“That Vast Quantity of Laudanum I Have Been Known to Take”

Globalization, Empire, and the Performance of Addiction in the Eighteenth Century

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Abstract An impostor who claimed to be a refugee from Formosa (present-day Taiwan) named George Psalmanazar (1679?–1763) embodied two key aspects of addiction in eighteenth-century Europe: its connections to globalization and imperialism, and the complex interplay between the concept of “positive” addictions (such as addiction to study, devotion, or duty) and the growing attention paid to “negative” ones (addiction to superstition, sexuality, or intoxicating substances). Constantly changing his identity in response to his audience’s expectations, Psalmanazar lived a life of continual performance—performance that hinged on trading one set of addictions for another. As he abandoned his falsified persona as an opiate-addicted, sexually licentious Taiwanese aristocrat, Psalmanazar embraced a postimposture persona as a pious scholar of religion who, like the holy men he studied, was “addicted to the reading . . . [of] sacred writings.” Strikingly, however, this second life as a humble scholar was sustained by regular opiate use. What had changed was how Psalmanazar thought about his use of the drug: no longer in the service of “vanity” or “extravagance” but instead in the service of God. With their blend of introspection and self-deception, Psalmanazar’s *Memoirs* (1764) index the changing social and cultural roles of opiates and the concept of addiction in eighteenth-century Europe and beyond.

Keywords Formosa, Taiwan, globalization, addiction, opiates

Ta-hung-ah, military commander of Taiwan for the Chinese empire, first heard about the shipwreck in the fall of 1841.[1] Piecing together scattered reports, he reconstructed a story of disaster at sea with uncommon geopolitical importance. The British transport ship *Nerbudda* had struck a reef and capsized in tropical waters off Keelung Bay, where authorities took some 150 survivors as captives. The shipwreck occurred weeks after the Battle of Ningpo, a key moment in the conflict that came to be known as the First Opium War and a disastrous defeat for the Chinese. Now there was an opportunity for a reprisal. At length, an edict from the distant Daoguang Emperor in Beijing reached Taiwan: the captives were to be executed.[2]

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Decades later a British colonial administrator named William Alexander Pickering remembered the *Nerbudda* incident as the first time that Taiwan had occupied the minds of Britons since an infamous event over a century earlier. This, Pickering wrote, was when London had been visited by "an impostor named George Psalmanazar, who professed to be a Japanese convert from the island [of Taiwan], and who published in Latin a wonderful and fictitious account of its model government, flourishing towns, and civilised population."[3] Although he linked the two events, Pickering overlooked the key point of connection between them. For Psalmanazar's imposture—his elaborate performance as a Taiwanese aristocrat, which took place between the years 1703 and 1712—was, no less than the *Nerbudda* incident, sustained under the influence of opium.

This essay explores Psalmanazar's life, writing, and reception in an effort to understand what Rebecca Lemon has called the "paradox of addiction" in early modern Europe: addiction's status as "a simultaneously devotional and compulsive practice" that was "lauded and condemned" depending on context.[4] Two elements of Psalmanazar's life highlight this paradox while also pointing to a key inflection point in the second half of the eighteenth century, as addiction evolved into a concept centered on compulsive substance use while slowly shedding its older, more "positive" associations with devotion and piety.[5]

First, though he was a fake world traveler, Psalmanazar was a genuine cosmopolitan: he was born in southern Europe; traveled through Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries; and settled in a diverse area of East London, where he developed relationships with everyone from a young Samuel Johnson to communities of Portuguese and Moroccan Jews. Both his performance as an Asian sojourner in continental Europe and this later life as a multilingual scholar in a globalizing London relied on Psalmanazar's unusually fluid identity. Stripped of the normal accoutrements of personhood, the man known as Psalmanazar (his true name and nationality were never revealed) became a kind of vessel, a living Russian doll in which were nested a succession of different identities—and addictions. Psalmanazar thus exemplifies the "confused cosmopolitanism" of the concept of addiction in eighteenth-century Europe—an emerging association of addiction with foreign lands, racialized bodies, and exotic customs.[6]

Second, Psalmanazar was a supposed reformed addict who, in fact, continued to use his drug of choice on a daily basis. He claimed to have traded one set of early modern addictions (the vices typical of all humans, who, he wrote, were "by Nature . . . wholly addicted to Sensible Things and Pleasures") for an "addiction" to religious study.[7] Yet, by his own admission, the opiate dependence of Psalmanazar's youth continued throughout his life's second phase as a sober religious scholar. What had changed was the *mode* in which Psalmanazar's drug of choice was used: no longer in the service of "vanity" or "extravagance" but instead in the service of pious scholarship and Enlightenment principles of moderation.

In her book *Performing China*, Chi-ming Yang identifies two "epistemological crises . . . at the heart" of Psalmanazar's life as an impostor—a life that included meeting with Isaac Newton and other members of the Royal Society of London and being credited by Jonathan Swift as an inspiration for *A Modest Proposal*.[8] One of these crises, Yang writes, involved "the performance of virtue as a means of indexing commercial relations between Europe and Asia."[9] In other words, Psalmanazar exploited Britons' fear of and fascination with Asian societies as reputed sources of both enormous wealth and moral depravity. Another was Psalmanazar's canny attention to the religious anxieties of his era. By positioning himself as a convert to Anglicanism who had fled Taiwan due to the corrupt influence of missionaries from the Society of Jesus, Psalmanazar opened another front in an increasingly paranoid fear of Jesuit conspiracies among a key subset of London's elite—including his first sponsor, the bishop of London.[10]

Psalmanazar's performances of addiction mark a third epistemological crisis. In tracing his changing addictions, we can identify a moment when the "paradoxical" early modern model of addiction began to transform into something closer to the "modern addictions" of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Part of what makes Psalmanazar so distinctive and important in this regard is that his addictions were not just memorialized in writing but *publicly performed*. The most salient fact about Psalmanazar's life, after all, was that he was a brilliant actor playing a series of roles. Psalmanazar thus literally *embodied* the changing personae of the addict over a period of six decades, from 1703 to 1763.

Importantly, however, Psalmanazar's influence continued after his own final curtain call. Although little more than a historical footnote today, Psalmanazar was well known in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. His two major published works appeared sixty years apart. His *Historical and Geographical Description of Formosa* (1704) claimed to offer an authentic ethnographic account of Formosan society but was a complete fabrication. In contrast, Psalmanazar's posthumous *Memoirs* (1764) was a vivid confession of his deceit and a redemptive account of his religious rebirth as a pious scholar. The *Memoirs* appeared a year after his death, with publication directions specified in his will ("I desire it may be sold to the highest bidder . . . [and] in the plain and undisguised manner in which I have written it").

