Editing Lectures as Performance or Publication: Thackeray's *The Four Georges*

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The protagonists in this story are: the author, whose hand and mouth delivered the work as lectures to a variety of specific target audiences from 1855–57; the amanuenses, compositors and publishers of various published forms of the work; and the audiences who read it in 1860 and after. The work was written, rewritten, orally presented, published and republished; and now the question is, how should one edit the work—or is it works? The interplay between author and intended or anticipated audiences is the central focus of this question, but any present-day editor may also have one eye cocked on his own potential audiences—a fact that undoubtedly clouds or perhaps clarifies the assessment of the surviving documentary evidence. This paper could be said to be about the role of bias in editing. In the end, even if one concludes that the differences in occasion, audience and form of delivery do not involve huge discrepancies, the attempt to see the "event-ness" of each surviving material form helps us to rethink the implications of materiality in textual criticism.[1]

By his own claim, William Makepeace Thackeray was a novelist of the middle and upper-middle classes: genteel and, sometimes, shabby genteel folk. In *Vanity Fair* the narrator eschews as subject matter both high life and low life, saying to his imagined readers, after offering sample passages in various styles:

> Thus you see, ladies, how this story *might* have been written, if the author had but a mind—for to tell the truth he is just as familiar with Newgate [prison] as with the palaces of our revered aristocracy and has seen the outside of both. But as I don't understand the language or manners of the Rookery, nor that polyglot conversation which according to the fashionable novelists is spoken by the leaders of *ton*—we must if you please preserve our middle course modestly amidst those scenes and personages with which we are most familiar.[2]

Later, claiming not to know about military action, Thackeray's narrator declares

[1] Without listing its many participants, I am referring to a debate epitomised on the one side by G. Thomas Tanselle's *The Rationale of Textual Criticism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), in which all material texts are seen as flawed representations of the work, and on the other side by Jerome J. McGann's *The Textual Condition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), in which the materiality of the text is the *sine qua non* of the work. My view is that, rightly understood, there is no incompatibility in the underlying insights fuelling this debate—both are conditions of textuality. The controversy is over-emphasised, and the debate gets muddied by rhetorical flourishes that exaggerate the consequences of partial insights.

[2] "Vanity Fair. Pen and Pencil Sketches of English Society", no. 2 [chaps. V–VII] (London: Bradbury and Evans, 1847), 46.

in the famous Waterloo chapter of *Vanity Fair* that his "place is with the non-combatants."

And so, when we turn to his lectures on "*The Four Georges*—the Hanoverian kings of Great Britain[,] France & Ireland[;] Defender[s] of the Faith"—it is no surprise to find at the beginning a similar demarcation of the writer's own territory. I quote from a manuscript at the Morgan Library:

> Of a society so vast, busy, brilliant, it is impossible ~~it is impossible~~ in 4 brief chapters to give a complete notion; but we may peep here and there into that bygone world of the George's, see what they & their Courts were like; ~~and~~ glance at the people round about them; look at past manners fashions pleasures, and contrast them with our own. I have to say thus much by way of preface, because the subject of these lectures ~~was~~ |has been| misunderstood upon my first coming into this country; & I have been taken to task for not having given grave historical treatises ~~such as~~ |wh.| it never was my intention to attempt. Such work is for very different pens.[*] Not about battles, about politics, about statesmen & measures of state, did I ever think ~~of asking you to hear me discourse;~~ |to lecture you;| but to sketch the manners and life of the old world; to amuse for a few hours with talk about the old society: and, with the result of many a day's and night's pleasant reading, to try and while [†] away a few winter-evenings for my hearers.[3]

And yet, it might be with some surprise that we find almost immediately passages like this about the German prince who became George the First:

> It is incalculable how much that royal Bigwig cost Germany—Every Prince imitated the French King, and had his Versailles; his Wilhelmshöhe or Ludwigslust:—his Court and its splendours; his gardens laid out with statues; his fountains and water works & Tritons; his actors & dancers & singers & fiddlers; his Harem with its inhabitants; his diamonds & Duchies for these latter; his enormous festivities his gaming-tables, tournaments masquerades and banquets lasting a week long—for which the people paid, with their money when the poor wretches had it, with their bodies & very blood when they had none; being sold in thousands by their Lords & masters, who gaily dealt in soldiers[,] staked a regiment upon the red at the gambling-table; swapped a battalion against a danceing-Girls[sic] diamond necklace; and as it were pocketted their people.[4]

[3] Pierpont Morgan Library MS, MA 486, fols. X1–X2; Thackeray's hand. Interlineations are contained within vertical lines. This manuscript is clearly not the one Thackeray used when he began his lectures in New York in November 1855, when he almost certainly did not say these words. It might be the one given to the publisher in London for publication in 1860, though there is no evidence of that on the manuscript and the reference to "this country" is clearly America, which makes that likelihood small. [*] The sentence "Such work is for very different pens." was omitted from *The Cornhill Magazine* and all other printed versions. [†] For MS "while" *Cornhill* prints "wile." Both changes and the absence of a compositor's designation on the MS suggest that the Morgan MS text was copied onto a now-lost MS that was used as setting copy.

