

COLERIDGE'S POETRY *and* PROSE



SELECTED AND EDITED BY
NICHOLAS HALMI, PAUL MAGNUSON,
AND RAIMONDA MODIANO

A NORTON CRITICAL EDITION

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COLERIDGE'S POETRY
AND PROSE



AUTHORITATIVE TEXTS
CRITICISM

Selected and Edited by

Nicholas Halmi

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

Paul Magnuson

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

Raimonda Modiano

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

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General Introduction

Coleridge was one of a handful of writers in English literature who combined the genius of a poet with the thought of a philosophical critic. He composed three or four of the finest poems in the language and created original lyric and narrative forms. His legacy includes not only the poems themselves but also the records he left of his attention to the craft of poetry, his obsessive revisions of his own poems, his comments on his and others' poetic style, and innumerable notebook entries on the craft of poetry. He pondered the philosophical and psychological bases of creativity and sought to develop a methodical criticism of literature (which he called *practical criticism*) in his lectures on Shakespeare and his close analysis of Wordsworth's poetry.

Coleridge was also among the best read of English writers, his reading extending from the Greek and Latin classics through philosophy and natural science to literature in seven languages, travel writing, history, and (as it was called in his day) political economy. He was, perhaps, one of the last thinkers to attempt to unify knowledge on a religious basis, to create a systematic, theoretical account of human knowledge and the processes of human thought. Although ultimately his efforts foundered, he left brilliant fragments of his engagement with the latest British and continental philosophy. Few of his contemporaries in Britain could claim as thorough a knowledge of the history of philosophy from Plato onward or as intimate a familiarity with the works of German idealist thinkers such as Immanuel Kant, J. G. Fichte, and F. W. J. Schelling. (Among the few in early-nineteenth-century Britain who shared Coleridge's interest in German philosophy and literature, the most notable—Thomas De Quincey, Thomas Carlyle, and Henry Crabb Robinson—were also personally acquainted with Coleridge.) Particularly interested in psychology, ethics, and theological matters in his later years, Coleridge had a profound influence on Anglican theology and the American Transcendentalist movement. By the end of his life, his erudition and eloquence had established him as a kind of cult figure, and numerous younger writers and artists made pilgrimages to visit him, including the American writers James Fenimore Cooper and Ralph Waldo Emerson.

Throughout his life, Coleridge was a publicly engaged figure. Initially a supporter of the revolution in France and of reform in Britain, he defended the principles of internationalism, equality, and liberty; later, when the excesses of the French Revolution became obvious, he defended British nationalism and the principle of private property. His outlets were lectures and pamphlets on politics in the 1790s, news-

paper writing on various topics in the late-1790s and the first decade of the next century, lectures on literature and philosophy in the second decade of the nineteenth century, and books on theology and civil society in the 1820s. His role as a public man of letters inevitably made him controversial, the target of criticism and abuse. He entered debates early in life with a reckless devotion to reform and in later life with a determined defense of his character and thought. All of this he accomplished while enduring the personal—and sometimes humiliatingly public—agonies of his intense self-doubt, of his opium addiction (which became almost totally incapacitating in 1813–14), of his failed marriage, of his unrequited love for Sara Hutchinson, and of his financial and psychological dependence on the generosity and patronage of others.

This edition seeks, within the limits imposed by the series, to present a view of Coleridge's literary career as it unfolded before the eyes of his immediate contemporaries. Our selections from the poetry illustrate the development of his poetic style—the shift from the turgid, sentimental, and allegorical poetry of the mid-1790s to the meditative, conversational, blank-verse poetry of the late-1790s—as well as his collaboration with Wordsworth on *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* and *Lyrical Ballads* and his poetic dialogue with Wordsworth in 1802. We also emphasize Coleridge's development of his poetic canon, as represented by his choice of poems in various volumes of his collected poetry, and by other forms of publication he chose. We comment on the locations of his publication, the printing of poems in newspapers, reviews, anthologies, and the like. For these purposes we have organized the poetry according to the volume in which a poem first appeared and the order in which the poems appeared in that volume. Printing early versions (with important later revisions indicated in footnotes) allows readers to see more clearly than alternative methods of presentation the transformations in Coleridge's style and its underlying aesthetic assumptions. Coleridge was as diligent an annotator of his own poetry as he was of others' books, and his comments, often quoted in criticism today, make more sense if readers can see the same version of the poem as that to which he refers.