In this second phase of his life, Psalmanazar described himself as "an obscure Layman, who had spent a great Part of his latter Years in Privacy and Retirement, and who . . . was in no way addicted or bigotted to either Party or Opinion."[11] But despite his claims to obscurity, it was *this* persona that would secure his lasting reputation throughout the following decades. Summaries of Psalmanazar's life (often fixating on his friendship with Samuel Johnson, who supposedly called him "the best man he had ever known") appeared in dozens of publications in at least five languages during the nineteenth century.[12] These included everything from dictionary entries and tourist guidebooks to influential publications such as *Curiosities of Literature* (1807), a widely read essay collection by Isaac D'Israeli, friend of Lord Byron and father of the future prime minister Benjamin D'Israeli.[13] Psalmanazar was of particular fascination to Joseph Cottle, the publisher of Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Robert Southey and a personal friend of Thomas De Quincey (1785–1859), who, as the author of *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater*, played a key role in shaping perceptions of addiction in the nineteenth-century English-speaking world.[14] Psalmanazar's deeply ambiguous relationship with both addiction and his own identity, I propose in the final section of this essay, helps elucidate the origin of one of the most influential genres of modern confessional writing: the addiction and recovery memoir.

Cosmopolitan Addictions

Psalmanazar's posthumous autobiography, *Memoirs of ****: Commonly Known by the Name of George Psalmanazar, a Reputed Native of Formosa* (1764), is self-indulgent and sprawling, describing everything from his struggles with "an inveterate itch" to his attempts to find work as a painter of ornamental fans.[15] Yet it is silent about the basic facts of his life. Even in death, Psalmanazar refused to reveal his real name, his age, or his country of birth. All the reader learns is that he started out as a teenage runaway from a provincial city in a Catholic country in "the southern parts" of Europe (*M*, 70).

After a stint at a Jesuit academy, the young Psalmanazar (presumably during the late 1690s) set off for Rome and became dependent on the alms of travelers. He noticed that when he claimed to be a pilgrim from faraway Ireland, his fellow travelers looked more kindly on him. This short-lived stint as an Irish Catholic ended when Psalmanazar encountered an *actual* Irish Catholic, forcing him to adopt an identity less likely to be revealed as false. He began to claim that he was a Japanese convert to Catholicism and, eventually, that he had been born and raised on Formosa (Taiwan), an island that supposedly belonged to the emperor of Japan.

The choice of Taiwan proved a canny one. For the island—though nominally under the control of China's Qing Dynasty by the time Psalmanazar published his *Description of Formosa* (1704)—was a place that was easy to create fictions about. Earlier in the seventeenth century, the Dutch had established a base of operations centered at Fort Zeelandia. But the conquest of key ports by Zheng Chenggong (known to Europeans as Koxinga), a powerful Ming Dynasty loyalist fleeing the Qing conquest of mainland China, effectively cut off European contact with the island in 1662.[16] For the Kangxi emperor of China, the great enemy of Koxinga, Taiwan was a "barbaric, distant island, unworthy of obedience," and a "place beyond the sea . . . no bigger than a ball of mud."[17] Even after Koxinga and the Southern Ming met their final defeat by the Qing (Taiwan was formally annexed into the Qing Empire in May 1684), the island remained almost entirely cut off from European trade and peripheral to Qing interests.[18] It would remain so, in large part, until the time of the Opium Wars.

Within this vacuum Psalmanazar was free to create a patchwork of proto-Orientalist fables based on travel accounts from Japan, China, the Indian Ocean, and even Mesoamerica, with some apparent borrowings from Thomas More's *Utopia* thrown in as well. A recurring feature of these accounts was the belief that the societies of "the Indies" were "addicted to idolatry" and other vices, from wanton sexuality to narcotic drugs.[19] In seventeenth-century England the concept of an "addiction" to idols or idolatry seems to have been most frequently applied either to Catholics or to Old Testament exegesis.[20] But an increasing number of texts also applied the concept of addiction to the societies of Asia, summarizing the outlandish accounts of Dutch and Portuguese merchants like Engelbert Kaempfer and Jesuit missionaries such as Luís Frois and Matteo Ricci.[21] By the time Thomas Dyche's *New English Dictionary* appeared, in 1735, the shift in the connotations of "addiction" had become obvious. Out of nineteen appearances of the word *addicted* or *addict* in Dyche's *Dictionary*, nearly 40 percent (seven) refer to supposed addiction to superstition and idolatry among what Dyche calls "the Eastern nations," ranging from Java and Pegu to Persia and Turkey.[22]

Psalmanazar's account of Formosans drew deeply from these accounts. He described a society that was utopian in some respects, with a well-run state and inhabitants possessing "a sharp natural wit" and remarkable skill in languages (after all, if he was going to portray himself as a Formosan scholar worthy of patronage, it helped his case to make his Formosans highly intelligent). But it was also one unrestricted by European conventions of morality. In his detailed discussion of Formosan religious practice, which reads like an early modern Protestant fever dream of Catholic excess, Psalmanazar described devious "Priests . . . who so explain all sorts of Omens, that they can never be convicted of Lying in what they Say: For either they pretend that their God is well-pleas'd . . . or that in the same Instant when they saw such an Omen the Soul of some of his Relations was Transform'd into a Star," and the like.[23] He described a notable Formosan who was "much Addicted to this kind of Superstition," and who was condemned to death as a result of his attempt to outsmart these sinister priests.[24]

Formosans also engaged in human sacrifice to their "Idols," Psalmanazar claimed, and offered "Foreigners" access to "Virgins or Whores, to be made use of at their Pleasure, with Impunity."[25] Psalmanazar noted that "Parents never beat" Formosan children, even to "deter them from the Vices to which they are addicted."[26] The use of exotic intoxicants even blended with cannibalism: at funerals, he claimed, "the Friends of the Deceas'd flock together, and bring with 'em Store of Man's Flesh, and several intoxicating Liquors."[27]

"His Darling Opium"

In Psalmanazar's telling, then, the Formosans joined the other peoples of Asia as a society beset by troubling addictions. When it came time to *perform* this Formosan identity, however, Psalmanazar faced a problem. He was, after all, positioning himself as a *reformed* heathen, newly converted to the Anglican faith.[28] Therefore he could not embody the signature addictions to idolatry, superstition, or cannibalism that European audiences had come to expect of a man from the far eastern edge of the known world.