[4] Huntington Library, MS 15363, fols. 5–6 in the hand of Charles Pearman, Thackeray's assistant and amanuensis.

It can be argued that such a passage does not actually qualify as an expression of concern for or interest in the poor, the wretched, and the downtrodden, but that it rather serves as an expression of indignation about the wealthy, privileged wastrels and insensitive boors at the head of state. Such an argument is bolstered by the fact that, of the four Georges, Thackeray saves his kindest assessment for George the Third, an employer of Hessian soldiers for his battles against the revolutionary American colonies. The basis for Thackeray's kind words appears to be that, of the four Hanoverian kings of Britain, only the third had a sincere regard for religion and maintained a faithful union with his wife—considerations that only partly mitigate his earlier observations about George the Third's stupidity, dullness, and incompetence, and another earlier judgement that unfortunately the third George did not have the sense of the first two to leave the English people to rule themselves but actually tried to interfere in government. The qualities of sincerity and faithfulness did not, however, save George the Third from a full measure of Thackerayean criticism, in which the whole lot of Hanoverians is portrayed as consisting of despicable people, whose only contribution to the English Isles (though in Thackeray's eyes it was an important one) was to save the English from Catholic rule.

Thackeray, as one can expect from reading any of his novels, is interested in whether he can find a gentleman worthy of the name or an intellect worthy of conversational exchange. Not surprisingly, he finds not a single one in the Hanoverian courts, though from the reign of each stupid or profligate king he presents a list of writers, soldiers, and clergymen in poverty whose integrity and intelligence outshone that of the court luminaries of their time. He concludes with a contrast between George the Fourth (referred to most often by his nickname, Florizel, and described elaborately as an empty suit) and George Washington, from whose resignation speech as Commander in Chief of the American armies at the end of the Revolutionary War he quotes. And then he asks, perhaps with Victorian zeal:

> Wh. is the noble character for after ages to admire?—yon fribble dancing in lace and spangles, or yonder hero who sheathes his sword after a life of spotless honor, a purity unreproached, a courage indomitable & a consummate victory? Wh of these is the true gentleman? What is it to be a gentleman? Is it to have lofty aims, to lead a pure life, to keep your honor virgin; to have the esteem of your fellow-citizens, and the love of your fireside; to bear good fortune meekly, to suffer evil with constancy, and through evil or good to maintain Truth always? Show me the ~~fortunate~~ |happy| man whose life exhibits these qualities, and him we will salute as gentleman, whatever his rank may be: show me the Prince who possesses them, and he may be sure of our love and loyalty.[5]

Regardless of whether you, personally, would prefer the princely qualities and company of George the Fourth, known as the First Gentleman of Europe, over those of the American Commander in Chief with wooden teeth, one does need to

[5] Harvard University Library, fMS Eng 951.3, fol. 58, in Thackeray's hand.

ask: to whom was Thackeray speaking? Did the rhetoric here arise from the heart regardless of audience, or was he conscious of speaking these words in New York, Philadelphia, Richmond, Charleston, Savannah, New Orleans, and Cincinnati—cities in the successfully rebellious country? That his revisions were at least occasionally careful can be deduced in small part from the correction of "fortunate" to "happy" in the phrase "Show me the ~~fortunate~~ |happy| man whose life exhibits these qualities," for the argument is that the qualities enumerated presage the desired condition, which is hence not a matter of fortune. Undoubtedly, these rhetorical strategies were appealing to Americans, implicitly congratulating them on their independence, but did such talk appeal equally to English ears, no longer subject to immoral Hanoverian rulers and enjoying the reign of Victoria? And are these words, quoted as they are here from the Harvard manuscript, which was *not* used as setting copy for the book, intended for ears or eyes? If these questions don't matter, why was Thackeray revising as he crossed the Atlantic, preparing for a different audience and then for publication?

Yet, how am I to know or judge such a thing? As an editor, I am also an American and have my prejudices just as many English editors and readers have their prejudices, and just as Thackeray was English and had his. And his English audiences and his American audiences were who they were, with their own values and misconceptions and principles of life. Or perhaps my present reader is neither English nor American and doesn't care one way or the other.

