



Bridgewater State University

Virtual Commons - Bridgewater State University

Honors Program Theses and Projects

Undergraduate Honors Program

5-14-2020

Opium in Nineteenth-Century England

Hannah Hutchinson

Bridgewater State University

Follow this and additional works at: https://vc.bridgew.edu/honors_proj



Part of the [History Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Hutchinson, Hannah. (2020). Opium in Nineteenth-Century England. In *BSU Honors Program Theses and Projects*. Item 332. Available at: https://vc.bridgew.edu/honors_proj/332

Copyright © 2020 Hannah Hutchinson

This item is available as part of Virtual Commons, the open-access institutional repository of Bridgewater State University, Bridgewater, Massachusetts.

Opium in Nineteenth-Century England

Hannah Angelina Hutchinson

Submitted in Partial Completion of the
Requirements for Departmental Honors in History

Bridgewater State University

May 14, 2020

Dr. Sarah Wiggins, Thesis Advisor

Dr. Erin E. O'Connor, Committee Member

Dr. Paul Rubinson, Committee Member

Over the course of nineteenth-century England, opiate use and the attitudes towards its use shifted and changed. Opium and the consumption of opiates stems back thousands of years and has been utilized in countless ways. Opium has always existed and has always played an effective role in society. Whether for enjoyment or pain relief, for pleasure or for pain, opiates remained a key player in society all over the world. The study of the history of drug use in nineteenth-century England is important because it adds a vital perspective into the changing attitudes towards opium. Many of the changes that happened physically to opium in the nineteenth century and the attitudes towards it have great effect on the meaning and reception of opium today. The nineteenth century had unregulated drug use at the onset of the century, and this changed over the course of the century. Medicinal changes, class categories, literature, art and popular culture all affected the shift of attitudes towards opium in nineteenth-century England.

Opium use continued to grow in the late eighteenth century in England. It was becoming a more common drug used in popular culture. In the early nineteenth century, the public had unfettered access to opium and opium related products. Anyone could access it at any age and any time. Many issues followed in the shadows of opium use due to this unregulated nature. The beginning of the nineteenth century marked a time where attitudes about opiate use were of curiosity and spectacle. During the Victorian era, after the passage of the 1868 Pharmacy Act and many shifting changes in the perception of drug users, opiate use and the attitudes surrounding it slowly changed. Opiate use may have still been accessible, but the restrictions towards opium were beginning to take shape and the effect that these had on the attitudes towards opium use would be multigenerational. Opium and opiate use may have been changing in its physical forms and in its general attitudes towards the substance, but one thing remained

certain, opium use remained an important substance which affected many lives in nineteenth-century England. The popular attitudes towards opium use in nineteenth-century England was shaped and altered directly by discoveries in medicine, class distinction, and mainly through the popular and less known works of literature.

The main goal of this thesis is to evaluate the changing attitudes of opium use in nineteenth-century England, through class descriptors, the medical profession, literature and art from the time. These subtopics encapsulate much of the everyday struggles and major shifts in opiate use over the course of the nineteenth century and the Victorian era. Class distinctions and the changes in medical research at the time play a role in the shifting attitudes of opiate use. Literary works and art pieces will be examined to show how attitudes were changing over the course of the nineteenth century. These factors directly affected the changes of attitude and reception surrounding opium in nineteenth-century England.

When studying the changes of attitudes of opium, one must have to understand the depths of the traditional history of opium. The book *Opium: A History* by Martin Booth examines the history of opium in general. Chapter two, "The Discovery of Dreams," expounded upon the background of opium prior to the nineteenth century. In chapter three, "Pleasure Domes in Xanadu," Booth noted the beginning connection between opium and the romantic writers of the nineteenth century. Booth discussed Coleridge, De Quincey, Wilkie Collins and the history behind their works. This book outlined the changes in the medical practice and the use of opium in the medical and personal practice. Booth argued overall that opium was an important part in world history and its consequences are still valuable and present today. The book, *The Pursuit of Oblivion: A Global History of Narcotics*, by Richard Davenport-Hines discussed the general use of narcotics. This book examined narcotics use throughout the entirety of history similar to the

Booth source. This source noted the changing and shifting Western attitudes towards opium. This book intertwined topics and connections to other parts of the world and time periods which gave great perspective into the global use of narcotics. This book noted the early history such as seventeenth-century drug use to the prohibition of drugs in different countries globally. Opium played a large role in this book which highlighted the major importance this topic takes up in the global history of drug use. The Davenport-Hines source argued the importance of narcotics to human history. Drugs were not some fleeting substance, drugs have been around for centuries and will continue to play an aggressive role in the lives of people.

Many sources have been written discussing the very complex and fascinating topic of opium use in nineteenth-century England. The book *Pleasures and Pains: Opium and the Orient in Nineteenth-Century British Culture* by Barry Milligan, outlined the general history of opium and its pervasiveness. This source argued in extensive detail on the effects of the “orient” and Eastern culture on the perception of opium in Britain, particularly in nineteenth-century literary works. *Opium and the People* by Virginia Berridge and Griffith Edwards looked into the use of opium from the early nineteenth century until the late nineteenth century through the lens of everyday people. This book went into detail on the basic history of opium, including its cultivation, trade and use. Berridge and Griffith discussed how during the early nineteenth century to the end of the nineteenth century that attitudes surrounding opiate use changed, in a small way, however they still changed nonetheless, particularly within the realms and limitations of the medical practice.¹ Berridge and Griffith argued that these changes came about not just from the negatives of opiate use such as overdoses and poisonings, but some of these changes occurred from class changes and medical changes as well.

¹ Virginia Berridge and Griffith Edwards, *Opium and the People: Opiate Use in nineteenth-Century England*. (London: Allen Lane, 1981), 122.

The “[r]egulation and Prohibition,” of drug use and narcotic use affected societies, politics and individuals.² The popularity of opium grew throughout the nineteenth century. Many works of literature created at the time, reflected many of the topics that coincided with opium use. Opium use was an integral part of nineteenth century society and culture. Early literature such as the poem *Kubla Khan*, by Samuel Taylor Coleridge highlight the mysticism of being in an opium vision or dream. Coleridge’s poem introduced many to the world of opium. Other books such as *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater* by Thomas De Quincey, highlighted pleasure use at the beginning of the nineteenth century. De Quincey's book can bring one deeper into the psyche of someone utilizing opium at that time. De Quincey discussed the pleasures and some of the pains that he experienced when wrapped up in his opiate-laden experiences. Later in the century, books such as Wilkie Collins’ *The Moonstone* unveiled the later attitudes towards Opium. *The Moonstone* discussed the theft of a diamond while under the influence of opium. The shift in attitudes become apparent throughout this book. The book *My Lady’s Soul: The Poems of Elizabeth Eleanor Siddal* by Serena Trowbridge discussed the Pre-Raphaelite brotherhood, who created art pieces and poetry that connected with their strong use of opiates. Elizabeth Siddal, wife to Dante Gabriel Rossetti, alluded to the pains of her opium usage, which highlighted the shift in attitudes at the end of the nineteenth century in regard to opium use. By reading and researching these primary sources, the rest of the thesis relied heavily on the connections between the literature, how societal attitudes were mimicked in these sources and how society reacted to these sources.

There were numerous sources on the literature during the nineteenth century and ones that both combined literature with opium use. One book which focused uniquely on some

² Richard Davenport-Hines, *The pursuit of Oblivion: A Global History of Narcotics*. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2002), 496.

romantic authors during the nineteenth century was *The Milk of Paradise: The Effect of Opium Visions on the Works of De Quincey, Crabbe, Francis Thompson, and Coleridge* by M.H. Abrams. *The Milk of Paradise* uniquely outlined much of the literature that was credited with being produced under the influence of opium, such as *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater* and the poem, *Kubla Khan*. This book attempted to argue whether many of these literary works were completed under the direct usage of opium, or whether they were merely inspired by the ideas and feelings behind opium. Abrams concluded that “[t]he important fact is that these four authors did an incredible thing: they opened to poetry an entirely new world... With it was struck that ‘new note’ of lyricism of which the reverberations have not yet died away.”³ Abrams examined and explored the very conception of these literary works in detail. Similarly, the book, *Coleridge Opium, and Kubla Khan* by Elisabeth Schneider examined in depth Samuel Taylor Coleridge and his poem *Kubla Khan*. She argued the debatable origins of the poem *Kubla Khan* and many of the different interpretations. One of her main focuses was the date of the creation of the poem as that was obscure and unknown. Similar to the W.H. Abrams source, Schneider also examined the root of the dreams and the visions of the poem. Schneider argued a similar question to *Milk of Paradise*, in which the question is, whether or not opium served as a direct author in the creation of Coleridge's work on *Kubla Khan*.

One major source which added a wealth of knowledge on De Quincey and Coleridge was the source, “De Quincey, Coleridge, and the Formal Uses of Intoxication” by Michael G. Cooke. Cooke argued that while both Coleridge and De Quincey utilized opium, their experiences and interpretations of these differed. Coleridge tended to be frightened or have fear of his delirium

³ M.H. Abrams, *The Milk of Paradise: The Effect of Opium Visions on the Works of De Quincey, Crabbe, Francis Thompson, and Coleridge*. (New York: Octagon Books, 1971), 48.

whereas De Quincey had a sort of calm acceptance.⁴ Aside from this, this source also examined how opium affected De Quincey and Coleridge differently in regard to their work. In the source, “Decentered Identities: The Case of the Romantics” by Bonnie G. Smith, this source expounded upon romantic writers, particularly in Samuel Taylor Coleridge. This source explored his poem in depth along with and in comparison, to the other romantics at the time. These sources exemplified the importance of researching opium use in nineteenth-century England. Smith argued that the romantics shifted from the West, to Eastern practices.⁵ One Eastern practice was the use of opium. Another important source was by Paul Youngquist, “Rehabilitating Coleridge: Poetry, Philosophy, Excess”. This article delineated upon Coleridge and his growth and change with his opium use and rehabilitation attempts. This article pointed out the many flaws of Coleridge, and challenges faced by his opium use. Like the Cooke source, the Youngquist source added more in-depth information on the literature and the authors that wrote about opium.

