work in two Books. Book 1 is to deal with the definition of offences, Book 2 with Penal Procedure; and in the course of the latter 'The Subject of Evidence will be sifted to the bottom.' 'Along with the proposed Words of the Law will be given throughout the Reasons on which it is founded.' The prospectus next describes the *Introduction* which was then being printed, and adds an account of a projected Appendix which affords interesting evidence of Bentham's intentions at this stage. The appendix was to deal with the text of laws—its 'Composition—Promulgation—Interpretation—and Improvement': it was to deal, that is, with 'the Form...of the System of Laws as the Body of the Work does' with 'the Matter'. A further subject treated in the appendix was to be 'preventive Institutions...the several possible Expedients that can be devised for Combating mischievous actions in their Sources.' MSS. for much of this survive in the University College collection.

The penultimate paragraph of the prospectus deals with the German translation it was intended to introduce; and Bentham concludes by indicating that the *Introduction* 'forms about 240 Pages 4to. exclusive of the Preface' and estimating that Book 1 will 'occupy about 5, or 6,00 more', Book 2 and the Appendix 'not quite as many'.

¹⁹ Initials in this paragraph refer to George Wilson, Joseph Davies, his daughter Elizabeth Davies, and Alderman (Richard) Clark.

²⁰ Cf. letter 342, n. 13.

at Dantzich: 'never had an Englishman been seen, at once so amiable and so sensible.'

Lohmen. Oct 2d.

I rec^d a letter from him dated St. Lucie July 17. 'If you write to your brother' says he, 'tell him that Miss Nancy in her last letter expressed something very cool and indifferent—that I apprehend she intends to break the bargain. I am very glad of it as it gives me an opportunity to retreat with honour'. He was with Walsingham, and expects to go on an expedition to the Spanish Main. J. Hunter was in the same ship—they two he says are often talking of you.²¹

373

TO JEREMIAH BENTHAM¹

15 October 1780 (Aet 32)

Thorpe near Staines Oct. 15. 1780

Hond. Sir

This morning came a letter from Sam of which what is on the other leaf is an entire copy verbatim and literatim.² I send this by a special messenger to Staines, that there may be no time lost in forwarding it to you. You will see by the endorsement that I should have had it eight or nine days ago, if there had not been neglect somewhere. How unfortunate the correspondence has been on both sides! Since the commencement of this last expedition, two letters of Sam's have miscarried: I have had but one out of the two he mentions to have written from Chernobyl and the one which in his last he mentions to have written from Poltawa has miscarried too.

I congratulate you heartily, my dear Father, on the benefit you so soon received from your residence at the place at which this letter will I suppose find you: it must be a comfort at your time of life or indeed at any time of life, to know of a place where one is sure of being well. I hope now you are there you will not be in haste

²¹ Lohmen and John Hunter (otherwise unidentified) were serving on the *Berwick*, commanded by the Hon. Keith Stewart: cf. letter 380 at nn. 7 and 8. For Walsingham cf. letter 336, n. 6.

373. ¹ B.M. III: 94–95. Autograph. Docketed by Jeremiah Bentham: 'Fils Jeremy / Lr. datd. Thorpe Surry Octr. 15 1780 / with a Copy of a Letter—recd. by him from Sam (datd. Mittau Septr. 7 1780) the 5th Octr. 1780 / Recd. at Bath ye 18th Octr. 1780.'

Addressed: Jeremiah Bentham Esqr. / Bath.' Postmark: '16 OC'.

² The other leaf contains Bentham's copy of Samuel's letter of 7 September 1780 (see letter 872, n. 7).

to quit it till every thing has been got that can be got from it, and you are sure that you are perfectly set to rights again.

I wrote to Pleschejeff; I think it was about a week after we parted.

On the 2d. of this month I received a letter from Sam's friend Lohmen, dated July 17th on board of Walsingham's ship off St Lucia. He was then expecting to go on a re-inforcing expedition to the Spanish main: but that expedition has I suppose since been put by by the apprehension of the attack upon Jamaica. I am sorry to find in his letter a confirmation of the accounts we have of the disagreement between Rodney and his Captains: not one who will either dine with or so much as speak to him: principally on account of the disgust given by the letter printed in the Gazette for his, and which, to excuse himself he says is not printed as he wrote it. Baron Hotham too (as he told Alderman Clark at the last Sessions) had heard from his brother the Commodore, that at that time there were but two Captains who would dine with Rodney.³

As to the Alderman,⁴ notwithstanding his defeat, he is in the best spirits imaginable, and perfectly eager for another trial. Some compliments which perhaps might have no great meaning, and the sublime honour of having his health drunk with three times three, seem to have got into his head and flatter'd him into a degree of perseverance, which I fear will but end in disappointment. How the assets have been found, I can not conceive: he says nothing, and you may imagine I do not ask him.

My best respects wait on my Mother: to whom I hope her residence at Bath has been as agreable, as to you it has been serviceable. Mr. W's Compliments. You know who I am, and if you did not there would be no telling you here without all the world's being let into the secret.⁵

³ Commodore Walsingham (cf. letter 336, n. 6), in command of the *Thunderer* and four other ships from England had joined Rodney's fleet on 12 July. The disagreements between Rodney and his captains dated from his action against the French Admiral de Guichen on 17 April. Commodore William Hotham (1736–1813), later Admiral and in 1797 created Baron Hotham of South Dalton in the peerage of Ireland, had been left by Rodney in command of five ships to protect St Lucia in mid-July. His brother, Clark's informant, was Beaumont Hotham (1737–1814), M.P. for Wigan 1768–75, and since 1775 one of the Barons of the Court of Exchequer.

⁴ Richard Clark.

⁵ This paragraph is written on the cover of the letter.

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SAMUEL BENTHAM TO JEREMY BENTHAM¹

15(?) September 1780

Petersbourg 4th Sepr. 1780

I arrived here yesterday at one o'clock, as I passed by Sr. James Harris's door I enquired if he dined at home and finding it so, I hastened to dress myself and went there. I found there your letter of the 6th of August, but no other from England. I had been apprised by a letter I received at Mittau from Pleschejeff that Mr. Shairpe had by mistake notwithstanding the injunctions he had had to the contrary, sent all the other letters to Moscow, from whence it may be long before they get back here. I observed immediately that it had been opened, and certain circumstances leave me scarcely a doubt of the person by whom. The contents were such as could not but make me very unhappy but their being known to a person on whom in short I so much depend made me for a while at least almost despair of every thing. Did I not desire you not to trust any thing even under Sir James's /address/ direction which you would not like that he at least should see. I think I did, I know I had the greatest reason to do it. I have by this time got myself to consider your accusations with more composure than I could do yesterday, though I cannot but think them exceedingly harsh and expressive of very different sentiments from those which you were used to entertain of me. It is true that it is from my letters only that you can judge of my way of thinking at present. I may for what you can be certain of to the contrary have become since I left England an object no longer worthy of your affection. This idea alone last night made me miserable, but now I can bear to think of the possibility of such an event without making myself unhappy about it till I have proofs of its reality. The whole of these accusations I am well persuaded are reducible to that respecting the air of mystery or as you might have said the real incommunicativeness which most certainly must have shewn itself in all my letters. I am confident myself that were you to know all circumstances, you would find very little to blame me for. A kind

374. ¹ B.M. III: 79–81. Autograph. Docketed: '1780 / Sept 4 O.S. probably / S.B. Petersborough / to I.B. Linc. Inn.'

Addressed: 'Jere'. Bentham Esqr. / No. 6 Lincoln's Inn / London.' Also: 'pr. Amsterd.' Stamped: 'ST PETERSBOURG'. Postmark: 'OC 10'.

of Inaction indeed or indolence I have sometimes had to a very great degree, but it has luckily so happened that this even has had no bad consequences. I must in general terms tell you whether you believe me or not, that I do not regret any one step of any importance which I have taken since I have been in this country. My late excursion I am perfectly satisfied with.

You may perhaps still doubt of the offers I spoke of, but I again assure you most sincerely that I had such terms offered me not under his hand indeed but by my friend whose name you know² by the express orders of C. my answer was such as rather to *decline* than to *refuse* them. It was not however any sense of my insufficiency for the executing the business that made me do so. I must put off at least till another post, I have just thought of something I must do directly.

A word or two only. I declined C's offers in general because for many reasons he is not the man who must do my business. He is not to be trusted to. With respect to money matters, I am sensible to the greatest degree of my father's kindness in making me the allowance you speak of and as I have got now into the most oeconomical management possible I shall be able to make shift till I know my fate here, and I have a pis aller by which I am certain of doing something elsewhere. I shall write further about the incommunicativeness [of] which I have been guilty but then after that as you cannot assist me I shall plague you no more with my expectations or disappointments till all is certain.

Adieu. be a little more indulgent.

There were 4 letters Mr. Shairpe just now tells me sent to Moscow, but I expect them back again every post.

There was no letter in the box with the books etc. but I suppose the account of the contents is in a letter sent by the post.

³ I hope exceedingly well that you have found no opportunity of having Code translated into German, but at the same time that you have got hold of somebody who will translate it well into French. It certainly is in this language it must come here. The king of Prussia also likes the latter language better than German.

With respect to German I should advise that you write to Evelyn⁴ at Hambourg (unless you have any better means) to beg

² Perhaps Pleshcheyev.

³ The remainder is on a separate sheet (B.M. III: 81), for the sake of privacy. Jeremy Bentham has docketed it: '1780 Sept 4 / S.B. Petersburg to I.B. Linc. Inn / C. Priv.'

⁴ See letter 353 for an earlier reference to Evelyn of Hamburg.

him to give you some account of the abilities of the different people who are employed in and who get their living by translating English books as fast as they come out into German. That you then pitch according to his recommendation upon the one of these translator's the most qualified for such a work, and furnish him with the sheets as they are printed before the work is published. by this means you avoid its falling into the hands of a miserable translator. Translators themselves though are not probably the *first movers* with respect to the translations, it is a bookseller who engages a translator to work for him. If so it must be a German bookseller to whom by Evelyn's recommendation you must apply, such a bookseller who has the best translators in his service.