It is with that sense of differences—national, geographical, political, cultural, and temporal—that I began to ask questions about the manuscripts of Thackeray's lectures on the four Georges, the Hanoverian kings of England. For Thackeray in the first instance wrote the lectures for delivery in America, with passages clearly addressed to his American hearers. As indicated in the first quotation above, furthermore, he revised the lectures during his American sojourn. But then he took the lectures back across the Atlantic, made some adjustments for British hearers, and flogged them all over England and Scotland, earning on both sides of the Atlantic, his biographer estimates, about £5000 in lecture fees.[6] And then, five years after he had first delivered the lectures in America, he published them, first in England and then in America, making a tidy though lesser amount from these forms. There are two full manuscripts and a substantial fragment of a third, to say nothing of a scattering of draft leaves and three substantial notebooks containing quotations and notes from source books and trial passages, some of which survived into the final forms of the lectures.[7]

[6] Gordon N. Ray, *Thackeray: The Age of Wisdom* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1958), 267.

[7] Located at Harvard University Library, the Berg Collection of the New York Public Library, the Pierpont Morgan Library, the Huntington Library, and Yale University Library. See Robert Colby and John Sutherland, "Thackeray's Manuscripts: A Preliminary Census of Library Locations," *Costerus* 2 (1974): 334–37; Thomas V. Lange, "Appendix: The Robert H. Taylor Collection," *Costerus* 2 (1974): 358–59; and Edgar F. Harden, *Thackeray's* English Humourists *and* Four Georges (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1985), 207–9.

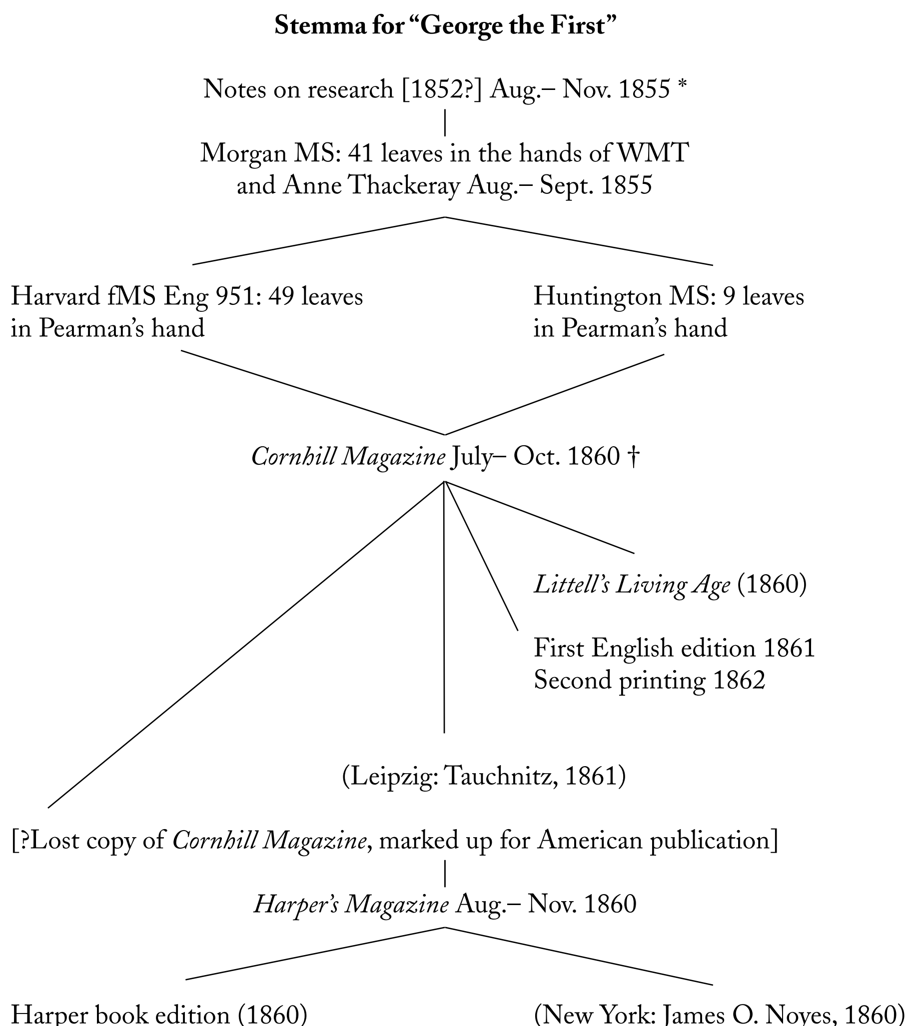
In the debate between the position claiming that each extant document misrepresents the work in some way and thus requires the ministrations of an editor and the position claiming that each document is already the most faithful representation of the work at any given time or place and thus requires only the dedicated work of an archivist, a variety of possibilities can be mapped. Regardless of one's position in that debate, there is one inevitable task to be accomplished before other decisions and choices can be contemplated. That task is to create an archive of surviving manuscripts, proofs, magazines, and book editions, each document faithfully described, transcribed and labelled—a record of the material texts. Some editors would stop there, leaving to the reader the task of deciding what each document represents. But that could be seen as abdicating the role of editor and preferring that of archivist. The editorial task is to create from the mass of surviving materials a text or range of texts representing the editor's best attempt to construct a faithful text of the work that transcends in some principled way those forms that have survived in the flawed documents. An editor could choose to reconstruct the lectures as first delivered in New York, or as fully developed and revised and delivered toward the end of Thackeray's American tour, or as revised for delivery in the United Kingdom. Or the editor could choose to create a text representing Thackeray's intentions, as best they can be determined, for the published work, providing one version for the American publication and another for the English. Or the editor could attempt to construct a text that best represents Thackeray's writing on the four Georges as he might like to be known in the world at large, without regard to era or nationality. Some of these goals require only the exercise of informed judgement and detection of clear inferences found in the documents, others require more speculative involvement, but all proceed from the sense that the extant documents do not, in unedited form, tell the whole story.