One source that aided in the research of *The Moonstone* was the source, “Science and ‘The Moonstone’” by Ira Bruce Nadel. This article discussed the science of *The Moonstone* in general, however it also expounded upon how *The Moonstone* included lots of analysis between science, the medical practice and opium itself. This article argued that science was a vital part of *The Moonstone* and much of the story was shaped by it.⁶ A part of this source focused on the changes in the medical profession and therefore the inclusion of opium in the source. Another source vital to the understanding of nineteenth-century drug use was the article, “The Age of

⁴ Michael G. Cooke, “De Quincey, Coleridge, and the Formal Uses of Intoxication”. (Yale University Press), 36-37.

⁵ Bonnie G. Smith, "Decentered Identities: The Case of the Romantics." *History and Theory*, vol 50. no. 2, (Wiley, 2011), 210.

⁶ Ira Bruce Nadel, “Science and ‘The Moonstone’” in *Dickens Studies Annual*. Vol 11. (Penn State: University Press, 1983), 239.

Intoxication” by John Frederick Logan. “The Age of Intoxication” mentioned the lack of research into intoxicants in nineteenth-century England. This source contextualized the history of opium briefly throughout the world and mentioned the particular context within which opium existed in nineteenth-century England. Logan wanted to know why intoxicants were used in the nineteenth century and the reception towards those particular intoxicants. This selection also touched upon class use of opioids as well. Logan argued that the question of the importance of intoxicants in nineteenth-century England provided the “key to understanding the entire century.”⁷

Class distinctions and moralities effect on class opiate use played an important role in the context of this thesis. One source which discussed morality and shame in Victorian society was Deborah Cohen’s *Family Secrets: Shame and privacy in Modern Britain*. This book does not directly pertain to opium use in society, however it argued that shame in Britain had transformed. Cohen argued that repression was a vehicle for social change. The Victorians have a history of repression and deep morality issues. This book also argued that secrecy was a way to hide shame during the nineteenth century and how that had changed over time.⁸ Cohen noted many times throughout this book that the upper-class values pertained to others in society such as the middle and working classes. This meant that the values instilled in the upper classes were rules designated to all parts of society. These class distinctions may not pertain to opium directly, however, they outline the strict moral and virtuous society that thrived during an era of unfettered opium use.

⁷ John Frederick Logan, "The Age of Intoxication." *Yale French Studies*, no. 50, (Yale University Press, 1974), 94.

⁸ Deborah Cohen, *Family Secrets: Shame and Privacy in Modern Britain*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 2.

Many primary sources added to the knowledge of medicinal changes during nineteenth-century England. Some of these sources include the Old Bailey court cases such as James Dilley, Mary Rainbow and Catherine Michael. These sources illustrated the changing attitudes of medicine during the nineteenth century. There were also other sources that highlighted class issues as well such as the John Aggus court case. In cartoons from *Punch* magazine, there were two separate cartoons, both created by John Leech, which highlighted the attitudes towards opium in the nineteenth century. One was about the unregulated sale of poisons and one depicted the fear of Eastern culture. All of these primary sources depicted different facets of opium in everyday life. Magazine sources and the court cases depicted the true feelings and perceptions towards opium which people fostered at that time. These primary sources give a direct view into what people truly felt and experienced at that time.

While studying the secondary source material it was apparent that writers during the nineteenth century played an enormous role on the impact of the attitudes about opium. Thomas De Quincey and Samuel Taylor Coleridge in particular, were enumerated upon in almost every main secondary source material. This illustrated the importance of these sources in the narratives and perceptions of opium use in popular culture and society at the time. The secondary sources give vital background knowledge, however many literature and artistic sources highlighted important trends during the century. De Quincey, Coleridge, Collins and Siddal all added literature and art to the historical canon. Their works informed the public on popular opinions and changing attitudes at the time. These sources needed to be approached with care and be individually analyzed to understand how each of these books and works fit into their particular section of the nineteenth century. At the beginning of the nineteenth century there were new sources such as *Kubla Khan*, then *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater*, then the work of

Lizzie Siddal and Dante Gabriel Rossetti, and finally, to end the century was *The Moonstone*.

The individual examinations of these sources inform the history of opium in popular culture and society in nineteenth-century England.

Through the research of two incredibly important romantic writers of the nineteenth century, works by neglected authors seemed important to look into for this research. In the nineteenth century, many people were addicted to opium in many forms. It was not just one or two famous authors, it was poor people, rich people, old people, mothers, writers and many more. Many authors who received less attention in the field of opium than De Quincey and Coleridge also contributed to the curious nature of opium's place in nineteenth-century society. Two authors stood out from the rest for different reasons. A few of the secondary sources mentioned Wilkie Collins and his work titled, *The Moonstone*. *The Moonstone* was often glossed over and was not given as much care and concern about its reflections of attitudes towards opium in popular society as Thomas De Quincey's *Confessions of English Opium-Eater* or Samuel Taylor Coleridge's poem *Kubla Khan*.

Aside from Wilkie Collins and the popularized literature at that time, there arose a question within the research. How did the art of the nineteenth century reflect the attitudes of opiate use? Through research on the Pre-Raphaelite brotherhood, Elizabeth Siddal, the wife of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, appeared to be a person of interest in regard to opioid use. She died due to an overdose of laudanum. Much about Siddal remains a mystery, however the art and poems created by her and Rossetti illustrated the connections between opium use and society. The many fragments that survived from Elizabeth Siddal's poetry were examined in detail to contribute to the connections between opium and nineteenth-century culture and society. *My Lady's Soul* and *The Moonstone* were two sources which were often forgotten about when discussing opiates in

nineteenth-century England, and will be examined in this thesis alongside *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater* and *Kubla Khan*.

The main goal of this thesis was to examine new perspectives on the history of opium. Historians have noted that class played a role in the changing perceptions of opiate use and so has the literature and the medicinal changes as well. This thesis expounded upon these subcategories, highlighted their many different perspectives, and reinforced these categories with fresh primary sources. These categories all helped change the perception of opium through many different primary sources. For medicinal changes, many of the *Punch* magazine cartoons and Old Bailey sources highlight these new perspectives on medicinal changes. The changes were visible within class as well through the Old Bailey sources and the differences in class opium utilization. With the literature, this thesis expanded perspectives on opium literature through the addition of authors and artists such as Wilkie Collins, Lizzie Siddal and the art crafted by Rossetti. The ideas of medicine, class and literature were staples of the study of opium in nineteenth-century England, however this thesis focused on the addition of new perspectives and new sources to display the many variables that existed within this topic.

Opium and its History

At the onset of the nineteenth century, opium was an unregulated, mind altering substance. For many, opium served as a pain-relieving substance which many would have argued was integral to their health and well-being. For some, opium was a stimulant, ripe and full of creativity. The unfettered access to opium all across nineteenth-century England played into its continued use. Opium and its accessibility also contributed to later changes in attitudes towards the substance itself. There were no laws set in place to regulate this substance until much later in

the century due to its mild perception at the onset of the nineteenth century. This section will establish the background and long history of opium in the nineteenth century.

To aid in the understanding of opiate history, there was a necessity to understand the cultivation and trade of opium. It is vital to understand the global opium trade and the Opium Wars to then grapple with the domestic trade of opium. This information was critical to understand how opium came to be popular in England and also how it was physically distributed. All of this culminated in some issues that England will face in its response to opium, such as the fear of Eastern culture spreading. These fears spread from the fear of the East to fears of the dangers of opium itself. These changes were highlighted and enumerated upon through many primary sources. This section will aid in the overall understanding of opium use.

Opium is derived from the poppy plant and is classified as *Papaver Somniferum*.⁹ This plant played a vital role throughout the world. From intense global trade to the Opium Wars with China, opium remained an important part of life and culture. Much of the British opium came from places such as Turkey and Persia. For China, their importation of opium came from the East India Company. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, there was an opium trade between China who forbade the import of opium and the British who operated and controlled the opium industry. China did not allow the import of opium; however, China did still import opium and “accounted for the majority of British opium profits.”¹⁰ The East India Company dominated the opium trade. This opium was smuggled into China as it was forbidden, however people were still able to smuggle the product in covertly.¹¹ The first Opium War began in 1839 in response to

⁹ Martin Booth, *Opium: A History*. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 1.

¹⁰ Barry Milligan, *Pleasures and Pains: Opium and the Orient in 19th- Century British Culture*. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1995), 20.

¹¹ Barry Milligan, *Pleasures and Pains*, 20.

the continued outlawed trade. This war ended in 1842, with the Treaty of Nanking, and in 1856, China and the British went to war again in the Second Opium War.¹²

In Britain, a majority of the opium in the first part of the nineteenth century was imported from Turkey. Later during the century, much of the opium that was imported came from India and China.¹³ During the first half of the century, there was a welcoming market for opium. Opium was sold with other goods and was treated like any other import. Berridge stated that “[o]pium was sold and used freely and largely unselfconsciously throughout this time, and it was imported, too, through normal channels of commerce as one more item of trade.”¹⁴ Opium was an unregulated substance, open to anybody willing to utilize it for any reason. Druggist shops which existed in the nineteenth century contained many things ranging from medicinal and herbal tinctures to supplements of opium and laudanum. The availability of opium made it easily

¹² Barry Milligan, *Pleasures and Pains*, 21.

¹³ Virginia Berridge and Griffith Edwards, *Opium and the People*, 3.

¹⁴ Virginia Berridge and Griffith Edwards, *Opium and the People*, 3.

accessible and popular. The sale of these substances was unrestricted to classes or for anyone of any age.

With the trade of opium came issues outside of the physical dependence and use of opium. Fears of Eastern life and society became a sentiment that was popular in Britain due to the long history of British Imperialism. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the British had a cultural identity crisis. This crisis was “classifiable as anxieties about bilateral cultural exchange-are inextricable from matters relating to British territorial expansion and the very definitions of ‘Britishness’.”¹⁵ The British national identity and morals were important to that society and they felt that with opium came a lack of morals and an infestation of Eastern ways



¹⁵ Barry Milligan, *Pleasures and Pains*, 15.

which were viewed as negative. In a popular magazine from the nineteenth century titled, *Punch*, this cartoon was printed.

This cartoon depicted a racist image of a man from China. There were two British men whipping him while saying, “Give it to him well, Pam, while you are about it!”¹⁶ This image was printed in *Punch* magazine from John Leech in 1857. This was printed in close proximity to the close of the second Opium War. This cartoon depicted the anti-Eastern sentiment that was popular at that time period. The man in the cartoon named “John Chinaman” was depicted with exaggerated features in an extremely hateful and racist way. There was a sign on the chest of “John Chinaman” that states, “The destroyer of women and children.” This quote was also a nod to the extreme Eastern fears harbored by the British at that time.

