

APPENDIX G.*

[002_001] [15 April 1818]

ANNUITY NOTES

PROPOSED ADVERTISEMENT ON PROPOSED PUBLICATION IN
PAMPHLETER¹ (15 APRIL 1818)

It was in the year 1800, soon after the accession of M^r Addington upon [the] close of the first reign of Pitt the second, that the ensuing plan for a supposed improvement in the currency, was submitted by me to the constituted authorities.² More immediately, it was addressed to M^r Vansittart, at that time, in conjunction with M^r Hiley Addington,³ one of

* [Editor's Note: This Appendix was written seventeen years after the latest of the other works in the present volume, and is placed here on the ground of its very close thematic relation to Appendix F. All but one of the text sheets are dated 15 April 1818, and constitute the draft of an advertisement for the proposed publication of either 'Abstract or Compressed View of a Tract intituled *Circulating Annuities*', or, conceivably, the detached 'Thoughts on the means of preventing Forgery in the case of Paper money, particularly Bank-of-England Notes', reproduced in the present volume as Appendix F, in *The Pamphleteer*.]

¹ This Appendix reproduces an advertisement drafted by Bentham on 15 April 1818, when he apparently considered publishing either his 'Abstract' of 'Circulating Annuities', or perhaps, 'Thoughts on preventing Forgery' in *The Pamphleteer*. In 1816, Bentham had been approached by Abraham John Valpy (1787–1854), classical scholar and printer, editor of *The Pamphleteer* 1813–28, with a view to publishing *Defence of Usury* in the journal: see *Writings on Political Economy: I (CW)*, 'Editorial Introduction', p. 1. In 1817, two of Bentham's essays, namely 'Defence of Economy against the late Mr. Burke' and 'Defence of Economy against the Right. Hon. George Rose', had been published in the journal: see *The Pamphleteer*, vol. ix, no. xvii (1817), 3–47, and *ibid.*, vol. x, no. xx (1817), 281–332 (*Official Aptitude Maximized; Expense Minimized*, ed. P. Schofield, Oxford, 1993 (CW), pp. 39–94 and 95–155). In the event, no such publication took place.

² Bentham has misrecalled the detail of events. William Pitt only resigned as leader of the administration on 3 February 1801, although the temporary insanity of George III prevented his replacement by Henry Addington until 14 March 1801. In addition, Bentham had in fact submitted his plan to 'the constituted authorities' some time before the end of 1800, when he sent the partial proofs of 'Abstract or Compressed View of a Tract intituled *Circulating Annuities*' to George Rose, then Secretary to the Treasury, via Evan Nepean. See Rose to Bentham, 5 January 1801, *Correspondence (CW)*, vi. 374: 'Mr Nepean put into my Hands some time ago the Proofs of some M.S. Notes of your intended Publication which I really had not Leisure to look at while I was in Town'.

³ John Hiley Addington (1759–1818), Secretary to the Treasury 1801–2, Paymaster of the Forces 1803–4, Under-Secretary of State for Home Affairs 1812–18.

the Secretaries of the Treasury.⁴ The notice taken of it was prompt. A business of another kind had brought me for a few minutes, and, if I misrecollect not, without any application on my part, into the official chamber and presence of M^r Vansittart, the now Right Honourable Gentleman.⁵

After the receipt of the printed papers, (for greater facility of perusal the first and most essential parts of the plan had been passed through the press, constituting, besides the two Tables that will be seen, three sheets of letter press) not many days, I believe, had elapsed when, in pursuance to appointment I repaired to his Official Chamber, and found with him another Official Gentleman of subordinate rank, to whose department a plan of the sort in question was regarded as more particularly belonging.⁶

[002_002] [15 April 1818]

Some discussion ensued. Nothing could exceed the good humour with which on all sides it was accompanied. For the renewal of it, another day, and that a short one, was appointed. On my arrival, I was told, and in a tone and manner which from my unhappy experience in that quarter I knew could not have originated in the Messenger himself, that M^r Vansittart could not see me: no expression of regret accompanied the information, no intimation that at any succeeding time I might hope to be more fortunate.⁷ Of a letter in

⁴ Bentham sent two copies of the partial proofs of ‘Abstract or Compressed View of a Tract intituled *Circulating Annuities*’ to Vansittart on 20 April 1801: see *Correspondence (CW)*, vi. 387–90.