In general, we have selected poems for this edition that Coleridge himself consistently reprinted and have omitted poems that he omitted or left uncollected. For each volume we include the important structural elements of prefaces, epigraphs, mottos, and footnotes to both the poems and the volume itself, all of which provided the frames in which Coleridge's first readers encountered his poems. Two volumes of poetry are printed in their entirety: *Fears in Solitude* and *Christabel, Kubla Khan, and The Pains of Sleep*; others are represented by selections. In addition, we have included "The Visions of the Maid of Orleans," originally published in the *Morning Post* and never before reprinted in its newspaper form, and a selection of the poems that he contributed to Robert Southey's *Annual Anthology*. We have printed *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* in two versions, that of *Lyrical Ballads* (1798) and that of 1834, in parallel texts on facing pages. The first published version of "Dejection: An Ode" is printed immedi-

ately after the original version in a verse letter to Sara Hutchinson. Finally, we have included a category of uncollected poetry for poems that Coleridge did not print in any of his collected editions; these are taken from his notebooks or published sources such as newspapers.

Each volume or section is introduced by a headnote that describes the volume's development, its structure, and the circumstances of its publication. The headnotes detail the printing and sale of the volume, if known and significant; the roles played in their publication by publishers (like Joseph Cottle), patrons (like Lord Byron), and editors (like his nephew Henry Nelson Coleridge); and the contributions of others. The early collections included poems by Charles Lamb and Charles Lloyd; Wordsworth and Coleridge collaborated on *Lyrical Ballads*; and even *Sibylline Leaves* contained a poem by Coleridge's friend Washington Allston. Where it is relevant, the headnotes also describe the volume's historical context, as with *Fears in Solitude*, or the biographical context, as with the "Dejection" poems. The first footnote to each poem provides information about the poem's date and place of publication as well as, where relevant, about Coleridge's signature or pseudonym. Coleridge's annotations in presentation copies of his works—the first stage in the reception of those works—are frequently recorded in the footnotes. Notes to individual poems and lines contain Coleridge's manuscript annotations in presentation copies. We have noted Coleridge's comments made on proof sheets, when he was trying to ensure the accurate printing of his poems or responding to the printer's proposed changes to them, and we have cited Coleridge's comments on his poems in letters and notebooks. The footnotes present some of the more important revisions to the first published versions of texts, as well as some revisions entered in presentation copies but never printed. Our commentary extends beyond Coleridge's notes to include the observations of his close friends, the stylistic criticism of John Thelwall and Charles Lamb on the early poetry and the defense of his later poetry by John Morgan and James Gillman, all of whom could reasonably have had access to Coleridge's explanations. Throughout this edition, the level of annotation is higher than is customary in Norton Critical Editions, because Coleridge's allusiveness and linguistic range make demands that few modern-day readers are prepared to meet without the assistance of explanatory notes.

We have included a generous selection from Coleridge's political prose of 1795 and *The Watchman* of 1796, written at the same time that he was composing his first two volumes of poetry. Like many poets of his day, Coleridge printed extensive notes to his poetry, many of which refer to the political events and debates of his time. Later in life, under the pressure of attacks on both his political positions and his character, he tended to misrepresent his earlier radical years in attempts to defend his name. In spite of the efforts in his day and ours to label the youthful Coleridge a radical, Jacobin, or democrat and the mature Coleridge as a Tory, Conservative, or Apostate, we prefer to let him speak for himself and to illustrate his positions on those particular issues that animated his writing and constituted his public per-

sona. *A Moral and Political Lecture* analyzes the diverse groups of radicals, or as they were called in Coleridge's day, both in France and Britain, the Friends of Freedom, to define a principled opposition to the government and to distinguish his position from that of groups carried away by the exasperated passion of hatred, which led to purposeless violence, or of those motivated merely by self-interest. *Conciones ad Populum* is a harangue against the war with France and the political and religious establishment that supports both the war and the empire. *The Plot Discovered* argues against the government's attempts to suppress free speech and political gatherings, and "On the Slave Trade" in *The Watchman* reflects Coleridge's active participation in the efforts to abolish the slave trade.

