

《論 文》

Jeremy Bentham's Educational Thought*

Kayoko KOMATSU

I. Introduction

What is the characteristic of Jeremy Bentham's educational thought? In preceding studies, Bentham's educational thought has been evaluated from the following three viewpoints. Firstly, it is summed up as a radical utilitarian's educational philosophy¹. H. Silver says 'The clearest exposition of a radical-utilitarian philosophy of education is the article on 'Education' written by James Mill in 1818 for the *Encyclopedia Britannica* supplement.'² The distinctive characteristic of the radical-utilitarian philosophy of education was that people needed to be educated to ensure both their own happiness and that of society as a whole. In this viewpoint Bentham was regarded as one of the Enlightenment philosophers³. But these studies did not clarify how people can be enlightened to the extent that they are able to calculate their own pleasure reasonably. This is supposed the most important point for Bentham in his consideration of education. Confusing his educational thought with those of other radical utilitarians can't clarify the feature of Bentham's educational thought in itself.

Secondly, there are some researches that have examined whether his educational thought had any original aspects in the contemporary context. The result of the examination was negative. N. Hans says "it appears that Bentham has not contributed anything original to the theory and practice of education in the sense of offering novelties."⁴ He points out Bentham's influence was the greatest in the field of State intervention to education. E.S. Itzkin also mentions about Bentham's *Chrestomathia* the following. "Bentham's *Chrestomathia* has been described by many commentators as a major contribution to educational theory and practice. But little in his views can actually be considered new

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1 Simon, B., *Studies in the History of Education, 1780-1870*, Lawrence & Whishant, 1960, Bantock, G.H., *Studies in the History of Educational Theory, vol.II, The Minds and Masses, 1760-1980*, George Allen & Unwin, 1984

2 Silver, H., *English Education and the Radicals 1780-1850*, RKP, 1975, p.30, About Mill's educational theory, see Burston, W.H., ed., *James Mill on Education*, Cambridge U.P., 1969

3 Roy Porter says that 'And his [Bentham's] philosophical radicalism patently embodied key enlightened values.', Porter, R., *Enlightenment*, Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 2000, p.418

4 Hans, N., "Bentham and the Utilitarians", Judges, A.V. ed., *Pioneers of English Education*, Faber and Faber, 1952, p.94

and original.”⁵

Thirdly, the influence of his educational theory on the institutionalization of the educational system in subsequent times has been investigated. This was the main issue of the so-called ‘debate on the Victorian Revolution in Government’. For example, A. J. Marcham states that the ‘myth’ of Benthamism made some contribution to parliamentary and educational reform of the 1860s⁶. As for the influence of Bentham’s theory, E. Halévy has pointed out that Brougham’s idea of the organization by the State of a complete system of primary education in 1820, was ‘the direct result of Benthamite propaganda’⁷.

These studies did not examine Bentham’s educational thought in itself, but they consider the relationship between Bentham’s approach and other educational theories or practices. Of course, they were important studies, but the clarification is needed on what position his educational thought held in his theory of legislation and of government. For Bentham, education was the pivot on which the government and society depended. The principle of the ‘Chrestomathic’ School was a model scheme of government for the nation. This paper will attempt to confirm these points.

II. ‘Tutorial’ theory of legislation.

W. Harrison says, ‘Bentham was holding a new view of government’, and he characterized Bentham’s theory of legislation and government as ‘tutorial’⁸. What does this mean?

At the beginning of Chapter 7 of his *Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* [hereafter IPML], Bentham said,

‘The business of government is to promote the happiness of the society, by punishing and rewarding.’ [IPML, 74]⁹

On the other hand, in the previous chapter Bentham stated the following.