In their place Psalmanazar substituted another emerging stereotype of Asians: addiction to opium. During the early modern period a profound shift took place in how Europeans thought and wrote about mind-altering drugs.[29] Many such substances, from hemlock to hellebore to opium, had long-standing traditions of use attested in both classical authorities like Pliny and herbal medical practices of unlicensed healers. Yet, beginning in the final decades of the sixteenth century, it became increasingly common to associate mind-altering drugs with foreign lands, especially the lands of "the Indies" or "the Turks."[30] Tobacco was a catalyst for this "exotification" of drugs.[31] As has been well documented by historians and literary scholars, tobacco remained closely associated among sixteenth-century Europeans with what Peter Mancall summarized as "exotic, savage, and demonic forces," despite or perhaps even because of its rapid rise to popularity.[32]

It is striking, however, that a substance that appears to be native to western and central Europe, with a record of use in Europe dating back to the Neolithic, would join tobacco as an iconic drug of "the Indies." This was opium (the latex of

Papaver somniferum) along with the drugs derived from it, known since the fifteenth century as "opiates." As Francis Bacon put it, tobacco had "in our age . . . immoderately grown into use," because "it affects men with a secret kind of delight, insomuch that they who have once inured themselves unto it can hardly afterwards leave it." Yet despite its self-evident novelty, tobacco was for Bacon *not* an entirely new class of drug. Instead, Bacon grouped it together with what he called "simple Opiates." After all, Bacon reasoned, tobacco's bewitching, compulsive quality "troubles the Head, as Opiates do." Indeed, Bacon speculated that yet another new import from the Indies, the "Herb . . . of the Turks . . . which they call *Caphe* [coffee]," must be "of the same nature with *Opiates*," since it was said to enlarge the Turks' "Courage" and "Wit" but, when taken in too large doses, would, like opium and tobacco, "disturb the mind."[33]

For European medical experts of Bacon's generation and beyond, opium was a strange hybrid of ancient and modern, domestic and foreign. True, it had been used continuously since the time of the ancient Greeks. But it was widely believed that Asian medical traditions placed special emphasis on opiates and, moreover, that Asian bodies *processed* opiates in a distinctive fashion. As Bacon put it: "The *Greciani* [Greeks] attributed much, both for health and for prolongation of life, [to] Opiates, but the *Arabians* much more, insomuch that their *grand Medicines* (which they called the *gods Hands*) had *Opium* for their Basis and principal ingredient."[34] Bacon clearly had intimate experience with opiates, probably having used them himself (for instance, he mentioned the "exceeding strong" effects of "three grains" use).[35] But he was wary of what he believed to be the drug's strikingly different effects on Europe and Asian bodies.[36] "The Turks find Opium, even in a reasonable good quantity, harmless and comfortable," Bacon wrote, "insomuch that they take it before their Battel to excite courage: but to us, unless it be in a very small quantity, and with good Correctives, it is mortal."[37]

Subsequent authorities throughout the seventeenth century offered similar judgments. John Ray, for instance, noted that what he called "wild Poppy" was well known to classical authorities and was native to northern Alpine valleys.[38] But Ray emphasized that it was "the Turks, Persians, and other Oriental peoples" who "used it at present to regenerate the spirits" and make themselves "truly inebriated."[39]

In fact, opium was a plant native to Europe.[40] The story of how a European medicinal plant with a legacy of use stretching back several millennia was reconstituted as an emblematic product of Asia is a tangled one. But what is clear is that by the time Psalmanazar developed his persona, circa 1700, opium—especially *immoderate* and *habitual* opium use—had already been widely linked to Asia in medical and popular writings.[41] By this time the traditional poppy-derived medicines, such as poppy-water, syrup of poppy, and mithridate, had been joined by an enormous range of "branded" remedies. One list assembled by the London physician John Radcliffe (1730) described, among others: "Dr. Goddard's Hypnotick Extract; Paregorick Extract; Somniferous Liniment; Pacific Decoctions; Powder of Haly, both Venice and London Treacle; Lohoch of Poppy; Nepthent Opiate; Starkey's Pills; Liquid Laudanum with Quinces."[42] Cesare Zarotti, a Venetian physician, complained about this profusion of new opiate remedies as early as the 1650s. Above all, Zarotti was frustrated by the "stupid" notions that circulated about the effects of opiates. Was opium, as some said, used "in the Indies" to "excite venery" and create "cheerfulness of spirit"?[43] Or was it, "as so many authoritative Greeks" of the past claimed, a cold and "frigid" drug that did exactly the opposite? Or indeed, as other travelers of Zarotti's time had begun to assert, was opium a drug of war used by the soldiers of the Ottoman Empire to cultivate a fierce fighting spirit?[44]

In general, the effects of the opium poppy appear to have been widely known in seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century England. In a murder trial from 1695, a London man was found guilty of a "most cruel" crime that involved a man killing his wife with "Opium in a drinking Potion," which he had supposedly described to her simply as "something that should make her rest." In his defense, the man alleged "that it was not Opium, but that it was two Spoonfuls of Poppy-water." The jury found him guilty of murder by poisoning nonetheless: at least in the mind of the jury and court, it would appear, an "opiate" like poppy-water was not functionally different from opium itself. Both were capable of inducing death.[45]

Habitual opiate taking also began to appear as a legal defense in the early decades of the eighteenth century. In a 1711 criminal case involving a theft from an East India Company warehouse in London's docklands, the suspect attempted to establish that his crimes occurred when "he had been under an Indisposition of Mind." He did so by calling to the stand both a physician, Dr. Cromp, and an unnamed apothecary who testified about the suspect's opium dependence. The number of "Drops of Opium he took when he was not well," it was reported, "might do him an Injury" and was "more than he would have him or any other person take." The jury once again declared the suspect's guilt.[46] In a 1727 trial of a man accused of highway robbery, by contrast, the suspect's use of opium was mentioned in the context of what the court recorder called, echoing the language of Psalmanazar, "Extravagancies" and "extravagant Expressions." The jury, in this case, was persuaded that the suspect was not in his right mind and therefore could not be declared guilty.[47]

