THE PICKERING MASTERS

THE WORKS OF THOMAS DE QUINCEY
VOLUME 1
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Volumes 1–7

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Sir John Watson Gordon, *Thomas De Quincey* (1846), courtesy of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery
THE WORKS OF THOMAS DE QUINCEY

VOLUME 1
WRITINGS, 1799–1820

Edited by
Barry Symonds

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Grevel Lindop  
Manchester  
December 1999
GENERAL INTRODUCTION
by Grevel Lindop

About the year 1850 the 65-year-old Thomas De Quincey was interviewed in Edinburgh by the literary journalist George Gilfillan. Gilfillan mentioned that De Quincey had lately been 'urged to collect' his works - which (says Gilfillan) 'lie scattered in prodigal profusion through the thousand and one volumes of our periodical literature'. De Quincey's reply was unforgettable:

'Sir, the thing is absolutely, insuperably, and for ever impossible. Not the archangel Gabriel, nor his multipotent adversary, durst attempt any such thing.' 'And yet,' Gilfillan resumes, 'in those unsounded abysses, what treasures might be found - of criticism, of logic, of wit, of metaphysical acumen, of research, of burning eloquence, and essential poetry!"

Gilfillan's anecdote aptly sums up the predicament facing any 'collected' edition of De Quincey's works. The rewards, intellectual and aesthetic, are immense; the difficulties truly formidable - so formidable, indeed, that although three very extensive selections from his work have appeared, each in its way implicitly posing as 'The Works', only now, one hundred and forty years after his death, has it become possible to present an edition which makes some meaningful approximation to the unattainable ideal of 'completeness'.

Before explaining why De Quincey is worth editing, and how the task has been done, both recently and in the past, it may be worth indicating briefly what is new about the present edition. Its aim has been to present, as far as possible, all De Quincey's known writings with the exception of personal letters and legal documents. The material is given in broadly chronological sequence, and each item is equipped with a contextualising headnote, explanatory notes and a textual collation giving variants from manuscripts and revised published versions. Material published in De Quincey's lifetime is given in its earliest published version, but items (such as Confessions of an English Opium-Eater) which were thoroughly recast are, wherever possible, given in both versions. For the sake of readability, the text has been kept as clean as possible: footnotes on the page are De Quincey's own, and apart from the headnotes and superscript numbers, all apparatus is relegated to the back of the volumes. Aiming at completeness,
WORKS OF DE QUINCEY: VOLUME 1

the editors hope to include not only as far as possible all De Quincey’s identifiable published work but also the bulk of his unpublished manuscripts. Accordingly, this will be the first collected edition to include a substantial body of De Quincey’s assignable articles from the *Westmorland Gazette*; his 1803 *Diary* with all deleted passages restored; his contributions to the *Edinburgh Evening Post* and *Edinburgh Saturday Post*; all his political articles from *Blackwood’s Magazine*; the full text of his translation of the German pseudo-Waverley novel *Walladlor*; and a large body of manuscript materials ranging from juvenilia, by way of *Confessions* and its discarded fragments, to many previously unpublished essays and notes, including an extensive body of draft material surrounding the gestation of *Suspiria de Profundis*. It is probably fair to say that every volume will contain material never previously published and as good as anything De Quincey ever wrote.

At the time of his conversation with Gilfillan, De Quincey was at the peak of his career. His *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater*, long established as a classic, had not been out of print since its first appearance in 1821. From 1834 to 1840, when he was already well-known as a veteran contributor to the *London Magazine* and *Blackwood’s*, a long series of autobiographical essays in *Tait’s Edinburgh Magazine* had introduced his work to a fresh public and pushed the magazine’s sales to new heights; in 1845 *Suspiria de Profundis*, the ‘Sequel’ to *Confessions*, had appeared (albeit fragmentarily) in *Blackwood’s*, followed in 1849 by ‘The English Mail-Coach’, the most extraordinary and accomplished work in his late manner of ‘impassioned prose’. His reputation in the United States, which had been growing steadily since the 1820s, was now immense, and even as he spoke to Gilfillan, the Boston firm of Ticknor and Fields was preparing to undertake the challenge of putting together the first extensive collection of his published writings. Already De Quincey had irrevocably entered the stream of world culture. Edgar Allen Poe had been deeply influenced by his work; Emerson revered it, and two years before had made the pilgrimage to Edinburgh to meet him. Alfred de Musset had translated *Confessions* into French, with novelistic additions, and in this guise it had helped to inspire Berlioz’s *Symphonie Fantastique*. Within a decade Baudelaire would incorporate extensive (and accurate) translations from *Confessions* and *Suspiria* into *Les Paradis Artificiels*. The enthusiasm of Dickens, Lewis Carroll, Proust, Chesterton, Virginia Woolf and Borges lay further ahead.

Yet De Quincey remained remarkably modest about his achievements, and perhaps in a sense unaware of them. To him, as to others, the outward badges of major literary accomplishment must have seemed to be lacking. His habitually chaotic handling of his business affairs ensured that he would never be rich, despite generous remittances from J. T. Fields of Boston and the firm hand applied to his finances by his shrewd and devoted
daughters. After rather more than thirty years as a dedicated and diligent writer he had (apart from Confessions) little to show but a few half-forgotten volumes (Walladmor, Klosterheim, The Logic of Political Economy) and a vast profusion of essays buried in the back numbers of periodicals ranging from the Westmorland Gazette to Blackwood’s and from the Edinburgh Evening Post to Knight’s Quarterly Magazine. That a good proportion of the organs for which he had written had by 1850 ceased publication, and that De Quincey himself had rarely been satisfied with the quality of his articles as they appeared, must have confirmed him in the view that his own literary past was not worth the effort of resurrection. Always pragmatic and forward-looking, he was in any case characteristically busy by 1850 with new essays, on every conceivable topic from Judas Iscariot to the California Gold Rush, for James Hogg’s little-known magazine the Instructor.

Yet there can be no real doubt about the magnitude of De Quincey’s achievement. This is not the place to explore the range of his influence, but it can be proposed with some confidence that on a world scale he has proved (with the exceptions certainly of Scott and perhaps of Coleridge) the most influential of all early nineteenth-century English prose writers. The list of words whose first citations he supplies to the Oxford English Dictionary is startling; his important citations range from the earliest written use of unreliable (which he attributes to Coleridge’s conversation) to a decisive redefinition of the recondite Aristotelian term enthymeme, where the OED finds De Quincey’s usage as indispensable as it is unquotable, embedded as it is in a paragraph so long and indivisible that, almost uniquely, the Dictionary refers us to it without quotation. More significant, perhaps, are the characteristically modern ideas pioneered by De Quincey. The concepts of drug addiction and of the mind-changing drug were popularised (though not originally conceived) in Confessions of an English Opium-Eater. The essays ‘On Murder Considered as One of the Fine Arts’ are founding documents of crime writing, and form the literary starting-point of that ambivalent fascination with serial murder which has since become a grim strain in popular culture. Less sensationally, Jonathan Bate has credited De Quincey with establishing the modern sense of the term ‘literature’ as the name of an independent art form; and ‘The Palimpsest of the Human Brain’ in Suspiria de Profundis created a textual model of the human memory which has permeated European thought ever since, with incalculable consequences.

De Quincey was a born writer but he was also a born reader; a ‘library-cormorant’ on the same scale as Coleridge. Born in 1785, the son of an intellectually-alert Manchester textile merchant, he benefited from the cultural environment offered by a lively, expanding city and from his father’s extensive library, equally ‘well-mounted’ (to use a De Quinceyan phrase) in the departments of religion, politics and poetry. (The present volume publishes for the first time the library catalogue from Greenhay, De Quincey’s
childhood home, as the best possible guide to his intellectual beginnings.) Reforming (and firmly anti-slavery) politics, qualified and informed by his father's dealings with the West India cotton trade, were in the family; the new scientific thought was available from notable medical progressives like the family physicians, Thomas Percival and Charles White, who were proud of their contacts among the French Philosophes; a deeply religious mother brought De Quincey into contact with religious authorities ranging from the Swedenborgian mysticism of John Clowes to the Evangelical circle of Hannah More and Zachary Macaulay. Family friends in Liverpool, literary and political associates of William Roscoe and James Currie, made him early acquainted with the name and opinions of Coleridge, whilst his mother's West Country contacts probably led to his momentous discovery of Wordsworth and the Lyrical Ballads.

Yet family disruption made him an outsider. The death of his beloved sister Elizabeth in 1792 was followed within a year by that of his father; and then by his mother's restless wanderings from house to house around England and his own corresponding desultory progress from school to school. A brilliant but undisciplined classical scholar, De Quincey continued the pattern — if lack of continuity can be called a pattern — by absconding from the Manchester Grammar School in 1802 to wander in rural Wales and in London. During his time in Wales, as he tells us in Confessions, he began to study German; he also reveals without embarrassment that he set out on his adventures with an unrepayable ten-guinea 'loan' from his mother's friend Lady Susan Carbery, and ended by trying unsuccessfully to involve another aristocratic acquaintance in his dealings with London moneylenders. Financial entanglements were to become a lifelong habit as compulsive as opium dependence.

His time as an Oxford undergraduate was to be equally fraught with consequence for the future. He studied the works of Kant and came to know Wordsworth, Coleridge and Charles Lamb; it was then too that he began to experiment with opium. In 1808, having chosen the whole of classical Greek tragedy as the subject for his degree examinations, he duplicated the Manchester débâcle by running away after the first of his two examination days. This was the end of his formal education, but residence at Allan Bank in Grasmere with the Wordsworths continued his intellectual training in other directions; he was in day-to-day contact with Coleridge as the latter began planning The Friend, and was sent to London to see Wordsworth's pamphlet on the Convention of Cintra through the press.

The Appendix which De Quincey contributed to Wordsworth's Cintra pamphlet was not the earliest of his writings. His 1803 Diary is full of literary aspiration, critical reflection and embryonic essays, incidentally revealing a thorough grasp of the principal English poets, an interest in the literature of radicalism (soon to be supplemented by an enthusiasm for the
works of ‘Walking Stewart’), and an avid appetite for Gothic fiction; in 1806 he had drafted part of an essay on ‘The Constituents of Happiness’. No doubt much other material has disappeared. His career took a decisive step, however, after he had lived for nine years at Grasmere, occupying the former Wordsworth home now known as Dove Cottage. During this period, if not before, he added to his knowledge of Kant the study of Spinoza, Leibniz and the German philosophers and critics, considerable reading in the mystics and visionaries of many periods (in 1808 he gave Coleridge a copy of Boehme’s works in the Law translation) and a survey of the principal writings on political economy (which did not much impress him). It may also have been now that he made himself ‘critically familiar’ with the history and debates of the English Civil War, a study which no doubt interacted fruitfully with his perennial interest in Roman history and his adolescent reading of medieval chronicles.

In 1818 he published a pamphlet against Henry Brougham, the Radical candidate in the Westmorland by-election. Close Comments upon a Straggling Speech, a vigorous polemic in support of the Tory interest now espoused by Wordsworth, led to his appointment to the editorship of the recently-founded Tory newspaper, the Westmorland Gazette. De Quincey wrote for the paper prolifically and in astonishing depth; his contributions cover not only murder trials but German philosophy and political economy, often discussed at length and in technical detail.

Dismissed from the editorship after eleven months, De Quincey took a determined step up the journalistic ladder, writing briefly for Blackwood’s and then, having failed to strike up an effective working relationship with the editor, William Blackwood, moving to the London Magazine, where Confessions of an English Opium-Eater appeared, to immediate critical acclaim, in September and October 1821. From this moment De Quincey’s career, however arduous and poorly-paid, was secure. His work would never cease to be in demand and he would consistently reward editors and readers with extremely high self-imposed literary standards, together with an immense versatility which was the fruit of true intellectual curiosity and breadth rather than the weary flexibility of the hack.

How he found time to read so much whilst writing so prolifically is something of a mystery, but De Quincey’s intellectual explorations were never interrupted for long. He had read The Prelude in manuscript in 1803, and The Revolt of Islam on its first appearance in 1818. Confessions reveals not only an enthusiasm for Ricardian economics but a thorough knowledge of the medical literature on opium and deep exploration of sixteenth-century travel literature. Even as he wrote it he was sending to John Taylor for a copy of Keats’s 1820 Poems. His first essay, ‘On Murder’ (1827), bases its demolition of the western philosophical tradition on primary sources – mostly obscure and long-out-of-print pamphlets – for the
lives of the great philosophers; a cluster of allusions to Tertullian and Lactantius in other writings of the 1820s suggest that about this time he was also exploring the fathers of the North African church. His citation of the classic eighteenth-century prose writers (Swift, Chesterfield, Addison, Johnson, Gibbon) is effortless and extensive; but he kept up with recent literary biography, and (as his unpublished jottings show) was an avid reader of The Times, equally alert to useful economic data and suggestive changes in English usage. Contact with the Glasgow academic world in the 1840s extended his interests into astronomy; Suspiria de Profundis (1845) draws analogies from electricity, the daguerreotype and the reflector telescope; and in 1856 he was already reading Froude’s great History of England from the Fall of Wolsey which had begun to appear only the year before. One regrets that his death in 1859 came too soon for him to read Darwin’s Origin of Species; its conclusions would have surprised him less in the light of Monboddo’s Origin and Progress of Language (1773), over whose primitive evolutionary theories he and his brother William had argued in the 1790s.

Yet, though it flows from a reservoir of reading which contains most of western culture up to his own time, De Quincey’s writing is anything but derivative. Everything he read or heard (for he was, like Coleridge, one of the great conversationalists of his age, and unlike Coleridge he also listened) is ‘dissolved, diffused, dissipated’ (as Coleridge wrote in another context) and recreated in new and wonderful forms. The sheer range of De Quincey’s essays, extending as they do into history, biography, criticism, philosophy, fiction, politics, theology, economics and autobiography as well as into regions to which no adequate labels can be applied, makes his work from one point of view a kind of idiosyncratic cross-section through the mind of the earlier nineteenth century. But to say this risks implying that his writing is dutiful or dull; whilst the principal justification for collecting his works is, on the contrary, that they are continuously readable, surprising and entertaining. Lewis Carroll, who had no appetite for dull books, was devouring the first volume of the Edinburgh edition, noting in his diary for 24 November 1857 that he had ‘Finished the first volume of De Quincey: it is perfectly delightful reading, and full of information of all kinds.’ By early January he had finished the second volume and by January 7 he was well into a third.

Sixty-two years later, D. H. Lawrence was equally enthusiastic for quite different reasons, characteristically relishing not only De Quincey’s comedy but his malice. Sending Catherine Carswell a ‘battered but complete set of De Quincey’s works’ in October 1919, he told her ‘He is a very nice man—I can go on reading and reading him. I laughed over “Goethe” yesterday. I like De Quincey because he also dislikes such people as Plato and Goethe, whom I dislike.’

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De Quincey is perhaps unique in the extent to which he combines immense learning with a rollicking sense of the absurd and a profoundly Romantic poetic sensibility. Out of this comes a prose style which, to use one of his favourite words, ‘coruscates’ with wit, ingenuity and apt, startling imagery. Reviewing *The Logic of Political Economy* in 1844, John Stuart Mill was entranced, not by the economics but by ‘what pleasant reading De Quincey can make of a dry technical discussion ... His writings treat of a hundred things beside their ostensible subjects [and are] enriched with many acute remarks, on any subject, important or trifling, from the qualities of turbot to the laws of nature’.

De Quincey was indeed a writer for whom everything is connected, and though his own proclaimed stylistic models were the grandiloquent prose-writers of the seventeenth century, above all Sir Thomas Browne and Jeremy Taylor, he was also profoundly influenced by the textual comedy of Swift and Sterne, which made every essay a picaresque venture into unpredictable literary territory. Like many writers of a confessional cast, De Quincey frequently veers towards the tradition of learned satire which runs from Erasmus and Rabelais through Burton’s *Anatomy of Melancholy* to *A Tale of a Tub* and *Tristram Shandy*, works which revel in the absurdity of pedantry collapsing under its own weight. Thus, in the 1828 essay ‘Elements of Rhetoric’, proposing a reinterpretation of an abstruse point of terminology, De Quincey imagines the shocked response of past Aristotelian commentators in a cacophony of preposterous (but perfectly genuine) names:

> we apprehend, that at such innovations, Smiglecius will stir in his grave; Keckermannus will groan; ‘Dutch Burgersdyk’ will snort; and English Crackenthorpius, (who has the honour to be an ancestor of Mr Wordsworth’s,) though buried for two centuries, will revisit the glimpses of the moon.

The same sense of humour leads him to propose (in an Appendix to the 1836 *Confessions*) that the past tense of the verb *split* should (in a purist view) be *splat*, and to defend a shaky point in one of his own arguments by adding a footnote reading ‘I see a screw loose here. If you see it also, reader, kindly have the goodness to hold your tongue.’

Yet moments of such elephantine comedy do not inhibit an astonishing gift for narrative. De Quincey’s picture of Wordsworth at the tea table ‘tearing his way into the heart’ of a pristine, unopened copy of Burke’s works with a greasy butterknife is as unforgettable as his tragicomic sketch of the aged Kant, robbed by senile dementia of his sense of time and space, desolately crying out for his coffee, or the overwhelming cinematic quality of such episodes as the slow-motion approach to the collision in ‘The English Mail-Coach’ and the terrifying seconds of the ‘Postscript on Murder’ when
the servant-girl waits in the dark with her face pressed against the door which conceals the knife-wielding murderer Williams. De Quincey lacked the gifts of sustained character-drawing which make a major novelist, but his narratives (see, for example, ‘The Revolt of the Tartars’ and ‘Joan of Arc’) at times have an epic grandeur and concreteness, and he can give even a biographical sketch an opening of colossal proportions which not only dazzles but creates a powerful feeling of suspense. The 1830 essay ‘Life of Richard Bentley’, in itself no more than an account of a cantankerous academic, opens with a superb description of a walk to Far Easedale, above Grasmere in the English Lake District; despite the natural beauty of the scene, we are told, the seven families who dwell there have been alienated from one another by litigation; and for a parallel case the scene shifts to the seeming tranquillity of Cambridge, where, we are told, for forty years a community of scholars fought

with so deadly an acharnement; sacrificed their time, energy, fortune, personal liberty, and conscience, to the prosecution of their immortal hatreds; vexed the very altars with their fierce dissentions; and went to their graves so perfectly unreconciled, that, had the classical usage of funeral cremation been restored, we might have looked for the old miracle of the Theban Brothers, and expected the very flames which consumed the hostile bodies to revolt asunder, and violently refuse to mingle.

At the centre of De Quincey’s aesthetic is a fascination with creative discord, a belief in calculated incongruity as a creative principle. This delight in ‘the blending and intertwisting’ of ‘laughter and tears’, in the ‘confluence of mighty and terrific discords with ... subtle concords’, owes something to the influence of the German Romantics and especially to ‘Jean Paul’ Richter; but it is also a manifestation of De Quincey’s active and many-sided consciousness, an intellect which he himself called ‘restless as a hyena’. It was natural that he should be a sceptic, believing ‘antagonist forces’ to be as necessary in politics as in art. Thus, he could argue high Tory principles to the point of caricature in Blackwood’s Magazine and yet assert in the Edinburgh Post that ‘The Whig and the Tory ... are reciprocally necessary, each to the philosophical existence of the other’, or earn Mill’s reluctant approval for his presentation of Ricardian economics whilst finding himself ridiculed by the Tory press as ‘that most incomprehensible and preposterous of all things – a Tory political economist’. The most philosophically literate of the Romantic essayists, he was also entirely sceptical about the capacity of philosophical thought to transcend the eccentricities and limitations of the human personality. There is essential self-revelation in the fragment, originally drafted for Confessions, which shows De Quincey with his three-year-old son William in a cluttered room at Dove Cottage, piling up ponderous tomes of philosophy – Descartes, Spinoza and the Schoolmen,
‘Suarez, Picus Mirandola, and the Telamonian bulk of Thomas Aquinas’ and shooting them down with a home-made bow and arrow.

This combination of philosophical awareness with radical scepticism is something which fundamentally distinguishes De Quincey from both the ‘Victorian’ contemporaries of his later career – Carlyle, Ruskin, Arnold – and the ‘Romantic’ essayists – Lamb, Hazlitt, Leigh Hunt – with whom he has often been grouped. There are good chronological reasons for the latter grouping: De Quincey was seven years younger than Hazlitt, ten years younger than Lamb and a year younger than Hunt. Hazlitt and Lamb were prominent contributors to the *London Magazine* at the same period as De Quincey, and all knew each other personally; and while far from being either a literary or a political fellow-traveller of Hunt’s, De Quincey shared his profound enthusiasm for Keats and Shelley, a ‘Cockney’ tendency which he characteristically managed to combine with lengthy periods of writing for *Blackwood’s*, a magazine which typically loathed all things which smelt of London. It may, indeed, have been a subtle gesture of independence on De Quincey’s part that, however temporarily dependent on a particular periodical for his income, he never swallowed its ideology whole. De Quincey’s writing shares with Lamb’s an intensely self-aware stylistic elaboration, but differs in its refusal to develop a consistent authorial persona comparable to Lamb’s ‘Elia’. Although throughout his career De Quincey (and his publishers) exploited his *sobriquet* of ‘The English Opium-Eater’, the name did not carry with it the obligation to adopt any particular voice. De Quincey allowed himself to be as humorous, solemn, sentimental or dry as he chose or as his matter dictated. The qualities which remained constant were those of De Quincey, not of an artfully-constructed ‘Opium-Eater’.

In this respect the self-deployment in De Quincey’s essays might seem closer to the impulsive, driven confessional manner of Hazlitt; but again there is an essential difference, for where Hazlitt assumed that the self was the self, surveying his own character and memories as if through a transparent medium, De Quincey (informed by his reading of Kant and the mystics) perpetually questions the nature and continuity of the self, and the media – time and consciousness – through which it is manifest. The later works make this questioning especially prominent. *Suspiria* introduces the figure of the Dark Interpreter as ‘originally a mere reflex of my inner nature’; but, we are immediately told, ‘the Interpreter sometimes swerves out of my orbit, and mixes a little with alien natures. I do not always know him in these cases as my own parhelion.’ A similar sense of psychological disunity is expressed, more anxiously, in ‘The English Mail-Coach’, where De Quincey speculates with horror that a dreamer (such as himself) might find ‘not one alien nature, but two, but three, but four, but five ... introduced within what once he thought the inviolable sanctuary of himself’.

‘The Palimpsest’ famously proposes that ‘Everlasting layers of ideas,
images, feelings, have fallen upon your brain softly as light. Each succes-
sion has seemed to bury all that went before.' Beneath these again, De
Quincey suggests, are 'organizing principles, which fuse into harmony, and
gather about fixed predetermined centres, whatever heterogeneous ele-
ments life may have accumulated from without'. These 'principles' or 'cen-
tres' themselves, however, remain hidden; and even the deeper layers of
memory may be revived only by 'the hour of death,... by fever,... by the
searchings of opium'. These reflections may appear to be late perspectives,
the product of De Quincey's reflective age and far removed from the lively
and incisive views of his London Magazine writings of the 1820s. But
already in the 1821 Confessions he notes that, although in certain of his
opium-dreams 'the minutest incidents of childhood ... were often revived,'
yet 'I could not be said to recollect them; for if I had been told of them when
waking, I should not have been able to acknowledge them as parts of my
past experience'. The self, its boundaries and its continuity remain prob-
lematic. At their best (and they are at their best with surprising consistency)
De Quincey's essays do not assume or assert, they question and explore.

We tend to think of De Quincey as a 'Romantic' author not only because
of the date of his birth (fifteen years after Wordsworth's and ten years before
Keats's) but because of his consistent allegiance to the literary models and
values of Romanticism. One has no difficulty in recalling that Confessions
appeared the year after Keats's odes, four years after Coleridge's Biographia
Literaria and in the same year as Shelley's Adonais. It is harder to remember
that of his forty-nine years as a professional writer, thirty-two were spent
living under Queen Victoria. For whilst he constantly discusses Wordsworth
and Coleridge, and frequently quotes Shelley, he has nothing to say of Ten-
nyson, did not like the novels of Dickens or the Brontes (though he read
them) and refers surprisingly rarely to the Victorian monarchy. His Black-
wood's articles on the parliamentary reform of 1832 view the issues very
much in terms of the 'Jacobin' and 'Antijacobin' controversies of thirty or
forty years before; even in his aggressively imperialist papers on India and
China, written for Hogg's Instructor in the 1850s, his views of the issues
seem rooted in the eras of Lord Macartney and Warren Hastings.

This profound temperamental conservatism, together with a refusal to
adopt a philosophical programme, sets De Quincey at a distance also from
other Victorian social and cultural critics. Their sense of urgent engagement
with current social movements and cultural possibilities is generally lack-
ing in De Quincey. He views events rather with a serene detachment,
proposing (in Suspiria) dream and contemplation as counteragents to the
'fierce condition of eternal hurry' to which he sees modern life tending, and
optimistic about the humanising effects of British power and the English
language as they spread over the globe. How far these attitudes were con-
ditioned by such factors as his residence from 1835 in Edinburgh, away

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from the political centre of the United Kingdom, and the dispersion of his children across the empire and its peripheries, to China, India and Brazil, is perhaps unknowable. His sensibility remained one which had been formed early in the nineteenth century, and he continued longer than any other important writer of his generation to work out the poetic insights of Romanticism and their consequences as a new age developed.

He has, accordingly, often been claimed as a 'prose-poet'. Yet De Quincey is not a poet in any usual sense of the word; and the catch-all term 'essayist' merely denotes a writer of non-fictional prose pieces of less than volume length. What kind of writer, then, was he? De Quincey himself was in no doubt about that. He called himself a philosopher. Clearly he meant this primarily in the broad eighteenth-century sense in which, for example, Gibbon—a writer whom he often cites, and whose Memoirs influenced the Confessions—applied the term to himself to denote a person of education and broad intellectual interests, with some pretensions to scholarship and capable of applying systematic analysis, free from religious dogmatism, to whatever field he might choose to explore; and one who, on such a basis, might claim both some self-knowledge and a degree of informed reflection on the human condition as a whole. De Quincey's own definition was incisive. A philosopher, he thought, must combine 'a superb intellect in its analytic functions' with 'such a constitution of the moral faculties, as shall give him an inner eye and power of intuition for the vision and the mysteries of our human nature'. This definition was offered in 1821; nearly twenty-five years later, he argues the need for 'counter-forces of religion or profound philosophy' to preserve 'the grandeur that is latent in all men' in the face of the 'colossal pace' of technological advance, and asserts that 'No man ever will unfold the capacities of his own intellect who does not at least chequer his life with solitude. How much solitude, so much power.' De Quincey's claims to be a kind of philosopher perhaps deserve a second glance. Clearly he is not a systematic philosopher in the British (or indeed the Kantian) academic tradition; but it is not too difficult at moments to see affinities with that heterogeneous body of European poet-philosophers—Kierkegaard, Nietzsche, Bergson, Heidegger—who helped to usher in the age of modernity and remain to inspire and interrogate it, writers for whom poetry, fiction, autobiography and the analysis of the western philosophical and religious tradition were inseparable parts in the enterprise of renewing in difficult times 'the grandeur that is latent in all men'. Let us grant him the title of philosopher, aware that his work resists this, as it will continue to resist all other labels, and that this resistance is a mark of its continuing vitality.

Previous editions of De Quincey

All textual editors excoriate their predecessors. Secure, therefore, in the
knowledge that fifty or a hundred years from now some other editor will castigate the present edition for shortcomings as yet undreamt of, we may proceed to consider the achievements of our predecessors. The first attempt at a collected edition was made by the Boston, Massachusetts firm of Ticknor and Fields, who were already well-known for their republication of British authors. The firm, under its earlier name of W. D. Ticknor, had been publishing an edition of Confessions since as far back as 1841. In 1850, once De Quincey had given his consent to the new edition, this volume was reprinted with the addition of a text of Suspiria derived directly or indirectly from Blackwood's, and given a new half-title page reading De QUINCEY'S WRITINGS, announcing on the verso the publishers' intention of issuing a ‘complete’ edition of De Quincey's works in the same format. This Boston edition of 1850–9 was assembled principally by J. T. Fields himself, in occasional postal consultation with De Quincey, and although certainly not complete, performed a workmanlike job of rescuing what could be found of De Quincey's published work and making it available in volumes which claimed to sort the material roughly by category. It was immensely useful at the time, not merely as the sole collection available but also as providing the basis for De Quincey to review, revise and expand his own canon. At the same time it was far from perfect. Ticknor and Fields's printers were very competent but they were not infallible and they worked in a hurry. They often repunctuated De Quincey's work and from time to time introduced substantive errors into his text. Proofs were read to check for self-evident errors, but they were not read back against the original text, so plausible misprints were left standing. Moreover, the sources of their copytexts are open to question. It has generally been assumed that Fields simply took De Quincey's essays from the original British periodicals, and in some cases he certainly did so. But investigation of the text of Confessions has shown that the text came, not from any British source, but from a tradition of inaccurate American pirate publication nearly thirty years old. Confessions is, of course, a special case. Nonetheless its history prompts the question of whether other works by De Quincey may have been found reprinted in American periodicals more accessible in Boston than their British counterparts. No systematic study of De Quincey's reception in America has been made, and it is not within the scope of the present edition to make one; but it may be that Fields's minor inaccuracies in works besides Confessions were partly inherited from elsewhere.