‘It remains to be considered, what the exciting causes are with which the legislator has to do. These may, by some accident or other, be any whatsoever: but those with which he has principally to do, are those of the painful or afflictive kind. With pleasurable ones he has little to do, except now and then by accident’.[IPML, p.70]

It is by punishment that the legislator can excite individuals, so the latter half of IPML dealt with crime and punishment. But furthermore, in the last chapter of IPML, entitled ‘Of the limits of the penal branch of jurisprudence’, Bentham made a distinction between the art of legislation and private ethics, and determined the domain in which legislation can intervene.

5 Itzkin, E.S., “Bentham’s Chrestomathia: Utilitarian Legacy to English Education”, *Journal of History of Ideas*, vol.39, No.2, 1978, p.312

6 Marcham, A.J., “The ‘Myth’ of Benthamism: The Second Reform Act, and the Extension of Popular Education”, *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, vol. II, No.2, 1970, Donajagrodzki deals with Patrick Colquhoun and Edwin Chadwick, who were Bentham’s disciples, in the perspective of ‘Social Police’, Donajagrodzki, A.P., “‘Social Police’ and the Bureaucratic Elite: A Vision Order in the Age of Reform”, Donajagrodzki, ed., *Social Control in Nineteenth Century Britain*, Croom Helm, 1977

7 Halévy, E., *The Growth of Philosophic Radicalism*, trans. by Morris, M., Faber & Faber, 1929, rep.1949, p.296

8 Bentham J., *A Fragment on Government and An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*, Harrison, W. ed., Basil Blackwell, 1970, Introduction, p.lvi

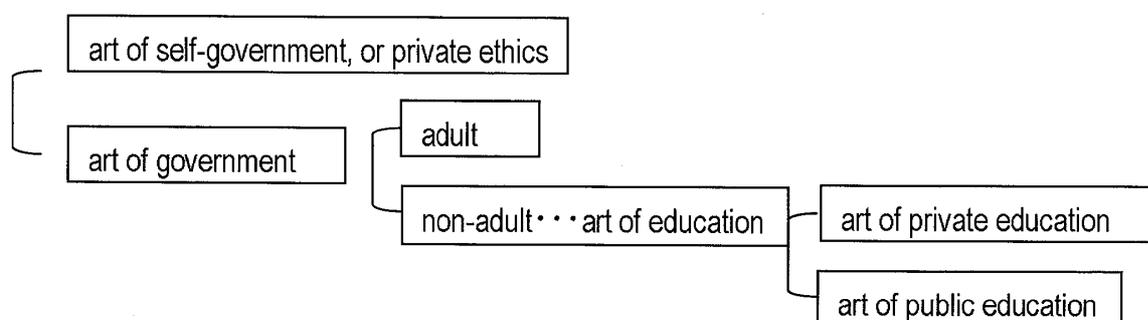
9 As for Bentham’s work the abbreviation of the title and the page are noted parenthetically in the text. The bibliography of Bentham’s work is at the end of this paper.

'Private ethics teaches how each man may dispose himself to pursue the course most conducive to his own happiness, by means of such motives as offer of themselves : the art of legislation ... teaches how a multitude of men, composing a community, may be disposed to pursue that course which upon the whole is the most conducive to the happiness of the whole community, by means of motives to be applied by the legislator'. [IPML, p.293]

The difference between the art of legislation and private ethics exists only in the object of their operation whether others or oneself. Their operations in themselves are analogical. In another section, Bentham called private ethics [which was the art of directing a man's own actions] 'the art of self-government'. The art of directing the actions of other agents were called 'the art of government'. After these definitions, he said,

The art of government, in as far as it concerns the direction of the action of persons in a non-adult state, may be termed the art of education. [IPML, p.283]

From the discussion of this part of Chapter 17, the following pattern can be drawn up.



