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John Strachan

The ‘Chaldee Manuscript’, William Hone, and Late Georgian Religious Parody

There came also from a far country, the scorpion which delighteth to sting the faces of men, that he might sting sorely the countenance of the man which is crafty, and of the two beasts.

Also the great wild boar from the forest of Lebanon, and he roused up his spirit; and I saw him whetting his dreadful tusks for the battle.

(‘Translation from an Ancient Chaldee Manuscript’,
Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine (October 1817))

Abstract

This article analyses *Blackwood’s* notorious ‘Translation from an Ancient Chaldee Manuscript’ (1817), contextualising the satire in the light of religious parody, ancient and modern – but in particular the latter – and arguing that there were specific reasons why a post-Napoleonic magazine might have used this particular form at this particular moment. It examines the publication, publicity and purposes of the ‘Chaldee’, a key part of William Blackwood’s reboot of his failing magazine in October 1817, and the contemporary religious parody of the radical pressman William Hone, which led, three times, to his prosecution and acquittal, and which directly informed that most famous part of Blackwood’s *succès de scandale*.

Keywords: *Blackwood’s*; literary magazines; William Hone, radical politics; parody and satire; Toryism.

The deliberately provocative October 1817 relaunch of the Scottish publisher William Blackwood's failing magazine, in which the *Edinburgh Monthly Magazine* became *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* - sharp-taloned phoenix from the flames - achieved its power, at least in part, by the conscious imitation of the techniques used by radical and Whig pressmen. *Blackwood's* borrowed from their local Whig rivals the *Edinburgh Review*, from the likes of the radical journalists John and Leigh Hunt of the *Examiner*¹ and, most importantly to the present purpose, from the editor-satirist William Hone, notably in his capacity as the political satirist who had been charged with criminal libel earlier in 1817 for parodies which pressed religious discourse into the service of attacks on the Tory establishment. There were particular reasons why *Blackwood's* should use the ancient genre of religious parody in the post-Napoleonic period. This essay addresses the issues raised by the Tory satirists of *Maga* co-opting religious parody such as Hone's, an aspect of the magazine's origins which has not been fully discussed before, and the paradoxical fact that what Robert Morrison has called *Blackwood's* 'language of extremity'² was, at least in part, borrowed from political enemies such as Hone.

I

Edgar Allan Poe's 'Silence: A Fable',³ first published in 1838 in the *Baltimore Book* - in the same year in which the author wrote his famous essay on 'How to Write a Blackwood's Article' - describes a strange and visionary world where falling rain turns to blood, poison flowers writhe as if in agony, and a glaring demon gestures to a

rock marked, highly unpromisingly, 'DESOLATION'. The story ends on the following portentous note:

And as the Demon made an end of his story, he fell back within the cavity of the tomb and laughed. And I could not laugh with the Demon, and he cursed me because I could not laugh. And the lynx which dwelleth forever in the tomb, came out therefrom, and lay down at the feet of the Demon, and looked at him steadily in the face.⁴

Poe's principal model here, or at least a major one, is of fairly recent vintage, another *faux* scriptural narrative which also features a visionary bestiary (and one which also includes a lynx among its number), the 'Chaldee Manuscript' of *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, first published just over twenty years previously, in October 1817. 'Poe certainly knew it',⁵ write Stuart and Susan Levine of the 'Chaldee' in their edition of *The Short Fiction of Edgar Allan Poe* (1976). Indeed, they explicitly link 'Silence: A Fable' with *Blackwood's* 'Manuscript': 'Poe's use of "And" and "Then" to begin so many of his sentences is part of his attempt to create a scriptural tone. Whimsy and a scriptural tone are not incompatible, however. A notable scriptural parody, "The Chaldee Manuscript", made fun of Edinburgh magazinists and used a similar tone'.⁶ In his knowledge of the 'Chaldee', it should be acknowledged, that great *Blackwood's* devotee Edgar Allan Poe was not alone. This mock-scriptural satire, which was satirically sharp-elbowed and far from whimsical at the time, and the issue of *Blackwood's* in which it featured, reached a wide audience: 'The most brilliant men of its age, caught by the boldness and daring of the "Chaldee Manuscript", rushed to its [*Blackwood's*] support',⁷ wrote one American literary journalist in the 1850s, albeit with a measure of breathless exaggeration.