A more serious matter is the generally chaotic structure of the Fields edition. Although claiming to group the essays by topic, the volumes for the most part simply assembled what had come to hand and imposed a title of sorts whether it fitted or not. The word ‘miscellaneous’ was often deployed. Thus, to take a typical volume, Theological Essays and Other Papers contained only three essays that could by any stretch of the imagination be
viewed as theological (‘Secession from the Church of Scotland’, ‘Toilette of the Hebrew Lady’ and ‘Judas Iscariot’), together with ‘Milton’, ‘Charlemagne’, ‘Modern Greece’ and ‘Lord Carlyle on Pope’. Moreover, the edition itself had no stable structure. The notion (immortalised in both the British Library Catalogue and the American National Union Catalogue Pre-1856 Imprints) of a numbered sequence of twenty-two volumes, disturbed only by the curious and confusing feature that vol. 5 was subsequently revised by the author ... [and] printed as vol. 12 of the present collection in 1853, superseding the original vol. 5, and the numeration of the intermediate volumes was altered accordingly; is a polite fiction created by librarians. In fact none of the volumes was numbered either internally or externally. The reverse half-titles of some early volumes gave a numbered list of the first four to be issued, but thereafter that pretence was abandoned. Volumes were issued as convenient, kept in stock and reprinted piecemeal as necessary. On occasion desultory textual corrections were made when a reprint was due. After 1852, when De Quincey’s revised edition began to appear, sporadic efforts were made to insert new material in any way practicable – for example, by adding new footnotes to old text, or by taking an essay out and replacing it with a newly set version incorporating as much of De Quincey’s new material as could be squeezed in without seriously changing the size of the volume. Even the contents of a given volume did not remain constant. The Wordsworth Library, for example, contains two copies of Fields’s Miscellaneous Essays, printed in 1851 and 1853. Their contents are substantially different. The fact is that hardly any two sets of the Fields edition are exactly alike; it is, indeed, hardly meaningful in this context to speak of a ‘set’. The edition was a fluid, ad hoc group of volumes with no serious claims to system or completeness.

Selections Grave and Gay, from Writings Published and Unpublished by Thomas De Quincey, 16 vols (Edinburgh: James Hogg, 1852–60) was a very different matter. Developed by De Quincey, during the last eight years of his life, on the basis of the Boston edition, supplemented by new material and by additional past papers salvaged by De Quincey’s editor James Hogg (Jr), it represented De Quincey’s attempt to bring his work into line with his views, at this late point in his creative life, of what it should be, stylistically and in terms of philosophic completeness. He had always found the tight deadlines and short instalments of magazine publication frustrating. As he memorably complained in his Preface to this new edition,

They wont wait an hour for you in a Magazine or Review; they wont wait for truth; you may as well reason with the sea, or a railway train, as in such a case with an editor[.]

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Readers, on the other hand, may doubt whether this observation goes as deep as another of his insights at this period:

It is certain, however it may be explained psychologically, that the fierce compression of mental activities which takes place in such a struggle, though painful and exhausting, has the effect of suddenly unlocking cells in the brain, and revealing evanescent gleams of original feeling, or startling suggestions of novel truth, that would not have obeyed a less fervent magnetism.  

In any case, De Quincey's preference now was for the full and the leisurely. He introduced wonderful things (the 'Whispering Gallery' passage of Confessions was a product of this phase) but he also at times elaborated fussily, and he added countless footnotes. As its title suggests, Selections Grave and Gay never claimed to be complete. De Quincey deliberately excluded, for example, most of his political writings and was unable to resolve the dilemma of what to do with Suspiria, part of which he incorporated into the Autobiographic Sketches with which the new edition opened, so that, ironically, what had been intended as the crowning glory of his work remained uncollected.

More serious, perhaps, for De Quincey's future reputation was the fact that the edition fostered the notion of De Quincey as solely the florid, verbose and pedantic author he could sometimes be in these last years. Virginia Woolf could not help laughing at his inability to pass by an allusion or a statement that is capable of further explanation without setting down the whole burden of the story and proceeding to remove the imperceptible pebble from the reader's path. Thus the casual mention of 'my sister Mary's governess' requires three-quarters of a page of small print to explain it, because she was, unfortunately, a niece of John Wesley, and De Quincey has views of his own upon the connection between Wesleys and Wellesleys and the evolution of family names in general, and this, to his thinking, is as good a place as another in which to expound them.

This view of De Quincey is inevitable if one has only the Hogg edition to hand. Not that it is now easy to find, for although well and accurately printed, on fairly good paper, Selections Grave and Gay was atrociously bound, in a thin, acidic cloth very prone to disintegration. Nearly all copies of the work have simply fallen apart and complete sets are now very rare.

David Masson produced The Collected Writings of Thomas De Quincey: New and Enlarged Edition, 14 vols (Edinburgh: A. and C. Black) in 1889–90. It has remained the principal source for De Quincey's works until very recently, and all things considered it has not served too badly. But while we must agree with Masson that
if ever there was a case in which the whole of what an author has left, the slighter and the greater together, ought to be conveniently accessible on the shelves of libraries, that distinction is surely due to the remains of De Quincey [.] '

we must also accept that his implied claim to present 'the whole' of De Quincey is false. Indeed, it is not clear how far Masson really intended to make such a claim. His Introduction explicitly commits him merely to offering an edition 'even more perfect in point of completeness' [I. xx] than the American edition (by then enlarged and reissued by Ticknor and Fields's business successors, Houghton Mifflin, as the 'Riverside Edition'). Degrees of completeness, like degrees of perfection, must vary; that Masson did not take seriously the project of presenting 'the whole' of his author is evident from the very extensive Appendix to his edition, dismissively entitled 'Unincluded De Quincey Relics'. The 'Relics' so complacently discarded include the whole of De Quincey's contributions to the Westmorland Gazette, the Appendix to Wordsworth's Cintra pamphlet, numerous pieces from Hogg's Instructor and Titan, the 1824 London Magazine review of Walladmor and the novel Walladmor itself. Masson's tone with regard to the latter items is extraordinary: he informs us that 'readers who want [them] must contrive to see vol. x of the old London Magazine, and may be left to search for a copy of the two-volume abortion', Walladmor itself. The implication that looking for De Quincey's uncollected works is analogous to rooting through the litter-baskets in the park seems designed as a pre-emptive strike at anyone who doubts Masson's criteria for inclusion in a so-called 'Collected' edition. Readers can now judge Walladmor and the related essays for themselves. They are unlikely to endorse Masson's assessment.

We cannot blame Masson for his neglect of the then-undiscovered 1803 Diary, nor of the Edinburgh Post articles retrieved by Stuart Tave in his 1966 New Essays by De Quincey (an area of the canon adjusted and extended in Volumes 5 and 6 of the present edition); and it was none of his purpose to publish manuscript work which had never seen print. It seems inexplicable, however, that he failed to include any of the political essays which De Quincey contributed to Blackwood's between 1840 and 1844. Masson must have had these volumes in his hands, for he reprints other articles from them; nor was he uninterested in political essays, for he includes several in his edition's ninth volume, Politics and Political Economy. Probably he viewed essays on current affairs as ephemeral. Why not, then, say so?

The question is puzzling, but not as puzzling as that of Masson's insistence on his edition's 'adhesion to De Quincey's own text in the latest form in which it left his hands', and his insistence that 'Even in the particulars of pointing and paragraphing this rule will be observed'. Collate any page of Masson's text with the corresponding page in De Quincey's own edition, Selections Grave and Gay, and you will find repunctuation: not occasional,
accidental repunctuation but wholesale alterations, governed by choice and consideration. Masson simply ‘improves’ the punctuation wherever he deems it advantageous. In addition he is happy on occasion to divide single articles into two (as he does, quite needlessly, with the 1826 Lessing essay) and to invent new titles. How far he actually censored the essays we still do not know, since a systematic collation of Masson’s text, interesting as that would be, was not part of the present undertaking; but he certainly did so on occasion, and had a bad conscience about it, as his introductory note to the 1833 article on ‘Mrs Hannah More’ makes clear. Here Masson uncharacteristically admits that he has made cuts; there are, he says, ‘passages so tediously digressive as to mar the general effect’; there is much repetition; Masson has intervened to render the text ‘more coherent and readable’. [XI, 95–6.] This wholly unconvincing note reeks of embarrassment: what Masson is trying not to say is that he has bowdlerised this outspoken article to avoid giving offence to people who still revered the name of Hannah More. Rather than say so he disparages his author. He adopts a similar strategy when faced with the problems of editing *Suspiria de Profundis*. By including parts of *Suspiria* in the *Autobiographic Sketches*, De Quincey had left editors with a dilemma: either reprint *Suspiria* whole and thereby duplicate text that must appear elsewhere, or leave out the parts he had reused and present *Suspiria* in a form even more fragmentary than its somewhat erratic original *Blackwood’s* version. Presumably duplication of text was unthinkable for Masson, so he printed the leftover fragments, not quite complete, and claimed to be improving things on the grounds that

> the original *Blackwood Suspiria*, when read now, annoy one as a kind of clotted confusion, in which duplicates of passages of *Autobiographic Sketches* and the enlarged *Confessions* interrupt and disturb the succession of the pieces of phantasy that constitute the *Suspiria* properly and essentially.9

Rescuing his readers from De Quincey’s ‘clotted confusion’ and reconstituting what Masson saw as the proper and essential *Suspiria* also involved inventing new titles for its sections, even when De Quincey had already assigned them. Thus, for example, the emphasis of ‘The Palimpsest’ was changed and subtly distorted by Masson, who preferred to give it his own title, ‘The Palimpsest of the Human Brain’. Like many of the titles Masson invented for slices of De Quincey’s work, this one has found its way into critical discourse and has played its small part in confounding our reading of De Quincey’s work.

If Masson’s deficiencies as an editor often (to use his own word) ‘annoy’, those of Alexander Hay Japp, De Quincey’s other early editor, are more likely to appal. Japp’s two-volume edition of *Uncollected Writings of Thomas De Quincey* (1890), followed the next year by a further two volumes of *Posthumous Works of Thomas De Quincey*, presented selections
from the many unpublished manuscripts then still in the hands of De Quincey’s daughters. There can be no question about Japp’s devotion to De Quincey. His documentary Life and Writings of De Quincey (first published in 1877, under the pseudonym ‘A. H. Page’) and his later De Quincey Memorials (1891) have remained in some respects indispensable biographical sources. Few readers of Uncollected Writings and Posthumous Works, however, could have guessed how far their rich selection of essays and fragments was vitiated by its editor’s ruthless interventions. For Japp, scissors and paste were no metaphor. Together with a pen dipped in black ink and a rich vein of sonorous, pseudo-De Quinceyan prose, they formed his chosen weapons in the battle to establish De Quincey as a theological visionary whose poetic Christian insights might rival or outdo those of Coleridge. This view of De Quincey Japp advanced by a rich repertoire of methods: cutting up manuscripts, pasting selections of the resulting fragments together (often destroying text on the verso in the process), adding his own pastiche opening and closing sentences, inserting and deleting words or phrases. He freely changed dates, titles and any other detail that did not satisfy him. Generally, after being plentifully marked up in pencil or ink, a manuscript (or a construct of several spliced together) was given to a typist for copying. In some such cases the original, or what was left of it, has disappeared and we have only the typed copy, or a handwritten transcript by Japp himself. He did untold damage and every major collection of De Quincey material today contains items bearing the marks of his intervention. Familiarity with his handwriting, in order to distinguish his contribution from De Quincey’s, is a necessary skill for anyone approaching De Quincey manuscripts.

Wherever possible, manuscripts previously printed by Japp are here given in their proper form, or as much of it as can be recovered, cleansed of his interventions. Sometimes, however, a Japp transcript is now all we have. In such cases, rather than lose part of De Quincey’s work, the Japp version will be given with appropriate warnings.

Principles of the present edition

The present edition hopes to offer, as has been said, so far as possible, all of De Quincey’s writings. Completeness, however, is not a simple concept. Quite apart from the fact that De Quincey’s newspaper work was mostly anonymous and articles may therefore have escaped, part of that work consisted of making up articles from material out of other papers. Sometimes these were a mere patchwork; sometimes he rewrote partly or wholly. Is all of this to be treated as De Quincey’s? And what about the early Blackwood’s years, when writers for the magazine were frequently called in to revise each other’s work? De Quincey may have had a hand in many articles
not attributed to him. We have tried to include everything that is known to be De Quincey's, but only those things that can be firmly attributed to him. Doubtful cases are excluded.

Then there is the question of manuscripts. De Quincey's habits – his numerous Edinburgh lodgings, all 'snowed up' with papers – are well known. The huge body of manuscripts which he left passed mainly into the hands of his daughters, though already some appear to have been given to James Hogg and other friends. Some found their way (rightfully or otherwise) into the hands of A. H. Japp. The main body of papers descended to his granddaughters, the Misses Bairdsmith, who in their later years were in the habit of giving scraps away to visitors as souvenirs. In the 1960s the bulk of the manuscripts was sold by auction at Sotheby's and dispersed, partly into private collections and partly into public holdings. The situation is a chaotic one, and though there are a number of major holdings, small caches of De Quincey manuscripts are held in all sorts of collections, large and small, from New Zealand to Canada. The editors have tried to locate all known manuscripts and, where possible, to include them in this edition either in the textual collations to De Quincey's published works or as transcripts. The latter case is the more common, as comparatively few manuscripts for De Quincey's published works survive. The greater part of his manuscript remains consist either of fragments of works, finished or unfinished, which never saw print, or of alternative drafts, often very different indeed, for works which did. Large as De Quincey's published output was, he wrote also an immense amount which was not published. We intend to include, at the appropriate chronological points, as much as possible of this unpublished material, much of which is important and fascinating. We cannot assert that we have found everything, or that we shall have space to include all that we have found. We believe, however, that we are presenting everything that is of literary value.

The most controversial feature of the present edition must be its decision uniformly to offer the first published texts of De Quincey's work. Since De Quincey revised something like two-thirds of his canon for Selections Grave and Gay (1852–60), it can be argued that in returning to first texts we are defying the author's final intentions. This is certainly so, and whilst our apparatus should enable the reader to reconstruct the revised versions where these are wanted, the present edition unashamedly privileges the earlier (unusually, the magazine-published) versions. One reason for this is simply that, although he revised much of his work, De Quincey did not revise it all. There is certainly an argument for reprinting Selections Grave and Gay as an entity; but if this were done as part of a complete edition, it would have to be followed by a raggle-taggle army of those articles De Quincey happened never to revise. A quite unhelpful gulf would open up between the two groups of works which would make it harder than ever to
see his work as a whole. Alternatively, one might dream of an edition which would reprint both versions of each revised text. Such an edition may one day exist electronically; but the economics of the real world forbid it so far as bound volumes are concerned. A third option – to give items in chronological sequence of first publication, but to use revised texts where these exist – would be feasible, but would result in an unhappy oscillation, especially in the earlier volumes, between pieces brought into line with De Quincey’s elaborate late style and others, left in his crisper and more provocative earlier manners.

At the same time a chronological ordering, based on first texts, has two great advantages. First, it enables us to follow De Quincey’s stylistic and intellectual development steadily from beginning to end; and second, it brings out the important fact that he kept different kinds of writing for different periodicals. A *Blackwood’s* article is different from a *Tait’s* article, and both from a piece for the *Edinburgh Evening Post*. All are equally De Quinceyan, but the politics, the range of reference, the jokes, even the rhythm of the sentences, change subtly. Like any good journalist De Quincey had an audience in mind and knew how to approach (and often, also, how to tease and provoke) it. In the present edition each volume covers a chronological period, and within that period articles written for a particular periodical are grouped together. When De Quincey revised a work so thoroughly as to change its nature entirely, both versions are given. At the end of the volume come transcripts of any manuscripts from the period which were left unpublished at De Quincey’s death.

The treatment of texts is conservative. De Quincey expected his editor and printer to revise his punctuation and the manuscripts are often inconsistent or unclear over minor details of punctuation. He would argue fiercely at proof stage when he felt his meaning was being distorted by an error in punctuation, spelling or sentence division, but in general he accepted unquestioningly the adjustments made to his work in-house. In any case, very few manuscripts survive of his published work. Accordingly, the spelling and punctuation of the copy text are followed exactly, except that in all texts taken from published sources single inverted commas have been used first, with double within those and so on, regardless of the original practice. This change, a concession to the requirements of possible future electronic publication, is the only form of silent alteration to be made. Obvious typographical errors have also been corrected, but these are noted in the Textual Notes. In the case of manuscript transcripts, all spelling, punctuation and other details are reproduced except that all types of ‘brackets’ are shown as round parentheses ( ). This is because De Quincey uses a repertoire of intermediate shapes between square and round, apparently of no special significance, which cannot adequately be represented in print. So far as possible, all deleted passages in manuscripts
have been restored, clearly marked as deletions. It should be noted that De Quincey habitually used what would now be regarded as ‘American’ spellings (for example, labor rather than labour), which were still in use at the time; these were generally changed by his printers, but their occurrence in his manuscripts should cause no surprise.

De Quincey’s texts, in their original periodical publications, contain many ambiguous line-end hyphens. These have been resolved by checking, first, for other, mid-line, occurrences of the same word or compound in the same article; then by checking the manuscript, if there is one; failing that, by comparison with other articles by De Quincey appearing about the same time in the same periodical; then by the general practice in the period, if that can be ascertained; and then by editorial decision. Hyphens appearing at the line-end in the present edition have been printed in bold type when they are to be treated as ‘hard’; thus only those line-end hyphens printed in bold should be retained in quotation.

Editorial intrusion into the text has been kept to a minimum. Each item is given a headnote which provides contextual information about the text, any relevant known manuscripts (a word deemed for convenience to include proof sheets, whether page or galley), its sources, its first publication, any republications during De Quincey’s lifetime, attribution arguments where necessary, and any other information deemed helpful to the reader. For manuscript transcripts, the headnote gives the location of the manuscript and, wherever possible, details of its physical structure – paper, ink, folding and so on. Apart from the headnotes, the only editorial additions to the text are superior numbers, which refer the reader to the explanatory notes at the back of the volume. All footnotes on the page are De Quincey’s own, or at any rate those which originally appeared with the article, for his editors occasionally insisted on adding theirs, with or without his consent.

At the back of each volume are two sections of notes, Explanatory and Textual. The Explanatory Notes supply the information a reader is likely to need to understand the main point of what De Quincey is saying. They identify people and events mentioned, give the sources of quotations and translate foreign words and phrases. They have deliberately been kept brief, since otherwise De Quincey’s enormously wide range of reference would have generated notes enough to bury the text completely. Cross-references between volumes have been avoided as impractical in an edition whose first seven volumes have been prepared simultaneously and whose remaining volumes will go to press in later years. Individual volumes are not indexed but a comprehensive index to the edition as a whole will be given in the final volume.

The textual notes list all substantive variants between the copy text of an item and its manuscripts, and any revised version published with De
Quincey’s authority – which means, normally, only his own revised edition, *Selections Grave and Gay*. Variants from the Ticknor and Fields Boston edition of 1850–9 are given only when they found their way into *Selections Grave and Gay*. The reason for this is that the Boston edition underwent no direct intervention from De Quincey; its variants are thus not owed to him in any way. On the other hand, when those variants were carried over into his own edition they stood alongside his own revisions and were accepted by him. It may be of interest to readers to see how many apparent ‘revisions’ to his text were thus made not by De Quincey but by his American printers.

For similar reasons, ‘accidental’ variants – those involving only changes of punctuation or spelling which do not significantly alter the meaning – are not listed in the Textual Notes. These were inherited from the Boston Edition so frequently as to make it clear that De Quincey was, perhaps surprisingly, prepared in most cases to take the the spelling and punctuation of his texts on trust. In the circumstances there seems little point in burdening the reader by listing thousands of changes, from a comma to a semicolon, or from a semicolon to a dash. Where such ‘accidentals’ have any special significance, we list them; but as a general rule, we do not.

It should be clear that this edition is intended as a starting-point rather than a conclusion. By making the full range of his work accessible once again, the editors hope to return De Quincey to his rightful place as a great and enjoyable writer. We have not tried, beyond the levels necessary for editing, to interpret De Quincey. That is for future readers and the critics among them. No doubt many will read him in libraries; but let us hope that from time to time, here and there, someone will experience the truth of Virginia Woolf’s observation that

Still, the generous reader, reading luxuriously in some sheltered garden where the view between hedges is of a vast plain sunk beneath an ocean of air, will find that a page of De Quincey is no mere sheet of bald signs, but part of the pageant itself. It will carry on the air and the sky, and, as words do, invest them with a finer meaning.\(^{10}\)

*Grevel Lindop,*
*Manchester 1999*

**Notes**

5 SGG I. vi-vii.
6 SGG VIII. i-ii.
8 Masson, L.xxiv.
9 Masson, XIII.133.
The preparation of this volume has indebted me to numerous people, without whose help, support and encouragement it would never have reached fruition. My single greatest debt is to my fellow editors. Both as fellow labourers and friends they have provided a context which has made editing this most textually complex of writers an essentially confederate experience.

Work at both the lengthy planning stage of the whole edition and, more specifically, during the execution of this volume has been generously funded. I would like to thank Manchester University for appointing me Joseph and Hannah Maria Lees Fellow in 1990-1, and the British Academy for awarding a series of grants between 1991 and 1998 which funded a Research Associateship at Manchester University. Manchester University also provided crucial research expenses over the years during which the project was evolving. None of this essential funding would have emerged without the unremitting efforts of Grevel Lindop, whose energies have shaped the whole Works project, and whose warmth of friendship I could only marvel at. My debt to him is incalculable. I must also thank Pickering & Chatto for the generous financial assistance they provided towards attending the 1997 MLA, where two special sessions on De Quincey, arranged by Marilyn Gaull, provided a highly profitable forum for discussing the whole project in a wider context.

Institutions and individuals too numerous to mention have assisted in providing detailed research information over the years; I am sincerely grateful to all of them. Special mention should be made of the pioneering work on the Westmorland Gazette by F. S. Janzow, without whose contributions to De Quincey studies, work on parts of this volume would have been even more perplexed than it was.

I would also particularly like to thank the staff at Liverpool Record Office for providing the facilities for the close study of De Quincey’s 1803 diary, and for tirelessly answering queries on the subject; the Conservation Centre, Liverpool generously gave the facilities, and Caroline Cotgrove her time, to permit a ‘forensic’ reading of deleted passages in the diary; Charles J. Rzepka provided crucial information about De Quincey’s manuscripts at
very short notice; David Bain was relentless in untangling De Quincey’s idiosyncratic use of Classical Greek and Latin; staff at the County Record Offices in Kendal and Carlisle, at Barrow-in-Furness Library, Kendal Library and the offices of the Westmorland Gazette were always ready to provide research accommodation and information; Jeff Cowton, librarian at the Wordsworth Library in Grasmere, was unstinting in making his extensive knowledge of the library’s collections available. Essential information was also provided by the staff at the John Rylands University Library of Manchester, the National Library of Scotland, and Edinburgh University Library. Staff in the Department of Rare Books at Cornell University Library, in the Research Libraries at the New York Public Library, in the Houghton Library at Harvard University, and the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University deserve thanks for the many queries they answered.

I would like to offer special thanks to Daniel Roberts for his supportive friendship and unflagging ability not to get annoyed at yet another telephone query! Both were life-savers. Finally, the editor would like to thank Barry Parsons, Grevel Lindop, and Anthony Atkins for their help in preparing some of the notes to the central section of this volume.

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Barry Symonds
ABBREVIATIONS


Burwick Frederick Burwick, *The Rhetoric and Aesthetic of Thomas De Quincey* (unpublished PhD, University of Wisconsin, 1965)


Caseby Richard Caseby, *The Opium-Eating Editor* (Kendal: Westmorland Gazette, 1985)

Clarke M. L. Clarke, *Classical Education in Britain 1500–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959)


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Works of De Quincey: Volume 1

DC
Manuscripts held at the Wordsworth Library, Dove Cottage, Grasmere

Douglas

DQM
A. H. Japp, De Quincey Memorials, 2 vols (London: Heinemann, 1891)

Eaton (1927)

Eaton (1936)
Horace A. Eaton, Thomas De Quincey (London: Oxford University Press, 1936)

Evans

Fetter (1960)

Fetter (1969)

Foucault
Michel Foucault, The Order of Things (London: Tavistock Publications, 1985)

Griggs

Groves
David Groves, ‘Thomas De Quincey, the Edinburgh Literary Gazette, and the Affinity of Languages’ (English Language Notes, 26 (1989), pp. 55–69)

Heinzelman

Hilton

Hogg
James Hogg, De Quincey and His Friends (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co., 1895)

Houghton

Inglis
Brian Inglis, Poverty and the Industrial Revolution (London: Panther Books, 1972)

Janzow (1968)
F. S. Janzow, De Quincey Enters Journalism: His Contributions to the Westmorland Gazette 1818–1819 (unpublished PhD, University of Chicago, 1968)

Janzow (1972)
F. S. Janzow, ‘De Quincey’s “Danish Origin of the Lake

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ABBREVIATIONS

Country Dialect” Republished’ (Costerus, I (1972), pp. 139–59)

Janzow (1973) F. S. Janzow, “‘Philadelphus,” a New Essay by De Quincey’ (Costerus, IX (1973), pp. 29–63)


Japp (1877) H. A. Page (A. H. Japp), Thomas De Quincey: His Life and Writings, 2 vols (London: John Hogg, 1877)

Japp (1890) A. H. Japp, Thomas De Quincey: His Life and Writings (London: John Hogg, 2nd edition, 1890)


LP The Lowther Papers, Cumbria Record Office, Carlisle


Martin Sidney W. Martin, Florida during the Territorial Days (Philadelphia: Porcupine Press, 1974)

McDonagh Josephine McDonagh, De Quincey’s Disciplines (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994)


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NLS  The National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh

OED  *The Oxford English Dictionary*


SGG  *Selections Grave and Gay from Writings Published and Unpublished, by Thomas De Quincey*, 14 vols (Edinburgh: James Hogg, 1853–60)


Strout  Alan Lang Strout, ‘Thomas Clarkson as Champion of
ABBREVIATIONS

Brougham in 1818’ (Notes and Queries (4 June 1938), pp. 398–401)


Symonds Barry Symonds, De Quincey and His Publishers: The Letters of Thomas De Quincey to His Publishers, and Other Letters, 1819–1832 (unpublished PhD, University of Edinburgh, 1994)

Tait’s Tait’s Edinburgh Magazine, Edinburgh, William Tait


Tebeau Charlton W. Tebeau, A History of Florida (Miami: University of Miami Press, 1971)


Wu Duncan Wu, ‘Wordsworth and the Westmorland Advertiser’ (Notes and Queries, 241 (December, 1996), pp. 420–1)
CONVENTIONS FOR MANUSCRIPT TRANSCRIPTION

Where a manuscript is selected for transcription it is given in full, including all holograph deletions. No attempt is made to reproduce the arrangement of text on the page, but the headnote to each manuscript item will indicate the positioning of material where relevant.

Where possible the headnotes give paper size, colour of ink, watermark details, the nature of any folding, and an indication of which sides are written or left blank.

A folio number and indication of recto (abbreviated as 'r.') or verso (abbreviated as 'v.') is assigned by the editor and given in square brackets at the head of each manuscript page. Thus [1 r.] would indicate the beginning of the recto of the first leaf of a manuscript, and [1 v.] would indicate the verso of the same leaf. Any exceptions to this general principle are explained in the headnotes.

De Quincey’s abbreviations are not generally expanded. In the few cases where an abbreviation is expanded to render it intelligible, the expansion is placed in square brackets.

Deleted matter is placed in angle brackets < >

An illegible character is indicated by x

De Quincey’s wide range of bracket forms, often hybridized, is normalized to round brackets.

Matter inserted above or between lines is enclosed in curly brackets and preceded by an oblique arrow, thus {↑}

Matter underlined in the manuscript is given in italic

A blank space, stain, tear or other damage completely obliterating text is indicated thus: {stain}
The following three items, [A] to [C], were written between autumn 1799 and summer 1800, when De Quincey was a pupil at Winkfield School in the small Wiltshire village of Winkfield, today known as Wingfield (near Bath). Academically untaxing though it proved to be under its headmaster and local rector, the Rev. Edward Spencer, the private school, with its thirty or so pupils, nonetheless initiated the young De Quincey's 'public' writing career. Richard Woodhouse explains that

He [De Quincey] with some of the others at that school set up a periodical work (as it may be termed) in conjunction with one of Mr. Spencer's daughters. They each furnished in turn written essays or disquisitions. Of these they collected about 80. (De Quincey in conversation with Richard Woodhouse, second entry dated September 28, 1821, in Morrison.)

It was for this weekly school paper, called The Observer, that item A and possibly item B were written. Copies of the manuscript paper have not survived, though Woodhouse noted in his 1821 Cause Book entry that De Quincey still possessed a number of them at that time. For more details of context see Japp (1890), pp. 22–8 and Lindop, pp. 29–30.

[A] [Untitled Poem]

Original source of publication unavailable (see above); not republished during De Quincey's lifetime. There is no known manuscript. These boyish lines, evidently part of a longer poem, are quoted from a letter of 1859–60 addressed to Margaret Craig, eldest daughter of De Quincey, by a former Winkfield schoolfriend of the latter, the Rev. E. W. Grinfield (Japp (1890), p. 26 – original missing). ‘I can even now recall’, Grinfield writes, ‘some lines he composed [for the Observer] in answer to a challenge from a neighbouring school.’ They were memorable enough to Grinfield's brother and fellow Winkfieldian Tom for him to refer to them, in some lines of his own, in a letter to De Quincey of 1847. In it he notes that De Quincey's 'favourite stanza' opened 'Haply you chance to meet our little band so brave' (Japp (1890), pp. 27–8).
Since Ames's skinny school has dared
   To challenge Spencer's boys,¹
We thus to them bold answer give²
   To prove ourselves 'no toys.'

Full thirty hardy boys we are,
   As brave as e'er was known;
We will nor threats nor dangers mind
   To make you change your tone!