Meanwhile, medical writers were still debating what they thought was a starkly different effect on Asian versus European bodies that had been noted decades earlier by Francis Bacon and Garcia de Orta. In 1696 the London physician Gideon Harvey offered up one variant on this climactic theory of opium's effects in his description of what he called "half Venoms, or demi-poisons." These, Harvey wrote, "are such as vehemently disturb the brain and heart . . . such are Mandrake, Henbane, Hemlock, Datura Seeds, which latter are only energic and effectual in the Indies, and not in other Climats, as Opium is a demi-poison here, being taken in a small Dose, and not in Turky, though in a greater doth become a whole poison."[48]

In his *Memoirs* Psalmanazar noted that his most important guidebook for his use of opium had been John Jones's *Mysteries of Opium Reveal'd* (1701). Jones offered a highly positive account of opium that portrayed a drug used widely, openly, and with substantial benefit to health and "industry."[49] It caused "a most agreeable, pleasant and charming Sensation," which was "gentle" and "sweet."[50] Indeed, the drug was so gentle, Jones claimed, that it could be used as a kind of morning stimulant, "if the Person keeps himself in Action, Discourse or Business." For Jones, the drug was indeed a spur of "Alacrity, and Expediteness in Dispatching and Managing of Business."[51]

Jones was also adamant that opium was "exciting to Venery," even making the bizarre speculation that "all Animal Seed, especially of the more Salaceous Creatures, is an Opiate in some degree" due to their supposed properties as an aphrodisiac and "Hypnotick."[52] Yet, Jones admitted, most were ignorant of opium's supposedly aphrodisiac properties "in these Western Parts of the World."[53] Ray's account of opium stated the matter more plainly. Opium, he wrote, was used by the Chinese, Persians, and Indians "to excite them to venery" such that they could "make offerings to Venus throughout an entire night."[54] Summarizing a widespread medical consensus, Ray added: "On account of their diversity of temperaments," opium "stimulates venerey" *exclusively* among "peoples of the East." By contrast, Ray wrote, "among those of the Western, or Northern countries, it curbs the same" and should be used only in moderation.[55]

As Susan Stewart has noted, Psalmanazar's "hyperbolic intensity" in parts of his *Description of Formosa* (such as his excited account of Formosan child sacrifice) was weighed against his need to make the account plausible: "a balance between the novel and the comprehensible."[56] Opium happened to fall into precisely this space between novelty and familiarity. The drug was familiar enough to his audience yet also a distinctive marker of foreignness, specifically of Asian identity, when used in what Psalmanazar called an "extravagant," sexualized, and generally "immoderate" fashion.

By demonstrating his prodigious use of opium alongside his sexual "gallantry," therefore, Psalmanazar was not just adding another picturesque detail to his persona. He was, in a sense, *pharmacologically performing* the truthfulness of his claims. If high doses of opium were fatal to Europeans, as many medical experts claimed, then Psalmanazar's enormous dosages would help prove that he *wasn't* European. This helps explain a curious fact of Psalmanazar's attempts to wean himself off his addiction, described in greater detail below: even as he decreased his dosage, Psalmanazar admitted, he felt compelled to add a substitute in the form of a bitter liquid so that it would seem to onlookers that his opiate use remained sky-high.

In the final decades of his life, however, Psalmanazar believed that he had found a way to "tame" this immoderate impulse through the same methods that had led him to God: an obsessive devotion to study, especially of religious texts. Psalmanazar studied himself out of addiction to "extravagance"—but also into a *new* addiction to studying itself. Along the way, he continued to habitually use opiates. Yet this use, too, became reframed as an aid to a life of pious scholarship, not as an idol to vanity.

Spiritual Addictions

The specter of childhood sexual abuse runs through Psalmanazar's *Memoirs,* from the unnamed evils committed by his onetime mentor, Mr. Innes, to his enormous and never fully explained sense of shame. Psalmanazar writes of his early teenage years as an itinerant traveler in Europe: "Thus did I find my affairs grow from bad to worse . . . and glad would I have been to have returned home to my mother; but the thought of my present condition would not permit me to think on it, and perhaps, I could have preferred any death to so great a mortification as it would have been both to her and me" (*M*, 150).

The closest Psalmanazar comes to directly confronting the sexual danger he lived under when "very young" was to mention the "procuresses, who wander about the streets . . . and pick up all the likely fellows they meet with, in order to make a lewd trade of them" (*M*, 151). Psalmanazar admitted to having "now and then been invited and led by them in a seeming hospitable manner, to some charitable ladies to receive, as was pretended, some token of their generosity" but in reality to perform sexual favors. Psalmanazar insisted that an "itch" he suffered from protected him from "criminal commerce with any of the sex," although he admitted that "I have reason to believe I should easily have yielded at any hazard" (*M*, 151). Later, when working as a servant for the owner of a "grand coffee-house" in Aix-la-Chapelle, Psalmanazar again skits along the edge of admitting to some form of sexual abuse, writing that his master sometimes sent him to bring "cooling liquors" to gatherings of the "beau monde." These nearly had "fatal consequences to me . . . which I shall forbear mentioning, merely for the ill impression it might be apt to make" (*M*, 155). Although he never describes exactly what "it" was, Psalmanazar blessed "the divine mercy which kept me back from it" and was thankful that "another man [his employer] kept, much older and fitter for the business," went in his stead (*M*, 156).

The entirety of the years between age twenty and thirty-two, Psalmanazar lamented, were "a sad blank" due to his "shameful, idle, and scandalous way of living . . . which would rather disgust than inform, or even divert a sober reader" (*M*, 252). Psalmanazar was referring here both to his "gallantry with the fair sex" and to "that vast quantity of laudanum I have been known to take for above these forty years" (*M*, 231, 56). But of course, Psalmanazar *did* describe the years he dismissed as a "blank." He did so not to "divert" his reader, he implied, but to offer up a cautionary tale. The young adulthood that Psalmanazar repeatedly described as one ruined by shame, vanity, and extravagance would, he seemed to hope, make up for his final years spent in contemplation of the redemption found in sober living and religious faith (*M*, 119, 231).

It was, in short, a memoir of addiction and recovery.