I mention Evelyn because I believe him to be perfectly informed of all these matters. In this way the translation would be made without expence to you. A German law Booksellers would certainly be happy to catch at such an offer. If however you mean to make it as an original in each language, I mean so much so as to sell the copy in each language, that perhaps might be more profitable, but this certainly depends on the credit your work may be made to have in the eyes of a foreign bookseller.

You may as well speak out as talk of Kitty, that expression at least in the manner you have used it is no cloak at all the letter E. would have done as well. I find this mark in your letter (Si) which has made me turn my eyes <out> and spend time to no purpose.

You may see Foster and Sambouski in London soon. be as close and incommunicative as possible. further directions I will give you.

I am very glad you did not go to Ld. Sh^b: I hope to be able to write you a long ostensible letter for him very soon at least if sitting up all night will do I will not spare that pain.

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JEREMY BENTHAM TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

6 November 1780 (Aet 32)

London 6th Nov: 1780

Monday morning

I arrived in town yesterday. This morning came to hand two of your letters: the one the so-much regretted one from Czernobyl

⁵ Lord Shelburne: cf. letters 368 and 369.

375. ¹ B.M. III: 104–105. Autograph. Docketed: 'Novr. 6th 1780 / J.B. to S.B.' Addressed: 'Samuel Bentham Esqr. / at Mr Shairpe's / British Consul. / Petersburg Single Sheet.'

dated Aug. 1st: the other dated Petersburg 4th Sept. the day after your return.² They had been withheld from me with very good intentions by a mistake of the same nature with that which sent my letters astray from you; with this difference that my directions were in writing. Still however your's from Poltawa is wanting. I hope there was nothing in it very particular. I sit down to write without loss of time; for various reasons one of which is to save you if it be not too late, the trouble of writing over again the contents of that from Czernobyl: which by the bye came to me under a cover directed by you indeed (on strange brown paper) but without your seal; indeed without any seal but a lump of wax over which while hot paper /with a letter or two in it/ seemed to have been stuck and then torn off.

The circumstance you mention in your's of the 4th Sept. is unfortunate indeed; but I do not see how it was to have been avoided. As to anxiety you express at the apprehension of an abatement of my affection, that I trust has been considerably relieved at least if not altogether dispelled by my letter to your friend, to whom I wrote the beginning of last month, as I did to you about the latter end, after having reced your note from Mittau.³ Before I cease to love you my Sam, I must have ceased to love anything that exists, beginning with myself. But my affection for you were it possible for it to be ten times stronger than it is, could not prevent me from passing in my own mind such judgement on your conduct as the *data* I have before me, such as they are, appear to call for: and in the case in question, circumstances required that that judgement should be made known to you.

I can not for reasons not worth mentioning write any thing very material at this present instant, and therefore here follows some ordinary chit-chat. /W⁴ and I/ Dining at St. Paul's at Chertsey t'other day the rest of the company consisted of a Sr. Ch.⁵ and Lady Cocks or Cox.⁵ Sr. Ch. is M.P. chief clerk of the ordnance and has 16000 £ a year. /in Worcestershire and Herefordshire./ If you

² For the letter from Chernobyl in Poland see letter 372, n. 5. The St Petersburg letter is letter 374.

³ The letter to Pleshcheyev does not, so far as we know, survive. The letter to Samuel is 372.

⁴ George Wilson.

⁵ Sir Charles Cocks (1725–1806) was M.P. for Reigate (Surrey) 1747–84. This was the constituency which Reginald Pole Carew represented from 1787–90, after which Sir Charles's son, John Sommers Cocks, had the seat. Sir Charles had been created a baronet in 1772, and became Baron Sommers in 1784.

don't know him already you will find him in the Court Calendar. Talking with Lady C. she told me of a brother she had who was then upon the point of leaving or had left Sweden to go to Petersburg. His name was Poole which he changed to Carew or Carey for an estate of £5,000 a year.⁶ He had written to Lady C. to desire her to send him one of Wedgewood's catalogues to give to Bergman. He is about 27, has been travelling these 5 years, and as she says is very assiduous in informing himself of every thing.—pooh! I mean has a great thirst for knowledge. It did not happen to be in my way to make much enquiry about him, but from what I happen'd to collect I should imagine you would find him a very accomplished man. If so, you might give me (if you happen'd to have nothing else to do) some ostensible account of him, taking no notice of this: not that it is of any other consequence than that it would naturally give pleasure to his Sister who seems to be a very sensible agreeable woman. She won my heart; by the care she took of my eyes, which though in other respects perfectly good require to be protected by screens from candles as well as from fire, but particularly from the latter.

Well my Sam, the business of the translation is now I hope tolerably well settled. I have just been with Schiller. He had received my letter; but forbore to answer it, till he had heard a second time from Leipsic. He had proposed the whole to the Bookseller (Reich) who had declined it, on account of the voluminousness /and as being a book adapted to but few readers./ Anxious to engage in it, though he was in no want of other things, he had renew'd his application proposing the Introd. by itself by way of experiment. It will be about three weeks before an answer can

⁶ Reginald Pole Carew (1753–1835) was a rich young man from a West Country family, who had been educated at University College, Oxford. He travelled in Northern Europe for some years before entering Parliament in 1782 as member for Penryn (Cornwall). Thereafter he was M.P. for various constituencies (with one brief exception Cornish), for most of the time up till 1816. He became a Privy Councillor and Under-Secretary of State for the Home Office.

He was the eldest son of Reginald Pole of Stoke Damerel, Devon, whom he succeeded in 1769. Through his maternal grandmother, Sarah Rashleigh, he was connected with the Cornish family of Carew of Antony; and in 1772, by the will of Sir Coventry Carew, Pole succeeded to the Antony estate, taking the additional name of Carew.

In St Petersburg Pole Carew and Samuel came to know each other well. When Pole Carew returned to England in 1782, Bentham and his father got in touch with him. A considerable correspondence between Bentham and Pole Carew will appear in subsequent volumes. He gave Bentham some support in his Panopticon project (see also letter 379, n. 2).

come. Tomorrow he is to write two more letters: one to Reich, insisting upon a speedy and peremptory answer: the other to a man at Stutgard the capital of Wirtemberg (of which Dutchy S. is himself a native) offering it conditionally upon the event of its not being accepted by the other: though for obvious reasons I take for granted he does not tell him what that event is. This man he looks upon himself as sure of. They had formerly had dealings; and lately the Bookseller wrote to him solliciting the renewal of the connection and offering him *carte blanche* with regard to the choice of the books. Sensible that the subject is far from popular, he says that he shall lower his own demand, that the abatement of the cost to the Bookseller may be reckoned into the *quantum* of the inducement. He says he shall not propose the printing above a thousand copies: it seems therefore that the *pis aller* would be to offer to take as many as should be left of 1000 copies at the end of such a time. Next with regard to time. The ordinary course would be for it not to be printed before the Easter Fair: but this period I hope to get considerably accelerated. He reckons to translate at the rate of 3 or 4 of my sheets in a week, and send it off 7 or 8 sheets at a time: which is rather faster than I have printed when I have met with no delays. But the point was not to lose the time between his writing and receiving an answer, which might be 5 or 6 weeks. On this account I ventured to offer to indemnify him if he would set about it immediately: with which proposal he very readily closed. Never could a man behave with more honour than he has done: the matter rests upon that footing that he is entirely at my mercy. No written engagement required on my part: although no witnesses were present. He told me with the utmost readiness what he was paid for Robertson's Hist, of America £1. 10s. observing at the same time that Smith's Wealth of nations was more difficult and (what is indubitable) that my book is more difficult still than that. Finding so much generosity and confidence on his part, by way of giving him an additional stimulus I gave him a general idea of the use that I intended to make of it in various quarters but without entering into particulars. He confirmed me in my hopes by mentioning instances of the successes that other people have had in following that plan of circulation. To Rob's. America (I think it was) he put the initials of his name: to mine he intends to put his name at length... On Thursday or Saty. sennight he is to bring me two or three sheets written in Roman hand that my English German friend who has been sitting in judgement over the original may do the like over the translation. He mentions that distant time

he says, because the first two or three sheets always take up the more time on account of the difficulty a translator is in at first in catching the spirit of his original. After that I look for three or four sheets a week. We will say three. On that basis you may form your calculation. I should hope by the latter end of April it may come to hand.

This is better than writing to your Evelyngs at Hamburgh. As for French it is in vain to think of it as no opportunity offers. Had I £150 to tempt De Lolme with it might possibly be done.

May. About the beginning of July I think it was, or a little later, I took the opportunity of Poli's returning through Holland and charged him with a letter to Strachan and one to May.⁷ What had I to do you will say to write to May? why perhaps it was a piece of impertinence, and I had as good as left it alone. However the fact is I did write to him sending him at the same time about as many sheets of *Introd.* (which I then thought would (be soon) finished) as I sent to you, as also ⟨...⟩ ⟨...⟩ To account for it I told him ⟨...⟩ ⟨...⟩ ⟨o⟩wing to the sentiments of respect and admiration which you had inspired me with for him, or something of that sort. I quoted some extracts from the letter in which you speak handsomely of them, and told him that all this if it answered no other purpose might at least serve to show them that their favours were not thrown away upon an ungrateful soul. I believe I mentioned a word or two about the *Crim. Cod.* there, saying that if any hints of mine could be of any use I should be very happy to communicate them. Seeing nothing come of all this fine letter, not the least notice taken of it, I was a little vexed with myself as you may imagine, for having wrote it: thinking it impertinent, officious and so forth. On coming to town, however, what should I see upon the window seat in the passage but a bit of a Card with 'Mr. May, Dyer's Buildings Holbourn' upon it. Well and so, I have been posting to Dyer's buildings this individual morning, and who should it be but one of your May's (not him whom I wrote to) who has had a house there for years. Dyers buildings is just by, between *Cursitor Street* and *Castle Yard*. When I called it was about ¼ after 2, and they being early folks, the cloth was already laid for dinner. A little neat house: no servant appeared but a maid. We had a little chit-chat, and before

⁷ For Strachan see letter 322, n. 1; for May, letter 332, n. 3. Bentham had presumably written to John May, the brother concerned with legal matters.