[B] Noscitur a Sociis¹

Unpublished in De Quincey's lifetime. A holograph manuscript of the complete piece is held in the Berg Collection at the New York Public Library (reference Y). It consists of a single sheet folded once to give two leaves 160 by 200 mm, each bearing writing on both sides; ink is black faded to brown and the sheet carries an undated watermark 'MOLINEUX JOHNSTON & A LEE' (exactly when these Sussex paper-makers commenced business is not known, though there is a reference to one of their ventures, dated 1808, in Alfred Shorter's Paper Mills and Paper Makers in England, 1495–1800, Hilversum: Paper Publications Society, 1957, p. 241). 'Noscitur a Sociis' (Latin: literally 'one is known by one's companions') was first published in DQM, I, pp. 21–3, with a few errors and omissions, where it is referred to as an early Winkfield essay. Japp's reasons for assigning it to this period are unstated; like many of De Quincey's early editors, however, he had access to information that has since disappeared. Whatever the case, the essay suits the Winkfield period in terms of theme, tone (balanced between immaturity and the more advanced level of De Quincey's next school, Manchester Grammar), style and handwriting. Though it might have been a school exercise, it also seems to fit E. W. Grinfield's description of the sort of piece which could have gone into the Observer, a journal 'carried on [...] for our own improvement in composition' (Japp (1890), p. 26; and see initial headnote for details of the Observer). De Quincey was later to refer to Coleridge's use of 'the old adage – Noscitur a socio' ('Letters to a Young Man whose Education has been Neglected', London Magazine, VII, January 1823, p. 88).

[1 r.]

Of the many Criterions by which we may judge of a Man's Temper, Habits, and Disposition, none is less liable to deceive us, none more invariably certain than the Character of his Companions. Every Man, who has
the Liberty of choice, will select those as his Friends and Associates, whose
Manners, whose Ideas and whose Inclinations are most congenial with his
own. A Person of unruly Passions, and unrestrained Desires, hot, fiery and
impetuous, eager of command, and disdainful of Submission, will never
seek an Intimacy with the humble, the gentle, and the unaspiring. He would
despise them, he would consider them as ignoble, sluggish Spirits; now,
Contempt and real Friendship can never subsist together; they are incom-
patible. In the same manner, a covetous Man will find little enjoyment in
the Society of a Spendthrift, or even

[1 v.]
of a person liberal within bounds. They will mutually condemn each other.
A brave Man and a Coward are under the same restraint with regard to
Friendship; they cannot coalesce. The first will feel himself too much
degraded, and the other will be too conscious of his inferiority, ever to
derive the slightest pleasure from Association. All contraries are repugnant
to each other: it is for this reason that Men, as was observed before, always
mix most with those on whom Nature or Habit has conferred a Temper
 correspondent, in the most prominent Features to their own. By this, there-
fore, we may know them.

It is a very general Remark, that there is no rule
without an exception;
and this Axiom accordingly of distinguishing Men by their Connections, in
some cases does not undoubtedly hold good. But then we must observe, it is
only with regard to those Soci-

[2 r.]
eties which have not been formed voluntarily, but by compulsion, or for
some other reason than Inclination. Thus Addison,⁴ for instance, delighted
in the Company of Wits, of Poets, and of Scholars, (at any rate of such, as
were not able to enter into competition with him); and yet we hear that
sometimes in those seasons, when every Man, who is wearied with long
intellectual exertions, seeks for ease, he condescended to solace himself
with the company of a Barber. Now, had any one, who met him in such
Society, formed his opinion of him immediately by the Ignorance of his
Company, he would have been led into an error. For Addison was pleased
with his humble Friend only in his Intervals of Idleness and Inaction, and
probably then merely to heighten his Relish for the Society of Men more on
a level with himself; in the same manner as persons frequently undergo
bodily Labour volunta-
rily, that they may have a more lively sense of the pleasure arising from Sleep and Quiet. No Man, it is very certain, will ever habitually and systematically associate with Characters dissimilar in their leading Features to his own. By his Companions, therefore, may every one be known.

[C] THIRD PRIZE TRANSLATION

Of Horace, Ode 22. Lib. 1.¹

By THOMAS QUINCEY, AGED 15.

Of Mr. Spencer's Academy, Winckfield, Wilts.

First published in The Monthly Preceptor, or, Juvenile Library and its half-yearly compilation by volume The Juvenile Library (London), I, 1800, pp. 348–9; not republished during De Quincey's lifetime. An undatable MS copy of the translation and attestation, not in De Quincey's hand, is held by the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh (MS 1006, ff. 138–9).

The Monthly Preceptor, which ran from 1800 to 1803 (under various titles in its monthly guise), was an instructional miscellany for children; as its title page states, it offered 'a monthly distribution of prizes' across a wide range of academic disciplines (see W. E. A. Axon, 'The Juvenile Library', The Library, NS, II, 1901, pp. 67–81). De Quincey's translation of a set passage from Cicero's 26th Oration, the Pro Archia Poeta, was awarded a seventh prize by the same magazine (I, p. 135) but was not printed. Both awards took the form of books and first prize for the Horace translation was given to Leigh Hunt.

The 'lionization' of De Quincey after the third-prize award is discussed in his 'Sketches of Life and Manners' (Tait's, I, March 1834, pp. 88–9; see Japp (1890), p. 28 for Tom Grinfield's laudatory verse on the subject). In Ireland, shortly after completing the translation, De Quincey was engaged on similar work. 'They then desired me', he writes to his mother in August 1800 from Lord Altamont's estate, 'to translate for them another Ode at Westport, which I am going to do' (Japp (1890), p. 36; as DQM, I, pp. 42, 44, 48 makes clear, this work was never completed). Over twenty years later the subject was still a vital one: 'he wished for a free translation of Horace's odes to be undertaken [...] con amore', by a number of hands, he was to tell Woodhouse, who also noted, 'he has himself a few odes which he has striven to render when under the influence of these feelings' (Morrison, Woodhouse journal entry for 28 September 1821).

As set for translation by the magazine the ode varies in spelling and punctuation from modern versions; the italicized headline, literally 'Innocence will always find safety', is an addition. Given under the heading 'EXERCISE IN
ENGLISH POETRY. FOR YOUNG GENTLEMEN WHO HAVE NOT EXCEEDED SIXTEEN YEARS OF AGE' on pp. 213-14 of the Preceptor, Horace's 22 Ode runs as follows:

Innocentiam ubique tutam esse.
Integer vitae, scelerisque purus
Non eget Mauri jaculis neque arcu,
Nec venenatis gravidâ sagittis,
Fusce, pharetrâ;
Sive per Syrtes iter aetuosas,
Sive facturus per inhospitalem
Caucasum, vel quae loca fabulosus
Lambit Hydaspes.
Namque me silvâ lupus in Sabinâ,
Dum meam canto Lalagen, & ultra
Terminus curis vigor expeditus,
Fugit inermem;
Quale portentum neque militaris
Daunia in latis alit esculetis,
Nec Jubae tellus generat, leonum
Arida nutrix.
Pone me pigris ubi nulla campis
Arbor aestivâ recreatur aura;
Quod latus mundi nebulae, malusque
Jupiter urget:
Pone sub curru nimium propinqui
Solis, in terrâ domibus negatâ,
Dulcè ridentem Lalagen amabo,
Dulcè loquentem.

De Quincey's translation follows.

FUSCUS! the man whose heart is pure,
Whose life unsullied by offence,
Needs not the jav'lines of the Moor
In his defence.

Should he o'er Lybia's burning sands
Fainting pursue his breathless way,
No bow he'd seek to arm his hands
Against dismay.

Quivers of poisoned shafts he'd scorn,
Nor, though unarmed, would feel a dread
To pass where Caucasus forlorn
Rears his huge head.

In his own conscious worth secure,
Fearless he'd roam amidst his foes,
Where fabulous Hydaspes\textsuperscript{2} pure,
   Romantic flows.

For late as in the Sabine wood\textsuperscript{3}
   Singing my Lalage\textsuperscript{4} I strayed,
Unarmed I was, a wolf there stood;
   He fled afraid.

Larger than which one ne’er was seen
   In warlike Daunia’s\textsuperscript{5} beechen groves,
Nor yet in Juba’s\textsuperscript{6} land, where e’en
   The lion roves.

Send me to dreary barren lands
   Where never summer zephyrs play,
Where never sun dissolves the bands
   Of ice away:

Send me again to scorching realms
   Where not one cot affords a seat,
And where no shady pines or elms
   Keep off the heat:

In every clime, in every isle,
   Me Lalage shall still rejoice;
I’ll think of her enchanting smile
   And of her voice.

\textit{Attestation.}

The aforesaid is the unassisted translation of Master Thomas Quincy, a student in this academy, under the age of fifteen years.
EDW. SPENCER, Rector of Winkfield, Wilts.
\textit{June 3, 1800.}
EXPLANATORY NOTES

The abbreviation DNB in a note indicates that an article on the person last named will be found in the Dictionary of National Biography.

Juvenilia

[A: Untitled Poem]
1 Spencer's boys.] De Quincey would later be less than complimentary about Spencer. In his 1821 Confessions he described him as 'a blockhead, who was in a perpetual panic, lest I should expose his ignorance' (London Magazine, IV, September 1821, p. 296).
2 bold answer give] In the lines contained in his 1847 letter to De Quincey (see headnote, p. 1), Tom Grinfield records

[...] the applauding noise
That hailed your bold response, rehearsed aloud
From the school-table to the stripling crowd,
Hurling 'retorted scorn' in martial numbers proud.

[B: Noscitur a Sociis]
1 [title] Noscitur a Sociis] The Latin, which is translated in the headnote (see above, p. 2), has no specific classical root.
1 Addison,] Joseph Addison (1672–1719), English classical scholar, essayist, dramatist, and poet; he occupied a number of political posts as a Whig MP. De Quincey refers to his work many times in his writings.

[C: Third Prize Translation of Horace]
1 [title] Horace, Ode 22. Lib. 1.] Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus, 65–8 BC), Roman poet and satirist. His Odes, Quinn (p. xiii) notes, 'are set in the everyday life of a society which had recreated, in Italy and in Latin, the ideals and cultural values of the Greek-speaking Hellenistic world.' The ode given here, from the first book (Lib[er] 1.) of four books of odes, has been described by one translator as 'one of Horace's most charming and perfect' (Nisbet, p. 263). Clarke, chapters IV, VI and VIII, indicates the popularity of Horace's writings for school and university exercises of the period.
1 Fuscus!] Aristius Fuscus, an intimate friend of Horace and writer of comedies. Ironically (given the theme of the ode) he is described elsewhere by Horace as 'a town-lover, who disliked the countryside' (Nisbet, p. 262).
2 Hydaspes] now known as the Jhelum, a river in the Punjab region of north Pakistan, and site of a notable victory by Alexander the Great in 326 BC.

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3 Sabine wood] The Sabine peoples once inhabited the Apennines region of central Italy; they merged with the Romans around 300 BC.

4 Lalage] a fictional construct.

5 Daunia's] Daunus was an ancient kingdom in the north of Apulia, a region in south-eastern Italy. The Daunii were a mysterious tribe who were said to have been brought across the Adriatic by [the mythical Greek hero] Diomedes’ (Nisbet, p. 269).

6 Juba's] Both Quinn and Nisbet suppose this to refer to Numidia and neighbouring regions in North Africa, where Juba II reigned in the first century BC.

Diary, 1803

1 “Ev’n from...sympathetic aid.”] James Thomson (see n. 18), The Seasons, ‘Summer’, ll. 1267–8. The second line should open ‘Receives’ rather than ‘Derives’.

2 Saltatory exercises;] As the following text shows, De Quincey is using ‘saltatory’ in two of its senses; i.e., to characterize dancing, and to characterize leaping, etc. In its latter usage it pre-dates the earliest date of use (1847) given in OED.

3 palaestra)] ‘a wrestling school or gymnasium’.

4 Madame Genlis] Stéphanie Félicité Ducrest de St Aubin de Genlis (1746–1830) (Comtesse de Genlis), prolific French dramatist, novelist and writer of instructional works; many of her writings, rapidly translated into English, were for children. The sort of exercises De Quincey is referring to here are outlined in a number of her works. A New Method of Instruction for Children (published in English in 1800), the work given as De Quincey’s probable source in Eaton (1927) (p. 215, n. 1), is as likely a source as any.

5 D’ Franklin’s] Benjamin Franklin (1706–90), American statesman, scientist and writer, who helped draft the Declaration of Independence. Franklin’s ‘advice to swimmers’, originally given in an undated letter to Oliver Neave, was added to a number of anonymous works on the subject published in Britain in the first decade of the nineteenth century (exact dating of these works is problematical).

6 Ascham in his “Toxology.”] Roger Ascham (1515/16–68), English classicist, scholar and writer; his Toxophilus (Lover of Shooting; 1543) is a treatise in dialogue form on archery.

7 Thermopylae? Oh! Leonidas.] Leonidas (d. 480 BC) was the Spartan king who, with his small force of men, died holding the pass of Thermopylae in Greece against a much larger army of Persians.

8 la derniere...évanouï] ‘the final emission of seed certainly after the ninth hour’. As elsewhere in the diary De Quincey is recording his nocturnal masturbating; ‘emission of seed’ refers to an orgasm.

9 You[ng] Collins] Edward Young (1683–1765), English poet, best known for his The Complaint, or Night Thoughts; William Collins (1721–59), English poet, included in De Quincey’s 12 April diary list of ‘favourite’ poets.

10 all breathing...sorrows more!] The first line is from Coleridge’s poem ‘The Dungeon’ (l. 23 – the whole was extracted from his play Osorio) and the last from Wordsworth’s ‘Lines written near Richmond, upon the Thames, at Evening’ (l. 36). Both works appeared in the 1798 Lyrical Ballads. The other lines are possibly original.

11 medium quoddam] ‘middle way’.

12 Chattertonian μελανγχολια] Thomas Chatterton (1752–70), English poet, whose ‘Rowley’ poems were offered as the work of a fifteenth-century Bristol
poet; his tragic, early, poverty-induced suicide became a paradigm amongst Romantic writers for poetic sensibility destroyed by a harsh mercantile society. He would remain a favourite of De Quincey's. The Greek word means 'melancholia'.

13 *Infidel Father.* The Infidel Father. By the Author of A Tale of the Times (1802), a three-volume novel by the English novelist, poet and essayist Jane West (1758–1852). It is a typical piece of early-century Gothic fiction, with a double plot which involves both the 'infidel' Earl of Glanville and his daughter in multiple scenes of seduction, desertion and betrayal, and ultimately in their double suicide. De Quincey might have been particularly interested in the Godwinian philosophic upbringing of the daughter, Caroline, and in the descriptions of drug-induced states of mind which follow the father's taking of laudanum to relieve his depression. The context of De Quincey's reference (on the page specified) runs as follows: 'The intelligence of Lady Caroline's elopement threw Lord Glanville into a paroxysm of rage [...] it was at first thought his life would fall a sacrifice to the keen emotions of wounded pride, and the compunctive visitings of remorse.'

14 *Grinfield,* Edward Grinfield; see headnote to Juvenilia [A] for details. In April 1803 Grinfield was an undergraduate at Lincoln College, Oxford, where De Quincey would occasionally meet him after his own matriculation at Worcester College later in the year.

15 "Th' unconquerable mind and Freedom's holy flame!") Thomas Gray (1716–71), 'The Progress of Poesy' (1757), a Pindaric ode, II. ii. 12.

16 *enquired for you in Oxford;* Given the narrow time span between his return to his mother's house in Chester from London and his arrival in Liverpool (see headnote), De Quincey probably 'enquired' after Grinfield in Oxford during the former journey. London–Oxford–Chester would anyway have represented an easy, established coaching-route north.

17 *St John's Priory, Chester.* St John's Priory, Chester, home of De Quincey's mother.

18 *James Thomson,* (1700–48), Scottish poet best known for *The Seasons* and *The Castle of Indolence.*

19 *James Beattie,* (1735–1803) Scottish poet, essayist and philosopher; best known for his much-imitated long poem *The Minstrel.*

20 *William Penrose;* De Quincey's reference is to Thomas Penrose (1742–79), prolific English poet. See entry for 'Thursday night' 12 May for the reasons behind the deletion of Penrose's name from this list.

21 *Gray?* see 12 April draft of letter to Grinfield (and n. 14 above).

22 *Belvidere Apollo... Capt' Foster.* the Greek statue of a male nude representing Apollo, god of music, healing and prophecy, the Apollo Belvedere, probably dating from the first century BC. Part of its title derives from its original location in the Belvedere Court at the Vatican. Captain Foster remains untraced. It is probable that Foster's name has no application to the lines, possibly the product of De Quincey's own musings, beside which it is placed.

23 *M' Blondell* the Reverend William Blondell, or Blundell, rector of St Ann's Church, Liverpool, irregularly attended by De Quincey.

24 *Cathedra/i Cestriensi* 'Chester Cathedral'.

25 *vel aliquod* 'or something'.

26 *C's* C. is Mr Cragg, an Everton resident, 'an old family friend, a merchant and presumably a former associate of Thomas Quincey senior' (Lindop, p. 99). As the diary makes clear, De Quincey was a regular dining companion of Cragg's as well as his conversational antagonist. There is a probability that Cragg's recorded visits to Chester were partly for the purpose of reporting to Mrs De
Quincey on her son's behaviour, perhaps placing him in the position of (unwanted) surrogate father (see ibid.).

27 [Ti völī y' Pantheon] The former indicates the extensive remains at Tibur, in Italy, of the magnificent villa of the Roman emperor Hadrian (AD 76–138); the site also contains a number of medieval ruins and the Villa d’Este. The Pantheon is the temple in Rome begun in 27 BC by the statesman Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa. Since AD 609 it has served as a Christian church (Sta Maria Rotunda).

28 Littled’s] This must refer to Mr Littledale, a Liverpool resident mentioned in full in the diary entry for 10 May (p. 26).

29 Oxford scheme;] The complex, often bitter negotiations between De Quincey, his guardians and his mother concerning his wish to be allowed to study at an Oxford college had been running for well over a year. Disappointment at the way they were going had prompted De Quincey to abscond to London from Manchester Grammar School in July 1802, and they were thus responsible for his taking the present ‘rest-cure’ at Everton. The current state of play is revealed in letters home drafted later in the diary (see also headnote and Lindop, p. 105).

30 Mary and my uncle...] Mary was De Quincey’s oldest surviving sister; the (maternal) uncle was Thomas Penson, recently returned to England from India. Both were then living with Mrs De Quincey in Chester.

31 Ap’ 16, 1803.] Mrs De Quincey responded in a letter dated 22 April. Of the ‘Oxford scheme’ she urged her son to ‘prevail’ on the Rev. Samuel Hall, his former tutor and most influential guardian, to relent in opposing his entering a college. ‘Tell Mr. Hall’, she advises, ‘that I am so very unhappy at your present mode of idling away life, that if he will not make the additional allowance I will’ (DQM, I, pp. 92–3).

32 Sennacherib...set off on the road to Caernarvon.] Sennacherib (d. 681 BC), Assyrian king best known for rebuilding the Assyrian capital Nineveh and for his extensive military campaigns; there are Old Testament accounts of him (e.g., 2 Kings 19: 20–36 – Byron wrote his ‘The Destruction of Sennacherib’ in 1815). The Caernarvon reference is doubtlessly to De Quincey’s rapid departure for that town from Bangor, during his post-Manchester Grammar walking tour of Wales (autumn 1802), after an assumed slight by a Bangor landlady (Lindop, pp. 74–5).

33 οὐκ ελαύθων:] ‘it was not escaping his notice’; the first word should read οὖν.

34 Mr Quinsey] There is no extra-diary instance of De Quincey spelling his mother’s name this way: it may possibly be that this refers to a housekeeper.

35 Boyle] untraceable through lack of detail.

36 Ghost-Seer] Der Geisterseher, a novel by the German dramatist and poet Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller (1759–1805), was originally published in Germany in the mid–1780s. The English translation of its first part, by D. Boileau, appeared in 1795 with the title The Ghost Seer, or Apparitionist. It was published in its entirety (in 4 vols) in 1800 as The Armenian, or the Ghost-seer, a History founded on fact; Wilhelm Render was the translator.

37 Mooriana] Mooriana; or Selections from the Moral, Philosophical and Miscellaneous Works of the late Dr. John Moore, eds F. Prevost and F. Blagdon, 2 vols (London, 1803). John Moore (1729–1802), Scottish physician and writer, was the father of the Sir John Moore whose conduct in the Peninsular War De Quincey would later examine in his ‘Postscript’ to Wordsworth’s Cintra pamphlet (1809). It is to one of Moore’s three novels, Mordaunt (1800), that De Quincey refers in his diary entry for 28 May.
38 Ita.] The Italian; or, The Confessional of the Black Penitents: A Romance, 3 vols (1797), by the popular Gothic novelist Ann Radcliffe (1764–1823).

39 Miss Turner] As subsequent entries suggest, Elizabeth Turner ran one of a number of Liverpool lending libraries accessible to De Quincey. Eaton (1927), p. 221, n. 15 gives her address as 75 Richmond Row.

40 She bid me so...return.] from ‘A Pastoral Ballad’ I, ll. 39–40, by William Shenstone (1714–63), poet, essayist and landscape gardener. De Quincey’s ‘reordering by number’ has nearly got the lines right; they do in fact run, ‘So sweetly she bade me adieu/I thought that she bade me return’.

41 M’ Kelsall] Thomas Kelsall had been chief clerk in the textile business of De Quincey’s father, and still managed De Quincey family business interests. He would go bankrupt in 1819 taking some De Quincey family money down with him. De Quincey’s initial admiration for Kelsall had by 1803 turned to dislike (Lindop, p. 54).

42 M’ Hall’s] see n. 31 above. Hall’s ‘obstinacy’ over the Oxford scheme would remain to the bitter end; its depth might be judged from a letter he wrote to De Quincey on 7 January 1803 (DQM, I, p. 91).

43 “Hyperion to a Satyr.”] from Shakespeare, Hamlet, I. ii. 140; Hamlet’s first major soliloquy. For the letter De Quincey is responding to, see n. 31 above.

44 Bootle] a suburb of Liverpool on the east side of the entrance to the Mersey estuary, about three miles north of Everton.

45 The land groaneth...Abraham.] an example of De Quincey’s own poetry.

46 in lecto b. 12 and 1,] ‘in bed between midnight and 1 a.m.’.

47 de eodem,] ‘with respect to the same subject’.

48 Alphana comes from equus;] a parody of current etymology, perhaps.

49 “confusion worse confounded!”] Milton, Paradise Lost, II. 996.

50 The moon ...adversity.] another example of De Quincey’s own poetry.

51 W’s;] W. is James Wright, a partner in the Liverpool bookselling and publishing firm of Merritt & Wright. De Quincey was a frequent visitor to the Wright household (virtually Everton neighbours), on account of the fact perhaps, as suggested in the diary, that he could always guarantee to find women there.

52 Cowpers Iliad;] A very popular blank verse translation of Homer’s Iliad by the English poet William Cowper (1731–1800); it was published in 2 volumes in 1791, and went into a second edition in 1802 (many more editions would follow). De Quincey would be engaged in reading the work until 29 May.

53 cars ...birds,] Untraced, as is the meaning of ‘2 Cars’ at the very end of the diary.

54 M”· Robinson’s Memoirs;] Mary Robinson (1758–1800), known as ‘Perdita’, actress, writer, and, as the DNB has it, ‘royal mistress’. The Memoirs of the Late Mrs Robinson written by herself ran to four volumes and were edited and published by her daughter in 1801. As a child she attended a Bristol school run by the sisters of Hannah More, who was a close friend of Mrs De Quincey.

55 Lewis’s “Tales of Wonder”] Matthew Gregory ‘Monk’ Lewis (1775–1818), hugely popular Gothic novelist, dramatist and poet; the verse Tales of Wonder, written and collected by Lewis and others, appeared in two volumes in 1801. De Quincey refers to the ‘great beauty’ of the Tales in a piece he later wrote for the Westmorland Gazette (see this volume, Westmorland Gazette, section E, 1 August 1818).

56 Brown’s library;] a lending library run by Elizabeth Brown in Everton.

57 “The Dagger”] a novel by the German writer Carl Grosse, published in Berlin in 1794–5 as Der Dolch and in an English translation in 1795.

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EXPLANATORY NOTES TO PAGES 20–3

58 “To worship...handy-works”. ‘the resounding shore’ occurs in several eighteenth-century poems, but is most probably quoted here from James Beattie, The Minstrel, I. The other quotation is untraced.

59 “Amazement in his van,”] see n. 73 below.

60 Milton’s Comus] Comus, A Masque presented at Ludlow Castle, 1634 (1637). Given recent critical evaluations of the work as a pastoral drama De Quincey’s comment seems an astute one.

61 Sampson Agonistes] a tragedy by Milton (1671).

62 Wordsworth’s “Brothers”;] ‘The Brothers, a Pastoral Poem’ appeared in vol. 2 of the 1800 Lyrical Ballads. De Quincey continues his meditation on pathos in the next entry by quoting Shakespeare’s Macbeth, V. ii. 28.

63 “World Displayed”;] John Newbery (1713–67), publisher and bookseller, The World Displayed; or, a curious collection of Voyages and Travels, Selected from the Writers of all Nations, 20 vols (1759–61). It had undergone a number of republications by 1803. Eaton (1927), p. 223, n. 27 points out that the voyages De Quincey mentions next appear in volume X, not XI.

64 James’s and Ellis’ ...North-West passage;] A sea-passage between the Atlantic and the Pacific through the Arctic Seas was not navigated until 1903–5. Thomas James (?1593–?1635) attempted to find a route in 1631 and Henry Ellis (1721–1806) in 1746. By 1803 many accounts of their voyages would have been available to De Quincey.

65 M’ de Brisson’s “Shipureck”] The French explorer Pierre Raymond de Brisson (1745–1818), published his Histoire du naufrage et de la captivité de H. de Brisson in 1789; its English translation, An Account of the Shipwreck and Captivity of Mr. de Brisson, ‘translated by the translator of Grosier’s Description of China’, appeared in 1790. Another translation, Voyages to the Coast of Africa, was published in 1792.

66 “Accusing Spirit”] The Accusing Spirit, or, De Courcy and Eglantine, 4 vols (1802), published anonymously (‘by the Author of Delia, Rosina, etc.’, i.e., Mary Hopkins Pilkington (1766–1839), novelist, children’s writer and translator).

67 “Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne”] Subtitled A Highland Story, this is another novel, containing the staple ingredients of Gothic fiction, by Ann Radcliffe (see, e.g., n. 38); it was first published, in one volume, in 1789.

68 Miss J. Boltons;] yet another Everton lending library.


70 ante ...effusionem.] ‘before the eleventh hour had another orgasm’, cf. n. 8.

71 the farm.] De Quincey would later describe his childhood home at Moss Side, then lying just outside Manchester, as a ‘country-house, with the modest name of The Farm’ (Tait’s Edinburgh Magazine, I, February 1834, p. 21).

72 “with an angel’s ken;”] De Quincey is probably misquoting Milton, Paradise Lost, I. 59, where Satan surveys Hell: ‘as far as Angels ken he views/The dismal Situation[...].’

73 Amazement in his van ...solitude behind!!] Thomas Gray, ‘The Bard’, ll. 61–2.

74 Ghost-Seer;] see n. 36. The scenario was one that De Quincey would himself use in his own fictions Klosterheim (1832) and The Avenger (1838).

75 “Public Characters”] An annual publication, containing the lives of distinguished men, which opened as British Public Characters of 1798 and which ran to 1809–10, comprising 10 volumes in all; various reprints and new editions of early volumes had appeared by 1803. Eaton correctly assigns the life of Lord
Moira (Francis Rawdon-Hastings (1754–1826), first Marquis of Hastings and second Earl of Moira, soldier and diplomat), to the first volume.

76 “La journée sera dure, mais elle se passera.”] ‘The route will be rough, but it will pass’; the words of Robert François Damiens (1714–57) before being publicly tortured to death for attempting to assassinate Louis XV of France.

77 “For not to know some trifles is a praise.”] Alexander Pope, An Essay on Criticism (1711), l. 262.

78 “Poetry is not translatable.”] Johnson. The sentiment occurs a number of times in the work and reported conversation of Samuel Johnson (1709–84), as indeed it does in De Quincey. Eaton (1927), p. 225, n. 36, gives a reference in Boswell’s Life of Samuel Johnson (1791) as a near match.

79 Talyllyn] another indication of De Quincey’s recent walking tour of Wales (see headnote, p. 9, for general context). His stay with a Welsh family at a farmhouse in Caernarvonshire is mentioned in both versions of the Confessions (see Lindop, pp. 76–7).

80 black prince] see n. 163 below.

81 M“ E Ej] Mrs Edmunds, who seems to have been a guest of the Wrights (see n. 51 above): another of Everton’s transient visitors.

82 Burns’s: “Lament of Mary, Queen of Scots”] ‘Despondency, an Ode’ (1786), ‘To Ruin’ (an early work), ‘Lament of Mary, Queen of Scots on the Approach of Spring’ (1790); the next poem mentioned is also an early work by Burns (see following note).

83 Burns’s] De Quincey would have had access to a number of editions of the poems of Robert Burns (1759–96) at this time. The most obvious source of at least some of his current reading on the subject is the work on Burns by the Liverpool writer and medical researcher James Currie (1756–1805), part of that Liverpool society personally known to De Quincey and about which he was to write so critically in Tait’s in 1837 (IV, February, p. 68ff). Currie’s The Works of Robert Burns; with an account of his Life was published (in Liverpool) in 1800.

84 “Lord William” – “Donica”... Rudiger;”] All three poems are by Robert Southey (1774–1843), who was later to become closely associated with De Quincey; all appear in his Poems of 1797 (and in vol. I of the Poems of 1799).

