

SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE

THE HIGHGATE YEARS 1816 - 1834

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PREFACE

Since 1962 four biographers have dealt exclusively with various periods of Coleridge's life between 1772 and 1810. No biographer, to my knowledge, has ever concentrated on Coleridge's life during the nineteen years he spent with the Gillmans at Highgate, although it is arguable that it was during this period that his reputation in the nineteenth century was established, not merely by the works he published but, possibly more importantly, by the impact which his personality and conversational powers had on those who went to Highgate to see him. This thesis describes his life during this period. My conclusion is that his personal presence and his ability to project his personality in conversation had almost a mesmeric effect on his contemporaries, many of whom testified that he was a genius, and that he said the most wonderful things, which, in most cases, they were quite unable to recall.

In consequence, it seemed to me important to treat the details of his life as fully as possible, even at the expense of an analysis of his intellectual preoccupations, although I realised that such a treatment would be detrimental to the biography because of its tendency to reduce Coleridge's intellectual stature.

The first chapter briefly describes his years of wandering with the Morgans between 1810 and 1816, another largely-ignored period, in which I have dealt with themes, people and situations which are also important in the Highgate period.

In an Appendix (p.307) I have included a short genealogical table of the Coleridge family to help to clarify the relationships which become so important during this period.

PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

<u>Anima Poetae</u>	S.T.Coleridge <u>Anima Poetae</u> ed. E.H.Coleridge, London 1895.
B.M.MS.	Manuscript in the Library of the British Museum.
Campbell	<u>The Poetical Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge</u> ed. J.D.Campbell, London 1893.
<u>D.N.B.</u>	<u>Dictionary of National Biography</u> ed. L.Stephen etc. 22 vols. Oxford 1959-60.
Dove Cottage MS.	Manuscript in the Library of the Wordsworth Museum, Grasmere.
Frere MS.	Manuscript letter in the possession of B.S.Frere.
Gillman	J.Gillman <u>The Life of Samuel Taylor Coleridge</u> , London 1838.
L	<u>Collected Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge</u> ed. E.L.Griggs 6 vols. Oxford 1956-71
<u>Lamb Letters</u>	<u>The Letters of Charles and Mary Lamb</u> ed. E.V.Lucas, 3 vols. London 1935.
<u>Later Years</u>	<u>The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth The Later Years 1821-40</u> ed. E.De Selincourt, 3 vols. Oxford 1939.
<u>Middle Years I</u>	<u>The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth</u> ed. E.De Selincourt, Second Edition II <u>The Middle Years Part I 1806-1811</u> , revised by M.Moorman, Oxford 1969.
<u>Middle Years II</u>	<u>The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth</u> ed. E.De Selincourt, Second Edition III <u>The Middle Years Part II 1812-1820</u> , revised by M.Moorman and A.G.Hill, Oxford 1970.
<u>M.L.N.</u>	<u>Modern Language Notes</u>
<u>Minnow</u>	<u>Minnow among Tritons: Mrs S.T.Coleridge's Letters to Thomas Poole</u> ed. S.Potter, London 1934.
N.L.S.MS.	Manuscript in the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
<u>P.M.L.A.</u>	<u>Publications of the Modern Language Association of America.</u>
<u>Robinson's Correspondence</u>	<u>Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson with the Wordsworth Circle</u> ed. E.J.Morley, 2 vols. Oxford 1927.

- Robinson's Diary Diary, Reminiscences and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson ed. T.Sadler, 3 vols. London 1969.
- Robinson on Blake, Coleridge etc. Blake, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Lamb etc.: Selections from the correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson ed. E.J.Morley, London 1922.
- Robinson on Writers Henry Crabb Robinson on Books and their Writers ed. E.J.Morley, 3 vols. London 1938.
- Scott's Letters Letters of Sir Walter Scott 1787-1832 ed. H.J.C.Grierson etc., 12 vols. London 1932.
- T.L.S. The Times Literary Supplement
- Wise T.J.Wise A Bibliography of ... Samuel Taylor Coleridge, London 1913.

SUMMARY

This is a biographical thesis, describing Coleridge's life from 1816 to 1834, when he lived with the Gillmans at Highgate. Use has been made of unpublished material in the British Museum, the National Library of Scotland, and Dove Cottage Library, Grasmere, as well as manuscript letters in the possession of B.S. Frere.

The main themes are his insufficiently-determined attempts to break his addiction to laudanum, which ended in failure; his vain efforts to secure a pension or sinecure with the assistance of John Hookham Frere; his disappointment with his son, Hartley; his (usually bad) relationships with publishers; and his increasing disillusionment with the Magnum Opus and his own earlier philosophy.

Set against these disappointments were a new sense of peace and tranquillity from sharing the well-ordered life of the Gillmans; a growing reputation which brought him friends, "disciples" and many casual visitors, and which also made his family more appreciative of his worth; several important publications; and, after the crisis of 1810-1812, a movement towards a new, calmer relationship with Mrs Coleridge, the Wordsworths and Sara Hutchinson.

CHAPTER 1. RETROSPECTIVE : 1810-1816.

In a most important sense Coleridge's life changed completely in the middle of October 1810. Since May he had spent five months at Greta Hall with his wife and three children, Hartley aged thirteen, Derwent nine, and Sara aged seven. They had lived at Greta Hall since 1800, and shared the house with Robert Southey who was married to Mrs Coleridge's sister¹. Coleridge's most recent literary work, The Friend, had been issued irregularly as a periodical between June 1809 and 1 March 1810, when it had been halted by the paralysing languor caused by his addiction to opium². He had probably been a slave to opium since at least 1800, although he had frequently taken the drug as an anodyne before that date³. Opium, in the form of tinctures such as laudanum, the "Kendal blackdrop" and others, as well as pills of pure opium, was readily obtainable and widely used as an anodyne, and addiction was quite common at all levels of early nineteenth-century English society. His addiction was combined with a degree of alcoholism, and caused him severe feelings of guilt and self-reproach. Frequent ill-health, partially at least the result of his addiction and partially hypochondriacal, combined with the languor of addiction to produce procrastination and unproductivity as a writer. He tried to claim for himself a "character of excessive carelessness about worldly interests, the difficulty of acting at all even on motives of duty when they have been cloathed in the form of pecuniary advantage ..." ⁴, but his wife could not understand his apparent laziness. For many years their marriage had been unhappy. They had married precipitately in a flush of republican

1 L III 289, 296; Middle Years I 407-08.

2 see The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge - 4: The Friend ed. B.E.Rooke I lxx-lxxii.

3 see L I 188, 249-52, 276, 394, II 731, 787; see D.E.Sultana Samuel Taylor Coleridge in Malta and Italy passim.

4 L III 249-50.

"Pantisocracy", but years of poverty, the strain of Coleridge's ill-health and ill-success with the public as an author, and his love for Sara Hutchinson, had resulted in such discord that he had resolved in 1807 to separate from his wife¹. He had made at least one attempt, in September 1808, to abandon opium² but had managed only to reduce the dose temporarily.

In October 1810 he decided to leave his family at Greta Hall and travel to Edinburgh to place himself for a time "in the House, and under the constant eye of some medical man" to try to control his opium-taking³. Mrs Coleridge agreed that he should make the attempt but pressed him to accept the invitation of Basil Montagu and his wife to return with them to London when their visit to the Wordsworths had ended, and consult one of their friends, a physician, Anthony Carlisle. Coleridge eventually agreed to accompany them and stay in London with them⁴. Wordsworth however feared that Montagu's kindness would end in disaster, and attempted to persuade Montagu to change his plan. When Montagu refused to be persuaded Wordsworth "spoke out" plainly about Coleridge's habits. Montagu decided that he would ask Coleridge to find lodgings when they reached London⁵. Two days after their arrival in London on 26 October, Montagu repeated to him what Wordsworth had said, and asked him to find alternative lodgings.

1 L III 21, 24-25, 31.

2 L III 125.

3 L III 296.

4 L III 296; Middle Years I 450 and n 1.

5 L III 296; Middle Years I 488-90.

Among the things Montagu said were: "Wordsworth has commissioned me to tell you ... that he has no hope of you"¹; "for years past [you] had been an ABSOLUTE NUISANCE in the Family"²; "in the habit of running into debt at little Pot-Houses for Gin"³; "rotten drunkard"; and "rotting out his entrails by intemperance"⁴.

Although Coleridge had realised that his former intimate friendship with Wordsworth was ended, Montagu's revelation of Wordsworth's apparent contempt for him was a horrifying shock. Heart-broken and angry, Coleridge moved into a hotel⁵. Another shock followed. An old acquaintance, John J. Morgan, whom Coleridge had known since 1795 and with whom he had resided on several occasions in Bristol for long periods⁶, was approached by a friend of the Montagus who urged him to call on them in order to be warned about Coleridge. Instead Morgan called on Coleridge, warned him that there were "enemies at work" against his reputation and invited him to take up lodgings with himself and his wife at Hammersmith⁷. Furthermore, Coleridge discovered that Dr Carlisle, to whom he had given full details of his addiction and alcoholism, had violated his confidence by revealing everything "to a Woman, who made it the subject of common Table Talk"⁸.

1 L III 382

2 L III 376

3 L III 404

4 L III 404

5 L III 298

6 see L III 34 n 2

7 L III 399

8 L III 298 n 2, 408; Lamb Letters II 106; Middle Years I 488-90

During the next year and a half Wordsworth and Coleridge did not contact each other. Coleridge waited in vain for an explanation¹. When he learned that Wordsworth dismissed his physical sufferings as "all pretence"² and questioned his veracity, he began to think of Wordsworth as his "bitterest Calumniator"³. Wordsworth was informed by Southey of what Montagu had said to Coleridge, but refused to believe Montagu had "said those words" rather than Coleridge "had invented them"⁴. Both believed themselves the "injured" party, and Wordsworth believed Coleridge was glad "to furnish himself with a ready excuse for all his failures in duty to himself and others"⁵. Southey believed Wordsworth was at fault in informing Montagu, who was known to be a gossip, about Coleridge's weakness⁶.

Coleridge felt unable to return to Greta Hall and the vicinity of Wordsworth⁷. In urgent need of money, he tried to collect unpaid subscriptions to The Friend⁸, and obtained an advance of £20 from the publisher, Thomas Longman, for a "Volume of original Poems ... consisting of 360 pages"⁹. He sent for the poems which he had in manuscript at Greta Hall¹⁰, and asked Charles Lamb, a friend since school-days whose acquaintance he had renewed¹¹, to send for the poems which were in the hands of the

1 L III 380

2 L III 376

3 L III 389

4 Middle Years I 488-90

5 L III 323; Middle Years I 488-90

6 L III 383 n 1

7 L III 319

8 L III 314; Middle Years I 457

9 L III 324-25

10 L III 324

11 L III 309-10

Wordsworths¹. The volume would also contain a thirty-page preface "relative to the principles of Poetry, which I have ever held, and in reference to myself, Mr Southey, and Mr Wordsworth"². He used the advance to pay the premium of his life assurance policy³, which he had taken out in 1803, but never submitted the volume of poems to Longman⁴. He subsequently claimed that Longman's advance was in fact payment due for The Friend⁵. But the breach of agreement exposed Coleridge to criticism from Longman and from Samuel Curtis of Rest Fenner⁶. In April 1811 he approached Daniel Stuart, his old friend and former employer on the Morning Post, and again obtained regular employment on his newspaper, the Courier⁷. He did not hold the post for more than two or three months, however. "I will write for the PERMANENT, or not at all"⁸. He also planned to issue a bound edition of The Friend. This was published in 1812 by Gale and Curtis, who merely bound in one volume sets of the twenty-eight numbers of the periodical⁹. They advanced £50 to Coleridge and gave him credit "to £20 or £30" for his supply of unused stamped paper¹⁰.

Coleridge took up residence with John Morgan and his wife in April 1811, because he realised the dangers of living alone¹¹. His earlier

1 Middle Years I 486, 495

2 L III 324; this volume is probably the embryo of the future Biographia Literaria and Sibylline Leaves - see below p. 19

3 L III 325

4 but see L IV 681 n 1

5 L IV 797

6 L III 325 n 4, IV 681, 797; see below ch. B p. 62

7 L III 319, 326; for his contributions see L III 327 n 1 and Essays on His Own Times ed. Sara Coleridge

8 L III 352

9 L III 271 n 1, 385

10 L III 385 n 1

11 L III 319, 321

intention to take medical advice to break his addiction was not forgotten, and during the winter of 1810-11 he planned to consult John Abernethy¹. He became acquainted with Henry Crabb Robinson, a friend of Wordsworth's who was a barrister and a German scholar, and who indefatigably kept diaries². He also renewed his earlier acquaintance with William Hazlitt³.

To earn some money, in October 1811 he announced a course of fifteen lectures to be given in the hall of the London Philosophical Society, on "Shakespeare and Milton in illustration of the Principles of Poetry, and their application as Grounds of Criticism to the most popular Works of later English Poets, those of the Living included"⁴. Crabb Robinson helped him to arrange the necessary publicity⁵. At the end of the course (seventeen lectures instead of the fifteen advertised)⁶ he returned to Greta Hall for a short visit, from 18 February to 26 March 1812⁷. He was delighted to be reunited with his children⁸, but the reunion with his wife was not altogether satisfactory: "tanquam uxor mea mea soror uterina fuisset, frigesco et horreo vel ipsa imaginatione congressus conjugalis. - Deo gratias! illa quoque non vult nec desiderat"⁹. However she seemed "quite satisfied with my plans"¹⁰. He intended to spend a year in London

1 L III 300; E.Betham A House of Letters 133

2 L III 302

3 L III 317

4 L III 339, 341; Robinson on Writers I 49-50; Coleridge's Shakespearean Criticism ed. T.M.Raysor II 26-27

5 L III 343-44

6 Robinson on Writers I 51-61

7 L III 366, 375, 380

8 L III 375-77

9 L III 377

10 L III 377

trying to earn a living by writing, after which, if he were successful, his family would join him. His wife however calmly told him that she would remain at Greta Hall at least until Hartley and Derwent had finished at school, when she would happily leave "dear Keswick" if his fortunes had improved. Meanwhile she insisted that he write to her more regularly and that he no longer leave her or Southey's letters unopened: "his promises, poor fellow, are like his Castles, - airy nothings!"¹ Coleridge accepted her decision, but his letters did not become much more regular. In 1816 Mrs Coleridge complained that she had not received a letter from him during the last three years².

Wordsworth still showed no desire for a reconciliation and Coleridge refused to call on him at Grasmere³. He collected all the copies of The Friend he could find for the bound edition to be issued by Gale and Curtis and left unhappily for London on 26 March, "scarcely daring to set off without seeing them, especially Miss Hutchinson who has done nothing to offend me"⁴.

Coleridge reached London after several delays on 14 April⁵ and began at once to organise two lecture courses on Greek, French, Italian, English and Spanish drama with reference to Shakespeare, to be given on Tuesdays and Fridays beginning on 12 May in Willis's Rooms, St James's⁶. The course actually began on 19 May, the delay of one week having been caused by the assassination of Spencer Perceval on 11 May⁷.

1 Minnow 17

2 Minnow 44

3 L III 380; The Letters of Sara Hutchinson ed. K.Coburn 45-46

4 L III 378, 380

5 L III 383

6 L III 390 n 2, 392; Coleridge's Shakespearean Criticism ed. T.M.Raysor II 240-44

7 L III 409

In the midst of his preparations he learned that Wordsworth had arrived in London in late April. It is significant that Wordsworth fixed the date of his journey to London almost immediately after learning of Coleridge's departure from Keswick¹. Wordsworth was determined to put a stop to the gossip about his dealings with Coleridge. Believing that Coleridge had lied and misrepresented Montagu's disclosures, Wordsworth contacted Coleridge through Lamb, demanding that Coleridge appear before him and Montagu with Josiah Wedgwood as an arbitrator. If Coleridge declined an explanation Wordsworth "begged" that he "no longer continue to talk about the affair"². Coleridge agreed to meet Wordsworth "alone or in the presence of friends", but refused to see Montagu or allow Josiah Wedgwood, his benefactor, to act as referee³. He also pointed out that he too "had a right to expect" an explanation⁴. Wordsworth's refusal to open a letter from Coleridge⁵ until Coleridge assured him that it contained "nothing but a naked statement of what he believes Montagu said to him"⁶, had a marked effect on Coleridge. The refusal seemed "insulting or unfriendly", and he took no further action. Lamb too, noting the cold indifference of Wordsworth's manner, took no further part in the affair, and Wordsworth was forced to take the initiative on 8 May, sending Crabb Robinson to Coleridge with an oral denial of some of the expressions used by Montagu⁷. Not yet satisfied, Coleridge, as requested, prepared a list

1 The Letters of Sara Hutchinson ed. K.Coburn 45-46

2 Robinson on Writers I 71; Middle Years II 6, 14-15, 16

3 Robinson on Writers I 71; Robinson's Correspondence I 68

4 L III 398

5 L III 397-402

6 Middle Years II 16-17

7 Robinson on Writers I 73-78

of Montagu's statements which Robinson took to Wordsworth, who denied it directly and comprehensively¹. Coleridge was satisfied and a superficial reconciliation followed. The old intimacy with Wordsworth, Dorothy Wordsworth and Sara Hutchinson was gone for ever.

A Reconciliation has taken place - but the Feeling ... never can return. All outward actions, all inward Wishes, all Thoughts & Admirations, will be the same - are the same - but - aye there remains an immedicable But.²

Wordsworth and Coleridge met several times before Wordsworth's departure from London on 8 June³. The Wordsworths did not realise and accept that their relationship with Coleridge was now altered completely until April 1813. Although in December 1812 Coleridge wrote to Wordsworth that if he were successful as a playwright, he would return to the Lakes for "as long as I live", the Wordsworths accepted that there was no longer any chance of him returning to the North⁴.

Coleridge's attempts to abandon opium were meeting with little success. Alarming symptoms in August, a swollen right leg and "oppression" on his chest lasting for three days, were diagnosed by his physician, Robert Gooch, as "Indigestion" and erysipelas⁵. On 7 August he promised to write twenty articles for £50 for the Courier, requesting £25 in advance⁶. Stuart sent him £20⁷.

From 3 November 1812 to 26 January 1813 he gave lectures on literature at the Surrey Institution⁸. He also tried to have his play, Remorse,

1 L III 403-06

2 L III 437

3 L III 412; Middle Years II 22; Robinson on Writers I 84, 88

4 L III 423; Middle Years II 65, 90-91

5 L III 414-15

6 L III 415-16

7 L III 416 n 3

8 L III 418-19; Coleridge's Shakespearean Criticism II 246 etc.

accepted by one of the theatres¹. In November 1812 Josiah Wedgwood informed him that because of financial difficulties he would be unable to continue to pay his half of Coleridge's annuity of £150, although the remaining £75 of the annuity, bequeathed to Coleridge in the Will of Thomas Wedgwood in 1805, would continue to be paid directly to Mrs Coleridge as before². This blow affected Coleridge far less than it did his wife, for whom the annuity had formed the main part of her income since 1798³. Any feeling of loss he may have felt was probably wiped out by the acceptance of his play, Remorse, for performance at Drury Lane Theatre, where it ran for twenty nights⁴, and proved probably the most successful of any of his works in popular and financial terms. He signed an agreement with W.Pople to publish it, by which he received two-thirds of the net profits, and three editions were issued in 1813. It was the only one of his productions to receive the accolade of a review in the Quarterly Review⁵, although the article was "so delayed till it could by no possibility be of the least service to me". Remorse earned him £400, "more than all my literary Labors put together"⁶.