⁵ No record of the encounter mentioned by Bentham survives. Vansittart’s response to Bentham’s initial letter is missing, but Bentham replied in turn on c. 22 April 1801 seeking written comments, which Vansittart supplied in brief on 23 April: see *Correspondence (CW)*, vi. 392–4. Vansittart was appointed to the Privy Council when he became Secretary for Ireland in January 1805.

⁶ According to Bentham’s recollection on 23 August 1802, Bentham had not met Vansittart before 9 July 1801: see ‘A Picture of the Treasury under the Administration of the Rt. Hon. W. Pitt and the Rt. Hon. H. Addington with a Sketch of the Secretary of State’s Office under the reign of the Duke of Portland’, UC cxxi. 333. The other Official Gentleman has not been identified, but may have been Hiley Addington, although Addington was in fact Vansittart’s superior as Senior Secretary to the Treasury.

⁷ Bentham appears to have misrecollected the detail of events. On 27 August 1802 Bentham noted at UC cxvi. 393, on a copy of a letter of 6 July 1801 to Hiley Addington in connection with the panopticon, which he included in ‘A Picture of the Treasury’: ‘No answer. But, Mr. Vansittart having on Tuesday the 7th written to me a spontaneous note, appointing me to call on him (M^r Vansittart) at his chamber in the Treasury on other business on Thursday the 9th at half past 10, on that day, after waiting several hours after he knew of my arrival, I was shewn in to M^r Hiley Addington, with whom I found M^r Long who had been an hour and a half with him in close conference’. Charles Long (1760–1838), first Baron Farnborough from 1826, junior Secretary to the Treasury 1791–1801, Lord of the Treasury 1804–6, Paymaster-General 1807–26.

which these circumstances were brought to view no notice in any shape was then or has ever since been taken.⁸ The original urbanity was ascribed by me, of course, to the character of the individual: for the source of the final inurbanity which formed so striking a contrast with it, long and disastrous experience soon pointed out to me the source. It lay in those exalted regions which are so constantly and so prudently wrapt in clouds.⁹ It will be manifest enough on reflection that by a person in the Right Honourable Gentleman's situation, a less exceptionable course could not have been taken than that which was thus adopted: at no higher expence than that of the minor and common place virtue of urbanity, the higher and rarer virtue of sincerity was saved from violation.

[002_003] [15 April 1818]

The expence incurred in printing had already amounted to between £30 and £40. By myself no such petty object had been brought to view so much as hinted at: by a spontaneous offer, a proposal was made to exonerate me from it.¹⁰ The kindness which could not but have dictated such an offer produced correspondent thankfulness. But even without other motives, economy would have sufficed to produce the refusal which ensued.

[002_004] [15 April 1818]

Aware of the manner in which, to a degree beyond my powers of estimation, the scheme could not but be prejudicial to the interests of the Bank of England,¹¹ never had the ultimate adoption of the scheme presented itself to me as standing in the scale of probability much above the point of hopelessness. Not so much as one guinea would I have given to receive a hundred in case of success. But in comparison of the advantage in that event which presented itself to my eyes, the offering I cast, as above, into the Treasury was

⁸ No such letter has been identified.

⁹ Bentham had in mind his conviction that the panopticon penitentiary had been the victim of political hostility at the highest levels of government: for further details see J. Semple, *Bentham's Prison: A Study of the Panopticon Penitentiary*, Oxford, 1993, esp. pp. 218–53.

¹⁰ In his letter of 20 April 1801 Bentham had mentioned the expense of printing the partial proofs of 'Abstract or Compressed View of a Tract intituled *Circulating Annuities*', but assured Vansittart that 'there is no trouble on the occasion of this business that I would not gladly take upon me, nor any pecuniary indemnification—not to speak of remuneration—that I would accept for it': see *Correspondence (CW)*, vi. 390.

¹¹ See 'Abstract or Compressed View of a Tract intituled *Circulating Annuities*', Ch. XIII, pp. 000–000 above and Appendices A, B, and C, pp. 000–000 and 000–000 above. [To UC ii. 262–5; UC i. 460–9, 447–59, 479–83; UC i. 503–4; UC i. 38–42]

but a mite!

Supposing the establishment of this currency, what use or demand there could be for Bank paper I neither saw, nor found any reason for being anxious to enquire.