85 pier] near George’s dock, Liverpool; leading to it and running alongside the Mersey estuary is the gravelled public terrace called the parade, referred to by De Quincey later in his diary. A battery of cannon were mounted on the pier to defend the river.

86 hour before] The passage is continued below under ‘Continuation. Sunday evening, May 8, 1803’.

87 Orellana... God.] Francisco de Orellana (c.1500–49), Spanish explorer and early traveller on the River Amazon, which was often poetically referred to as ‘Orellana’ (presumably De Quincey’s usage here).

88 Junius] Pseudonym of the writer whose series of letters attacking both ministry and monarchy appeared in the Public Advertiser between January 1769 and January 1772. Junius’s identity has never been conclusively established, though Sir Philip Francis (1740–1818) stands as the most likely candidate. De Quincey would return to the subject on many occasions in his writings. In 1803 there were numerous editions of the letters in print along with a series of works ‘discovering’ the identity of Junius.

89 Tarleton’s and Gascoigne’s letters to Major about war;] Tarleton is possibly Lieutenant-General Sir Banastre Tarleton (1754–1833), who was involved in a number of military controversies. Gascoigne remains obscure but could perhaps
be the writer of the ‘Answer to a pamphlet entitled Admiral Matthews’ Remarks on the evidence given [...] on his Trial [...] in a letter’ (1746).

90 B.'s C.] Mrs Best's clock.

91 Peter Pindar.] pseudonym of John Wolcot (1738–1819), physician and satirical poet.

92 “Thalaba”] Thalaba the Destroyer, epic poem by Robert Southey published in 1801 to mixed critical reaction; it was referred to by its author as a ‘metrical romance’.

93 Effusio ante ωογαι 7th] ‘orgasm before the seventh hour’.

94 press-gang] Eaton (1927), p. 227, n. 47 quotes a passage showing how much Liverpool suffered the depredations of press-ganging during the Napoleonic Wars. This and other diary passages indicate how close De Quincey was to the realities of the long war with France, then uneasily suspended under the Peace of Amiens, itself to break in May 1803.

95 “The look ... pass away.”] untraced.

96 Brissot's – Mirabeau's...Sillery's &c. life] Jacques Pierre Brissot De Warville (1754–93), French revolutionary activist and politician whose life ended on the guillotine; his The Life of J. P. Brissot [...] Written by himself was published in an English translation in 1794. Honoré Gabriel Riqueti, comte de Mirabeau (1749–91), politician, was also active during the French Revolution; by 1803 there were many biographies, memorials and various editions of autobiography focused on him. De Sillery is the name Mme de Genlis (see n. 4 above) was later entitled to take when her husband became the Marquis de Sillery. A Short account of the conduct of Madame de Genlis since the Revolution was published in Scotland in 1796, but her Memoirs did not appear until 1825. The nature of De Quincey’s reference suggests that he was reading these lives in either a volume of digests, a specialist biographical annual or a periodical.

97 Guthrie.;] It is unclear whether De Quincey refers here to a name or a novel. If the latter it remains untraced, if the former then it could indicate Marie Guthrie and her A Tour [...] through Tauridia, or Crimea (1802); Eaton (1927), p. 227, n. 48 offers William Guthrie (1708–70), publisher and writer/compiler of numerous sociological and historical texts.

98 Seward’s Anecdotes;] William Seward (1747–99), miscellaneous writer; his Anecdotes of some distinguished persons, chiefly of the present and Two preceding centuries, was originally published in 1795–7, in five volumes, with a number of editions following.

99 M’am de Pompadour's Letters:;] The Lettres de Madame de Pompadour depuis 1753 jusqu’a 1762 (5 vols; France, 1762), by Louis XV of France's mistress, was published in English in two volumes in 1771 and 1772. They are not genuine.

100 God ... shun] Milton, Paradise Lost, II. 678–9.

101 “Yet Shall...Collins.] William Collins (see n. 9 above), ‘An Epistle Addressed to Sir Thomas Hanmer, on his Edition of Shakspeare’s Works’, l. 85.

102 “ancient mariner”] a reference to the protagonist of Coleridge's Rime of the Ancyent Marinere, originally published in his and Wordsworth's Lyrical Ballads of 1798.

103 σωνε. εφ.] ‘orgasm’ (see n. 8 above, for full Greek).

104 seized...2 shillings] This is the first of the ‘censored’ sexual encounters mentioned in the diary headnote.

105 M’ Merritt] John Merritt, James Wright’s partner in the firm of Merritt & Wright (see n. 51 above). De Quincey would continue to take financial advice from Merritt into the 1830s, and would play host to him and his wife in the
early Grasmere days (Symonds, pp. 279–80; he is mentioned in an article in the London Magazine IX, April 1824, p. 342).


107 Moore’s (Little’s) verses;] The Irish poet Thomas Moore (1779–1852), pseudonymously published his The Poetical Works of the late Thomas Little, Esq. in 1801.

108 letter to Wordsworth;] This can be found in the diary under May 13.

109 Delphine;] Delphine (1802), a novel by the French writer Anne-Louise-Germaine Necker, Madame de Staël (1766–1817).


111 The hint...“Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne.” (2nd Edit.)] The passage in question, on unfaithfulness in friendship, is quoted in Eaton (1927), p. 230, n. 55.

112 cross him out.]) This refers to the list of poets under 12 April; for Penrose, see n. 20 above.

113 Stewart’s] A reference to Dugald Stewart (1753–1828), Scottish moral philosopher, economist and mathematician, whose prose style was highly regarded. He is one of the ‘Scottish Professors’ slightlying referred to in De Quincey’s 1821 Confessions. ‘He thinks very meanly of Dugald Stewart’, Richard Woodhouse recorded of De Quincey in his Cause Book under 3 November, ‘who has no originality or grasp of mind in him — who constantly misunderstands and misquotes writers’ (Morrison).

114 Spenser’s ghosts) In Edmund Spenser’s The Faerie Queene, I. v. 32: ‘on every side them stood/The trembling ghosts with sad amazed mood,/Chattering their yron teeth, and staring wide/With stonie eyes;[...] (they do not ‘glitter’).’

115 Newton] There are a number of places called Newton (or with Newton as a prefix) within easy travelling distance of Everton.

116 anecdote of Milton and Italian Ladies.;] untraced.

117 Cowper’s ‘Tyrocinium;’] Tirocinium; or, a Review of Schools’(1785), by William Cowper, an attack on the British public school system.

118 Sheridan’s ‘Critic;’] The Critic, or a Tragedy Rehearsed, a comedy by the Irish dramatist Richard Brinsley Sheridan (1751–1816), produced in 1779. De Quincey later referred to his ‘rooted dislike’ of Sheridan (Japp (1890), p. 80), and offered an extended critique of the playwright in his 1828 Blackwood’s essay ‘Elements of Rhetoric’.


120 Allege...allego?) Allege in fact derives from the Old French word esligier, ‘to clear at law’, itself derived from Latin ex, ‘from’, ligitere, ‘to sue’ (OED).

121 Everton, May 13.] The following letter to Wordsworth would not be sent until it went through an extensive redraft, under 31 May in the diary. (The whole of the final section of the letter, from ‘This only thing’ to the end of the address line after ‘London’ has a line drawn through it.)

122 “Lyrical Ballads”] The collection of poems by Wordsworth and Coleridge, published (by 1803) in the three distinct editions of 1798, 1800 and 1802; the effect of the poems on De Quincey was revelatory and would be referred to throughout his writing career. (See Roberts (1997) for details of the chronology of De Quincey’s acquaintance with Lyrical Ballads.)

355
(a friend of your’s) Coleridge.
Longman and Rees were Wordsworth’s London publishers, responsible for publishing the 1800 edition of Lyrical Ballads.
“wrept into future times”) untraced (possibly by De Quincey).
“thoughts that breathe and words that burn”] Thomas Gray, ‘The Progress of Poesy’, III. iii. 4.
“What seemed...had on”) Milton, Paradise Lost, II. 672–3.
“judicious obscurity”,] a Burkean sentiment (see following note). Burke held that the poetic imaging of the sublime necessarily forsakes the linear for the emotive.
Burke[ Edmund Burke (1729–97) Irish statesman, writer and philosopher; De Quincey’s reference here is to Burke’s early work on the aesthetics of perception, A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful (1757). Burke underscores a number of points by quoting Milton, citing Paradise Lost directly in Part II, Sections III and IV, on obscurity.
“Liverpool Newspaper;”) Liverpool could offer four newspapers at this time.
Bonaparte’s...circulation.] Rumours of assassination attempts on Napoleon abounded in the British press during the French wars. A camp, shortly to be secretly funded by the English government, existed at Ramsey, in Hampshire, to train guerrillas and conspirators.
Mackintosh] James Mackintosh (1765–1832), Scottish political writer and barrister; his Whig defence of the French Revolution, Vindiciae Gallicae. Defence of the French Revolution and its English Admireurs, against the Accusations of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke (1791), stands as his most significant work.
“Dramatic Pieces from the German.”] By an anonymous translator, published in Edinburgh in 1792; the three works it contains are as given by De Quincey (the piece by Salomon Gessner, as indeed it should be, is a translation from the French of Denis Diderot – Endorff is C. H. von Ayrenhoff).
Sunday, May 14,] This should read ‘Sunday, May 15’.
Edinburgh Review...Cottle...Bree;] The Edinburgh Review had opened its notorious attack by Francis Jeffrey on the ‘Lake Poets’ in its initial issue of October 1802 (in a review of Southey’s Thalaba). Joseph Cottle (1770–1853), Bristol bookseller, published the 1798 edition of Lyrical Ballads and was a close friend of Wordsworth and Coleridge (Southey was another of his authors). Bree, as the diary later makes clear, was one of Everton’s transient visitors. He is probably Martin Bree (1771–1842), ‘a notorious quack who had dabbled in medicine and then in mining ventures around Keswick’ (WL (1970), p. 569).
Burke’s Speech...Hastings] Edmund Burke (see above, n. 130) spent much of his parliamentary career in the 1780s energetically campaigning against the corruption inherent in the East India Company, whose chief defender was the Governor-General of British India, Warren Hastings (1732–1818). Hastings was impeached on his return to England, and acquitted after a trial which ran intermittently from 1788 to 1795. Burke made his eloquent Commons speech on the 7th Article of Impeachment in April and May 1789.
King’s recovery] George III first manifested symptoms of insanity (an effect of the porphyria from which he was suffering) in 1788 and was incapacitated
until March 1789. Its recurrence in 1810–11 signalled the onset of the regency.

139 [Ep. ante ωόσαν octodecateen:] 'orgasm before the eighteenth hour' – De Quincey has transliterated the last Greek word into the English alphabet.

140 the Angel] a dining house in Dale Street, Liverpool (demolished in 1840).

141 L6 Whitworth's departure from Paris] Charles Whitworth (1752–1825) served as British ambassador to Paris during the Peace of Amiens, which by the spring of 1803 was looking decidedly unstable. The notorious public scene which took place between him and Napoleon in the Tuileries on 13 March 1803 eventually led to his leaving Paris on 12 May, and ultimately to the restoration of hostilities between Britain and France a few days later.

142 pun...Human Understanding;"] Edmund Burke's early aesthetic theory and the basis of his political views was triggered by the writings of the English philosopher John Locke (1632–1704), particularly the Essay concerning Human Understanding (1690). The 'pun' remains untraced, though as a Whig turned Tory, Burke's attitude to the founding father of liberal Whiggism (Locke) was certainly an ambiguous one.

143 "Rudiger" – "Alonzo and Imogine"] The first poem is from Southery's Poems of 1797/9 (see above, n. 84), the second from Lewis's Tales of Wonder (see above, n. 55). The latter originally appeared in Lewis's novel The Monk (1796).


145 [May 15] This should read May 16.

146 David] a reference to the biblical Psalms of David.

147 Williams] Mr and Mrs Williams and their two young children were close neighbours of De Quincey's. W. K. W., as he is sometimes known in the diary, seems to have been particularly liked by him.


149 parade in the church-yard] see above, n. 85.

150 [May 16,] This should read May 17.

151 an Opera;] The Poor Soldier, a farce by the Irish actor and dramatist John O'Keeffe (1747–1833), first appeared in 1783; many editions were available by 1803.

152 "A cure for the heartache"] A Cure for the Heart-Ache, a very successful comedy by the English dramatist Thomas Morton (c. 1764–1838), dates from 1797.

153 St Domingo] An estate on the northern fringes of Everton, so called on account of its being built using money raised from a French prize ship named the St Domingo.

154 "The Sun"] De Quincey is probably referring to the London evening newspaper of that name which ran from 1792 to 1876.

155 Gen. Lee's] Major General Charles Lee (1731–82), American Revolutionary soldier of English birth. Lee would be an odd candidate for Junius (see above, n. 88), but he put himself forward as such in an American newspaper, the relevant article from which was reprinted in the St. James Chronicle of 16 April 1803. Since he didn't go to America until 1773 he would at least have been in Britain during the Junius years; veracity, however, was not his strong point.

156 King's Declaration] George III presided over a council on 16 May at which the order was given to issue 'letters of marque and reprisal against France'. On 18 May the war with France was reopened less formally with the taking of two
French merchant ships by English frigates. The town of Liverpool became very active in military recruitment and civilian defence at this time.

157 *drivelings...works.*] A common sentiment of the age and one that De Quincey would long hold when Homer's *Iliad* was set beside Virgil's *Aeneid*.

158 *Charlotte Smith's metrical works*] Charlotte Smith (1748–1806), prolific and successful novelist and poet who saw herself as the latter but gained her success as the former. Various editions of her *Elegiac Sonnets and Other Essays* and *The Emigrants* would have constituted the verse available in 1803. The 'Ode to the Poppy', which De Quincey singles out here, originally appeared in Smith's novel *Desmond* (1792). It was in fact written for her by a friend and fellow opium addict Lady Henrietta O'Neile.

159 *'s library in Dale Street*] Unmentioned in contemporary guides and directories.

160 Iffland..."The Bachelors;") two plays by the German actor and playwright August Wilhelm Iffland (1759–1814). *Die Jäger* (1785), was translated into English by Bell Plumptre, under the title *The Foresters*, in 1799; *Die Hagestolzen* (1793), appeared in an English translation, *The Bachelors*, in 1799.

161 Cato and Juba] characters in the tragedy *Cato* (1713) by Joseph Addison. Juba was the Numidian ally and friend of the Roman statesman Cato, whose real-life and dramatized suicide followed his resolve never to surrender to Caesar.

162 Fenelon] François de Salignac de la Mothe Fénelon (1651–1715), French divine and writer; as a later reference in the same diary entry suggests, it is Fénelon's philosophical romance *Adventures of Télémaque* (1699) that De Quincey has in mind here. The work takes its theme from the voyage of Telemachus, son of Odysseus, in Homer's *Odyssey*.

163 black Prince] Eaton (1927), p. 236, n. 87, 'suspects' that Edward the black prince is the fictionalized historical figure of that name who appears in Clara Reeve's *Sir Roger de Clarendon* (see above, n. 69).

164 Washington - Sir Sidney Smith] George Washington (1732–99), first American President; Sir William Sidney Smith (1764–1840), naval commander famed for his courage in battle. De Quincey met Smith in 1798 when the latter returned to Bath after escaping from the Paris prison in which he had been held for two years.

165 Fox.] Charles James Fox (1749–1806), Whig statesman and opposition leader during the Tory ministries of Pitt and Addington, a good friend of Edmund Burke's. Unlike the latter, he strongly opposed the war with France. His taste for women, alcohol and gambling was expansive.

166 *Odyssey*] see above, n. 162.

167 *Stoic philosophy*] A system established by Zeno of Citium in the third century BC. Its ethical doctrines embraced a rigid form of determinism, one corollary of which was that having no control over the externals of life, people should see personal virtue as their only adaptive aim.

168 "Solitary Wanderer"] see above, n. 158, for Charlotte Smith. Her collection of stories, *Letters of a Solitary Wanderer*, was published in five volumes (1800–2).

169 *May 24, 1803.*] Most of this entry and part of the next are crossed through: the deletion begins after 'go to W.'s;', in 24 May, and ends, in the 'first' entry for 25 May, after 'go to W.'s'. The first 25 May entry therefore does not stand, and the 24 May entry runs down to the final "Corisande".

170 *Southey's Poems*] The two-volume *Poems* of 1799 (which included the 1797 poems), perhaps in a later edition, by Robert Southey.
171 Circus;] the Olympic Circus, built in 1795 for the famous circus manager and equestrian Philip Astley (1742–1814).
172 Edith] Robert Southey’s wife; the bracketed poem is ‘Sonnet IX’ in the Poems of 1797/9.
173 “Mary, the maid of the inn”] Robert Southey, ‘Mary’ (1797); the poet’s head-note states ‘I have adopted the metre of Mr Lewis’s Alonzo and Imogene’. (Despite being based on a real north of England event this poem does not, of course, refer to Mary of Buttermere, about whom De Quincey wrote in an 1834 Tait’s article on Coleridge.)
175 “Sappho, a monodrama”] as previous note.
176 pier and parade,] see above, n. 85.
177 Edouarda…Yorkshire. ”] Replete with the machinery of the Gothic, the story is related by an elderly woman servant and tells of Edouarda, who returns from a convent to find her brother dead and her mother locked up in Palsgrave Abbey for 18 years (for supposed infidelity). The murder and bloodshed that follow this lead Edouarda to renounce religion and seek refuge in Switzerland.
178 debates are not given;] The Times for 24 May noted (p. 4, col. 2): ‘The public […] will no doubt be very much surprised, not to find a Report of last night’s Debate in the House of Commons [in consequence of] the enforcing of an Order of the Journals, prohibiting the admission of members of the public. Parliament was then debating the recent ending of the Peace of Amiens and the course of the coming war with France; secrecy, it was felt, was necessary at this point (see n. 185 below).
180 Ethelfrid,] Possibly based on the life of St Etheldreda (c. AD 630–79), twice-married English virgin saint; she took holy orders after her second marriage and subsequently founded a monastery at Ely where she was also abbess.
181 Catiline,] Lucius Sergius Catilina (c.108–62 BC), Roman administrator who in 63 BC entered into an ill-fated revolutionary plot to assassinate Cicero and other senators. Having fled Rome he escaped the arrest and execution which was the fate of his co-conspirators, but was eventually killed in an insurrectionary battle. These events form the subject of Ben Jonson’s tragedy Catiline (1611), along with The Conspiracy of Catiline, a prose work by the Roman historian Gaius Sallustius Crispus (86–35 BC), and orations by Cicero himself.
182 Julius Caesar,] De Quincey’s ‘life’ of the Roman general and statesman (c.100–44 BC) appeared in Blackwood’s in October 1832 (XXXII, Part II, p. 541ff) as part of his series on the line of Caesars.
183 Ireland] De Quincey visited Ireland in the summer of 1800, and would have been at his mother’s home in Bath for a few weeks until around mid-July.
184 Macklin’s life,] Charles Macklin (c. 1699–1797), Irish actor and playwright. The ‘life’ mentioned here is J. T. Kirkman’s Memoirs of the Life of Charles Macklin, 2 vols (1799); the ‘speech’ can be found in vol. I, p. 209ff, and concerns the opposition of William Pitt the Elder (1708–78), later Lord Chatham, to proposed legislation on theatre censorship (the Licensing Act) in 1737.
185 Fox’s speech,] Charles James Fox’s Commons speech of 24 May, in which he castigated the government for terminating the Peace of Amiens and argued passionately for the reestablishment of peace. It is generally considered to be his greatest speech.
186 the fort,] in north-western Liverpool on the Mersey.
187 Pompey or Scipio] Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus (106–48 BC), Roman soldier and statesman whose vexed relationship with Caesar eventually led to his own
downfall and murder; Publius Cornelius Scipio (237–183 BC), Roman soldier whose African exploits were legendary. (See ‘Continuation. Sunday evening, May 8′ for context to these comments.)

188 library...brick fields;} The latter refers to a brick manufactory.

189 lady M. W. Montague's letters from Turkey.] Letters of the Rt. Hon. Lady M—y W—y M—e written during her travels, 3 vols (1763), by the writer, traveller and close friend of Alexander Pope, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689–1762).

189 "Mordaunt"];] see above, n. 37.

191 O'Reilly's French library;} untraced.

192 Cumberland's "Observer"];] Richard Cumberland (1732–1811), dramatist, novelist and classicist; his The observer: being a collection of moral, literary and familiar essays was originally published in 40 numbers (2 vols) in 1785 and had grown to 6 vols by 1788. In 1803 it was available in a number of editions.

193 Walton <Kirkdale>] Liverpool suburbs to the north of Everton.

194 (ef. fp.[]) orgasm.

195 French prison] Liverpool's Borough Gaol in Great Howard Street, sometimes known as the French Prison, was occupied by French prisoners of war, under extremely grim conditions, until 1811.

196 William Wordsworth, Esq'] The fair copy of the letter eventually sent to Wordsworth almost exactly matches the version with alterations given here. See Jordan (pp. 30–2) for final copy (the original holograph is held at the Wordsworth Library, Grasmere). Longman's extended delay in forwarding the letter meant that Wordsworth did not receive it until 27 July. The poet responded appreciatively within two days; cautioning tactfully 'my friendship it is not in my power to give', inviting De Quincey to visit him in Grasmere, and urging him gently to be more tolerant towards other poets (for Wordsworth's letters to De Quincey see The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth: The Early Years, 1787–1805, ed. E. De Selincourt, revised C. L. Shaver (Oxford University Press, 1967)).


198 Walsh's definition...error.] The reference is probably to William Walsh (1663–1708), poet, critic and early supporter of Alexander Pope; though given the many allusions Walsh makes to the subject it is difficult to say what is the specific focus here.

199 “Mary Stewart”] As De Quincey reveals in his diary entry for 8 June, this is not in fact an English version of Schiller's drama Maria Stuart (1800), but a dramatic poem, Mary Stewart, Queen of Scots (1801), by ‘J. G.’, the Scottish writer James Grahame (1765–1811).

200 Miss Lee's “Recess;”] Sophia Lee (1750–1824), English novelist and dramatist who contributed stories to the highly popular Canterbury Tales (1798 and 1805) with her sister Harriet Lee. The Recess; or a Tale of other Times, 3 vols (1783–5), was a best-selling historical novel.

201 C. Smith's wretched defence of novel-writing,] untraced.

202 ep στ] see n. 194 above.


204 Coleridge and Wordsworth and their families] Coleridge, who had married Southey's sister-in-law Sara Fricker in 1795, was then living at Greta Hall, Keswick in the northern Lakes (he was about to share the house with Southey.
and his family); the recently-married Wordsworth lived 13 miles away at Grasmere. (Miss Barcroft is also referred to as Miss Barcroft in the diary.)

205 "The Beggar girl" the title of a number of contemporary popular songs and ballads.

206 [sister 29 years old about.] Dorothy Wordsworth was in fact thirty-one.

207 Charles Lamb] (1775-1834), educated at Christ's Hospital with Coleridge, for whose work he formed an early and enduring admiration. De Quincey later became a good friend of Lamb's when they were both writing for the London Magazine. As a critic and essayist (under the pseudonym Elia), Lamb, whose life was dogged by mental problems, gained considerable fame. De Quincey wrote on him many times in his work (most extensively in Tait's Magazine for April, June and September 1838, and in the North British Review for November 1848). Lamb was a friend and critical advocate of Wordsworth's.

208 Charles Lloyd] (1775-1839), poet; he was an intimate acquaintance of Coleridge's (with whom he lived in Bristol in 1796) and Lamb's. Lloyd settled at Old Brathay, near Ambleside in Cumbria, for many years. It is in this setting that De Quincey, who got to know him well, wrote of Lloyd's tragic life, with its periodic fits of insanity, in a March 1840 Tait's article.

209 traveller with bushy hair] This probably refers to John Stewart, or Walking Stewart as he was popularly known (1747-1822), traveller, writer and philosopher. Stewart's transcontinental exploits were well known at this time, as were the texts setting out his rather eccentric philosophical views. De Quincey initially encountered him in the late 1790s in Bath, where the philosopher would frequent public places in order to distribute leaflets outlining his philosophical ideas. The former later became an intimate of Stewart's in London, and wrote two articles on him (London Magazine, September 1823; Tait's, October 1840).

210 [ep. op.] see n. 194 above.

211 "on the picture of Gaspar Poussins"] Southey's poem, 'Musing on a Landscape of Gaspard Poussin' (in the 1797/9 poems), is probably based on 'The Cascade' by the French painter Gaspard Poussin (1613-75).

212 "The Taming of the Shrew"] The reference is presumably to Katherina's lecture to Bianca and the Widow on submissiveness at the end of the play.


214 Rousseau's "Emile."] Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-78), French writer on political philosophy and education. Émile, ou Traité de l'éducation, 4 vols (1762), a didactic pastoral romance, contains the famous 'disputed' 'Profession de foi du vicaire savoyard' (in vol. 4).

215 life of Frederick the Great...Voltaire] Frederick II of Prussia (1712-86) was a frequent correspondent of the great French Enlightenment writer François Voltaire (1694-1778). De Quincey's source is difficult to fix with certainty: the third edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica would have been available to him for the information mentioned as of course would the French L'Encyclopédie and other similar works.

216 Mossley;

217 gardens] Eaton, p. 240, n. 110 supposes these to be Liverpool's 'original Botanic Gardens', which opened in 1802.

218 verses...Southey] All poems appeared in the Monthly Magazine, IV, July-December 1797; the anonymous 'Washing Day' on p. 452; Lloyd's sonnets, 'To the River Emont, Cumberland' and 'To Loch-Lomond' on p. 52; and Southey's 'Hannah, A Plaintive Tale' on p. 287.
“Caroline of Lichtfield;” The English translation by the novelist, playwright, and radical thinker Thomas Holcroft (1745–1809) of Baroness de Montolieu’s novel, was first published in two volumes in 1786, the year of its original appearance in French; it bore a motto from Voltaire.

S’ George’s; the church in Liverpool, as opposed to that in Everton, which was not erected until 1813.

duchess of Gordon] Jane Gordon (c. 1749–1812), Duchess of Gordon. In 1802, during the Peace of Amiens, she visited Paris where she is alleged to have attempted to marry her daughter off to Napoleon’s stepson. On returning to Britain she supposedly said that she hoped to see Bonaparte ‘breakfast in Ireland, dine in London, and sup at Gordon Castle’.

Count Marcou; Count Arcadi Ivanovich Markov (the surname is variously spelt) was the bellicose Russian Ambassador at Paris. The widely-known ill-feeling between him and Napoleon had erupted frequently during the Peace of Amiens, most publicly on the occasion of the meeting in the Tuileries referred to in n. 141, after which, it was reported, physical violence took place between the two (there were some reports of similar previous and later incidents).

Malherbe] François de Malherbe (1555–1628), French poet well known for his wit.

D’ Quincy] John Quincy (d. 1722), medical writer who published a large number of works in the early decades of the eighteenth century, the Lexicon Physico-medicum (1717) being the best regarded. As a dissenting Whig he would have made an embarrassing ancestor for De Quincey, speculation on the origin of whose surname figured numerous times in the latter’s published writings and correspondence (he had once argued before George III for a Norman origin – Tait’s, I, February 1834, p. 28).

William Clarke] see headnote, p. 10, for details.

toffee-house; Everton’s famous toffee manufactory which had been in business since the 1750s. Contemporary illustrations of it show a small, colourful building in rural surroundings.

Drama] see Eaton (1927), p. 244, n. 118, that this is ‘probably’ the Music Hall on Bold Street, in Liverpool, seems an accurate one.

lord Monboddo...Horne Tooke’s lashes...Harris] James Burnett, Lord Monboddo (1714–99), Scottish linguist, anthropologist and legal authority (De Quincey satirizes him at length in his fourth ‘Sketch from Childhood’; Hogg’s Instructor, VIII, 1852, p. 97ff); John Horne Tooke (1736–1812), English philologist and radical politician; James Harris (1709–80), English classicist and philologist who published a number of books on grammar. The ‘lashes’ were struck by Tooke, a vigorous defender of Anglo-Saxon vernacular, in his Εὐαφηγοδοντα, or the Diversions of Purley (1786–1805), against the Latinizing metaphysicians of language, Monboddo and Harris.

Medea of Euripides; The tragedy Medea, by the Athenian dramatist Euripides (480–406 BC), dates from about 431 BC. De Quincey, a highly proficient Greek even in 1803, probably knew much more of the play than he admitted.


Lewis’s “Cloud-king”] ‘The Cloud King’, yet another work by Matthew Lewis himself in the Tales of Wonder (see above, n. 55).

Pitt’s speech] probably the 23 May Commons speech, published shortly after
the event, by the statesman William Pitt (1759–1806) supporting the government's resumption of hostilities with France.

234 Mary of Butter] Eaton (1927), p. 245, n. 124, is doubtlessly correct in suggesting that this is the novel Augustus and Mary; or, the Maid of Buttermere. A domestic tale, published in 1803 by the author and journalist William Mudford (1782–1848). In his second 1834 article on ‘Samuel Taylor Coleridge’ (Tait's, I, October 1834), De Quincey deals at length with the events that surrounded the encounter of Mary Robinson and Augustus Hope. As he indicates in his article, the story was of wide public interest (both Wordsworth and Coleridge were personally acquainted with the personalities involved) and was published in numerous forms.

235 “Tales of superstition and chivalry;”] The typically Gothic verse Tales of Superstition and Chivalry, by the Scottish poet Anne Bannerman, was published in 1802.

236 Young] Charles Mayne Young (1777–1856), one of the most famous English actors of his age; he had given his début performance at Liverpool in 1798 and was to become particularly noted for his roles in Shakespeare's tragedies. Henry Crabb Robinson mentions his performances a number of times in his diaries and correspondence.