It is worth noting that bringing order to the complex relationships among extant documents is required of all editors, regardless of the position taken on the relationship between "the work" and the "the documents." And it is worth suggesting that the "archivist" position almost always "leaves to the reader" decisions that editors might otherwise take. That is, the archivist position almost always admits that something that needs to be done was not done: let the readers do it. The beauty of this view, it is claimed, is that readers would, in the process, learn a great deal about the fluidity and range of textual richness. The downside is that readers don't do the work and don't see the richness. The beauty of the alternative view, so it goes, is that textual richness is ferreted out and presented as on a platter for readers to feast upon. The downside is that the feast is prepared by someone else and incorporates the editor's, not the reader's, point of view.

In order not to get too deeply entangled in the complexities of scattered, multiplied and mixed-up manuscripts, I have set out the key events in the following stemma and chronology. In the stemma I focus attention on the manuscripts of the first lecture, where for convenience and simplicity some nuances are left out.

The chronology records the writing, delivery, and publication of the lectures as a whole.[8]

Stemma for "George the First"



* Preliminary notes for "George the First" are in the Berg Collection, the Pierpont Morgan Library, the Humanities Research Center (University of Texas), Harvard University Library, the Fales Collection (New York University), the Huntington Library, and Yale University Library. See Harden, op. cit.

† From the *Cornhill Magazine* on, the stemma applies to all four lectures.

[8] I am indebted to Professor Edgar Harden, whose work on *The Four Georges* for his book on Thackeray as lecturer (see note 7) and on an (as yet unpublished) edition of *The Four Georges* has allowed my effort to understand the complexities of the archival and editorial problems.

Chronology

1852– Aug. 1855: Thinking, some note-taking

Aug. 1855: Serious note-taking, begins writing

22 Sept. 1855: Offers the idea of publishing to George Smith

Early Oct. 1855: With 3 lectures done, sails for America with Pearman

1 Nov. 1855: Delivers "George I"

5 Nov. 1855: Delivers "George II"

8 Nov. 1855: Delivers "George III"

12 Nov. 1855: Finishes and delivers "George IV"; Pearman copies out the Lectures, including "George IV", as Thackeray finishes writing

Nov. 1855 – Apr. 1856: Travels around New York and then south to Savannah, west to New Orleans, north to Cincinnati

May 1856: Sails for London

July 1856: Delivers Lectures in London

Nov. 1856 – Feb. 1857: Lectures in Scotland and England

1857–1859: Writes *The Virginians*

1860: Begins publication of *The Four Georges*—see stemma.

A focus on "George the First" will help to establish the most probable order in which the manuscripts came into being, regardless of where they happen to be right now. The point is to show the difficulty of finding the right form of the lectures in the extant documents, particularly when one imagines that there are four distinct forms of the lectures to be found.

Oldest MS = fols. 1–6 of Harvard + fols. 8–41 of Morgan. This was the manuscript Thackeray started in London in August 1855 and carried with him to America, where he said he finished "George the Fourth" on 12 November, the day he delivered it. Some pages are in Anne Thackeray's and George Hodder's hands, the text of which seems at times to have been taken down from dictation. But I focus for now only on "George I," which was finished in London and is all in Thackeray's hand. At some point, probably September or October, Thackeray arranged for Pearman to begin copying the lectures in legible form. We can imagine Pearman racing to finish copying "George IV" as Thackeray dressed to go and deliver it in New York City, for Pearman was described by Thackeray as taking the sheets from him as he finished them and preparing a legible reading copy.