But the particular interest of that corporation is, in a way which is not now a secret to any body, subservient to the most insatiable of all lusts, the lust of power, and in that way inseparably linked and interwoven not only with the sinister interest of every[?] administration, but thence with every the minutest fibre of the sinister interest of the ruling few.

To have supposed the Bank would leave any imaginable stone unturned that could present a possibility of crushing it would have been among the most unpardonable of all weaknesses.¹²

[002_005]

Among the advantages that might have been attendant on the proposed plan one is the saving of no inconsiderable proportion of the number of crimes of which Bank of England paper, as hitherto framed, has been the source, of crimes together with the retaliation of which, in the seat of power and impunity, they are productive.

To no new currency could have been refused those means of security against forgery which, to their own paper, the Gentlemen in the Bank Direction, amidst groans and hopes and denunciations and exposures,¹³ have with such imperturbable tenacity[?] persevered in

¹² Above the following paragraph Bentham has noted: ‘Fees[?] of Bank a[?] value[?] that Solicitors convert into Salary. *Conceditur* cupidity not the only spring of action: love of ease is another, paradoxical as it may seem.

‘Corporation within corporation: body within body.’

¹³ The government’s suspension of cash payments in 1797, and the Bank of England’s consequent decision to issue £1 and £2 notes, led to a dramatic and unanticipated rise in forgery. Prosecutions for forgery or uttering forged Bank of England notes rose from negligible figures in the 15 years to 1797 to 12 in 1798, and eventually 142 in 1817; while capital convictions likewise rose from 11 in 1798 to 32 in 1817: see *Commons Sessional Papers* (1818) xvi. 161. The Forgery of Bank Notes Act of 1801 (41 Geo. III, c. 39) introduced lesser non-capital charges of possession of forged notes or of the instruments to forge them, but the number of executions continued to rise. The years 1816–18 saw the issue become one of considerable debate, and the Bank of England was criticized for not having made its notes more difficult to imitate. On 8 April 1818, General William Thornton (1763–1841), MP for New Woodstock 1812–13, 1814–18, declared himself ‘well convinced, that .^.^ means might be devised of rendering forgery, if not impossible, at least extremely

refusing, and as far as appears by a law borrowed from the Medes and Persians, determined for ever to refuse.¹⁴

Of that steadfastness, the cause lies not at any great depth beneath the surface of the case. Retaining the subject of the crime without paying for it. By so simple an expedient as that of depriving other men of their property, keeping the subject of the crime without paying for it, whatsoever be the loss by the forgery they thus shift it off from themselves. So far from loss, actual gain, it will on a nearer inspection be seen, is actually the result.

In every body of which men are the members, the most concentrated will in the ordinary course of things dissolve and swallow up the more dilute. The interest of the few prevails over the interest of the many, the interest of the one over the interest of the few. In the other vast overgrown Monopoly, [the] East India Monopoly, the millions of subjects abroad are pressed upon by the thousands of proprietors, the thousands of proprietors by the confederacy of Ship[?]-Owners, Directors, and controuling Ministers.

[002_006] [15 April 1818]

The Solicitor to the Bank is to me the name of a species, not of an individual. Of the individual I know absolutely nothing: I know nothing of his character—I know not so much as his name—I have not the least need of any such knowledge.¹⁵ What I do know is his situation, and the sources from whence the profits of that situation are derived. Knowing this, I see, and with a degree of assurance altogether sufficient for every practical purpose, that in his eyes no encrease in the number of such forgeries can really fail of being a source of self-complacency, no decrease of being a source of regret. A Solicitor of the Bank suffer, if he could help it, a decrease to be made in the number of forgeries of Bank paper? As well would I believe that a Chancellor receiving fees on Bankruptcies would, if he could help it, suffer a decrease in the number of Bankruptcies, or a Chief

difficult', and urged the Bank's directors to act 'from motives of humanity': see *Parliamentary Debates* (1818), xxxvii. 1223.

¹⁴ For the law of the Medes and Persians, 'That no decree nor statute which the king establisheth may be changed', see Daniel 6: 15.

¹⁵ The solicitors to the Bank of England in this period were John Winter (1755–1843), who served as joint or sole solicitor from 1786 until his effective retirement in 1808, and retained a nominal appointment until 1830; and Joseph Kaye (1757–1840), who served from 1796 to 1823. Both were partners in the firm known as Winter and Kaye, and later as Kaye, Freshfield and Kaye, which had been associated with the Bank since the appointment its first solicitor, Samuel Dodd, in 1743.