This essay examines the ‘boldness and daring’ of the ‘Chaldee’ manuscript; the fact that Poe’s story echoes *Blackwood’s* most famous parody is testimony to the renown in which the journal’s satirical work was held in its day, and for decades afterward. The ‘Chaldee’, a piece of parodic metafiction which masquerades as an MS translated from an ancient original found in a Parisian library, the ‘Chaldee’ tells the story of William Blackwood founding his original magazine (the *Edinburgh Monthly Magazine*) and recruiting two ‘beasts’ to his cause (the hapless founding editors James Pringle and Thomas Cleghorn, who are portrayed in no favourable light). The beasts promptly desert Blackwood, who sets out to combat the Whig establishment of Edinburgh, principally the literary empire of the ‘crafty man’ (Archibald Constable, the publisher of *Blackwood’s* rival, the *Edinburgh Review*), with the assistance of a new menagerie including the leopard, the wild boar, and the scorpion, the latter ‘which delighteth to sting the faces of men’ (that is, hiring a new team of contributors, which included, respectively, John Wilson, James Hogg, and J. G. Lockhart).

In using his *Blackwood’s* ersatz visionary-scriptural manner, Edgar Allan Poe was drawing on a tradition which was both ancient and modern. Religious parody - imitations of scripture, but also mass, prayer book, or litany - was nothing new in the first half of the nineteenth century. For almost as long as there has been scripture there has been scriptural parody, and it was certainly no novelty in the later Middle Ages.⁸ Martin Luther himself was one of the manifold Biblical parodists of the Renaissance (most notably in his spoof of Psalm 1 (1546), ‘Blessed is the man that hath not walked in the way of the Sacramentarians ... nor followed the Council of the Zurichers’), and ‘the Roman Catholics’, as Michael F. Suarez has written, ‘replied in kind’.⁹ Satire which utilised religious discourse was also not uncommon during the English civil war period, ‘produc[ing] satire invoking the Bible from Parliamentarians

and Royalist alike',¹⁰ and throughout the eighteenth century there were occasional outbreaks, notably in times of political strife (as per 'The Second Book of James. Containing the Lamentation of Richeth' ('Translated from the original Arabick of Belshazzar Kapha, the Jew' (1744)) which appeared in the midst of the turmoil which led to the second Jacobite rebellion).¹¹