Scribal (reading) copy MS = fols. 1–7 of Morgan + fols. 8–49 of Harvard, except that fols. 41–42 and 46–47 are at Huntington. This copy was made by Pearman, probably in October, and finished, at least as far as "George the First" is concerned, by 1 November, when Thackeray first delivered it.

New beginning = fols. X1–X2 of Morgan. This new beginning was added some time after the first delivery of the lectures but during the time Thackeray was travelling in America. He writes: "I have to say thus much by way of preface, because the subject of these lectures ~~was~~ |has been| misunderstood upon my first coming into this country" (fol. X2).

Newest MS = fols. 1–9 of Huntington, copied and revised from Morgan fols. 1–7, but not including fols. X1–X2. These were probably used as setting copy for the *Cornhill Magazine,* along with either the Pearman transcription or another, now lost, manuscript.

All these manuscripts would have been together in one place, probably in Thackeray's London home, after he returned from America, when he was taking at least one manuscript around England and Scotland delivering lectures to British audiences. It seems simple to imagine that the first six pages of the earliest version and the corresponding first seven pages of the next version could easily have been exchanged, perhaps at the same time as they were copied into the first nine pages of the manuscript now in the Huntington Library. How the two new pages represented by X1–X2 were attached to what is now the Morgan MS, instead of to the Huntington MS, will have to be imagined too. But we know that five years passed between the writing and delivery of the lectures in 1855 and their publication in 1860. Anything could have happened.

All the manuscripts not in Thackeray's hand are heavily corrected by him. In places, he revises to accommodate the differences between addressing an English audience and speaking to an American one. It remains a bit of a mystery why Thackeray would make this kind of revision on manuscripts other than the one in Pearman's hand, which was used for lecturing in America, which may also have been used for lecturing in the United Kingdom, and which in all probability was later used as setting copy for the *Cornhill Magazine*. Some of the passages altered for lecturing to English audiences were altered again for all audiences at publication. Advance sheets of the *Cornhill* were sent to Harper and Brothers in New York for publication in *Harper's Magazine*. Some differences appearing in the Harper version may have been made on those sheets from the *Cornhill* to make the work more appropriate for American readers. Those sheets no longer exist.

Adding to the complexity of the editorial problem is the fact that Thackeray's manuscript punctuation, while somewhat erratic, was primarily rhetorical—as befits an oral text—and this fact is most apparent in the Morgan MS in Thackeray's own hand. The punctuation was altered a little by Pearman for the Harvard MS.

But it was altered more radically by the compositors of the *Cornhill Magazine*, who imposed a rather thorough grammatical alternative to Thackeray's rhetorical system. The *Harper's Magazine* compositors, working from the *Cornhill*, introduced an American flavour to the punctuation as well as the spelling.

With these preliminary bits of information before us, three questions arise: What can the manuscripts tell us about Thackeray's perception of his British as opposed to his American audience? What can the manuscripts and published books tell us about Thackeray's and his publishers' perceptions about the difference between those who listen to lectures and those who read them? And thirdly, does asking these questions raise in readers an awareness of the "event-ness" of the various forms of the work and thus affect the reading of the lectures?

Since the answers to these questions depend on critical engagement with the evidence, the answers will not be the same for every scholar. And yet, whatever the answers, there is a more basic problem. As the general editor of a scholarly print edition of Thackeray's works, I am forced to make a decision. The print edition will produce only one full reading version of the lectures. Which version of *The Four Georges* is to be the reading text? The lectures as delivered orally in America, or as altered and delivered again orally in Great Britain? The lectures as printed in England, or as printed again in America?

This way of putting the questions emphasises, I am aware, an editorial procedure that sees extant documents as witnesses to forms of the work that can only be inferred from the documents and are not necessarily identical with the documents. Much that is problematic in editing falls away when the question becomes not which version of the work will be the reading text but rather which extant document will be represented as the reading text. The print editor, restricted to publishing just one reading text, must pursue questions about versions represented by documents, not texts as found in documents. The archival alternative—to simply reproduce the surviving documents—is available only for an electronic project, not a print one, and, even there, an editor committed to the notion that each document is flawed as a representative of the work as it was meant to be at any point in history could not only edit a critical version of each document, but might also choose to produce a critical edition to add to the archive.