But he probably saw little of the money himself, for during most of 1813 he devoted much time and extended considerable financial assistance to the Morgans and Mrs Morgan's sister, Charlotte Brent. Illness⁷ and business difficulties were bringing the Morgans increasingly close to

1 L III 416

2 L III 420-21, 420 n 1, 421 n 2

3 L III 20 n 1, IV 702 n 2

4 L III 420-21, 426, 427-29

5 XI (April 1814) 177-90

6 L III 437, 532

7 L III 439

bankruptcy. In October Dorothy Wordsworth wrote that Morgan had "smashed" and that they intended to settle at Keswick "for cheapness"¹, but Morgan "was forced to leave the country by pecuniary difficulties", and fled to Ireland²:

the successive Losses and increasing Distress of poor Morgan and his family while I was domesticated with them - and which being before my eyes, scarcely left me the power of asking myself concerning the Right or Wrong - ... absorbed and anticipated my Resources³.

In mid-October 1813 Coleridge had to pawn his books, watch and snuff box for £6⁴. He redeemed them a month later⁵, from the proceeds of his next series of lectures - six on Shakespeare and two on education - delivered from 28 October to 23 November 1813 at the White Hart, Bristol⁶. He also gave two lectures on 10 and 17 November at Mangeon's Hotel, Clifton, but was too ill to give the complete course of six or eight lectures he had planned to deliver there⁷.

In Bristol he met "an old Schoolfellow of mine", John Mathew Gutch, the owner and printer of Felix Farley's Bristol Journal. He was "ostentatiously civil" to Coleridge about reporting and advertising his lectures⁸. Coleridge was still much occupied by the tangled business affairs of the Morgans⁹. He raised money to send to Mrs Morgan in London¹⁰

1 Middle Years II 127

2 Robinson on Writers I 132; L III 443 n 1, 454; E.K.Chambers is wrong in stating that Morgan was imprisoned for debt - see Samuel Taylor Coleridge 260

3 L V 162

4 L III 442, 455

5 L III 455

6 L III 443 ff. ; Coleridge's Shakespearean Criticism ed. T.M.Raysor II 252-98

7 L III 449-50, 452-53, 454

8 L III 456-57

9 L III 445

10 L III 447, 448, 451-52

and urged her to move to Bristol to live, suggesting that she might take lodgings with his old friend, Thomas Poole, at Nether Stowey. He even expressed his willingness to accompany her to Keswick, if she planned to go there, until Morgan could return¹. He succeeded in persuading William Hood and other Bristol friends to advance money to pay off one of Morgan's creditors, a banker named Lloyd, and also to become Charlotte Brent's creditors in case of failure². On 24 November he returned to London to accompany Mrs Morgan and Charlotte Brent to Bath, where one of Morgan's family owned a chemist's shop, and found lodgings for them at Box, four miles from Bath, where the ladies remained until Morgan rejoined them in May 1814³.

A heavy cold forced Coleridge to remain in Bath until 19 December, and as a result he had to abandon a course of lectures advertised in Felix Farley's Bristol Journal to be delivered in Bristol from 7 December, on Shakespeare and Milton⁴. He returned to Bristol on 19 December and re-advertised the course in the Bristol Gazette to begin on 4 January 1814⁵, but his continued ill-health probably again forced him to abandon this course. It is unlikely that he resumed lecturing until April 1814⁶. In Bristol he took lodgings in the house of another old friend, Josiah Wade⁷.

His next course of lectures, on Milton and Don Quixote, began on 5 April and was apparently given in full⁸, although an attack of erysipelas

1 L III 454, 457, 460

2 L III 451, 458

3 L III 461, 462, 489, 529

4 L III 459 n 1, 462, 464; Coleridge's Shakespearean Criticism ed. T.M.Raysor II 255-56

5 L III 464-65; Coleridge's Shakespearean Criticism ed. T.M.Raysor II 256

6 L III 464 n 2; but see J.Cottle Reminiscences of Samuel Taylor Coleridge 354

7 L III 472

8 L III 466; Coleridge's Shakespearean Criticism ed. T.M.Raysor II 256-57

on 20 April forced him to abandon two of the three lectures he planned on the French Revolution¹. He also apparently never delivered two lectures he planned on Female Education².

Yet another old Bristol friend, Joseph Cottle, was so glad to see Coleridge again that in April he decided to raise a subscription to provide him with an annuity, just as Thomas Poole had done in 1796 and 1797³. Southey, however, whom Cottle consulted, not only opposed the plan but bitterly criticised Coleridge's "habits of sloth and self-indulgence", explaining that his illnesses and financial embarrassment were due "to one accursed cause - excess in opium". Coleridge should support his family by returning to Greta Hall and lecturing at Birmingham and Liverpool. "Nothing is wanting to make him easy in circumstances and happy in himself, but to leave off opium"⁴. Distressed by Southey's letters, Cottle abandoned the scheme for an annuity and exhorted Coleridge to renounce opium and return to his family⁵. Coleridge was distressed and disappointed, and explained to Cottle the shame and degradation resulting from his addiction. He had been "seduced into the ACCURSED Habit ignorantly" because of rheumatic pains which opium had at first alleviated, and now he wanted to enter "a private madhouse" where a physician could forcibly prevent him taking Laudanum for two or three months⁶. Southey, to whom Cottle sent his letter, did not believe that restraint was essential. Although Coleridge imputed his addiction to "morbid bodily causes", everyone who knew him

1 L III 474; Felix Farley's Bristol Journal 23 April, 30 April 1814

2 L III 474; Coleridge's Shakespearean Criticism II 258 n ; Felix Farley's Bristol Journal 2 April 1814

3 see L I 210

4 MS letters quoted L III 475 n 1

5 J.Cottle Reminiscences of Samuel Taylor Coleridge 361-66

6 L III 476-77

"knows that for the greater - infinitely the greater part - inclination and indulgence are the motives". Self-restraint was the only cure. "Could he be compelled to a certain quantity of labour for his family every day, the pleasure of having done it would make his heart glad, and the sane mind would make the body sane."¹

No doubt Cottle's reproaches had an effect on Coleridge. A Bristol physician, Henry Daniel, was called in to look after him at Wade's. When told that Coleridge "used to take 4 to 5 ounces a day of laudanum once ...² ounces, i.e. near a Pint - besides great quantities of liquor", Daniel procured "Haberfield, my Keeper", a "strong-bodied, but decent, meek, elderly man, to superintend me ... - All in the House were forbidden to fetch any thing but by the Doctor's order". Coleridge's laudanum consumption soon fell to four teaspoonfuls a day³. "Razors, penknife, & every possible instrument of Suicide it was found necessary to remove from my room." He was attended constantly, even while asleep⁴. Daniel not only hoped to cure Coleridge's addiction but also expected the subsequent convalescence "to remedy the ravages in my constitution ... & to bring down my carcase to something like a bulk proportionate to my years"⁵.

The abdominal pains which he had experienced during all the years of his opium taking grew worse, and he purchased an enema machine⁶. He felt

1 MS letter quoted L III 479 n 2

2 hiatus in MS

3 L III 490; but see J.Cottle Early Recollections; Chiefly Relating to the late Samuel Taylor Coleridge II 169 for the statement that in 1814 Coleridge was in the habit of taking two quarts of laudanum a week (i.e. 80 fluid ounces), and once a quart in 24 hours; see E.L.Griggs "Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Opium" in Huntington Library Quarterly 17 (1953-54) 357-78

4 L III 491

5 L III 492

6 L III 493-94

exceedingly weak and erysipelas again affected his right leg¹. But by early June he was in high spirits, describing humorously to Morgan the exhortations in Cottle's letters, in which Cottle said that opium in itself was not the cause of his injuries, but the Devil which was possessing him. "God bless him! he is a well-meaning Creature; but a great Fool."² Laudanum was not completely abandoned, although the quantities were much reduced³. But his abdominal complaint grew worse. "I tell Daniel, that I have a schirrous Liver: & he laughs at me."⁴

Coleridge's Remorse was produced in Bristol on 1 August 1814⁵, and his essays "On the Principles of Genial Criticism concerning the Fine Arts" were published in Felix Farley's Bristol Journal from 13 August to 24 September⁶. Nothing came of a suggestion by the London publisher, John Murray, that Coleridge translate Goethe's Faust for £100⁷. In early September he moved from Bristol to Box, where Morgan had rejoined his wife⁸, and a few days later he tried to get Daniel Stuart to accept for the Courier his essays "On the Principles of Genial Criticism" from Felix Farley's Bristol Journal⁹. Stuart turned them down but paid Coleridge £10 for six Letters to Mr Justice Fletcher, dealing with Irish affairs and signed "An Irish Protestant". They appeared in the Courier between 20 September and 10 December¹⁰.

1 L III 499-506

2 L III 502

3 L III 507

4 L III 508

5 L III 520; Coleridge's Shakespearean Criticism ed. T.M.Raysor II 258

6 L III 520 n 2

7 L III 521-25; S.Smiles A Publisher and his Friends I 118

8 L III 526, 529

9 L III 535

10 L III 536 n 2, 537-40, 543

Coleridge also informed Stuart that "printing at Bristol" was his "most important work":

The Title is: Christianity the one true Philosophy - or 5 Treatises on the Logos, or communicative Intelligence, Natural, Human, and Divine: - to which is prefixed a prefatory Essay on the Laws & Limits of Toleration & Liberality illustrated by fragments of Auto-biography¹.

During the last twenty years of his life Coleridge constantly referred to this vast work in progress, which would provide the foundation of his enduring philosophic reputation. "If Originality be any merit, this work will have that at all events from the first page to the last."² He had mentioned it in a letter to Josiah Wedgwood in 1799³, and first announced it publicly in Felix Farley's Bristol Journal on 27 August 1814. It was given various titles: "Logosophia", "Organum verè Organum", "The Power and Use of Words", "Elements of Discourse", or most frequently either "Logic" or "Magnum Opus"⁴. He was quite sure of its importance:

all my other writings are introductory and preparative; and the result ... must finally be a revolution of all that has been called Philosophy or Metaphysics in England and France ... and with this the present fashionable Views not only of Religion, Morals and Politics but even of the modern Physics and Physiology⁵.

Its existence gave him a pretext for deferring the complete expression of his theory of "imagination" in Biographia Literaria, and was the excuse for several other instances of non-performance. In view of the incompleteness of the manuscript of the Magnum Opus at his death, this mention of it to Stuart as being at the press, like so many references to it later in his life, seems almost hallucinatory⁶. It was unfinished at his death

1 L III 533

2 L III 534

3 L I 519

4 L III 533 n 2, IV 589, VI 1032 etc.

5 L V 28

6 e.g. L III 533, IV 604, 736-37, V 28 etc.

and his literary executor, Joseph Henry Green, was given the task of preparing the manuscripts for publication. Although Green worked on them for nearly thirty years, he was eventually forced to abandon all plans of publishing the *Magnum Opus*¹. A.D.Snyder states that in it Coleridge closely followed Kant and Moses Mendelssohn, even to the extent of translating from Kant's Critique of Pure Reason. "Reduced to positive, formal statements, it is relatively arid, and, moreover justifies the query as to whether it contained anything new or even deserved to be called a philosophy."²

On 5 December 1814 Coleridge accompanied the Morgans to new lodgings at the home of Dr Page at Calne in Wiltshire³. Although he would have preferred to work on the *Magnum Opus* - "All the materials I have - no small part reduced to form, & written" - financial necessity spurred his literary labours⁴. By March 1815 he had collected enough of his scattered published and manuscript poems to make almost two volumes⁵. With the poems as security Gutch, William Hood and an old schoolfellow, Le Breton, gave him a total of £107 5s.6d. during 1815. He used £72 5s.6d. to pay his Bristol debts and the premium of his insurance policy, and £25 paid his debts at Calne⁶. He repaid Gutch and Le Breton in February 1817, and Hood generously cancelled Coleridge's debt to him⁷.

1 see J.D.Traill Samuel Taylor Coleridge 173-75

2 A.D.Snyder Coleridge on Logic and Learning vii, 13

3 L III 542

4 L IV 546

5 L IV 546

6 MS quoted L IV 551 n 1

7 L IV 707-08, 733

After paying his debts Coleridge had £10 left, which he sent to his son Hartley, who had been assisted by Southey and Wordsworth, without Coleridge's consent, to obtain a place as an undergraduate at Merton College, Oxford. They had also raised financial assistance for Hartley from Lady Beaumont, his uncle George Coleridge, Thomas Poole and Joseph Cottle. He had obtained through the influence of a cousin, William Hart Coleridge, a Postmastership of £50 a year, and Wordsworth and Southey promised additional support if necessary. Hartley spent the summer at Calne with Coleridge before going up to Oxford. Coleridge gave him some tuition in an attempt to fill the gaps in his knowledge left by John Dawes's school at Ambleside. Hartley's conversational powers and brilliant mind won him the admiration of his fellow undergraduates, but he was able to gain only a second-class honours M.A.¹

On 29 March Coleridge wrote a long, flattering letter to Lord Byron asking his help with the publishers for the two volumes of poems which would be ready by June. He wrote formally and almost pompously to Byron, whom he knew only as a fellow author, although he was probably well aware of his intimacy with Murray. He asked Byron's permission to send him the manuscript volumes, which he might recommend to "some suitable publisher". If he offered them himself, "I know too certainly, that they will take advantage of my Distresses". Realising how false the tone of his letter sounded, he apologised for its "length and 'petitionary' solemnity Anxiety makes us all ceremonious"². Byron's reply was gracious. He assured Coleridge of his assistance and encouraged him not to "be depressed

1 L IV 551 n 1; Letters of Hartley Coleridge ed. G.E. and E.L.Griggs 14, 17, 18; E.L.Griggs Hartley Coleridge 16-19, 47, 59 65-66; Middle Years II 145-46, 201, 209

2 L VI 1033-36

by the temporary partiality of what is called 'the public' for the favourites of the moment". As a member of the Drury Lane Theatre Committee Byron also suggested that Coleridge write another tragedy: "We have had nothing to be mentioned in the same breath with Remorse for very many years"¹.

Coleridge continued to collect his poems from various friends².

At Wordsworth's insistence he removed the personal passages from his poem To William Wordsworth composed after Wordsworth's recitation of The Prelude to him in 1807, and published it in his volume of poems as the impersonal To a Gentleman³. With the poems he intended to publish a general Preface on "the Principles of philosophic and genial criticism", and another Preface to The Ancient Mariner and "the Ballads" on "the employment of the Supernatural in Poetry, and the Laws which regulate it"⁴. In May he hoped to finish "the general Preface" in "two or ... three days", with Morgan as his amanuensis⁵. But during the next two months the Preface grew into a full-scale work. Wordsworth's letter about his poem, Coleridge's disappointment with The Excursion, the publication of The White Doe of Rylstone and especially the 1815 edition of Wordsworth's Poems, influenced much of the change. By 29 July the Preface had expanded into "an Autobiographia literaria" containing his opinions on "Poetry and poetical criticism" and an account of the "Controversy concerning

1 The Works of Lord Byron, Letters and Journals ed. R.E.Prothero III 190-93

2 L IV 564 etc

3 L IV 571-76; Middle Years II 227-71; The Poems of Samuel Taylor Coleridge ed. E.H.Coleridge 403 n 1

4 L VI 1033-36

5 L IV 576, 586, VI 1033-36

Wordsworth's Poems & Theory"¹. A "philosophical part", originally intended "to comprize in a few Pages", had become a "sizeable Proportion of the whole" by the time it was completed on 17 September². It was given a comprehensive title: "Biographical Sketches of my LITERARY LIFE, Principles, and Opinions, chiefly on the Subjects of Poetry and Philosophy"³. It was published in 1817 as Biographia Literaria. Because of its size he intended to publish the poems in one volume with Biographia Literaria as the first volume of the two-volume set⁴. The volume of poems would be called Sibylline Leaves⁵. Biographia Literaria was the more important work because it would be an "important Pioneer" to the Magnum Opus⁶.

He had no publisher, but John Gutch undertook to have them printed in Bristol by John Evans and Company⁷. Gutch was given a free hand about type, spacing and even chapter divisions. Coleridge suggested that one thousand copies be printed⁸. The printing of Biographia Literaria began in October 1815 and the final proof-sheet was returned by Coleridge to Bristol in June 1816. The printing of Sibylline Leaves began in November 1815⁹. Coleridge also planned an American edition of Biographia Literaria. Because of the loose American copyright laws he had to vest his copyright in an American publisher, and ensure that the publisher received copy in time to print an American edition before others could receive and pirate

1 L IV 578-80

2 L IV 584-86

3 L IV 584

4 L IV 584, 619 and n 1

5 L IV 584

6 L IV 585

7 L IV 584, 618

8 L IV 585-86, 586-87

9 L IV 618-19

from copies of the English edition. In return he hoped to receive "say one third" of the net profits¹. Josiah Wade and his son, Launcelot, agreed to transcribe the work for Coleridge². Kirk and Mercein of New York published an American edition in 1817³.

Coleridge was planning to publish a revised edition of The Friend, and besides working on the Magnum Opus, had been trying to write a tragedy for Drury Lane⁴. By October the tragedy had been largely abandoned in favour of "a dramatic Entertainment", Zapolya, a "humble imitation of the Winter's Tale of Shakespear, except that I have called the first part a Prelude instead of a first Act"⁵. On 15 October he wrote again to Byron explaining his recent activities, and promising him copies of Biographia Literaria and Sibylline Leaves. He also offered him a play, without giving any description of it, for Drury Lane in December⁶. Byron replied at once. Drury Lane badly needed a good new play, and he promised his assistance in the negotiations for Biographia Literaria and Sibylline Leaves with "the Trade". He also mentioned that during the Summer Walter Scott had recited Coleridge's unfinished and unpublished Christabel to him, "the wildest and finest I ever heard in that kind of composition"⁷. On 28 October Byron wrote to Thomas Moore asking him to promise to write a favourable review of Coleridge's forthcoming volumes for the Edinburgh Review. "It will be the making of him."⁸

1 L IV 607

2 L IV 596 and n 3

3 L IV 607 n 3

4 L IV 587, 589

5 Advertisement quoted L IV 620 n 1

6 L VI 1037-39

7 Byron, A Self-Portrait ed. P.Quennell I 316-17

8 The Works of Lord Byron, Letters and Journals ed. R.E.Prothero III 232-33

Coleridge sent Byron a manuscript copy of Christabel¹. Byron was so impressed that he passed it to Murray advising him to become its publisher: "but if you are not, I do not despair of finding those who will"².