It appears that the art of education is one mode of the art of government. But it is oversimplification to conclude this. In Bentham's theory of government, it is supposed that there is an intimate link between the government of others and that of the self. For example, in another chapter Bentham said the following concerning the relationship between guardian and ward,

'the business of the former [the guardian] is to govern the latter [the ward] precisely in the manner in which this latter ought to govern himself.' [IPML, p.246]

The government of others can be inseparable from that of the self. After that he said,

'Now to instruct each individual in what manner to govern his own conduct in the details of life, is the particular business of private ethics : to instruct individuals in what manner to govern the conduct of those whose happiness, during non-age, is committed to their charge, is the business of the art of private education'. [IPML, p.246]

Here the art of private education is a part of private ethics, so it is said that the details 'belong not to the art of legislation', because 'such details could not, with any chance of advantage, be provided for by the legislator.' [IPML, p.246 -7] Bentham prefaced the latter statements with the following 'as will be more particularly hereafter'. It refers the section 1 of Chapter 17, which has been examined above.

According to the discussion of chapter 17, the art of education is connected to the art of legislation and is different from private ethics. In the above quote Bentham contradicts his previous statement. Under which heading does the art of education belong, the art of legislation or private ethics?

Bentham stated that,

‘private ethics and the art of legislation go hand in hand. The end they have, or ought to have in view, is of the same nature’.[IPML, p.285]

The question remains what is the difference ?

‘There is no case in which a private man ought not to direct his own conduct to the production of his own happiness, and of that of his fellow-creatures : but there are cases in which the legislator ought not (in a direct way at least, and by means of punishment applied immediately to particular *individual* acts) to attempt to direct the conduct of the several other members of the community.’ [IPML, p.285, emphasis originally]

The legislator can’t direct the conduct of particular individual in pursuit of the happiness of the community. Bentham believed that the legislator could know nothing about individuals, so ‘it is only with respect to those broad lines of conduct’ that he can interfere.[IPML, p.290]

From these discussions the position of education is getting clearer. The art of legislation cannot alter individual conduct. But, there is one exceptional to the rule. It can direct the conduct of a particular individual if the person is in a non-adult state. It is only in this circumstance that the art of legislation [that is the government of others], and private ethics [or the art of self-government] overlap.

What does this mean? If members of the community are in a non-adult state, the legislator can interfere in individual conduct directly. Bentham intended to limit the range of the art of legislation, but he was always aware of circumstances in which there were many people unable to govern themselves¹⁰. In order to counteract this weakness of the people, he expanded the range in which the art of legislation could operate¹¹. In this way his theory of legislation became ‘tutorial’ just as the art of education.

III. Pauper education : The National Charity Company

From the end of 1795, Bentham became interested in the pauper issue. In the plan for pauper management he regarded education as an important element. J.R. Poynter refers to Bentham’s *Chrestomathia* as the following. ‘[This] had its beginnings in the Poor Plan, and a most elaborate program for the period of non-age was prepared at this time, but not published.’¹² In this section an examination will be proposed as to why education was supposed important for pauper management and also how the pauper management plan was connected to *Chrestomathia*.

Bentham planned to establish a network of Industry Houses. Each house would be managed by private enterprises that contracted with the National Charity Company. But the way to relieve pauper should be nationwide uniformity¹³. He thought that entrusting pauper management to these private

10 In *Traité de législation civile et pénale* edited by Dumont there is a chapter titled ‘Des limites qui séparent la morale et la législation’ which is similar to chapter 17 of IPML. In that chapter it is said that the legislator should supply the natural feebleness of people by the artificial law. ‘Le législateur doit suppléer à la faiblesse de cet intérêt naturel, en y ajoutant un intérêt artificiel plus sensible et plus constant.’[TL, tome 1, p.114]

11 In *Of the Law in General* which is said the continuation of IPML he defined the law widely, and enabled it to regulate the micro relationships like family.[OL,p.22]

12 Poynter, J.R. *Society and Pauperism : English Ideas on Poor Relief,1795-1834*, RKP, 1969, p.137

13 For prison management as well, Bentham preferred the contract-management to trust management.[PI, pp.125 - 134]

enterprises would provide 'honest and efficient management' that 'government could not provide.'¹⁴

By 'Duty and Interest junction principles', i.e. 'to make it each man's *interest* to observe on every occasion that conduct which it is his *duty* to observe', each contractor is motivated to treat those under his care in a humane way in order to succeed in his enterprise.[PM,p.380]

Bentham expected to build 250 Industry Houses each of which would hold 2000 inmates in England and Wales.[PM, p.374] The management costs of each house would ideally be earned by inmates by themselves. The Industry House would especially depend on labour of under age inmates, so education and maintenance of children would be paramount for Industry House management¹⁵.