It was his younger brother, Job May, who had the house in Holborn mentioned below. Samuel actually said that Job was a bachelor, but this must have been a mistake (B.M. II: 384).

the ice was thoroughly broke, in came Mrs. May: now you will know which of them it is by that. She seemed a mighty pleasant good sort of a woman. Fearful of deranging them, I made haste to take my leave, putting in a claim of renewing my visit. They asked me in a plain good humoured way to stay dinner, just ⟨as⟩ if they would really have been well pleased that I should. They were going on ⟨rais⟩ing the invitation, but as I had not yet ⟨seen⟩ Q.S.P. and besides that had occasion to see Schiller again, I cut the matter short, and marched off.

There now you have the histories of May and Schiller: and it was owing to their not being consummated, that I was forced to fill up my paper in one part with writing about Carew's and Coxes.

Swed. is removed from Gloucester Street to No. 32 Newman Street Oxford Road: so that we shall not see one another very often.

Seeing that my scolding letter of the 6th Aug. is come to hand, how vex'd I am that I have been plaguing you with a repetition of it as mentioned in the first page, after receipt of your's from Mittau. I directed to you at Shairpe's.

Here it is two months you will be pleased to observe, since I recēd your short scrap, and all the while no ostens. letter (as promised) for Ld. S. And what am I to do with the man, I wonder? Am I to give him up? What a pretty situation aupres lui have you been leaving me in. I think I shall not go however till Introd. reaches him. Mem. My Chertsey friend is intimate with Nolken.⁸

In Phil. Transns. for 1780 etc., is an Account of a method of safely removing ships that have been driven on shore and damaged in their bottoms to places at a distance quelleconque for repairing them by Barnard Ship builder at Deptford.⁹ As it is contained in the leaf of a Review I believe I shall send it in my next through the other channel. We can not believe the misfortune has happen'd which you dread. And since it was necessary that what was done should be done, who else could one trust better? Perhaps it was done here.¹⁰

As far as I can collect from your Polish letter, one part of the plan is possible, if accepted, without capital: if the sine quâ non

⁸ 'Ld. S.' is Lord Shelburne. 'My Chertsey friend' is probably Colonel St Paul. Baron Nolken was the Swedish Minister in London.

⁹ 'An Account of a Method of the safe Removal of Ships that have been driven on Shore... by Mr William Barnard, shipbuilder, of Deptford,' was published in the *Philosophical Transactions*, Vol. lxx, pt. I: a notice of it appeared in the *Critical Review* for October 1780 (1, 281–283).

¹⁰ Probably Bentham is suggesting that it was not Sir James Harris who opened his letter of 6 August (see letter 374).

is the 6,000£, it is impossible indeed. You must stay till my schemes take, then you will have all my *excedents* to play at Ducks and Drakes with. Adieu, my Sam, doubt of your own existence, rather than of my continuing to love you. Tuesday 7th. Is there not a possibility of your hospitable friends¹¹ doing something towards a capital upon your advancing a proposition, and investing the whole within his reach?

376

SAMUEL BENTHAM TO JEREMY BENTHAM¹

14 October 1780

I dont know if I ever said any thing in my letters of a Merchant here whose name is Porter. He was one whom Mr. Shairpe of London in his letter of recommendation desired I might be made acquainted with. From his extensive knowledge learning and judgement he may be considered as far above any other of the English factory: he was the only one of them whom Sir James Harris has often at

¹¹ Count Chodkiewicz. Bentham is discussing Samuel's plan for engaging in trade between Poland and Russia via the Dnieper and the Black Sea (see letter 372, n. 5).

376. ¹ B.M. III: 92–93. Autograph. Docketed: '1780 Oct 3 / S.B. Petersbough / to I.B. Linc. Inn / Recd. Nov: 14 / Porter.'

Addressed: 'Jere' Bentham Esqr. / No. 6 Lincoln's Inn / London / or in his absence to Mr Bentham / Queen's Square Place / Westminster.' 'No. 6 Lincoln's Inn' has been crossed out and 'To go to' inserted above the second address. Postmark: 'NO 11'.

A second letter dated 3 October (O.S.) 1780 (B.M. III: 86; London postmark 'NO 13') is not here included. It concerns the post of British Consul or Resident in Danzig, which a friend of Samuel's there, Barstow, has informed him is vacant on the death of Sir Trevor Corry. Barstow thinks Samuel might obtain it, and Samuel urges that his father might see his friend Mr Sneyd or Mr Frazer (an Under-Secretary of State) on his behalf, or Lind might see Lord Stormont (Secretary of State). He has written an ostensible letter to his father outlining his qualifications (this is B.M. III: 88–89). One attraction of the place is the eminently wooable Miss Huzarzewski, daughter of the Polish Commissary. He sends Barstow's letter (B.M. III: 84). He also writes on Anderson's scheme for distilling spirit from potatoes, and on his newspaper, to which he thinks the insufficiently self-seeking Bentham will contribute without payment. Porter (see present letter) will not arrive for a month or so. Bentham should not have sent 'some sheets of Introduction' to May, when it was too late to seek advice, but have waited till he could send the whole with a *brief* complimentary note. He acknowledges receipt of letters from Jeremy dated respectively 9 May (letter 356), 13 May (letter 358), 19 May (letter 359), 5 June (letter 361), 20 June (letter 365), 10 July (not extant?); also two from his father dated 11 May and 17 June (not extant?). He also writes: 'One other I hear is gone to Constantinople. I must send for it back.' So far as we know this letter was lost for ever. We have already suggested that it may have been a letter written in late April 1780, (see letter 356, n. 6). Letter 380 suggests that it contained a copy of the *Bibliotheca Navalis*, for which see letter 355, n. 1.

his house. We soon drew near together, and as we had the same opinions on the several subjects which occurred, we were forming a reciprocal attachment as fast as possible. I found him a man who might probably be very usefull to you in affording an account of the Jurisprudence here which is what none of his brother merchants here have any idea of. The rest in general despise everything Russian, and know no more of the people or country than what they read in the English newspapers of the Petersbourg intelligence. He is well versed in Physics; though Political knowledge is his chief delight. He is master of a great flow of language, so as at a kind of private spouting club there is here to be able to attract the attention and astonishment of the company for 2 or 3 hours together on any subject. With this as far as I have had time to examine him he is a good Metaphysician and a lover of clear ideas. He seems calculated in short to be *your May*: not quite *mine* for I suppose him at least not to be versed in the details of Mechanics still less of Shipbuilding and Marine matters: though his judgement may be good in all as far as his ideas go. I had talked to him about my 'View of the knowledge subservient to the Marine': at which he was mightily pleased. I had likewise told him of the offers made me, but nothing at all of my views.

I had lent him your 'fragment' and hard labour bill and according to his account he may well be said to have enjoyed it. I had spoken of Code to him as a reason for telling him that at my return I should beg of him to give me some observations on the present Jurisprudence of this country that I might send to you. He, Pallas, Dr. Guthrie and myself had more than once had a meeting together at his house.

Such was the state of our acquaintance when I sat out for the black sea, and during my journey I promised myself not only pleasure from his conversation but benefit from his advice on many matters at my return. The very day of my return as I was coming from dinner at Sir James's and was going to his house I met him in his cabitky going post for England. We could only bid one another adieu and beg for a correspondence. He indeed thinks of seeing me perhaps this winter in London. I knew well how improbable it was but did not undeceive him. I think if Davies had been in his circumstances here he would have been almost the same sort of man. You may imagine that loosing him myself I instantly thought of you: but at that time I did not mention your name. I have now just met his Nephew who stays here with others in the business and who had been with him the first post or two. He gave me a Message from

him to beg I would send him a letter to you as also to give him some account of my excursion. The latter when you have he shall have, now as to the former demand.

That you would receive much pleasure and satisfaction from his acquaintance I am very well persuaded. also if you were to become intimate, and he should not be too much engaged with his private business as a Merchant, I think you would set him by the side of Wilson in judgement over your works.

On the other hand my fears are that with such an opportunity you would spend too much time in talking about this country. If however you do become acquainted first let me beg and intreat you not to make any lamentations about me or to tell him anything of my circumstances. Tell him in short as well as every body else as little of yourself as possible. Get his opinion upon everything you can; yours he will see enough of in your works. No it is not your opinions that you should not give for it is by them you must appear to the greatest advantage to all who have a grain of sense; but it is your intentions and projects of which you should contrive to get his opinion before you give them as your intentions. The only way you can possibly fail to have the greatest respect from such a man is by venturing to speak of a project which he from his greater experience of the world sees to be ill-judged. He then sees a failing and a wonderful degree of respect vanishes.

Talk not to him of Kruse of Sambouski of Foster or of any Russian which you know, at least not as people of any kind of consequence. Ask him however about Severs.² He will speak highly of him. Others here speak much against him. He is not in favour at Court that's certain, but I do verily believe he is at least an intelligent and painstaking man and wish very much I could see him. I will send him a copy of your work when I have it.

Desire Porter to tell you what affair he has himself ⟨...⟩ a Court of Justice in this country where if I mistake not he knocked ⟨...⟩ ⟨...⟩ down who enraged him. He will give you a pretty idea of the jurisprudence ⟨of⟩ this country: perhaps his colouring may be too strong but the facts will no doubt be to be depended upon.

Porter asked a letter to you to be sent him. he shall have one which I suppose he will bring you as soon as he has it but his arrival is not as yet certain as he stopt by the way.

Do I beg of you consider all the connections we used to prize so much in this country as not worth a single thought relating to my

² Johann Jakob Sievers. See letter 347, n. 3.

business. Foster, Samb: and even the family of our finest of all fellows³ whose letters you have sent me, are all calculated here to do more harm than good. Some of these are of the opposite party and the rest are perfectly insignificant. Foster is become almost childish. He seldom goes out because he has no carriage and his company is no longer entertaining to induce people to send for him.