Justice of the Kings Bench receiving fees on suits in the Kings Bench, a decrease in the number of those suits. Should the time ever arrive when any one of these official persons shall come forward and say, ‘In my own office and in those offices which are at my own disposal, substitute salary to fees’ (for as to abolition without equivalent, I would as soon expect to hear him say ‘cut my throat or hang me’), then, and not till then, shall I be able to believe that he will cease to nurse to his utmost the torments out of which, under the system of misrule, his comforts are extracted. To know this, for any purpose of regulation, what else can it be of any the smallest use to know of the individual by whom any such situation is occupied? whether he makes himself sick[?] with the money, or starves himself while he is getting it in? Let him call his maker to witness that his own nature has nothing in it in common with that of other men—let him heap protestation upon protestation—let him follow them with volleys of curses, or with streams of crocodile tears, shall I believe him any thing the more for any such display? As soon, while I heard or saw him speak, could I believe he was not speaking: that his lips had never been opened.

[002_007] [15 April 1818]

For the sake of a few pounds worth[?] of what is called blood money, at the risk of their own necks, two or three men of low degree add two or three to the number of individuals convicted of highway robbery in the course of the year, and all mouths are filled with exclamations at the thoughts of such unheard of and inconceivable atrocity.¹⁶ By prosecuting for forgery, two men,¹⁷ without any the smallest risk, have for these last thirteen years gained upon each of 200 of their fellow men a sum much more likely to be greater than to be less than any sum that, as above, was ever earned or grasped at in the shape of blood money.

Good heavens what calumny! Suppose, though it were but for the purpose of

¹⁶ On 2 March 1818 Henry Grey Bennet (1777–1836), MP for Shrewsbury, 1806–7 and 1811–26, introduced a Bill into the House of Commons to abolish the system of statutory rewards paid to those who provided evidence leading to conviction and execution for felonies, describing ‘what was termed blood-money’ as ‘an evil which loudly called for a remedy’. On the Bill’s second reading on 13 April 1818, he again alluded to the ‘odious appellation of Blood Money’, and drew attention to cases of child pickpockets, who might have been charged with a lesser offence, but were instead indicted for the capital offence of highway robbery for the sake of a reward: see *Parliamentary Debates* (1818) xxxvii. 693; xxxviii. 18–20. Bennet’s bill was passed in heavily amended form on 3 June 1818 as the Criminal Rewards Act (58 Geo. III, c. 70).

¹⁷ Bentham presumably meant the Bank’s two solicitors, Joseph Kaye and John Winter: see p. 000 n. above. [To note to UC ii. 6, this file]

argument, that any gentleman, a member of so honourable a profession, a gentleman so high in connection[?]¹⁸—and above all so high in the scale of opulence—should have in his mind any one spring of action in common with such low and needy miscreants? Strive thus to reduce all characters upon a level? What is this but a part of that scheme which you, and those who think and act as you, never cease to pursue for applying your levelling machinery to all fortunes?

Mean time what human being, even in the highest of all ranks, ever existed who, so it were but in the regular way of warfare—in the way of destruction, waste, depredation, rapine and murder, so it were but committed upon the largest scale—ever hesitated to sacrifice lives by hundreds of thousands, and pounds of money by millions, so that in his view, with or without an uninhabited island or a desert village, honour and glory were to be got by it?

[002_008] [15 April 1818]

A plan for prevention of forgery is presented to a [Director]¹⁸ of the Bank. How is he to deal with it? Unless for shortness it is tossed into the fire, one course, and the best course that can happen to it, is to be submitted to the Honourable Board.¹⁹ When Honourable Board has got it, what does Honourable Board do with it? There stands or there sits M^r Solicitor, to whom in virtue of his office it belongs to consider and report upon it. See here M^r Solicitor, here is a scheme for diminishing the number of forgeries, take it with you and give us your report upon it. Report upon a plan the effect of which, if it produces its effect, is to take so many thousands a year out of his pockets! Who is there of common understanding who from these data could not give the substance of such a report as well as the person by whom it was made?

[002_009] [15 April 1818]

This answer given, then let him form his estimate of the quantity of reproach due to the [theorist],²⁰ that most troublesome of all theorists, whose aim is to destroy the confidence of the public in all public men, ascribing all effects to their unquestioned and unquestionable causes.