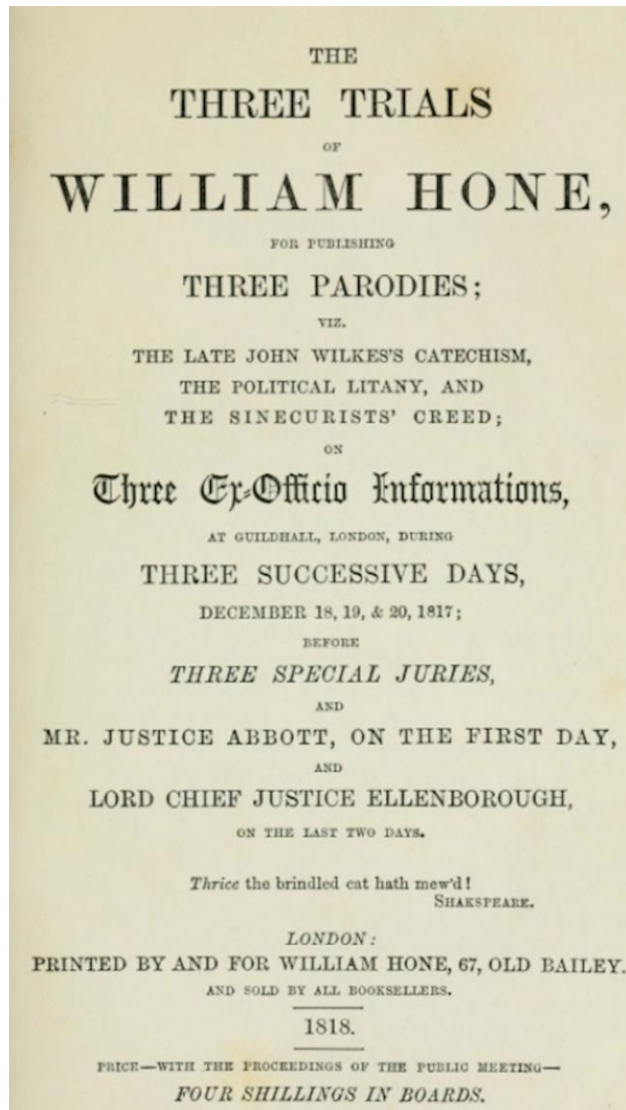


Fig. 1. Frontispiece to *The Three Trials of William Hone* (1818).

Using religious language to make ideological points in times of socio-political febrility was a tradition of long standing, but in 1817 it was also contemporary and particularly controversial, a tradition made new. I want to argue that *Blackwood's* had a particular literary-political model in mind. Rather than being merely a tradition

manifest only in elderly polemic and half-forgotten bromide, this was a much more localised, post-Napoleonic, *modern* manifestation of religious parody. *Blackwood's* 'Chaldee' should be viewed in the light of the marketing techniques and ideological stratagems of the Regency magazine market which William Blackwood deployed to make his mark, and, in particular, the related, highly contentious business of contemporary Biblical parody which he employed as part of his publicity effort. The October 1817 number achieved its controversial power, at least in part, by the conscious imitation of the techniques used by the radical polemicist and parodist William Hone. Three times in 1817, Hone had adapted religious language to attack the government, the Prince Regent and the political establishment, in 'The Late John Wilkes's Catechism of a Ministerial Member', 'The Political Litany', and the 'Sinecurist's Creed'. Hone's scandalous work was instantly infamous; his biographer Ben Wilson writes that 'Within a month publishers in Bristol, Newcastle, Manchester, Southampton and Birmingham had pirated the satires and issued them under their own names. Their ubiquity was such that the MP Colonel Thomas Ward found one in his children's nursery; his verdict was that they were "very good; but very shocking"'.¹² As a consequence Hone was, as he knew he would be, charged with criminal libel for his alleged blasphemy. Three times, indeed, he was tried, and three times he was acquitted.

This controversy, these parodies, and the prosecutions which they provoked were continuing as the *Blackwood's* wits wrote their 'Chaldee', which, it should be acknowledged, is a most Honeian piece of work. Hone certainly knew that *Blackwood's* was stealing his clothes and that his political rivals were paying him the compliment of de facto – albeit highly creative – plagiarism. In December 1817, in his third trial, for publishing the Wilkes catechism, Hone declared that, though 'Mr

Blackwood's politics were totally different from his [own]', that that 'most singular parody [the 'Chaldee'] was written with a great deal of ability'.¹³ It was certain, Hone declared, 'that the authors must have heard of this prosecution'.¹⁴ Hone knew that here were Tory wits arrayed in his clothes, and he was not shy of saying so as part of his own self-justifications. What Hone said about his Scots imitators is true, but what does it imply? To answer that question we must return to the origins of *Blackwood's*.