377

JEREMY BENTHAM TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

14 November 1780 (Aet 32)

Tuesday Novr. 14th 1780. London.

I wrote to you this day sennight about the translation's being begun. This morning came yours of Oct. 3d. O.S. ⟨In⟩ one word, the thing was given away a month after it was known here to have fallen—given to a person who is in trade. Not a halfpenny Salary: possibly, but this is a matter of conjecture only, some occasional douceurs for extra services that occurred. Good bye to it then: it has cost me a day, and you I doubt, still more. However I do not regret it after all: for it took well with Q.S.P. in whose hands it got first: it flatter'd him that people thought of a man for it at such a distance. I had the letter from him this morning: for some how or other, so it happen'd that it was to him that it was first carried. He went to Barking early and so dropt it for me while I was out. About 4 he called here on his return: and by that time I was enabled to tell him how the matter stood. He took it very chearfully. The circumstance of the proposal's having originated in another quarter has made a favourable impression on him which I hope will last. I have got by it a new shield to defend people with when they are railed at. I sent for my information to the chambers No. 9. L. not being at home called on me a few hours afterwards and gave it me by word of mouth: but I took care to let him know in my note that that was all the trouble I should have any need to give him. The case is I have a better channel: I should have posted off to St. P. at Chertsey, and through him have got to the fountain head, without having any thing to do with the people you spoke of.

³ Lohmen.

377. ¹ B.M. III: 106–107. Autograph. Docketed: 'Novr. 14th 1780 / I.B. to S.B.' Addressed: 'Samuel Bentham Esqr. / at Mr Shairpe's / British Consul / Petersburgh / Single Sheet.'

L. seems to have quarrelled with Ld. M.² and by that means thrown himself out of those connections. As to a noble Lord on the wrong side of the post³ it was droll enough that he should have been thought of on an occasion like this and added to the Council proposed. I have not yet been to him. Now I suppose it is designed I should go if I please: but I think it will wait till *Introd.* is printed. He will then know the better in what character to receive me.

Q.S.P. when at Bath scraped acquaintance with Hermes Harris.⁴ He pretends to fancy they should have been thick if he had staid longer. I know better.

It is now a matter of 9 o'clock, and I could not write any thing to signify to night so I will e'en prate on without any thing to say. It is a sin I think I never have yet been guilty of, the sending away of a letter with half an inch square of paper in it unwritten upon: while people send me scraps of notes and letters not too long for cards, unless when there is some mighty particular purpose to be answer'd by it. One letter I received from Chernobyl that deserved to be sure to be burnt by the common hangman: the other that at first was lost made some little amends.

O yes, I have something to tell you of, too; though it will not take long in telling. My Father has at last got a tenant for the poor miserable abandoned Malthouse: it is but 20 guineas a year indeed: but it is <that> clear of land tax: and were it but twenty pence, it is so much got out of the fire: provided always that the man pays his rent.

¼ after 10.

W. has just called in spent about an hour talking politics etc., and so this letter will be the shorter for it. I thought it best to lose no time in answering your's and therefore shall not keep it back a post to fill it. As for politics I am afraid of writing a syllable about the matter for fear of the letter's being made prize of as W's was.

Your ostensible letter bating a few inaccuracies was upon the whole not amiss in point of stile: two or three good strokes in the

² Lord Mansfield, uncle to Lord Stormont, whom Samuel had hoped Lind might approach in his behalf (see letter 376, n. 1). 'St P' is Colonel St Paul.

³ Lord Shelburne—'on the wrong side of the post' presumably because he was in opposition to North's administration. The latter part of this paragraph shows Bentham still declining to meet Shelburne despite what he had said in letter 369. Samuel in a letter to his father of 3 October O.S. / 14 October N.S. 1780 (see n. 5 to the present letter) says that he hopes to send back models of Russian travelling vehicles and of a peasant's house for Lord Shelburne in gratitude for the letters of introduction he had provided.

⁴ James Harris, M.P.: cf. letter 127, n. 3 and letter 381 at n. 2.

shewy way.⁵ That short bit of a scrap of a thing from Czernobyl was terrible. I don't know whether I told you of it before, but there are some passages which to this hour I can't make sense of.

I received a letter yesterday from La folle: D. (don't know whether I told you) has been to Wales: he was out about a month and came home about a fortnight ago in excellent health and spirits: As for her she says she never was better nor happier in her life. So all that is mighty well.

There has been a Mr Dunstable,⁶ she says enquiring for a book on Nav. Archit. which he says he lent you—and she asks me whether I know any thing of it. No, not I. Poor Mr Dunstable! I suppose you have got it at Petersburg. He must bring his action in some of your fine[?] courts there. I shall probably go to Brompton in about 6 weeks, and I suppose shall spend about a month there, but in the mean time I shall take effectual measures for my letters being forwarded immediately without rambling to Q.S.P. etc.

Encore une fois I thought it best to write forthwith that you might clear your mind of the affair: which is the reason of my not sending the Ship-building extract from the Phil. Transns. I told you of in my last.

Being near the conclusion of my no-letter, I should begin as other great men do, to make pot-hooks and hangers such as the Devil himself can't read.

There is a prospect of Mrs. Accors's⁷ being gathered to her fathers or mothers or whatever it is she is to be gather'd to. Her gout this season is attended with other disorders: and the Doctor(s) think upon the whole she will hardly get the better of it this bout: but Mrs D. has better hopes.

Simmons has left off to Conquest,⁸ who is now no small personage. I hope this poor man's name will not dub my letter a political one.

Davies the little honest Civil[?] postman has left the neighbourhood; which I need not tell you I am sorry for: I shall be plagued I fear with his successor whom I have not seen.

There it's almost ½ after 11—the bell is a ringing so adieu.

⁵ The letter of 3 October O.S. 1780 (B.M. III: 88) to his father, stating his qualifications for the Residency at Danzig (see letter 376, n. 1). The letter from Czernobyl so complained of is B.M. III: 64 (see letter 372, n. 5).

⁶ Unidentified.

⁷ Mrs Acworth, mother of Mrs Elizabeth Davies and Mrs Sarah Wise.

⁸ Simmons is presumably John Simmons (cf. letter 123, n. 1), who had apparently been replaced as Mrs Acworth's medical attendant by George Conquest M.D. (1755?–1812) of Chatham (for whom cf. *Gentleman's Magazine*, lxxxii, ii, 302; also lxxvii, 888).

About a couple of months hence I might have an answer to this if there were any thing in it to be answer'd—How miserably all the threads of our correspondence are cut to pieces. I forget now what there was of Si: but I imagine nothing that is now very material.

L. seems to be falling off I think: his two or three last pamphlets having been thought lightly of as they deserved, he looks poorly—I fancy he has been meeting with mortifications—No Parliament—and others rivals to him on the same side have here been brought in—No matter—considering the slights I have met with from him I can't say but it would be some satisfaction to me to be able one of these days to look over his head. He would not then surely be barefaced enough to be attempting to come round again.

I am very glad I escaped Raspe as translator—such a fellow as he would have tried to squeeze me in all manner of ways.

Books of S.B.

- | | |
|---|--|
| { | Murray on the keeping of a Ships reckoning thin 4to. |
| | Priestly's explanation of his chart of history |
| | —do. of biography |
| | Nairne's /use/ description of Hadley's Quadrant— |
| | Use of the sector and plain scale 1746 |
| | Essay sur la Marine et le Commerce 1743— |
| | Kenrick on the perpetual motion— ⁹ |

The above are books of yours which I find here—Do you want any of them—It is in vain now to think of sending any thing to Petersburg by Sea—For ordinary matters we have nothing else to trust to but Hamburg. My book might go upon occasion ⟨by⟩ way of Vienna. Swede tells me th(ere) is a regular coach or carriage of some ⟨...⟩ or other goes from thence to Petersburg.

By the bye you might make enquiries about the stages etc. if there are any that come to you from any parts of Germany and let me know. Mind and answer this:

Raspe has been for some time at his shifts—He has a wife who upon expectations held out to her came over a little while ago, but for want of assets went back again. He came begging to me: but I speared him. Why should I have done otherwise: the acquaintance had never been of more than the most superficial kind—I had asked

⁹ Several of the books in this list have not been traced. For Priestley's Charts cf. letter 298, n. 5. William Kenrick (cf. letter 181, n. 2) published *A lecture on the Perpetual Motion* in 1771. The description of the reflecting quadrant invented in 1730 by John Hadley, F.R.S. (1682–1744) was presumably by Edward Nairne (cf. letter 149, n. 4), but no copy of this or of the remaining books listed has been found.

him repeatedly to lend me a book and he had taken no notice of it etc. etc.

378

TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

27 November–1 December 1780 (Aet 32)

Monday Nov. 27 1780

I can now tell you for certain that Schiller will translate *Introd.* at any rate; which I hope notwithstanding the pother you keep making about French will be no bad news to you. I believe I told you in my last (which was sent I think on Friday 17th inst. or the Tuesday before)² that he had written to the Booksellers, and that he thought it would be very extraordinary if neither of them accepted it. He was to have been with me on Thursday 16th or Saty. 18 to deliver me a Specimen which he wished to shew to Raigt³: or any friends of mine who understood the language: on the Saturday he sent an excuse: but the next monday (this day sen- night) he came. He said he had done three sheets, but had copied only what he brought me, which was a little more than one. I told you before I believe that I had given him a general notice of my plans for pushing it, looking upon him as a man to be relied upon, and considering that he was trusting so much to me.

I told him about presenting, though I did not talk to him about

378. ¹ B.M. III: 108–109. Autograph. Docketed: 'Decr. 1st 1780. I.B. to S.B.'

Addressed: 'Samuel Bentham Esqr. / at Mr Shairpe's / British Consul / Petersburg / Single Sheet.' Stamped: 'EI'.