237 “Padlock;”] The Padlock, a Comic Opera, by the prolific and popular Irish playwright and librettist Isaac Bickerstaffe (1733–c. 1808). It was first performed in 1768 with music by Charles Dibdin.

238 “Beggar’s Opera”] the ballad opera by John Gay (1685–1732), first presented in 1728 and still the most frequently performed stage piece in the first decade of the nineteenth century.

239 “The Spoiled Child;”] The Spoiled Child (1799), essentially a didactic work for children, by Mary Hopkins Pilkington (see above, n. 66).

240 “Odd Fellows”…&c.;] The Independent Order of Oddfellows, a national network of linked secret benevolent and social societies; De Quincey's designations would be authentic ones.

241 “Miss Betsy Currie”] presumably a reference to the daughter of the Liverpool writer James Currie (see above, n. 83).

242 Porson] Richard Porson (1759–1808), English classical scholar; he was a linguistic innovator in the field of classical Greek and edited four plays by Euripides around the turn of the century. De Quincey mentions Porson's classical attainments disparagingly a number of times in his writings.

243 “lord Ronald's coronach”] Glenfinlas, or Lord Ronald's Coronach, a poem by Walter Scott in Matthew Lewis's Tales of Wonder (see above, n. 55).

244 “Farewell to Spain;”] Appears in volume II of Matthew Lewis's Gothic novel The Monk (1796), where it bears the title ‘The Exile’ ('Farewell, Oh! native Spain!...').

245 Essay on Man,”] Alexander Pope's philosophical poem in the form of four epistles to the English statesman Henry Bolingbroke. De Quincey expresses his distaste for the overt empirical didacticism of the Essay a number of times in his writings.

246 Boileau] Nicholas Boileau (1636–1711), French poet and critic, whose work heavily influenced the writing of Pope. In his 1847 Tait's essays on Schlosser, De Quincey referred to Boileau as ‘un homme borné’ ('a narrow man').

247 understanding...imagination;] A remarkably early use of the contradistinguished terms that, with the introduction of Kantian metaphysics into Britain (particularly by Coleridge), were to become the focus of numerous philosophical and aesthetic debates in the first few decades of the nineteenth century.
248 "Bacon's mind...look down." The reference is to Francis Bacon (1561–1626), philosopher and statesman; his attempts to view knowledge as a systematized organic whole bore fruit in many works, most notably The Advancement of Learning (1605).

249 profession.] De Quincey wrote to Hall on 23 June (DQM, I, pp. 94–6) expressing his objection to giving 'an absolute promise' about entering a profession, and setting out his views on the future evasively: it was hardly the conciliatory move his mother had urged him to make a few months earlier (see above, n. 31).

250 June 24, 1803.] Although this is his last diary entry, De Quincey remained at Everton until 3 August; the evening before the latter date, 'the last evening of my stay at Everton', he received from Wordsworth a reply to his 31 May letter to the poet – something that would eventually change the course of his life (see Jordan, pp. 32–5).

251 second sort] see 'Continuation. Sunday evening, May 8' and above, n. 89.

252 Emmeline] Emmeline, The Orphan of the Castle, 4 vols (1788; by 1803 it was available in a number of editions), was the first novel by Charlotte Smith. It takes the form of a sentimental romance about star-crossed love, with origins in Fanny Burney's Cecilia (1782).

253 Juliette] Possibly Julietta; or the Triumph of Mental Acquirements over Personal Defects, a romance published anonymously in 2 vols in 1802; more remotely the work might even be the Marquis De Sade's Juliette, ou les Prospérités du vice (1797) which was available in Britain at this time. Eaton (1927), p. 248, gives some other – probably even more remote – possibilities.

254 Angelina] Angelina, a novel in a Series of Letters, 3 vols (1796), by Mary Robinson (see above, n. 54); written after she had given up the stage.

Constituents of Happiness [and Two Related Manuscripts]

1 Coniston] De Quincey stayed at the Black Bull Inn, still in existence in 2000.

2 Ely Bates's phrase...life'.] Ely Bates (fl. 1790–1811) wrote a number of theological texts, including Observations on Some Important Points in Divinity (London, 1793), Christian Politics (1806), and Rural Philosophy: or Reflections on Knowledge [...] (London, 1803). The subject matter of this last is close to that of De Quincey's 'Constituents'; the exact source of his quote, however, remains untraced.

3 August 22[,] Saturday was in fact 23 August.

4 W. ...Godwin.)] W. is the poet Wordsworth; for the bookseller Joseph Cottle (whom De Quincey had probably known since the early 1800s) see above, n. 136; Godwin (1756–1836) is discussed in the headnote to the current item. Wordsworth, who knew Godwin personally, had obliquely criticized his doctrines in The Borderers (written 1796–7, first published 1842) and directly attacked them in the unpublished prose fragment known as the 'Essay on Morals', which probably dates from 1798.


7 Swift...R. B. Sheridan,] Jonathan Swift (1667–1745), poet, satirist and clergyman, author of Gulliver's Travels; for Richard Brinsley Sheridan see above, p. 355, n. 118.
8 'In War...[Coleridge.]' S. T. Coleridge, *The Piccolomini or, The First Part of Wallenstein, a Drama Translated From the German of Schiller*, I. iv. 85.

**Postscript on Sir John Moore's Letters**

1 *Sir John Moore.*] see headnote for details.

2 *sympathy with Spain:* Reaction was divided on the subject. Moore's military innovations had doubtlessly saved many lives, though his final actions were regarded by many as rash and the miserable state of his troops returning from Corunna made a very unfavourable impression on the British public. As an outspoken Whig, Moore's behaviour and integrity soon became a matter of factional political debate in the Commons; his dispatches on Iberian matters were accordingly never allowed to speak for themselves simply as moral counters.

3 *the friend,* i.e., De Quincey himself.

4 *letters of a commander-in-chief:* In the latter capacity Moore's remit was to liaise with the Spanish forces in the expulsion of the French from the north of the peninsula. De Quincey was advised by Wordsworth to 'remind the reader' that the commander's letters were written 'under a conviction that his army could accomplish nothing; and to save himself' from ministerial reproach. 'The best way [for Moore] to succeed in this', Wordsworth concludes in this letter of 29 March, was to 'flying the whole' of the blame on to the Spaniards. (*WL* (1969), p. 307; see also *WP*, I. p. 410). Moore was indeed unenthusiastic about his chances of success: recent French victories in the region, insufficient funds, negligible intelligence reporting and poor communications made him reluctant to advance into Spain. His ultimately disastrous Ebro 'campaign' indicates the validity of his misgivings.

5 *the very persons...dilemma upon him.*] Given the inhibiting, reactionary political climate in Britain at this time, De Quincey is expressing himself very frankly in these points. Wordsworth had in fact advised him that if he shrank from accepting responsibility for such opinions, he should present them as being 'written by a Friend of the Author upon his suggestion' (*WL* (1969), p. 309).

6 *would not exceed 26,000.*] Moore to Castlereagh, 5 December 1808, published in *The Times*, 25 March 1809 (p. 2, col. 3). Through intercepted letters Moore learnt of Napoleon's intentions to encircle and crush his forces, and consequently resolved to halt his advance into Spain in order to unite his army with General Baird's troops at Mayarga, in the province of Leon (on 20 December); the figure given represents the combined total of the two forces.

7 *retreat.*] As he ultimately made from Leon to the port of Corunna in north-western Spain where a British fleet was awaiting him.

8 *That he should...Spaniards:* De Quincey is paraphrasing a number of Moore's letters to Castlereagh, including the soldier's own personal views on the situation (see Cobbett, XII, cols ccclxvi–lxxii); the whole paragraph is very close in detail to Wordsworth's letter of 29 March (see n. 4 above).

9 *Gen. Blake.* Joachim Blake (1759–1827), one-time Irish soldier of fortune in the Spanish army (there were many in the region), now the highly-regarded Captain General of the province of Galicia.


11 *was, 'mere peasantry.'*] Moore to Castlereagh, 24 November 1808 (*Times*, 25 March 1809, p. 2, col. 3): 'that [the army] which Blake commanded [...] men, a
great proportion of them mere peasantry'. De Quincey complained in two letters to Grasmere that the compositor had ‘done his best to make nonsense’ of his passage ‘by inserting a comma between the was and the mere’ (Jordan, pp. 170 and 173).

12 (Major-Gen. Leith) Sir James Leith (1763–1816), Lieutenant General commanding a brigade in Sir John Hope’s division during the retreat to Corunna and ensuing battle. What follows is Leith’s eyewitness account of the earlier retreat of Blake’s Spanish forces towards Leon under appalling conditions in November 1808, after their defeats at Zornosa and Espinosa. De Quincey’s source is the Times of 25 March 1809 (p. 3, col. 2).

13 Soronosa...31st ult.,] Blake was defeated by the French under Marshal Lefebvre at the Battle of Zornosa on 31 October; his defeat was total but his losses small.

14 army of Asturias,] Asturia is a province in the north-west of Spain. Blake’s forces never liaised effectively with other divisions and the hapless but unremittingly courageous general was eventually relieved of his command.

15 Bilboa] Marshal Lefebvre had driven Blake through Bilbao after defeating him at Zornosa.

16 Estramaduran advanced-guard...service] On 10 November 1808 the 11,000-strong Estramaduran army (amongst them Spain’s elite, the Walloon guard), under the Conde de Belvedere, were routed at Gamonal near Burgos by a corresponding elite French advance force of 22,000 men under Marshal Soult. See the Times (24 March 1809, p. 2, col. 4 to p. 3, col. 1), Lord Bentinck to Castlereagh, 14 November 1808.

17 'The French....Burgos.'] the French entered and sacked the fortified town of Burgos after their defeat of Belvedere (Moore to Castlereagh, 24 November 1808, the Times, 25 March 1809, p. 2, col. 3, and see previous note).

18 Somosierra...Polish horse,] The combat at Somosierra Pass in Castile, a narrow defile which Napoleon’s army had to negotiate on its way to Madrid, took place on 30 November 1808. With little regard for their safety Napoleon ordered a squadron of Polish Light Horse to charge an apparently impregnable Spanish battery at the head of the pass. The force was torn to shreds by the Spanish guns, but Somosierra was soon after taken by foot battalions (mentioned in Moore to Castlereagh, 5 December 1808; Times, 25 March 1809, p. 2, col. 3).

19 the partial defeat of Castanos] General Castanos, commander of the Spanish troops in Andalusia, was defeated by the French under Marshal Lannes at the Battle of Tudela on 23 November 1808. The defeat was ‘partial’ because it applied to one wing only of the Spanish forces, the other wing of which did not enter the battle. (De Quincey refers in his paragraph to letters by Moore to Castlereagh of 29 November and 5 December 1808 – Times 25 March 1809, p. 2, cols 3–4).

20 'The French...resistance.] in Moore to Castlereagh, 24 November 1808 (Times, 25 March 1809, p. 2, col. 3).

21 ‘At that time...incursions.’] Major General Broderick to Castlereagh, 10 September 1808 (Times, 25 March 1809, p. 1, col. 4).

22 ‘the Gallicians...mountains.’] Moore to Castlereagh, 13 January 1809 (Times, 10 April 1809, p. 3, col. 3).

23 ‘a body...number?’] printed in the Times of 23 March 1809 (p. 3, col. 1) as a translation from an enclosure in Castlereagh to Bentinck, 30 September 1808 (WP, I, p. 412 gives further details).

24 ‘the people...deserted;’] Moore to Castlereagh, 31 December 1808 (Times, 25 March 1809, p. 3, col. 3); by this juncture Moore and his retreating army had
been forced to abandon both military stores and the sick through lack of trans-
port.

25 'They abandoned...army.'] Moore to Castlereagh, 13 January 1809 (Times, 10 April 1809, p. 3, col. 3). Oman, pp. 577–9 gives a good picture of Spanish morale at this time.

26 'The enthusiasm...advantage of;'] Moore to Castlereagh, 24 November 1808 (Times, 25 March 1809, p. 2, col. 3).

27 'apathy and indifference:] Moore to Castlereagh, 13 January 1809 (Times, 10 April 1809, p. 3, col. 3).

28 intercepted letter to Marshal Soult} Nicolas Soult, Duke of Dalmatia (1769–1851), commander of Napoleon's Second Corps in Spain. The intercepted letter, from Marshal Bertier at Chamartin (Napoleon's early December base), is dated 10 December 1808; it was eventually enclosed in a dispatch of 16 Decem-
ber from Moore to Castlereagh and ultimately published in the Times of 25 March 1809 (p. 2, col. 4 to p. 3, col. 1). Moore's strategic plans were materially affected by military details given in the letter, which also contains remarks on the city of Valladolid but no real insights of the variety De Quincey mentions.

29 Badajoz and Salamanca] The former had been the base of General Hope in the autumn of 1808; John Moore had quartered at the latter from 13 November to 11 December 1808.

30 'rally round'] an expression (and variations) used in several of Moore's letters.

31 Vimiera} The Battle of Vimiero took place on 21 August 1808; General Junot's French forces were heavily defeated by Wellington's much larger corps (see headnote, p. 81).

32 Supreme Junta...nation;] Spain's grand council of state had in fact been torn apart by conflicts of loyalty even before the commencement of hostilities; not least because of the degenerate, internecine apathy of the nation's monarchy and the underdeveloped social structure of the country (see headnote for context).

33 The Spanish Government...attack:] Moore to Castlereagh, 24 November 1808 (Times, 25 March 1809, p. 2, col. 3); 'second attack' refers to the possibility of another insurge of French forces into the country.

34 Gen. Leith...Capt. Pasley] for the former see above, n. 12. Sir Charles William Pasley (1780–1861) was a captain in the Royal Engineers working with Leith to reconnoitre the Asturian frontier and communicate with Blake; he joined Moore's staff as an aide-de-corps on 25 November 1808 and remained with him until Corunna. For details of his testimony see Brodrick to Viscount Castlereagh, 22 November 1808 (Times, 25 March 1809, p. 1, col. 4 to p. 2, col. 1).

35 Mr. Vaughan...Castlereagh] Sir Charles Vaughan (1774–1849), diplomat; he travelled extensively in Spain in 1808 and carried dispatches between the Central Junta and Sir John Moore, whose letters to Castlereagh he was responsible for conveying to to London. He published his Narrative of the Siege of Zaragoza in 1809 after returning to Britain. For his report on Spain see Castlereagh to Moore, 16 December 1808 (Times, 23 March 1809, p. 4, col. 3).


37 Lord W. Bentinck] William Cavendish Bentinck (1774–1839), English states-
man and soldier. A Major General of the army staff under Sir Henry Burrard in Portugal, he also commanded a brigade at Corunna. See his letter to
Castlereagh of 14 November 1808 for more insights highly favourable to the Spanish national spirit if critical of the country's military infrastructure (*Times*, 24 March 1809, p. 2, cols 2–4).

38 *let him...80,000 men;* Details are taken from Lord Grey's contribution to a Common's debate on the 'Campaign in Spain & Portugal' (*Times*, 22 April 1809, pp. 1–3).

39 *Somosierra...upon them.* The Spanish defeat at the pass of Somosierra opened up Napoleon's direct route to Madrid, which fell to his army on 4 December 1808 (see above, n. 18).

40 *desolation of Saragossa.* Under the control of José Palafox, the heavily fortified town of Saragossa, capital of Aragon, had resisted a brutal siege by the French in the summer of 1808; during the winter of 1808–9 its inhabitants desperately fought off another siege, but eventually capitulated on 20 February. Both events were extensively reported in the British press.

41 *Valencia...defence;* Valencia, a provincial capital in eastern Spain, had been the scene of much anti-French activity; reports of its defensive preparations in early December 1809 were widely reported in Britain.

42 *Seville...mercy;* The Andalusian capital Seville was the seat of the Supreme Junta of Spain (to which, in September 1808, had been ceded the executive powers of revolutionary provincial juntas). In a letter to Dorothy Wordsworth, De Quincey records his delight in reading the decree of the Supreme Junta 'for giving no quarter to the French Troops' (1 April 1809; Jordan, p. 136). The decree was issued on 7 February and set down that 'no quarter shall be given to any French soldier [...] made prisoner in any town or district, in which acts contrary to the laws of war have been committed by the enemy'.

43 *in Cadiz...vengeance;* The provincial capital Cadiz focused considerable insurrectionary activity. De Quincey refers here to suspicions amongst the city's inhabitants that its magistrates might be colluding with the enemy by accepting the offer made by French prisoners—who 'declared themselves to be Poles'—to 'garrison the town' (from a news report on disturbances in Cadiz—*Times*, 23 March 1809; see WP, I, pp. 414–15, for an extract).


45 *re-capture of Vigo,]* The Spanish seaport of Vigo, about 20 miles north of the Portuguese border, had been (almost casually) taken by the French under General Franceschi in February 1809 as the invading army moved down towards Oporto in Portugal. It was retaken by the Spanish under General de la Romana (with British naval assistance) at the end of March 1809 (see following note). A widely-circulated dispatch by a British naval commander, Captain McKinley, attested to the resources and bravery of the Spanish (WP, I, p. 415, gives an extract).

46 *Marquis de la Romana;* General Pedro Carol y Sureda, Marquis de la Romana, took control of the Galician army from General Blake after the latter's disastrous retreat before Soult in November 1808 (see above, n. 12). Following military setbacks in the early months of 1809, Romana's forces regrouped to harass the French on many subsequent occasions.

Close Comments on a Straggling Speech

1 *harangue...satisfaction.*] The *Kendal Chronicle* actually says that the 'men, women, and children dispersed with the order and decent behaviour of a congregation leaving the Church' (28 March 1818, p. 2, col. 1). Brougham 368
addressed his audience from a window of a house belonging to the Quaker Wakefield family, one of whom, John Wakefield, was chairman of the regional Brougham Committee. Dorothy Wordsworth offers a detailed description of the event in a letter of 24 March (WL (1970), pp. 445–9).

2 *Mr. B. ...writes.* Brougham was co-founder of the *Edinburgh Review* in 1802 along with Francis Jeffrey, Francis Horner and Sydney Smith; the journal was pointedly Whig and infamous for its abrasive attitude to Wordsworth, Coleridge and Southey (who were reviewed anonymously, in line with the general practice of the age). De Quincey had originally phrased his attack here ‘Mr. Brougham the anonymous Slanderer in reviews’ (letter to Wordsworth, 4 April 1818, Jordan, p. 309).

3 pace tanti viri,] ‘by grace of so many men’.

4 *Lord Thanet.* Sackville Tufton (1767–1825), ninth Earl of Thanet, hereditary High Sheriff of Westmorland.

5 ad interim,] ‘in the meantime’.

6 *Lowther Castle...Thanet.* The former is the impressive home (not a genuine castle) of the Lowthers, built after Lonsdale Hall was pulled down in 1808. In his speech Brougham had ridiculed the building and glanced at Thanet who, he concluded, as High Sheriff ‘bore sway over all the great baronial residences of the north’ (*Kendal Chronicle*, 28 March 1818, p. 2, col. 2). Lord Lonsdale, who is consistently attacked by Brougham, was a well-known patron of the arts; Wordsworth, whose ‘sponsor’ he was, dedicated his poem *The Excursion* to the Earl in 1814.

7 *Oppositionist...office!]*] When George John Spencer (1758–1834), second Earl Spencer, was Home Secretary in 1806 he used his influence to have his son appointed a Lord of the Treasury. John Charles Spencer (1782–1845), Viscount Althorp and third Earl Spencer, was a complete failure in the post, and was usually to be found at Althorp. As a Whig, Spencer would of course be designated – like Brougham – an ‘Opportunist’. See Jordan, p. 313, for the proposed abridgement of this passage.

8 ‘If...he lies?’. ll. 63–4.

9 *consciousness,*] De Quincey’s suggested amendment to Wordsworth runs, ‘Neither conscience, nor consciousness, – in my way of understanding you, – is exactly the expression; – but “the recollections which his conscience must furnish”, or something to that effect’ (8–9 April, Jordan, p. 313).

10 *is involved*] ‘The two corrections in p. 6 are neither of them to my mind: would “is involved” be better than “lies hid”’ (De Quincey to Wordsworth, 7 April, Jordan, p. 311).

11 *other Individual,*] Lord Thanet (see above, n. 4).

12 *hoary Parodist of Scripture,*] Thomas Wybergh (see below, n. 22).

13 *By the side...private life,*] copy added via a letter to Wordsworth of 2 April (Jordan, p. 308).

14 *Mr. Crackenthorpe*] William Crackenthorpe, a cousin of Wordsworth’s and noted Brougham supporter; he was present in the house from which the latter gave his speech.

15 *Mr. Brougham...few*] The letter referred to in n. 2 (pp. 308–10) gives details of the ‘libels’ (p. 311 continues the theme). The ‘man’ here is of course Wordsworth, and the quote comes from his *The Excursion* (‘Preface’, l. 23, which corresponds to Milton, *Paradise Lost*, VII. 31).

16 *Fell-side*] steeply-banked and crowded residential area in the western part of Kendal, home of the town’s poorest and most militant inhabitants.

17 *Carlisle Patriot...city,*] The antagonist of the former was the *Carlisle Journal,*
which was to the Patriot what the Kendal Chronicle was to the Westmorland Gazette.

18 That he is poor.] This and the following three 'charges' were essentially raised by Wordsworth in his 1818 Kendal Chronicle, Carlisle Patriot and broadside writings on the election (which fed the pamphlet Two Addresses to the Freeholders of Westmorland – See WP, III, p. 139ff, and, for specific detail, Wells, p. 1106ff).

19 without breeches] A literal translation of sansculotte, a term used for an extreme republican during the French Revolution who wore pantaloons instead of the knee-breeches favoured by the more wealthy, conservative middle-classes; it became a general term of abuse in England for individuals with republican or liberal sympathies.

20 Guy...Dun Cow of Essex.] Guy was a mythical English hero, first shaped by Anglo-Norman poets of the twelfth century. A rib of the gigantic cow supposedly slain by him has been on display at Warwick Castle since at least the mid-sixteenth century.

21 Sanscullotterie.] 'By “Sansculotterie”', De Quincey wrote to Wordsworth, 'I meant to carry on the same reference as I designed to make by the expression of “mob with or without breeches”; that is, a reference to the rabble who welcomed Mr. B. to Westmorland' (8–9 April 1818, Jordan, p. 313–14; an earlier version used ‘Sansculottism’ (ibid., p. 311)).

22 Mr. Wybergh.] Thomas Wybergh (1757–1827), of Isell Hall near Cockermouth; he chaired the 5 February Appleby meeting at which Brougham was nominated as an electoral candidate, and spoke at the political dinner held in Kendal on 23 March.

23 Jacobins;] Originally applied to members of the French political society established in Paris in 1789 to maintain and propagate principles of extreme democracy and egalitarianism; the society met in a former monastery which had belonged to the Jacobin order of monks. After about 1800 the expression became a byword for any political reformer.

24 Habes confitentum reum!] ‘this truth must be admitted’.

Contributions to the Westmorland Gazette
Section A: The 1818 Westmorland Election and its Aftermath

Philadelphus

1 [title 'SERO, SED SERIO'] ‘late, but seriously'; evidently added by the ‘late Editor’ of the Gazette (Janzow (1968), p. 420)
1 toto coelo:] ‘worlds apart’ (a conventional expression in Latin).
2 Ulls Water.] Clarkson lived near Pooley Bridge at the foot of Ullswater in Cumbria until 1804.
3 African Committee Room;] The African Institution, with its London focus, was established in 1807 both to press the abolitionist cause and to offer social, religious and political support to the continent. Brougham and Clarkson numbered amongst its directors.
4 audi alteram partem.] ‘hear the other side of the issue’.
5 ex-post-facto] ‘in retrospect’.
6 vis inertiae] ‘power of inactivity’.
7 Tantalus...bundles of hay.] Greek legend holds that Tantalus, King of Sipylus in Lydia, was punished for offences against the gods by seeing the water he had
bent down to drink recede with every attempt he made to reach it. Buridan’s ass (a fourteenth-century sophism, so-called after Jean Buridan) starved to death through its inability to decide which of two bundles of hay placed either side of it to eat.

8 *Not the case with Mr. B———m.* 'At this time', Clarkson noted in his letter, 'I did not know (nor do I now know) whether Mr. Brougham could obtain any other Seat in the House, than that which he was then seeking' (*Kendal Chronicle*, 28 March, p. 3, col. 3).

9 *late introduction...Peers.* In 1815 Brougham entered Parliament as MP for the borough of Winchilsea, one of a number of parliamentary seats recently bought by William Vane, Earl of Darlington (1766-1842), to pack with fellow-thinking ideologues; Lord Grey was his sponsor.

10 *Mobocrat...Phaetontic car.* Phaethon was the son of Helios, the sun god, in classical mythology; his attempt to drive his father’s chariot of the sun ended in near disaster for the earth, which was scorched by his too-close approach, and death for himself. The reference alludes to Brougham’s carriage procession through Cumbria and eventual triumphant arrival in Kendal on 23 March.

11 *'par pari referatur' ['par pari refero,' 'I return like for like'*.]

12 *purchase...high price.* In 1804 the Earl of Lonsdale (the Lord Lieutenant of Westmorland, as De Quincey refers to him in this passage), bought Eusemere, Clarkson’s Ullswater property, after the anti-slavery campaigner moved south.

13 *'the Harvest...few' [']* Matthew 9: 37.

14 B———b...*colts.* Janzow (1968), p. 88, suggests that the indicated names might stand for the fictitious ‘Bob Head’ and ‘Tom Foot’; however, there are references to a speechifying Bob Hind in a diary kept by a Kendalian at this time (in private hands) – the second name has not emerged.

15 in nubibus; ‘in the clouds’; the upper-case titles before the tag are of course plays by Shakespeare.

16 *de novo,**] ‘new’, ‘to begin afresh’.

17 *cui bono?**] ‘who stands to gain’.

18 *yellow ribbon...blue were unmolested?* The Lowthers’ political colour was yellow, Brougham’s blue; this ideological colour-coding, as De Quincey suggests, initially worked against the Lowthers in Kendal, where dogs wearing blue ribbons were often set on the ‘yellows’.

19 *veni, vidi, vici?* ‘I came, I saw, I conquered’, Caesar’s famous words after defeating Pharnaces, King of Pontus, in 47 BC (*Suetonius, Caesars, XXXVII. 2*).

20 drawn...*Westmorland?* The *Kendal Chronicle* of 28 March reported that in order to thwart a suspected attempt to block Brougham’s passage towards Kendal, his ‘enthusiastic admirers [...] took the horses from his carriage and drew him [forward] without opposition’ (p. 1, col. 5).

21 *father...Clifton neighbour;* In the former reference De Quincey probably means Brougham’s grandfather, who had been legal steward to the eleventh Duke of Norfolk; the Duke was also the some-time patron of the ‘Clifton neighbour’, Thomas Wybergh (see above, p. 370, n. 22). Although he lived near Cockermouth, Wybergh owned Clifton Hall, near Brougham Hall.

22 *spy!* It was this comment that led to the litigation, initiated by Brougham, mentioned in the headnote (above, p. 113); the writ, as reported in the paper, declared that two of the *Gazette*’s proprietors ‘procured to be published a libel in the form of a letter signed “PHILADELPHUS”’ (13 June 1818 [p. 3, col. 3]). It was open knowledge that Brougham had served as secretary to Lords Rosslyn and St Vincent on their mission to Portugal to determine Portuguese readiness for a
supposedly imminent attack by Napoleon’s army in 1806. He had extended his diplomatic mission to the Court in Madrid with a view to gauging whether or not Spain would join a European alliance against Napoleon. The background to both missions was restated by Brougham in a speech he gave in Kendal on 13 June (Kendal Chronicle, 20 June, p. 2, cols 2–3).

23 Thersites.] Ill-natured Greek warrior who fought in the Trojan War; he features in Homer’s Iliad.

24 three Letters.] To political friends in support of Brougham, that is. In them, Clarkson notes, ’I am sure I acted with all becoming delicacy [...] I never asked any one for his own individual Vote’ (Kendal Chronicle, 28 March 1818, p. 3, col. 3).

25 ’CACI...animus’] ‘the barbaric mind of Cacus [son of Vulcan in Roman Myth] the spirit moving one into new things’. The first part is adapted from Virgil’s Aeneid, VIII. 204–5, the second is from Ovid’s Metamorphoses, I. 1.

26 PHILADELPHUS.] De Quincey’s editorial predecessor appended a note to this signature commenting on ‘the great interest which the subjects in discussion have excited’ and inviting supporters of Clarkson to respond ’in the fair way of argument’ (which they indeed did in large numbers).

[11 July 1818]

1 Mr. Brougham...Castle Yard.] The electoral poll was held at Appleby Castle and was presided over by the Earl of Thanet, one of whose seats the castle was. After giving his final speech from the hustings on 3 July (following the victory speeches of the Lowthers), Brougham withdrew to the Castle Yard where, amongst other things, he outlined his nine resolutions for strengthening anti-Lowther support in the region. He then returned to the nearby Brougham Hall.

2 Sic omnia!] ‘thus it all goes’.

3 extended right of suffrage,] Pressure was high at this time, both from radical Whigs and from a widely politically-conscious public, for constitutional reform leading to extended suffrage. A climax of sorts was reached in 1819 with the big public meetings leading to the catastrophe of Peterloo (see section C, 28 August 1819, etc.).

4 overt acts...close of the Contest,] see headnote, p. 111. A news report in the Gazette of 11 July, describes the alcohol-fuelled rioting that took place in Kendal on 4 and 6 July (p. 3, col. 4).