Destroy all confidence in public men! as if any useful confidence could be destroyed

¹⁸ MS 'Directors'.

¹⁹ i.e. the Board of Directors of the Bank.

by holding up to the view of politicians the A.B.C. of politics! as if the possessors of power ever failed, or ever could fail, to join all over the world in the pursuit of one common object, one common scheme of division—a division by which punishment, profit with impunity and honour is endeavoured to be heaped upon the misdeeds by which they profit, while the monopoly of punishment and disgrace is secured to those from which, without adequate prospect of gain, they apprehend loss and sufferance to themselves.

Sir Samuel Romilly, whose deficiency in the requisite confidence in public men has been so flagrantly and so repeatedly betrayed by his attempts to rob so many Honourable Gentlemen of the privilege of improving their fortunes by legalized and established swindling, let him declare whether he has found those inflexible supports to legitimacy styled Country Gentlemen less strenuous in their determination to secure to themselves the faculty of obtaining, by false-pretence, money to an unlimited amount without disgorging any part of it—let him say whether he has found them less strenuous in these their high endeavours, than in their solicitude to heap punishment upon the heads of the presumptuous rabble who, without any such licence as is attached to the possession of fee tail or fee simple,²¹ scruple not to tread[?] in this audacious manner the example set them by their superiors.

[002_010] [15 April 1818]

The document shewing the number of the prosecutions for counterfeiting the metallic part of the currency we have: and in no slight degree is it instructive.²²

But for completing the body of instruction afforded by it, three other documents are

²⁰ MS ‘officer’. Bentham struck through the words ‘the theorist’, and replaced them with ‘the officer’.

²¹ Bentham had in mind Romilly’s sustained campaign to make estates in real property liable to simple contract debts, from which they were exempt under the Common Law. On 28 January 1807 Romilly introduced a Bill to this effect, but it met with concerted opposition from those who considered it an assault on landed property, and in the event only a much more limited measure, which made the real property assets of traders liable to such debts was enacted as the Debtors of Traders Act of 1807 (47 Geo. III, sess. 2, c. 74).

²² ‘Return, made in pursuance of an Address of the House of Commons;—for An Account of the Number of Persons Prosecuted by the Officers of His Majesty’s Mint, for counterfeiting the Current Gold or Silver Coin of the Realm, or for uttering the same, for 14 Years preceding the Suspension of Cash Payments by the Bank of England .^.^ together with the like Account, from February 1797 to the 25th February 1818’, in *Commons Sessional Papers* (1818), xiv. 83. This document records 808 prosecutions and 537 convictions for the 14 years 1783–1796, but 2,681 prosecutions and 2,132 convictions for the 21 years 1797–1818; an average annual increase in convictions of over 160%.

requisite.

One is, the amount of the Solicitors Bills of Costs in the several prosecutions: including a tabular view in which, under the several appropriate heads, shall have been distinguished the profit made not only by the Solicitor, but by the several learned gentlemen of the several superior ranks, rising one above another in the scale of dignity, and thence of profit, distinguishing moreover the profit made by those who have done something, from the profit made by those who have done nothing, for their fees.

Another is a document shewing, on the same plan as the one above mentioned as having been made public, the number of the prosecutions for counterfeiting the paper part of the currency, distinguishing those of which the Bank of England paper has been the subject from those of which the paper of all other Paper Banks put together has been the subject.

Of those of which the Bank of England paper has been the subject, the number might, by House of Commons Order sent to the seat of that vast corporation, be obtained with as much facility as that of those of which the metallic part of the currency was the subject, as above.

Of those of which the paper of the several County Banks was the subject, the number might, with the same facility, be obtained by means of the same investigatorial instrument sent to the respective Banks.

[002_011] [15 April 1818]

The third and last of the desiderated documents is a synoptic Table exhibiting the state of learned profits by that destruction of human life of which the paper part of the currency has been made the instrument: a document constructed upon the plan herein proposed, as above, with reference to the metallic part.

[002_012] [15 April 1818]

On one of the sides of the proposed sort of note called an Annuity Note, the reader will observe a place marked out for a portrait.²³ A portrait of the human face had presented itself to me as that sort of document in the framing of which the work of an ordinary artist

²³ See 'Table II. Form of a proposed *Annuity Note*, on the several plans of Half-Yearly and Yearly Interest', between pp. 000 and 000 below. [To text file 15]

might, as it appeared to me, be most generally and promptly be distinguished from that of a superior one.