As Lemon has noted, the concept of addiction was often associated with religious devotion in sixteenth and early seventeenth-century English writings. Pious individuals were frequently said to be "addicted to prayer."[57] The poet John Taylor, in his 1628 ode to a "little black dogg . . . called Drunkard," wrote of his "Adiction to the Proverb, Love me and love my Hound."[58] Psalmanazar made his midlife renewal of faith into the key plot point of his own story. Like all things in life, it was an act done in a highly dramatized and performative way. Psalmanazar had, from the beginning of his entry into London in early 1704, portrayed himself as a convert to Anglicanism. To this day, one of the only surviving archival sources relating to Psalmanazar is in Lambeth Palace Library. Sandwiched amid lawsuits, property disputes, and correspondence in a miscellany of church paperwork are a handful of papers in which Psalmanazar has sketched, in crude ink drawings, a dozen or so of the stock figures of Formosan society, from the "Vice Roy" to the "Country bumpkin." The individual responsible for depositing them in the library was likely the bishop of London, who emerged as Psalmanazar's most important patron in London.

But as Yang puts it, Psalmanazar's initial religious conversion was a "performative work" that hinged on the paradoxical role of "denying worldly artifice while indulging in public spectacle." It was not until the 1730s, when Psalmanazar came across William Law's *Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life* (1729), that he began to rebuild his identity around a newly acquired protoevangelical form of Christian faith. This included an intense interest in biblical studies that led him to master Hebrew. A biographer of Psalmanazar, Michael Keevak, has argued that the former impostor effectively traded in one exoticized identity for another, switching from a performance of Formosan identity to a new persona as an expert in Jewish history, well versed in Hebrew, who spent time amid London's close-knit Jewish community.[59] Keevak notes that according to the sole contemporary description of Psalmanazar's "singular" clothing style, he resembled "the famous wandering Jew."[60]

Psalmanazar's specific religious beliefs remain somewhat elusive. Yet what comes across very clearly in his *Memoirs* is his fervent desire to be thought of as a devoted scholar of religion whose identity, in a sense, was subsumed in the study of religious texts. In his "History of the Jews" (1747), an entry in *The Universal History*, a collaborative encyclopedia project in which he participated, Psalmanazar dwelled on the ethical benefits of an obsessive devotion to the uncorrupted text. He criticized the Samaritans as "guilty of the most flagrant forgery in corrupting their pentateuch in many places."[61] Conversely, he praised the prophet Ezra's devotion to preserving the authenticity of holy texts, writing that Ezra's followers were "wholly addicted to the reading, and thoroughly versed in sacred writings."[62]

Psalmanazar ultimately used his long-standing performance of addiction to legitimize what Yang has called his "performance of virtue" as well. Throughout his life Psalmanazar nurtured several simultaneous addictions. There were the opiates he used on a daily basis—but there was also his addiction to "devotion" and to "study." Psalmanazar's *Memoirs* make the point clearly: his opiate usage, Psalmanazar sought to explain, had been transformed into another helper on his path toward a devout and godly life.

Enlightenment Origins of the Addiction Memoir

In his movement from a man addicted to vices (opium, "vanity," "extravagance") to one addicted to study, Psalmanazar drew on a trope already very familiar from centuries of devotional literature. In many ways his journey exemplified the early modern meanings of addiction, in all their multiplicity. But it would be a mistake to see Psalmanazar's memoirs as simply following a template laid out beforehand by works that likely influenced their writing, such as Augustine's *Confessions*, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, and Law's *Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life*, which Psalmanazar specifically mentioned as an inspiration (*M*, 217). Psalmanazar's unflinching yet strangely complacent depiction of his own substance use and of his other addictions fundamentally changed the character of this confessional form.

There were, in short, elements of Psalmanazar's addictions that were strikingly new. Foremost among them was the highly public nature of his *Memoirs*. They were written with a significant amount of introspection about his emotional and intellectual life but also with an eye toward a large audience. It is a telling detail that Psalmanazar's will requested that he be buried in an anonymous common shroud, with no grave marker and no ceremony—but also demanded that his autobiography be auctioned off to the highest bidder and published widely.[63]

In so doing, Psalmanazar helped lay down some important characteristics of an important modern literary genre: the addiction-and-recovery memoir. In his history of writers on drugs, *The Road to Excess,* Marcus Boon describes the addiction memoir as rising into prominence after World War I, following origins in prewar works such as Léon Daudet's *La lutte* (1907).[64] However, Thomas De Quincey is probably the figure most commonly associated with the origins of the addiction memoir, if not as a coherent genre, then at least as a kind of recurring reference point for later writers exploring similar themes.[65] As the author of *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater,* De Quincey also appears as a central figure in historical accounts of the perception of opiate addiction as a social problem. David Courtwright has argued that public accounts of habitual use of opiates rise into prominence in the 1830s, the decade immediately following De Quincey's *Confessions.*[66] Likewise, Carolyn Eastman links a new perception of opium as a "public health problem" in the 1820s to "the publication of Thomas de Quincey's addiction memoir."[67]

The wide readership and far-reaching impact of De Quincey's *Confessions* certainly justifies its central importance as a literary account of addiction. And De Quincey was likely the first English-language writer to elevate the introspective examination of compulsive drug use to the central focus of a published work. On the other hand, De Quincey's experience of addiction was in fact relatively common—not just in the England of the 1820s but in the literary world of the generation before his birth. Psalmanazar's memoir hints at a largely forgotten eighteenth-century London in which opiate use was widespread, though increasingly stigmatized.

Psalmanazar framed his initial return to opiate dependence in terms familiar from the contemporary recovery languages of "tapering" and "relapse." He describes how "Divine Providence was pleased to bless" him with a "contrary turn of mind," that made him "abhor all my former follies" (*M,* 61). Committed to "a thorough change," Psalmanazar began to slowly reduce his "usual dose," which he described as ten to twelve teaspoons of his own special preparation of laudanum, "morning and night, and very often more" (*M,* 59). Over the course of six months he slowly tapered this amount down by half an ounce per day. However, Psalmanazar admitted that his "foolish vanity" led him to *pretend* to continue using his enormous former dosage, "conceal[ing] my reduction" by adding "some other bitter tincture . . . to appear as still taking my usual quantity." It was a tacit admission of a central fact of Psalmanazar's opiate use: it was part of his performance of "singularity," a central element of his larger addiction to "extravagance" (*M,* 59–60).

Predictably, Psalmanazar began to find that even a reduction during half a year still led to what are today known as withdrawal symptoms. Psalmanazar calls them "affecting and discouraging inconveniences, such as a great lassitude and uneasiness of the mind, an indolence and incapacity for study, a dislike of every thing I read or wrote, to solitude and application" (*M,* 60). In effect, his effort to conquer his damaging addiction (to opiates) was sabotaging his parallel work to cultivate a "positive" addiction to study.