'Owing partly to the permanence of their situation, partly to their aptitude for receiving a suitable education, it is the labour of the stock of *unripe* hands, in their quality of *apprentices*, that would constitute the chief basis of the Company's profit-seeking arrangements'.[PM, p.390]

Among 'the unripe hands', 'the indigenous and quasi-indigenous stock of the non-adult class' [who are born in the Industry Houses or come in infancy] are ideal workers for the sake of Company profits.

Each Industry House is a private enterprise, that therefore depends on the work of apprentices. The adult pauper would be liberated when he repays his debt to the House for the cost of living. So the better the pauper relief system operates, the less are the labour pool who produce the profit. Labour shortage might have been a serious problem for each Industry House. So non-adult apprentices [who would not be liberated until they come of age] would be indispensable for the management of Houses. The work of unripe hands would have been so important that the Industry Houses should have been the institution of the maintenance and education of non-adult apprentices.

In spite of the 'less eligible principle' Bentham said that the living conditions for children in the Houses were better than others.

'Under the head of *Education*, including what bears relation to that subject in the chapters on the *Principles of Management*, and on *Employment*, a plan has been sketched out, by which, under that important head, the condition of the Company's wards promises to be placed upon a footing obviously more eligible than that of the children of the self-maintaining poor, even in the highest-paid classes.[PM, p.422]

Furthermore, he said that 'the condition of the Company's apprentice is more eligible in every point of view – probability of life and health, good conduct, and assurance of future livelihood, than that of his fellows without doors', so 'a prudent parent' would be disposed 'to put his children in possession of the same advantage'.[PM, p.422]

Why is the condition of Company's apprentice better than that of outside the Industry House? In

14 Bahmueller,C.F., *The National Charity Company : Jeremy Bentham's Silent Revolution*, Univ. of California Press,1981, p.105, But Bentham foresaw 'the situation in which government should assume control over the administration of Industry Houses', Quinn, M., "Jeremy Bentham on the Relief of Indigence : An Exercise in Applied Philosophy", *Utilitas*, vol.6, No.1, 1994, p.82, Himmelfarb,G., "Bentham's Utopia : The National Charity Company", *The Journal of British Studies*, vol.10, No.1, 1970, p.84, Bentham thought that the relief by the existing government lead to injustice and inefficiency, but under the reformed government state intervention would not be inconsistent with individual freedom.

15 M.Quinn indicates that the work of non-adult apprentices was essentially important for the plan of Bentham's National Charity Company. He states that 'Bluntly, the Company's capacity to make profits depended straightforwardly on the supply of apprentices.', Quinn, M., "The Fallacy of Non-Interference : The Poor Panopticon and Equality of Opportunity", <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/Bentham-Project/journal/nlquinn.htm>

the Manuscript Bentham said as follows,

The real / natural / parent would have had an interest of his own, distinct from and oftentimes opposite to that of the child : the appointed Father has no such opposite interest. ... The affection of the parent, especially in rude and uneducated bosoms is apt / want/ to be clouded by caprice : ... but select and cultivated mind of the appointed Father / Public / Common Guardian /, may not unreasonably be expected to be / stand / clear of such inequalities. Natural Fathers are of all characters / tempers / : negligent as well as careful, cruel / rough and brutal / as well as tender and affectionate. The appointed / common / Father is but one, and of but one character / temper / selected for the purpose.[UCL,MSS,CLIIIa- 93]