Many of the druggists at the time manufactured their own particular concoctions of opium to be sold to an unregulated market and public.¹⁷ Opium was available in different forms as well, which suited certain lifestyles and people's preferences. Items such as opium soap, pills, lozenges, enemas, confections and things such as opium dissolved in alcohol, known as laudanum all existed.¹⁸ The number of opium-related items that existed highlighted the widespread popularity and commonality of the drug itself. Apothecaries, pharmacists and even small-town shop people all sold forms of opium. The small local shops were not on the same playing field as some apothecaries and pharmacists, yet many of them continued to make their own concoctions of opium and opium distillates. These shops would purchase pure forms of

¹⁶ *A Lesson to John Chinaman*, Scanned image and text by Philip V. Allingham, *Punch* 1857, The Victorian Web, Wood Engraving. <http://www.victorianweb.org/periodicals/punch/35.html>.

¹⁷ Virginia Berridge and Griffith Edwards, *Opium and the People*, 21-22.

¹⁸ Virginia Berridge and Griffith Edwards, *Opium and the People*, 24.

opium which came in a block weighing one pound. These shops would then mix or muddle pure opium with other sorts of substances such as honeys.¹⁹

There were many reasons for the growth of opium's popularity. During the nineteenth century, and beginning even before this, people began to look into opium as possible medical remedies.²⁰ Opium began to be questioned and considered for its medicinal practices in the medical field, it was also considered to be a remedy and self-medication. Places that were home to many lower-class and laboring peoples saw an uptick in opium use due to its belief and promise as a self-medicating remedy.²¹ Many of these items were not available solely through the medical field but their popularity as a self-medication made them widely available in many areas. People often went to chemists to get their doses of opium.²² Chemists and doctors were not the only “prescribers” of opium as, “grocers and co-operative stores, rural general stores, booksellers and travelling peddlers” all began to sell opium.²³ This diverse array of opium sellers meant that more people would continue to have access to opium.

This nonchalant attitude towards the production, importation, creation and sale of opium did not last forever. The unregulated sale of opium led to an increase in the utilization of opium at the beginning of the nineteenth century; which in turn ended up leading to many problems with the use of opium. The unregulated behavior for those who bought and sold opium led to the inexperienced people and druggists who made desperate mistakes when mixing opium.²⁴ This unregulated use of opium led to accidental overdoses and deaths that affected everyday people's

¹⁹ Virginia Berridge and Griffith Edwards, *Opium and the People*, 24-28.

²⁰ Martin Booth, *Opium: A History*, 54.

²¹ Martin Booth, *Opium: A History*, 56-57.

²² Martin Booth, *Opium: A History*, 59.

²³ Martin Booth, *Opium: A History*, 60.

²⁴ Virginia Berridge and Griffith Edwards, *Opium and the People*, 28.

lives. After the introduction of the hypodermic needle and morphine, which comes from opium, more issues arose with opioid use. Addiction rose during the nineteenth century as well, particularly in regard to morphine utilization.²⁵ There were many “fatal opium overdoses in Britain in the 1860s [which] roused the General Medical Council against self-mediation with opiates.”²⁶ Not all opium users were chronically addicted users, however some people suffered the consequences of unregulated opium use. In the nineteenth century, “[m]ortality statistics started to register opium as a cause of death. In 1860, a third of all fatal poisonings were due to opiates and casual overdosing was so common that domestic health publications gave instructions for dealing with poisoning.”²⁷ Not only this, but many of the overdoses were due to the irresponsibility and lack of regulations while concocting opium mixtures. Booth stated that there was “unreliable strength of opium mixtures... laudanum from one druggist could be very much stronger than that from another.”²⁸ Overdoses, poisonings and accidental deaths were not a distant issue. These deaths played an important role in shifting the attitudes towards opium in society.

There were many examples of the unfettered use of opium in nineteenth-century England. Access was easy whether through a druggist or even stealing opium. Another example of the pervasive nature of opium in English society in the early nineteenth century were the court documents from the Old Bailey. In a specific court case of John Aggus on January 14th, 1824, Aggus was found guilty of stealing a pound of opium and sentenced for theft and grand larceny. Aggus was a worker on the docks where opium was imported. The fact that a simple laborer of

²⁵ Richard Davenport-Hines, *The pursuit of Oblivion*, 102-103.

²⁶ Richard Davenport-Hines, *The pursuit of Oblivion*, 104.

²⁷ Martin Booth, *Opium: A History*, 64.

²⁸ Martin Booth, *Opium: A History*, 64.

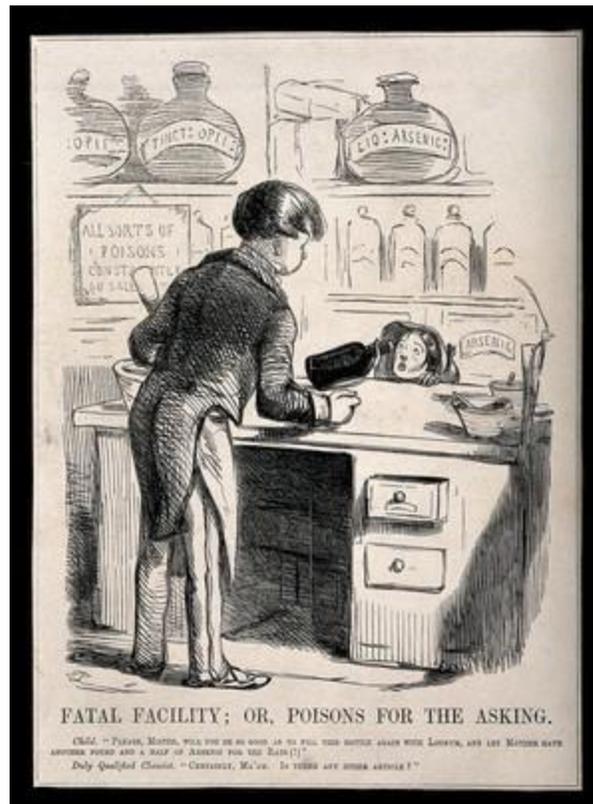
the docks had all of this access to opium and the time and ability to steal it highlights the unregulated nature of the opium trade in the early nineteenth century. If so many people were handling these shipments of opium, then it allowed opportunity for people to steal and sell opium. John Aggus was confined for one month for his actions. Cases such as the one of John Aggus scatter the Old Bailey records. These documents not only go to show the widespread availability and importation of opium, but it also depicts the intrinsic importance of opium in nineteenth-century society and culture.²⁹

In the case of George Marriott on June 14th, 1841, Marriott stole two pounds and 6 ounces of opium from the London Dock Company.³⁰ This case was similar to the one of John Aggus. He was found guilty and confined to six months. Both of these cases were two of many simple larceny and theft style cases in regard to the stealing of opium from docks and other places. Like with the earlier case with John, these court cases illustrate the abundance of opium being shipped in and the incredibly easy way it was for one to get their hands on opium. These punishment differences may seem small but in fact were very significant. The case from 1825 received a one month sentence whereas a similar case from 1841 received a six month confinement. This may seem like a small difference, but these were only 16 years apart and were already 5 months of a tougher sentence. This can show the beginning of shifting attitudes. Both of these sentences were fairly light considering the action and highlight that before the stricter legislation enacted in the 1868 Pharmacy Act, sentences for such actions were changing, however in comparison to later sentences, they were not as strict.

²⁹ *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 8.0, 25 March 2020), January 14th, 1824, Trial of John Aggus.

³⁰ *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 8.0, 25 March 2020), August 1879, trial of George Marriott.

Even though many did not question the free and widespread uses of opium, some people began to see the addiction, deaths and effects of opioid use start to take hold. In 1849, *Punch* magazine was a popular form of information and literary intake in the nineteenth century. This magazine produced relevant articles and introduced new ideas. This magazine addressed certain doubts about the use and widespread availability of opium use. In 1849, artist John Leech created the attached picture. This cartoon depicted a druggist selling “poisons” to a smaller child who



was not even tall enough to see over the counter. This theme of widespread availability connects well to this cartoon because it shows how unregulated opiate use was by showing that even a kid could go and purchase it. On one of the bottles next to the head of the druggist store clerk there, a sign that declared, “All sorts of poisons constantly on sale”.³¹ This bottle could be saying that

³¹ John Leech. *Fatal Facility; or, poisons for the asking*. 1817-1864. Wellcome Library no. 15630i. An unscrupulous chemist selling a child arsenic and laudanum. Wood engraving after J. Leech, Wellcome collection, Attribution 4.0 International (CC BY 4.0). <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/hcw9dhst>.

alongside the many household poisons sold at a druggist shop, the most dangerous one of them all was the one in widespread use, opium. This cartoon points out the absurdity of the ability of anyone, including children to get their hands on certain mind-altering substances such as laudanum. Even certain children's medicines contained opium. Opium at the beginning of the century seemed to be viewed as a benign substance.

The cartoon such as the one depicted displayed a change of attitude in the middle of the century. In this cartoon, opium was in a tincture which was the exact replica in shape and scale of the arsenic bottle. This could possibly be a statement on how the lack of regulations of a substance like opium was leading to accidental deaths and overdoses. These bottles could represent the possibility of error and mistake within the realm of opium and the lack of unregulated opium distributors and handlers. Opium during the creation of this cartoon was viewed as a “poison,” just like any of the other poisons in the repertoire. These cartoon and magazine articles were instrumental in changing the minds and attitudes of society at the time. These cartoons openly mirrored the unfettered access to drugs and poisons during the Victorian era.

England faced many mortality issues due to the continued utilization of opium. Addiction and overdose or accidental deaths related to opium surfaced at this time. Milligan stated that, “[o]ne of the indirect results of the ready availability of opium was that the phenomena later associated with ‘addiction’ or ‘dependence’ went largely unremarked for the first part of the century.”³² In the first half of the century, the knowledge of the pains of opium grew slowly but as more people struggled with opioids and more opioid mortality issues existed, people started to see the pains of opium clearly. John Frederick Logan noted that there was new

³² Barry Milligan. *Pleasures and Pains*, 22.

and renewed interest and vigor for legislative action and intervention in the issues with addiction.³³ This is why legislative action was pursued and came to fruition during the nineteenth century. The 1868 Pharmacy Act attempted to quell the problems connected to opiate use and the deaths associated with those. This act was a piece of formal legislation; however, the strength of this act did not live up to its hopes.³⁴ However successful the 1868 Pharmacy Act was, the fact that the legislation was created and came to fruition shows the changes and shifts in attitudes towards opiate use.