Coleridge's radical politics were deeply involved with his Unitarianism in 1795 and 1796, as his *Lectures on Revealed Religion* amply demonstrate. Lecture 2 and Lecture 5 draw on the history of the Jews to argue against the accumulation of wealth, luxury, and private property and for universal equality. These principles informed the idealistic and utterly impractical scheme developed by Coleridge, Southey, and a few other enthusiasts in 1795 to establish "pantisocracy," or government by all, in a small community in Pennsylvania. Lecture 5 reflects the Unitarian position, argued forcefully by Joseph Priestley, that the Christianity of the first few centuries, before the establishment of the doctrine of the Trinity and the alliance of the church with secular power, represented true Christianity. Woven into the fabric of Coleridge's rhetoric are the Unitarian rejections of Christ's atonement, the Trinity, and established priesthood. Atonement, for the Unitarians, was something one should enact for oneself, rather than rely on supernatural aid. In Coleridge's day, Unitarianism was regarded as a rational religion, but Coleridge's Unitarianism was prophetic and visionary, as reflected in "Religious Musings," and rejected much of the materialism, atheism, and purported immorality in the writings of John Thelwall and William Godwin. We include Coleridge's 1802 essay "Once a Jacobin Always a Jacobin" to mark his turn away from radical politics and toward support of the idea of a nation-state founded on inherited private property.

Coleridge's *Statesman's Manual*, addressed to the higher classes, combines philosophy, theology, and religion to argue against the utilitarian, practical, empirical, and materialistic ethos governing politics and for a philosophical idealism founded on a reading of the Bible. Our selections from Coleridge's central distinctions between reason and understanding and symbol and allegory reflect his consistent opposition to materialism in all its forms, as does his distinction between imagination and fancy in the *Biographia*. The distinction between reason and understanding is again his subject in our selections from the revised edition of *The Friend* (1818), which we have included along with selections from the "Essays in Method." Finally, we have included sections from *Aids to Reflection* on prudence and morality, in which Coleridge argues for a principled morality based on reason.

Our selections from Coleridge's literary criticism complement his philosophical writings. We include selections from his lectures of 1811–12, as recorded by John Payne Collier, to illustrate his understanding of psychology in *Romeo and Juliet* and *Hamlet* as well as his notions of the dramatic unities, genius, and the distinction between mechanical and organic form in art. Our selections from his 1818 lectures discuss his definitions of dramatic illusion and the distinction between an imitation and a copy. We also include generous selections from *Essays on the Principles of Genial Criticism*, in which he distinguishes the merely agreeable from beauty and defines the formal properties of beauty as unity. Coleridge's most important literary criticism is in the *Biographia Literaria*, where he defines genius by reference to Shakespeare and Milton, distinguishes between imagination and fancy, and applies these to practical criticism of Wordsworth's poetry. At the same time, he tries to ground his aesthetic distinctions in a philosophy that rejects his own earlier materialism and associationism for an idealism based on a philosophy of self-consciousness that finds knowledge and aesthetic form originating in the mind, rather than in the external world. The philosophy is fragmentary and incomplete; the distinctions between imagination and fancy, fugitive; and the practical criticism, occasionally tendentious and self-serving; but the *Biographia*, his Shakespeare criticism, and his practical criticism remain classics of English literature.

At the end of the volume we have provided a necessarily limited selection of nineteenth- and twentieth-century criticism of Coleridge's poetry and prose, a selective bibliography of primary and secondary texts, a register of basic biographical information about persons mentioned frequently in the edition, a glossary of philosophical and political terms used frequently in Coleridge's texts and our notes, and a chronology of Coleridge's life. (Dates are not given in the notes for persons listed in the Biographical Register.) Information on editions cited frequently in the notes may be found in the list of abbreviations or in the notice of copyright permissions.

Paul Magnuson selected and edited the poetry and drafted notes for the second volume of the *Biographia*. Raimonda Modiano selected and edited *A Moral and Political Lecture*, *Conciones ad Populum*, *Lectures on Revealed Religion*, *The Plot Discovered*, *The Watchman*, "Once a Jacobin Always a Jacobin," the *Lay Sermons*, the first volume of the *Biographia*, and *On the Constitution of the Church and State*; she also selected the critical essays. Nicholas Halmi selected and edited the literary lectures, *Essays on the Principles of Genial Criticism*, *The Friend*, *Aids to Reflection*, the letters, and the miscellaneous prose; he also revised the notes for the second volume of the *Biographia* and compiled the bibliography, the biographical register, and the glossary. We read and revised each other's work in progress, so the volume is truly a collaborative effort.