During November and early December Coleridge became alarmingly ill³. He was completely unable to work⁴. R.H.Brabant, a Devizes surgeon, treated him, and he recovered sufficiently to have Zapolya almost finished by the end of January 1816⁵. He still took small quantities of laudanum⁶. This gave rise to a minor scandal. While staying with the Rev. William Money at Whetham, his host complained that Coleridge had sent out a servant to buy a bottle of brandy. Coleridge protested that this was not true - it had been only laudanum and gin⁷. Short of money, as usual, he obtained the names of the Secretaries of the Literary Fund from Gutch, and applied through one of them, William Sotheby, to the Fund in January 1816 for financial assistance. "I had flattered myself, that I should have been able to have eked out my scanty resources till the fate of my Plays had been ascertained and my two Volumes published"⁸ On 14 February the Literary Fund voted £30 to him⁹. Sotheby also contacted Byron, who sent Coleridge one hundred pounds "at a time when I could not command 150 in the world"¹⁰. Coleridge acknowledged the present on 15 February and asked Byron

1 L IV 601-02

2 The Works of Lord Byron, Letters and Journals ed. R.E.Prothero III 246

3 L IV 609, 621

4 L IV 611, 621

5 L IV 612, 619, 620

6 L IV 615

7 L IV 609, 612-13

8 L IV 618, 620-21

9 L IV 621 n 1

10 The Works of Lord Byron, Letters and Journals ed. R.E.Prothero III 264, VI 112-13; see also III 251-52, 255-58 and S.Smiles A Publisher and His Friends 138-40

to present him with copies of all his works to be "an Heir-loom in my Family"¹, a request with which Byron also complied². Coleridge could now afford to travel to London to submit Zapolya personally to either Drury Lane or Covent Garden Theatre³. He intended to present it to Covent Garden first since its success depended on the acting of three female roles - "there is not a single actress at Drury Lane"⁴.

He travelled to London alone at the end of March, Morgan following him a few days later⁵. Lamb informed Wordsworth of his arrival: "Nature who conducts every creature by instinct to its best end", helped Coleridge find lodgings at a "Chemist's Laboratory", Moore and James, Apothecaries, near the Strand, not far from the theatres⁶. "She might as well have sent a Helluo Librorum for cure to the Vatican. God keep him inviolate among the traps and pitfalls. He has done pretty well as yet."⁷ On his "second or third day" in London Coleridge fell ill⁸. He was attended by "an old acquaintance" of Morgan's, Dr Joseph Adams, for the next two weeks⁹. Henry Crabb Robinson returned from the Circuit in early April to find him taking tea at the Lambs' on 6 April. "Coleridge had been ill, but he was then as before, loquacious and in his loquacity, mystically eloquent."¹⁰

1 L IV 622-23

2 L IV 623 n 1

3 L IV 618, 621; his "tragedy" was never written

4 L IV 625

5 L IV 625; Robinson on Writers I 181-82

6 Lamb Letters II 187; L IV 625 n 1

7 Lamb Letters II 187

8 L IV 626

9 L IV 626, 630

10 Robinson's Diary II 4

The management of Covent Garden Theatre declined Zapolya and Coleridge offered it to Byron for Drury Lane. Because of his illness "my proxy, my excellent and faithful Friend, Mr Morgan, who has been my Amanuensis and Counsellor during the composition of my later works", would call on Byron on 10 or 11 April¹. Byron was occupied with preparations for going abroad in the near future, whenever the final papers were signed for his legal separation from Lady Byron², but he passed Zapolya on to the other members of the committee. Coleridge was informed that "it would not do as a Play, but that it would answer very well as a Melodrama with some slight alteration"³, and Morgan was invited to dine with Douglas Kinnaird, a member of the committee, in early May to discuss the changes. "They take the last part, 4 Acts - and add Songs & Music"⁴.

Coleridge met Byron between 10 April and 22 April when Byron left London for ever. They met at Byron's house in Piccadilly for half an hour, and Coleridge recited Kubla Khan⁵. It is possible that Byron recommended Kubla Khan to Murray, as he had earlier done with Christabel, for Murray called on Coleridge, probably on 12 April, and urged him to publish Christabel and Kubla Khan, for which he offered at least seventy pounds⁶. Coleridge subsequently claimed that he was reluctant to publish the two unfinished poems, and that his sole reason for accepting Murray's offer was to give the money to Morgan, whose financial circumstances were

1 L IV 626-27

2 L.A. Marchand Byron, A Biography II 602

3 L IV 721

4 L IV 628 n 1

5 L.Hunt Lord Byron and his Contemporaries II 53; L IV 636, 641;
L.A. Marchand Byron, A Biography II 606

6 L IV 634 n 1; Coleridge later remembered the amount as £80 (or guineas) - this was possibly Murray's later offer for the three poems: Christabel, Kubla Khan and The Pains of Sleep - see L V 437

again uncertain¹. But at the time he was sufficiently grateful to Murray, whom he now understood to be "my Publisher for my Works generally"², to present him with an autograph copy of his poem, Glycine's Song from Zapolya: "A sunny Shaft did I behold"³. A volume containing Christabel, Kubla Khan and The Pains of Sleep was published by Murray on 25 May 1816.

Mrs Coleridge, the Wordsworths and the Southey's were "all sadly vexed" when they saw an advertisement for the volume. "Oh! when will he ever give his friends anything but pain?"⁴

1 L V 437

2 L V 437

3 L IV 634 n 1

4 Minnow 48

CHAPTER 2. APRIL 1816 - JUNE 1817.

Coleridge was perfectly frank with Dr Joseph Adams about his addiction to opium, and gave him a full account of his earlier attempts to "break himself off it"¹. Adams assured him that "the direful practice may be at once abandoned even after 15 years habit without danger"², although he realised that if he intended to try the experiment, Coleridge had to be found more suitable lodgings than the "Chemist's Laboratory". He could not move in with friends like the Lambs because they would not be "firm enough" to refuse him laudanum if "he should suffer by suddenly leaving it off". In the hope of being able to give up his degrading addiction Coleridge agreed to "submit himself to any regimen, however severe"³. He wanted to make a complete break all at once - "as to leaving it off by degrees, it is mere ignorance of the nature of the Distemper that could alone inspire the hope or belief"⁴. They decided to secure lodgings for him for a month or so in the home of "some medical gentleman, who will have courage to refuse him any laudanum, and under whose assistance, should he be the worse for it, he may be relieved". In his new lodgings Coleridge wanted "retirement, and a garden", and Daniels applied to the only suitable medical practitioner he could think of, James Gillman, "a respectable Surgeon and Naturalist", whose home, Moreton House, and practice were at Highgate, a village just outside London⁵.

James Gillman was thirty-three years old. After an apprenticeship as a surgeon in Great Yarmouth he had supported himself in London while he

1 see above ch.1 p. 14; L III 490, 492 etc.

2 L IV 627

3 Gillman 270-71

4 L IV 627

5 Gillman 270-71

completed his training at Westminster Hospital and the Royal College of Surgeons. In 1811 he had received a prize from the Royal College of Surgeons for his essay "On the Bite of a Rabid Animal", which was subsequently published. In 1807 he had married Anne Harding and settled at Highgate. They had two sons, James, born in 1808, and Henry, who in 1816 was only two years old¹. Gillman had an apprentice and assistant, J.H.B. Williams, who lived with them, and who qualified as a doctor in 1819².

Gillman had met Adams only twice, but the letter roused his curiosity. Adams wrote that he would not have proposed Coleridge as an inmate at Moreton House "but on account of the great importance of the character as a literary man. His communicative temper will make his society very interesting, as well as useful"³. Gillman had heard of William Wilberforce's failure to break his addiction to opium⁴, and agreed at least to meet Coleridge. When he called at Moreton House the Gillmans were fascinated by him, "almost spell-bound, without the desire of release", and within a few hours they had come to an agreement over the terms on which Coleridge would take up residence⁵. Before moving in Coleridge wrote to Gillman explaining that they could expect only one "unpleasant circumstance" connected with his residence:

viz. - Evasion, and the cunning of a specific madness. You will never hear any thing but truth from me - Prior Habits render it out of my power to tell a falsehood, but unless watched carefully, I dare not promise that I should not with regard to this detested Poison be capable of acting a Lie. - No sixty hours have yet passed without my having taking [taken] laudunum - tho' for the past week comparatively trifling doses.⁶

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- 1 A.W.Gillman Searches into the History of the Gillman or Gilman Family 165-67, 187; A.W.Gillman The Gillmans of Highgate 5-6, 21-22; D.N.B. "James Gillman"
 - 2 L IV 948
 - 3 Gillman 270-71
 - 4 Gillman 271
 - 5 Gillman 272-73; L IV 629-30
 - 6 L IV 630

He must not be allowed out of the house alone, and Williams and the servant must be told not to bring him anything. "The stimulus of Conversation suspends the terror that haunts my mind; but when I am alone, the horrors, I have suffered from Laudanum, the degradation, the blighted Utility, almost overwhelm me."¹ Although Adams had doubtless warned Gillman not to allow Coleridge to see his old friends too often, or alone, an exception was made for John Morgan, who acted as his amanuensis daily from 11.30 a.m. to 3.30 p.m.² Coleridge took up residence with the Gillmans on 15 April, and remained with them for nineteen years until he died³.

During Morgan's negotiations with the Drury Lane Theatre Committee it was suggested that publication of the original Zapolya might assist the commercial success of the melodrama; so in early May Coleridge sent Morgan to Murray. He also sent the printed sheets of Biographia Literaria and Sibylline Leaves⁴. John Gutch wrote to Coleridge from Bristol in May, when Chapter XIV of Biographia Literaria was in proof, pointing out that the remaining manuscript he had on hand would make the first volume out of proportion with the second, Sibylline Leaves. He suggested that Biographia Literaria be printed as two volumes, making a three-volume set⁵. After consultation with Murray, who entirely agreed with Gutch, Morgan wrote to Gutch on 6 May instructing him to end the first volume with the distinction between

1 L IV 630

2 L IV 630

3 L IV 629-30

4 L IV 638

5 L IV 619 n 1

imagination and fancy. "The three Volumes then will be of nearly equal size."¹ This decision later caused Coleridge serious problems when it was discovered that Gutch's estimate of the amount of manuscript was wrong.

Meanwhile, however, all was going well. On 6 June Coleridge accepted Murray's offer of £50 for an edition of one thousand copies of Zapolya, with an additional advance of £50 as "part of his purchase money of some other Play, or Publication - or in default of this, after ten months, the Christmas Tale becomes his property"². Coleridge was forced to turn down Murray's offer of £200 for a volume of "Specimens of Rabbinical Wisdom" after the pattern of those in The Friend³. He began the work only to find that it would require too much research because he "had not Learning enough, either in my head or in my Library". He eventually passed the idea on to a Jewish neighbour at Highgate, Hyman Hurwitz, who completed the work⁴. Coleridge also submitted to Murray a proposal to publish a revised edition of The Friend⁵.

But his negotiations with Daniel Stuart about again becoming a contributor to the Courier were less successful. Mrs Gillman took over much of Morgan's task as Coleridge's amanuensis for a tract on Catholic Emancipation in the form of letters to the Prime Minister, Lord Liverpool, which Coleridge hoped to publish in the Courier⁶. He submitted them to T.G.Street, Stuart's partner, requesting a fee of £50, but withdrew them soon afterwards, in mid-June, fearing that the sentiments he expressed

1 L IV 646 n 1

2 L IV 644 n 1

3 26 October, 9 November 1809, 31 January 1810; L IV 656 and n 3

4 see below p.59; L V 433

5 L IV 650

6 L IV 640, 643, 683

would not accord with the Courier's political bias - "the damnable immorality of the principles supported in that paper, which is now little less than a systematic advocate of the Slave Trade ... besides every other mode of Despotism and Ministerial Folly". He resolved "never to let an article of mine contribute to the sale of that paper". Two months later, however, he resubmitted the articles to Street in revised form, but they were rejected, although several subsequent articles by Coleridge appeared in the Courier¹. Coleridge was equally unsuccessful in his attempts to assist Morgan (whose pecuniary problems were again increasing) by means of the influence of Stuart who, when invited to Highgate, offered only advice². Morgan returned to his wife at Calne in July³, and did not see Coleridge again for several years.

Lamb was unable to understand why he saw so little of Coleridge between April and September 1816. He knew that Coleridge had placed himself "under the medical care of a Mr Gilman (Killman?) a Highgate Apothecary, where he plays at leaving off laud - m", but did not know of Gillman's concern that Coleridge should not have too frequent access to his friends⁴. A visit to Coleridge on 14 July by Lamb and Crabb Robinson ended abruptly when Gillman entered the room, "very much with the air of a man who meant we should understand him to mean: 'Gentlemen, it is time for you to go!' We took the hint and Lamb said he would never call again"⁵. But in fact Gillman's careful supervision was in vain. The

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- 1 L IV 670, 683, VI 1041, 1046; but see D. Stuart "The Newspaper Writings of the Poet, Coleridge" in the Gentleman's Magazine (June 1838) 577-90; no such essays on the Catholic Question have been identified - see L IV 643 n 1
 - 2 L VI 1040
 - 3 L IV 660
 - 4 Lamb Letters II 190-91; L IV 629
 - 5 Robinson on Writers I 182; see also Lamb Letters II 196

pains caused by a total withdrawal of opium from an addict are terrible, and Coleridge could not withstand them¹.

Within eight days of moving into Moreton House he was using Murray to obtain a secret supply of laudanum². The subterfuge soon became public knowledge:

He put himself under watch and ward, ... gave his money to a friend to keep; and desired his druggist not to trust him. For some days all went on well. Our poet was ready to hang himself; could not write, could not eat, could not - incredible as it may seem - could not talk. The stimulus was wanting, and the apothecary contented. Suddenly, however, he began to mend; he wrote, he read, he talked, he harangued; Coleridge was himself again! And the apothecary began to watch within doors and without. The next day the culprit was detected; for the next day came a second supply of laudanum from Murray's, well wrapped up in proof sheets of the 'Quarterly Review'³.

Gillman was forced to relax the strict regimen on which they had agreed, and allowed Coleridge a small regular dose of laudanum which he increased whenever Coleridge's sufferings became unbearable. Coleridge was allowed a little wine but no spirits⁴. On the visit of 14 July

1 see for example L.Lewin Phantastica: Narcotic and Stimulating Drugs, Their Use and Abuse pp.62-63: "It is of no consequence to the final result whether withdrawal is attempted suddenly or in stages. In the former case the suffering produced is serious: and excitement of the hitherto impotent sexual sphere, restlessness, morbid craving for morphia, violent crises of fury and destructive mania occur, leading often to delirium and attempted suicide. Besides these symptoms excruciating pains are felt in various nervous centres; vomiting, diarrhoea, angina pectoris succeeded by cardiac collapse set in for some days. The gradual deprivation of the drug involves after every diminution of the dose a renewed cry on the part of the cerebral cells for the full amount to which they were adapted About 80 to 90 per cent of these wretched beings, perhaps even more, have relapses".

2 L IV 633

3 Letter from Mary Mitford to Sir W. Elford 13 Sep 1817 in The Life of Mary Russell Mitford ed. A.G.L'Estrange II 11-12

4 L VI 1041-42; Robinson on Writers I 200

Crabb Robinson thought that he had never seen Coleridge looking so well: "he seems to have profited already by the abstinence from opium, etc., on which he had lately lived"¹ As Gillman became more confident about Coleridge's friends, he relaxed the restrictions on visitors. Charles Robert Leslie, the artist, whom Coleridge invited to paint his portrait, was welcomed by the Gillmans. Leslie thought them "the sort of people with whom you become intimate at once", especially Mrs Gillman, "an excellent and charming woman"². Coleridge also renewed an old acquaintance with the diplomatist and scholar, John Hookham Frere³. Frere felt "the warmest personal regard" for Coleridge, and "the highest admiration for his learning, and critical as well as poetical powers"⁴. Coleridge, in return, believed that Frere possessed "the purest and manliest Taste" of any man "whom I yet met with in public or literary life"⁵. Within a few weeks of the renewal of their acquaintance Frere had loaned him the manuscript of his metrical translations of Aristophanes' The Acharnians, The Knights and The Birds. Coleridge also saw several of the printed sheets of Frere's translation of Aristophanes' The Frogs which was being printed by Murray⁶. He dined with Frere on 19 July to meet George Canning "and a few other interesting men"⁷. Frere also introduced him to one of his many brothers, George, whose wife was most impressed by Coleridge's

1 Robinson on Writers I 182

2 Autobiographical Recollections by the late Charles Robert Leslie ed. T. Taylor II 50

3 They had known each other several years previously - see The Works of John Hookham Frere ed. W.E. and B. Frere I 49, 248-49; L I 630, II 1091. Griggs is incorrect in stating that they first met in 1816 - see L V xxxvii

4 The Works of John Hookham Frere ed. W.E. and B. Frere I 248

5 L IV 647

6 L IV 647 and n 1, 649; D.N.B. "John Hookham Frere"

7 L IV 654, 699; Table Talk 28 Aug 1833

six-hour-long monologue at one of her parties. She thought Coleridge looked like a family friend, Archdeacon Bayley, sub-Dean of Lincoln, although there was one difference - "our old friend always looks like a gentleman and our new acquaintance has at first sight the air of a lecturer I wish we could see him or rather hear him again"¹.

The Freres and Crabb Robinson performed the useful service for Coleridge of lending him many of the books he needed at a time when others refused to do so, wary of his reputation for keeping books for long periods².

Although he was very busy correcting the "dreadfully numerous" errors in the proofs of Volume II of Biographia Literaria, he found time to act as "examining Master in Classics and Belles Lettres" for the local school in June³. He also made himself useful by assisting with the education of James and Henry Gillman. James was occasionally sent to Coleridge's room to request assistance with homework, and one of Henry's earliest memories was of sitting on Coleridge's bed in the morning being taught comic verses⁴. Several fragments written by Coleridge to assist James are extant - "Historical Mementos", "Conversation between a Tutor and his Pupil" and rules for the construction of Latin verses⁵.

The publication of the volume containing Christabel, Kubla Khan and The Pains of Sleep on 25 May was greeted by adverse reviews in the Examiner of 2 June (by Hazlitt) and the Edinburgh Review in September (by Thomas Moore)⁶. This was the first of several articles on Coleridge by Hazlitt

1 Frere MS. Mrs G.Frere to Bartle Frere Aug 1816

2 L IV 655, 660; Robinson on Writers I 182

3 L VI 1040

4 A.W.Gillman The Gillmans of Highgate 22, 28; L.E.Watson Coleridge at Highgate 3; G.L.Prentiss The Bright Side of Life I 262

5 B.M.MS. Egerton 2800

6 L IV 650, 668, 736, V 437; Complete Works of William Hazlitt ed. P.P.Howe XIX 32-34

during the next few years. They caused Coleridge a great deal of distress and annoyance, not merely because of the libellous personal nature of Hazlitt's remarks but also because he believed that adverse criticism of this kind reduced his sales and therefore his appeal to the publishers. In this first article Hazlitt wrote that Coleridge "is a man of that universality of genius, that his mind hangs suspended between poetry and prose, truth and falsehood ..., and from an excess of capacity, he does little or nothing"¹. Murray's confidence in his connection with Coleridge was badly shaken by Hazlitt's article, and he was apparently surprised by Moore's subsequent review, probably because of Byron's attempt to influence Moore to review Biographia Literaria and Sibylline Leaves favourably. Murray complained to Byron in January 1817 that the Edinburgh Review article by Moore "was base, after what had passed between you and the editor"².

Although the volume of Coleridge's poems went rapidly through three editions, Murray remained cautious. His attitude seemed to Coleridge, "nervous and imperfectly recovered as I was", to indicate that he "would have nothing to do with what he called my Metaphysics"³. Fearful that Murray might no longer wish to publish his long-planned revised edition of The Friend, on 8 July he approached John Gale, the senior partner in the publishing house known successively as Gale and Curtis, Gale and Fenner and Rest Fenner, who had published the 1812 edition of The Friend⁴. He informed Gale that his literary reputation was growing - "two dramatic pieces of mine will be brought out at Drury Lane at or before Christmas" -

1 Complete Works of William Hazlitt ed. P.P.Howe XIX 32-34

2 The Works of Lord Byron, Letters and Journals ed. R.E.Prothero III 232-33; S.Smiles A Publisher and his Friends I 372; see above p.