Since writing letter 377 Bentham had received two letters from Samuel.

The first (B.M. III: 97) is dated 'Octr. 12 O.S. 1780'. Its cover bears the London postmark 'NO 20'. It consists largely in comments on letter 356, dealing with such topics as Franklin's method of seasoning timber, and False Progresses. He says that the Courland agency scheme is almost certainly at an end as a result of various political developments. He hopes to find posts here for Peake and Mosberry. Jeremy must not think of Kruse as a 'Philosophical man' or even as useful, but the agricultural information is of value to Samuel himself. Samuel still hopes Bentham will come out to Russia but does not 'build upon it'. The second letter (B.M. III: 96) (no cover) is dated 'Petersbourg 14th Octr. O.S. 1780'. He speaks of a number of topics raised in various letters from Bentham. He answers queries about the number of ships being built in Russia. Some Russians have sought advantage from their country's neutrality by sending merchant ships intended for very local use to England etc., but some have dropped to pieces,—'so that the insurance is higher upon them on account of the physical dangers of the sea than it is upon english ships notwithstanding the latter being exposed to the danger from the enemies.'

² Actually it was letter 375, written on 6 November.

³ Presumably Baron Ragersfeldt (cf. letter 372, n. 4).

the consequences; however he certainly thought of them, as we each of us cited examples of persons who had been or had been going, on that plan. I thought these things would be of great use as spurs, and I did not see how his having them in his head could do any harm: besides he promised secrecy, which indeed there does not seem to be any means of his violating were he so disposed: he is the obscurest of all obscure devils, and in particular he has no connections with any such quarters as you cautioned me against. If I had not been thus explicit to him, what inducement could I have given him to make haste, and to give it the preference to every thing else? or what motives would he have had to make a point of executing it as well as possible? The result is that whether from the mere liking he took to the thing, or from the prospects held out to him as above, he has taken it up just in the manner I cou'd wish. I then told him of my project of indemnifying a bookseller as a *pis-aller*; upon which you see he would have run no risk but would have had his pay at any rate letting him know at the same time that it would not suit me to be any thing in advance. What do you think was his answer? Why, that if he were a man of fortune, he would not think of staking the matter upon the event of a bookseller's acceptance of the proposal, but would print it at his own risk: as it was, it was too much for him to venture: however he would go halves with me in the risk with all his heart: that if neither proposal were accepted he would get it printed at Leipsic (750 Copies) that he would go halves with me in the risk, that I need not be in advance a penny, and that all that I should have to do should be to indemnify him at the end of a certain time /to the extent of/ against my half. It would be printed he said before the Easter fair: and it would be hard if we did not sell 350 copies out of our 750, at that fair, in which case there would be little or nothing for us to pay. This I think is a pretty good proof of two things; his generosity, and his affection for the work. He still talks of 4 or 5 sheets a week, notwithstanding the difficulty of it which I well know must be extreme. If he could produce no more than 4, still that would be rapid work. Suppose 52 sheets Preface included = 416 pages: that I believe would be about the mark that would be 13 weeks just 3 calendar months from we will say last monday Novr. 20th: at that rate it would be done here by Feb: 20. He thinks the printing will take 2 months. The plan then will be to send it at twice: the 1st half 6 weeks hence; so that when the last half gets to Leipsic there will be but one month's work to do. By a route which he mentioned, he says it will get thither in *two* days after the post. Say then that it

gets there at the end of 3 weeks from the 20 of Feby. that brings it to the 13th of March. Add the month; that brings it to the 13th of April by which time the printing is to be finished. Now my idea is to make Hamburg the entrepôt and from thence to get it sent to the four or perhaps five capital places where it is to go: viz: Sto: Pet: Ber. Vi: and perhaps Flo. If you approve of this, write to your friend at Hamburg⁴ without loss of time desiring a speedy answer; and let me know immediately in the first place when you have written, in the 2d. place when you have received an answer. I will take care you may be sure to send a copy of the English; and at the same time I may send copies of the Eng. for each of the Germ. I think they should go together; that any person who understands the origin: may see what justice has been done by the translatn. I shall probably *ex majori cautelâ* send what *you* are to have both ways: 2 or 3 copies the way above mentioned, and 2 or 3 more by way of Vienna if there turns out upon your enquiry to be a regular conveyance from thence to you: this I mentioned in my last. I will from time to time let you know of the progress that is made. Now things are come to this point there is some fun in it.

Consider how many copies you will want, and send me word.

‘Experimentg.’

Wedny. Nov. 29.

I had a cold and could not write yesterday: so I staid for another post.

‘Experimenting’ I have looked out⁵; and upon observing the contents I am vexed you did not take it with you: I can not think at present how it happen’d you did not. How to manage about sending it to you I know not: when your first letter about it reached me it was too late in the year to think of sending it all the way by sea. I must either send it to Hamburg to take it’s chance, or get it copied (and this is what I don’t know how to do) and send it by the post.

Potatoes

Then there is the remainder of ‘Potatoes’,⁶ it is a matter of 5 or 6 half sheets: that is 4to. sheets—for it is copied in a different manner from the former part. It was a good while before I could get the

⁴ Probably Charles Hanbury.

⁵ In his letter of 14 October O.S. (see n. 1 above) Samuel says he is still expecting his papers ‘Div.’ (i.e. Diving Scheme) and ‘Experimenting’.

⁶ See letter 358, n. 10. In his letter of 14 October O.S. (see n. 1 above). Samuel indicates that he has received a transcript of part of this paper by James Anderson. Perhaps Bentham had sent it with letter 360, 361, or 365.

remainder copied and then your excursion made me look upon all those things as thrown to a boundless distance.

Weights and Measures

I have looked that out also⁷—that might be got by close copying into I sheet. What to do about all these papers I know not—they are too much to load Sneyd with: and then for copying if I have Clark, I pay him 1 shilling an hour.

I shall begin to look out for a letter from your friend in reply to my answer to his first.⁸ I should like much to hear a little about him, how he is living and what it is he is doing: but that I suppose prudence renders impossible. I wish you would take his profile and send me: but let it come in a Letter which is not to be seen by Q.S.P. or could not you make him send it me himself.

A day or two I had a sanglier in the morning and who should it be but our shabby couz: of Woolwich.⁹ However he is a great man now, having been round the world on the last expedition: he was Capt's Clerk and Purser on board the smallest ship, and has made some little money by it. He was strongly recommended by his Capt (now dead) to the Pres. of the Roy. Soc.: of whose curiosities on board the ship he has had the charge: and who has in consequence promised him his interest with the great man in that line. He is just now gone from me. He has been drinking tea here, after dining with Q.S.P. The creature is a good deal improved since he has been ⟨...⟩ ⟨...⟩¹⁰ abroad, and from that circumstance is become worth talking with. Being a great chatterer he is vastly communicative, ⟨...⟩ unintelligent. He has told me a number ⟨...⟩ ⟨...⟩, some of which may be inter⟨esting⟩ to you where you are. These perhaps I may give you some account of, but if I do it shall be in a separate letter for obvious reasons.

Composing. Method of.¹¹

As to the plan of writing upon loose slips of paper which you ⟨magnify so much you seem not to recollect that ⟨it⟩ is the same I

⁷ Another paper by Anderson, on the establishment of weights and measures. In his letter of 12 October O.S. (see n. 1 above) Samuel asks for a manuscript copy, or if it has been published in the Proceedings of the Royal Society, for a copy of that. It does not in fact seem to have been published in the *Philosophical Transactions* (cf. letter 304 at n. 6.)

⁸ Presumably Pleshcheyev.

⁹ This was Bentham's second cousin, Gregory Bentham, son of Gregory Bentham of Sheerness who died between 1774 and 1778.

¹⁰ Two words crossed out, possibly by someone else.

¹¹ This is in reply to the following in the letter of 12 October O.S. (see n. 1 above);

set out with, and gave up several years ago from my experience of the inconvenience of it. If your slips of paper are not all of a size, a collection of them makes the greatest *Babel* imaginable: if they are, they will be either small or large: if small, one single subject will sometimes occupy a number of them. There is then the greatest plague imaginable in keeping them together and preventing their intermixing with the rest: if large, then if the article is small there is an immense quantity of room running to waste.

As to the being able to shuffle backwards and forwards, that is of little use when the articles are of any length; and as for confronting, upon my plan of loose sheets /folded/ doubled in the ordinary way I can confront any thing with any thing else, except just what is on one side of a leaf with what is on the other side of the same leaf.

The great use of confronting is when the articles are very short in the form of heads. Accordingly I have all my heads, as you have seen upon an open sheet ruled in columns. By this means I can shuffle and cut and confront and transpose at pleasure. In this concentrated <...>, articles generate one another most amazingly. While I am writing a chapter, <...> loose hints that I am afraid to lose go down immediately upon one of these open sheets <...> they are ruled in narrow columns not an inch <of> room is lost; so that the greatest possible quantity of matter presents itself at a view: and as fast as I have made use of any hint and rolled the <material> out into form, I draw a great gash through it: when all the hints of a sheet are thus made use of the sheet goes into the fire: or if a column or so remains not made use of, that column is pinned on to another sheet.

If you would have the grace to copy the marg. Contents of your

'With all your study of method in writing and arranging papers, the well known Dr or Professor Pallas has made me repent of having taken your advice in the method of writing *Inserenda*. He writes every thing on pieces /scraps/ of paper and on one side only. He has different boxes or pigeon holes for as many subdivisions of his subject as he finds commodious into which he flings each scrap as he writes it.

'Afterwards when he sets about methodizing and perfecting he can arrange and shuffle those scraps about as he pleases bringing any number of them to one view. An improvement upon this plan is in short nothing more than I practised with respect to some parts of my *Geometry*. I had paper ruled with a margin: wrote only on one side and when done that I wanted to arrange the matter I cut all pieces separate and shuffled them at pleasure. Now I have about 180 pages of *Inserenda* in which every thing is swallowed up and forgotten and cannot be brought to light without being copied which is a task that considering my want of time and natural indolence is almost impracticable hitherto indeed quite so.'