II

The story is well known to all lovers of *Blackwood's*. William Blackwood launched his *Edinburgh Monthly Magazine* in April 1817. The periodical was intended as a Tory competitor to the two successful Edinburgh journals published by Blackwood's city rival Archibald Constable, the *Scots Magazine* and, most notably, the famous *Edinburgh Review*, one of the most significant of all of the periodicals to be founded in the early nineteenth century. Matters did not go well under the regime of the original editors, Pringle and Cleghorn, and the first six numbers of the *Monthly Magazine*, were, it was generally agreed, rather dull fare. Pringle and Cleghorn decamped to Constable and the *Scots Magazine* (a crossing-the-House treachery which explains the antipathy with which they are handled in the 'Chaldee'), and Blackwood found new principal contributors in the remarkable troika of John Wilson, John Gibson Lockhart, and James Hogg. The publisher launched the now renamed *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* upon an unsuspecting city in October 1817.

The paragraph above sketches a similar story to that set out in allegorical fashion in the 'Chaldee', which instantly became the most notorious part of the October 1817 number, before legal action from one of its victims, J. G. Dalrymple (see below), led to it being omitted in subsequent volume reprints. The tale is narrated in the form of a

dream vision by an unknown narrator, who utilises the voice of Old Testament scripture in its more visionary sections and, in particular, the book of the Apocalypse. In Chapter one the man whose name was 'as it had been the colour of ebony', William Blackwood - the man in 'plain apparel' - employs 'two beasts' (Pringle and Cleghorn) to edit his magazine. These creatures leave to join the service of a 'man who was crafty in counsel', a reference to the supposedly devious Constable. At a loss, Blackwood receives conflicting advice from a number of sources, including an 'aged man' (Henry McKenzie) and a 'great magician' (Walter Scott). He is left 'sore perplexed'. In Chapter two Blackwood is visited by a veiled man who points him the direction of the 'beautiful leopard' (Wilson) and the aptly-denominated 'scorpion' (Lockhart). His forces increased greatly by these reinforcements, Blackwood vows vengeance on Constable and the two hideous beasts.

Chapter 3 is much taken with the doings of Constable, who, among other things, decides that the assistance of a hirsute and ape-like beast (J. G. Dalzell) would be more trouble than it was worth. In chapter 4, he and his forces set off to do battle with Blackwood. Here the visionary is 'sore afraid' and flees the fray, but not before predicting victory for Blackwood and his cohorts over Constable and his crew; the crafty man 'shall be defeated and there shall not escape one to tell of his overthrow'.¹⁵ The facts behind the composition of the 'Chaldee' are somewhat cloudy. According to Wilson's son-in-law J. F. Ferrier, the idea was Hogg's. Ferrier states that 'the first thirty-seven verses of Chapter I are to be ascribed to the Ettrick Shepherd: the rest of the composition falls to be divided between Professor Wilson and Mr Lockhart, in proportions which cannot now be determined'.¹⁶ Lockhart himself writes in 1818 that 'The history of it is this: Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd, sent up an attack on Constable the bookseller, respecting some private dealings of his with Blackwood.

Wilson and I liked the idea of introducing the whole panorama of the town in that sort of dialect. We drank punch one night from eight till eight in the morning, Blackwood being by with anecdotes, and the result is before you'.¹⁷

This drink-fuelled work, as we have seen, gives allegorical substance both to the local context and the wider political rationale behind William Blackwood's magazine. It was the most provocative part of a deliberately combative relaunch; as Henry Curwen writes in *A History of Booksellers: The Old and the New* (1874) 'Blackwood's *Edinburgh Magazine*, No. 7, created a sensation which has never, perhaps, been equalled'.¹⁸ First and foremost, the 'Chaldee' sounded a Tory clarion against the dominant forces of Edinburgh Whiggism; in the 'Chaldee', description of the internecine battles between rival publishers is widened into general satire on the politics and personalities of the city's society in general, 'the whole panorama of the town' as Lockhart puts it, and, by extension, satire on Whiggism and radicalism in general. And Edinburgh society, most particularly its Whig element, was scandalized. Though it did not lead to formal criminal charges, as had been the fate of Hone in the same year, the treatment of scripture was not well received and the *ad hominem* satire also prompted much opprobrium. The lawyer and naturalist Dalyell, recognizing himself as the beast whose 'face was like unto the face of an ape' (40), promptly drew up a libel suit (the first of several in the first years of *Blackwood's* existence), which the Blackwood company settled out of court. This, of course, provided invaluable publicity and gave Blackwood his *succès de scandale*. Personalities, the threat of litigation, the aura of blasphemy; *Blackwood's* extraordinary early career had begun.