Morality, Medicinal Use and Class Drug Use in Nineteenth-Century England

The Victorian era, which came about with the installation of Queen Victoria to the throne, began in 1837. This era ushered in an age of reform and social conservatism. The Victorians were private people, expected to follow strong moral codes. Deborah Cohen stated that during the nineteenth century, “shame for the Victorians largely accumulated around bad choices and moral failures.”³⁵ Victorians wanted to be morally correct and did anything to avoid social disruption. This meant that topics such as homosexuality, mental illness and divorce stayed taboo. These social ideals made the rules for how people should act, react and live their lives. Victorians did not want people to be aware of the underpinnings of society. The middle class, for example, had to have the same amount of social respectability and morality as people in higher classes. This often meant that middle-class people struggled with this dichotomy between laboring and being “respectable” within society. Cohen noted that a major value of the Victorians was their ability to keep secrets with “reticence.”³⁶ The moral code of the Victorians

³³ John Frederick Logan, "The Age of Intoxication.", 92.

³⁴ Richard Davenport-Hines, *The pursuit of Oblivion*, 104.

³⁵ Deborah Cohen, *Family Secrets*, 9.

³⁶ Deborah Cohen, *Family Secrets*, 8.

was the ability to be reserved and private. This section will introduce the many changes in the medical field during the nineteenth century, which had a great effect on the shifting attitudes towards opium.

The use and abuse of drugs throughout nineteenth-century England fascinates many due to the perceived morality and conservative ideals of the Victorians. People within the upper classes of society felt as if their moral ideals were the correct ideals. Even though the Victorians had high social standards, many Victorians from all different classes and backgrounds engaged in the use of opium.³⁷ Virginia Berridge and Griffith Edwards stated that, “at all levels of society, opium and laudanum were commonly and unselfconsciously bought and used. Few who took the drugs regularly would have bothered to analyse the reasons behind their consumption.”³⁸ Victorians were so afraid of the shame that came with a divorce and interracial relationships yet continued the use of a mind altering substance.

Most of the common reasons that people stated that they utilized opium in the nineteenth century was for self-medication purposes. This was viewed separately from taking it for recreation.³⁹ The fact that opium particularly early in the century was viewed as a healing and self-medication matter was illustrated in regard to high opium use in the Fenlands. The Fens included Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Huntingdonshire and Cambridgeshire.⁴⁰ The Fenlands had a large population of poor and working-class people. This also coincides with the fact that there was such little access to medicine and medical help. The Fenlands and their lack of medical assistance paired with high opium use highlighted the fact that people turned to opium for self-

³⁷ Virginia Berridge and Griffith Edwards, *Opium and the People*, 49.

³⁸ Virginia Berridge and Griffith Edwards, *Opium and the People*, 49.

³⁹ Virginia Berridge and Griffith Edwards, *Opium and the People*, 49.

⁴⁰ Virginia Berridge and Griffith Edwards, *Opium and the People*, 38.

medical use and not recreation.⁴¹ This large use of opium expanded classes, races and genders. Opium did not fall into the shame and moral trap of nineteenth-century society and behavior, but the attitudes towards opium and its use would shift over the course of the century.

People such as Samuel Taylor Coleridge stated that he utilized opium for medicinal use. Bonnie G. Smith stated that Coleridge in his “account, he takes ‘an anodyne’- specifically opium- causing him to fall asleep.”⁴² Some people stated that they utilized opium for medicinal purposes, but sometimes these claims were struck down. There continues to be a debate surrounding whether certain people took opium for medicinal use or for pleasure. Coleridge throughout his life continued to defend his medicinal use of opium. However, “[d]e Quincey reiterated his view that Coleridge had begun opiate use solely as a source of luxurious sensations.”⁴³ Coleridge was not the only person who took opium for “medicinal” purposes. Wilkie Collins struggled and “succumbed to rheumatism and gout in 1862, he resorted to laudanum.”⁴⁴

Many opiate deaths happened during the nineteenth century. These opiate deaths can be found on the Old Bailey database of old court documents and sources and demonstrate the beginnings of medical thought and activity surrounding opium. The case of Catherine Michael and the murder of her child in 1840 highlight this change. Catherine Michael gave her child laudanum. The child passed away due to the fatal dosage of the tincture. One of the people examined in the case was a surgeon's assistant by the name of Richard Godfrey Sellick. Sellick

⁴¹ Virginia Berridge and Griffith Edwards, *Opium and the People*, 38-39.

⁴² Bonnie G. Smith, "Decentered Identities: The Case of the Romantics.", 211.

⁴³ Virginia Berridge and Griffith Edwards, *Opium and the People*, 52.

⁴⁴ Richard Davenport-Hines, *The pursuit of Oblivion*, 106.

noted that he smelt laudanum on the child's breath. Sellick continued to be questioned and when asked how much laudanum could harm or kill a child, Sellick responded,

One drop has been known to do it—it is never safe to administer one drop to a child—one drop would not produce the effect I found, but one drop has been known to poison a child—a tea-spoonful would—about sixty drops is an ordinary teaspoonful—that if rather a large dose—this bottle would contain about an ounce—half of it would be about half an ounce—a teaspoonful administered to an infant nine months old, such a baby as I saw, would be certain to destroy life.⁴⁵

The use of a surgeon and surgeon's assistant in these testimonies displayed the growing medical knowledge of opium. Sellick noted the amounts of laudanum that would harm a child, illustrating the changing attitudes in regard to opiates as medicine. Not only this, but this court case went on to question people involved with dispensing medicine such as opiates. This court case from around the mid-Victorian era displayed the growing concern for opium and laudanum, the dangers of unrestricted opiate use and the growing knowledge of the medical profession.

Opium over the course of the nineteenth century proved to cause issues in the social fabrics of society. One example is the case of James Dilley and Mary Rainbow. In this court case from August 5th, 1879, James and Mary were charged with death for murdering their child.⁴⁶ In the case, the physician and surgeon named Matthew West Berry examined the child after being found dead. The surgeon opened up the child's stomach to reveal the contents. Aside from a very apparent head injury to the infant, the surgeon also noticed an aroma of opium in the form of laudanum wafting from the stomach of the deceased baby. The surgeon later stated how dangerous laudanum was for a child and how this could have contributed to the neglect and death of this child. This case of infanticide and opium use in the deaths of others was one of many.

⁴⁵ *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 8.0, 25 March 2020), 1840, Catherine Michael.

⁴⁶ *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 8.0, 25 March 2020), August 1879, trial of James Dilley and Mary Rainbow.

This case depicted how easy it was for people to get their hands on and inappropriately handle and distribute opium at the expense of others.⁴⁷ This case was different from the earlier case of Catherine Michael for a few reasons. The Catherine Michael case was from 1840, which was earlier in the century, right around when attitudes began to shift, but were still quite curious instead of negative. The Dilley and Rainbow case is from 1879, which is far past the 1840 case and the 1868 Pharmacy Act. Both cases highlight the death of a child to opium, but the reactions to these cases were quite different. Catherine Michael did not receive any punishment and her sentence was considered to be respited. In the case of James Dilley and Mary Rainbow over 39 years later, and after the shifting attitudes towards opium under legislation, Dilley and Rainbow for a similar offense received the penalty of death. This dichotomy between the two cases highlighted that over the course of thirty-nine years, infanticide went from a respite sentences to the penalty of death.

Aside from morality and medicinal changes, class distinctions also played a role in shifting attitudes towards opium. This section will highlight a major component in perception and the reception of opium; class. The lower classes and the poor were the biggest group purchasing these remedies of opium meant for children.⁴⁸ The easy access of opium assisted the accidental deaths of children from opium. Opium was also utilized by many prostitutes at this time as well.⁴⁹ Opium became the desire of the lower classes, which over time, helped to change the attitudes against unfettered opium use. Opium continued throughout the nineteenth century to become a debatable topic. Opium use was debated upon for the lower classes, however, it was

⁴⁷ *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 8.0, 25 March 2020), August 1879, trial of James Dilley and Mary Rainbow.

⁴⁸ Martin Booth, *Opium: A History*, 61.

⁴⁹ Martin Booth, *Opium: A History*, 62.

permitted for the upper classes.⁵⁰ For example, high-class people such as Lady Melville utilized laudanum. Their attitudes were not scoffed at, but the use of drugs bore “heavy disapproval about similar habits filtering down to the poor.”⁵¹ This all culminated into one main issue that was presented with opium use: the acceptance and attitudes towards opium in the classes was different. Overall opium did change from an unfettered drug to a poison that had legislation against it in the late nineteenth century, however between the lower and upper classes, opium and the attitudes around their use totally differed. While upper-class people were allowed to utilize opium and were “trusted” with their use, the lower classes were not.⁵²

The increased opium use in the working classes such as the Fenlands, made the appeal and need for opium less popular in the upper classes and less acceptable within high society. Davenport-Hines described this phenomenon as “poorer people became more extravagant and incautious about drugs, so the rich and educated classes became more wary.”⁵³ With many things in society, rich people liked to be ahead of and morally above what the lower classes did. This makes sense because when opium use was popularized by the lower classes, the upper classes began to fear and scoff at its use. The upper classes scoffed at working-class families who gave their children opium in different forms. This was often done medicinally to calm children. The act of working-class children taking opium was “an undoubted reality, but implicit in the campaign against it was class interest and a desire to re-mould popular culture into a more acceptable form. Opium was the immediate concern, but the campaign against it criticized basic

⁵⁰ Martin Booth, *Opium: A History*, 64.

⁵¹ Richard Davenport-Hines, *The pursuit of Oblivion*, 63.

⁵² Richard Davenport-Hines, *The pursuit of Oblivion*, 63.

⁵³ Richard Davenport-Hines, *The pursuit of Oblivion*, 86.

patterns of working-class child-rearing too.”⁵⁴ The act of medicating children with opium was looked down upon because the mothers were of the working class.

Literature, Art and Opium

Besides the many important components of change such as class and medicinal changes, literature and art played a large role in mirroring the changing attitudes towards opiate use in nineteenth-century England. Even though the direct use of opium is not known for certain works such as *Kubla Khan*, the impact of opium in culture is obvious. De Quincey, Coleridge, Siddal and Collins all utilized opium and their lives and their personal experiences with the drug affected them enough to create works in its honor. Opium played an important role in many authors' lives and De Quincey, Coleridge, Collins and Siddal only make a small portion of these authors. Literature in the nineteenth century almost seemed to coincide with topics of opium. These works that linked to opium use, abuse and had opium inspirations permeated society and culture at the time, leaving others more familiar with opium and leaving those people with a morbid curiosity about the substance.