Anyone familiar with Bentham's manuscripts will recognize the method he recommends in preference to this of Samuel's as that which he commonly followed. He composed on double sheets, and has left behind many pages of marginalia placed in narrow columns.

inserenda in this manner, you would [not] find the multiplicity of them a nuisance as it is now: but I suppose you are too indolent to make marg. Contents, as well as to copy them out when made. If you could bring yourself to it, you would find the very operation of marginal contenting would set the articles a *generating*:—and so, good night.

Thursday morn.

I have just had a visit from an old fellow-colleagiate of mine, whom I don't know whether you ever remember hearing me speak of. His name is Cranmer¹²:—a parson: a very honest good sort of man but one who never had nor ever will have a single idea in his head. He called to renew the long-ago expired acquaintance (peace be to its manes!) to ask me to go and spend some time with him at his living which I fancy is not a great way from Q.S.P.'s farm at Harlow, etc., etc. Well, what is all this to you? Why, nothing at all: except that he has got a wife whose name was Yalden, and she came originally from Salisbury, and last from Winchester or *vice versa*, and she has a sister, and that sister is married to a harum-scarum ingenious sort of an artist a painter, whose name is Brompton,¹³ whom Offenbergh I believe used to go and see in the King's Bench—where he was in jail, and who has been taken out of jail by your people, who have sent for him over to paint, and he is patronized I understand by Sr. J. and so I suppose you see him now and then: and so I thought I would tell you so much of his history.

You will be expecting the Ship-building paper I promised to send you by my last: but it is impounded, and I cannot get it till my next.

Friday Decr. 1. 1780

This day (for the first time I believe) is advertized, and I have this instant bought, an account of the Prisons and Hospitals in Russia, Sweden and Denmark with occasional remarks on the different modes of punishments in those countries. By William Coxe, A.M. Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and Chaplain to

¹² Edward Cranmer: cf. letter 58, n. 1. The living Bentham refers to below was at Quendon in Essex.

¹³ Richard Brompton (d. 1782), a portrait painter. His best known portrait is that of the elder Pitt, a replica of which is in the National Portrait Gallery. He was sent to prison for debt, but on being appointed portrait painter to the Empress Catherine, he was released and went to St Petersburg where he died. Samuel Bentham describes him as 'a great scoundrel' in a letter dated 28 November O.S. and received by Jeremy around 31 January 1781 (B.M. III: 115–116).

his Grace the D. of Marlborough' p.p.55. large 8vo. small print.¹⁴ He lately published an account of the Russ. Discoveries between Asia and Armenia, the conquest of Siberia and the commerce between Russia and China 4to: and before that an 8vo. account of Switzerland. His subjects and materials are highly interesting: but he is but a so so writer. He pretends to have had conversations or correspondences with the E. herself on the subject. Learn what Sr. J. says of him and tell me what you hear of him.

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SAMUEL BENTHAM TO JEREMY BENTHAM¹

2 December 1780

...I have written to my father by this post.² I shall probably write to you again next post or the post after, and before long as a messenger will be dispatched from hence I hope to give you something which I had rather not write by the post.

¹⁴ William Coxe (1747–1828) was elected a fellow of King's College, Cambridge in 1768. Some years later he travelled through Switzerland and Russia as tutor to the Earl of Pembroke's son. On his return he published the three works Bentham mentions, that on *Switzerland* in 1779, on the *Russian Discoveries* in 1780, and *Account of the prisons and hospitals in Russia, Sweden and Denmark*, London, 1781. (Bentham's letter shows that it was in fact in late 1780). In 1804 he became Archdeacon of Wiltshire. Samuel comments in the letter mentioned in n. 13 that when in Russia Coxe was regarded as a great bore for 'his unconnected and frivolous questions'. 'It is from Pallas that he got his account of the discoveries here. He got the Empress' permission to examine all the old chronicles at Moscow.'

379. ¹ B.M. III: 112–114. Autograph. B.M. III: 112 is docketed: '1780 Dec 2 Nov 21 O.S. / S.B. Petersburg to I.B. Linc. Inn. Sheet 2d. Qu. [...?]' If Bentham's docket is correct, a page would seem to be missing.

Addressed: 'Jere:^y Bentham, Esq'. / Lincoln's Inn / London'. Postmark: 'DE 26'.

About 600 words which open the letter (as we have it) are here omitted. They concern the possibility of exporting Potash, Nitrous acid, tar and Cambius from Russia. He describes methods of making tar and cambius.

² This is letter B.M. III: 110 dated 21 November O.S. 1780. Samuel gives there the following account (rather more full than that below) of his acquaintance with Reginald Pole Carew: 'There is just arrived here a Mr Pole Carew of a Devonshire family a gentleman I believe of fortune, of a good deal of knowledge and seemingly of a very able disposition. He lodges in the same house and in the next rooms to mine. He has been from England about 5 years. He spent a good deal of that time at the Hague where I made his acquaintance at Sir Joseph Yorke's. He came here by the way of Denmark and Sweden: He is very intimate with Sir James Harris and is now making his rounds among the Nobility here. It is probable his acquaintance will be usefull to me in some way or other as he interests himself very much in *my pursuits* and has done since we met in the Hague. He has made a collection of several things in my way during his stay in Denmark and Sweden.'

St. Petersburg 21 Novr. O.S. 1780. Write to me often I beg and pray. Will Wilson never write me any more news. How and what does Lind do?

³You once had an idea of publishing something against the punishing of debtors by imprisonment (against imprisonment for debt). It would be short and sweet written in a popular style and be nearer on a level with the capacity of people in general than your greater works. Something of this kind would be exceedingly good to give people in general and especially such indolent and superficial people as are in this part of the world a high opinion of Code etc. You must not think that there are 5 people here nor one whose approbation would be of any importance much less that the Empress herself would read so great a work as those. If however they were to read such a little piece as this which I have mentioned and liked it they would procure Code or any other greater work put it in their study look at one page or two and praise it to the skies.

Debt is punished in the same way here and the mischievous effects of it are rendered still greater by the constant abuses in the mode of procedure. The debtor is arrested by an application of the Creditor to the Magistracy before the debt is proved. If I do not give you myself an account of the policy here my friend Porter⁴ will give it you when you become acquainted. He is not yet got to England there were letters from him today from Amsterdam.

Yes believe me I was really in earnest in what I wrote to you to the disadvantage of this country and of its not being likely for you to do any thing in it. It is not however impossible but what if you chose it you might be employed in an honorable and advantageous manner, but it must be much more by intriguing than by mere merit. You would neither be able nor inclined to pursue this intriguing for any length of time. A man disposed to do his duty would not be supported here in any character whatever. 'Tis true that in the drawing up of general laws before they come to be put in practice you might not meet with such difficulties: but I very much hope that you will not entertain any idea of being employed in any way in the execution of them. You still write to me about translation into German. I am sure it would be much better received and much more likely to be read in french.

I have this instant rec^ded yours of the 6th of Novr. I dined to day

³ B.M. III: 113 begins here. It is docketed: '1780 Dec 2 / 21 Nov O.S. / S.B. Petersburg to I.B. Linc. Inn / [. . ?]. Code. Princess. Sheet 3'.

⁴ See letter 376.

at Shairpe's through whose hands I received it. must I confess to you that I more feared the pain which the contents might occasion me than that I could promise myself much pleasure from it? Though I got it a few minutes before we sat down to table I did not open it as I should formerly have done but thought it better to wait till I had had a glass or two of wine and worked myself up into a kind of resolution to be in some degree indifferent about whatever news it might bring me. Constrained in my writing, vexed at the miscarriage of my letters and at some of yours having being opened, mortified at the light I seemed to stand in in your opinion our correspondence seemed to have lost its sweets. The task of setting about to exculpate myself from my having done it over and over so often in idea and from my having entirely forgotten any thing which I had really written on that subject became more and more irksome to me and had made me put off post after post for these 8 weeks past the writing to you at all. Now however that I have read your letter though it not very rich in news yet the expressions of affection in it have made me as it were a new man. I never felt so much pleasure from or ever stood so much in need of affectionate expressions from you. What you tell me about your acquaintance with the Sister of Mr. Pole Carew was more interesting to me than you imagined it would be as that gentleman is arrived here about a week or ten days and is just come now to lodge in the next rooms to mine, we are becoming very *thick*, and I promise myself some how or other some advantage from his acquaintance—Cultivate you at the same time that of his sister. More about in another letter or perhaps in another part of this.

I rejoice at the good train your german translation is in, but cannot help wishing very anxiously that it could be in french.

Must I tell you that for the space of 3 weeks or thereabouts a woman occupied almost my whole attention? A Princess [of] one of the first houses in Moscow and a relation of my friends took it into her head notwithstanding all my awkwardnesses to fall terribly in love with me. She came here on some business without her husband and it was not till by dint of very warm letters from him and all possible excuses at an end that she could prevail on herself to set off from hence on her return. She is on the other side of 30 of a stately deportment but with an extraordinary degree of delicacy. I must of course be every day in her company. She could not keep from shewing me that very great partiality before her relations that made her very much criticized by them. She has been gone a fortnight. You may imagine I was in love with her of course.

The recollection will always be very flattering and a recital will one day with(out doubt) I hope entertain you not a little.

⁵Send me any books or intelligence about the construction of chimnies, and in general the warming of houses. Though artificial warmth is so necessary here and fuel so very dear yet the heat is terribly wasted. The theory however of these matters I am pretty well acquainted with send me therefore an account only of any new inventions there may chance to be on this subject. The Swedish stoves appear to be the best.

I am sure you must deserve a scolding. You must have received two or three letters in which I have beg'd you to send by the most expeditious method 'Div:' and 'Experimenting' which were both left with you to be *cooked up*. Send it by way of Frazer and direct to Sir James Harris or rather under a cover to him and it will cost me nothing. I have told you long ago of his having given me this permission: do pray make use of it. I now again wish to hear from you every post but in any other manner that would cost too much money.