What version of the work is represented by Pearman's copy, used by Thackeray as he delivered the lectures? Is that version of the work the same version that is represented by that same manuscript when we see it (probably) as the lectures delivered in England and Scotland? And is it the same when we see it as the setting copy for the *Cornhill Magazine*? Is it proper to see the *Cornhill Magazine* as an adequate representation of both the oral lectures and the printed lectures? If so, I suppose, we must claim that the punctuation of the printed lectures, though no longer Thackeray's, should suffice to indicate the cadences of Thackeray's oratory. Does anyone actually believe that? And what version of the work is represented by the American reprint from the *Cornhill*, with its further adjustments in spelling and punctuation?

One answer that can apply to each of these questions is that, no matter how one defines the work, each extant document is flawed—each is, therefore, a misrepresentation of the work. This point of view evaporates if one is satisfied with the tautological statement that "each document fully and faithfully represents the text that it contains." One cannot deny that statement, but who can be satisfied with it? Does the text thus contained fully and faithfully represent the textual event it purports to record—the lecture delivered? the revisions for the audiences targeted? To pursue the question about a document's representation of a version helps us understand the commonsense notion that documents contain errors and ambiguities and probably therefore also misrepresentations—misrepresentations of what Thackeray actually said when delivering the lectures, or even, perhaps, misrepresentations of what he thought he had written. It is without doubt that, when Thackeray delivered his lectures, what came out of his mouth was not identical to what was written on the page before him. He altered on the fly because the documents were flawed and because lecturers tend to adapt what they planned to say to the circumstance transpiring at the time of delivery. The printers, too, perceived that they could not print precisely what was inscribed in the manuscripts, and in their turn adjusted according to their lights. And readers of the printed texts have always seen flaws, mostly typos but also factual errors, leading them to annotate their copies.

It is, I believe, beyond dispute that the various extant material forms of Thackeray's lecture on George the First contain the intentional input of a variety of actors in the production of texts and are mixed in their origins, authority, competence, consistency, and effects. They are not simple documents. It follows that treating documents as if they were simple is of no assistance in understanding them. Editing the work from these documents is also not simple. Editors, according to one school of thought, are to bend their efforts to make the reading text a more accurate representation of the work. According to another school of thought, editors should make available for study the extant evidence, which is generally unavailable because unique items are scattered. But, either way, we are left with a multitude of possibilities: English or American; authorial, scribal or compositorial; oral or written; manuscript or print.

Why should it matter how the editor of *The Four Georges* looks at the text? Any text will do for most people, and for those that it doesn't, perhaps a few notes will suffice. And let us add one more general observation: most people might think a new edition should provide a text that most people would want to read—not one that fully represents the complexities of the extant documentary materials.

Let us see where that logic takes us. The Thackeray edition, of which I am general editor, is published in America, and, although few copies will ever be printed, most of them will be sold in America. Assuming that any Americans will want to read it, what text will most Americans want to read? One that was prepared for American readers, no doubt. So, should the copy-text be the first American edition in *Harper's Magazine*, a text derived from the English *Cornhill Magazine*, or should

it be Thackeray's own manuscript, composed in the first instance with American readers in mind? But possibly most actual readers of the new edition will be in England—an English audience. Should one edit only after taking a poll of potential readers? Furthermore, the primary audience for a scholarly edition is not the general public but scholars. Assuming that the English will want to read or use a scholarly edition of *The Four Georges*, what text would they want to read and what additional information would they want about the text? Will they think of *The Four Georges* as lectures delivered in America, lectures delivered in England and Scotland, or as lectures printed for the world?

The situation stands thus: Thackeray's lectures, originally spelled and punctuated by him, were repunctuated by Pearman (though reviewed by Thackeray) and repunctuated again by *Cornhill Magazine* compositors (again probably reviewed by Thackeray) and repunctuated again by American compositors (without authorial review). From one point of view this constitutes a process of contamination of the textual elements that indicate cadence, speed, and the use of silence in speech; from another point of view it constitutes the socialising process of collaborative improvement and adaptation to new purposes.

An editor must take the time to review the full range of variant forms so that the questions about different audiences, about different actors in the production of texts, and about different punctuation can be analysed. When the edition is completed, that evidence, though complicated, will be presented in some orderly fashion. For now it is the problem, not the solution, that I want to present. The goal of any edition will determine what general choices will be made among the legitimate alternatives surveyed here, but even then there will remain the specific choices that depend on an editor's assessment of the agent, authority, and motive for each variant in the processes of composition, revision, and production. Some of these difficulties will be made more palpable in the appendix.

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Appendix of Examples

A representative sampling will suffice to demonstrate that sorting out the motives for changes and distinguishing the deliberate from the inadvertent are not easy. The highlighting is meant to help orient the eye to problematic points.