3 L VI 437

4 see above p.5

and Biographia Literaria and Sibylline Leaves were being printed. "In consequence of this, I suppose, I have been spoken to by an eminent publisher concerning the republication of the 'Friend'."¹ But he had felt "morally obliged" to offer the new edition to its original publishers, Gale and Fenner². On 11 and 15 July he met Thomas Curtis, a former partner in the business, but now the Rev. Mr Curtis³, whose "affected Retirement from Business" on taking Holy Orders was "a Humbug"⁴. Not only The Friend but also Biographia Literaria, Sibylline Leaves and all Coleridge's future works were discussed, and an agreement was reached. Details are confused and unclear but Gale and Fenner apparently agreed to advance £150 for The Friend, Biographia Literaria and Sibylline Leaves, which would be repaid out of Coleridge's half-share of the profits. They would take Coleridge's half of the copyright as security until the advance was repaid. And Coleridge agreed that they should have exclusive rights to all his future works⁵. Although he was later to claim that Biographia Literaria and Sibylline Leaves had not been involved in this agreement⁶, he was at the time delighted with the bargain he thought he had struck. Purely "as a mark of respect" he informed Gale and Fenner that he would try to write for them, without payment, a short tract on the economic and political distresses which had gripped the country after the conclusion of peace with France: "my object - to unvizard our Incendiaries"⁷. Foolishly however, he allowed them to advertise it as "A Lay-sermon on the Distresses of the Country, addressed to the Middle and Higher Orders", after which he

1 This is probably literally true: but what Murray had said was that he wanted nothing to do with republishing The Friend

2 L IV 650

3 as Coleridge later described him: "by virtue of a shilling licence" - L IV 953

4 L IV 755

5 L IV 680-81

6 L IV 701

7 L IV 670; see A.S.Link "Samuel Taylor Coleridge and the Economic and Political Crisis in Great Britain, 1816-1820" in Journal of the History of Ideas 9 (1948) 323-38

realised that his first intention, merely to "do my utmost" to write it, would no longer be sufficient¹. Not only did the advertisement force him to write the tract but it provided Hazlitt with an excuse to launch yet another virulent attack on Coleridge in the Examiner:

We see no sort of difference between his published and his unpublished compositions. It is just as impossible to get at the meaning of the one as the other He belongs to all parties and is of service to none. He gives up his independence of mind He offends others without satisfying himself, and equally by his servility and singularity, shocks the prejudices of all about him.

Hazlitt also promised to review the "Lay-Sermon" when it was published².

Another blow also shocked Coleridge. John Gutch had not merely blundered in his calculation as to the amount of manuscript material in his possession for the second volume of Biographia Literaria, but he apparently only discovered his error in mid-July when the printing of the last chapter of the manuscript had begun. In a letter accompanying the proofs of the opening pages of chapter XXII, he informed Coleridge that the manuscript would not after all make even two hundred pages of the second volume. Coleridge was justifiably distressed and angry to learn that he was now expected to write one hundred and fifty pages of material for a work he had believed finished ten months earlier. Despite two requests from Gutch to return it he retained the proof for three weeks. Gutch thereupon wrote a letter to Gillman containing a "Complaint" and a "Threat". Coleridge replied on 6 August. He explained that the delay was the result of "the perplexity of planning, and the labor of executing"

1 L IV 672, 679; the statement in the "Editor's Introduction" of the recent edition of Lay Sermons that Coleridge "was already engaged by Rest Fenner (sic)" to write "Lay Sermons" is, like much of that introduction, inaccurate - see The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge - 6: Lay Sermons ed. R.J.White xxix etc.

2 Complete Works of William Hazlitt ed. P.P.Howe VII 114-18

the additional material, and, angry because Gutch had written "disrespectfully" to Gillman - "comparatively a stranger to me, and who & whose Family hitherto have been accustomed not only to treat me with the greatest respect themselves, but to see me so treated by men of the first Rank and Consequence in the Country" - demanded that Gutch submit his account. His publishers would settle it when they received the already-printed chapters¹. But Gutch did not send in his bill at once. William Hood travelled from Bristol to Highgate and on 23 October wrote a conciliatory letter urging Coleridge to allow Gutch to finish printing the work².

Another disappointment came from Drury Lane Theatre. After Byron had resigned from the committee to go abroad, Douglas Kinnaird had left and Thomas Dibdin had been removed as Stage Manager. This left nobody at the Theatre predisposed towards Coleridge, and he was informed that Zapolya was unacceptable, despite his attempts to turn it into a melodrama with help from Kinnaird³. This disappointment, combined with his frustration about Biographia Literaria, found expression in five letters which he published in the Courier in August and September, attacking the "Supreme Committee of Management" of Drury Lane, and a play performed there on 9 May, C.R.Maturin's Bertram⁴. Coleridge eventually used these letters as part of the additional material needed for Biographia Literaria⁵. Hazlitt also used them as an excuse for yet another attack on Coleridge in the Examiner⁶.

1 L IV 662

2 L IV 662 n 1

3 L IV 705

4 L IV 664, 670, 720

5 chap. xxxiii

6 Complete Works of William Hazlitt ed. P.P.Howe V 335

Stress and overwork brought on a new attack of the abdominal pains from which he had suffered for several years¹. He was also distressed because of having to write the tract for Gale and Fenner. "The stimulant was aggravated into a narcotic - I labored from morning to night."² And he was forced to spend an entire night at the bedside of his sister-in-law, Martha Fricker, who was believed to be dying - "the only one of the Brood that I had any regard for, & who deserved it - whom the fine Ladies at Keswick had left as a laborious Mantua-maker in London". When he left next morning, her recovery seemed assured³. The Gillmans had hired a cottage by the sea at Muddiford in Hampshire for their usual Autumn holiday⁴. Gillman believed this was the best time of year to get away from Highgate, because he was of the opinion that "the 'fall of the leaf' was an unhealthy season in a district so densely encompassed by trees"⁵. Just before they were due to leave, Coleridge's feelings of ill-health became acute. "I could think, as before - my inward mind seemed the same - but even to take a pen in my hand, nay, the Post Man's knock, brought the big Drops not only on my forehead, but all over my Head & Chest." He believed that "If I were to live, an absolute seclusion became necessary", and on 19 September he accompanied the Gillmans to Muddiford.⁶

His first task at Muddiford was to reassure Gale and Fenner that the "Lay-Sermon" would be written⁷. He explained about the shameful languor

1 L IV 663

2 L IV 672

3 L IV 672-73; she remained in business in London until 1829, when she retired - see Minnow 149

4 L IV 673, 684

5 L.E.Watson Coleridge at Highgate 90

6 L IV 673, 684

7 L IV 674-82

which had always in the past left him open to criticism, much of it malignant:

For instance, who has dared blacken Mr Wilberforce's good name on this account? Yet he has been for a long series of years under the same necessity. Talk with any eminent druggist or medical practitioner, especially at the West End of the town, concerning the frequency of this calamity among men and women of eminence¹.

Composition took him a long time and much effort. "I dare not send off what dissatisfies my own judgement."² He never wrote mechanically: "I dare not even wish to compose with the facility of appropriation from the books and the conversation of others that Southey possesses"³. He would do his best. Indeed, he now intended to write three tracts, addressed respectively to the higher classes, "the higher and middle" classes, and the working classes, although he doubted if he could finish the third. When these were complete he would prepare additional material for Biographia Literaria, possibly making use of Remorse, "having secured that power by a special article, in any collection of my poems that I might choose to make". He would then begin the revision of The Friend⁴. But Gale and Fenner remained suspicious, and refused to grant him credit to purchase a copy of the 1812 edition of The Friend, which Gillman had to buy for him. "Merciful heavens, Sir, what infamous calumnies must you have listened to concerning me."⁵

Walking and bathing soon restored his health⁶. Their cottage was pleasantly close to the beach, and a recent acquaintance, the humorous and

1 L IV 674-75

2 L IV 677

3 L IV 678

4 L IV 679

5 L IV 681

6 L IV 674, 682; but see Lamb Letters II 217

eccentric William Stewart Rose, lived nearby. Rose's villa, Gundimore, had a useful library, and his society helped pass the time¹. When Coleridge first dined at Gundimore, Rose took pains to ensure that the intellectual dignity of his guest was known to his elderly servant, David Hinves, who was a Methodist preacher and whom everyone treated "more like a friend than a servant"².

'The Friend' drank two bottles of wine, and was eloquent after it, as usual, walking round the room, and prelecting on the character and contents of almost every book, as he passed it in the shelves of Mr Rose's Library. The old servant drily observed to his master the day after, 'Mr Coleridge is no doubt a genius, sir, a great genius, as you say; but didn't you see, sir, that he was very drunk?'³

Coleridge later presented Hinves with an annotated copy of the volume of his poems Christabel, Kubla Khan, and The Pains of Sleep as a "small testimonial of Regard"⁴.

He returned to Highgate on 13 November much improved in health⁵. Gillman had been attempting to study Coleridge's physical and chemical theories, but found them hard to understand. Coleridge reassured him:

It is your anxiety only and your lively perception of the inappropriateness of what I have hitherto written, or dictated, to the Essay in question that makes the thoughts appear ... beyond your comprehension. The sum of all, as far as can be very desirable for you ... to have an insight concerning, is: that in all things alike, great and small, you must seek the reality not in any imaginary elements, (ex.gr. Sodeum + Oxygen = Soda: or Soda - Oxygen = Sodeum) all of which considered as other than elementary relations ... are mere fictions, not a whit more respectable than the Archeus of Helmont, the Salt, Sulphur, and Mercury of the Old Chemists, or even than the Green Dragons and Planetary Spirits of the Alchemists⁶.

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- 1 L IV 683, 684; see F. MacCann Sir Walter's Friends 229-30
 - 2 J.G. Lockhart Memoirs of Sir Walter Scott II 481 n 1
 - 3 N.L.S. MS. 3389 ff. 442-43 - Extracts from the Journal of Mrs John Davy, Nov.-Dec. 1831
 - 4 L IV 691
 - 5 L IV 687, 688, 694
 - 6 L IV 688

He promised to devote every free evening to explaining his theories to Gillman, and several of his letters in 1817 and early 1818 abound with "scientific" jargon. He was content to approach natural phenomena by way of metaphysical abstraction, not attempting to test his theories by observation and experiment. In his desire "to evolve the fact from the Law"¹ he was led into numerous absurdities. He dismissed Newton's theory of light, preferring Goethe's (which he claimed had been his at College)²; he believed that the general acceptance of Dalton's atomic theory proved the poverty of contemporary scientific thought; and he claimed to have proof that, in the face of Champollion's decipherment of Egyptian hieroglyphics, Egyptian antiquities were mere ancient forgeries³.

Leaving ... all of more universal consideration for a future Time, I propose to begin at once with Life; but with Life in it's very first manifestations - demonstrating that there is no other possible definition of Life but Individuality All the previous steps I shall have for your own Overlooking⁴.

He prepared an essay for Gillman, and later for other "disciples", apparently a learned exhibition of wide-ranging scientific knowledge, supporting his theory with up-to-date experimental evidence, but in fact essentially a translation from recent works published in Germany by Henrik Steffens and Schelling⁵. The essay was for private use, not for publication⁶.

1 L IV 629

2 Robinson's Diary II 11

3 L IV 750-51, 760, V 442

4 L IV 690

5 mainly Steffens's Beytrage zur innern Naturgeschichte der Erde (1801) and Grundzüge der philosophischen Naturwissenschaft (1806), with passages from Schelling's Allgemeine Deduktion des dynamischen Processes

6 the manuscript eventually passed to James Gillman, jr., who allowed a former schoolfellow, Seth B. Watson, to publish it in 1848 as The Theory of Life - see E.L. Griggs Coleridge Fille 162-65; L V 49 n 2

His first Lay-Sermon appeared in December as The Statesman's Manual, or the Bible the Best Guide to Political Skill and Foresight. Despite his best intentions the second, A Lay Sermon addressed to the Higher and Middle Classes on the existing Distresses and Discontents, was not issued until March 1817. As he had feared, the third tract was never written. He sent presentation copies of The Statesman's Manual to several friends, including Lamb, George Frere and William Stewart Rose, and also considered sending copies to Canning and Lord Sidmouth¹. Reactions varied, but the most generally-expressed opinion among his friends was that the tracts were largely incomprehensible². The review promised by Hazlitt before they were written appeared in the Examiner on 29 December, and Coleridge was shocked by it: "a malignity, so avowedly and exclusively personal, as is, I believe, unprecedented even in the present contempt of all common humanity that disgraces and endangers the liberty of the press"³. This was followed by a second article by Hazlitt in the Edinburgh Review⁴, which one of Coleridge's nephews, Henry Nelson Coleridge, thought was "very vituperative"⁵.

Coleridge looked unwell when Crabb Robinson called at Highgate on 21 December, and Gillman confirmed that he had been very ill because of overwork. He was suffering from irritation of the bowels, really an effect of opium consumption, but which he naively dismissed as "family

1 L IV 691, 695, 696

2 L IV 696; Middle Years 373; The Letters of Sara Hutchinson ed. K.Coburn 105; The Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey ed. C.C.Southey IV 258

3 Biographia Literaria chap. xxiii

4 dated Dec.1816 but published Feb.1817. See E.Schneider "The Unknown Reviewer of Christabel ..." in P.M.L.A. (June 1955) 421 n ; Complete Works of William Hazlitt ed. P.P.Howe XVI 99-107

5 B.M.MS. 47558 ff.52-53, H.N.Coleridge to Frances Coleridge 24 Feb.1817

disease". Robinson enjoyed his conversation, during which Coleridge praised the work of Steffens (which he had used to write The Theory of Life), and was surprised at the moderation with which Coleridge spoke of Hazlitt. Coleridge was, however, "not displeased" to learn that Lamb's brother John had recently knocked Hazlitt down¹. On the day after this meeting Robinson broke off his acquaintance with Hazlitt². Charles and Mary Lamb complained frequently in their letters to the Worksworths and Sara Hutchinson that they had not seen Coleridge since his removal to Highgate³. They probably still felt a lingering uneasiness because of Gillman's earlier coolness⁴, and Coleridge felt unable to visit them in case he met Hazlitt, with whom the Lambs remained on friendly terms, and who was often to be found in their home⁵.

The "rifacciamento" of The Friend now began to occupy much of Coleridge's time. He obtained Hookham Frere's permission to use lines from his translation of Aristophanes' The Frogs as a motto, and spent a great deal of time correcting the numerous confusions in the proofs⁶.

John Gutch, as requested, finally submitted his printing bill for Biographia Literaria on 18 December. This amounted to £284 18s. 6d., and Gutch also requested immediate payment of the £107 5s. 6d. advanced on the security of Sibylline Leaves by Hood, Le Breton and Gutch during 1815⁷. "But if this is not speedily to be accomplished, and you persist in

1 Robinson on Writers I 200

2 Robinson's Diary II 39-40

3 Lamb Letters II 196, 200, 217

4 see above p. 30

5 L IV 798

6 L IV 696 and n 1, VI 1042

7 see above p. 17; L IV 551 n 1

declining to finish the work as you intended, I shall immediately announce it to the public, in the state in which it was placed in my hands"¹ At first Gale and Fenner were suspicious about the £107 5s. 6d. advanced on Sibylline Leaves, and after long and occasionally acrimonious discussion Gutch accepted £265 Os. 4d. in March 1817 in full payment of his printing bill. Coleridge's debt of £107 5s. 6d. was held to be his own responsibility. Hood graciously cancelled his own share of the debt, and Coleridge had to borrow £28 to repay Gutch and Le Breton². When the printed sheets of Biographia Literaria reached London in April, however, it was discovered that "from the slovenly and careless way in which they came packed to us very many of the sheets are spoiled", and it took several weeks to sort them out. In consequence Gale and Fenner reduced Gutch's bill by an amount to pay for damaged sheets, carriage and putting them in order, and finally settled Gutch's account in May for £223 14s. 10d.³.

Still more complications because of Biographia Literaria filled the early months of 1817. Coleridge had persuaded Murray to return Zapolya to use it as additional material for Volume II⁴, but Gale and Fenner decided that other material would be more suitable and suggested publishing Zapolya as a separate work. But Coleridge refused, because publication would violate the agreement he had made with Murray on 6 June 1816, by which he still owed him £50⁵. The last 165 pages of Volume II of Biographia Literaria were eventually filled with "The Letters of Satyrane"

1 L IV 658-59

2 L IV 658-59, 701, 707-08, 733

3 L IV 659

4 L IV 705

5 see above p. 29; L IV 644 n 1, 709

from The Friend, the Courier articles criticising Maturin's Bertram, and a final chapter condemning contemporary reviewing methods, and defending Christabel, Zapolya and the Lay Sermons. This last chapter grew out of Coleridge's belief that "there is a strong party against me, whom I have never offended, any more than a poor Horse with a raw back has offended the Bots and Gadflies that fasten upon him"¹. Published criticism of Coleridge had begun almost as soon as he settled at Highgate. Hazlitt was the main offender but Moore and, later, John Wilson also joined in, not merely criticising Coleridge's works but also attacking and condemning his personality and way of life. The attacks affected Coleridge in two ways: their personal nature caused him severe distress and, together with the belief that the attacks affected his reputation and popularity as a writer, they undermined his self-confidence². "Perhaps, I may be able to beat this down, perhaps not. The next 12 or 18 months will bring it to the Test"³ But Coleridge was persuaded that the "Mohawk truculence" of the attacks had less effect on the sale of his works than the "studied silence" of the Quarterly Review, from which he expected support. He poured out his bitterness and sorrow in several of his letters, and in the last chapter of Biographia Literaria replied to Hazlitt's attacks upon The Statesman's Manual, particularly to a charge of "potential infidelity", and also rebuked Francis Jeffrey, editor of the Edinburgh Review, for including the scurrilous review of Christabel in its pages and for choosing Hazlitt to review The Statesman's Manual. But he was no match for his opponents, for Jeffrey retaliated by commissioning Hazlitt to review Biographia Literaria.

1 L IV 700

2 e.g. L IV 737 etc.

3 L IV 700

Coleridge was equally unsuccessful in attempts to defend himself in the Quarterly Review. On 15 March he appealed personally for assistance to Southey, who as poet laureate and a frequent contributor to the Quarterly Review would have considerable influence: "Quod ac hoc opus refert, te rogo ut me, olim tuum Coleridgium, adjuves: potes enim, nec minus vis"¹. But Southey too was suffering from the reviewers. A play he had written in 1794, Wat Tyler, had recently been published without his permission, and its juvenile republican sentiments showed by contrast the subsequent extensive shift in his political opinions. The young Radical reviewers seized the opportunity and the resulting uproar lasted for two months. It was mentioned by Brougham and William Smith in the House of Commons, and Southey was unable to obtain an injunction from the Court of Chancery to halt the publication². Coleridge leapt into the maelstrom with four articles in the Courier in March and April, an obvious attempt to influence Southey to write for him in the Quarterly Review. Not only was he unsuccessful (even Dorothy Wordsworth thought them injudicious - "his praise is to me quite disgusting"³) but Hazlitt took the opportunity to attack him again in the Examiner on 6 April, describing him and Southey as "sworn brothers in the same cause of righteous apostacy"⁴. A favourable review of the Lay Sermons appeared in the Courier on 25 March, but it was written at least in part by Coleridge himself⁵.