5 bribery...unrated Freeholders...them.] see headnote, p. 111. Brougham had raised the issue of the suspension of individual land tax assessments by the Clerk of Land Tax Commissioners, in the Commons on 27 May. It was, he argued, specifically aimed at making it difficult for numbers of his supporters to register for the vote in time (the Treasury maintained that the bar related to a few problematic cases only). As it turned out Brougham seems to have lost about eighty votes in this dubious process (Caseby, p. 94; the latter points out that the Lowthers, on the other hand, managed to buy up pigsties ‘that had curiously been deemed freeholds’). Both parties sailed close to the wind on the matter of bribery, an intrinsic part of electioneering anyway at the time. Unlike the pro-Brougham faction, however, the Lowthers had a long-established network of informers (Wordsworth included) who would indicate situations where bribery might gain a vote.

6 letter...address annexed.] In a letter to the editor of the Gazette, the Deputy High Constable, Robert Welch, outlined details of disturbances which occurred during voting at Appleby (they were minor only); following this was published
his pre-ballot address to constables and special constables who were to police the Appleby ballot, setting out rules of personal conduct (p. 1, col. 5).

[18 July 1818]

1 compacts of Irish insurgents,] formed, that is, during the two Irish rebellions of 1798, and part the product of the United Irish ideology, part sectarian. Brougham’s support of Catholic emancipation left him vulnerable to such biased comment; the Kendal Chronicle of 25 July (p. 3, col. 1) was, accordingly, scathing of De Quincey’s charge.

2 the snake...not killed:] Adapted from Shakespeare’s Macbeth, III. ii. 14., where it runs ‘We have scotch’d the snake, not kill’d it’.

To the Editor of the Westmorland Gazette [25 July 1818]

1 Maecenas,] Gaius Cilnius Maecenas (d. 8 BC), enlightened Roman statesman and noted patron of the arts.

2 Nil habet...hominis fact.] Juvenal, Satires, 3, ll. 152–3: ‘There is nothing more painful in poverty than that it makes men appear absurd’.

3 one of his speeches...censure:] Brougham made two speeches in Kendal on 23 March, the day of his arrival there. The first was the public speech that De Quincey attacked in Close Comments (see above, pp. 98–104), the second was delivered at a private political dinner in the King’s Arms. In both he made disparaging remarks about Wordsworth; during the first he categorized the poet as the Lowthers’ ‘principle literary advocate’, whose ‘readers (I speak of his prose and politics) have harder work of it than he has [...] he has begun the use of personalities’, and in the second as ‘a very good man [who] made sad work of it, when he meddled in the common business of life’ (Kendal Chronicle, 28 March, p. 2, cols 2–3).

4 ‘have...fire’] Romans 12: 20.

5 Si quando...tempestas.] Satires of Juvenal, 12, ll. 23–4: ‘Whenever there is artistic ferment’.

6 second attack...first.] This refers to Brougham’s attack on Wordsworth in his candidacy nomination speech from the hustings at Appleby on 30 June. During it he noted that ‘some persons, (Mr. Wordsworth among them), who happened to have risen from the extremest poverty to an affluence which he had no reason to expect [had suggested] that not only a poor man could not be honest, but that not even the moderate fortune of a country gentleman, was sufficient to preserve his independence’ (Kendal Chronicle, 4 July, p. 1, col. 4).

7 Poet’s source...sinecure:] As Distributor of Stamps for Westmorland and part of Cumberland, that is; it was neither a sinecure nor an overdemanding appointment, since Wordsworth, who had held the post since 1813, used a clerical assistant to help with the more complex aspects of the job.

8 Mr. W——gb] Thomas Wybergh, see above, p. 370, n. 22. Making a public address on the second day of voting, he was shouted down by members of his audience who accused him of being a ‘Sinecurist’.

9 Norfolk Gold and Annuities] see above, p. 371, n. 21. The issue seems first to have been raised by a Gazette correspondent calling himself ‘X’, in a letter which examines ‘The interference of Peers in Elections’ (23 May 1818, p. 4, cols 1–3).

10 dux plebeculae] ‘leader of the common people’.

11 quondam friend, the Poet,) In a letter of February 1815, Wordsworth (the ‘quondam [i.e., former] friend’) refers to his amicable meeting with Henry

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Brougham 'last summer', and in a letter written in 1816 notes that his 'last interview [with him] was terminated among the majestic woods of Lowther, near his own beautiful residence' (WL (1970), p. 195 and p. 290).

12 Chronicle...champion.] A Kendal Chronicle letter-writer, who signed himself 'W. X.', suggested amongst other things that Philadelphus might well be a Scot had there not been 'strong reasons for believing that he is an Englishman' (13 June 1818, p. 1, col. 5).

[25 July 1818]

1 Duns Scotus] John Duns Scotus (c. 1265–1308), Scottish scholastic philosopher and theologian.

2 'Nobis...severiores.'] Martial (c. AD 40–104), Epigrams, 9. 12. 16: 'To those of us who follow severer muses such eloquence is not allowed'.

Mr Orator Ego [3 October 1818]

1 'with euphasy and rue,'] Milton, Paradise Lost, XI. 414.

2 Anacharsis Cloots.] Jean Baptiste du Val de Grâce, Baron Clootz (1755–94), enthusiastic if eccentric Prussian radical idealist who saw human perfectibility as the ultimate goal of the French Revolution. He called himself Anacharsis early in his life and was eventually guillotined when he incurred the enmity of Robespierre.

3 'There live...old;'] Shakespeare, 1 Henry IV, II. iv. 126–7.

4 Appleby Dinner.] Attended by seventy of the 'principle gentlemen' of the region, the celebratory dinner took place on 10 September (a lengthy account of it appears in the Gazette of 12 September, p. 3, cols 2–4). Lord Lowther and Lord Bentinck spoke at length and with signal lack of magnanimity towards Brougham and his supporters. Both London and Kendal Chronicles represent Lowther to have acted as a well-rehearsed mouthpiece for Tory ideology: e.g., 'the eloquence displayed by his Lordship upon this occasion [has] not a little astonished many of his friends, who, from some former specimens, did not anticipate such a dazzling display of oratorical talent. Even we have perused what his Lordship said or is made to say upon that memorable day, not without feelings of admiration' (Kendal Chronicle, 19 September, p. 2, col. 4).

5 'The earth...them.'] misquoted from Shakespeare, Macbeth, I. iii. 80–1.

6 Ye God's! ...happy!] Alexander Pope, Peri Bathous, or, the Art of Sinking in Poetry, Chapter XI; in Pope l. 2 begins 'And'.

Shrievalty of Westmorland [17 October 1818]

1 second letter...Shrievalty.] Laelius's second letter (the first was published on 26 September) appeared on p. 4, cols 1–2, of the paper; its closely-argued histori­cized logic details why Thanet's title to the shrievalty is 'precarious in the extreme, if not absolutely bad'.

2 de donis,] 'to give away'.

3 son of...infant.] John de Clifford (?1435–66), ninth Baron Clifford was 'one of the Lancastrian leaders at the Battle of Wakefield in December 1460, where he is reported to have slain the Earl of Rutland, the young son of the Duke of York, with his own hands' (Hall's Chronicle, ed. Ellis (1809), pp. 250–1). One of Clifford's motives was to avenge the death of his father Thomas, eighth Baron Clifford, at the Battle of St Albans in May 1455.
4 ad internecionem;] ‘to the point of extermination’.

High Sheriff of Westmorland

1 article upon this subject] The Chronicle ran an editorial defence of the shrievalty as it then stood, and, by implication, of Thanet’s qualifications to hold it, in its issue of 2 January (p. 3, cols 1–2)

2 mistake...Kirkby-Thorne;] The latter was a frequent Chronicle correspondent; the ‘answer’ to him (and details of its ‘suppressed’ section) mentioned next by De Quincey can be found in section E, 19 September 1818.

3 (‘Quid...curo’)] ‘what is true and becoming’.

Section B: Editorial Matters

To Correspondents [1 August 1818]

1 and 2 ‘R. W. and ‘T. X.’] Both letters counsel acceptance of the social hierarchy, or rather urge the poor to accept their lot as the product of God’s will, and might well have been written by the same person.

To Correspondents [8 August 1818]

1 trial of Hussey,] Charles Hussey was tried at Maidstone in July 1818 for the so-called Greenwich murders; i.e., the murders of Mr Bird and his housekeeper in Greenwich, London, on 7 February 1818. De Quincey presented the trial evidence, duly summarized, along with Hussey’s confession, in the Gazette of 15 August (p. 2, cols 2–5). Hussey was executed on 3 August 1818; the event is reported in the present issue of the paper (p. 3, col. 1).

Kendal, August 15, 1818

1 Trial of Hussey...Execution.] see previous note. Hussey’s execution on Penenden Heath, Maidstone had been attended by a huge crowd, who watched the event in silence.

2 Analysis...Wool;] No such item would appear in the Gazette.

To Correspondents [22 August 1818]

1 letter...from Underbarrow:] The latter is a village (and parish) three miles west of Kendal. The ‘letter’ mentioned here appeared in the Kendal Chronicle of 29 August 1818 (p. 3, col. 4), and the situation it initiated became the focus of yet another minor dispute between the two Kendal-based papers. See Manuscript 1 in the final section of this volume (1 r, col. 2 to 1 v, col. 2) for broader context

2 quoad hanc vicem,] ‘in view of this change’.

3 Godalming murderers,] George Chennel and J. Chalcroft were executed on 14 August for the murders of Chennel’s father and housekeeper in November 1817 at Godalming in Surrey. The case was widely reported and provoked a strongly hostile public reaction.

Kendal, September 12, 1818

1 Bible Society] An interdenominational Protestant lay society with international
representatives, founded in 1804 at the behest of the Clapham Sect of evangelical Christians, who were active between 1790 and 1830 in political and social areas. The Bible Society printed cheap, vernacular translations of the Christian scriptures, and offered financial assistance to like-minded societies.

Potato-Brandy [19 December 1818]
1 valeat quantum valere potest!'] 'let it stand for what it is worth'.
2 Ne Sutor ultra crepidam;'] 'cobbler stick to your last'; the painter Apelles's reply to an over-critical cobbler (Pliny (23–79), Natural History, XXXV. 85).

'Q in a Corner'and.'P. Q.' [26 December 1818]
1 voltigeurs] light-armed French troops attached to infantry regiments for skirmishing duties.
2 A newspaper...literally ephemeral:] a common observation of De Quincey's; see, e.g., Japp (1890), pp. 239–40 and SGG, I, p. 91. In his response to De Quincey's comments 'Q. in a Corner' would note in a letter which appeared in the Chronicle of 9 January, 1819 (p. 3, cols 3–4) 'the “Gazette” [...] has not even an hebdomadal existence, at least in this neighbourhood – about the third day after publication, it regularly disappears [...] And hence [...] I admire the Editor's remarks upon the brief existence of these weekly oracles'.
3 Oyer and Terminer] a royal commission empowering the hearing and determining of criminal causes.
4 pre-established harmony...Leibnitz] The German philosopher, mathematician and polymath Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716) held that from an infinite number of possible worlds, God created a world where everything exists according to a perfect organic pre-established pattern. Both Leibniz and this concept are mentioned in a number of essays by De Quincey (an exact paradigmatic parallel to the current one can be found, e.g., in 'Modern Greece', Blackwood's, LII, July, 1842, pp. 120–38).
5 nem. con.;] nemine contradicente,'no one is contradicting'.
6 Dogberry says, ['flat burglary']) Shakespeare, Much Ado About Nothing, IV. ii. 48. Dogberry is referring to Claudia receiving 1,000 ducats from Don John for raising false accusations against Hero.
7 'Barbara' or 'Camestres.'] terms in Aristotelian logic. A Barbara is a syllogism that follows the pattern 'if every A is a B, and every B is a C, then every A is a C'. This and Camestres are logical 'valid' syllogisms. De Quincey himself has provided a note to this expression (see end of item).
8 Prester John,] the legendary Christian ruler of a kingdom supposedly located between Persia and Armenia, popularized in medieval histories and tradition as a potential ally for Christendom against Muslims. Prester John was reputed to be a Nestorian, a member of an Eastern church that was independent of the authority of the Patriarch of Constantinople.
9 Sir Roger De Coverley's...both sides,')] The Tory squire Sir Roger de Coverley was created by Richard Steele (1672–1729) and Joseph Addison (1672–1719) as a member of the fictional Spectator Club, 'source' of the Spectator periodical conducted by the two writers. De Coverley's 'expression' appears in No. 122 (20 July 1711, by Addison); it is his response to Will Wimble and Tom Touchy, who have appealed to him to decide who is right in an argument about angling rights.
10 (2)] The number refers to De Quincey's own endnote.
TON D'APAMEIBOMENOS,] a formulaic Homeric phrase meaning 'but him answering'. De Quincey recounts, at length, Richard Sheridan's effective use of the words in a Commons speech, commenting, 'throughout the "Iliad," all speeches or commands, questions or answers, are introduced by Homer under some peculiar formula. For instance, replies are usually introduced thus: -- "But him answering thus address'd the sovereign Agamemnon"; or, in sonorous Greek: -- "Ton d'apameibomenos [...]" (SGG, II, Chapter I, Section II).

Demosthenes.] a reference to the great oratorical skills of the Athenian statesman Demosthenes (384-322 BC).

Millennium,] unidentified (not Thomas Moore's short poem thus titled). De Quincey refers to the work again, within a similar formulation, in the third part of his 1831 Blackwood's article 'Dr Parr and his Contemporaries'.


Tales...La Fontaine] Jean de la Fontaine (1621-95), French poet and fabulist, famous for his Fables (1668, 1678-9, 1694); his Tales (1664) were often borrowed from the ribald and licentious vernacular stories of Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-15).

Anacreon Moore:] Thomas Moore (1779-1852), poet, satirist, musician and Irish nationalist. A close friend of Byron and Shelley, he wrote the highly popular Irish Melodies (1807-34) and Lalla Rookh (1817); he was also a regular contributor to the Edinburgh Review. The Greek poet Anacreon (c.582-c.485 BC) wrote ironic lyric poetry. Moore translated into English a collection of works by various post-classical Greek writers grouped Anacreonta and published as Anacreon's poetry in 1664, with the title Odes of Anacreon (1800).

prevented...India,] Lord Moira, Moore's patron, was appointed Governor General of India in 1811, but the Prince Regent (who had been lampooned in verse by Moore) opposed Moore's joining his patron, leaving the poet with the sinecure of Admiralty Registrar for Bermuda.

Hammond's Imitations of Tibullus,] The Roman poet Albius Tibullus (c.55-c.19 BC) is best known for his elegiacs, James Hammond (1710-42) for his Love Elegies by Mr H--nd. Written in the Year 1732, most of which were inscribed, as in Tibullus, to 'Naera' or 'Delia'.
EXPLANATORY NOTES TO PAGES 175–80

wanted to blur (see James Boswell, Journal of a Tour of the Hebrides, 1785, p. 111).

2 Queen's Funeral,] Queen Charlotte died on 17 November 1818 and was buried in St George's Chapel, Windsor.

3 'De gustibus...disputandum:'] 'about tastes there is no disputing'.

To Correspondents [9 January 1819]

1 Parliament...meeting:] The opening of the new session of parliament took place on 21 January.

2 Lent Assizes are approaching:] The Gazette commenced its regular assize reports from the beginning of April.

3 French people...all restraints] By the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (November 1818), foreign powers withdrew their occupying forces from France. Censorship in the country continued until May 1819.

4 Smollett...two cheeses.] The story can be found in the novel The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle (1751; Ch. LXX), by Tobias Smollett (1721–71).

5 non Dii, non homines, non concessere columnae:] misquoted from Horace's Ars Poetica, l. 373 – 'not Gods, not men, not columns admit them'.

6 Laconism;] a reference to the abbreviated, succinct mode of speech found in Laconia (or Sparta), in ancient Greece.

7 Procrustes,] A legendary robber in ancient Greece, who reputedly had an iron bed on which he compelled his victims to lie: if they were too short for the bed, he stretched them; if too tall, he cut off their legs. The 'Procrustean bed' has become a proverbial term for the arbitrary configuring of person or thing to situation.

8 Holkar...Elleapollah] Holkar, as Janzow (1968) suggests (p. 294), is probably Jeswant Rao Holkar, the Indian prince who, against considerable British opposition, became a powerful ruler in turn-of-century India. The other figure remains untraced.

9 Dundas] Henry Dundas (1742–1811), first Viscount Melville and Baron Dunira, Scottish statesman and jurist; he held a number of important public offices.

10 compression...Parliament assembles;] see headnote, pp. 109–10. De Quincey deals at length with the subject of 'compression' in newspapers in the first part of his Blackwood's essay 'Style' (XLVIII, July 1840, p. 12ff). In a letter to the Kendal Chronicle of 16 January, 'P. Q.' points out that De Quincey had 'filled last week a column and a half with a multiplicity of words, interspersed with a very scanty stock of ideas for the purpose of recommending brevity to his correspondents' (p. 3, col. 2).

Act of Oblivion [16 January 1819]

1 festival of the Saturnalia,] an ancient Roman festival dedicated to Saturn, god of agriculture in Roman religion, and probably in celebration of the sowing of the autumn crops. Held from 17–19 December, it was marked by gift-giving, the temporary liberation of slaves and heavy indulgence in food and wine.

[30 January, 1819]

1 house...in Grasmere,] This is of course what is now known as Dove Cottage, at 378
– its usual designation at this time – Town End, Grasmere; it had at some time been an inn called The Dove and Olive Branch.

2 *The rest of the family...only women,*] De Quincey is presumably referring to his wife and female servant (by this time the De Quinceys had one male and one female child).

3 *strewed...with newspapers,*] The Gazette was published on a Saturday, which meant that Friday morning was the latest occasion on which De Quincey could send his copy to Kendal; doubtless it is this, original as well as extracted, material, that he was labouring over at the time.

4 *fire broke out.*] It is more than likely this incident which prompted De Quincey to insert in the Gazette of 6 February 1819 (p. 2, col. 3) an extracted piece on an invention to ‘cut off the communication between the room and the fireplace’; adding his own brief note on the usefulness of such a device in reducing the high incidence in Cumbria of ‘young women [...] who fall victim to pulmonary consumption’.

Anonymous Letters [30 January 1819]

1 *subject,*] see headnote, p. 145; the Chronicle’s comments come in a miscellaneous section where identifying sources is difficult, though this piece does seem to have an editorial air about it. ‘No Print’, the item opens, ‘can reprobate more severely than we do, the base and cowardly custom of sending anonymous letters’ (p. 3, col. 2).

2 *Mr. Courtenay,*] Courtenay is a barrister, cited a number of times in the Gazette in connection with cases tried at Appleby Assizes. The prosecution mentioned was not reported in the paper.

The Kendal Chronicle [20 March 1819]

1 *he did so once...‘a humble retainer of the gentry.’*] De Quincey ‘noticed’ this expression (the Chronicle’s line actually ended ‘Aristocracy’) in his second “Q. in a Corner,” and “P. Q.” article of 26 December 1818 (see p. 157); he revealed some personal details about his life later in the same run of ‘Q./P. Q.’ pieces (2 January 1819).

2 *‘Justem...jubentium,’*] Horace, Odes, 3.3.1: ‘When a man is just and firm in his purpose, the eagerness of citizens to approve wrongdoing [does not disturb his mind].’

3 *At the time...circulation.*] see headnote, p. 272.

Communication to the Readers [8 May 1819]

1 *communication...4 miles.*] De Quincey’s post-town was Ambleside, four miles from Grasmere. The ‘communication’ was indeed long-awaited: it had originally been promised in the Gazette of 15 August, 1818.

2 *Florilegium*] A collection or selection of flowers; used in the titles of anthologies to indicate that the book is a collection of the ‘flowers’ of literature.

3 *Byzantine History*] a generic name for histories written over several centuries by Byzantine scholars such as the Emperor Constantine (AD 905–59). When these works were introduced into Italian universities from around 1400, they transformed the study of Latin and Greek authors, literary scholarship and historiography. In a letter of 1830, De Quincey offers the writer and editor J. G. Lockhart a ‘Digest’, for the Family Library series, ‘of the Corpus Historice
Byzantine; that is, a continuous narrative (woven out of the Byzantine Historians) of the Fortunes of the Lower Empire from Constantine to its Destruction.’ (Symonds, p. 372).

4 Greek and Latin Fathers – the Acta Sanctorum] The former is a generic term for a group of Christian writers dating from the early centuries, to the age of Augustine. The latter, Acta Sanctorum Quotquot Tote Orbe (The Acts of all the Saints [...] Celebrated by Catholic Writers), is an ‘ongoing’ series of systematically-structured historicist texts founded and originally edited (in 1629) by the Belgian Jesuit hagiologist John van Bolland (1596–1665). (See also PW, I, p. 110 for a further reference to this subject in a similar context.)

5 Collections of Muratori] Ludovico Antonio Muratori (1670–1750), Italian historiographer, social reformer and publisher of editions of Italian medieval texts. Examples include the so-called Muratoria Canon, an eighth-century manuscript translated from a Greek document written in Rome c. AD 170–80, and listing the components of the New Testament.

6 English State Trials] a series of works containing significant British legal cases, commenced in 1719 by Thomas Salmon (1679–1767) and annually extended.

7 French Collection of Memoirs,] ‘the long succession of the French Memoirs, beginning with Philippe de Commynes, in the time of Louis XI. or our Edward IV., and ending, let us say, with the slight record of himself (but not without interest) of Louis XVIII.;’ (from De Quincey’s ‘Some Thoughts on Biography’ in PW, I, pp. 109–10).

8 Potosi:] A city in southern Bolivia standing next to the famous Potosi mountain, which is honeycombed with thousands of silver mines. In 1575 the city was the largest in the continent and fabulously wealthy.

9 Goethe,] Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832), the great German poet, dramatist, scientist and state administrator; De Quincey’s low estimate of him here is echoed in most of his later writings on the subject, particularly those of the 1820s.

10 Walter Savage Landor] English poet, dramatist and critic (1775–1864); his Imaginary Conversations of Literary Men and Statesmen (1824–9, 1853) gained immediate and enduring popularity. De Quincey was an early admirer of his work, a situation which would become mutual as the former’s opus grew.

11 Schiller, Wieland, or Burger;] Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller (1759–1805), German dramatist, poet and political writer; Christoph Martin Wieland (1733–1813), German poet, writer of romances and the first German translator of Shakespeare; Gottfried August Bürger (1747–94), German poet and translator. All three writers were popular amongst first-generation British romantics.

12 Wallenstein...Coleridge.] Coleridge’s well-received translation of the first two parts of Schiller’s verse drama Wallenstein appeared in 1800.

13 Madame de Staël’s friend Schlegel,] Anne-Louise-Germaine Necker, Madame de Staël (1766–1817), French author, whose work De l’Allemagne (1810) introduced the French to German Romantic writing. She was an intimate friend of the German critic, philologist and man of letters August Wilhelm von Schlegel (1767–1845), a writer whose Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature (English translation 1815) was influential amongst British writers of the period (Wordsworth, Coleridge and Hazlitt particularly).

14 Ossian] Usual name given to Oisin, legendary Gaelic warrior-bard of the Fenian cycle of tales about the mythical Irish hero Finn, whose son he supposedly was. Two epic poems, Fingal (1762) and Temora (1763) were fabricated as translations of his work by the Scottish poet James Macpherson (1736–96). They were
much admired abroad by, amongst others, the German writers Schiller, Goethe and, as De Quincey observes, Schle格尔.

15 author of the modern German philosophy.] Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), whose Critiques and other writings transformed contemporary philosophy. De Quincey was one of his earliest British readers and explicators (see articles and headnotes on the subject in Section E). A. W. Schle格尔 criticized Kant in a number of writings and lectures.

16 Universal theory... Kant.] Kant's Allgemeine Naturgeschichte und Theorie des Himmels (etc.) was first published in Germany in 1755. De Quincey refers to the work in his Gazette essay 'Immanuel Kant & Dr. Herschel' (11 September 1819, Section E).

[29 May 1819]

1 Immanuel Kant...and others.] De Quincey's Gazette writings on Kant can be found in Section E and commence 28 August 1819; they do not resemble this promise in form or content. The undertaking would however be met in every detail in his 'Letters to a Young Man Whose Education has been Neglected', No. V, 'On the English Notices of Kant' (London Magazine, VIII, July 1823, pp. 87–95). The nature of the 'match' between the promised piece and the London Magazine article suggests that the latter was already sketched out in 1819.

2 Mode...Mints.] Such had already been mapped out in some detail in De Quincey's multi-instalment Gazette article 'Paper of the Bank of England', a history of European fiscal matters, which ran from February to April 1819; the piece as mentioned here would not appear in the paper.

3 Hints...silver.] Again De Quincey's 'Paper [...] articles (see previous note) were the nearest he came to this feature.

4 The Planet Uranus.] The essay appeared as 'Immanuel Kant & Dr. Herschel' (see 11 September 1819 in Section E).

5 Memorabilia...scholar.] These pieces never appeared in the Gazette but evidently resurfaced in the London Magazine as 'Notes from the Pocket-Book of a late Opium-Eater' in 1823–4.

6 essays by Wolf and Kant...philosophy.] Christian von Wolff (1679–1754), German philosopher, mathematician and scientist; he wrote many works (essays included) on the subject mentioned. Immanuel Kant sought to establish a much more restricted mathematico-philosophical construct in his work than Wolff. He also wrote many times on the subject, though De Quincey possibly refers here to Kant's 'The Employment in Natural Philosophy of Metaphysics combined with Geometry' (1756), or the 'Inquiry Concerning the Distinctness of the Principles of Natural Theology and Morality' (1763).

[26 June 1819]

1 The editor...adjourned] Parliament adjourned on 13 July and sat again on 23 November (despite calls for it to reconvene early following Peterloo).

The Tables Turned [14 August 1819]

1 THE TABLES TURNED.] A conventional expression though De Quincey might more specifically have had Gillray's 1797 political cartoon of the same title in mind, or maybe even Wordsworth's like-named poem of 1798.
2 The Case...Rochdale.] The Gazette carried the 'account' under discussion in its issue of 31 July (p. 2, col. 5); the Chronicle reprinted this along with editorial comment and an appended extract from the Leeds Mercury concerning the Rochdale reform meeting in its issue of 7 August (p. 3, cols 2–3). The Mercury's reports on the public disturbances of 1816–19 gained the paper national status; it presented the Rochdale meeting in a much more positive light than the Courier (and hence the Gazette). Just three weeks before Peterloo (see articles in section C and initial headnote), the meeting at Rochdale (a town which focused much radical activity) was one in a series of mass gatherings held in 1819 to express public demand for social and political reform in Britain.

3 'valeat...potest.'] 'let it stand for what it is worth'.

4 two gentlemen...in the state] The Courier was jointly owned by Daniel Stuart (1766–1846) and T. G. Street (1796–1827), men of wide political connection. Coleridge numbered amongst the famous authors who had written for the paper.

5 Spa Fields' meeting] On 9 December 1816 a mass political meeting of reformers at Spa Fields in London (one of a series taking place there) turned into a serious riot which resulted in anti-libertarian measures being enacted by the government.

Section C: Home Affairs

Kendal, October 10, 1818

1 [subtitle] A Letter...Charities.] (London: Longman, 1818). Romilly (1757–1818) was MP for Westminster until his suicide robbed the country of one of its most energetic campaigners for the reform of criminal law. His death also slowed the progress of educational reform in Britain.

2 [subtitle] A Letter...Act.] (London: Hatchard, 1818). 'The author of this tract has been identified as a lawyer named Holt' (Tompson, p. 250, n. 33).

1 ex-parte] 'on behalf of one party only'; used as an application in law.

2 Star-chamber...Court of High Commission,] conciliar courts abolished in 1641 as part of the parliamentarians' reform of the judicial system.

3 Bishop of London,] William Howley (1766–1848), Bishop of London from 1813 to 1828, before being elevated to the Archbishopric of Canterbury.

4 a former Bishop of London (Porteous)] Beilby Porteous (1731–1808), Bishop of London from 1787 until his death.

5 Congé d'élire.] Fr. congé d'élire, 'permission to elect'; originally the formal permission to elect a nominated bishop or archbishop (a privilege assumed by Henry VIII).

Kendal, October 24, 1818

1 The editor...Romilly.] In an editorial of 17 October (p. 2, cols 2–3) the Chronicle offered a point-by-point rebuttal of De Quincey's earlier piece.

2 Sir John Cutler] Sir John Cutler (c.1608–93), a wealthy London merchant who gained undeserved legendary status as an archetypal miser (see, e.g., Alexander Pope, Epistle to Lord Bathurst, ll. 315–34). John Arbuthnot (the 'Scriblerus Club' member offered as its author) related the following anecdote about Cutler: 'he] had a pair of black worsted stockings, which his maid darn'd so often with silk, that they became at last a pair of silk stockings' (The Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus, Chap. XII, 'May 7').
EXPLANATORY NOTES TO PAGES 209–21

3 ‘de Carthagine...dicere;’ ‘about Carthage it is better to say nothing than too little’.

Kendal, December 5, 1818

1 Sir F. Burdett, Lord Grenville,

Sir Frances Burdett (1770–1844), who opposed the war with France and supported Catholic emancipation amongst other De Quinceyan antipathies; the latter is the English statesman William Wyndham (1759–1834), first Baron Grenville, supporter of Catholic emancipation, who as prime minister in 1806–7 presided over the abolition of the slave-trade.

2 misrepresentations...Croydon Charities;

Patrick Drummond’s ‘Letter to Henry Brougham, Esq.’ detailing the latter’s ‘misrepresentations’ can be found abridged on p. 2 (col. 1) of this Gazette. The Kendal Chronicle had extracted the section in Brougham’s Letter outlining serious criticisms of the Croydon charity estates in its issue for 26 September 1818 (p. 4, cols 1–3).