First Example

Rosenbach Notebook, Rosenbach Museum and Library (98 leaves plus 6 versos)

.p1 [in WMT's hand]
Our dear old Spectator looks smiling upon these sign posts & describes them with his charming humour. Our streets are filled with blue boars, black swans, & red Lions, not to

mention flying pigs & hogs in armour, with many other creatures more extraordinary than any in the deserts of Africa. Besides the monsters were creatures of jarring & incongruous natures, joined together in the same sign such as the bell & neat's tongue, the lamb & Dolphin, the dog & Grid-iron the three knives & the hare. A few of these quaint old ~~emb~~ figures still remain in London town. You may still see there and over its old hostel in
.p2 [in WMT's hand]
|Signs. Spectator 28. London Streets. [end WMT]|
Ludgate Hill the Belle savage to whom the Spectator pleasantly alludes in that paper, the Belle savage who came over to us from this country probably & was no other than that sweet Pocahontas who rescued fm. death that daring Captain Smith There is the Lions head, down whose jaws the Spectators own letters were passed; over a gt. Bankers in Fleet St. there is the effigy of the Wallet wh. the first founder of the firm bore into London when he came up from the Country

Harvard fMS Eng 951.19 (portion of a leaf of "George I") (WMT)

~~Besides the monsters were creatures of jarring & incongruous nature joined together in the same sign, the Dog & Neat's tongue, the Lamb and Dolphin, & the Three Knives & the Hare.'~~ A few of these quaint old figures still remain in London town. You may still see there, and over its old hostel in Ludgate Hill, the Belle Sauvage to whom the Spectator so pleasantly alludes in that paper; and who, probably, was no other than the sweet Pocahontas who rescued from death the daring Captain Smith. There is the Lion's head, down whose jaws the Spectator's own letters were passed: over a great banker's in Fleet Street there is the effigy of the wallet wh. the founder of the firm bore into London when he came up a country boy|.|

Morgan MS, p. 37

A few of these quaint old figures still remain in London town. You may still see there, and over it's old hostel in Ludgate Hill, the Belle Sauvage to whom the Spectator so pleasantly alludes in that paper; and who was probably no other than the sweet Pocahontas, who rescued from death the daring Captain Smith. There is the Lions Head, down whose jaws the Spectators own letters were passed: and over a great banker's in Fleet Street the effigy of the wallet wh. the founder of the firm bore ~~into London~~ when he came into London a country boy.

Harvard fMS Eng 951 (in Pearman's hand)

Our dear old Spectator looks smiling upon these streets with their innumerable signs, & describes them with his
.p ~~45~~ 42 [fol.]
charming humour. Our streets are filled with Blue Boars Black Swans & red lions not to mention flying pigs & hogs in armour with other creatures more extraordinary than any in the desarts of Africa'_A few of these quaint old figures still remain in London town. You may still see there, & over its old hostel in Ludgate Hill, the Belle Sauvage to whom the Spectator so pleasantly alludes in that paper; & who was probably no other than the sweet ~~Pocabonat~~ |[begin WMT:] American Pocahontas [end WMT]| who rescued from death the daring Captain Smith. There is the Lions Head, down whose jaws the Spectators own letters

were passed: & over a great bankers in Fleet Street the effigy of the wallet which the founder of the firm bore when he came into London a country boy. [end Pearman]

Second Example

Rosenbach Notebook, pp. 8–9

We can have other amusements if we like and my before quoted friend Charles Louis Baron de Polnitz will conduct us to those. I warrant me that old rogue knew every haunt of pleasure
[.p9]
|[begin WMT:] Life in London [end WMT]| in every city in the world, & that he would not have been shocked by some of the company fm whom Sir Rogers noble eyes turned away ~~sadly. Turned away~~ with such a sweet simple rebuke. A man of sense a scholar ~~or~~ |a| debauchee or a fine gentleman is never at a loss for suitable company in this delectable city of London, & this is the way in wh. the latter passes his time He rises late (III 295) puts on a frock wh. is a close bodied coat without pockets or plaits & with straight sleeves, & leaving his sword at home, takes his cane & goes where he pleases.

Morgan MS (this part in WMT's hand)

You can have foreign testimony about old world London if you like
[.p ~~6 30~~ 39]
~~We can have other amusements if we |you| like~~, and my before quoted friend George Louis Baron de Pollnitz will conduct us to ~~these~~ |it.|_~~I warrant that old rogue knew every haunt of pleasure in every city of Europe, and that he would not have been shocked by some of the company from whom Sir Roger's noble eyes turned away with such a sweet simple rebuke.~~ 'A man of sense, ~~a debauchee,~~ |says he,| or a fine gentleman is never at a loss for company in London~~' says Pollnitz~~ and this is the way the latter passes his time. He rises late, puts on a frock_~~wh. is a close-bodied coat without pockets or plaits and with strait sleeves--~~ &, leaving his sword at home takes his cane and goes where he pleases.