This idea had formed a principal feature in a plan which, some twenty years ago more or less, I caused to be presented to the hands of one of the Bank Directors. It had occupied my hand for some days, and my head for somewhat longer. All expectation of personal advantage in any shape being out of the question, it seemed to me that a line acknowledging the receipt would not, even though a word of thanks had been returned for the intention[?], have been too liberal a requital to be returned for it. No such requital, either in black and white or so much as by word of mouth, ever came to hand. If, for so obscure a person as I have ever been and shall ever continue to be, so high a token of regard would have been too great an honour, there was my illustrious friend M^r Colquhoun, whose favourable opinion of me was not concealed from any body, and whose hand I took the liberty of borrowing for the conveyance.²⁴ The Gentleman's name was Bosanquet. Whether his place be still in the direction—whether his place be still in this sublunary world, I, who know nobody and am known to nobody, do not know.²⁵

[002_013] [15 April 1818]

On the present occasion the object of the disclosures thus made is to add to the document that has so recently been made public by the hand of M^r Tilloch,²⁶ the testimony of a man whose evidence has hitherto been fortunate enough not to have fallen into any of the traps which the ingenuity of learned gentlemen of law [has]²⁷ laid for the destruction of competency. M^r Tilloch, whose attention has so long and so forcibly and, as it should seem, so efficaciously been pointed[?] to the subject, can not be more compleatly satisfied than I am, that in comparison with that most elaborate plan of his, the adequacy of which

²⁴ See p. 000 n. above. [To note to UC iii. 303, Appendix F]

²⁵ Samuel Bosanquet had died in 1806: see p. 000 n. above.

²⁶ Alexander Tilloch (1759–1825), journalist and inventor, devised an improved technique for printing banknotes which he believed would make forgery impossible; but his attempts in about 1790 to interest the British government, and in 1797 to interest the Bank of England, were fruitless: see the letter from John Landseer, dated 20 December 1797, in *Monthly Magazine*, vol. iv, no. xxvii (January 1798), 4–5; Bentham to Colquhoun, 18 May 1800, in *Correspondence (CW)*, vi. 295. Early in 1818, when the issue of forgery was again high on the political agenda, Tilloch made public a series of documents dating from 1797 in which a number of prominent engravers had attested to the quality of his specimens and the difficulty of replicating them: see 'Bank notes', *Morning Post* (21 March 1818); 'Forgery of bank notes', *Morning Post* (31 March 1818); 'Forgery of Bank notes', *Morning Post* (1 April 1818).

has received so many unquestionable signations, it is not in the nature of the case that my plan, if it were worth hunting for, should be found to possess any claim to be employed in preference.

But as far as, upon a course of observation carried on for no inconsiderable number of years, Right Reverends and Right Honourables can scarcely have been more persevering in their exertions to prevent blasphemy by menaces and prosecutions, than the Gentlemen in the Bank Direction have shewn themselves to prevent by silence the prevention of that forgery, from which they have taken care to suffer so little, and by which so many learned Gentlemen profit so much.²⁸

Of the endeavours for the prevention of forgery, the issue may be as clear of all pretence for boasting as those which have been employed by me for the staunching of University perjury, of that perjury which, when it is not the only lesson taught and learnt in those privileged seats of official piety, is constantly and at any rate the first.²⁹

[002_014] [15 April 1818]

²⁷ MS 'have'.

²⁸ Bentham presumably has in mind such notorious prosecutions for blasphemy and blasphemous libel as those of the bookseller Thomas Williams in 1797, of the radical writers and publishers Daniel Isaac Eaton (bap. 1753, d. 1814) in 1812 and William Hone (1780–1842) in 1817, and the case of Richard Carlile (1790–1843), who spent four months in prison awaiting trial in 1817 before the charges against him of seditious libel and blasphemy were dropped. The 'Right Reverends and Right Honourables' may include Beilby Porteus (1731–1809), Bishop of Chester 1776–87, Bishop of London 1787–1809, who promoted the passage of the Sunday Observance Act of 1781 (21 Geo. III, c. 49), served as President of the Society for Enforcing the King's Proclamation against Immorality and Profaneness, established in 1787, which instigated the prosecution of Williams, and who in 1808 deprived Francis Stone (bap. 1738, d. 1813), rector of Cold Norton, Essex, of his living for having preached a blasphemous sermon; and Lord Ellenborough, who presided in a highly partisan manner at Eaton's trial and at the second and third of Hone's three trials. See also Bentham to William Smith, February 1818, *The Correspondence of Jeremy Bentham*, vol. ix, ed. S. Conway, Oxford, 1989 (CW), pp. 175–6.