Psalmanazar's account would thus seem to be one of the earliest—and indeed perhaps *the* earliest—accounts of drug addiction that pays sustained attention to the interior life of the addict, including such tropes as relapses, psychological withdrawal symptoms, and recovery through faith. But did it have an influence on later accounts of addiction such as De Quincey's *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater*?

One thing is certain: Psalmanazar was a recurring figure in the periodicals of late eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century Britain and beyond. In the widely read *London Magazine* (the same journal that first serialized De Quincey's *Confessions*) Psalmanazar merited mention in both 1763 and 1764. The latter article summarized the more scandalous details from his confessions ("[to] living on raw flesh . . . he soon habituated himself").[68] In its June 1820 issue, just over a year before De Quincey's *Confessions* first appeared in its pages, the *London Magazine* again rehashed the lore relating to "this extraordinary man."[69] By 1849 Peter Cunningham's popular *Handbook of London* was directing tourists to, among other things, the former lodgings of George Psalmanazar on Ironmonger Row.[70] "Vanity was indeed the ruling passion of this singular man," mused one biographer later in the nineteenth century. "This is curiously illustrated in connection with his use of opium, to which he was so far addicted at one point as to consume enormous quantities." Now steeped in the outlook of the Victorian-era temperance movement, the author attacked Psalmanazar's "maintenance" regime of continued low-dose opiate dependence, calling it a "pernicious notion, which, perhaps, is without a parallel."[71]

De Quincey himself made direct reference to Psalmanazar, albeit in passing: he referred to "the somewhat harmless forgeries of Psalmanazer."[72] In the preface to *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater,* De Quincey also wrote that most confessions written in English to that date ("that is, spontaneous and extra-judicial confessions") had been created either by those suffering from the "defective sensibility of the French" or by "demireps, adventurers, or swindlers."[73] With this last category, De Quincey may, too, have had in mind Psalmanazar.

And then there are the less direct connections. In May 1818 a high De Quincey was "every night . . . transported into Asiatic scenes." De Quincey wrote, "A young Chinese seems to me an antediluvian man renewed." But he was also "terrified by the modes of life" there, by "mystic sublimity" and "the unimaginable horror . . . [of] these dreams of oriental imagery . . . tropical heat and vertical sunlights."[74] There were, of course, many precedents for De Quincey's "dreams of oriental imagery." But in its intensely hyperbolic contrasts and its focus on "antiquity," there is perhaps also something distinctly Psalmanazarian. During this period and the subsequent three years, as De Quincey was writing *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater,* he corresponded with and borrowed money from Joseph Cottle, who would later write extensively about Psalmanazar.[75] Cottle's long-standing interest in opiate addiction predated his relationship with De Quincey. He had long been deeply concerned by his friend Coleridge's "long, very long . . . habit" of taking up to a pint of laudanum per day. In this, Cottle wrote, Coleridge "exceed[ed] the quantity which Psalmanazar ever took, or any of the race of opium consumers on record."[76]

As the problems of "morphinism" and other forms of opiate addiction became pressing social concerns in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, Psalmanazar's story was increasingly portrayed less as a picaresque, proto-Romantic tale and more as a cautionary case study of drug dependence. An 1843 pharmacy textbook remembered Psalmanazar as a famous exemplar of opiate addiction, or what the author called "long-protracted indulgence." Four such figures were named: first, "a Turk of the name of Mustapha Shatar" who, when living in Smyrna, was said to consume 180 grains of opium a day. Second, De Quincey, who "is affirmed to have consumed, at one time, eight thousand drops of laudanum daily." Third, "the poet Coleridge." And finally, Psalmanazar.[77] A 1865 article in *Temple Bar* magazine keyed in on Psalmanazar's "account of the reasons which made him during forty years of his life an opium-eater . . . De Quincey's exploits in this line have generally been regarded as unparalleled; but if what is here stated be correct, then De Quincey but did what another had done before him."[78]

Conclusion

Psalmanazar helps us rethink addiction history in several important ways. First, his *Memoirs* offer an underappreciated reference point and forerunner for the genre of the addiction and recovery memoir before De Quincey. A striking aspect of this earlier vision of opium addiction was its grounding in what I have called the "confused cosmopolitanism" of eighteenth-century travel accounts and pharmacological texts. Psalmanazar's cosmopolitan and globally oriented account of addiction is, to my mind, more reflective of the lived reality of opiate addiction in his era than is the long-standing focus on addiction among a relatively small subset of the Romantic-era intelligentsia.[79] Yet among this group, too, Psalmanazar had a genuine influence. As we have seen, Psalmanazar was a recurring figure in late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century periodicals, was known to De Quincey and Southey, and seems to have exerted a real influence over the Romantic-era publisher and writer Joseph Cottle.

As Carl Fisher notes, there was an increasing polarization of discourse around addiction in the early nineteenth century. Crusaders for temperance framed compulsive substance use as plainly demonic, while, conversely, Romantic-influenced scientists and writers like Humphry Davy, Coleridge, and Southey began to think of compulsive substance use as potentially unlocking a mystical transcendence of the material realm.[80] Psalmanazar reveals a figure who was in many ways at the geographic and temporal heart of the Enlightenment—someone who knew Newton and Johnson and who directly influenced Swift and Buffon—and who struggled with this emerging polarization of the concept of addiction.[81] Opium addiction for Psalmanazar was both a pathway to the exotic Indies and a self-invented form of "maintenance," taken at home and used in solitary labors. It was both part of his downfall and part of his rebirth as a Christian scholar. Throughout it all, however, Psalmanazar thought about addiction in a fundamentally introspective, personal, spiritual framework. It may well be in this respect that his influence on the addiction memoir is most apparent.

The performances that comprised Psalmanazar's life dramatized a key moment in the formation of the modern concept of addiction. Much recent work on the history and science of addiction can be generalized as an effort to move away from reductive definitions of addiction that assume a simplistic binary of immoderate consumption versus total renunciation. On a surface level, Psalmanazar's self-portrayal as a reformed sinner reflecting on the evils of his past would seem to fit into just such a simplistic binary. But the truth is far more interesting: by Psalmanazar's telling, his *struggle* with opiate addiction ended, yet his *reliance* on opiates didn't. He simply developed a lifestyle, an outlook, and a method that, from his perspective, transformed a damaging compulsion into a benign habit. In this respect, Psalmanazar may well have been more ahead of his time—or, at least, in closer dialogue with twenty-first-century scientific and popular writings on drug use—than many in the generations that followed him.