Harvard fMS Eng 951

You can have ~~other~~ |foreign testimony about| old-world London [rest of leaf blank except for a vertical line running to the bottom]
.p46 [fol.]
[The upper portion ("You can have … the latter passes") is the fragment missing from the bottom of Huntington MS, fol. 47. It has been mounted together with the ensuing leaf (fol. ~~48~~)] [end compositor Sharp; begin Dawson:] [begin Pearman's hand:] You can have foreign testimony about old world London if you like and my before quoted friend George Louis Baron de Pollnitz will conduct us to it. 'A man of sense says he or a fine gentleman is never at a loss for company in London & this is the way the latter passes his time. He rises late, puts on a frock & leaving his sword at home takes his cane & goes where he pleases.

Revised References to Americans

Morgan MS, fol. X2 (WMT's hand)

I have to say thus much by way of preface, because the subject of these lectures ~~was~~ |has been| misunderstood upon my first coming into this country; & I have been taken to task for not having given grave historical treatises ~~such as~~ |wh.| it never was my intention to attempt. Such work is for very different pens.

[The spoken version for England is not clearly represented by any manuscript, but perhaps was changed to what finally appeared in *Cornhill*.]

Cornhill Magazine, 2 (July 1860): 1

I have to say thus much by way of preface, because the subject of these lectures has been misunderstood, and I have been taken to task for not having given grave historical treatises, which it never was my intention to attempt.

* * * *

Harvard, fMS Eng 951.1, fol. 3

[Thackeray concludes a cancelled description of the opera and the money paid to singers:]

… ~~Unheard of! What will sober American republicans say to such extravagance?~~

* * * *

Morgan MS, p. 20

Here in America your unfortunate education has deprived you of the benefit of understanding that great difference wh. existed, & even still exists in many parts of the European continent between the Adel or noblesse, and the common people.

[This passage does not show up in Pearman's copy or in any printed book.]

* * * *

one unnumbered leaf (writing on both sides) of "George I" (WMT) (*Morgan MS*, pp. 87–88)

[verso] ~~But~~ |Only| 4 men were executed for the rebellion of '15 in London, and 22 in Lancashire, where above a thousand taken in arms submitted to the King's mercy and petitioned to be transported to the Colonies in America. I wonder wh. side their descendants took in |certain| subsequent differences 60 years after?

Morgan MS, p. 33

Only 4 men were executed in London for the rebellion of 1715_and 22 in Lancashire. Above a thousand taken in arms submitted to the Kings mercy, and petitioned to be transported to His Majesty's colonies in America. I wonder wh. side their descendants took in certain subsequent differences 60 years after?

Harvard fMS Eng 915 (Pearman hand)

Only 4 men were executed in London for the rebellion of 1715_& 22 in Lancashire. Above a 1000 taken in arms submitted to the King's mercy, & petitioned to be transported to His Majesty's colonies in America. ~~I wonder which side their descendants took in certain subsequent differences 60 years after?~~ |[begin WMT:] I have heard that their descendents took the loyalist side in the disputes wh. arose 60 years after. [end WMT]|

Cornhill Magazine, 2 (July 1860): 16

Only four men were executed in London for the rebellion of 1715; and twenty-two in Lancashire. Above a thousand taken in arms, submitted to the king's mercy, and petitioned to be transported to his majesty's colonies in America. I have heard that their descendants took the loyalist side in the disputes which arose sixty years after.

* * * *

Rosenbach Notebook, fol. 32

I knew a Scotch judge, a famous bon-vivant who was forced to drink water for two months, and being asked what was the effect of the regimen, owned that he saw the world really as it was for the first time for twenty years. For a quarter of a century he had never been |quite| sober. The fumes of the last nights three bottles & whiskey toddy had inflamed |all| the day's thoughts & business. He transacted his business, got up his case, made his speech as an advocate, or delivered his charge as a judge with great volubility and power, but his argument was muzzy with drams, he never saw the jury before him except through a film of whiskey;_I wonder how much claret went to inflame |the judgment of| the orators and the auditors ~~of~~ |in| the House of Commons wh. debated the American war?

[This passage does not make it into any other manuscript or the book.]

Rosenbach Notebook, fol. 79

[end Anne Thackeray; begin WMT:] George the Third is reported to have said:

Undoubtedly the Americans cannot accept and will not receive any favor from me but the permitting them to obtain men unworthy to remain in this Island I shall certainly consent to. July 12.

[This passage does not make it into any other manuscript or the book.]