As mesmerizing as opium use was, there were many problems associated with its use, as many people during the nineteenth century grew to recognize addiction to opiates. According to Abrams, De Quincey and his opium habit “led to a daily resort to opium, and the addiction which lasted until his death.”⁵⁵ De Quincey and the publishing of his book, *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater*, brought about cognizance of opium as a problem. De Quincey was not the first person to reconcile with the fact that they were cloaked in opium addiction. Many other romantic authors at the time utilized drugs, and their works and experiences on the topic of drug use

⁵⁴ Virginia Berridge and Griffith Edwards, *Opium and the People*, 97-98.

⁵⁵ M.H. Abrams, *The Milk of Paradise*, 7.

changed attitudes on opium. Authors such as Samuel Taylor Coleridge and his troubles with opium addiction were widely known. The history of Coleridge's opium use is unclear; however we do know through his letters of his opium withdrawal symptoms, numerous ailments and struggles. Wilkie Collins utilized opium throughout his work on *The Moonstone*. Not only was Wilkie Collins a user of opium in his life, but he also centered parts of his novel around opium use. In *Science and "The Moonstone"*, by Ira Bruce Nadel, noted that Collins utilized science as a way to push his novel forward, especially in the field of medicine. This was vital because during this century, attitudes about opium, which were also a topic in his novel shifted and changed with the advances in medicine. Authors and artists such as Elizabeth Siddal also endured many of the problems associated with addiction to opiates. Siddal, who had a documented history of drug problems and opiate problems, overdosed on laudanum in 1862 and died. Opium was not only seen as a vehicle to push creative art, it was also being seen as an evil, which harmed and hindered people.

Kubla Khan

The poem, *Kubla Khan* by Samuel Taylor Coleridge perfectly exemplified what an opium user felt and dreamt about in nineteenth-century England. This poem was a visual trip and experience into the mind of someone who has utilized opium. Whether or not opium was directly used in the writing of the poem is up for debate, but the opium use by author Samuel Taylor Coleridge is well documented. Coleridge had been addicted to opium for an extensive period of time. In 1816, he decided to do something about this and he got help for his addiction issues.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Paul Youngquist, "Rehabilitating Coleridge: Poetry, Philosophy, Excess". (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 885.

Coleridge needed to mitigate his addiction to laudanum, a form of opium. Coleridge instead of completely getting himself clean of his use decided to mitigate and try to lessen his use into a controllable amount of the substance. Youngquist stated that Coleridge had “[t]his cycle of medication and withdrawal yielded a drug-dependent Coleridge, a self-medicating subject whose life and writing betrayed the ill effects of his habit.”⁵⁷ Coleridge got caught up into the daily and overt use of opium like many other authors such as De Quincey did at the time. Opium did not discriminate. Its use reached into different types of lives and different types of people. Even though the claim that *Kubla Khan* and some of his poems were not written directly on opium, it is certain that the ideas of opium played a role in the mind, daily life and topics chosen by the writer. For an author to write, they must get inspiration for a topic.

An important fact about Coleridge and his severe opioid use was his specific privilege with opium. Many people during the nineteenth century had vastly different experiences with opium and with the surrounding ideas of opium. Samuel Taylor Coleridge was not an average person in the nineteenth century. He was a very prolific writer and led a very different life than perhaps someone in the lower classes. Coleridge was considered to be somewhat of a celebrity due to his acclaim with his work.⁵⁸ This afforded Coleridge a privilege that someone maybe of the lower classes or in a place such as the Fens did not have. The lower classes were looked down upon with their use whereas someone such as Coleridge and his use were tolerated or even ignored. Coleridge was also afforded many privileges as an opium user due to when he lived. Prior to the 1830s, many people viewed opium as benign and Coleridge suffered much of his addiction during the early nineteenth century.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Paul Youngquist, “Rehabilitating Coleridge: Poetry, Philosophy, Excess”, 886.

⁵⁸ Paul Youngquist, “Rehabilitating Coleridge: Poetry, Philosophy, Excess”, 903.

⁵⁹ Martin Booth, *Opium: A History*, 63.

Kubla Khan was a dreamscape poem and a lens into the mind of a man caught up in the throes of an opioid addiction. Coleridge's first-hand experience with the use of laudanum and opiate-related products educated his views which were explicitly stated in his poem.

Coleridge opens his poem with the following stanza:

In Xanadu did Kubla Khan
 A stately pleasure-dome decree:
 Where Alph, the sacred river, ran
 Through caverns measureless to man
 Down to a sunless sea.
 So twice five miles of fertile ground
 With walls and towers were girdled round:
 And there were gardens bright with sinuous rills,
 Where blossomed many an incense-bearing tree;
 And here were forests ancient as the hills,
 Enfolding sunny spots of greenery.⁶⁰

Coleridge danced through a magical landscape. The stanza above noted the majesty of the experience of the poem. Elisabeth Schneider analyzed the poem in her book *Coleridge, Opium and Kubla Khan*. Schneider noted the dreamlike and surreal origins and meaning behind *Kubla Khan*.⁶¹ This poem talked about a world called “Xanadu.” The word “Xanadu” is defined as, “an idyllic, exotic, or luxurious place.”⁶² Xanadu is a word utilized nowadays to describe such places that hold amounts of pleasure and pain. Samuel Taylor Coleridge utilized “Xanadu” to represent

⁶⁰ Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Kubla Khan*.

⁶¹ Elisabeth Schneider, *Coleridge, Opium and Kubla Khan*. (New York: Octagon Books, 1966), 22.

⁶² Merriam Webster Dictionary, s.v. “Xanadu,” Accessed April 30th, 2020.

a world full of pleasure, excitement and an experience similar to what a trip or experience of opium would be like. Coleridge continued to outline what this Xanadu was. He continued on to describe the beautiful place that Xanadu was with “caverns measureless to man” and “forests ancient as the hills.”⁶³ The beauty and wonderment of a place like Xanadu could be a direct connection to the beauty and amazement of the mind on opium. Opium can bring one fanatic visions and dreamscapes and through Coleridge's description of the physicality of Xanadu, one can surmise the connection between them. This dreamscape that Coleridge painted was easily obtainable in the early nineteenth century. The nature of the drug and the attitudes surrounding opium at that time were benign. People were curious about opium and many utilized opium. The romantic writers utilized opium as a tool to open up the mind. This open-minded view that came from opium use can connect directly to the open-minded dreamscape constructed in *Kubla Khan*. Coleridge overtly mentioned opium when discussing the tree. The incense bearing tree represents the possible smoking of opium. Opium can be inhaled through smoke, which was the same as the product that incense produced.

Coleridge states that there was a “shadow of the dome of pleasure.”⁶⁴ This “dome of pleasure” was an allusion to the high of opium use. People who take opium feel this relief and immediate pleasure from opium, that is what makes it desirable and addictive to people. Opium helps people to escape their pains, which is the opposite of pleasure, making the moment that one succumbs to the opium as entering a space of sheer pleasure, while forgetting their pain of the past. On line 37 and in line 40 Coleridge talked about a dulcimer. Such as De Quincey sought out music for enjoyment while taking opium, Coleridge's character “Kubla” seeks out the music of a

⁶³ Samuel Taylor Coleridge. *Kubla Khan*.

⁶⁴ Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Kubla Khan*.

dulcimer, to aid in the full feeling of pleasure in the poem. At the end of the poem on line 54, Coleridge stated that the main character had “drunk the milk of paradise.”⁶⁵ The milk of paradise could be interpreted in a million ways. The milk could possibly be referring to a liquid of paradise or a liquid pleasure. To many people during the nineteenth century and especially to Samuel Taylor Coleridge himself, opium or a distillate of opium such as laudanum could have represented the milk or liquid of paradise. Also, Coleridge discussed how Xanadu was some utopian world and society and it was a true paradise. To get to paradise or Xanadu, maybe one has to drink the “milk” to go on that adventure and be there. Maybe the character Kubla Khan represented Coleridge himself as an Opium-Eater. The poem stated that Kubla, the main character, was in Xanadu, which was a dreamscape utopian world. There were beautiful trees and visions and music playing. Maybe to Kubla, he was in Xanadu, but maybe he got to Xanadu by drinking the milk of paradise, which can transport you to Xanadu. Within this interpretation of the poem, it is clear to see that Coleridge could have been discussing the parallels between his life and his experiences with opium use to that of the character “Kubla.”

Confessions of an English Opium-Eater

Thomas De Quincey's *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater* (1821) discussed the day to day life and the ups and downs of opium use in nineteenth-century England. De Quincey wrote a painfully truthful literary work that touched upon the pleasures and the pains that using opium brought to one. De Quincey, unlike Coleridge in *Kubla Khan* and Wilkie Collins in *The Moonstone*, wrote about direct and personal experiences. This book was not fiction and the life was real and lived by Thomas De Quincey. This book served as a vital written work that influenced attitudes and perceptions about opium use. This meant that, “[t]he awareness of

⁶⁵ Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Kubla Khan*.

opium and its effects suddenly became a topic of discussion with the 1821 publication in Britain of De Quincey's autobiographical *Confessions of an English Opium-eater*. It was the first time opium addiction,... was laid bare.”⁶⁶

Thomas De Quincey, similar to Samuel Taylor Coleridge, experienced certain privileges for his use of opium. The publication of his book coincided with the changing attitudes at the time, which allowed De Quincey to enjoy opium for much of his life without the judgements that lower-class people faced. Not only this, but the way that De Quincey consumed opium also supplied him with a privilege free from judgement of his drug use. De Quincey took opium for enjoyment and would listen to opera and heightened his “mental sensitivity to outside stimuli, he used its euphoria to expand his consciousness.”⁶⁷ De Quincey utilized opium as a “tool.”⁶⁸ These tools were utilized to help him on his quest for writing which was also his livelihood. This was a privilege and great departure from many of the lower class drug users at the time. Also, Thomas De Quincey had a fairly comfortable life before he gave it all up and left his guardians. Thomas De Quincey had a choice in his life and left comfort to struggle, but in the end, he chose to do that and was not forced into that particular situation. This gave DeQuincey options whereas many people at the time did not have the choice for the life that they wanted to live.⁶⁹

Thomas De Quincey opened up his book discussing from start to finish the history of his life but also the history of his opium use. De Quincey stated that, “[i] first came to be a regular opium-eater; and have suffered, very unjustly, in the opinion of my acquaintance, from being reputed to have brought upon myself all the sufferings which I shall have to record, by a long

⁶⁶ Martin Booth, *Opium: A History*, 36.