The Queen of England [17 October 1818]

1 letter...England.] The brief letter appeared on p. 2 (col. 2) of the Gazette. At the foot of the document De Quincey notes that the piece was ‘Extracted from Pütter’s Development of the Political Constitution of the Germanic Empire, book xii. chap. v. – It may be found also in the Annual Register for 1761.’

2 public journals...merciful judgements.] see headnote, above, p. 212, for general context. Blackwood’s Magazine would run an article, by J. C. Lockhart, critical of negative published reactions to the Queen’s death, in its December 1818 issue (IV, p. 353ff).

3 question...condition.] As the headnote to the current item suggests, many newspapers raised this ‘question’ (including The Times); since they did so simultaneously – some covertly, some overtly – it is difficult to determine which paper is being referred to as the initiator. The Blackwood’s article referred to in the previous note pinpoints a ‘set of men’ in London who try to undermine ‘the admiration and respect of the world to the constitution of England’ (pp. 353–4).

Kendal, November 28, 1818

1 Seven Years’ War,] 1756–63, between Frederick II of Prussia, along with England against France, Austria and Russia.

2 Mecklenburg] see headnote, above, pp. 212–13. Mecklenburg (or Mecklenburg-Vorpommern as it is now known) is a German Baltic state.

3 two years younger...George III.,] see headnote, above, pp. 212–13.

Her Late Majesty [12 December 1818]

1 paper...Majesty’s funeral:] see headnote, above, p. 216; in what is offered as a compilation, which comes complete with verbal formularies, the Courier is the only source mentioned.

The Army [31 October 1818]

1 sentimental Emperor...sensibility,] Presumably a reference to Napoleon I (Louis
XVIII had been recently restored to the French throne, carried back to Paris, as one writer put it, 'in the baggage of the Allies').

2 three years] i.e., since Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo in June 1815.

The King's Accession [31 October 1818]

1 his present affliction.] George III suffered periods of mental derangement throughout his lifetime, probably, as is now thought, caused by porphyria; he had been hopelessly incapacitated since 1811, at which date the Prince of Wales was appointed Regent.

2 sonnet...paper:] Wordsworth's 'November, 1813'. It was first published in 1814 and appears on p. 3 (col. 1) of the current Gazette.

3 battle of Leipsic.] In October 1813 Napoleon was defeated at the Battle of Leipsic; it was an event which precipitated the collapse of his Confederation of the Rhine.

4 'of this hour'] 'Permit his heart to kindle, and to embrace [...] The triumphs of this hour; for they are THINE!'

Case of Driscoll, Cashman, & Weller [30 January 1819]

1 Mr. Macdonald.] James MacDonald (1784–1832), MP for Calne, in his response to the address on the Prince Regent's speech at the opening of Parliament on 21 January 1819. See Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, 39 (14 January–30 April 1819), cols 45–60.

2 one of his servants] See Hansard, 39, col. 54, in which MacDonald refers to 'the unaccountable replies which had recently been made to certain petitions, in which replies it was most strangely intimated, that it was useless and nugatory to petition his Royal Highness on such subjects, as his Royal Highness had delegated to one of his servants the discretion of exercising, according to his own opinions and feelings, the best prerogative the king possessed - that of mercy'.

3 A petition...Brighton.] De Quincey paraphrases Mr Clive's reply to MacDonald (Hansard, 39, col. 59).

4 George Canning.] George Canning (1770–1827), Tory politician.

Parliamentary Intelligence [10 April 1819]

1 Game Laws.] The Game Laws Amendment Bill had its second reading in the Commons on 19 March (Hansard, 39, cols 1078–90). It aimed to make it lawful for tenants of the soil to sell game caught on their tenancy, and to prevent poaching by offering a £5 reward for the apprehension of poachers. See 22 May 1819 and headnote, pp. 237–8, for further details.

2 Poor Laws.] The Settlement of the Poor Bill was brought in by Sturges Bourne on 25 March (Hansard, 39, cols 1153–7), and had its second reading on 5 April (ibid., cols 1416–17). It aimed to simplify the settlement qualification for poor relief by rendering it contingent on a specified period of residence. The subject would arise time after time in the Gazette.

3 Waithman] Robert Waithman (1764–1833), reformist MP.

4 Joe Miller;] the supposed author of a large number of jest books published in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The actual author was the playwright and biographer John Mottley (1692–1750); the 'pseudonym' stems from Joseph Miller (1684–1738), actor and humorist.

5 particular friend...indiscretions.] In the Commons on 19 March, Waithman
presented a petition from William Weaver, who was charged with evading £44,450 in excise duty (Hansard, 39, cols 1068–71).

6 law of copy-right ...metropolitan booksellers.] The copyright laws remained unchanged until 1842, when an author’s current period of interest of 28 years (or term of life) was increased to 42 years (or until 7 years after death)

7 Mutiny Bill] The annually-debated Mutiny Act was a piece of counter-revolutionary legislation dating from 1797, when it was used to repress naval mutinies at Spithead and Nore.

[2nd part of same editorial]

1 S. J....published.] S. J.’s letter (p. 3, cols 4–5) attacked a piece of anti-Catholic correspondence signed J. S., outlining the ‘evils’ of extending Catholic political rights, which had appeared in the Gazette of the previous week (p. 4, cols 1–2).

2 argumentum ad verecundiam,] literally ‘argument to reverence’; i.e., an appeal to authority.

Catholic Claims [24 April 1819]

1 a second meeting...the same purpose.] De Quincey had in fact noted his intention to deal with the whole matter in the Gazette of 20 March 1819, remarking that ‘the labor and research spent in preparing various Essays connected with the subject of Coin, Bank Paper, &c. &c.’ had ‘prevented’ his doing so (p. 3, col. 1).

2 Mr. Prebendary Dennis;] Jonas Dennis, Exeter clergyman. A defender of the Catholic Church, Dennis wrote against Catholic emancipation in his Convocatio Cleri (Exeter, 1818).

3 dispensation.... certain offices;] see headnote, pp. 227–8, for details. The effective instrument of debarment from higher office for most Catholics was historically the oath of supremacy; fundamentally royal rather than papal in Britain, that is.

4 in re-ecclesiasticâ ‘in the matter of the church’.

5 a Veto...English Sovereign.] George III was vehemently anti-Catholic; his Coronation oath required that he strictly maintain the Supremacy or Test Act against Roman Catholics. The Prince Regent, much more constrained by Cabinet than his father, would follow a similar line for some time.

6 Lord Grenville] see , 5 December, p. 383, n. 1.

7 Protestant Bishop of Norwich,)] Henry Bathurst (1744–1837), liberal-thinking Bishop of Norwich from 1805.

8 South and Sherlock and Stillingfleet,] Robert South (1634–1716), divine; William Sherlock (c.1641–1707), nonjuring Dean of St Paul’s; Edward Stillingfleet (1635–99), Bishop of Worcester. Sherlock’s A Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity (1690) attacked the newly-revitalised Unitarians, but ignited a controversy over Socinianism and the Trinity that ran through the 1690s. South’s Animadversions upon Dr Sherlock’s [...] Vindication (1693) and Tritheism Charged upon Dr Sherlock’s New Notion of the Trinity (1695) attacked Sherlock anonymously. Stillingfleet attempted to defend the Trinity against John Locke, whom he believed was questioning its divine origins.

9 the Arianism...wicked Will Whiston] Thomas Emlyn (1663–1741), the first Unitarian minister in England; Samuel Clarke (1675–1729), rationalist divine; William Whiston (1667–1752), divine, mathematician and indefatigable controversialist. (De Quincey explains at length in a note to his essay ‘Secret Societies’ (Tait’s, XIV, October 1847, p. 664) how it was Jonathan Swift – it actually
seems to have been John Gay – who added the epithet ‘wicked’ to Whiston’s name.) Emlyn espoused Arianism after discussing Sherlock’s *Vindication* (see above, n. 8) with William Manning, and later became associated with Clarke and with Whiston’s Society for Promoting Primitive Christianity.

10 *Case of Horne Tooke*] John Horne Tooke (see above, p. 362, n. 229) was returned as MP for the rotten borough of Old Sarum in 1801 but, on account of his position as a former church minister, was unseated by a special Act.

11 *Socinian.*] a follower of the Italian theologians Faustus Socinus (1539–1604) and his uncle Laelius Socinus (1525–62), who denied the divinity of Christ along with the doctrines of the Trinity and original sin.

*A Plain Answer* [24 April 1819]

1 *Lord Grenville:* see 5 December, p. 383, n. 1.

2 *small volume...Literary Gazette:* The 240-page *The New Whig Guide* was published in London in the spring of 1819; the extract appeared in the weekly *Literary Gazette* dated 3 April 1819 (pp. 210–12). Most of the pieces in the *Guide* take the form of satires and reports on the Whig party which had previously been published in pro-government papers.

3 *Ponsonby...dead* Ponsonby (see headnote, to current item) died on 8 July 1817 (b. 1755).

4 *'independently,' &c.*] ‘he is found guilty of acting independently as a Member of Parliament, of following the dictates and expressing the sentiments of his own enlightened mind’ (‘A Yellow’, *Chronicle*, 17 April 1819, p. 4, col. 1).

5 *[Jonathan] an American, from the forename's popularity amongst early English settlers in America.*

6 *insult...follower.*] Brougham was generally regarded by his own party as something of a loose cannon; in his *Letter to Sir Samuel Romilly* (see headnote, pp. 201–2), he had criticized, amongst others, the Dean of Westminster, the Bishop of Lincoln, and the Archbishop of Canterbury.

*The Game Laws* [22 May 1819]

1 *Mr. Brand's Bill...Friday the 14th.*] The Game-Laws' Amendment Bill moved by Brand was lost in the Commons by a majority of 60 after a lengthy debate (see 10 April, p. 384, n. 1). As the *Kendal Chronicle* accurately predicted, the main argument urged against the amendment – that its adoption would increase poaching – in fact held true from its rejection (22 May 1819, p. 3, col. 2).

2 *(Lords Euston and Tavistock)*] Lord Euston and the Marquis of Tavistock spoke in support of Brand's amendment in the Commons debate of 14 May (reported in *The Times* of 15 May, p. 2 col. 2).

3 *Marquis Camden*] John Jeffreys Pratt (1759–1840), first Marquis of Camden, teller of the exchequer from 1780 until his death. On 7 May 1812 an unsuccessful attempt was made to limit the income accruing to the office, which had multiplied tenfold under Pratt. The latter then voluntarily relinquished this money (in stages), earning the formal thanks of parliament for his 'patriotism'.

*State of the Nation* [29 May 1819]

1 *general election...house:* De Quincey refers to the election of 1818, which reduced the government's parliamentary majority.
2 Catholic question.... strength.] see headnote, pp. 227–8, for details of the Tories’ brittle stance on this matter.

3 Grenville politics] followers of the statesman William Wyndham Grenville, leader of one of the three groups into which the Whigs split after the breakup of the Whig-dominated coalition government, headed by Lord Grenville, of 1806–7. The Grenville Whigs essentially consisted of Whigs who had broken from their reformist leader Charles James Fox (1749–1806) in 1794 along with Tories under the Marquis of Buckingham; with one or two exceptions, the faction was essentially reactionary on the subject of parliamentary reform. As De Quincey suggests later in his editorial, there was some unification of Grenville and Foxite Whigs in the 1810s; but this did not in fact outlast the decade.

4 ‘a larger proportion....not men.’] De Quincey quotes inaccurately throughout his editorial, though he never offers anything misleading. Tierney had actually opened his speech with a tirade against recent Tory mismanagement of the country: ‘the mind of man [he noted] could not conceive an Administration more dead to all the feelings by which persons in high stations were ordinarily governed’

5 slack in attendance:] ‘Night after night the government whips came to the House to find the opposition benches packed to the gangways, and night after night they tried in vain to stop the early departure of friends and colleagues from their own’ (Cookson, p. 166).

6 ‘frequent and full’] Milton, Paradise Lost, I. 797.

7 in terrorem] ‘in order to deter’.

8 Fox party.] The fragmented nature of Whig opposition to the Tories stemmed from their leader Charles James Fox’s lasting support of the French Revolution and accompanying condemnation of Britain entering the war against France in the 1790s. His views split the Whig party and alienated public opinion, causing a number of prominent Whigs to defect to Pitt’s Tory government. See also n. 3 above.

9 the first Lord Holland] the statesman Henry Fox (1705–74), first Baron Holland, Pitt the Elder’s Whig rival.

10 coalition with...Lord North.] In the short-lived coalition government of 1783, led by the Tory Duke of Portland (1738–1809), Fox had served alongside his one-time implacable enemy Lord North (1732–92), another Tory, whom Fox had recently threatened to impeach for his supposed mismanagement of the American war.

11 Fox party...members.] The taste of Fox (along with some of his followers) for gambling, drinking and women was matched by a natural generosity of spirit which, unlike his ideology, seemed to endear him to the public. His supposed ‘dissoluteness’ was, however, relentlessly exploited by his opponents.

12 Devonshire House,] In Piccadilly, the London home of the Duke and Duchess of Devonshire. Georgiana Cavendish (1757–1806), Duchess of Devonshire, was the fashionable patroness of, amongst others, the Foxite Whigs. De Quincey’s appeal to ‘private’ knowledge here is a little devious: the Devonshires’ moneyed high-living was hardly dissolute even if Fox’s libertine reputation travelled with him.

13 Fox party [...] enemies of England.] see n. 9 above.

14 1803... Bonaparte.] Britain declared war on France on 18 May 1803 with the breakdown of the Peace of Amiens. The event is recorded in De Quincey’s 1803 diary.

15 beginning...1808,] A British expeditionary force was sent to Portugal on 1 August 1808.
16 an English duchess] It is unclear whether the reference is to the Duchess of Devonshire (see above, n. 12) or the Duchess of Gordon (see above, p. 362, n. 221), since they both met the 'hound' mentioned next.

17 (Gen. Boyer)] Boyer, a French soldier, was taken prisoner by the English whilst sailing from Haiti to France in 1803. On his arrival in Plymouth he is reported to have said that 'with 5000 men he would take that place and over-run the Western District' (Times, 27 August 1803, p. 3, col. 1). His youthful good looks, high rank and 'gallant' behaviour gained him considerable freedom in the country, and his movements were widely reported in the British press.

18 Morning Chronicle...French rights and honors.] The London-based, Whig Morning Chronicle was established in 1769 and enthusiastically supported the ideology of the French Revolution even in the face of evidence showing that the Jacobins had committed atrocities. It was charged more than once with being in the pay of the French revolutionary government. De Quincey refers to its pro-Brougham stance a number of times in the Gazette.

Kendal, June 5, 1819

1 eighty-first year.] George III was born on 4 June 1738; by 1819 he had been blind and violently deranged for nearly a decade (see 31 October, p. 384, n. 1 for further details).

2 'King of Kings')] from Wordsworth's sonnet 'November, 1813', inserted and mentioned in an editorial by De Quincey in a previous issue of the Gazette (see p. 221). Shelley's sonnet 'England in 1819' provides an interesting counter to Wordsworth's poem here.

3 'vouchsafe...space,'] slightly misquoted from Wordsworth's poem.

4 'returned to the dust!'] Charlotte Sophia (1744–1818), George III's queen, died on 17 November 1818.

5 beloved Princess...tomb!] Amelia (1783–1810), George III's youngest daughter, and his favourite, died on 2 November 1810. Her death contributed to the king's final plunge into permanent insanity.

6 'ICHABOD,'] Heb. ikabod,'the glory is departed'. The name given by the wife of Phinehas to her child on hearing that the Philistines had captured the ark of the covenant (1 Samuel 4: 19–22)

7 Simeon,] The old man who longed for the coming of the Messiah: on seeing the young Jesus for the first time he uttered the prayer now called the Nunc Dimittis, the song of Simeon (Luke 2: 25–35).

Kendal, Saturday, July 24, 1819

1 conspiracy of the Luddites] The Luddite movement represented a continuation of an earlier tradition amongst radical workmen of destroying industrial machinery which threatened to erode the value of their skills; it was supposedly named after Ned Ludd, who had smashed stocking-frames during this earlier period. In its new flowering the machine breaking began in Nottinghamshire in 1811 and spread to large parts of West Yorkshire, a number of the Midland counties and south Lancashire. Swift and savage government action had severely curtailed Luddite activity by 1813, but it flared up sporadically until 1816.

2 combination...coachmakers.] The General Secretary and twenty members of the Benevolent Society of Coachmakers were convicted in 1819 under the Combination Acts of 1799–1800 which severely limited the formation of trade unions (Thompson, pp. 261–2).
Sir Francis Burdett, Sir Francis Burdett (1770–1844), reformist MP, sat for Westminster (1807–37) and was frequently abused by the Tory press. His famously ample purse was always open to the reform movement.

Mr. Hunt, Henry ‘Orator’ Hunt (1773–1835), radical activist in the cause of social and parliamentary reform. He was a charismatic figure with considerable rhetorical ability. After the Peterloo Massacre of 1819, at which he was chief speaker, he was sentenced to two and a half years’ imprisonment (Burdett was sentenced to three months in jail for an address he delivered in Westminster after the same event) – See p. 251ff. for further details.

Kendal, Saturday, August 7, 1819

1 Mr. Jeremy Bentham, Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832), philosopher, legal authority and writer on jurisprudence. A late convert to reformism, he drafted a series of motions for Francis Burdett (see previous item, n. 3) in 1818 calling for virtual universal suffrage and vote by ballot.

Edward Augustus (1767–1820), Duke of Kent and Strathern (Queen Victoria’s father), chaired public meetings in 1819 (26 June, 8 and 26 July) whose purpose it was to investigate the socialist proposals of Robert Owen: these were all reported at length in The Times, from which De Quincey draws some of his facts.

Major Robert Torrens (1780–1864), soldier and political economist; he wrote a number of influential books on the latter subject. David Ricardo (1772–1823), MP and the most important economist of his day. His major work was Principles of Political Economy and Taxation (1817), a book which proved a catalyst to De Quincey’s intellectual energies. Both economists sat on the committee appointed in June 1819 and chaired by the Duke of Kent to investigate Owen’s proposal for establishing ‘villages of unity and co-operation’ to relieve working-class distress. They individually rejected the utopian scheme (see Times, 10 and 27 July, p. 3, col. 3 and p. 3, col. 1 respectively).

13th resolution about himself, as reported in The Times, 27 July 1819: ‘Probe this individual [...] see if it be possible that he can be influenced by any private motive or personal object. If, then, his motives cannot be impugned – if his experience has been correctly stated – if the country is in a general distress – if these are facts, and he only asks for investigation, will you not afford him the inquiry which he solicits?’ (p. 2, col. 5).

Any scheme... price of corn, Owen’s proposals involved the cultivation of waste land previously considered unproductive. It was a tenet of the ‘doctrine of rent’ mentioned next that the price of all corn would be set by the price of corn grown on the most inferior grade of land. De Quincey saw in this an impulse towards economic and thus social chaos, and obsessively drew attention to the supposed consequences in many of his essays on economics.

Dolus latet in universalibus, ‘fraud lurks in universalities’.

Kendal, Saturday, 28 August, 1819

Seditious meeting, The Times of 19 August 1819 (p. 2, cols 2–3) records some of these ‘mottos’: ‘Annual Parliaments, and Universal Suffrage’; ‘No Corn Laws’; ‘Let us die like men, and not be sold like slaves’; and ‘Taxation without representation is unjust and tyrannical; equal representation or death’.
2 *the riot act:* Historians still disagree on whether or not the Riot Act was read at St Peter's Field and debate on the subject in 1819 was intense. It seems most likely that it was, though under the circumstances it would have passed unheard. The subject was anyway an irrelevant one since under common law an illegal assembly could be dispersed without recourse to further legal mechanisms.

3 *Macclesfield...fifty thousand.* Macclesfield, in Cheshire, was a weaving town with a strong tradition of radical protest. There had been much recent activity there connected with a reform meeting held on 31 July 1819, which, in the event, was reported to have been thinly attended.

4 *sudden dash...secured.* After the arrest of Hunt on the hustings by the Manchester Yeomanry for offering, as the legal authorities held, ‘unlawful resistance against authority’, the yeomanry attempted, of their own volition, to seize reformers’ flags from both hustings and massed crowd. The 15th Hussars under Colonel L'Estrange were next ordered in to assist the yeomanry who could not control their horses in the panicked crowd, and the whole area was ‘cleared’ within ten minutes. Most casualties occurred after Hunt's arrest, the majority of them caused by the yeomanry who used the edge of their sword rather than, as with the more experienced hussars, the flat.

5 *regular regiment...self-command.* Sir John Byng, regular military commander in the north of England, had in fact consistently counselled magistral restraint. Whether through short-sightedness or vanity, the Manchester magistracy signalled that they did not require his assistance at St Peter's Field, and thus denied themselves the experienced advice that might have prevented the massacre.

*Kendal, Saturday, October 2, 1819*

1 (proh pudor!) *pro pudor* ‘for shame’.

2 *Parliamentary inquiry...innocent blood.* The Whig call for an official inquiry into Peterloo was defeated in a parliament which was already busy enacting the coercive Six Acts (one of which forbad most forms of public meeting involving more than fifty individuals). It was widely argued, with some accuracy, that it would have been difficult under law to prove that the magistrates had acted illegally.

*Kendal, October 9, 1819*

1 *meeting of the Ward of Cheap...&c.;* The wordy ‘report’ ran to nearly three columns. What is not included is the fact that the minority present who voted to censure the Manchester magistrates collected over £30 for the relief of injured Manchester reformers. The *Kendal Chronicle*, caught up like the national press in the oddness of the London meeting, reported this in its issue of 16 October (p. 4, col. 4), and also reprinted, from a ‘London Paper’, a list of the names of the ‘Majority’.

2 *advertisement...16th August.* The advertisement appeared on p. 3 (col. 1) of the current *Gazette*; its signatories, petitioning the Hereditary High Sheriff of Westmorland, Lord Thanet, to call a county meeting to discuss Peterloo, were headed by Henry Brougham. The widely-reported assembly, unrepresentative it must be said of majority opinion in the region, was held in Kendal on 21 October and included long speeches by, amongst others, Henry Brougham and Henry Curwen, calling for an inquiry into Peterloo.
Kendal, Saturday, September 18, 1819

1 New Holland] an early name for Australia, often restricted to the western part of the land mass, in common use until the 1820s.
2 Highland Society of Scotland] Scotland could offer, in various guises, both the Highlands and Islands Emigration Society (which provided assisted passages) and the Highland Society of Edinburgh (formed in 1784 to halt the exodus of labour from Scotland, but eventually serving to regulate conditions of passage).

Section D: Foreign Affairs

Kendal, August 1, 1818

1 possessed...West Florida.] With a small expeditionary force, General Andrew Jackson took Pensacola, West Florida, on 24 May 1818, and around the same period captured other strategic centres in the region. The Gazette reported his actions, which were without executive approval, in its issue of 11 July 1818 (p. 3, col. 2).
2 revolution...possessions] Large numbers of Spanish soldiers had in fact been pulled out of the Floridan peninsula at this time to defend Spain's colonies in South America against insurgents.
3 Bartram,] William Bartram (1739-1823), naturalist (son of the famous American botanist John Bartram); his Travels Through North and South Carolina, Etc. (a favourite of Coleridge's), detailing the many journeys he made in search of botanical specimens, was published in 1791.

Colonial Possessions [23 January 1819]

1 communicated to our readers.] The extract on Sumatra outlined the recent journey of Thomas Raffles (see following note) to the island's interior (the first by a European), the discovery by him of a 'mine of wealth' and the subsequent recommendation that a central government be established on the island; that on Van Diemen's Land took the form of a letter which detailed serious communication problems between the colony and Britain; and that on New South Wales was another letter describing the social effects there of the 'abominable practice of drinking rum to excess'.
2 Sir Thomas Raffles] Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles (1781-1826), English scholar and colonial administrator; he was appointed Lieutenant Governor of Java after it fell to a force from the British East India Company in 1811. He completely reorganized the administrative structure of the island, which was handed back to its original Dutch colonisers after the defeat of Napoleon.

[24 April 1819]

1 assassinating...M. Buchoz,)] There were, in fact, a number of plots, particularly by military officers and student bodies, to assassinate the Russian Tsar Alexander I (1777-1825) in the latter part of his reign, by which time his reactionary policies had alienated much of his nation. Phillipe-Joseph Benjamin Buchez (1796-1865) was a politician and a philosopher, who, with his radical student connections, was well placed to notice revolutionary activity. Kotzebue himself was widely believed to be a spy for the Russian government.
2 Carbonari...Emperor of Austria.] The former (meaning 'good cousins') denotes one of the many secret revolutionary brotherhoods that existed at the time; specifically, this Italian society aimed to institute republican government against the tide of the post-Napoleonic restoration of monarchical rule in Europe. Though a popular monarch in his own country, the conservative Francis I of Austria (Francis II of the Holy Roman Empire, 1768–1835), was a target of revolutionary groups in countries such as Italy, where he ruled over nation states.

3 General Gourgaud] Gaspard Gourgaud, Napoleon's young chief orderly officer, and one of those who counselled surrender after Waterloo, followed the emperor into exile on St Helena. De Quincey's following comment is unsubstantiated.

4 Morton or Reynolds] Thomas Morton (c. 1764–1838), English playwright; Reynolds is the prolific stagewriter Frederick Reynolds (1764–1841).

The Ionian Islands [1 May 1819]

1 Eton's book...to this day] A Survey of the Turkish Empire, by William Eton, was published in 1798.

2 letter...April 15.] The letter actually appeared in The Times of 16 April (p. 3, cols 2–3); it is dated 31 March and signed 'A Grecian Traveller'. An editorial feature in the same issue examines the affair and draws attention to the letter.

3 Gen. Maitland,] see headnote, above, p. 267. The 'Grecian Traveller' does not name Maitland, but De Quincey's speculation is, of course, accurate. Sir Thomas Maitland was indeed, as De Quincey goes on to point out, Lord Lauderdale's brother.

4 'planted...cross.'] quoted from The Times.

5 regret the surrender of Parga.] Britain's effective cession of Parga to Ali Pasha and covert support of his (even more covert) campaign against the Turkish Sultan, with a view to Ali's leading the Greeks in a revolt against their Turkish occupier, had equivocal results. When the Greek revolution did break out in March 1821, Ali Pasha had been trapped in Janina's citadel, under Turkish siege, since August 1820; he was assassinated there in January 1822.

Section E: Literary, Philosophical and Miscellaneous Pieces

[1 August 1818]

1 Lewis...1773,] The brief announcement appeared in the Gazette of 18 July 1818 (p. 3, col. 5). Lewis was in fact born in 1775.

2 family causes...event.] Lewis's father, who died in 1812, had separated from his wife while the writer was still a child. Mrs Lewis subsequently resided in France and made a reconciliation with her husband just before his death.

3 elected...Hindon.] Lewis was MP for Hindon in Wiltshire from 1796 to 1802.

4 censures...merited.] The Attorney General considered prosecuting Lewis to halt sales of the work, which, on account of the depraved behaviour of its protagonist, the monk Ambrosio, was considered indecent.

5 Castle Spectre...success.] The play ran for what was at that time the extraordinarily lengthy period of sixty performances.

6 Boaden's play...part.] James Boaden (1762–1839), playwright and miscellaneous writer; his Aurelio and Miranda, a verse adaptation of The Monk, opened
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at Drury Lane on 29 December 1798. John Kemble (1757–1823) and Sarah Siddons (1755–1831) were two of the greatest stage players of their age.

7 Bravo...Feudal Tyrants...1806.] Both of these works are fictional romances translated from the German.

8 West India property.] Lewis inherited his father's entire estate, which included large plantations in Jamaica.

[19 September 1818]

1 SONNET TO DEATH.] Donne's 'Holy Sonnet X', 'Death, be not proud', with some minor errors in transcription. The critical admiration of De Quincey (and Wordsworth - see headnote, above, p. 275) for John Donne's poetry was highly unusual at this time. It is extended in the former's 1828 Blackwood's essay 'Elements of Rhetoric' (XXIV, December, Part II, p. 892).

2 WALLER.] Edmund Waller (1606–87), poet, MP for St Ives in the Long Parliament of 1640; he was renowned for his court connections and was imprisoned in 1643 for his part in a plot to restore Charles I to the throne.

3 exact date...cannot ascertain.] Carew's dates are uncertain. He may have been born in 1598 and died in 1639 or 1640. He was a gentleman of Charles I's privy chamber.

4 verses on Donne...death.] Carew’s ‘An Elegy upon the death of the Dean of St Paul’s, Dr John Donne’ was included in a posthumous volume of Donne’s work, Poems by J. D. (1633).

5 Richard Carew...Tasso's Jerusalem.] Richard Carew (1555–1620), poet and antiquary. His translation of the first five cantos of Tasso’s Jerusalem was published without his authorization in 1594.

[24 October 1818]

1 the late Mr. Windham.] Source untraced: it is unclear whether De Quincey is referring to the antiquary Joseph Windham (1739–1810) or the statesman William Windham (1750–1810).

2 Hartley's Essay on Man:] David Hartley (1705–57), philosopher and psychologist whose associationist theories much interested first-generation British Romantics. His Observations on Man (as the title actually runs) explains mental phenomena in terms of the operation of ‘vibratiuncles’, or minute nervous vibrations.

3 Mr. S....near Bath:] De Quincey had many connections in the Bath/Wiltshire area dating from his mother’s residence at Bath and his attendance at the nearby Winkfield School around the turn of the century and into the 1800s. Perhaps the ‘Mr. S.’ mentioned here is the Rev. Dr Spencer, headmaster of Winkfield while De Quincey was a pupil there.