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Notes

1 Mao, *Qing Empire and the Opium War*, 442; Tsai, *Maritime Taiwan*, 67–68. Ta-hung-ah's name (達洪阿) is transliterated as Dahonga in some accounts.

2 Mao, *Qing Empire and the Opium War*, 442.

3 Pickering, *Pioneering in Formosa*, 46.

4 Lemon, *Addiction and Devotion*, 156.

5 As Lemon notes, we should be wary of assuming a simplistic "shift from sixteenth-century devotion to eighteenth-century compulsion" (*Addiction and Devotion*, x), since the two meanings of the term overlapped throughout the early modern period. Yet Psalmanazar's reception in the nineteenth century (especially his links with De Quincey and the Romantics) seems to me to place him in a distinctive liminal position. He was a prime example of the ambiguous early modern concept of addiction. Yet his literary celebrity in the decades bookending 1800 influenced the emerging "modern" concept of addiction as a wholly negative compulsive practice. On conceptions of addiction in the nineteenth century, see Courtwright, *Dark Paradise*, chap. 2; Foxcroft, *Making of Addiction*; and Berridge, "Morality and Medical Science."

6 Several excellent studies of the global circulation of people, objects, and ideas in the early modern period provide context for Psalmanazar's reception by European audiences primed for stories of foreign exotica but unable to fact-check claims about them. See, e.g., Bethencourt, *Cosmopolitanism in the Portuguese-Speaking World*; Games, *Web of Empire*; Mokhberi, *Persian Mirror*; Pimentel, *The Rhinoceros and the Megatherium*; and Schmidt, *Inventing Exoticism*.

7 Psalmanazar, *Description of Formosa*, 66.

8 Swift acknowledged the precedent of "the famous *Psalmanaazaar*, a Native of the Island of Formosa, who came from thence to London above twenty years ago; and in Conversation told my Friend, that in his Country when any young Person happened to be put to death, the Executioner sold the Carcase to Persons of Quality as a prime Dainty" (*Modest Proposal*, 14).

9 Yang, *Performing China*, 78.

10 On Psalmanazar's negotiations of credibility and religious identity, see Yang, *Performing China*, 94–95; Keevak, *Pretended Asian*, 37–40; and Breen, "No Man Is an Island."

11 Psalmanazar, *Essays on the Following Subjects*, 4–5.

12 Thrale, *Anecdotes of the Late Samuel Johnson*, 68.

13 D'Israeli, "Literary Forgeries." D'Israeli later enlarged his account of Psalmanazar into a fairly lengthy biographical sketch reprinted in the numerous subsequent editions of his best-selling essay collection. On D'Israeli's relationship with Byron, see Cline, "Unpublished Notes on the Romantic Poets." Psalmanazar's cosmopolitan literary afterlife included references in such publications as Boucher de la Richarderie, *Bibliothèque universelle des voyages*, 289; *Göttingische Anzeigen von gelehrten Sachen*, 1189; *New-York Review and Atheneum Magazine*, 411.

14 See Cottle's lengthy, multipart essay on "the life and character of Psalmanazar" in Cottle, *Malvern Hills*, 433–60.

15 Psalmanazar, *Memoirs*, 150, 246 (hereafter cited as *M*).

16 On Koxinga and the Dutch loss of Taiwan, see Andrade, *Lost Colony*, 68–82.

17 Po, *Blue Frontier*, 96, 123.

18 Po, *Blue Frontier*, 123–24. On the misinformation and communication gaps that characterized European accounts of maritime Asia in the seventeenth century, see Winterbottom, *Hybrid Knowledge*, esp. 28–34.

19 For instance, the chronicler Samuel Purchas, drawing on Portuguese and Dutch accounts in his summary of Chinese religiosity, described the Chinese as "much addicted to idols" (*Hakluytus Posthumus*, 483).

20 Byfield, *Principle of All Principles*, 47 (the Papists "are so addicted to Idolatry"); Williams, *Brief Discourse*, 12 (the ancient Israelites "border'd upon Nations violently addicted to Idolatry"). Matthew Henry's widely read commentary on the Old Testament (which first appeared in partial form in 1707) even inserted the term into a verse from Deuteronomy about Pharaonic Egypt (29:16). Whereas the King James Bible had simply read, "For ye know how we have dwelt in the land of Egypt," Henry's translation elaborated: "You know we have dwelt in the land of Egypt, *a country addicted to idolatry*" (*Exposition*, 718; emphasis added).

21 Kaempfer, *History of Japan*, 53. Summarizing such accounts, the English traveler Thomas Herbert wrote that "the Japanians are exceedingly addicted" to "Manadas," a Spanish term meaning "herd" but used by Herbert to mean a collection of idols (*Some Years Travels*, 373).

22 See Dyche's entries "Religions of Asia," "Metempsychosis," "Ombiasses," "Santons," "Magi," and "Zabians." Dyche's other uses of *addicted* include three references to addiction to study and other references to addictions to gambling, hunting foxes, women, and "the things of this world" (*New General English Dictionary*, s.v. "secularity").

23 Psalmanazar, *Description*, 249.

24 Psalmanazar, *Description*, 250.

25 Psalmanazar, *Description*, 164–65.

26 Psalmanazar, *Description*, 287.

27 Psalmanazar, *Enquiry into the Objections*, "Addenda to Page 25."

28 Psalmanazar describes how, in the first months of his imposture, he pretended to read from a holy book of Formosan scripture, complete with evening prayers, but this seems not to have continued once he met a Scottish chaplain named William Innes, with whom he converted and traveled to London.

29 Breen, *Age of Intoxication*, chap. 5.

30 On the social history of drug consumption in seventeenth-century England, see Withington, "Where Was the Coffee"; and Withington, "Intoxicants."

31 But see also the enormous range of other "Indies drugs" detailed in Wallis, "Exotic Drugs and English Medicine."

32 Mancall, "Tales Tobacco Told," 656.

33 All quotations in this paragraph are from Bacon, *The History Natural and Experimental of Life and Death*, 29. This is a translation from Bacon's Latin original, which first appeared as Bacon, *Historia Vitae et Mortis*. Bacon, in turn, apparently drew on the accounts of the Portuguese physicians Garcia de Orta (*Colóquios*, "Colóquio 41: Do Amfiam") and Cristóbal Acosta (*Aromatum*, 21–22), with Acosta claiming, for example, that opium was "of great use in Asia and Africa" but harmful to European bodies unless used in moderation (22; my translation).