Despite Coleridge's refusal Gale and Fenner still wanted to publish Zapolya, convinced that it would have a "momentary Sale" and so "replace

1 The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge - VI: Lay Sermons ed. R.J.White 243

2 New Letters of Robert Southey ed. K.Curry II 150 n ; C.C.Southey The Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey IV 251 n

3 Middle Years 379

4 Complete Works of William Hazlitt ed. P.P.Howe XIX 196-98, VII 168-208

5 L IV 714, 715

the house in funds". Without consulting Coleridge, therefore, Curtis approached Murray in February to discuss "the exact situation in which he felt himself toward that poem"¹. Murray suspected Coleridge of deception and demanded that, before publishing Zapolya, Gale and Fenner should return the £100 he had advanced in June 1816 on it and "some other Play or Publication"². Curtis either misunderstood Murray or, as Coleridge subsequently believed, misrepresented him, and reported to Gale and Fenner that Murray had advanced the £100 on Zapolya and Biographia Literaria. Coleridge received a sharp letter from Gale and Fenner on 4 March:

To hear ... of any other individual being promised the publication of the Life after all that has occurred - look at it, dear Sir We have been exposed to offering this 2nd work ('The Life') in a public Sale room on which a Brother Tradesman claims a serious Advance If Messrs Gale & Co give Mr Murray their Note for this £100 it will be necessary you should see them on Thursday. - But they have not concluded to do this³.

Gillman contacted Murray who indicated that he would be prepared to accept £50 "as a settlement respecting the Zapolya". Coleridge borrowed the sum from a "friend", probably Gillman, and became owner of the copyright of Zapolya⁴. He was very surprised to discover on 14 March that Gale and Fenner had continued printing Zapolya, and asked them to stop. "If I published the Zapolya at all, it should be with a Dramatic Essay prefixed, and two other Tragedies, the Remorse greatly improved as one."⁵ Greatly to his delight Alexander Rae, one of the actors at Drury Lane Theatre, chose Remorse for his benefit night on 14 April⁶.

1 L IV 703

2 see above p 29; L IV 644 n 1

3 L IV 704

4 L IV 716-18

5 L IV 709-10

6 L IV 720 and n 1

Although he managed to halt publication of Zapolya at this time, only a few months later his desperate financial situation forced him to agree, and it was issued in November. It was also produced very successfully as a melodrama, Zapolya: or the Warwolf, at the Royal Circus and Surrey Theatre in February 1818, but Coleridge had no hand in its adaptation and received none of the profits¹. On 2 March 1818 Thomas Dibdin chose it for his benefit night².

For most of his life Coleridge had had no regular income. The Wedgwood annuity had long been paid directly to his wife³. By May he believed that his debts amounted to about £300⁴. Southey, who was in London during the Spring, reported to Wordsworth an exaggerated story he had been told by Morgan, who was probably hurt at what he considered Coleridge's recent neglect of him:

Gillman has not fallen in love with C. and been 'bewitched by his tongue' ... but ... is speculating upon him, and hoping to ride upon his reputation with notoriety and practice: ... C. is engaged to pay five guineas per week to him, ... all the money which C. has had in various ways (amounting to a considerable sum) has gone in this way, ... C. is largely in debt to him, and ... if he goes away without paying this apothecary, which M. supposes he intends to do, the Apothecary will arrest him His habits of opium are as bad as ever⁵.

Coleridge had indeed been considering a plan to return to Keswick to write "such Books as I can procure a pre-engagement for"⁶, and Southey was most distressed when Coleridge announced that he intended to call on him

1 L IV 710 n 1, 721 n 1; Blackwood's Magazine (Nov. 1817) 226

2 The Morning Post 27 Feb. 1818

3 L II 1049, 1109, IV 702 and n 2

4 L IV 733

5 New Letters of Robert Southey ed. K. Curry II 155-56

6 L IV 733

in London to discuss an invitation Southey had recently sent him to return to Greta Hall. Southey regretted this invitation bitterly: "I have done many foolish things in my life, and this was one of them if C. is to be pursued by bailiffs, they had better find him anywhere than at Keswick"¹. Southey's concern was premature, for Coleridge was considering an alternative suggestion, not particularly to his taste but financially more rewarding:

I have been compelled to give up all thought & hope of doing any thing of a permanent nature, either as a Poet or a Philosopher - and have (not without a sigh of anguish) hired myself as a Job writer and Compiler to a great House who are now engaging in a work that will, if it succeed at all, consume all the years, I can expect to live².

Earlier in 1817 Gale and Fenner had projected an ambitious new work, Encyclopaedia Metropolitana, to be published periodically in twenty-five volumes. Coleridge had earlier been commissioned to prepare the plan for the arrangement of the contents, and had submitted to them his own arrangement, not on the normal dictionary principles but in accordance with "a correct Philosophical Method". When they printed it in May he found to his annoyance that it had been altered by John Stoddart³. They now offered him the general supervision of the work at a salary of £500 a year if he moved into lodgings near the press at Camberwell. He could not do this - "at present I cannot with ease to my own mind go to solitary lodgings". He was also concerned that his £300 debt should be paid⁴. Agreement seemed to have been eventually reached on 18 June. From July

1 New Letters of Robert Southey ed. K. Curry II 155-56

2 L IV 737

3 L IV 732, 816; Coleridge's Treatise on Method ed. A.D. Snyder xvii-xx, 17; there is no evidence that Stoddart helped him prepare the original plan - see E.K. Chambers Samuel Taylor Coleridge 281

4 L IV 733-34

Coleridge would write four sheets of an Introduction, a similar amount of Grammar and an outline of more Grammar, and six sheets of a Lexicon. He would also superintend the printing at Camberwell on one day every fortnight, if required. In return he would receive £500 a year, and an advance of £300 with which to pay his debt, for which he would supply security in the form of copyrights of all the works in his possession¹. Unfortunately he soon discovered that he had misunderstood the terms².

Coleridge now had no desire to leave Highgate where he had found a home with understanding, loving and selfless friends. Even the domestic bustle of a house with two young children did not disturb him - "Monday Morning, six o'clock. Hen Pen resenting the being washed, in the nursery, opposite the drawing Room in which I sit"³. Mrs Gillman was especially kind. Whenever he became depressed, she accompanied him to a grove of pines nearby to watch the sunset which usually restored his spirits. "That was his favourite walk, and he was always so much better for the prospect from thence"⁴ The neighbourhood gradually accepted him, although the children called him " 'Gillman's Softie', & such like; and many people who should know better speak of him as if he were only half-baked"⁵. After his death they remembered how he would often place his hand absent-mindedly on the shoulder of one of the children as he walked, "discoursing metaphysics to the trembling captive, while the rest fled for refuge and peeped out with laughing faces from behind the trees"⁶.

1 L IV 741

2 see below p. 53

3 B.M.MS. 47520 f.45, notebook 22; "Hen Pen" was the nickname of Henry Gillman

4 L.E.Watson Coleridge at Highgate 58

5 E.L.Griggs "Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Opium" in Huntington Library Quarterly 17 (1953-54) 357-78

6 A.G.L'Estrange The Literary Life of the Rev. William Harness 144

CHAPTER 3. JUNE 1817 - AUGUST 1819.

On 13 June 1817 Coleridge was invited to dinner at the home of Joseph Henry Green to meet Ludwig Tieck, the German poet and historian, who was in England to further his studies of Elizabethan drama¹. Joseph Green, aged twenty-five, was an ambitious surgeon whose practice was in Lincoln's Inn Fields. He also held a post as unpaid demonstrator in anatomy at St Thomas's Hospital. He had not known Coleridge long, indeed this was probably their first meeting. A mutual life-long regard soon developed. Deeply interested in philosophy, Green was the first of Coleridge's Highgate disciples. He became Coleridge's amanuensis almost at once, and remained his adviser and "the partner of his labours" until Coleridge died. He was named as his literary executor and devoted his own life to a vain attempt to co-ordinate Coleridge's philosophical fragments into a coherent system². Green also helped Coleridge financially, and paid the premiums of the life assurance policy he had taken out in 1803. To Mrs Gillman he seemed "tenderly alive to the misery of his beloved friend ... even as that angelic being would have felt, had the case been reversed"³.

Coleridge and Ludwig Tieck had first met in Rome in 1806⁴, and happily renewed their acquaintance. Although Coleridge was restricted by language difficulties at dinner - "His German was not good, and his English was not free"⁵ - at subsequent meetings on 24 and 25 June at Highgate, to which Green

1 Robinson on Writers I 207; L IV 745

2 published posthumously in 1863 as Spiritual Philosophy: Founded on the Teaching of the late Samuel Taylor Coleridge

3 B.M.MS. 47521 f. 8, notebook 23; B.M.MS. 36532 ff. 6-12, S.T. Coleridge letters, etc.; D.N.B. "Joseph Henry Green"; C.A. Ward "Coleridge's Logic" in The Athenaeum (July 1893) 35 (Oct 1895) 571, (Feb 1896) 149; Memoir and Letters of Sara Coleridge ed. E. Coleridge I 111

4 L IV 744; D.E. Sultana Samuel Taylor Coleridge in Malta and Italy 387

5 Robinson's Diary II 54



was cordially invited, they solved the problem by each speaking his own native language:

and in a few minutes we became wholly unconscious that we were not both speaking the same language: as the words conveyed the thoughts to each without any intermedium of mental translation¹.

He asked Hookham Frere for letters of introduction which Tieck could use at Oxford and Cambridge, and offered him a letter for Southey whom Tieck hoped to meet later in Paris².

Coleridge was delighted that his son Hartley could spend part of the Oxford vacation at Highgate during June and July - "his manners are rather eccentric - otherwise, he is in head and heart all, I ought to wish"³. But although Hartley was "very much improved", Coleridge still felt concerned about him. "If I could see him more systematic in his studies and in the employment of his Time, I should have little to complain of."⁴ When Hartley told him that he wanted to visit relatives and friends in Devonshire, Coleridge obtained an invitation for him from Thomas Poole to visit Nether Stowey, "the place of his Infancy, poor fellow!"⁵ Poole had just returned to Stowey after a visit to London. He was most impressed by Highgate and the attentions of the Gillmans:

You are happy in your friends near you. Mr. Gillman is an invaluable treasure. He gives you himself; and I respect, I had almost said revere,⁶ him for it, and for the feelings which prompt the conduct.

1 L IV 739-40, 744

2 L IV 744, 746, 750, 753-54; E.L. Griggs "Ludwig Tieck and Samuel Taylor Coleridge" in Journal of English and Germanic Philology 54 (1955) 262-68

3 L IV 747

4 L IV 755

5 L IV 755

6 H. Sandford Thomas Poole and his Friends II 257

Coleridge sent Poole corrected copies of Biographia Literaria and Sibylline Leaves when they were published in July: "so wildly have they been printed, that a corrected Copy is of some value to those, to whom the works themselves are of any"¹. Hartley left for Nether Stowey with sufficient pocket money on 23 August².

By now Coleridge had discovered that his belief that Rest Fenner - as the publishers were now called - would pay his £300 debt as part of the agreement for him to work on the Encyclopaedia Metropolitana, was mistaken. Such an advance would be contemplated only if he were "entirely given up to the Work, at Camberwell". His friends agreed that he should not leave Highgate, and Frere's "strenuous" advice was that he finish Christabel and revise The Friend before proceeding with all his planned works, undeterred by adverse reviews. "I should in some way or other be enabled to live in comfort."³ Believing that Frere was hinting at possible political patronage, Coleridge accepted his suggestion that he send his works to influential public figures. The Prime Minister, Lord Liverpool, received copies of Biographia Literaria and Sibylline Leaves, accompanied by an extraordinarily recondite letter which Liverpool endorsed:

From Mr. Coleridge, stating that the object of his writings has been to rescue speculative philosophy from false principles of reasoning, and to place it on that basis, or give it that tendency, which would make it best suited to the interests of religion as well as of the State; at least I believe this is Mr. Coleridge's meaning, but I cannot well understand him.⁴

Coleridge had to find another way to clear his £300 debt. On 18 August

1 L IV 754

2 L IV 766-67

3 L IV 724, 741, 755; H. Sandford Thomas Poole and his Friends II 257

4 L IV 755, 757-63; C.D. Yonge The Life and Administration of Robert Banks, Second Earl of Liverpool II 300

he concluded an agreement with Rest Fenner to publish Zapolya. Like Coleridge's other works published by them, Biographia Literaria, Sibylline Leaves, Lay Sermons and The Friend "now printing", Zapolya would be published on the understanding that Coleridge would retain half the copyright and half profits. However, Rest Fenner would advance £300 to him in return for which they would retain his share of the profits of Zapolya and also of Biographia Literaria, Sibylline Leaves, the Lay Sermons and The Friend when it was published, until their £300 was repaid. As part of the bargain he also agreed to write a six-sheet "Introduction" for the Encyclopaedia Metropolitana before 18 October, for which he would be paid ten guineas per sheet¹. He received the £300 as £25 in cash, £50 as a Bill to be drawn at two months, and the remaining £225 as a Bill redeemable in January 1818². Most of the £25 was used to pay Hartley's debts and to provide pocket money for his journey to Stowey, and the Bill for £50 was sent to Mrs Coleridge.³

"I am under the necessity of making myself a fixture at my Writing table for some days to come."⁴ Murray had asked him to write an article for the Quarterly Review on the political situation, "a sort of probationary, from which I expect parts only to be taken"⁵ When Hookham Frere read it on 13 August, Coleridge became convinced that Frere was disappointed by it. Despite several letters from Murray it was never submitted, although Coleridge offered his services to Murray for future Quarterly Review articles⁶.

1 L IV 765 n 1; B.E. Rooke is incorrect in stating that the payment was to be six guineas per sheet - see The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge - 4: The Friend lxxxiii

2 L IV 765 n 1

3 L IV 766-67

4 L IV 765

5 L IV 764

6 L IV 778

His younger son, Derwent, now seventeen years old, was looking forward to going to university but failed to obtain a hoped-for scholarship. His mother advised him to "direct his thoughts, his hopes, and calculations into a different channel"¹, and Southey looked for a post for him in "some public office"². Hookham Frere offered Coleridge both financial aid and all his interest to obtain a scholarship for Derwent if he were sent to Cambridge³, and Coleridge contacted Southey, who was in London, to inform him of the new situation⁴. Still afraid that Coleridge wanted to return to Keswick, Southey went unwillingly to Highgate. "He will begin as he did when last I saw him, about Animal Magnetism or some equally congruous subject, and go on from Dan to Beersheba in his endless loquacity."⁵ Coleridge also asked his wife to send Derwent to Highgate. He would pay for suitable clothing with the money he had received from Rest Fenner. "Would to God! I could but hit on a possibility of seeing my dear Sara."⁶ Southey and the Wordsworths approved of Derwent's visit. When Coleridge "felt the weight upon his own shoulders", he might be of some assistance to his son: "C. is fortunate in making friends and noways delicate in soliciting favours from them". But Derwent's visit had to be postponed when Mrs Coleridge received the news from Mrs Gillman that Coleridge was unwell and could not receive him⁷. Southey was sorry for Derwent's disappointment, and remained suspicious that Coleridge intended to abandon his debts and obligations in London. "Whenever he is arrested, which sooner or later he must be, it had better take place anywhere else than here."⁸

1 Minnow 52, 59

2 Middle Years 209

3 L IV 755; Minnow 52

4 L IV 754

5 Campbell cii

6 L IV 767

7 New Letters of Robert Southey ed. K. Curry II 175; Later Years I 402

8 New Letters of Robert Southey ed. K. Curry II 176

The publication of Biographia Literaria in July had created a stir among Coleridge's acquaintances. Francis Jeffrey, editor of the Edinburgh Review, added a long footnote to the abusive review of it by Hazlitt in the August issue, replying to Coleridge's criticisms of him in Biographia Literaria. Crabb Robinson was unimpressed by Jeffrey's answer: "he confesses enough to fix on himself the imputation of gross flattery and insincerity towards Coleridge"¹. Murray refused an offer from Southey to review it favourably in the Quarterly Review, which did not mention it at all. However, Murray did send a copy of Biographia Literaria to Byron, presumably to enable him to read the flattering remarks on his poetical style and language in Chapters XX and XXII². The criticisms of the Drury Lane Theatre Committee, which had been used to fill the gap in the second volume, angered Byron, and the remarks on Bertram stung Maturin into a reply which he intended to preface to his new work, Women: or Pour et Contre³. But Maturin's publisher, Archibald Constable, took fright, and at his request Walter Scott intervened, pointing out that retaliation would merely give additional publicity to Coleridge's remarks. Biographia Literaria was "little read or heard of, and has made no general impression". Maturin agreed to cancel the preface⁴.

Daniel Stuart reacted angrily to Coleridge's reminiscences about his journalistic work for the Morning Post and Courier. "The unavoidable inference was that he who made my fortune was living in Mr. Gillman's garret, while I was riding in my carriage." He called at Highgate where he "warmly remonstrated" with Coleridge. But his anger subsided when he returned home:

1 Robinson on Writers I 209-10; Complete Works of William Hazlitt ed. P.P. Howe XXVIII, 115-37

2 New Letters of Robert Southey ed. K. Curry II 171, 171 n 2; S. Smiles A Publisher and his Friends I 386

Scott's Letters V 95, 95 n 1

4 Scott's Letters V 95-99, 101

I considered that he was much reproached for not doing something worthy of him, and that his reference to the Morning Post and the Courier was a resource, an excuse, it would be cruel to deprive him of; I considered, too, that he was probably laying claim to some appointment under government

He allowed the affair to drop, and remained on friendly terms with Coleridge for the rest of his life¹.

In the last week of September Coleridge escaped from his desk to accompany Mrs Gillman to the sea-side at Littlehampton. Although he had planned the holiday in August, he explained to Murray in September that it was prompted by illness, "some slight stricture in the higher bowel"². Within a few days, with improved health, he wrote the sonnet, Fancy in Nubibus, partially translated from Stolberg's An das Meer. He sent copies to Charles Lamb and, at Mrs Gillman's request, to Gillman, "merely because it is the first Resumption of the rhyming Idleness"³. But he made no progress with Christabel which he had promised his wife to continue while on holiday⁴. At Littlehampton he made the acquaintance of two men who played important parts in his later life, Henry Francis Cary and Charles Augustus Tulk. On several occasions while walking along the beach he heard Cary reciting Homer in Greek to his son. One day Coleridge introduced himself: "Sir, yours is a face I should know: I am Samuel Taylor Coleridge."⁵ The walk ended in

1 D. Stuart "Anecdotes of the Poet, Coleridge" in the Gentleman's Magazine IX (May 1838) 485-92

2 L IV 767, 777

3 L IV 777, 779-80; Lamb Letters II 223-24; The Poems of Samuel Taylor Coleridge ed. E.H. Coleridge 435 n 1

4 L IV 767

5 H. Cary Memoir of the Rev. Henry Francis Cary II 18

their dining together, and Cary loaned him a copy of his translation of Dante's Divine Comedy, which he had published at his own expense three years earlier. Coleridge read it that night and was so impressed that he promised to attempt "to secure the knowledge of the work for the true Lovers of Poetry in general".¹

Tulk was a wealthy man who became a Member of Parliament in 1821. His father, John Augustus Tulk, had been one of the founders of the Theosophical Society in 1784, "instituted for the purpose of promoting the Heavenly Doctrines of the New Jerusalem by translating, printing, and publishing the Theological Writings of Emanuel Swedenborg". Charles Tulk was an ardent Swedenborgian and had frequent discussions with Coleridge of his beliefs. Coleridge was, however, always careful to avoid revealing in print his professed admiration for the writings of Swedenborg².