Textual Introduction

Works published by Coleridge himself—both poetry and prose—are presented in this volume in their earliest published volumes. Where we have departed from this principle, as we have by printing two versions each of *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* and “Dejection: An Ode,” and in printing selections from Coleridge’s revised editions of *The Friend* and *On the Constitution of the Church and State*, we have explained the reasons for the departure in the respective headnotes. Writings that remained unpublished in Coleridge’s lifetime are either taken from the currently available standard editions of his *Collected Letters*, *Collected Works*, and *Notebooks*, or they have been transcribed afresh from the manuscripts; our notes indicate the sources of these and all other texts. Coleridge’s annotations in presentation copies of his works have been recorded in footnotes (usually in our own transcriptions from the original volumes) when we judged them significant. Throughout the edition, we have retained the original spelling, capitalization, and punctuation of our printed or manuscript source-texts, with the following exceptions:

1. Obvious printer’s errors, as opposed to variant spellings permitted in Coleridge’s time, are silently corrected.
2. We have replaced the long *s*, used in editions of Coleridge’s earliest poetry and prose, with a short *s*, and we have replaced large initial capitals with ordinary capital letters. We retain small capitals and italics as they appear in the original editions.
3. We have normalized the possessive forms *its*, *theirs*, and *ours* to conform to standard usage in Coleridge’s time and ours.
4. We have removed the quotation marks originally surrounding block quotations in the prose writings, as they would now appear redundant and possibly cause confusion.
5. Deleted words and punctuation marks are omitted from texts derived from manuscript sources, such as the literary lectures, letters, and notebook entries quoted in the Miscellaneous Prose section and the footnotes.

Acknowledgments

Like all editors and readers of Coleridge, we owe an immense debt to the family editors, Henry Nelson Coleridge, Sara Coleridge, Derwent Coleridge, and Ernest Hartley Coleridge, who preserved, collected, arranged, and annotated their ancestor's writings. In the twentieth century, the late Kathleen Coburn began the modern editing of Coleridge's *Notebooks* and supervised the publication of his *Collected Works*, while the late Earl Leslie Griggs edited *The Collected Letters*. Our indebtedness to these editions, both for texts themselves and for material in our annotations, is immense, and gratefully acknowledged. We are also grateful for the assistance we have received from the staffs of the following libraries: the Beinecke Library, Yale University; the Berg Collection and Pforzheimer Library, New York Public Library; the Departments of Printed Books, Manuscripts, and Newspapers at The British Library, London; the Houghton Library, Harvard University; the Henry E. Huntington Library in San Marino; the J. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York; the Newberry Library, Chicago; the Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books, Toronto Public Library; the Princeton University Library; the Library of St. John's College, Cambridge; and the Victoria College Library (Coleridge Collection), University of Toronto.

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Princeton University Library for Coleridge's holograph annotations to *Christabel*.

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Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, for Coleridge's holograph annotations to *Poems* (1797) and *Sibylline Leaves*.

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Abbreviations

AA	Robert Southey, ed., <i>The Annual Anthology</i> , 2 vols. (Bristol, 1799–1800)
AR (1825)	S. T. Coleridge, <i>Aids to Reflection</i> (London, 1825)
AR (CC)	S. T. Coleridge, <i>Aids to Reflection</i> , ed. John Beer (1993) [= CC, vol. 9]
Ashley	Ashley MS 408, British Library
BL	The British Library, London
BL (1847)	S. T. Coleridge, <i>Biographia Literaria</i> , ed. Henry Nelson Coleridge and Sara Coleridge, 2 vols. (London, 1847)
BL (1907)	S. T. Coleridge, <i>Biographia Literaria</i> , ed. John Shawcross, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1907)
BL (1965)	S. T. Coleridge, <i>Biographia Literaria</i> , ed. George Watson (London, 1965)
BL (1997)	S. T. Coleridge, <i>Biographia Literaria</i> , ed. Nigel Leask (London, 1997)
BL (CC)	S. T. Coleridge, <i>Biographia Literaria</i> , ed. James Engell and W. J. Bate, 2 vols. (1983) [= CC, vol. 7]
BLJ	Lord Byron, <i>Byron's Letters and Journals</i> , ed. Leslie Marchand, 12 vols. (London, 1973–82)
Borrowings	George Whalley, "The Bristol Library Borrowings of Southey and Coleridge, 1793–8," <i>The Library</i> 4 (1949): 114–31
C	Samuel Taylor Coleridge (used in the notes)
C&S (CC)	S. T. Coleridge, <i>On the Constitution of the Church and State</i> , ed. John Colmer (1976) [= CC, vol. 10]
CC	<i>The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge</i> , gen. ed. Kathleen Coburn (Princeton, 1969–2002)
CH	J. R. de J. Jackson, ed., <i>Coleridge: The Critical Heritage</i> , 2 vols. (London, 1970–91)
CL	<i>Collected Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge</i> , ed. E. L. Griggs, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1956–71)
Clarkson, <i>Impolicy</i>	Thomas Clarkson, <i>An Essay on the Impolicy of the African Trade</i> , 2nd ed. (London, 1788)
Clarkson, <i>Slavery</i>	Thomas Clarkson, <i>An Essay on the Slavery</i>