III

In his third trial, the one in which he declared that *Blackwood's* had consciously imitated him in the 'Chaldee', of 18 December 1817, Hone was tried for the publication of one of the political parodies he had produced that year, 'The Late John Wilkes' Catechism of a Ministerial Member' (February 1817) ('An instruction to be learned of every Person before he be brought to be confirmed a Placeman or Pensioner by the Minister'). Like the 'Chaldee' after it, Hone's brand of religious parody certainly pulls no punches:

Question: What is your Name?

Answer: Lick Spittle.

Q: Who gave you this Name?

A: My Sureties to the Ministry, in my Political Change, wherein I was made a Member of the Majority, the Child of Corruption, and a Locust to devour the good things of this Kingdom.

Q: What did your Sureties then for you?

A: They did promise and vow three things in my Name. First, that I should renounce the Reformists and all their Works, the pomps and vanity of Popular Favour, and all the sinful lusts of Independence. Secondly, that I should believe all the Articles of the Court Faith. And thirdly, that I should keep the Minister's sole Will and Commandments, and walk in the same, all the days of my life.¹⁹

Hone's parodies range widely but consistently in their attacks, targeting Tories of all description, from the grasping sycophantic placeman (exemplified in Hone's mind by the turncoat laureate Robert Southey) to the Prince Regent and the Prime Minister, Lord Liverpool.

Hone's borrowing of a religious idiom is another example of the frequently ingenious use of widely-known demotics by radical parodists in the post-Napoleonic period.²⁰ It landed him liable to politically motivated charges of blasphemy. Though the author later, in his relatively politically quietist older age, clearly espoused dissenting Christianity, at this point there was something of what Coleridge called 'the harsh scoffing, of an Infidel'²¹ about his work. But even Coleridge, as a high Church high Tory who declared when reflecting on Hone's prosecutions that 'I loathe parodies of all kind and parodies on religion still more', had rejoiced in the author's freedom-of-the-press heroics. 'I exult in Hone's acquittal and Lord Ellenborough's deserved humiliation',²² Coleridge wrote to James Perry editor of the *Morning Chronicle*. There was something in Hone's Davidian little-man-sticking-up-to-the-bully posturing that appealed to Coleridge, to Hone's juries, and to the wits of *Blackwood's* magazine.

So why did Hone, and 'Maga' after him, parody religious language? First, and perhaps most importantly, in a Christian age such discourse has the virtue of commonality. The radical Hone was utilising familiar forms which most people knew - the litany, the prayer book, and the scriptures – even if they were unlettered or poorly educated. But that does not mean his actions were uncontentious; echoing the holy in the profane world of *ad hominem* satire was controversial, as Hone found out, and as the *Blackwood's* contributors already knew when they pressed the form to the service of cutting a satirical dash in Scotland to equal what William Hone had achieved in England. Other radical publishers and pressmen had imitated Hone's religious parody in 1817 in their own mock-catechism, liturgies and creeds;²³ but *Blackwood's*, as a high Tory and Scots journal, was doing something new in its own form of religious parody.

Using tones and phrases taken from or reminiscent of scripture and religious devotion gives weight to your satire. It utilises forms of culture which decisively shape the culture in which it is reproduced. And as Hone was able to demonstrate in his defence perorations, using religion as a satirical vehicle involves spiritual language providing the formal model of the parody rather than its target. So it is perfectly possible, as Hone did, to defend one's use of this form of mock-heroic – perhaps the ultimate in mock-heroic – by arguing that its barbs are not aimed at religion itself. Just as Shakespearean parodies, say of the 'To be or not to be' speech in *Hamlet*, rarely – almost never – attack Shakespearean drama itself, rather exploiting the tonal clash between elevated cultural register and mundane or venal subject matter, so parody can use religious forms to attack iniquity, in the ancient Juvenalian manner used by Scriptural parodists for centuries.