When Coleridge returned to Highgate on 13 November, his first task was to finish the "Introduction" for the Encyclopaedia Metropolitana, which was published as the Preliminary Treatise on Method. He had promised it to Rest Fenner for 18 October, but they received it on 24 November³. Joseph Henry Green returned from Berlin, where he had been since July studying German philosophy, and was immediately invited to dine at Highgate⁴.

1 L IV 779; E. Blunden Keats's Publisher 58-60; T. Chilcott A Publisher and his Circle 80-81; but compare Recollections of the Table Talk of Samuel Rogers ed. A. Dyce 285

2 W. White Emanuel Swedenborg II 598-99, 616; J.B. Beer Coleridge the Visionary 41; L V 9 n 2, 88, 89, 174-75, 284

3 L IV 779, 783, 784, 784 n 3

4 L IV 783

Hyman Hurwitz asked Coleridge to prepare a metrical translation of a dirge he had written in Hebrew on the recent death of Princess Charlotte. Hurwitz, a Jew, ran a private school at Highgate for the large local Jewish community. Through him Coleridge became acquainted with several influential Jews, and came to admire Hurwitz's learning and talents. He made available to Coleridge an expert knowledge and profound understanding of the Hebrew scriptures. Coleridge apparently completed his translation of the dirge, Israel's Lament, in one day, and it was published with Hurwitz's poem a few weeks later¹.

"For 20 years successively I have endured without remonstrance a regular system of Abuse and Detraction - as remorseless as unprovoked." But his patience was now exhausted. On 3 December he wrote for legal advice to Crabb Robinson, "concerning the practicability and the expediency of bringing to legal Justice the Publisher of the atrocious Calumny"². The "Calumny" was John Wilson's notorious review of Biographia Literaria, published in the first number of Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine in October. The article was a sustained, virulent, outrageously personal assault on Coleridge, in which Wilson made use of the personal knowledge which their long acquaintance in the Lake District had enabled him to collect. Most galling was the revival of the old charge that Coleridge had deserted his family. "A man who abandons his wife and children is undoubtedly both a wicked and pernicious member of society."³

1 L IV 784, 784 n 4; Wise 111-13

2 L IV 785-86

3 A. Lang The Life and Letters of John Gibson Lockhart I 146-48
M. Oliphant Annals of a Publishing House I 133; A.L. Strout
"Samuel Taylor Coleridge and John Wilson of Blackwood's Magazine" in P.M.L.A. 48 (1933) 100-28

Before it was published Coleridge had been informed that, in a search for publicity, Blackwood had the idea of "grossly abusing Individuals of any name in the Literary World, and then of modestly requesting the persons slandered to reply to the attack". Allowance had even been made for possible expenses in legal actions against the magazine¹.

Robinson discussed it with Wordsworth, who was in London, and they agreed that Coleridge should take no action². But Coleridge's silence was not allowed to thwart Blackwood's plan. In the December issue a "Letter to the Reviewer of Coleridge's Biographia Literaria" appeared, signed "J.S.", condemning the defamatory review by Wilson. This was written by John Gibson Lockhart, "the Scorpion", who was in fact one of the editors of Blackwood's Magazine.

Wordsworth was in London to see his brother, Christopher, on business, and was accompanied by his wife and her sister, Sara Hutchinson. During their two-month visit they dined frequently with Thomas Monkhouse, a bachelor who liked to gather his numerous literary acquaintances around him³. On 27 December Monkhouse invited Coleridge and Hartley, who was in London from 13 December to 17 January, to dinner, where they met the Lambs, Crabb Robinson, the Wordsworths and Sara Hutchinson. This was the first meeting between Coleridge and Wordsworth since their reconciliation in 1812, and for the first time in his life Robinson was not pleased with Wordsworth's cold and unfeeling manner. "The manner of Coleridge towards Wordsworth was most respectful." Wordsworth had

1 L IV 788

2 Robinson on Writers II 213

3 M. Moorman William Wordsworth II 312-43

not liked Coleridge's analysis of his work in Biographia Literaria: "the praise is extravagant and the censure inconsiderate"¹. Lamb feared that Wordsworth would never speak to Coleridge again². Charles and Mary Lamb were their hosts for a second meeting on 30 December. It was equally cool. The guests divided into two groups, the larger gathered around a "philosophising" Coleridge, while Wordsworth spent most of the evening alone with Thomas Noon Talfourd. "I heard at one time Coleridge quoting Wordsworth's verses, and Wordsworth quoting - not Coleridge's but his own."³ When they returned to the Lakes, the Wordsworths reported to Mrs Coleridge. "He is quite grey haired; he was much agitated at seeing them, but was very agreeable on the whole."⁴

Ever since Frere's offer to assist Derwent's university education, Coleridge had been considering new ways of raising money⁵. Rest Fenner had already paid him in advance for The Friend and he had still not finished it, so he could not expect further advances from them. Indeed their relationship was so uncertain that he had to purchase a copy of Biographia Literaria from them to present to a friend⁶. "I work like a Slave, from morn to night, and receive, as the reward, less than a mechanic's wages, imposition, ingratitude."⁷ He had not been able to see the printed version of his Preliminary Treatise on Method until its publication as the first part of the Encyclopaedia Metropolitana in

1 Robinson on Writers II 213

2 The Life of Mary Russell Mitford ed. A.G. L'Estrange II 11

3 Robinson on Writers I 214-15 Robinson's Diary II 80-81

4 Minnow 56

5 L IV 799-800

6 L IV 802

7 L IV 786

January 1818. The revisions made by Rest Fenner roused him to even greater wrath than their changes in the General Scheme in May 1817. He did not mind omissions, but it had been "so bedeviled, so interpolated and topsy-turvied", again by John Stoddart, that he was "equally ashamed of it as a man of letters and as a man of common honesty"¹. Annoyed to find that everyone believed he was the editor of the Encyclopaedia Metropolitana, which now seemed to him "most worthless", "most dishonest", and "an infamous catch-penny", he demanded the return of his manuscript. He would restore his reputation by publishing it in The Friend. When they refused to return it, "asserting the right of the proprietors to do as they liked with goods, they had purchased!!", he threatened to "disclaim the Essay and the Work in all the Newspapers"². The manuscript was returned to him several months later, in April 1818, "cut up into snips so as to make it almost useless", and he set about rewriting it for The Friend. It was inserted in the third volume under the heading, "On the Grounds of Morals and Religion, and the Discipline of the Mind Requisite for a True Understanding of the Same"³. John Brown, the author of The Northern Courts, informed Coleridge in January that the Curtises were spreading calumnies about him, among them that he had cheated Longman (over the volume of poems in 1811)⁴ and had often been found intoxicated by Samuel Curtis, "as he knew by the smell, with Brandy". He refused to believe this of Curtis, although he thought he

1 L IV 817, 821, 825

2 L IV 816-17

3 L IV 725, 860; The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge - 4: The Friend ed. B.E. Rooke I 448-71

4 see above p. 5 ; L III 324

had been "grossly cheated and duped".¹

Since they had heard nothing for several months of Frere's offer of assistance, Derwent had accepted a post as a tutor with a Lancashire family. Wordsworth informed Coleridge of Derwent's situation, and Coleridge wrote to his son on 8 January 1819 promising to raise £200 to send him to Cambridge: "I had set my very soul on having you with me", and had he not been "grossly cheated and duped by a wretch who came to me with every holy name in his mouth, merely to suck my brains", Derwent would have been in London already. Meanwhile, if the tutoring post "pleases your Mother and Mr Southey as much as it seems to please the Wordsworths, let it please you for the present". Derwent had been "in extacies" at Frere's offer, but held the post until December 1819².

Coleridge had two plans for raising the money: literal and metrical translations "of all the Odes and fragments of Odes scattered throughout the Pentateuch and the Historical works of the O. Testament", to be published by subscription; and a course of public lectures on literature which he had been planning since September³. He never published the translations.

The lectures would cover literature from the Middle Ages to the Restoration, with several lectures on Shakespeare. "Woe is me! that at 46 I am under the necessity of appearing as a Lecturer"⁴ Aware of the need for publicity, Wordsworth and Lamb sought the support of John Payne Collier, a reporter on The Times⁵, and the editors of the Courier,

1 L IV 795, 797-98, 799

2 L IV 799-800; Minnow 52, 73, 81, 84

3 L IV 799, 800, 803, 811

4 L IV 838

5 Later Years I 664; Lamb Letters I 220

New Times and Morning Chronicle agreed to publish announcements and advertisements of the lectures. Additional publicity came from the appearance of Fancy in Nubibus in the Courier on 30 January 1818, and The Solitary Date Tree in Felix Farley's Bristol Journal on 7 February and in the New Times on 31 January¹.

The course of fourteen lectures was advertised to be given in the hall of the London Philosophical Society near Fleet Street on Tuesday and Friday evenings from 27 January to 13 March 1818. Coleridge had last lectured there in October 1811². The hall was

A "spacious handsome room with an academical Stair-case & the Lecture room itself fitted up in a very grave poetico-philosophic Style with the Busts of Newton, Milton, Shakespeare, Pope & Locke behind the Lecturer's Cathedra"³.

Unfortunately the entrance was under a passage from Fetter Lane, narrow and winding. Fetter Lane was renowned for pork and sausages⁴. A Prospectus and Syllabus were printed⁵. Tickets for the complete course cost two guineas, or three guineas for a double ticket; otherwise admission to each lecture was five shillings.

Since he had given similar lectures in the past, preparation was not very difficult. He decided to write each lecture in full before delivering it, and his notebooks indicate that he followed this plan. However he would deliver the lectures "without book" to ensure "order in the matter" and "animation in the manner". As he had expected, his audiences were

1 L IV 839

2 see above p. 6 ; L III 339, 342 etc.

3 L III 342

4 L III 349

5 see Coleridge's Shakespearean Criticism ed. T.M. Raysor II 302-4

most delighted with the extemporaneous passages.

As a rehearsal he delivered an impromptu lecture on "The Growth of the Individual Mind" to the London Philosophical Society on 11 December. It "went off beyond my expectations"¹.

During his exertions in search of publicity he caught a cold and was hoarse for the first two lectures of his course, although they seemed to be reasonably successful, despite the fact that he had too much material for the second. The third was "very popular" and the fourth went well - "the general opinion was, that it was more instructive than, but not so splendid as the 3rd"². Crabb Robinson attended regularly until he went on Circuit, and recorded fluctuations in both the quality of the lectures and the size of the audiences³. Robinson also attended Hazlitt's lectures at the Surrey Institution on literature. The overlap with Coleridge's must have adversely affected attendances at both courses. On 24 February Hazlitt was "so vulgarly abusive of Wordsworth" that Robinson lost his temper and hissed⁴.

In the lecture on 27 February, Coleridge kept his promise to Cary and extolled his translation of Dante. He had approached Rest Fenner but they refused to publish a new edition. After consulting several friends Coleridge called on Taylor and Hessey, a very respectable publishing firm⁵. Although more than one thousand copies of the earlier

1 L IV 788-92; Gillman 354-57

2 L IV 834

3 L IV 812-78; Coleridge's Shakespearean Criticism ed. T.M. Raysor II 299-317

4 Robinson's Diary II 85-89 Robinson on Writers 74; Complete Works of William Hazlitt ed. P.P. Howe XIX 206-09

5 L IV 824, 832

editions remained unsold, Taylor and Hessey accepted it eagerly¹. Coleridge was delighted with Hessey, "whose handsome conduct ... has redeemed the name of Booksellers and Publishers". Benjamin Bailey of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, suggested to Taylor that Coleridge might want to make them his publishers, "He seems sorely shackled by his present publishers."² The agreement between Cary and Taylor and Hessey was signed in Coleridge's room on 11 May³. Cary and Coleridge were now firm friends. Cary's son attended the Merchant Taylors' School where Gillman's son, James, was also a pupil⁴, and Cary took a house in Kentish Town to be near Highgate. They exchanged visits frequently and Cary consulted Gillman for advice on literary projects. He also attended Coleridge's lectures⁵.

Collier, Street, Morgan and William Godwin all received free tickets for the lectures⁶. Lamb did not like lectures and was not given a ticket for them. But his colleagues at the India House asked him every few days "what Coleridge said at the Lecture last night"⁷. He still did not often see Coleridge, who never came to his home in case he met Hazlitt there. Lamb visited Highgate only occasionally: "though his host and hostess are very friendly, it puts me out of my way to go see one person at another person's house".⁸ The Wordsworths returned to the Lakes before the lectures began, but at Sara Hutchinson's insistence Thomas Monkhouse kept

1 L IV 827

2 E. Blunden Keats's Publisher 46

3 R.W. Kind The Translator of Dante 111-12, 118; T. Chilcott A Publisher and his Circle 81-83

4 L IV 824

5 L IV 879; H. Cary Memoir of the Rev. Henry Francis Cary II 34-42

6 L IV 813, 820, 822

7 Robinson's Diary II 85-89; Lamb Letters II 225-27

8 L IV 798; Lamb Letters II 227, 234

them informed. When the Morning Chronicle announced that Coleridge intended to publish his lectures, she was pleased - "because then he will have his own - else it is scattering his knowledge for the profit of others".¹ But although he hoped to publish the earlier lectures in the course as a "Portrait of the Middle or (so called) Dark Ages", they were never published².

The lectures brought an important new friend for Coleridge. After writing to him, a young man "of modest demeanour", Thomas Allsop, introduced himself after the first lecture. Only twenty-three years old, he seemed to Coleridge "more attached to the better part of our nature than to the love of gain".³ By September 1818 he was sending gifts of game to the Gillmans and to Lamb, and was invited to call at Highgate⁴.

Coleridge's relations who lived in London also began to take a greater interest in him. Two of his nephews, John Taylor Coleridge, who, after a brilliant career at Corpus Christi, Oxford, had been called to the Bar in 1819, and William Hart Coleridge, the curate of St. Andrew's Church, Holborn, called at Highgate in January⁵. Coleridge attended one of William Hart Coleridge's baptisms a few days later⁶. They sent accounts of Coleridge's "excellent" lectures to various members of the family in Devonshire. Coleridge's brother, George, received their account with some pleasure. "If he gets through them with credit and regularity I

1 The Letters of Sara Hutchinson ed. K. Coburn 122-32

2 L IV 826, 834, 841

3 Gillman 345

4 L IV 872-3; Lamb Letters II 258

5 L IV 810, 829; D.N.B. "John Taylor Coleridge"

6 L IV 810

shall take it as a new era in his life, since he has for once performed what he promised."¹ Another of Coleridge's brothers, Colonel James Coleridge, visited London during the Spring and was "very much pleased with his Society"². Allsop, Robinson, Sara Hutchinson and Southey subsequently condemned the attitude of his relations to Coleridge. "All who are of his blood were in the highest degree proud of his reputation, but this was their only feeling concerning him." John Taylor Coleridge, a "sound" but not a "great" lawyer, became a Judge; William Hart Coleridge became the Bishop of Barbados; and another nephew, Edward Coleridge, was assisted by George Frere to a post as a tutor, which led directly to him becoming a master at Eton, where he married the daughter of Dr Keate, the headmaster.

They have been clever enough to appropriate their uncle's great reputation to their own advancement No one who knows the character or calibre of mind, whether of the Bishop or the Judge, can doubt, caeteris paribus, that the one would still have been a curate and the other a barrister with but little practice, had they borne the name of Smith - had they wanted the passport of his name.³

Not all of Coleridge's time was occupied by lecturing or preparing lectures. Charles Tulk loaned him a volume of William Blake's poems and sketches on 6 February, which Coleridge returned a few days later with a list of likes and dislikes.

He is a man of Genius - and, I apprehend, a Swedenborgian -

1 B. Coleridge The Story of a Devonshire House 273

2 Minnow 56

3 D.N.B. "John Taylor Coleridge"; T. Allsop Letters, Conversations and Recollections of S.T. Coleridge I 225 n ; Robinson on Writers I 488; Selections from the Letters of Robert Southey ed. J.W. Warter IV 381; The Letters of Sara Hutchinson ed. K. Coburn 428; B.M.M.S. 4755 ff. 10-12, "Autobiography of Rev. Edward Coleridge"

certainly, a mystic emphatically. You perhaps smile at my calling another Poet, a Mystic; but verily I am in the very mire of common-place common-sense compared with Mr Blake, apo- or rather ana-calyptic Poet, and Painter!¹

Just before the tenth lecture, on Dante and Milton, he became very excited by an announcement in the Courier on 20 February of Sir Robert Peel's intention to introduce into the Commons a Bill to protect children employed in the cotton factories. Coleridge feared that the Bill was being introduced "injudiciously", for no attempt had been made to prepare "the public mind" or the minds of Members. If the Bill was held up he would write several articles for publication in the New Times or the Courier, or in the form of pamphlets, to anticipate and answer the arguments of objectors².

The last lecture in the course of fourteen was given on 13 March³. But he had discovered in his second lecture that he had too much material and so had advertised a free "supernumerary" lecture in the New Times on 4 February, to be given at the end of the course. After a delay caused by illness it was delivered on 26 May⁴. These lectures were the most financially successful ones he had ever given⁵. An advertisement appeared in The Times on 22 May announcing a new course of six lectures

1 L IV 833-34, 836-38

2 L IV 842-43

3 for a full description of the contents of the lectures see Coleridge's Shakespearean Criticism ed. T.M. Raysor II 299-317, and Coleridge's Miscellaneous Criticism ed. T.M. Raysor 3 - 227

4 L IV 862, 877 and 877 n 2; Mrs. Clarkson's story that this lecture was never delivered is not true - but see Coleridge's Shakespearean Criticism ed. T.M. Raysor II 308

5 Gillman 335

"of particular and practical Criticism, taking some one play of Shakespeare's scene by scene, as the subject of each Lecture".¹ But he postponed the scheme. A few days after he paid £25 to T.J. Pettigrew, the Secretary of the London Philosophical Society, for the hall he had used for the course, he was informed of the internal dissensions that split the Society. Like the majority of the other members he resigned². He had conceived a dislike for public lecturing, and would have preferred to gather twenty or thirty intelligent young men around him, "to go thro' a steady course of Philosophy on a plan which I am now trying with two medical friends".³ With Green and Gillman he had since early April been discussing basic philosophical principles. Green already had a wide knowledge of French and German philosophy. "He, like me, feels that it is either nothing, a mere generic term - or that it must end in revealed Religion; but he, like me, feels that he has yet to seek."⁴ Gradually these meetings evolved into larger, more or less public evenings when Coleridge discoursed on religion, philosophy, literature and other topics of general interest. Several young men also came to him to be taught the elements of philosophy and logic on a more formal basis.