Yes I do believe that something may be done with my hospitable friend⁶ without even any capital at all. Where men who can work with an ax are to be had for the expence of 40 shilling enlish a year and wood for nothing at all Shipbuilding and mechanical exper-
(iments) may certainly be tried cheap enough. The man has a monstrous (desire to see) some english manufactories established on his estates, he would give to the peo(ple who would) come for that purpose land enough to furnish themselves with all necessaries such as corn fodure for cattle etc. Wood to build with and burn. He would build them also a Church and would let them govern themselves by their own laws and insure the continuance of these priviledges after his death, and all this for the satisfaction of having such people without any profit to himself except what would arise from his towns being more frequented on account of the sale of the products of the manufactories. All this however is not my affair; if he will pay the Salaries to one two or three such people as Mosberry and let me have the employing them and divide the profits from our works between himself and me I am then his man.

In that case I think I should try a good parcel of experiments and get some pretty pickings. A few oil mills the making of a few hundred Masts the building Vessels for the black sea trade etc.

⁵ B.M. III: 114 begins here. It is docketed: '1780 Dec 2 / 21 Nov. O.S. / S.B. Petersburg to I.B. Linc. Inn / [...?]. Code. Princess. Sheet 3.'

⁶ Count Chodkiewicz (see letter 375, n. 11).

would not fail to yield something considerable. Matters however are not yet determined here and I must think of what is at present in hand.

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JEREMY BENTHAM
TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

26 December 1780 (Aet 32)

Tuesday Decr. 26 1780 ½ after 7 in the evēng.

I was going to write to night at all events: but now I find a letter of your's on my table: dated Novr. 21 O.S. = 2d. Decr.: that and a dish of Tea dispatched, and I resume the pen. It was to tell you about the forwardness of transl. Introd.

Well now I have read it; but I wish the Devil had flown away with it instead of the Postman's bringing it here. If it be true that there is so little chance of doing anything there, it would have been much better for me not to have known it till after my affair is finished. I shan't be able now to write a letter worth a farthing. By the bye I must now tell you, since I have never told you yet, that when you supposed me to have number'd the paragraphs in my rough draught in the same manner as those seem to have been in the copy which I sent you, you did me too much honour: for want of which your criticisms could not be perfectly understood. To supply that omission send me therefore the two first words of each paragraph along with the number of it. This you must do without loss of time as you will see by the sequel.

It is a monstrous plague to me your driving it into my head with a fresh mallet every post that it must must must be in French; when it can't can't can't be in French, and so there's an end of it. You might as well tell me it must be in Turkish. There's not a creature I could get to translate it; and as for doing it myself, were I to attempt such a thing it would take me up at least half a year, a task which I would not undertake for any thing less than the certainty of that appointment which you tell me I have so feeble a chance of.

380. ¹ B.M. III: 117–118. In hands of Bentham and Wilson. First part by Bentham. Docketed: 'Decr. 27 1780 / I.B. to S.B.'

Addressed: 'Sam: Bentham Esqr. / at / Mr Shairpe's / British Consul / St Petersburg.'

As to Imprt. for Debt (not *Dept* as you always write it) I may possibly kick up a thing of that sort in French when I have done *Introd.*² If so I would send it in Ms. for you to get printed there: it should amount to about 50 or 60 pages. But what a cursed penance it is for me to go to work blindfold to work according to orders of your worship's upon presumption of your infallibility without any data to judge from or knowing a syllable about the *why* or the *wherefore*, and all to no purpose for it won't be either to your mind or to their mind when all is done. The object I am to have in view is to accommodate it to the taste of people there: and all that I am informed about them is that they are incapable of reading anything or distinguishing good from bad. In the midst of all these disheartening circumstances it is some comfort that the bigotted old woman is dead³: that seems to give us another string to our bow: It will be very odd if a body's own language should not be endurable: however if we can't get what we want, we may possibly get something to keep body and soul together.

Well now about transl. *Introd.* No answer comes from any bookseller: and so there is nothing left for it but to publish it at our own risk. I cannot find time to tell you of all the projects that have past in review: that which is determined upon is as follows. S. is a native of the Dutchy of Wurtemberg: he has a little estate there he says of about £22 a year. At Stutgard, the capital, there are several booksellers Printers: the principal one employs 7 presses. Him S. writes to by this very post, from minutes agreed upon between us: giving him orders to print the work at our expence. It is to be in 4to Roman type: No. of copies 750: 30 or 40 copies upon large and fine paper for presents: I added, as thin as it could be so as to be fine: this in order to frighten people as little as possible with the bulk. The inducement for preferring Stutgard to Leipsic is that at Stutgard Sch. has relations: amongst others one of the same name who is a Capt: in the D's service and having printed something himself is acquainted with typographical matters. He is to be a check upon the printer, and is to take the charge of dispatching the copies to the several places they are to be sent to.

The book being divisible into two parts the 1st ending at Ch. 12

² This project was not carried out, although there is MS. material on imprisonment for debt in U.C. cXL. 53–59, and material on insolvency in Boxes LXX, LXXI and LXXIII of the University College collection. Bentham discussed the subject in several works. An article on Imprisonment for Debt is given as Appendix B to *An Introductory View of the Rationale of Evidence* (Bowring, vi, 176–83). Cf. also letter 248 at n. 9.

³ The Empress Maria Theresa had died in Vienna at the end of November.

p. 168. both are to be begun at the same time. He has already translated 168 pages, which I believe is the 1st part, though he has not yet revised and transcribed the whole. His transcript is as legible as print. In a fortnight's time from last Sunday he is to have got ready for sending not only 10 sheets of the first part, but the same number of the 2d. which he had not then begun: and yet if he is to be believed there is not a page that he sends but what in the original and transl. together has gone through his hands 15 or 16 times. It is to be sent at three times: twenty more sheets in a fortnight after that: and in a fortnight more, if the original be done so soon (which perhaps it may not be) the rest. With the last packet I shall send such of the English as are to go along with the translation. S. knows all the means of conveying, and has been concerned in sending things to the same sort of people before now. We have not yet settled at what rate he is to be pd. for the Transln. but whatever it is, he consented upon the first proposal to wait a twelvemonth for. It was his own proposal to let a part of the payment depend upon the event of a present; and to be in proportion to the present: so that he has given himself the strongest motive imaginable for doing it well. It was his own proposal to take a third share in the whole: I suppose were I to make a point of it, I could make him take half. Within a twelvemonth there will have been 3 Leipsic book-fairs: so that it will be hard if in that time enough be not sold to bear expences.

I must not acknowledge at Q.S.P. the receipt of your last. You are always making sure of Mosberry and Peake. From Peake's situation, and from what Mosberry has said to me, I should not think your chance worth a straw. He declined going to Courl. on account of the cold.

Copper Sheathing⁴

Davies has lately seen the bolts taken out of the Perseus which was sheathed 5 or 6 years ago—The heads of the bolts have been covered with oakum and canvass, and were when taken out perfectly fresh, as were the bolts themselves for two or three inches from the head: but farther in they were corroded: so much so that bolts an inch thick were reduced to the size of a quill.

Davies has great doubts about the success of the new Varnish, but I dont know his reasons—

⁴ The following is in Wilson's hand.

Rudders

The Royal George, Namur, Ocean and Union lost their Rudders last October at Anchor in Torbay in a gale of Wind—They were hung with the patent Metal which it should seem is not so strong as Iron—Neither Dick nor Davies knew whether the Hooks were thicker than the Iron ones, nor whether the patent metal means Keir's metal.

Dick, who was Secretary to Gambier in America, says that 3 of their coppered frigates came into N. York at once without their Rudders, which had been hung with Iron—one of them, Davies said, had had her Rudder new hung only a year before—

Sailing

Dick was secretary to ⟨...⟩ ⟨...⟩ ⟨...⟩ last summer—The fleet was 36 Ships ⟨...⟩ ⟨...⟩ ⟨...⟩. They all went well, even the Princess ⟨...⟩ and Buffalo and so equally that after a 12 hours chase they were all to be found within two miles—The Edgar went to Gibraltar last Winter with Rodney and outsailed all the fleet—In her return she was said to go 13 or 14 Knots—Last Summer, with the same Masts, bottom, officers and men she was become one of the worst Sailers in the fleet—Capt. Elliot tried all possible experiments and altered the stowage over and over but to no purpose.⁵ The Duke is now one of the best sailers among the three Deckers and the Formidable the worst—The finest ship in the fleet, both for sailing and carrying her guns, was the Canada—But the favourite 74 of the whole Navy is, would you have thought it, the Arrogant, which was at sea in Octr. and Novr. last year, and is to come out of Dock in the Spring with a slight repair—

⁶W. since writing the above has been spending a week at Brompton—All parties vastly pleased with each other. Betsy D. he says is grown a very fine and amiable girl.

John Hunter is a Lieutt. on board the Berwick⁷ and came home the other day in that ship which had been dismasted near Bermuda—The Squadron consisting of 8 sail brought to in the evening the wind blowing very hard at South East—In the night it shifted to the North west and blew as hard as before. Next Morning only the Hector Ruby and Bristol were to be seen from ye. Berwick, all

⁵ The *Edgar* (74) was commanded by Captain John Elliot (1732–1808), later Governor of Newfoundland and Admiral, M.P. for Cockermouth 1767–68.

⁶ This paragraph is in Bentham's hand.

⁷ Cf. letter 372 at n. 21.

dismasted, and with difficulty freeing themselves from the Water which came in above, their bottoms being tight. Capt. Stewart⁸ would have brought them all to England, but it was not thought safe and they went for Jamaica. The Grafton, Albion, Thunderer and Trident it is supposed put before the Wind when it shifted. Hunter describes the Storm to have been one of the most Violent that ever was known—After the topmast, shrouds and yard were gone from the Berwick's main mast the wind tore off the Cap, and such was the noise of the storm that when the mast itself some time after broke near the deck, Hunter who was standing within a few feet of it did not hear the crash. The Berwick however requires little repair and will be at sea again presently. She came home under her Tiny Masts nearly as soon as the Jamaica fleet, which the Squadron had been escorting part of the way and had left a few days before.