This, at least, is how Hone defended himself in his extraordinary *tour-de-force* self-justifications in his three trials, an account of which he published after his acquittals. It is not too anachronistic to say that the charge of blasphemy was sometimes used then as in our modern world to silence political opponents, and Hone directly argued that his were politically-motivated prosecutions and that what he was doing was actually part of a long and dignified tradition. He ranged through the history of Christianity and the related history of spiritual parody in his defence. Christ himself taught by methods of allegorical representation in the parables, and Hone musters a range of unquestionable character witnesses, so to speak, for his parodic practice, such as the sixteenth-century divine Bishop Hugh Latimer, the Harleian Miscellanists Robert and Edward Harley, seventeenth-century first and second earls of Oxford, and the early eighteenth-century Lord Chancellor Lord Somers (1651-1716). Hone quotes scriptural and liturgical parodies by both Whig and Tory to prove his case, such as the

then-famous *Criticisms on the Rolliad* (1784-5; the former) and the credal parody 'British Freeholder's Political Catechism' (1774; the latter). Hone argues that his 'Wilkes' catechism 'was published for a political squib, and if they [the jury] found it a political squib, they would deliver a verdict of acquittal. If they found it an impious and blasphemous libel, they would consign him to that punishment from which he would ask no mercy'.²⁴ This is both eloquent and persuasive; but it also has something of the having your cake and eating it about it. What the parodists cited by Hone knew, and what William Hone himself knew – and what Blackwood's contributors knew after him – was that religious language has secular *power*, and that oppositionalists employed a mighty weapon in using it.

Hone used what is familiar and made it new. So did the authors of the 'Chaldee'. They took on the Whig Edinburgh establishment, and in the 'Chaldee' they did so by purloining Hone's methods. But this was, it should be acknowledged, par for the course. The October 1817 issue has much of brilliant plagiarism or inspired borrowing about it, in lifting the acerbically polemical critical manner of the *Edinburgh* on the subject of both the Lake Poets and the Edinburgh phrenologists²⁵ and the *Quarterly Review* on the 'Cockney School'. And hence in part also *Blackwood's* 'extremity', which stems from a need to outdo one's rivals, rivals whom one is not so quietly aping (it was 'Maga' which had something of 'the face of an ape' about it). You use entertaining critical character assassination to entice readers? So do we. You use satire? We'll use it better.

Satire was a key part of the reconceptualization of *Blackwood's*, beginning with the October 1817 number and continuing into the great days of Wilson, Lockhart, and the *Noctes Ambrosianae*. In No. 7, it is most notable in the 'Chaldee;' but it is also evident in the entertaining if morally dubious attack (given the two men's previous

friendship) on Coleridge by Wilson, the ‘Observations on Coleridge’s *Biographia Literaria*’. ‘Instead of his mind reflecting the beauty and glory of nature’, writes Wilson, the egomaniacal Coleridge ‘seems to consider the mighty universe itself as nothing better than a mirror, in which, with a grinning and idiot self-complacency, he may contemplate the Physiognomy of Samuel Taylor Coleridge’.²⁶ Wilson’s method is to begin in sharp, ad hominem dismissal of Coleridge’s supposed arrogance and self-delusion, offering a caricature of demented artistic self-delusion which ends in bleakly comic bathos:

He at all times connects his own name in Poetry with Shakspeare, and Spenser, and Milton; in politics with Burke, and Fox, and Pitt; in metaphysics with Locke, and Hartley ... feeling himself not only to be the worthy compeer of those illustrious Spirits, but to unite, in his own mighty intellect, all the glorious powers and faculties by which they were separately distinguished, as if his soul were endowed with all human power.²⁷