Medical Treatment of Hydrophobia [28 November 1818]

1 mercury pills...ptisan and jalap.] Mercurous chloride was formerly used as a purgative; jalap is a preparation of the root of the Mexican jalap plant, used as a strong laxative; ptisan is a mild medicinal drink, originally made from barley water.

2 muriate of mercury...scammony, in pills] Muriate of mercury is an old name for
mercurous chloride (see previous note); scammony is a resin derived from the root of the Near Eastern scammony plant, still used a laxative.

Bonaparte [16 January 1819]

1 There are certain subjects...conversation.] Most of these subjects were staple diet for the Gazette also; for example, Typhus Fever was covered in 3 October 1818 (p. 1, col. 5 – immediately beneath a piece on Bonaparte), Gas Lights in 10 April 1819 (p. 1, col. 5), a letter of Byron’s was reprinted on 12 June 1819 (p. 4, col. 2). Dr Bell is Andrew Bell (1753–1832) the Scottish educationalist, much written about by De Quincey; Guy Mannering is the novel by Walter Scott published in 1815; Humphry Davy (1778–1829), the chemist, was to be part-subject of an essay De Quincey wrote for Tait’s in March 1837; Mr Kean is the actor Edmund Kean (1789–1833). In Chapter 9 of his novel The Vicar of Wakefield (1764) the writer Oliver Goldsmith mentions ‘fashionable topics, such as pictures, Shakespear, and the musical glasses’. The latter is better known as the harmonica, glasses filled with varying quantities of water and ‘played’ by running a wet finger around the rims.

2 Lord Egerton.] As Janzow (1968), points out (p. 280), De Quincey is right in doubting (as he does in this passage) that the current Earl of Bridgewater would have had much interest in waterways. In fact the author was Francis Henry Egerton (1756–1829), writer, antiquarian and eccentric, who succeeded to the earldom in 1823. He was related to Francis Egerton (1736–1803), the last Duke of Bridgewater and pioneer canal-builder. The work under discussion here is Francis Henry’s A Letter to the Parisians and the French Nation upon Inland Navigation, containing a Defence of the Public Character of his Grace Francis Egerton [with] some notices and anecdotes concerning Mr. James Brindley (Paris, 1819, in French and English – Part II was published in 1820, and Part III was later printed but not issued).

3 peace...a Duchess:] Charles Whitworth (1752–1825), Earl Whitworth, diplomat, married Arabella, Duchess of Dorset (1769–1826), widow of Whitworth’s friend the Duke of Dorset. At the time of the Peace of Amiens (1802), Whitworth had recently been created Baron of Newport Pratt, and was clearly outranked by his wife. She made an impression at the formalities that followed the conclusion of negotiations through her aristocratic hauteur.

4 Sir Hudson Lowe,] Lieutenant-General Sir Hudson Lowe (1769–1844) was in charge of Napoleon’s captivity on St Helena from 1816 to the latter’s death in 1821. Napoleon conceived an immediate loathing for the Englishman, and they met only five times in as many years.

5 Brindley...plan for a bridge.] James Brindley (1716–72), engineer, designer of canals for the Duke of Bridgewater (see above, n. 2). He won celebrity for designing an aqueduct to carry the Bridgewater canal over the River Irwell, the first of its kind in England. De Quincey wrote about Brindley and the Duke of Bridgewater in the first of his Tait’s autobiographical Sketches (I, February 1834, p. 19). In its issue of 3 July 1819 the Kendal Chronicle underscored the topicality of the subject of inland waterways by offering the ‘Anecdotes of James Brindley’ (p. 4, col. 1).

6 Cléry’s Memorial...1793),] the Journal de ce qui s’est passé à la tour du Temple pendant la captivité de Louis XVI by Jean-Baptiste Cant Hane Cléry (Louis XVI’s valet de chambre) was published in London in 1798, with an English translation by R. C. Dallas the same year.

7 Pope...Montagu] Alexander Pope (1688–1744), poet; Lady Mary Wortley
Montagu (1689–1762), author and society hostess, best known as a letter-writer and friend of Pope (with whom she famously quarrelled).

8 Lord Orford (Hor. Walpole) Horace or Horatio Walpole (1717–97), fourth Earl of Orford, novelist and miscellaneous writer.

9 j’awroient for j’awrois, a grammatical error in French (third person plural verb for first person singular).

10 il étois for il étoit a grammatical error in French (second person singular for third person singular).

11 discovered the longitude] In 1713 a government act established a prize of £20,000 for anyone who could discover a method of calculating longitude. The feat was accomplished by John Harrison in 1762, although he did not receive the full reward until 1773.

12 an Italian name it is.] the Florentine Buona Partes settled in Corsica in the fifteenth century. Napoleon changed his name from the Italian Buonaparte to Bonaparte during his Italian campaign (1796).

Immanuel Kant/

1 founder]...eighteenth century.] The reference is of course to Kant. De Quincey had most recently editorially eulogized Kant in issues of the Gazette for 8 and 29 May 1819 (see section B), but many stray references can be found in the paper for 1818 and elsewhere in 1819.

2 mystic.] In the Chronicle of 19 December 1818 a letter-writer signing himself 'P. Q.' (a long-standing antagonist of De Quincey's—see section B, 26 December 1818, etc.) had referred to 'the whole succession of German mystics, beginning with Jacob Behmen, and ending with Kant and his English disciple, Coleridge' (p. 3, col. 4).

3 Next...weakness.'] De Quincey refers to the two-part Chronicle article mentioned in the headnote (14 August 1819, p. 4, col. 2).

4 smaller works...innocent man:] This moral imperative of Kant's is repeated by De Quincey in a number of later writings; e.g., the February 1827 Blackwood's 'Murder' essay, 'Kant in his Miscellaneous Essays' (Blackwood's, August 1830, Part I), and 'Casuistry' (Blackwood's, February 1840). It originates in the philosopher's brief 'Uber em vermeintliches Recht, aus Menschenliebe zu lügen', 'On a Presumed Right to Lie from Love of Mankind' (Berlinische Blätter, No. 10, 1797).

5 some à priori source.] Kant's anti-empiricist logic determined that the understanding held within it concepts, or 'categories' as he called them, which are essentially 'innate'; i.e., a priori concepts which set down the grounds of judgement.

6 the Bernouillis] The Swiss Jacques and Jean Bernoulli brothers (1654–1705 and 1667–1748 respectively) were mathematicians; the latter founded a dynasty of mathematicians and scientists.

7 Leibnitz] Baron Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz (1646–1716), German philosopher and mathematician. His theories had become something of a hermeneutic orthodoxy by the time Kant came to write his great works, and the latter accordingly challenged many parts of Leibniz's system.

8 Newton.] Sir Isaac Newton (1642–1727), English natural philosopher and mathematician.

9 Luther] Martin Luther (1483–1546), German religious reformer, mover of the Reformation.

10 Herder...der Menscheit)] Herder's Outlines of the Philosophy of the History of Mankind was published in Germany between 1784–91.
11 Kritik] Kant's *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*, the *Critique of Pure Reason*, which
was published in Germany in 1781.
12 Metakritik] Herder's *Verstand und Erfahrung. Eine Metakritik zur Kritik der
reinen Vernunft*, the *Judgement and Experience. A Metacritique of the Critique
of Pure Reason*, published in Germany in 1799.
13 'What Hume...it's back.'] David Hume reportedly said of James Beattie's *Essay
on the Nature and Immutability of Truth*, which was heavily critical of his own
work, 'there is no truth in it; it is a horrible large lie in octavo' (*Gentleman's
Magazine*, XLVII (1777), p. 159).
14 Horne Tooke.] The radical politician and philologist, John Horne Tooke
(1736–1812) is praised for his work on philology (the *Diversions of Purley*
(1798) particularly) a number of times in Herder's *Metakritik*.
15 Spinoza:] Benedictus de Spinoza (1632–77), Dutch rationalist philosopher with
pantheistic leanings.
16 'Opera Posthuma'...Bayle's Dictionary.] Pierre Bayle (1647–1706) maintains in
his analytical *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (1696) that the 'atheistical'
System of Spinoza's *Opera Posthuma* (1677) is the most absurd hypothesis that
can be imagined; and the most contrary to the most evident notions of our mind
[its first principle being] that GOD is the only substance that is in the universe,
and that all other Beings are only modifications of that substance' (*The Dic-
tionary Historical and Critical of Mr. Peter Bayle* (London: D. Midwinter etc.,
1738), vol. 5, pp. 208, 221–2).
17 Danish Professor....1796.‘] Conrad Friedrich von Schmidt-Phiseldek,
*Philosophiae criticae secundam Kantisum exposito systematica* (Hafniae,
1796–8). The Danish author and his book are mentioned a number of times in
De Quincey's essays (for details, see Tave, p. 204 and pp. 209–10).

**Immanuel Kant and Dr. Herschel [11 September 1819]**

1 Uranus...Georgian planet,] Sir William Herschel (1738–1822), astronomer,
discovered the planet Uranus on 13 March 1781. He proposed to call it
Georgium Sidus ('Georgian Planet') after George III, and the name was sometimes used in England for the next fifty years. In France the planet was often known as Herschel, but the name Uranus (proposed by the German astronomer Johann Elert Bode) gradually became accepted.
2 'Himmel's System') *Allgemeine Naturgeschichte und Theorie des Himmels*
(1755); see above, p. 381, n. 16, for details.
3 per saltum,] 'by a jump'.
4 gradatim] 'by degrees'.
5 David Gregory...1726,) David Gregory (1661–1708), Scottish astronomer.
His *Astronomiae Physicae et Geometricae Elementa* (1702) was the first text-
book which reconciled astronomical theory and gravitational physics. The edi-
tion printed in Geneva in 1726 was revised by C. Huart.
6 'genus planetorum....revolventibus:**] 'a form of planet that orbits the sun
with a high degree of eccentricity'. The misquoted Latin is corrected in the note
that ends the following article; De Quincey's source is given at the end of the
current piece (i.e., Newton's *Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica*,
1687).

**The Planet Mars [18 September 1819]**

1 published...Kant's:] William Herschel's pre-1819 *Astronomical Observations,*
etc. were published in *Philosophical Transactions* CI (1811), CIV (1814) and CVII (1817).

2 *promise...himself:* The next sign of an essay on Kant by De Quincey appeared in a letter he wrote to the publisher William Blackwood on 13 December, 1820, in which he notes that he has, amongst other pieces, a work on the German philosopher available (Symonds, p. 58).

**Danish/Lakes Dialect [13 November 1819]**

1 *introducing to your readers...Danish:* The said ‘readers’ would probably have read De Quincey’s philological findings in an established context; such might be inferred from the fact that the Kendal Society met every month to hear papers on just this type of subject. On 2 March 1819, for example, a paper on ‘An explanation of the proverbial sayings which still prevailed [...] in the dialect of the country’ was read (*Gazette*, 6 March 1819, p. 3, col. 3).

2 *imperishable objects* see Roberts (1999), pp. 258–9 for a discussion of this subject.

3 *the Manks* i.e., Manx; the language became extinct in the twentieth century.

4 *Of Latin...statesmen* Hovering behind these political evaluations of a latent ideology of language usage is doubtlessly that series of 1790s debates on the relative sociopolitical merits of an ‘establishment’, power-structuring Latinate form of English usage versus the more vernacular, semi-localised (i.e., strengthening local ideologies), ‘democratised’, Anglo-Saxon form. The reference to Oliver Cromwell which follows alludes to the statesman’s refusal to negotiate a treaty with the French in their own language, insisting Latin, which was the traditional medium of diplomatic contact between nations, be adopted instead. The universality of Latin is discussed in the third part of De Quincey’s ‘Dr Parr [...]’ article for *Blackwood’s* (XXIX, May 1831, p. 765ff).

5 *Marius* Gaius Marius (c.155–86 BC), Roman general.

6 *the famous Silver Manuscript* The Codex Argenteus, written in silver and gold letters on purple parchment, is a fourth-century Gothic translation of the Gospels and a main source for modern study of the Gothic language.

7 *Archangel...Tey Sea* The city-port of Arkhangelsk is in northern Russia, on the White Sea.

8 *the language...Euripides:* That is, Greek. Pericles (c. 490–429 BC), Athenian statesman; Plato (c. 427–347 BC) Greek philosopher; Euripides (c. 480–c. 406 BC), Greek dramatist.

[4 December 1819]

1 *correspondent...Milan:* see this page, n. 6. The letter by Un Clerc (‘A Scholar’) was dated 20 November 1819 and printed in the *Gazette* of 27 November (p. 3, col. 4). Its writer points out that apart from the Silver Manuscript, another surviving specimen of Gothic can be found in a MS ‘in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, by Sig. Angelo Maio [viz.] the Moeso-Gothic translation of the thirteen Epistles of St. Paul, made by Bishop Ulphilas, in the fourth century’.

2 *Marshal Blucher* Field Marshal Gebhard Leberecht von Blücher (1742–1819), Prussian soldier; he had been instrumental in the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo.

3 *‘ignotum per ignotius’* literally ‘the unknown by means of the more unknown’; i.e., an explanation which is more complex than what it is trying to explain.
[18 December 1819]

1 ‘Hekkebaertree,’...Arbutus:] The arbutus, or strawberry tree, is a shrub of the heather family with white or pink flowers and scarlet berries.

2 Macbeth:] Shakespeare, Macbeth, I. i. 8–10.

3 ‘laikan’] Its derivative, the word ‘Lakers’, was, as De Quincey points out in a brief London Magazine piece, applied to visitors to Cumbria and contained ‘a pleasant ambiguity and a lurking satire’ (VIII, November 1823, p. 497).

4 the late Mr. Sibbald]) James Sibbald (1745–1803), Scottish bookseller and author. His Chronicles of Scottish Poetry from the Thirteenth Century to the Union of the Crowns, to which is added a glossary (Edinburgh, 1802) was published in four volumes, of which the last comprises the glossary. Walter Scott observed that while the anthology contained no surprises, any antiquarian library would be ‘imperfect without this glossary’ (Edinburgh Review, II, October 1803, p. 210).

5 ‘Mensfull...delicate.’] see errata list at the end of the following article (8 January 1820).

6 convenienza,] see previous note.

7 KISE.] see above, n. 5.

[8 January 1820]

1 Selden,] John Selden (1584–1654), jurist and antiquarian; ‘we rarely find at this day’, De Quincey writes elsewhere, ‘such a scholar as our English Selden’ (Harvard MS. fMS Eng 974 (13)).

2 Duo defectiva...p. 109.] Runolphum Jonam, Recentissima Antiquissima Linguae Septentrionalis Incunabula, id est Grammaticae Islandicae Rudimenta (Oxford, 1688). The quotation appears on p. 64 of this edition; De Quincey’s edition remains untraced.

3 Hickes...mihi.] George Hickes (1642–1715), English philologist and divine; a renowned Anglo-Saxon scholar. His ‘observation’ runs ‘Mun in the language of the North Angles and the Scots has the force of a gerundive, when joined with other words; as [e.g.] I mun go, I must go’. It can be found in part III of volume I of Hickes’s Linguarum Vetearum Septentrionalium Thesaurus (1703–5) (this part of the work deals exclusively with the book mentioned in the previous note).

4 ‘Odd rabbit it!’...Tom Brown’s.] The expression, which is still found in some dialect English, occurs in Henry Fielding’s Tom Jones (XV, iii) and Sheridan’s The Rivals (I, i). The OED favours a derivation, by way of a fanciful corruption of the phrase ‘od rat it!’, from a mild English oath, ‘God rot it!’. Sir Roger L’Estrange (1616–1704), royalist pamphleteer, journalist and translator; Tom Brown 1663–1704), satirist.

5 sonnet] Wordsworth’s ‘Hail twilight, sovereign of one peaceful hour’ (written 1812, published 1815).

6 ‘Day’s mutable distinctions’] l. 4 of ‘Hail twilight’.

7 ‘Those mighty...Earth.’] ll. 12–14 of ‘Hail twilight’.

8 Drake’s ship,] Sir Francis Drake (c.1540–96), navigator and admiral; the first man to circumnavigate the globe, in his ship The Golden Hind. After its decommissioning the ship was preserved at Deptford where it was used as a holiday centre and eating-place until well into the following century. Here it was repaired so many times before finally being allowed to fall into disrepair that it was said not a single timber of the original vessel remained.
9 Robert Henrysoun,] Robert Henrysoun (c.1430–c.1506), Scottish poet. His poem ‘The garment of gude Ladyis’ is reprinted in Ancient Scottish Poems. Published from the MS of George Bannatyne (Edinburgh, 1770, p. 103). The glossary to this work lists patelet, ‘a woman’s ruff’; having, ‘behaviour’; pensing, ‘reflecting’; hals, ‘neck’; and paddok, ‘frog’.

10 Lord Hailes] Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes (1726–92), Scottish judge and author of Annals of Scotland (1776–9). According to his note to ‘The garment of gude Ladyis’ in Ancient Scottish Poems, ‘this poem is a sort of paraphrase of I Tim. ii. 9–11.; but the comparison between female ornaments and female virtues, is extended throughout so many lines, and with so much of a tire-woman’s [lady’s-maid’s] detail, that it becomes somewhat ridiculous’ (p. 279).

Section F: Political Economy and Related Pieces

[29 August 1818]

1 Kendal Chronicle...few comments.] The ‘extract’ in question, from the London Sunday paper The British Luminary and Weekly Intelligencer, appeared in the ‘Domestic Intelligence’ column of the Chronicle for 22 August (p. 2, cols 3–4). De Quincey’s summary of it is an accurate one; as indeed is the Luminary’s sketch of the whole matter.

2 present scarcity...22 shillings each.] The Luminary’s (and thus the Chronicle’s) further charge that royal demand for gold sovereigns would ‘put a stop to their public issue’ was a valid not to say topical one given that the bullion ‘crisis’ of 1810–11 was created partly by a shortage of gold coin (see headnote, pp. 335–6). These economic speculations were repeated in a number of liberal newspapers.

3 Duke of Cambridge,] Adolphus Frederick (1774–1830), Duke of Cambridge, was the tenth royal child; he was appointed viceregent to Hanover in 1816, having held various official positions there since the 1780s, and would remain in the post until 1837.

[19 September 1818]

1 Kirkby Thore...there maintained.] The letter-writer from Kirby Thore (between Appleby and Penrith) featured regularly in the Chronicle, and is mentioned a number of times by De Quincey. Signing himself ‘A Constant Reader’, his response to the above article appeared in the Chronicle for 5 September (p. 2, cols 3–4); the ‘series of remarks’ by the writer which De Quincey refers to next were published in the Chronicle for 12 September (p. 2, col. 4 to p. 3, col. 1).

2 Ignoratio Elenchi] ‘a logical solecism’.

3 paragraphs...fourth:] In these paragraphs the Chronicle writer attacks De Quincey’s ideas on nominal proprietorship, on the nature of the fiscally-structured ‘ideal person’, and on larger constitutional matters.

4 ‘the ridiculous production...dream.’] Within this quotation, the Constant Reader’s text runs, ‘personages described in it, the ideal monarch and his nominal tenants, are vanished’.

5 pure reason...German philosophers)....ipse dixit] De Quincey alludes to German metaphysical philosophy and to Immanuel Kant in particular. The Latin means ‘as he himself said’.

399
Seneca] Lucius Annaeus Seneca (c. 4 BC–c. 65 AD), Roman tragedian, Stoic philosopher, rhetorician and statesman.

7 'jure civili...proprietas.'] 'By the civil law all things are the King’s property ... To the King belongs the power of all as a single property.' [abbreviated translation]

8 Hobbes] Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), English political philosopher, The Leviathan (the title refers to sovereign power) examines the metaphysical underpinnings of a mechanistic world system, and first appeared in 1651.

9 Sir Thomas More] (1478–1535; beatified, 1886), English statesman, scholar and political writer. The following reference, as De Quincey intimates, is from More’s Utopia (1516).


11 MS. an appendix...omitted.] see headnote, p. 317 for details of MSS relating to this unpublished ‘appendix’. The main points of this continuation follow: 1) De Quincey defends himself against the Constant Reader’s charge that his original essay is pure ‘Filmerism’; i.e., in line with the extremist views expressed by the English writer Sir Robert Filmer (c.1590–1653), in his Patriarcha (1660), on the divine rights of monarchs. 2) He rebuts charges that he seeks to ‘vindicate certain [delinquent] branches of the Royal Family’. 3) He denies that the benefits outlined in his first article run in the direction of state power only, redefining the civil state in the process as ‘the synthesis of all the possible relations in which any man or body of men can stand to any other man or body of men’. 4) In a long section he clarifies his position vis-à-vis a letter, signed ‘A Briton’, which appeared in the Gazette of 29 August, and which drew links between political reform, jacobinism and atheism.

Bergen-op-Zoom [3 October 1818]

1 Bergen-op-Zoom.] an expression De Quincey uses a number of times in his writing. It next emerged in a rejected passage from the 1821 Confessions (MS in the Berg Collection, New York Public Library).

2 Britannus;] Britannus’s letter appeared in the Chronicle for 26 September (p. 2, cols 4–5); it supports the remarks by the Kirkby Thore writer – ‘A Constant Reader’ (who also has a letter in the same issue of the Chronicle) – which De Quincey attacked in his previous article.

3 Charles Martel...labor.] De Quincey alludes to Martel in a similar context a number of times in his writings; a toast is drunk to ‘Charles the Hammer’ in his 1839 paper on ‘Murder Considered as one of the Fine Arts’, for example (Blackwood’s, XLVI, November, 1839, p. 665).

4 executive power:] In a seventeenth-century ‘Declaration of the Rights of the People of England’, Britannus notes, “the levying of money for or to the use of the Crown, by pretence of prerogative without grant of Parliament for longer time, or in any other manner than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal” [...] the power of the State proceeds from the People – they constitute a form of government for the preservation of their rights – the security of property is one of these rights’ (Chronicle, 26 September, p. 2, col. 5).

5 ‘ibi omnis effusus labor!’] ‘all his effort is thereby lost’; Virgil, Georgics, 4. 492.

6 Ship-money in 1636];] revenue raised in 1636 by Charles I from non-coastal British counties to furnish a national fleet. The levy, imposed without parliamentary authorization, was very unpopular.
[21 November 1818]

1 *The British Luminary*] For details of this newspaper see 29 August 1818, p. 399, n. 1; the 'extract' is headed 'Absentees: Lord Lowther and the Lynx', and appears on p. 4 (cols 3–4) of the *Chronicle*. 'Lynx' is a *Luminary* correspondent and the writer of the original item, extracted in the *Chronicle*, against which De Quincey reacted in his article of 29 August (itself the subject of the attack referred to here).

2 opponent in the 'Kendal Chronicle,'] The 'Constant Reader' from Kirkby Thore, that is.

3 intentions of the English Princes:] The *Chronicle* 'writer' ('A Constant Reader') had raised these points about De Quincey's view of the princes' 'intentions' in his letter published 12 September in that newspaper. It is asserted in the *Luminary* extract of 14 November that the paper has 'abundant evidence, that three of the Princes in question left this country with the fixed resolution of making Germany the seat of their principal residence'.

4 *Plato's Republic, or Machiavelli's Lectures on Livy.*] The former is Plato's famous 'Socratic' dialogue on ideal statehood. The latter is by the Florentine political philosopher and statesman Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527); his *Discourses* (completed 1518) on the Roman historian Titus Livius constitute an extended examination of republican government.

[19 December 1818]

1 SIR RICHARD PHILLIPS] (1767–1840), writer, editor, publisher, and bookseller of radical political persuasion (Christopher North's 'dirty little Jacobin'); he was the founder of the *Monthly Preceptor*, the magazine which awarded De Quincey third prize for his translation from Horace in 1800 (see p. 4ff.).

2 'pig is great...little variations.'] adapted from Shakespeare, *Henry V*, IV. vii. 15–18.

3 bulls] a bull is a risible self-contradiction (a subject recurred to many times in De Quincey's writing).

4 'defend...body'] untraced.

5 Trinculo to Caliban,] Characters in Shakespeare's *The Tempest*: Trinculo, a jester, is abjectly subservient to the epitome of savagery, Caliban.

6 *Tour in France,*] This is the title as given in the *Chronicle* (12 December, p. 2, col. 2). Phillips was the author (under his own name and a range of pseudonyms), the co-author and the commissioner, as well as the publisher, of numerous books and periodical works that such a title might refer to; it is accordingly unclear exactly what is the focus of comment here.

7 'was a short...cease to exist.'][' quoted verbatim from the first paragraph of the *Chronicle* extract.

8 *Hobson's choice*] a saying derived from the habit of the Cambridge carrier Thomas Hobson (c. 1544–1631) of giving his customers the horse nearest the stable door; i.e., giving them no choice.

9 'high matter...Burke;][ The reference applies to a number of passages in the statesman Edmund Burke's speeches and writings. It originates in Milton, *Paradise Lost*, V. 563.

10 Mr. John Cade,] Jack Cade (d. 1450), Irish rebel leader who headed the insurrection against Henry VI in 1450. De Quincey expressed similar sentiments to those that follow in his September 1840 *Blackwood's* article 'Style' (XLVIII, pp. 387–8).
11 *cask of the Belides:* The Belides (better known as the Danaïds) were the 50 granddaughters of the mythical Greek King Belus by his son Danaus. Betrothed to their 50 cousins, sons of Belus's other son Aegyptus, they all (with one exception, Hypermmnaestra) murdered their husbands on the wedding night. After death the 49 murderers were condemned eternally to fetch water in sieves or perforated pitchers.

12 *fens of Lincolnshire,* Work to reclaim the East Anglian fens from the sea commenced in earnest in the eighteenth century.

13 *canal...non-productive work:* Keswick in the north of Cumbria, with few commercial or industrial interests, was separated from Kendal in the south by formidably extensive ranges of hills.

14 *conditio sine qua non* ‘indispensable condition’.

**Resumption of Cash Payments [6 February 1819]**

1 *Corn Question,* The Corn Law of 1815, an addition to existing corn-law legislation, was essentially a protectionist measure brought in to support the landed interest against falling grain prices. Effectively it prohibited the import of cheaper foreign grain unless the domestic price rose above 80s. a quarter (eight bushels). Corn law legislation was highly unpopular amongst the general population, for whom bread was a staple food source. De Quincey wrote an editorial on the subject, ‘Corn Laws’, for the *Gazette* of 12 December, 1818 (p. 3, cols 2–3).

2 *petition...Rutlandshire,* Petitions to parliament advocating heavier protectionist measures came from various landholding quarters early in the first session of 1819. That from Rutland, in January, was the first. Frederick Robinson, President of the Board of Trade, immediately replied that the government would strenuously resist increasing the regulative price.

3 *Edmund Burke* see above, p. 356, notes 130 and 137 for details. Burke retired from active political life in 1794.

4 *1811,* see headnote, above, p. 335, to the current article for the fiscal significance of this date.

5 *essay on money,* A major part of this ‘essay’ seems to have appeared in the transmuted shape of De Quincey’s five-part *Gazette* feature ‘Paper of the Bank of England’, which began publication in the paper on 27 February 1819, and continued on 20, 27 March, 3, and 10 April. It opens ‘In the Spring of 1811’ and also contains a reference to the ‘essay on money [which, the reader is informed,] would occupy too much space for a newspaper’ in its full form.

6 *pamphlet quoted by Mr. Tierney,* In his Commons’ speech, delivered during a debate on currency, the Whig leader George Tierney recommended a fellow member read a pamphlet configured as ‘a letter addressed to the right hon. Robert Peel, member for Oxford, by one of his constituents’ (*Times*, 30 January 1819, p. 2, col. 4). An editorial comment on the same page of this issue of *The Times* notes that the pamphlet examines ‘the pernicious effects of a variable standard of value’ (col. 5).

7 *Mr. Huskisson – Mr. Horner* William Huskisson (1770–1830), English statesman, Tory free-trade advocate; Francis Horner (1778–1817), Scottish Whig politician and economist (co-founder of the *Edinburgh Review*), an active advocate of the resumption of cash payments in 1810/11.

8 *fallen...in the proportion of 8-21ths.* Relative valuation of notes and coin was in fact a highly erratic business in the 1810s: inflation held the pound at 14s. 2d. against gold in 1813; by 1816 deflation had raised its value to 19s. 10d.
9 Lord Lansdowne,] Henry Petty-Fitzmaurice (1780–1863), third Marquis of Lansdowne, Whig/Liberal statesman; he served as Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Grenville administration of 1806–7.

10 Lord Lauderdale,] James Maitland (1759–1839), eighth Earl of Lauderdale, Whig politician and staunch bullionist.

Unpublished Manuscripts

MS 1

1 Three weeks ago...held in Carlisle on] Gazette, 22 August 1818, p. 2, cols 1–2.
2 sum wanted...was – ;] the ‘sum’ given in the abstract is £70,000.
3 William Park] the grandfather of De Quincey’s wife.
4 Emperor Trajan] Marcus Ulpius Trajanus (c. AD 53–117), Roman emperor.
5 letter...follows:] The letter published in the Chronicle appeared on p. 3 (col. 4) and was signed Thomas Wilson; it alleges deceit against the Cumbrian clergyman Henry Wilkinson in an argument over a recent voting agreement between the two men (mentioned in the Chronicle of 11 July). Wilkinson responded with a letter which was published in the Gazette of 5 September (p. 3, col. 3).
6 notice to Mr Wilson,] see above, p. 150 for this ‘notice’ to the ‘gentleman... from Underbarrow’.

MS 2

1 illustrious men...some ages.] presumably Wordsworth and Robert Southey (then living at Keswick).

MS 3

1 Glossary...publish.] see headnote, above, p. 293 for details. The subject of the ‘Glossary’ qua glossary finally arose in 1847, when Wordsworth wrote to John Wilson suggesting that De Quincey look over the glossary of Lakes terms for the latest edition of his Guide to the Lakes (Jordan, pp. 347–8).