⁶⁷ Martin Booth, *Opium: A History*, 36-37.

⁶⁸ Martin Booth, *Opium: A History*, 38.

⁶⁹ Thomas De Quincey, *Confessions of An English Opium- Eater*. (England: Penguin Classics, 2003) 9-14.

course of indulgence in this practice purely for the sake of creating an artificial state of pleasurable excitement.”⁷⁰ He stated how he took opium for pleasure, but in the same breath he also noted how he began utilizing opium to assist in pain management. De Quincey noted his severe stomach pain which he suffered for a long time. He began taking opium at the age of 28 for this reason.⁷¹ This can connect to Berridge’s points about certain writers such as De Quincey using ailments and pain as an excuse to hide their own pleasurable opium use. De Quincey continued to expound upon his ailments. He left his guardians and lived on his own. While on his own he wandered the streets, was a vagrant and suffered from hunger and pain.⁷²

For Thomas De Quincey, obtaining opium was fairly simple. Opium was not highly regulated and could truly be found in many places. De Quincey first purchased opium in 1804. He purchased his first opium from a druggist shop on Oxford street.⁷³ When he first bought opium he described it as, “a Sunday afternoon, wet and cheerless: and a duller spectacle this earth of ours has not to show than a rainy Sunday in London... I saw a druggist’s shop. The druggist- unconscious minister of celestial pleasures!”⁷⁴ For De Quincey, there was an ease and intrigue in purchasing opium.

One of the reasons for De Quincey's increased use was due to the prevalence and popularity of opium in London. It seemed that wherever he walked, opium dens could be there to entice him. Not only this, but De Quincey himself noted the desire to wander and utilize opium, particularly on Saturday nights. This use of opium was also in response to many pains. He said that he started his opium use like many people, taking it once in a while to once every few

⁷⁰ Thomas De Quincey, *Confessions of An English Opium- Eater*, 8.

⁷¹ Thomas De Quincey, *Confessions of An English Opium- Eater*, 8-9.

⁷² Thomas De Quincey, *Confessions of An English Opium- Eater*, 19-22.

⁷³ Virginia Berridge and Griffith Edwards, *Opium and the People*, 51.

⁷⁴ Thomas De Quincey, *Confessions of An English Opium- Eater*, 43.

weeks. Unfortunately for De Quincey, his addiction problems only grew stronger. In many accounts of opium use, there was an enjoyment factor which drew people in. For Thomas De Quincey, he enjoyed taking opium and meandering in the streets. De Quincey would wander to see all of the poor people about and listen to arts and music.⁷⁵

Thomas De Quincey discussed the attraction of opium and what made it a viable medicine and anecdote to his problems. Alcohol was another popular intoxicant at the time, however Thomas De Quincey felt that opium did more to stimulate his mind than that of alcohol. De Quincey felt that alcohol made a person struggle, whereas opium seemed to make a person shine. He stated that, “opium, on the contrary (if taken in a proper manner), introduces amongst them the most exquisite order, legislation, and harmony. Wine robs a man of his self- possession: opium greatly invigorates it.”⁷⁶ He felt as if opium expanded the mind and alcohol suppressed and repressed others.

De Quincey in the first half of his book discussed the pleasures, but the second half introduced the pains and the consequences of taking opium. In the second half of the book titled, “Introduction to the Pains of Opium,” he examined some of the negative connotations and experiences he had with opium. For De Quincey, the timelines of his opium pleasures go from about 1804 to 1812. After taking opium on and off for about eight years, in 1813 De Quincey's stomach pain erupted.⁷⁷ He began to take opium daily, quickly spiraling into the throes of a full-out addiction. One of the reasons that he gives for becoming addicted to the use of opium was his need to “hanker too much after a state of happiness, both for myself and others: I cannot face

⁷⁵ Thomas De Quincey, *Confessions of An English Opium- Eater*, 52-53.

⁷⁶ Thomas De Quincey, *Confessions of An English Opium- Eater*, 46.

⁷⁷ Thomas De Quincey, *Confessions of An English Opium- Eater*, 56-60.

misery, whether my own or not.”⁷⁸ Instead of standing up toward his misery, he aided it instead with the hedonistic indulgences of life, and focusing his time on his habitual opium use.

My Lady's Soul

Elizabeth Siddal was a model and poet of the Pre-Raphaelite era. The Pre-Raphaelite era was a time where the Pre-Raphaelite brotherhood existed in the art movement at the time. Many artists at the turn of the nineteenth century felt as if the art scene was stale and in need of an injection of creativity. The Pre-Raphaelites created emotional art which could have been considered to be “avant-garde.”⁷⁹ People such as Dante Gabriel Rossetti were the main faces of this artistic movement. The wife of the Pre-Raphaelite artist, Dante Gabriel Rossetti was Elizabeth Siddal. Elizabeth was the focus and model in many of the Pre-Raphaelite brotherhood paintings and even poems. She posed for John Everett Millais’s *Ophelia*. She became an icon of the art at the time, however much of her own life and work was unknown. She was addicted to drugs, the most prominent and known of which was opium. She took opium in the form of laudanum and even succumbed to an overdose of laudanum on February 11th, 1862.⁸⁰ Much of her life remains a question, but the use of opium and abuse of it was widely known. She was known to be often ill and to have many struggles in regard to her illnesses.⁸¹ Possibly her illness and drug use could go hand in hand. Unfortunately, much of her life and work has been lost to history, however the book *My Ladys Soul: The Poems of Elizabeth Eleanor Siddall* edited by Serena Trowbridge attempted to reconcile her past and her artwork in all of its forms.

⁷⁸ Thomas De Quincey, *Confessions of An English Opium- Eater*, 59

⁷⁹ Jan Marsh, *The Illustrated Letters and Diaries of the Pre-Raphaelites*, 7.

⁸⁰ Serena Trowbridge, *My Ladys Soul: The Poems of Elizabeth Eleanor Siddall*. (Brighton: Victorian Secrets Limited, 2018), 21.

⁸¹ Serena Trowbridge, *My Ladys Soul: The Poems of Elizabeth Eleanor Siddall*, 10.

Lizzie Siddal and Dante Gabriel Rossetti utilized drugs. Both of their lives had been cut short by drug use as well. Both were not as well known or remarked upon about opium such as Coleridge, De Quincey or Collins, however, Rossetti and Siddal were intrinsic in the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood and they still played an important and known role in society. Siddal, Rossetti, their art and literature were both affected by drug use. Rossetti and Siddal suffered the consequences of opium, which were only beginning to be realized at the time of Lizzie's premature death. For Siddal and Rossetti their works and opium experiences meshed, proving that even in the mid nineteenth century, "[t]he acceptability of non-medical opiate use comes out most clearly in the public response at the time."⁸² Non-medical uses and medical uses, particularly in the middle classes were still fairly accepted and tolerated.

Some of the paintings alluded to the possible drug and opium use. In the famous painting from John Everett Millais, *Ophelia*, which was finished in 1852, Lizzie Siddal was painted lying in a river. In this floating river she had flowers around her.⁸³ The flowers are poppies, and the poppy plant is where opium is derived from. Pictured below is the painting with the red flowers

⁸² Virginia Berridge and Griffith Edwards, *Opium and the People*, 53.

⁸³ Sir John Everett Millais, *Ophelia*, 1851-52, Tate (N01506, M01546) digital image © Tate released under Creative Commons CC-BY-NC-ND (3.0 Unported). <https://www.tate-images.com/preview.asp?item=N01506&itemw=4&itemf=0002&itemstep=1&itemx=2>



surrounding her body. There are a number of other flowers surrounding her floating body, however, the coincidence of the use of poppy flowers as the flowers around the painting's titular character could be an homage to her drug use.

Throughout her lifetime, Lizzie Siddal was stuck between moments of pleasure and pain. She was often ill and to combat her physical pains and maladies, she utilized laudanum. Rossetti had recently married Lizzie Siddal and now she was in the throes of “severe addiction to laudanum, an opiate drug. There were many moments when she was hardly expected to live.”⁸⁴ During this time of her life that was full of turmoil, Rossetti drew an image in 1860 titled, *How They Met Themselves*.⁸⁵ This was a dark image of Rossetti and Siddal meeting themselves, in a

⁸⁴ Jan Marsh, *The Illustrated Letters and Diaries of the Pre-Raphaelites*, 120.

⁸⁵ Jan Marsh, *The Illustrated Letters and Diaries of the Pre-Raphaelites*, 120.