This should be understood as satire, and it should also be seen as, in part, a borrowing from the very rivals lambasted in the ‘Chaldee’. An essay like Francis Jeffrey’s *reductio ad absurdum* attack on Wordsworth’s *Poems in Two Volumes* (1807) was an example of the ‘stinger’, an entertainingly bilious hatchet job. By the post-Napoleonic period, this was becoming par for the magazinist course (William Hazlitt himself had declared in the *Edinburgh Review* that ‘Many of my essays ... are, in fact, prose satires’),²⁸ with the relative politeness of the *Gentleman’s Magazine* no longer ubiquitous. Jeffrey and the *Edinburgh* used this technique, like the *Quarterly* after it, and *Blackwood’s* was not shy in coming forward, as per its handling of the *Biographia*, a review so savage the poet considered a libel suit before wisely deciding

against it. Not for nothing does the ‘Chaldee’ hymn *Blackwood’s*, as exemplified in J. G. Lockhart, as a stinging scorpion..

As we have seen, as well as borrowing from the Whig establishment, *Blackwood’s* also learnt from the radical press. The Hone blasphemy controversy, which was still spinning out as the ‘Chaldee’ went to press, led to *Blackwood’s* own scriptural imitation, but this was only part of a number of occasions in which the right aped the left in post-Napoleonic magazine culture. The turbulent radical press here inspires the turbulent Tory press, and the ‘Chaldee’ marks the high point of Blackwoodian parodic extremity. By the end of 1817, in a letter to *The Times* which troubled some of his admirers,²⁹ William Hone himself was counselling against scriptural parody (‘I ...feel it my duty most earnestly to exhort all my fellow-citizens to abstain from parodying any part of the Holy Writ’),³⁰ and vowing never to write ‘any work of the same tendency again’.³¹ But in Edinburgh, in October, the horse had bolted. The magazine, inspired by the Chaldee controversies, began its period of brilliant parody, by Wilson, Lockhart and, latterly, by the great Irish parodist William Maginn.

Blackwood’s parodied that which has weight, that which has little and that which has none in its early career, but in the ‘Chaldee’ it engaged with the most resonant of all contemporary discourses, and it did so to great effect. The ‘Chaldee’, as well as a parodic allegorical account of Blackwood and the turbulent history of his magazine, is also a veiled credal statement of its own. In it *Blackwood’s* takes on the ‘principalities and powers’ of Edinburgh as if it were some Old Testament prophet waving, in the words of the ‘Chaldee’, a ‘devouring sword’ (28), attacking the Scots Whig establishment as William Hone had mocked and satirised the London administration of Lord Liverpool and his Tory placemen. Scotland is not England, in all kinds of ways, and certainly not in political terms. In 2017 Scotland is not

England, and in 1817 Scotland was not England. The ‘Chaldee’ should be understood as a Scottish document, and an oppositionalist one at that. Toryism might have been establishment in London, but, at least in Maga’s own account, it was not so in Edinburgh. The magazine presented itself, like Hone, as a plucky outsider taking on the establishment armed only with the religiously-inflected discourse of the righteous.

The mantle of scripture furnished a satirical garment for *Blackwood’s* own particular struggle against the forces of (Whig) darkness. ‘We shall put words into the Book which astonish ... thy people’ (27); there is actually a literality lurking amongst the magazine’s scriptural parody. ‘Woe unto all them that take part with the man who is crafty in counsel’ warns the ‘Chaldee’. The wits of No. 17 Princes Street mean what they say in the ‘Chaldee’: ‘draw up thine hosts for battle in the place of Princes, over against thine adversary’ (34). In co-opting scripture, in co-opting William Hone’s satirical method, *Blackwood’s* sounded a metaphorical voice-of-the-lord call to arms. The ‘Chaldee’ initiates *Blackwood’s* righteous crusade to smite iniquity wherever it came upon it, as manifested in its early campaigns against Whigs, radicals, and cockneys. The ebony man, as the ‘Chaldee’ puts it, ‘lifted up his voice, and shouted with a great shout’ (37). The ‘Chaldee’, in adapting the scandalous parodic method of William Hone, in lampooning its local enemies and rivals, and in espousing the cause of a satirical high Toryism, saw *Blackwood’s* setting the course for the first, remarkable decades of its existence.