Bentham compared the natural father with the appointed Father, and pointed out the superiority of the appointed Father who was without arbitrariness and uncertainty of the natural father. Who is the appointed Father? Is it the School Master employed by the House? Bentham said, 'The influence of the schoolmaster on the conduct of the pupil in ordinary life, is as nothing, compared with the influence exercised by the Company over these its wards.'[PM, p.395] The Company had 'the direct and constant exercise of plastic power.'[PM, p.395] on the apprentices. Bentham described the powerful influence of the Company by stating that,

'From the commencement to the conclusion of the period of education, (comprising in this country the first twenty-one years of life,) the field of education comprises the whole of the individual's *time* .[PM, p.395]

Thus it can be said that 'the appointed Father' means not a particular person but the pauper management system in itself controlled by the National Charity Company.

As is discussed in the previous section, Bentham harboured mistrust of human nature. In the theory of legislation Bentham intended to counteract the natural feebleness of people by the artificial law. In the same way Bentham did not trust the natural father as an educator and made 'the appointed Father' systematically educate the children in the Houses.

Bentham said, 'to comprehend this class [minors] in the plan is to institute as part of the plan, a great system of national education.' [UCL, MSS, CLI 284] His pauper management plan was expected to benefit the national education system.

Since the apprentices were not liberated until the age of 21, the minors would become the majority in the Houses if the pauper management system was well operated. Bentham projected that 21 years after, approximately 1,000,000 inmates would be under the Company charge. Bentham considered the population in England and Wales to be approximately 9 million. Therefore at least one-ninth of the population might be in the Industry Houses. Including the liberated paupers the numbers educated in the Houses would be more.

Bentham's plan for the National Charity Company was not just a pauper management plan, but also a plan of governing society, the majority of whom would be educated in the Industry Houses.

IV. Chrestomathic School : as a miniature of a nation

As the long subtitle of *Chrestomathia*, which is '*Being a Collection of Papers Explanatory of the Design of an Institution Proposed to be set on Foot under the Name of the Chrestomathic Day School or*

Chrestomathic School, for the Extension of the New System of Instruction to the Higher Branches of Learning, for the Use of the Middling and Higher Ranks in Life' indicates, the plan of Chrestomathic school is for the children of middling and higher ranks. It can't be easily understood that 'Chrestomathia ... had the beginning in the Poor Plan' as Poynter points out.

The two important management principles of Chrestomathic school, *i.e.*, the Panopticon principle and the so-called Monitorial System were adopted in the pauper education in the Industry Houses.

'All the above points [health, comfort, industry, morality, discipline, and so on] provided for, and the principal of them to a degree of absolute perfection, by a plan of architecture, governed by a new and simple principle — the central inspection principle.' [PM, p.375]

As for the method of education to the apprentices Bentham depended on the '*Fellow-instruction* principle' which was explained as follows. 'The children themselves to be employed in the instruction of their *fellows*.' [PM, p.385]¹⁶

The pauper education in the Industry Houses and the management principles of the Chrestomathic school [which was planned about twenty years after] were alike in this way. But the similarities between the two go beyond architecture blueprint [panopticon principle] and inmate education method [Monitorial System]. To clarify this point it is necessary to examine what Chrestomathic school plan was for Bentham.

Why did Bentham write *Chrestomathia*? Whereas it was published first in 1815, Bentham set out to write it in Spring 1814. [CM, Editorial Introduction, p.xx] The idea of this system was originally conceived by Francis Place who was an enthusiastic advocator of Joseph Lancaster's Monitorial System¹⁷. Place and other reformers planned to establish a suitable school for the children of 'middling ranks.' In the beginning, Bentham was involved in this movement and he even offered a part of his garden as a site for the school. The movement of establishing a new school was the catalyst of Bentham's *Chrestomathia*¹⁸. But the following question still remains. What was the true intention behind Bentham's writing of *Chrestomathia*? At this time he was well known to be a legislation reformer. What implication was there in his writing of such a vast school plan?