© The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. UK

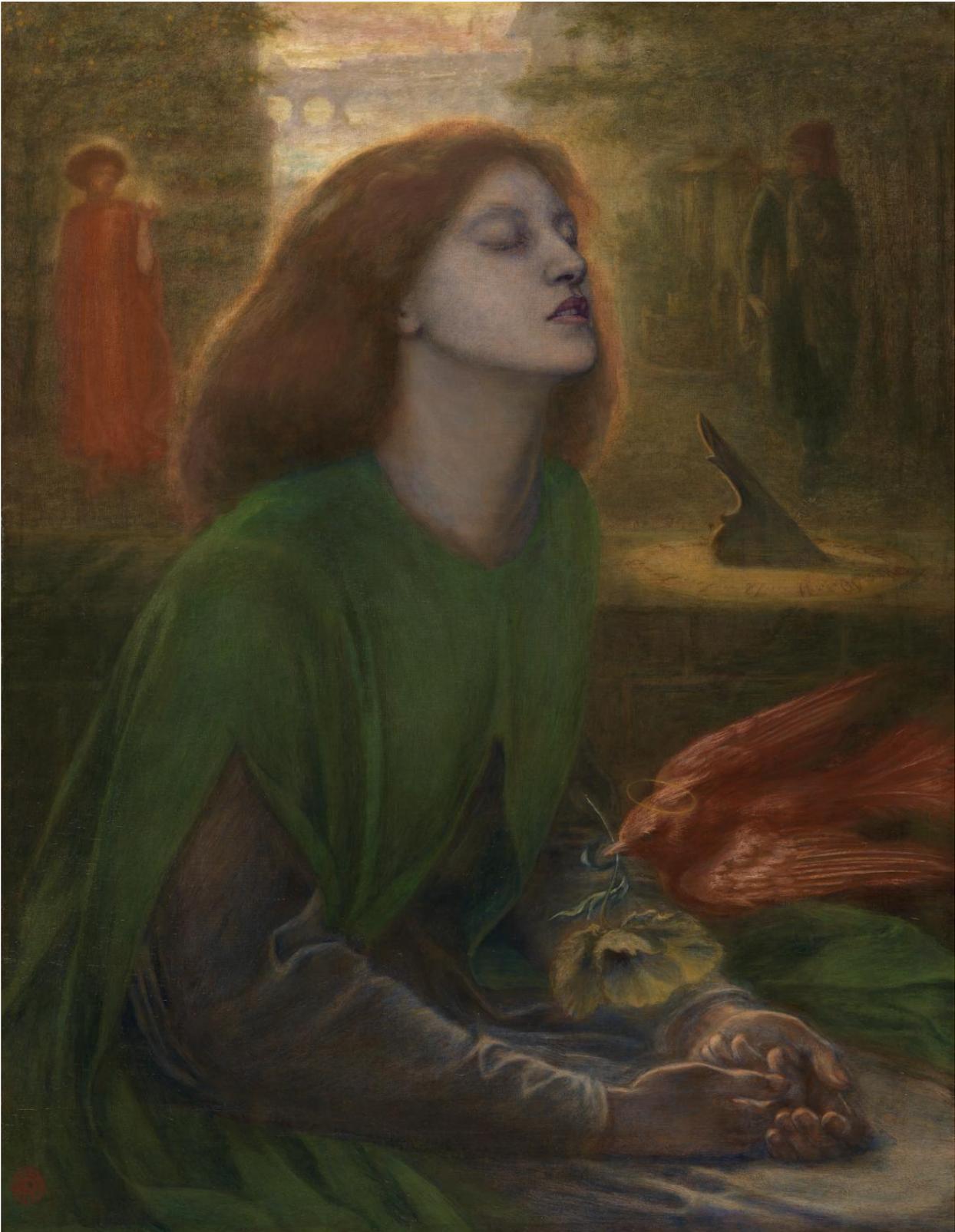
dark and obvious

homage to

death.⁸⁶ Death was a theme that would follow Lizzie throughout her whole life. Later, Lizzie

⁸⁶ Dante Gabriel Rossetti. *How They Met Themselves*, 1860-1864 (circa), Fitzwilliam Museum, Watercolor, © Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge, (CC BY-NC-SA 2.5). Accessed 14 May, 2020. <http://www.rossettiarchive.org/docs/s118.r-1.rap.html>.

Siddal became pregnant but had a stillborn baby. This only made her struggles with opiates worse for her.



Only a few short months after this event, Lizzie Siddal overdosed on laudanum, leaving her dead.⁸⁷ After Lizzie Siddal's death in 1864, Rossetti created a piece of artwork to memorialize his late wife. His painting above, *Beata Beatrix* symbolized his wife forever.⁸⁸ In this painting, Siddal was depicted as a gorgeous and ethereal being. In her lap is a prominent white poppy. The white poppy in this painting can connect to the red poppy in *Ophelia*. These poppy flowers in both of these paintings pay homage to the use and abuse of Lizzie Siddal. This painting is about her death and the poppy could symbolize her innocence in contrast with the abuse of opioids. Much of the art that was related to the Pre-Raphaelite time period included homages to other writings, works and meanings. Oftentimes these art pieces represented a myriad of topics in the world and with the case of Rossetti and Siddal, the art often imitated life.

In Trowbridge's *My Ladys Soul*, she expounded upon the many literary works that Lizzie Siddal created. Lizzie was not just the wife of Rossetti or a random profound drug user, Lizzie Siddal had importance and cultural significance. She created paintings, sketches and literary

⁸⁷ Jan Marsh, *The Illustrated Letters and Diaries of the Pre-Raphaelites*, 124-5.

⁸⁸ Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *Beata Beatrix*, 1864-1870, Tate (N01279), digital image © Tate released under Creative Commons CC-BY-NC-ND (3.0 Unported). <https://www.tate-images.com/preview.asp?item=N01279&itemw=4&itemf=0003&itemstep=1&itemx=1>

additions such as poetry. Through her poetry, one can help piece together Lizzie Siddal and her painful and chronic substance abuse issues with laudanum. Like many people in the first half of the nineteenth century, drug use played a huge role in controlling and owning her life.

Many of the poems of Lizzie Siddal that have been preserved have been edited by others such as Dante Gabriel Rossetti and William Michael Rossetti. Many of her poems were fragments or repetitive pieces pieced together. Many of her poems reference death and the Bible directly, which could be direct connections to her painful and dangerous life that was mainly due to her drug use. In her poem “O Grieve not with thy bitter tears,” Lizzie Siddal discussed how her young life was moved so fast away from her. She believed in this poem that death would be a peaceful act for her. She stated that, “and watch my young life flee/ Then solemn peace of holy death/ Come quickly unto thee.”⁸⁹ This poem stated overtly that her young life was passing by, just like her own life was and how she wishes for death. Lizzie Siddal could have been possibly utilizing her poetry to discuss the very real and painful situations of her own life. This poem does not overtly connect with drug use, however the use of drugs led to her premature death. In the poem “Ruthless hands have torn her,” Siddal discussed a line that states, “Ruthless hands have torn her/ from one that loved her well/ Angels have up born her/ Christ her grief to tell.”⁹⁰ In this poem she discussed the phrase “ruthless hands.” Serena Trowbridge discussed her interpretation of ruthless hands to mean the “untimely death for which someone is at fault (rather than death in childbirth or through illness). It is a phrase often associated with murderers and madmen in nineteenth-century sensation fiction.”⁹¹ Here, Trowbridge believed that the unfortunate death at hand was done from someone's intentional ways. Trowbridge interpreted this to correctly fit into

⁸⁹ Serena Trowbridge, *My Ladys Soul*, 66.

⁹⁰ Serena Trowbridge, *My Ladys Soul*, 84.

⁹¹ Serena Trowbridge, *My Lady's Soul*, 84.

a trope at that time of crazy murders and criminals. One could interpret her line “ruthless hands” to possibly be a similar definition to Trowbridge’s interpretation where the death was due to someone else's actions. However, the departure from Trowbridge comes because the “ruthless hands” could be referring to the ruthless hands of one's own self. One's own personal struggles in life and pain and inflictions could possibly be self-induced. This would mean that if the “ruthless hands” in the poem were the main characters' own hands, that the problems and pains of life were due to the actions of their own self. In the case of Lizzie Siddal, maybe these “ruthless hands” in the poem could be in reference to herself and her self-inflicted pains and struggles from constant drug use. Siddal could be calling herself to be the ruthless one of this specific poem.

The art and poetry of Lizzie Siddal and Dante Gabriel Rossetti highlighted the attitudes that were shifting at the middle of the nineteenth century. During the first half of the nineteenth century attitudes about opium were fairly benign, however with more literature created as the century went on, and accidental deaths from opium and addiction rose, many issues with opium appeared such as the addiction and premature death that Lizzie Siddall suffered. The art created by Rossetti and the darkness in the poetry from Lizzie Siddal highlighted the changing attitudes toward opium and the shifting attitudes towards fear and regulation.

The Moonstone

Wilkie Collins authored the novel, *The Moonstone*, in 1868. This book served as an important novel for the time, as it was one of the first mystery novels. This book captivated audiences and quickly became a landmark novel that others intentionally sought out. Not only was this book popular in general, but its long connection with opium use and the personal opium use of the author Wilkie Collins also permeated the society and culture at the time. Wilkie

Collins utilized opium use for pains and aches. Collins was familiar with the life of an opium user, something that he became to be and embody.

Wilkie Collins witnessed the opium use of his father when he was in pain. Wilkie Collins, like his father, utilized opium for pain relief. Unlike many of the lower-class persons who utilized opium, Wilkie Collins was proud of his opium use. This was a privilege afforded to him due to his popularity as a writer. Wilkie Collins “was, in fact, more than open about his habit: he was downright boastful.”⁹² Collins’s opium use persisted throughout his entire life. This afforded authors such as Wilkie Collins to have a privileged view of opium.

The Moonstone served as an important source of literature. It was a detective novel full of interesting twists and turns. This book centered around a yellow precious stone, which was taken from the home of the Verinders. This moonstone was quite valuable and its loss was intense. The rest of the novel followed the twists and turns of the people involved with the moonstone and the people involved in the disappearance of it. Franklin Blake, a man in the novel was the one who took the moonstone without even knowing it. This part of the plot pushes the story to direct connections with opium use. Since Franklin Blake did not remember stealing the moonstone, Blake takes opium to re-enact the night he supposedly stole the precious moonstone.

The Moonstone has overt moments and themes of opium use. One main character who utilized opium was Ezra Jennings. Ezra Jennings stated that, “[t]he one effectual palliative in my case, is -opium. To that all-potent and all-merciful drug, I am indebted for a respite of many years from my sentence of death. But even the virtues of opium have their limit.”⁹³ In this book, the character Ezra Jennings struggled with his own opium use. Possibly, Collins could have

⁹² Martin Booth, *Opium: A History*, 47.

⁹³ Wilkie Collins, *The Moonstone*. (New York: New American Library, 1984), 389.

utilized the characters on drugs in *The Moonstone* to represent similar feelings and activities that Wilkie Collins himself had been participating in. Ezra Jennings solved the whole mystery of the book by figuring out that it was “a dose of laudanum that caused a young Englishman to enter a trancelike state and steal the diamond only to forget the whole event when the drug wore off.”⁹⁴

The first half of the book rarely mentioned the use of opium. The first half mainly focused on the plot and the mystery and the missing moonstone. This was the part of the book where the racial aspect and “oriental” and Indian culture played a role. This part of the book played into the fear of the East or the “Orient,” which was mentioned in Milligan’s *Pleasures and Pains*. There was a long history of British Imperialism, and much of the fears of the East derived from the history of Imperialism. In *The Moonstone* there were many instances of this Eastern fear. First off, the moonstone itself was originally an Indian stone and was stolen. It was then passed to the Verinders as a gift where it was stolen again. This stone itself was connected with bad luck and misfortune. This could connect to the “Oriental” racism at the time. Milligan stated that, “[t]he thrall in which the Moonstone holds its English admirers suggests that, if the Indian diamond brings home an exciting exoticism, this act of importation also has a dark underside reminiscent of Coleridge’s anxieties about Oriental commodities and retributive invasion, an association more than reinforced by the dangerous Indian traces the diamond trails behind it.”⁹⁵ These fears of the exotic show the fears of the oriental culture. The moonstone itself represented Indian culture taking over British colonialist culture. India, and the Orient represented a threat to the British. When Ezra Jennings took opium, his use also connected to the fear of the Orient. Jennings and his use of opium, “reinforces his connection with India as it ties

⁹⁴ Barry Milligan, *Pleasures and Pains*, 13.