- and *Commerce of the Human Species*, particularly the African, 2nd ed. (London, 1788)
- CM (CC) S. T. Coleridge, *Marginalia*, ed. George Whalley and H. J. Jackson, 6 vols. (1980–2001) [= CC, vol. 12]
- CN *The Notebooks of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. Kathleen Coburn, 5 vols. (in 10) (London and Princeton, 1957–2002) (references are to volume and entry number)
- Colmer John Colmer, *Coleridge: Critic of Society* (Oxford, 1959)
- CRB Henry Crabb Robinson, *Henry Crabb Robinson on Books and Their Writers*, ed. Edith J. Morley, 3 vols. (London, 1938)
- CRD Henry Crabb Robinson, *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence*, ed. Thomas Sadler, 3 vols. (London, 1869)
- Davidson F. W. J. Schelling, "Introduction to the Outlines of a System of Natural Philosophy," trans. Tom Davidson, *Journal of Speculative Philosophy* 1 (1867): 193–220
- De Q Works *The Collected Writings of Thomas De Quincey*, ed. David Masson, 14 vols. (Edinburgh, 1889–90)
- Descartes, *Philosophical Writings* René Descartes, *Philosophical Writings*, trans. John Cottingham et al., 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1984–91)
- DWJ *Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth*, ed. Mary Moorman (London, 1971)
- EHC Ernest Hartley Coleridge (C's grandson; used in the notes)
- EOT (CC) S. T. Coleridge, *Essays on His Times*, ed. David V. Erdman, 3 vols. (1978) [= CC, vol. 3]
- Ellington Immanuel Kant, *Metaphysical Foundations of Natural Science*, trans. James Ellington (Indianapolis, 1970)
- ER Joseph Cottle, *Early Recollections, Chiefly Relating to the Late Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, 2 vols. (London, 1837)
- Erdmann G. W. Leibniz, *Opera philosophica*, ed. J. E. Erdmann (Berlin, 1840)
- Facsimile *Coleridge's Poems: A Facsimile Reproduction of the Proofs and MSS of Some of the Poems*, ed. James Dykes Campbell (London, 1899)
- Fichte, *Grundlage* J. G. Fichte, *Grundlage der gesamten Wissenschaftslehre* (Foundations of the Entire Theory of Knowledge) (Jena, 1794)
- Friend (CC) S. T. Coleridge, *The Friend*, ed. Barbara Rooke, 2 vols. (1969) [= CC, vol. 4]

- Gregor Immanuel Kant, *Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals*, trans. Mary Gregor (Cambridge, 1998)
- Harris and Heath F. W. J. Schelling, *Ideas for a Philosophy of Nature as Introduction to the Study of this Science*, ed. and trans. Errol Harris and Peter Heath (Cambridge, 1988)
- Hatfield Immanuel Kant, *Prolegomena to Any Future Metaphysics*, trans. Gary Hatfield (Cambridge, 1997)
- Hartley David Hartley, *Observations of Man, His Frame, His Duty, and His Expectations*, 3 vols. (London, 1791)
- Heath F. W. J. Schelling, *System of Transcendental Idealism*, trans. Peter Heath (Charlottesville, Va., 1978)
- Heath and Lachs J. G. Fichte, *Science of Knowledge (Wissenschaftslehre)*, ed. and trans. Peter Heath and John Lachs (New York, 1970)
- HNC Henry Nelson Coleridge (C's nephew and son-in-law; used in the notes)
- Hume, *Treatise* David Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, ed. L. A. Selby-Bigge and P. H. Nidditch, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1978)
- Jacobi F. H. Jacobi, *Ueber die Lehre des Spinoza in Briefen an Herrn Moses Mendelssohn* (On the Doctrine of Spinoza, in Letters to Mr. Moses Mendelssohn), 2nd ed. (Breslau, 1789)
- JDC Coleridge's *Poetical Works*, ed. James Dykes Campbell (London, 1893)
- Jahrbücher* *Jahrbücher der Medizin als Wissenschaft* (Yearbook of Medicine as a Science)
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