Between 30 April and 6 May he remained in London at the Spring Garden Coffee House, not even returning to Highgate at night. Peel's Bill for the protection of children in cotton factories passed the Commons on 30

1 L IV 860, 860 n 1; Coleridge's Shakespearean Criticism
ed. T.M. Raysor II 308

2 L IV 865-66 F.E. Ratchford "S.T. Coleridge and the London Philosophical Society" in Modern Language Review XX (1925) 76-80

3 L IV 862-63

4 L IV 847-48

April, but it was feared that the House of Lords would throw it out. The Earl of Lauderdale was its greatest opponent. Coleridge remained at the Coffee House writing several pamphlets at the request of the Bill's supporters. He pressed Crabb Robinson into service:

Can you furnish us with any other instances, in which the Legislature has directly, or by immediate consequence, interfered with what is ironically called Free Labor? (i.e. DARED to prohibit Soul-murder and Infanticide on the part of the Rich, and Self-slaughter on that of the Poor?)¹

Coleridge published at least three pamphlets². "I am seriously hurting myself in devoting my days daily in this my best Harvest-tide as a Lecture-monger I should have bid farewell to all ease of Conscience, if I had returned an excuse to the requests made for my humble assistance."³ He mentioned the plight of the children in cotton factories in the ninth lecture of the next series of lectures he gave in 1819⁴. Ironically one of the factory-owners brought before Peel's committee on factory conditions was Josiah Wedgwood. He admitted employing children in his factories for more than twelve hours a day, and agreed that the children did not benefit from their small wages which usually went to purchase liquor for their parents⁵. Peel's Bill became law in 1819.

Intermittent illness interrupted Coleridge's sittings to Thomas Phillips, who had been painting his portrait for several weeks⁶. Although

1 L IV 854-55; Gentleman's Magazine (Oct 1818) 354

2 only two have survived - Wise 117-25; L IV 857

3 L IV 855

4 The Philosophical Lectures of Samuel Taylor Coleridge ed. K. Coburn 265-88, 440 n 45; L IV 922

5 E.R. Pike Human Documents of the Industrial Revolution 104-5

6 L IV 859

he thought Phillips was "the best Portrait-painter existing", he was not happy with the likeness. The eyes seemed too "globose" and the face "stronger, more energetic than mine".¹

"Partly from the state of my health, which requires a change of air & situation, and partly from other causes" Coleridge accompanied Green on 13 June to spend eight days at the home of Green's parents in St Lawrence, near Maldon in Essex. Although the house and garden were very beautiful, he was homesick for Highgate.

I do not receive the fifth part of the delight from this miscellany of Flora ... as from the economized Glasses and Flowerpots at Highgate, so tended & worshipped by me, and each the gift of some kind Friend or courteous Neighbor.

He was unwell, stinging insects annoyed him and he ran out of his favourite snuff. The local clergyman was "lost in a gloomy vulgar Calvinism", and Coleridge missed the society of the Gillmans². But at least he and Green made some progress with the revised edition of The Friend³, and on his return to Highgate he completed the version of the Preliminary Treatise on Method for The Friend⁴. He was correcting proofs by 2 October and preparing a list of errata⁵. It was published in November as The Friend: A Series of Essays, In Three Volumes, To Aid in the Formation of Fixed Principles in Politics, Morals, and Religion, with Literary Amusements interspersed, dedicated to the Gillmans, and containing a three-page tribute to them. This "rifacciamento", which was to play an

1 L IV 912; Phillips painted two portraits of Coleridge as well as a portrait of Green's wife - see L IV 911

2 L IV 867-69

3 L IV 869

4 L IV 870

5 L IV 876-77

important part in the general direction he gave to English thought in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, received practically no attention from the reviewers. Rest Fenner informed him that in the four months between its publication and their bankruptcy only two hundred and fifty copies were sold. "Getting nothing by my publications, which I have not the power of making estimable by the public without loss of self-estimation, what can I do?"¹

He wished "to proceed with all the vigor in my power in giving such permanence as pen, ink, and paper with regular composition can afford, to my system of constructive Philosophy".² He planned this in conversations with Green, to whom he dictated notes which would form the skeleton of his system: "A paper book confined to these conversations is advisable."³ For "bread and cheese" he again planned to offer two public lecture courses, one on literature and one on philosophy. He had been preparing for the philosophy course since July, when he had asked to borrow the eleven volumes of W.G. Tennemann's Geschichte der Philosophie which Green had brought back with him from Germany in 1817⁴. He made liberal use of this history of philosophy, not merely for facts, but for interpretations, illustrations and many learned quotations⁵.

Among the first to learn of his plans was the artist C.R. Leslie who called on 3 November to sketch his portrait. Leslie brought with him a

1 L IV 892; for The Friend see The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge - 4: The Friend ed. B.E. Rooke I xxxv-cv

2 L IV 870

3 L IV 873; B.M.MS. 47526 f. 2 etc., notebook 28

4 L IV 870

5 N. Fruman Coleridge, The Damaged Archangel 114

painting of Coleridge's daughter Sara in the character of Wordsworth's "Highland Girl", completed by William Collins during a recent visit to Keswick. Leslie concealed the identity of the subject but Coleridge recognised his daughter, although he had not seen her for six years. Collins presented the portrait to him after it had been exhibited in the spring of 1819, and it hung on his bedroom wall for the rest of his life¹.

The plans for Coleridge's two courses of lectures were complete. Both were to be given at the "Crown and Anchor" in the Strand. The course on the history of philosophy would begin on Monday 7 December, and the short "Alternate Course" on Shakespeare on 10 December. Prospectuses were printed for both courses by 19 November, and for those attending the philosophy course he issued a Chronological and Historical Assistant, priced 6d., a table of events of philosophical importance occurring between the birth of Thales in 629 B.C. and the reign of Theodoric the Goth, ending in 529 A.D., which follows almost exactly that printed in Tennemann's Geschichte der Philosophie.

Although the preparation, especially for the philosophy course, must have taken up a great deal of his time, as before he had to distribute prospectuses to influential friends and relatives, and send out invitations and free tickets. He asked the advice of Thomas Allsop as to which editors of periodicals to invite. Among them were the Courier, New Times, Morning Chronicle and Literary Gazette.² Even Lamb received a free ticket³.

1 L IV 878-79, 891-92; Minnow 57-68; J.B. Flagg The Life and Letters of Washington Allston 142-43; Wordsworth objected to Sara as the "Highland Girl", believing she lacked the "style of person & character of countenance, for that subject".

2 L IV 881, 884, 886, 889, 890-91, 892, 894, 895, 897 etc.

3 Lamb Letters I 235-36

Coleridge prepared carefully for the philosophy course, writing 123 pages of notes for the lectures in a notebook. The notes were prepared with individual lectures in mind, occasionally bearing the date of the lecture, and each lecture usually began on a new page¹. As well as Tennemann Coleridge pressed the works of Schelling and Kant into service. He did not, however, acknowledge his debt in any of the lectures, and mentioned Tennemann only twice, each time in a discreditable context. Indeed in the Prospectus he emphasised the lack of any good history of philosophy. Schelling was "merely brushed aside" in the lectures as a "post-Kantian neo-platonic pantheistic Roman Catholic". Professor K. Coburn sensed in this "a lack of candour, something being withheld, and not gracefully, from a public audience"². Not only was Coleridge anxious that his audiences should not learn about the German works from which he had borrowed, but he also tried to prevent Green and Tulk from reading Schelling, dismissing his work as "extremely plausible and alluring at a first acquaintance", but "reduced atlast to a mere Pantheism"³.

The opening lectures of both courses had to be postponed for a week because of the death of Queen Charlotte, whose funeral took place on 2 December. This was the first of several misfortunes during these lectures. The opening of the philosophical course on 14 December was announced only two days before in the Literary Gazette, very short notice. The second lecture had to be postponed because 21 December was a bank holiday, another

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- 1 B.M.MS. 47523, notebook 25; The Philosophical Lectures of Samuel Taylor Coleridge ed. K. Coburn 17
 - 2 The Philosophical Lectures of Samuel Taylor Coleridge ed. K. Coburn 37, 61-4, 67; N. Fruman Coleridge, The Damaged Archangel 114, 116
 - 3 L IV 883

unfortunate hiatus. The attendances at his philosophy lectures were poor. The advertising was very bad. The early lectures were announced in the Literary Gazette and the Champion, and The Times, Morning Chronicle, New Times and Courier carried announcements of most of the lectures, but not of them all. Anyone who subscribed to only one London daily paper would have been left uncertain on some Mondays whether there was a lecture that night or not. There was no announcement of the third lecture in any paper¹.

The six Shakespeare lectures covered The Tempest, Richard II, Hamlet, Macbeth, Othello and King Lear. The first course of six literary lectures was followed by seven additional lectures, advertised in the newspapers after the sixth lecture to begin on 4 February. They in fact began one week later. The first, "by popular request", was on Hamlet, followed by Romeo and Juliet, a last lecture on Shakespeare's genius, Paradise Lost, Dante, the sixth was on Spenser's Faerie Queene, "the Italian School of Poetry, and the Nature of Allegory", and the last, on 25 March, dealt with Cervantes and Don Quixote².

Neither of the literary courses nor the philosophical course was a financial success:

yester-evening's receipts were somewhat better than many of the preceding: and ... these did not equal one half of the costs of the room, and of the stage and hackney coach, (the advertisements in the Times and Morning Chronicle, and the printer's prospectus bill not included).

Not only was the weather bad but the town seemed full of other lectures,

1 The Philosophical Lectures of Samuel Taylor Coleridge ed. K. Coburn 21-23

2 Coleridge's Shakespearean Criticism ed. T.M. Raysor II 318-21; The Philosophical Lectures of Samuel Taylor Coleridge ed. K. Coburn 21-22; L IV 881 n 1

3 L IV 911; Minnow 73

some even in the same hall or on the same evenings. There were "Shakespearean Readings", a course on "Experimental Philosophy ... illustrated by an extensive and appropriate apparatus ... including a new and splendid Eidouranion", and both Thelwall and Hazlitt were also giving courses¹.

After the first philosophic lecture Hookham Frere, "at how heavy an expence!", engaged W.B. Gurney, a parliamentary reporter, to take down Coleridge's lectures in shorthand². Gurney, although an experienced reporter, found the task difficult:

with regard to every other speaker whom he had ever heard, however rapid or involved, he could almost always, by long experience in his art, guess the form of the latter part, or apodosis, of the sentence, by the form of the beginning; but that the conclusion of every one of Coleridge's sentences was a surprise to him. He was obliged to listen to the last word.

Coleridge intended to use the reports for a "History of Philosophy" which he hoped to publish as an introduction to his philosophical Magnum Opus⁴. But again, they were never published.

Hartley was at Highgate for the Christmas vacation until 1 February⁵. He had just completed his Finals and obtained a Second Class Honours degree with "high compliments from the Tutor"⁶. He had taken five pupils and intended to stand for election as a Fellow of Oriel College. He thought

1 The Philosophical Lectures of Samuel Taylor Coleridge ed. K. Coburn 24, 25

2 L IV 917

3 Canterbury Magazine (Sep 1834) 131; The Philosophical Lectures of Samuel Taylor Coleridge ed. K. Coburn 30

4 L IV 917

5 L IV 916

6 Later Years I 520; New Letters of Robert Southey ed. K. Curry II 196

that his father seemed "on the whole, pretty well, and gave his lectures with spirit".¹ But Coleridge's good health did not last. On 27 January he suffered "a sort of ague-fit" which was followed by a painful sensation of burning in his chest. Gillman and Green ordered him to cancel both the following week's lectures, but he still delivered the literary lecture on 28 January². The Hon. Henry E. Fox, the conceited sixteen-year old son of Lord Holland, was in the audience. "His voice is bad, his subject trite, and his manner odious - an affectation of wit and of genius, neither of which he has in any degree"³.

By the end of both courses Coleridge was looking forward to freedom.

Monday, 29 March, 1819. Fourteenth of the Phil. Course and the Last (O pray Heaven, that it may indeed be the last) of All. Absit Omen de morte secundâ: de primâ sufficiet. sit modo post obitum. 27x2x31x. ⁴

Shortly before the end of the course he was invited to lecture at the Russell Institution. He did not refuse outright, but suggested that the committee might like to select his subject and mention the fee they would offer. "I would instantly decide."⁵ There is no evidence of his ever giving public lectures at the Russell Institution or anywhere else.

The lectures had not provided the £200 he needed for Derwent. "Poverty and I have been such old cronies, that I ought not to be angry with her for sticking close to my Skirts."⁶ However Grosvenor Lloyd, the son of Charles Lloyd, who had lived with the Coleridges in 1797 and 1798,

1 Letters of Hartley Coleridge ed. G.E. and E.L. Griggs 18, 20; The Letters of Mary Wordsworth ed. M. Burton 50

2 L IV 916

3 The Journal of the Hon. Henry Edward Fox ed. Earl of Ilchester 32

4 B.M.MS. 47523 f. 81, notebook 25

5 L IV 925

6 L IV 921

offered £30 for Derwent's education, and with a scholarship this might be sufficient¹. Instead of money, on 28 March Coleridge sent Derwent a copiously annotated copy of Richard Field's Of the Church, Five Bookes², and a letter of good advice for a prospective clergyman³. He also sent him an annotated copy of The Friend⁴.

Coleridge had offered an essay on animal magnetism to Curtis for the Encyclopaedia Metropolitana, but it had been refused. Another article, on the death of Queen Charlotte, for the Courier had been accidentally destroyed by Henry Gillman and not rewritten⁵. And murmurs were coming from the North about a debt he owed to Sara Hutchinson's brother, John⁶. This was the advance John Hutchinson had made in 1809 to enable Coleridge to buy paper and stamps for The Friend. It had never been repaid, and Wordsworth, who had apparently been renewing the Bill annually since then, was now unable to continue doing so⁷. In this situation Coleridge swallowed his pride and received a visit in mid-March from William Blackwood who, armed with a letter of introduction from William Mudford of the Courier, invited him to contribute to Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine⁸. Blackwood called on several other writers for contributions. John Keats was one, but he refused to "Mortgage my Brain to Blackwood"⁹.

1 Minnow 73-74 New Letters of Robert Southey ed. K. Curry II 196; Later Years I 520

2 third edition, 1635

3 L IV 929

4 L IV 885

5 L IV 886, 889, 896, VI 1046

6 Later Years I 528 and 528 n 3

7 L V 250, 250 n 3

8 L IV 928

9 A. Lowell John Keats II 349

Blackwood led Coleridge to understand that "Maga" would henceforth be "pure from private slander and personal malignity", and conducted "on principles the direct opposite to those which have been hitherto supported by the Edinburgh Review".¹ On 6 April Coleridge called on Blackwood's London agent, William Davies of the firm of Cadell and Davies, to whom he expressed his willingness to contribute occasionally to Blackwood's Magazine. He also "expressed himself rather warmly ... of the very illiberal manner in which he had, himself, been treated in an early number or two".² To provide for Derwent, Coleridge needed a steady assured income not merely payment for occasional scraps³, and so on 12 April he offered to engage to supply two sheets a month for "Maga", "one article at least of which shall be ... equivalent to the leading Article in the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews". He also offered "my best advice and opinion with regard to all the other parts of the Magazine":

To be, as it were, your London Editor or Curator, and to exert my interest among my literary friends, not being professional Authors, to procure communications; to re-enliven, for this purpose, my correspondence abroad with several valued Friends of mine who are of highest rank among Foreign Literati⁴

Blackwood needed no London Editor, but he would pay ten guineas a sheet for occasional contributions: "we would be happy to receive anything, however short, that you might have lying beside you".⁵ Davies dined with Coleridge on 23 April, and reported to Blackwood that Henry Colburn, the

1 L IV 928

2 A.L. Strout "Knights of the Burning Epistle" in Studia Neophilologica XXVI (1953-4) 77-98

3 L IV 937

4 L IV 932

5 M. Oliphant Annals of a Publishing House I 410-11

proprietor of the New Monthly Magazine, was trying to secure Coleridge as a contributor. "It is evident that he possesses great powers of mind, the only question is how far are those powers of an useful or practical nature?"¹ Lockhart agreed that an experiment should be tried, and invited Coleridge to send "specimens" of the kind of contribution he proposed. Coleridge accepted this trial as "equally fair and judicious".² Davies reported to Blackwood that Coleridge greatly admired Wordsworth. "I am rather inclined to recommend that you occasionally say something kind and conciliatory, about Mr. W. in your future Nos. though merely to show a kindly feeling towards Mr. C...." Davies also believed that when Coleridge saw the "very gratifying mention" of his genius in Lockhart's Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk, which would soon be published, "you may be able to count him as wholly your own"³. To ensure that Coleridge and Wordsworth saw the changed tone of "Maga" towards them, Blackwood sent copies of it to them both free of charge. Wordsworth "begged (civilly you will take for granted) not to be troubled with it"⁴, but Coleridge received it until his death in 1834. In the number for October 1819 was a laudatory article on Coleridge by Lockhart⁵. Coleridge's first contributions appeared in the issue for November - the poem Fancy in Nubibus and Character of Sir Thomas Brown (sic) as a Writer. His next contribution,

1 A.L. Strout "Knights of the Burning Epistle" in Studia Neophilologica XXVI (1953-4) 77-98

2 L IV 943-44, 943 n1

3 A.L. Strout "Knights of the Burning Epistle" in Studia Neophilologica XXVI (1953-4) 77-98

4 Middle Years II 841, 843

5 "Essays on the Lake School of Poetry No. III - Coleridge" in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine vol. VI no. XXXI (Oct 1819) 3-12

however, was not until September 1820, and it was an unauthorised publication of a private letter to Lockhart¹.

While walking in a lane at Highgate on 11 April Coleridge and Green met John Keats. Green knew Keats as a student at St. Thomas's Hospital and introduced them. They walked together for almost two miles, Coleridge talking all the way:

Let me see if I can give you a list - Nightingales, Poetry - on Poetical Sensation - Metaphysics - Different genera and species of Dreams - Nightmare - a dream accompanied by a sense of touch - single and double touch - A dream related - First and second consciousness - the difference explained between will and Volition - so many metaphysicians from a want of smoking the second consciousness - Monsters - the Kraken - Mermaids - Southey believes in them - Southey's belief too much diluted - A Ghost Story - Good morning.²

Keats departed with a cordial invitation to call at Highgate but the two poets never met again. Coleridge was horrified when he shook Keats's hand, "cold and clammy ... like the hand of a dead man"³.

A few days after this meeting Coleridge was informed that Hartley had won a close Fellowship at Oriel College, Oxford. Coleridge delightedly passed the news to all his acquaintances. Although Hartley had only a second class degree, after five days of examination he had beaten

"candidates of powerful Talents ... after an examination MOST HIGHLY to his credit his attainments were far beyond what his age authorized us to expect, and indeed

1 see below pp. 109

2 The Letters of John Keats ed. M.B. Forman II 349-50

3 Table Talk 14 Aug 1832 and n ; L.N. Broughton Sara Coleridge and Henry Reed 40; but see also E.M. Green "A Talk with Coleridge" in Cornhill Magazine XLII ns. (1917) 402-10

generally, where ever opportunity was given for the display of original Talent, and self-formed Views his superiority was palpable". - These are the words of one of his Examiners.

Oriel was the outstanding Oxford College, and its Fellows were men of high ideals in scholarship and conduct. Among them were Richard Whately, Thomas Arnold and John Keble. Keble was surprised by Hartley's success, "but his examination was so superior that one could hardly make up his mind to reject him 'odditatis causa'".²

Mrs Coleridge too was surprised, but delighted, and John Dawes's school at Ambleside was given a day's holiday in celebration³. Thomas Poole endorsed Hartley's letter containing the news, "Pleasant letter!! Pleasant news!!"⁴ William Davies suggested to Blackwood that "this new Fellow of Oriel may possibly be worth your attention"⁵.