²⁹ See, for instance, *'Swear not at all': containing an exposure of the Needlessness and Mischievousness, as well as Antichristianity, of the ceremony of an Oath: A View of the Parliamentary Recognition of its Needlessness, implied in the practice of Both Houses: And an Indication of the unexceptionable securities by which whatsoever practical good purposes the ceremony has been employed to serve would be more effectually provided for*, London, 1817, pp. 48–71 (Bowring, v. 187–229, at 209–19).

Above the following paragraph, Bentham has noted: 'Unnotice[?]-worthy the inurbanity—not so any sinister interest in which it may have had its latent source.

'Beginning of the subsequent[?] Committee of Finance Inquiry after ten[?] profitable years.'

Of that Finance Committee which had for its Chairman M^r Abbot,³⁰ since Speaker, now Lord Colchester, one of the *res gestae* was the proposition for consolidating into a common fund the aggregate mass of the fees respectively received in different sections of the Official Establishment.³¹

Of this proposed arrangement, the manifest object was the doing so much as there seemed any hope of seeing done towards the reducing the amount of that temptation afforded to evil in so many various shapes, into which frail man is led by official profit rising in proportion to sin and delinquency on the part of the promiscuous multitude.

What was thus marked out to be done in all the several departments in which the course of the practice[?] admitted of this check upon abuse, was done in some departments, left undone in others.

The departments in which it was done or done most promptly were few, and those few such in which the temptation—[the] premium upon official wickedness—and facility it afforded to the abuse was least efficient: the departments in which it was and is left undone, or done most tardily, were those in which that temptation was and is most efficient.

Abuse has, of course, for its holiest sanctioners those seats of highest and most irresponsible power, the Ecclesiastical Establishment and the Judicial d^o.

In the Ecclesiastical, the whole mass of power may be seen refined and transfigured

³⁰ Charles Abbot (1757–1829), first Baron Colchester, lawyer and politician, Chief Secretary for Ireland 1801–2, Speaker of the House of Commons 1802–17, had been Chair of the House of Commons Select Committee on Finance in 1797–8, which had been appointed on 13 March 1797 to examine the public debt and the public revenues, and to suggest measures for reducing public expenditure without detriment to public service: see *Commons Journals* (1796–7) lii. 393. The Committee sat between 1797 and 1798, and presented a total of 36 reports: see *Commons Sessional Papers of the Eighteenth Century*, cvii–cxiii (1797–8).

³¹ See, for instance, ‘Twenty-Second Report from the Select Committee on Finance, &c. Auditing the Accounts of the public receipt and expenditure. The Exchequer; and Concluding Remarks’, 20 July 1797, in *Commons Sessional Papers of the Eighteenth Century*, cix. 509–617, at 517, which recommended that in relation to the fees taken in the Court of Receipt that: ‘all the Fees of the reformed Offices should be carried in the first place’ to ‘one common Fund’. See also the Nineteenth, Twenty-Seventh, Twenty-Eighth, Thirty-Second and Thirty-Sixth Reports of the Select Committee on Finance in *ibid.*, cix. 241, cxi. 45, cxii. 31, cxiii. 85, 503, respectively.

into abuse.³² It is the wished for apple-pie of the Irishman, in which the whole stock of apple[s] have been converted into quince.³³

³² Bentham expanded on this theme in *Church-of-Englandism and its Catechism Examined*, printed in mid-1817 and published in March or early April 1818: see *Church-of-Englandism and its Catechism Examined*, ed. J.E. Crimmins and C. Fuller, Oxford, 2011 (CW).

³³ See, for instance, *The Witty and Humorous Jester: by a buck of the first order*, London, 1789, p. 24: ‘A very harmless Irishman eating an apple-pye with some quince in it; Arrah now, dear honey, said he, if a few of these quinces give such a flavour, how would an apple-pye taste made all of quinces?’