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¹ I have previously examined *Blackwood's* debt to radical journalism and radical publishing, including that of the brothers Hunt, in “‘The Mapp’d out Skulls of Scotia’”: *Blackwood's* and the Scottish Phrenological Controversy’, in David Finkelstein, ed., *Print Culture and the Blackwood Tradition, 1805–1930* (Toronto, 2006), 49–69.

² Robert Morrison, ‘*Blackwood's* Berserker: John Wilson and the Language of Extremity’, *Romanticism on the Net*, 20 (November 2000).

[<https://www.erudit.org/revue/ron/2000/v/n20/005951ar.html>]

³ The story first appeared under the title ‘Siope – A Fable’, but was renamed ‘Silence – A Fable’ on its 1845 republication in the 6 September number of the *Broadway Journal*.

⁴ *The Short Fiction of Edgar Allan Poe*, ed. Stuart and Susan Levine (Urbana-Champaign, 1976), 128.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 149.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ ‘Professor John Wilson’, *Southern Literary Messenger*, 28 (June 1859), 405.

⁸ See for instance, the *Carmina Burana* (11th-13th century), most famous as the source for Carl Orff’s 1936 cantata, which includes the ‘Gospel according to the Mark of Silver’, a scriptural parody satirising Pope Leo X.

⁹ Michael F. Suarez, ‘Mock-Biblical Satire from Medieval to Modern’, in *A Companion to Satire: Ancient to Modern*, ed. Ruben Quintero (Oxford, 2007), 527.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Coleman O. Parsons looks at some eighteenth-century Scottish examples of Biblical parody, mainly pertaining to Jacobitism, in a note on ‘The Parodic

Background of “The Chaldee Manuscript”, *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 24, (1989), 221-5.

¹² Ben Wilson, *The Laughter of Triumph: William Hone and the Fight for the Free Press* (London, 2005), 183

¹³ William Hone, *The Three Trials of William Hone, for Publishing Three Parodies* (London, 1818), 18.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ I cite the ‘Chaldee’ from its most accessible recent publication, in Thomas C. Richardson’s edition of James Hogg’s *Contributions to Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine, 1817-1828* (Edinburgh, 2008), 44.

¹⁶ Quoted in Henry Curwen, *A History of Booksellers: The Old and the New* (1874), (Cambridge, 2010), 210.

¹⁷ Quoted in Richardson, ed., *Contributions to Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, xviii.

¹⁸ Curwen, *A History of Booksellers*, 205.

¹⁹ Hone, *Three Trials*, 37.

²⁰ For a discussion of this aspect of Hone’s work and post-Napoleonic radical satire in general, see Marcus Wood’s *Radical Satire and Print Culture* (Oxford, 1994).

²¹ Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Collected Letters, 1785-1800*, ed. Earl Leslie Griggs, (Oxford, 1966), 202.

²² Quoted in Wood, *Radical Satire*, 120.

²³ Wilson, *Laughter of Triumph*, 183.

²⁴ Hone, *Three Trials*, 16.

²⁵ See Strachan, “Mapp’d out Skulls”, 50-55.

²⁶ *Blackwood’s*, 2 (October 1817), 5.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ *The Complete Works of William Hazlitt*, ed. P. P. Howe (21 vols, London, 1930-4), ix, 30.

²⁹ Kyle Grimes writes that ‘Some felt that, in making this claim about scriptural parody and in distancing himself from his own publications, Hone was in effect granting the legitimacy of the Attorney General’s courtroom arguments and thus undermining the significance of his acquittals’.

[<http://honearchive.org/biographical/letters/1817-12-23-toTheTimes.html>]

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.