The Berwick carried out on one of Arnold's <watches>⁹ which Arnold told them was gaining 28 seconds a day and that they must make that allowance if they would not give him time to regulate it—The Ship lay some time in Torbay and Hunter by a number of observations found that it gained exactly 28 seconds a day whatever was the temperature. They accordingly made that allowance and the watch told them the longitude with the greatest exactness—At last, I think between the Leeward Islands and Jamaica it stopped—The stopping appears now to have been owing to the stop getting in among the Works, to be sure of preventing which another time they propose to do without a stop.

All this I had through the medium of Davies, not having seen Hunter myself—

¹⁰You take no notice in yours of Novr. 21 O.S. of your friend's having rec'd that letter which I mentioned to have written him in Octr.¹¹ It was directed to him a present ou ci-devant Cap. de Vaisseau dans le service etc. Petersbourg Xtian name as well as surname.

Experimenting and Div. I will endeavour to send as you mention by next post: but there is a vast deal of it to send by that conveyance. I have got the Shipbuilding leaf from the Review. I wish

⁸ Captain the Hon. Keith Stewart (1739–95), later Vice-Admiral, was in command of the *Berwick*. He was the second surviving son of the sixth Earl of Galloway and at this time M.P. for Wigtownshire.

⁹ The chronometers manufactured by John Arnold (1736?–99) were an improved version of the invention of Harrison.

¹⁰ The rest of the letter is in Bentham's hand.

¹¹ Pleshcheyev: see letter 375, n. 3.

you would be pleased to write upon whole sheets instead of sending me three scraps which by a favourable construction were charged only 2s. instead of 3s. I shall write again very soon. I have not yet seen your Q.S.Pian letter.¹² He mentioned nothing of it at 6 this afternoon at which time we parted after dinner.

You do not say whether you got the letter which was sent to Constantinople and which I suppose was that which contained *Bibl. Navalis*.

Neither do you mention the having rec^{vd} one from Thorpe¹³ which contained by Q.S.Pian order a recapitulation of the jobations. Decr. 26 ½ after 11.

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TO SAMUEL BENTHAM¹

29 December 1780 (Aet 32)

Decr. 29th 1780

I wrote by last post giving an account of the forwardness of the translation of *Introd*: and of the agreement that had been enter'd

¹² See letter 379, n. 2.

¹³ For the Constantinople letter see letter 376, n. 1. The letter from Thorpe is letter 372.

381. ¹ B.M. III: 119. Autograph. Docketed: 'I.B. Decr. 29 1780.'

Addressed: 'Samuel Bentham Esqre. / Petersburg.'

Included with this letter were several pages of Samuel's manuscript writings on naval engineering. The letter was doubtless sent under cover to Sir James Harris as Samuel requests in letter 379.

By this time as much of the *Introduction* was printed in English as ever was to be printed in Bentham's lifetime, apart from the passage added at the end in 1789. But from Bentham's point of view printing had not yet finished for he still hoped to complete the book with some of the material which finally made up *The Limits of Jurisprudence Defined* published by Everett in 1945. Also he had things well under way (as we see from this and the previous letter) for having it published in a German translation. Bentham presumably let this project peter out along with that of publication in England, unable to bring the work to a conclusion which satisfied him. There is not, it seems, anything in the correspondence for 1781 (very sparse until the summer) to show us how things were broken off with Schiller.

The German translation was largely for the benefit of Catherine II. The letters in this volume make it abundantly clear that Bentham hoped to present the work to her, and let her approval gain it widespread attention. Her correspondence with Voltaire and above all her *Instructions* of 1767 gave reasonable ground for these hopes. So Bentham's procrastinations may partly have arisen from his waiting till Samuel's career in Russia reached the point most favourable for securing the Empress's attention. Samuel finally entered the Russian service in 1783 with the rank of

into for printing it at Stutgard in Germany at our own risks. I might have added that as the two parts are to be printed together he reckons but a fortnight printing the last 20 sheets: and upon the whole he expected that it would be finished and ready for sending in little more than 3 months from Sunday last: so that in about 4 months you may look for it at Petersburg.

This day's post will bring advice of the death of Mr. Harris M.P. for Christchurch Hants and Father of Sr. J: I am sorry for it. You know he was author of *Hermes*²; from which I have derived considerable instruction. I was in hopes we might have become acquainted.

⟨...⟩ ⟨...⟩ ⟨...⟩ ⟨...⟩ ⟨...⟩ ⟨...⟩ on the Phil. Trans. ⟨...⟩ ⟨...⟩
 ⟨...⟩⟨...⟩⟨...⟩⟨...⟩⟨...⟩ Shipbuilding Anecdotes.

W. I hope they may not have proved a means of its miscarrying.³

Remember Q.S.P.s certificate that he is to receive the Tontine by. He mentioned it (to me) himself. He is to give me that which he has on my life: that, and the Malt-house being let will leave but £14 a year that I shall have to fight him for.⁴

You have not told me yet whether Peake's father paid you for Harrison the Taylor's bill?

Sr. Ch: Douglas's method of splicing a yard that is almost broke in two, without shortening it The Yard broke 

He splits it longitudinally and replaces the shorter halves parallel to the longer on the same side 

This he deliver'd this last cruise of Darby's to all the Captains assembled, who upon its being proposed to them as a problem to solve, all gave it up. I had it from Mac Neill a friend of Wilson's who is just come from the fleet.⁵

lieutenant-colonel. Bentham himself travelled out to Russia in 1785 where he stayed about two years. We may take it that the hopes he had pinned on Catherine there suffered some decline. One must remember also that for Bentham the *Introduction* really was only that, the *Penal Code* itself which was to follow being the main thing, and the date by which this could be completed must for ever have been receding.

When the *Introduction* was finally published in 1789 (only 128 copies being for sale, the remainder having been destroyed by damp rot) his hopes that it would speedily be followed by a complete code were presumably small, and the original intention to present it to all the main sovereigns had lapsed.

² Cf. letter 127, n. 3. Harris had been M.P. for Christchurch since 1761.

³ Bentham is recording a remark just made to him by Wilson.

⁴ Presumably Jeremiah Bentham was trying to put the financial position of his sons on a more settled basis. Cf. letter 361, n. 2. For the Malthouse see letter 138, n. 8.

⁵ For Sir Charles Douglas cf. letter 261, n. 4; for Vice-Admiral Darby cf. letter 359, n. 3; MacNeill is unidentified.

These *Experimentings* and *Div.* are an enormous load to send through such a channel. I keep out a part of *Conduct* to have it copied.

I send 7½ sheets. I reserve 3½ till next post.

382

TO CHARLES HANBURY¹

1780 or 1781

I have to beg of you Sir is (that you would be kind enough) to put it into the hands of any bookseller at Hamburgh or elsewhere whom either from your own knowledge or from the report of any acquaintance of yours you have reason to look upon as a man to be depended on. Mr | | of Hamburgh has been mentioned to me for that purpose. It will be necessary that somebody should be answerable to the Bookseller for the expence of printing etc. in the event of its not being reimbursed by the sale: that is another favour Sir, I have to beg of you. Mr Grill whom I saw on Thursday will give /or by this time has given/ you the assurances requisite for your security. As I have already been at considerable advance about the translation it would be most convenient to me to settle with the Bookseller at the end of a year from the publication which I understand to be the custom in Germany as well as here; besides that if the bookseller were paid ready money for the expences, it might perhaps not be so easy to get him to account afterwards for the profits: if this should not be obtainable, he might at least I suppose be entrusted with half at the end of the first half year and the remainder at the end of the next especially as it is not quite

382. ¹ U.C. CLXIX. 120. Autograph brouillon. Said to have been in folder marked: 'Legislaturientes epistolae, Brouillons unsent, 1774? to 1784?'

It is evidently the latter part of a letter. The second side commencing 'expences, it might perhaps not...' is headed 'To Mr C. Hanbury—Hamburgh' and is numbered as page 4. It is most unlikely that this letter to Charles Hanbury was ever sent. It seems intended to accompany a MS. translation into German of the *Introduction*, with a view to Hanbury's finding a bookseller in Hamburgh prepared to have it printed and published, and is presumably connected with the project of making Hamburg the 'entrepôt' for the book (cf. letter 378 at n. 4). The fact that Bentham talks of 'Thursday' suggests that this was intended for transmission soon after composition, and was not an instance of sheer castle building. If so, the translation must have existed in bulk by then, and a date in 1781 may be indicated. It is strange that this German translation has apparently vanished without trace.

certain whether copy is to be supplied early enough for more than one volume out of the two to be published at the next Leipzig fair. At any rate a condition sine quâ non should be his publishing the first part at that time. The copy to be printed I herewith enclose; together with /a paper of/ instructions for the Bookseller.

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The first five volumes of *The Correspondence of Jeremy Bentham* contain over 1,300 letters written both to and from Bentham over a 50-year period, beginning in 1752 (aged three) with his earliest surviving letter to his grandmother, and ending in 1797 with correspondence concerning his attempts to set up a national scheme for the provision of poor relief. Against the background of the debates on the American Revolution of 1776 and the French Revolution of 1789, to which he made significant contributions, Bentham worked first on producing a complete penal code, which involved him in detailed explorations of fundamental legal ideas, and then on his panopticon prison scheme. Despite developing a host of original and ground-breaking ideas, contained in a mass of manuscripts, he published little during these years, and remained, at the close of this period, a relatively obscure individual. Nevertheless, these volumes reveal how the foundations were laid for the remarkable rise of Benthamite utilitarianism in the early nineteenth century.

Bentham's correspondence reveals that in the late 1770s he was working intensively on developing a code of penal law, but also expanding his acquaintance and, to a moderate degree, enhancing his reputation as a legal thinker. A significant family event took place in 1779 when his brother Samuel went to Russia in order to make his fortune.

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