⁹⁵ Barry Milligan, *Pleasures and Pains*, 72.

him to a tradition of Oriental magic.”⁹⁶ The fact that under the influence of opium, characters steal and do not remember that they steal until they take a dose of opium again, can mean that opium was equivalent to “Oriental” and Indian culture, and at the time, be feared as dangerous and bad. This means that opium could be equated as bad, which could affect attitudes towards the idea of opium in nineteenth-century England.

During the second half of the book, opium played a much larger role. Franklin Blake stole the precious moonstone without any knowledge that he stole it due to a dose of laudanum. Ezra Jennings in the part of the book titled, “Extract From the Journal Ezra Jennings” stated that “[a]s for myself, after some little remission of my pains for the last two days, I had an attack this morning, of which I shall say nothing but that it has decided me to return to the opium. I shall close this book, and take my full dose-five hundred drops.”⁹⁷ As with Thomas De Quincey in the section about *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater*, Jennings took an incredibly large dose in an effort to ameliorate pain. Opium in *The Moonstone* tended to have different purposes than traditional opium use. During many times throughout the book, characters utilized opium to relieve pain and distress. This can be viewed as a way to utilize opium as a private medicine. Lady Verinder finds out that she was sick and like Ezra Jennings and other characters in *The Moonstone*, she utilized opium to quell her pains. Miss Clack stated in “Narrative Contributed by Miss Clack ” that “[t]he drops had produced their effect. My poor aunt’s complexion was like itself again.”⁹⁸ Here, Miss Clack noticed the physical difference in lady Verinder before and after taking “the drops” which one would assume to be laudanum. Later, Lady Verinder tells Miss Clack of her trips to the medical doctors for her heart problems. Lady Verinder confided in Miss

⁹⁶ Barry Milligan, *Pleasures and Pains*, 75.

⁹⁷ Wilkie Collins, *The Moonstone*, 419.

⁹⁸ Wilkie Collins, *The Moonstone*, 229.

Clack about her poor health and her struggles. Lady Verinder and Ezra Jennings appear to use opium or a version of opium to quell physical pain, a much more medicinal response to opium use.

The Moonstone was written in 1868, right around the time of the Pharmacy Act. The curious nature of this book presents a new view of the world of opium, a view of it as a medicine first. Unlike the previous views of *Kubla Khan* and the pleasure and pains of *Confessions of English Opium-Eater*, Wilkie Collins's *The Moonstone* serves as an entrance to a new era of the nineteenth century. *The Moonstone* examined the differences between a professional medicine for pain and the private use of medicine. Collins offered up important aspects of medicine and the differences between intentions and uses of opium and medicine. This book was a departure from the pleasurable and recreational opium use of the past and an entrance into the beginnings of restriction and medicine. The attitudes about opium have always been ever changing but over the course of the nineteenth century, the changes were drastic. Once a pleasure den of enjoyment, opium had once again shifted from a fun activity to a remedy to a painful malady.

Conclusion

Opium use had always played a large role in the historical canon. Before the Victorian era, opium played a role in the lives of people in England. After the nineteenth century, opium continued to play a large role in many different countries and in many different ways. At the onset of the nineteenth century, opium was a well-known self-medication and tool for people such as the romantic writers. Throughout the course of the nineteenth century and through subsections such as medicinal changes of opium, class distinctions with opium use and through the literary and artistic depictions of opium at the time, the attitudes surrounding opium shifted from benign to strictly medicinal. The nineteenth century and Victorian era saw many changes in the

way opium was used, produced and studied for medicinal purposes. With many of these advancements, and the changing knowledge surrounding popularized uses of opium, opium shifted from an everyday street corner drug to a strong medicine with legislation to support its medicinal usage.

Opium was a drug that transcended generations and nations. Even after the nineteenth century, Opium use remained a constant struggle for many people. In the twentieth and twenty-first century, opium continued to remain a fixture of society. The narcotics trade still exists today and creates large amounts of money⁹⁹. It is important to note that Opium did not just disappear after the nineteenth century. Opium continued to change in its views and uses, but opium itself remained a staple commodity of the world. Heroin, a derivative of the poppy plant, continues “the legacy of opium.”¹⁰⁰ Opium will continue to affect the world in many ways and through its many shapes and forms.

This thesis examined the class distinctions, medicinal changes, art and literature surrounding and informing attitudes about opium at the time. This thesis went into depth about the shifting attitudes from the early nineteenth century and the mid nineteenth century. After the 1868 Pharmacy Act, attitudes about opium continued to alter. 1868 brought on the first formal legislation in England, but that is not the end of the story with regard to opium use. By the end of the Victorian era, “[t]he ‘opium of the people’ had been taken over by the medical profession; the established division between medical and non-medical usage was recognition that the previous widespread diffusion of opium use in society was declining.”¹⁰¹ Not only was opium changing to be more medicinal, but opium as self-medication was also on the decline as well.

⁹⁹ Martin Booth, *Opium: A History*, 352-353.

¹⁰⁰ Martin Booth, *Opium: A History*, 353.

¹⁰¹ Virginia Berridge and Griffith Edwards, *Opium and the People*, 225.

With many popular fads, upper and middle-class opium use declined whereas working-class opium use lasted “until the early decades of the twentieth century” and “the mortality ascribed to the administration of such drugs was decreasing.”¹⁰² Whereas the beginning of the nineteenth century saw unfettered and easily obtainable opium, the end of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century was marked by professional use of opium, regulations for opium and a clear “ethic of professional control replaced the general social use of opium of the earlier decades.”¹⁰³ By the turn of the twentieth century, opium perceptions, attitudes and usages had changed immensely. This vast change took place only in a century, the nineteenth century. The nineteenth century saw vast advancements and changes in their perceptions and use of opium which had lasting effects on the world today. The nineteenth century changed and altered perceptions and attitudes of opium use through class distinctions, medicinal usages and changes in literature and art.

¹⁰² Virginia Berridge and Griffith Edwards, *Opium and the People*, 226.

¹⁰³ Virginia Berridge and Griffith Edwards, *Opium and the People*, 228.

Bibliography

Primary Sources:

Coleridge, Samuel Taylor. *Kubla Khan*.

Collins, Wilkie. *The Moonstone*. (New York: New American Library, 1984).

De Quincey, Thomas. *Confessions of An English Opium- Eater*. (England: Penguin Classics, 2003).

Old Bailey Proceedings Online (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 8.0, 25 March 2020), August 1879, trial of James Dilley and Mary Rainbow.

Old Bailey Proceedings Online (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 8.0, 25 March 2020), August 1879, trial of George Marriott.

Old Bailey Proceedings Online (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 8.0, 24 April 2020), January 1824, trial of John Aggus.

Old Bailey Proceedings Online (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 8.0, 24 April 2020), April 1840, trial of Catherine Michael.

Secondary Sources:

Abrams, M.H. *The Milk of Paradise: The Effect of Opium Visions on the Works of DeQuincey, Crabbe, Francis Thompson, and Coleridge*. (New York: Octagon Books, 1971).

Berridge, Virginia and Griffith Edwards. *Opium and the People: Opiate Use in nineteenth-Century England*. (London: Allen Lane, 1981).

Booth, Martin. *Opium: A History*. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996).

Cohen, Deborah. *Family Secrets: Shame and Privacy in Modern Britain*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

Cooke, Michael G. "De Quincey, Coleridge, and the Formal Uses of Intoxication". (Yale

University Press)

Davenport- Hines, Richard. *The pursuit of Oblivion: A Global History of Narcotics*. (New York:

W.W. Norton & Company, 2002).

Logan, John Frederick. "The Age of Intoxication." *Yale French Studies*, no. 50, (Yale University

Press, 1974), 2020.

Marsh, Jan. *The Illustrated Letters and Diaries of the Pre-Raphaelites*. (London: Batsford,

1996).

Merriam Webster Dictionary, s.v. "Xanadu," Accessed April 30th, 2020.

Milligan, Barry. *Pleasures and Pains: Opium and the Orient in 19th- Century British Culture*.

(Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1995).

Nadel, Ira Bruce, "Science and 'The Moonstone'" in *Dickens Studies Annual*. Vol 11. (Penn

State University Press, 1983).

Schneider, Elisabeth. *Coleridge, Opium and Kubla Khan*. (New York: Octagon Books, 1966).

Smith, Bonnie G. "Decentered Identities: The Case of the Romantics." *History and Theory* Vol

50, no. 2, (Wiley, 2011).

Trowbridge, Serena. *My Ladys Soul: The Poems of Elizabeth Eleanor Siddall*. (Brighton:

Victorian Secrets Limited, 2018).

Youngquist, Paul. "Rehabilitating Coleridge: Poetry, Philosophy, Excess". (Johns Hopkins

University Press, 1999).

List of Illustrations:

A Lesson to John Chinaman, Scanned image and text by Philip V. Allingham, Punch 1857, The

Victorian Web, Wood Engraving.

<http://www.victorianweb.org/periodicals/punch/35.html>

Leech, John. *Fatal Facility; or, poisons for the asking*. 1817-1864. Wellcome Library no.

15630i. An unscrupulous chemist selling a child arsenic and laudanum. Wood engraving after J. Leech, Wellcome collection, Attribution 4.0 International (CC BY 4.0).

<https://wellcomecollection.org/works/hcw9dhst>

Millais, Sir John Everett, *Ophelia*, 1851-52, Tate (N01506, M01546) *digital image* © Tate released under Creative Commons CC-BY-NC-ND (3.0 Unported).

<https://www.tate-images.com/preview.asp?item=N01506&itemw=4&itemf=0002&itemstep=1&itemx=2>

Rossetti, Dante Gabriel, *Beata Beatrix*, 1864-1870, Tate (N01279), *digital image* © Tate released under Creative Commons CC-BY-NC-ND (3.0 Unported).

<https://www.tate-images.com/preview.asp?item=N01279&itemw=4&itemf=0003&itemstep=1&itemx=1>

Rossetti, Dante Gabriel. *How They Met Themselves*, 1860-1864 (circa), Fitzwilliam Museum, Watercolor, © Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge, (CC BY-NC-SA 2.5). Accessed 14 May, 2020. <http://www.rossettiarchive.org/docs/s118.r-1.rap.html>