As early as October 1814, Bentham had expressed some doubts concerning the movement. [CM, Editorial Introduction, p. xv] In spite of Bentham's enthusiasm having waned, he continued to write a curriculum plan and teaching methods for the school. *Chrestomathia* cannot be evaluated only related to the movement of establishing a new school. But Bentham may have possessed an ulterior motive, which the remainder of this paper intends to prove.

During the time he was writing *Chrestomathia*, he harboured ambition to create codification. In October 1811, he wrote a letter to James Madison, the President of the United States of America, and offered to draw up a code of practice with a view to making it law. He also offered to write similar codes for Russia, Spain, Portugal, etc. He was interested in the progress of independence

16 Although now Andrew Bell and Joseph Lancaster are said the originators of such a method, Bentham referred the practice of Le Chevalier Paulet who was the founder of the institution of orphans and said to be the first practitioner adopting mutual instruction in Europe. [TL, tome 2, p.378]

17 About this circumstances, see Wallas, G., *The life of Francis Place, 1771-1854*, George Allen & Unwin, 1925, pp.98 - 99, Halévy, *op.cit.*, pp.,285-289

18 cf. *Proposals for Establishing in the Metropolis, a Day School in which an Example may be set of the Application of the methods of Dr. Bell, Mr. Lancaster, and others, to the Higher Branches of Education*, London, 1816

movements of Greece and Spanish America, and he planned to aid in drafting of codes after the liberation of these countries.[LW, Editorial Introduction, pp. xiii-xxxv]¹⁹ He believed *Chrestomathia* to be useful for these codification proposals.

To Bentham's above proposal of 1811, eventually Madison replied in May 1816. Although it was not satisfactory reply, Bentham was nevertheless delighted with the response. He asked his secretary J.H.Koe to convey his acknowledgement to Madison through John Quincy Adams, the American Minister in London. At the same time, he asked Koe to send copies of *Chrestomathia* to Madison and Adams.[CR, p.550] That was not all. Through Adams, Bentham also sent the State Governors both *Chrestomathia* and a summary view of the Bell and Lancaster system accompanied by the letter for codification proposal. [LW, p.57] *Chrestomathia* was to appear a sales pamphlet for the code which he was going to create. From these facts it can be said that *Chrestomathia* was not just a new school plan for Bentham, but was a miniature or a trial product of his codification design.

Bentham published the second part of *Chrestomathia* in 1817. It consisted of only one long appendix entitled 'Nomenclature and Classification'. He wrote in the circular to State Governors,

'A circumstance, by reason of which this work on Nomenclature and Classification in general may, in addition to its more general and principal use, be considered as forming a not altogether unapt accompaniment to the offer made of the draught of an all-comprehensive Code of Law, is this :-viz. that in the aggregate of the logical conceptions to which expression is given in this Part of *Chrestomathia*, a sort of instrument is supposed to have been constructed, by the help of which a new sort of security is supposed to be afforded, for the connected qualities of *clearness*, *correctness*, and *compleatness* : qualities, upon the degree of which so essentially depend, whatsoever beneficial effects can be looked for from a discourse of any kind, and in particular from any discourse designed to produce the effect of law'.[LW, p.59]

In this long appendix, Bentham had tried to do the following. Name the various branches of art and science precisely, clarify the correlation among the branches, and classify these branches. Therein lay his determination to complement the imperfections of D'Alembert's *Encyclopedia*. [CW, pp.159-178] The above quote shows that the 'qualities of *clearness*, *correctness*, and *compleatness*', which the classification incurs, are indispensable to produce the effect of law. It is little wonder that these qualities are necessary for drawing up a comprehensive law, but Bentham's scheme did not stop here.