34 Bacon, *History of Life and Death*, 29.

35 Bacon, *History of Life and Death*, 28.

36 Here Bacon drew on the Hippocratic assumption that climate and geography directly influenced the efficacy of medicines. This belief persisted throughout the eighteenth century and interacted in complex ways with European imperialism, on which see Seth, *Difference and Disease*; and Harrison, "Tender Frame of Man."

37 Bacon, *History of Life and Death*, 29.

38 Interestingly, recent archaeological finds indicate that the opium poppy, *Papaver somniferum*, was cultivated in the northern Alps at least as early as the Late Neolithic (ca. 5000–4000 BCE) and may even have been first domesticated in this region. See Tolar et al., "Plant Economy at a Late Neolithic Lake Dwelling," 218; Martin, "Plant Economy and Territory Exploitation," 70; and Salavert et al., "Opium Poppy in Europe."

39 Ray, *Catalogus Plantarum Angliae*, 222 ("Turcae, Persae, aliaeque gentes Orientales eo hodie utuntur ad spiritus recreandos").

40 Salavert et al., "Opium Poppy in Europe."

41 On the "exoticization" of opium in this period, see Breen, *Age of Intoxication*, chap. 6, and for the parallel case of coffee, see Cowan, *Social Life of Coffee*.

42 Radcliffe, *Radcliffe's Practical Dispensatory*, 452.

43 Zarotti, *Medica Martialis*, 237–38; my translation.

44 Zarotti, *Medica Martialis*, 238.

45 Trial of Edmund Allen, July 3, 1695, in Hitchcock et al., *Old Bailey Proceedings*, ref. no. t16950703-19.

46 Trial of Thomas Abram, December 5, 1711, in Hitchcock et al., *Old Bailey Proceedings*, ref. no. t17111205-31.

47 Opium reappeared in the Old Bailey court records in 1740, when two victims of an accused pickpocket named Elizabeth Briggs speculated that she had "grated something" into a "hot Pint" of beer ("I believe it was Opium") that "was enough to turn my Head" (trial of Elizabeth Briggs, February 27, 1740, in Hitchcock et al., *Old Bailey Proceedings*, ref. no. t17400227-21).

48 Harvey, *Treatise of the Small-Pox*, 51.

49 Although Jones was at pains to emphasize that opium was a familiar drug, he too linked opium to Asia, writing of newly created "great Fields of Poppy in Turky" as well as of importers from Persia and the East Indies that carried "vast quantities" of the drug into London's marketplaces (*Mysteries of Opium*, 13).

50 Jones, *Mysteries of Opium*, 20.

51 Interestingly, Jones's example was not a man of business but a woman, "a certaine serene Person . . . who found her self every way better disposed for Business, and more enabled to bear the Fatigues thereof" (*Mysteries of Opium*, 21).

52 Jones, *Mysteries of Opium*, 191.

53 Jones, *Mysteries of Opium*, 358.

54 Ray, *Catalogus Plantarum Angliae*, 223 ("Chinenses utuntur ad excitandam Venerem . . . ut per totam noctem Veneri litent . . . Apud Persas et Indos ad eosdem usus").

55 Ray himself wondered if this was true but admitted that he had not been able to test it experimentally (*Catalogus Plantarum Angliae*, 233: "orientalibus, ob diversitatem temperamentorum, venerem stimulare existimat, in aliis vero, ut occidentalibus aut septentrionalibus, eandem fraenare").

56 Stewart, *Crimes of Writing*, 48, 51.

57 Lemon, *Addiction and Devotion*, 8–9.

58 Taylor, *Dog of War*, n.p.

59 In his memoirs he describes learning Hebrew by conversing with Jews from Germany, Poland, Hungary, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Morocco and disparagingly compares the Hebrew pronunciations of "some of them whom I met with by chance in the Portuguese synagogue" with the "antient pronounciation" he observed from "conversing with some Morocco Jews" (*M*, 227–28).

60 Keevak, *Pretended Asian*, 115.

61 Psalmanazar, *Universal History*, 232.

62 Stewart, *Crimes of Writing*, 59.

63 His last will and testament is reproduced in *M*, 2–7.

64 Boon, *Road of Excess*, 69.

65 Sometimes De Quincey's *Confessions* are instead described as an early entry in the related genre of the "recovery memoir." See, e.g., Wilson, *Guilty Thing*, 233.

66 Courtwright, *Forces of Habit*, 95.

67 Eastman, *Strange Genius*, 276.

68 *London Magazine*, "Some Account."

69 *London Magazine*, "Table-Talk."

70 Cunningham, *Handbook of London*, 249.

71 De Costa, "George Psalmanazar, Impostor and Saint," 32.

72 De Quincey, *Posthumous Works*, 117.

73 De Quincey, *Confessions*, viii.

74 De Quincey, *Confessions*, 117–18.

75 De Quincey to Cottle, August 2, 1821, MSS 72/192 z:65, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Cottle's biographical sketch of Psalmanazar won praise from Southey, who wrote to him on February 26, 1826, that "I very much admire the manner, and the feeling, with which you have treated Psalmanazar's story" (Cottle, *Reminiscences of Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Robert Southey*, 245).

76 Cottle, *Early Recollections*, 169.

77 Dunglison, *General Therapeutics*, 364–65.

78 *Temple Bar*, "George Psalmanaazaar," 390.

79 For a recent effort to expand such studies into a larger examination of the "addiction aesthetic," see Colman, *Drugs and the Addiction Aesthetic*.

80 Fisher, *War Within*. Davy's discovery of the intoxicating properties of nitrous oxide fascinated both Coleridge and Southey, the latter of whom wrote to his brother, Thomas Southey: "Davy has actually invented a new pleasure for which language has no name. . . . I am going for more this evening—it makes one so strong & so happy! so gloriously happy!" (Southey, *Collected Letters of Robert Southey*). On the ways that Davy's compulsive use of nitrous oxide "led him away from materialism" and toward a pseudospiritual sense of "revelation," see Golinski, *Experimental Self*, 31–33.

81 On Psalmanazar's Enlightenment connections, such as Buffon's apparent belief in the credibility of his account of Taiwan, see Breen, "No Man Is an Island"; and Chien, "Psalmanazar Affair."

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