Bentham thought the classification as such formed the 'habit of order' of students. One of the advantages derivable from learning or intellectual instruction he mentioned in *Chrestomathia* is 'Giving to the youthful mind habits of order'. He said the following about it,

'In as far as the names of species, the names of the genera in which they are comprised, and of the orders and classes ... are brought under review, in conjunction with natural history, a lesson in one of the most useful branches of logic, viz., the art of classification will have been administered — administered insensibly and without parade, but not the less effectually — and this without any additional time or trouble on the part of either teacher or learner.'[CM, p.28]

¹⁹ See also Schofield, Ph., "Jeremy Bentham: Legislator of the World", Postema, G.H., ed., *Bentham: Moral, Political and Legal Philosophy, vol.II*, Ashgate, 2002

The order of branches of art and science forms the habit [and the disposition to order] of the pupils in the school. In the same way the orderly law forms the habit [and the disposition to order] of the people of a nation. Bentham thought school and nation to be analogical. Therefore the classification of the various branches of art and science was a sample of the orderly law.

Bentham's school planning was comparable to the constitution of a nation.

'In the executive department of it, I accordingly bear no part: but of the *Legislative*, the *initiative* has fallen wholly to my share.' [LW, p.110]

Chrestomathia was not only the curriculum and management plan for a new school, but also the model of the formation of a nation.

V. Conclusion

B. Taylor has connected Bentham's panopticon, pauper management plan, and *Chrestomathia*. 'The Panopticon, *Chrestomathia*, and Pauper Management Improved schemes represent the major thrust of Bentham's specific contribution to educational theory.'²⁰ But he makes a differentiation among them. 'Chrestomathia was to provide for the middle classes that knowledge and those skills which would enable them to assume their legitimate role in government.' On the other hand, in prisons and poor-houses, 'The lower orders, who formed the majority of society, would be taught useful skills necessary to be independent and to earn a living, they would also be taught to be prudent and to be moral.'²¹ As is stated above, Bentham described the pauper management plan to be 'a great system of national education.' He also regarded *Chrestomathia* to be 'a plan of National Education.' [LW, p.107] Bentham believed that education was, irrespective the class of its object, a pivot around which a nation could be formed. In other words, educating children, whether of the pauper or the middling ranks, is an operation of the government of a society and a nation on a small scale.

Bentham stated, 'Education is government in miniature: legislation and administration in miniature'. [UCL, MSS, CVIIIa 88] Bentham's educational thought can be said to be the foundation of his opinions on government and legislation.

Abbreviations of Bentham's Work

CM, *Chrestomathia*, Smith, M.J. & Burston, W.H., ed., The Collected Works of Jeremy Bentham, Clarendon Press, 1993

CR, *The Correspondence of Jeremy Bentham Vol.8*, Conway, S., ed., The Collected Works of Jeremy Bentham, Clarendon Press, 1988

IPML, *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*, Burns, J.H. & Hart, H.A.L., The Collected Works of Jeremy Bentham, Clarendon Press, 1996

OL, *Of Laws in General*, Hart, H.L.A., The Collected Works of Jeremy Bentham, University of London,

²⁰ Taylor, B., "A Note in Response to Itzkin's "Bentham's Chrestomathia: Utilitarian Legacy to English Education"", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol.XLIII, No.2, 1982, p.313

²¹ *ibid.*, p.311

The Athlone Press, 1970

LW, *'Legislator of the World': Writing on Codification, Law and Education*, Schofield, Ph., Harris, J.ed.,
The Collected Works of Jeremy Bentham, Clarendon Press, 1998

PM, Outline of a Work Entitled Pauper Management Improved, Bowring ed., *The Works of Jeremy
Bentham*, Vol.VIII, Russel & Russell, 1962

PI, Panopticon ; or the Inspection-House & C., J.Bowring ed., *The Works of Jeremy Bentham*, Vol.IV,
1962

TL, *Traité de législation civile et pénale* ouvrage extrait des manuscrits de Jérémie Bentham, par Ét
Dumont, 3ème éd., Paris, 1830

UCL, MSS, The manuscript of Bentham in the Library of University College of London.