On 16 April Coleridge wrote to Taylor and Hessey about their announcement in The Times that they were about to issue Peter Bell, a Lyrical Ballad, a parody of Wordsworth's Peter Bell, which Coleridge knew was soon to be published. He feared that the travesty, by John Hamilton Reynolds, might harm the sale of Wordsworth's poem: "you would not wittingly give the high respectability of your names to an attack on a Manuscript work, which no man could assail but by a base breach of trust"⁶. He was sent a copy of Reynolds's poem, and decided it was perfectly fair comment, but uninteresting. "A. we are to suppose writes like a Simpleton;

1 L IV 936-37

2 Letters of Hartley Coleridge ed. G.E. and E.L. Griggs 22-23

3 Minnow 70

4 H. Sandford Thomas Poole and his Friends I 260

5 A.L. Strout "Knights of the Burning Epistle" in Studia Neophilologica XXVI (1953-4) 77-98

6 L IV 934

and B. writes tenfold more simpletonish - Ergo, F 's wilful Idiocy is a WITTY Satire on A 's Childishness!!"¹

An influenza epidemic at Highgate was blamed when Coleridge's bowel pains returned². He accompanied Green and his wife to St Lawrence in "the aguish parts of Essex" between 8 June and 28 June. They spent several days at Moats Farm where Mrs Green fed them on the first cherries and strawberries of the season³. But after his return to Highgate his bowel complaint became worse "and seemed for a time to justify a suspicion of some complaint in the kidneys or bladder"⁴. It was decided that he needed another holiday by the sea.

1 L IV 939

2 L IV 936

3 L IV 943; B.M.MS. 47525 f. 83, notebook 27

4 L IV 943

CHAPTER 4. AUGUST 1819 - FEBRUARY 1822

In the middle of August Coleridge accompanied Mrs. Gillman and her sons on the first of many visits to Ramsgate during the next decade. Ramsgate was a fashionable resort, and Coleridge loved the sea and enjoyed bathing. Over the years he made many friends there. The harbour master, Captain Martin, became a particular favourite, and Coleridge spent a great deal of time on the pier with him. The Gillmans came to regard Captain Martin as an old friend, and when he was informed of Coleridge's death in 1834 he broke down and wept¹. Daniel Stuart usually gave Coleridge £30 each year to pay for his holiday at Ramsgate, to a total of approximately £200, and if ever he forgot Coleridge reminded him about it².

This first visit lasted for several weeks in August and September 1819. Coleridge's health improved and he enjoyed bathing from a secluded beach³. Gillman did not accompany them to Ramsgate. He was busy on Coleridge's behalf in London, because it had just been revealed that in March 1819 Coleridge's publishers, Rest Fenner, had become bankrupt. In order to prevent his works being sold as waste paper Coleridge had to borrow from a friend to purchase the half copyrights and the unsold copies in the hands of Rest Fenner. It took "every penny I possessed in the world, and involved me in a debt of 150£ to boot"⁴. A bookseller bought the

1 L. E. Watson Coleridge at Highgate 107 n 1; L V 396

2 D. Stuart "Anecdotes of the Poet, Coleridge" in The Gentleman's Magazine IX (May 1938) 491-92

3 L IV 946

4 L V 250; he told De Quincey the debt amounted to £120 - L V 163

remaining copies of Biographia Literaria and Sibylline Leaves at a private sale for the trade, and the Rev. Thomas Curtis seized five hundred copies of The Friend "as a lie on a pretended debt of Fenner's to him". The assignees of the bankruptcy, Mawman and Baldwin, discovered a "black and complex ... instance of fraud". False returns had been made in Rest Fenner's accounts, and many more copies of Coleridge's works had been sold than had been reported to him. He believed that he had lost £1200 from unreported sales¹. Throughout his life he had never earned as much as £200 in any year from his works, "newspaper paragraphs excluded!"².

When he returned to Highgate in September, he informed Thomas Allsop of Rest Fenner's bankruptcy and his losses. Allsop immediately sent him £100³. Coleridge was deeply moved:

I can barely collect myself sufficiently to convey to you - first, that I receive this proof of your filial kindness with feelings not unworthy of the same - ... my circumstances are such as rendered such an assistance somewhat more than merely useful ... - but that, whenever (if ever) my circumstances shall improve, you must permit me to remind you that what was, and for ever under all⁴ conditions of fortune will be felt as a gift, has become a loan

After this present Allsop became much more intimate with Coleridge. The gift "saved me from the necessity of abandoning a work of permanent character in order to waste myself in Magazines & Newspapers".⁵ But

1 L V 163

2 L IV 946-47, 949-50, 954

3 L IV 956-57; Robinson on Writers I 315

4 L IV 957; obviously it was not Allsop who loaned Coleridge money to repurchase the copyrights - see E.K. Chambers Samuel Taylor Coleridge 285 - Gillman probably supplied the money - see L V 163

5 L IV 957

only one month later Coleridge sent his first contribution to "Maga"¹. Lamb could not understand his reluctance. "Why you should refuse twenty guineas per sheet for Blackwood's, or any other magazine, passes my poor comprehension."²

As sole owner of his works Coleridge was free to do what he liked with them. He sent presentation copies to the New Chief Justice, Charles Abbott, to the Rev. Francis Wrangham, who had contributed to the first version of The Friend, and to an old friend, the Rev. Joseph Hughes, the secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society³. In Hughes's copy of The Friend Coleridge wrote

In testimony of esteem and regard, and in the humble hope that the bread cast on the fluctuating waters of the author's mind by Mr. Hughes in early manhood, and years long gone by, will be here found neither innutritious or unmultiplied⁴.

Coleridge had first met him in 1795. Hughes had become one of the secretaries of the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1804. He now began to pay occasional visits to Coleridge at Highgate⁵.

Coleridge intended to enter Derwent at Cambridge in November 1819, but was uncertain about which College would be most suitable. He preferred Jesus College, but that was impossible since he was not in Holy Orders - "WOULD I WERE! OR rather that I had been!". As an alternative he considered Trinity. One friend suggested St John's, and Henry Nelson Coleridge, his nephew, was at King's⁶. Derwent

1 L IV 976

2 A.L. Strout "Samuel Taylor Coleridge and John Wilson of Blackwood's Magazine" in P.M.L.A. 48 (1933) 100-28

3 L IV 949, 964, 965, 970

4 L VI 1048 n 1

5 J. Leifchild Memoir of the Late Rev. Joseph Hughes 148 and n

6 L IV 951

eventually applied to St John's College, but was not able to leave his post as a tutor until the Spring of 1820. He was entered in May 1820 and began residence in the Autumn¹.

Byron's Don Juan was published in the summer of 1819 and created a great stir. Several of Byron's friends objected to it. Hookham Frere, who was acquainted with Byron, especially disliked the attacks on Southey, Wordsworth and Coleridge. Byron was told that none of the Lake poets "have any character except with their own crazy proselytes, some fifty perhaps in number; so what harm can you do them, and what good can you do the world by your criticism?" But he refused to cut his criticisms of them². Coleridge's remarks about the Drury Lane Theatre Committee in Biographia Literaria still rankled despite the flattery in Biographia Literaria, and Byron believed Southey and Coleridge to be spreading gossip about his and Shelley's incestuous relationships³. Don Juan informed the world that Coleridge was "drunk" and that his metaphysics was incomprehensible⁴. Coleridge's letter of 4 September to Byron is calm and dignified:

This example of your Lordship's taste and knowledge would embolden me to esteem you as among the first of our great writers if you would condescend first to avoid a too servile flattery of your contemporaries, and next to obtain correct information on the habits of those you celebrate⁵.

More pleasant were Lockhart's remarks in Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk: "If there be any man of grand and original genius alive at this moment in Europe, such a man is Mr Coleridge."⁶ Coleridge wrote

1 L IV 755, 951; Minnow 81-84

2 L.A. Marchand Byron II 764-65

3 S. Smiles A Publisher and his Friends I 399

4 Don Juan "Dedication" II 5-8; Canto I ccv 1-4

5 L IV 948

6 Volume II, page 218

to the pseudonymous author "in the first warmth of feeling", expressing his gratitude. He also sent him copies of several of his works. "To my warmest well-willers, you will appear to have so brimmed the cup of praise, that scarcely a rose-leaf could be added without risk of loss by overflow."¹ One of his letters to Lockhart contained a long description of "Atticus", a clear reference to Wordsworth - "The admiration of his writings is not merely his guage of men's taste - he reads it as the index of their moral character".² He soon regretted the warm frankness of this letter, for Lockhart published it without his permission in Blackwood's Magazine in September 1820³.

Coleridge's kind heart made him useful to others, if not to himself. He suggested to Mariana Starke that she call on John Murray, and wrote a letter of introduction for her, in order to submit to him a travel book she had written. Murray published it in 1820 as Travels on the Continent, the first of his profitable series of guide-books for travellers. In gratitude Mariana Starke presented Coleridge with a set of Italian cameos and intaglios⁴. Gillman's assistant, J.H.B. Williams, had just finished his diploma and wanted to go into practice. He asked Coleridge's advice, and was warned not to think of buying part of Gillman's practice because it only just covered Gillman's expenses. Coleridge suggested that Williams should become medical attendant to a respectable family touring Europe, and also asked Allsop to try to find him a post. Williams eventually went into practice in the City⁵.

1 L IV 969

2 L IV 967

3 see below pp. 109-11

4 L IV 945 and n 1, 962-64

5 L IV 957-62, 979, V 669

John Morgan's affairs had gone from bad to worse since Coleridge had last seen him in early 1816. Morgan had gone with the Lambs in the Autumn of 1816 to Calne, and the agent whom he had employed to look after his affairs in his absence had "proved a rascal". One of his businesses had had to be sold in 1817 and he had lost his "gentleman-tobacconist" business by 1819. Lamb and Southey had promised him a small annuity¹. In November 1819 Mrs. Morgan, who had been forced to become a mistress at a charity-school, called unexpectedly on Coleridge to ask him to come to her husband's bed-side. A stroke had paralysed Morgan's right side and "no medical man would dare give any thing like a promise of his recovery". Coleridge spent the night by Morgan's bed leaving only when he saw signs of a recovery². Morgan died in 1821, and seven years later Coleridge still felt he had to assist Morgan's widow, although his attempt to obtain financial support for her caused him serious problems³.

Mrs. Gillman was very ill at Christmas and Hartley again visited his relations at Ottery instead of going to Highgate. The warmth of his reception surprised him - "every branch of the family gave me hearty good-old-family welcome".⁴ Gillman busied himself in charitable work for the poor of which Coleridge disapproved, believing that it made the poor improvident and forced them to "exchange the sentiments of Englishmen for the feelings of Lazaroni".⁵ He refused several dinner invitations, pleading poor health and inclement weather⁶. But on 8 January 1820 he

1 L V 162; E.K. Chambers Samuel Taylor Coleridge 291-92

2 L IV 977-78

3 L VI 775-76, 913-14; see below pp. 232-33

4 L V 17; Letters of Hartley Coleridge ed. G.E. and E.L. Griggs 23,27

5 L V 17

6 L V 13, 22

dined at the home of the comic actor Charles Mathews, where he remained until after midnight watching an "At Home". Mathews had recently moved into a "pretty Gothic Cottage" near the Gillmans and Coleridge had taken advantage "of a former introduction to you, to offer my services if in any way you can employ them, taking me now as an old Stager at Highgate, or as the Author of Remorse".¹ Subsequently Coleridge spent many hours with Mathews, often picking armfuls of flowers in his garden. "He doted upon flowers, and discoursed so poetically upon them."² Mathews perfected an "admirable" imitation of Coleridge: "'the single-moindedness' &c. &c."³

Charles and Mary Lamb, who called at Highgate on 16 January, were still not frequent visitors. They objected to his custom of remaining in his study "writing, or thinking he is writing" until dinner time, especially since they had to leave shortly after the meal to catch the stage. Coleridge promised to tell Allsop all about Lamb. "When you know the whole of him, you will love him spite of all oddities & even faults."⁴

Hyman Hurwitz's Vindiciae Hebraicae, "a vindication of the Established Version, and with it ... a defence of Revealed Religion itself", was submitted to Coleridge by its author with a request that he correct its style. Hurwitz probably paid him a small fee for the service.

1 L IV 940, V 10, 12

2 The Life and Correspondence of Charles Mathews ed. E. Yates 243

3 Memoirs, Journal and Correspondence of Thomas Moore ed. Lord John Russell IV 319

4 L V 11, 17; Lamb Letters II 242, 268

Vindiciae Hebraicae was published in 1821¹. Coleridge was delighted to have Hurwitz as a neighbour. He was "an extraordinary character", a strictly orthodox Jew who yet was "much nearer in point of faith & religious principles to a learned & strictly orthodox Christian, of the Church of England, than many called Christians".² The death of King George III on 29 January 1820 was marked by Hurwitz with a Hebrew dirge which was chanted on the day of the funeral at the Great Synagogue in Aldgate. Coleridge wrote a verse translation as The Tears of a Grateful People³. When it was published, two special copies were prepared with blue leather bindings and the text printed on white satin. Hurwitz presented one to Coleridge, and Charles Tulk's assistance was requested to present the other to George IV, the new King⁴.

Since he had received Allsop's present of £100 Coleridge's affection for him had grown. Allsop sent frequent presents of game to the Gillmans, and in return received several long letters from Coleridge. Allsop was almost as dear as a son to him, and he revealed much of his personality in these frank letters, recalling past disappointments and offering advice - "it was my purpose to open myself out to you in detail".⁵ His health was intimately connected with his spirits, high or low, and these were immediately affected by his hopeful or distressed thoughts.

1 L V 21, 21 n 2, 92, 92 n 1

2 L V 92

3 Wise 127-29

4 L V 40-41

5 L V 22-31

I should not doubt the being favored with a sufficiency for my noblest undertakings, had I the ease of heart requisite for the necessary abstraction of the Thoughts, and such a reprieve from the goading of the immediate exigencies as might make tranquillity possible¹.

He believed that the material for four major works existed in fragmentary form in his notebooks: three volumes of criticism of Shakespeare, Ben Johnson, Beaumont and Fletcher and Massinger; a large volume of criticism of Dante, Spenser, Milton, Cervantes and Calderon, with remarks on Chaucer, Ariosto, Donne, Rabelais and others. Together these works would form a "complete Code of the Principles of Judgment & Feeling applied to Works of Taste - and not of Poetry only ..., Painting, Statuary, Music &c.". The third projected work was a two-volume "History of Philosophy ... from Pythagoras to Locke and Condilliac", and the fourth was "Letters ... addressed to a Candidate for Holy Orders". All he had to do was transcribe them from his notebooks, but "from so many scraps & sibylline leaves, including Margins of Books & blank Pages, that unfortunately I must be my own Scribe - & not done by myself, they will be all but lost".² He also hoped to finish Christabel³. Another work had recently occurred to him: "The Weather-Bound Travellers", a collection of "Histories, Lays, Legends, Incidents, Anecdotes and Remarks contributed during a detention in one of the Hebrides".⁴ But by far the most important of his projected works was

1 L V 25

2 L V 25-27

3 L V 28

4 L V 35-36

the Magnum Opus, "my GREAT WORK, to the preparation of which more than twenty years of my life have been devoted, and on which my hopes of extensive and permanent Utility, of Fame in the noblest sense of the word, mainly rest".¹

Thoughts of his Magnum Opus occupied much of his time for most of his life, but he had already begun to accept that he would never write it². The perennial problem remained "bread and cheese". Contributions to periodicals and sermons for "lazy Clergymen who stipulate that the composition must not be more than respectable" were temporary solutions, but in alternating between the desire to work for permanency and the need to make money, "I do neither".³ The same solution occurred to him as had in 1796, when Poole, not Allsop, was the recipient:

engaging from the circle of those who think respectfully & hope highly of my powers & attainments a yearly sum, for three or four years, adequate to my actual Support with such comforts and decencies of appearance as my Health & Habits have made necessaries.⁴

Green and Charles Stutfield had already offered a total of £80 or £90 a year for four years, and Coleridge calculated that £250 would be sufficient, to be repaid from any profits from the works⁵. Allsop, however, did not act on Coleridge's hint.

1 L V 27-28

2 see A.D. Snyder Coleridge on Logic and Learning XI, 3-9, 127-38; J. H. Muirhead Coleridge as Philosopher 266-72, 277-84

3 L V 30

4 L I 210, V 30

5 L V 30-31

Hartley arrived from Oxford in early April, bringing Derwent, whom Coleridge had not seen since March 1812, "so dreary a time".¹ Hartley had been tutoring his cousin Edward, an undergraduate at Corpus Christi College. Edward won the Aristotelian scholarship and planned to publish a prose translation of Aeschylus². While at Highgate Derwent was accepted by St. John's College, and planned to try for several scholarships before the new session began in October. He failed to obtain the Skinner's Company Exhibition, but when he arrived at College was elected to a Foundress Scholarship³. Poole and Thomas Monkhouse tried to find additional means of financial support for him⁴.

Coleridge was pleased to have his sons with him, and now wanted to see his daughter, Sara, about whom both his sons spoke with "rapture".⁵ She was seventeen and beautiful, but her mother feared that she was "too fond of Study (and particularly reading)". Derwent helped and encouraged her, but Hartley told her that "Latin & celibacy go together".⁶ She took "no part in any conversation but what relates to books, & personal beauty"⁷, and had been helping Derwent translate a Latin work by Martin Dobrizhoffer which was eventually published as An Account of the Abipones, An Equestrian People of Paraguay. Southey had suggested it to

1 L V 37

2 Letters of Hartley Coleridge ed. G. E. and E.L. Griggs 29

3 L V 54

4 Minnow 85

5 L V 39

6 Minnow 82

7 The Letters of Sara Hutchinson ed. K. Coburn 177

Derwent when there had seemed little chance of him going to university. When his tutoring had forced him to stop, Sara had carried on, and John Murray accepted it for publication in 1821¹. Her health was precarious and a support had to be fitted to her spine by a Liverpool surgeon. Coleridge

expressed a wish that Sara could go to Highgate to be under the care of Mr. Gilman!! the cleverest medical man with whom he was ever acquainted!!²

Coleridge found many of the "invasions" of his time "vexatious".³ He rarely saw any caller before one o'clock, at which time he usually went for a walk.⁴ But many of the interruptions were not unpleasant. Robert Burton, a Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, and a friend of Hartley's, called to see him,⁵ and his nephew, William Hart Coleridge, called at Highgate to see Derwent⁶. On 9 April Charles Mathews invited Coleridge to meet Sir Walter Scott, who had just been gazetted Baronet⁷. Coleridge refused, "I seem to feel that I ought to feel more desire to see an extraordinary Man than I really do feel".⁸ He declined an offer of an engagement from the publishers, Thomas Boosey and Sons, to write a commentary for an edition of Moritz Retzsch's illustrations of Goethe's Faust.

1 Minnow 89-90

2 Middle Years II 571

3 L V 25

4 B.M. MS. 47526 f.49, notebook 28

5 L V 44-45

6 L V 46

7 L V 38; London Gazette 1 April 1830

8 L V 38-40

The task was beneath him: "this, any man of common sense can do as well as I".¹

His sufferings became unusually severe in late May. The usual bowel complaint was again accompanied by an "awkward pain on my chest".² He feared for his life. "I should culpably deceive myself if I did not interpret my present state as a summons. God's Will be done!"³ Allsop behaved "more like a dutiful and anxious Son than an Acquaintance", hastening to Highgate and urging him to try sea bathing if his doctor advised it.⁴ But by 17 June Coleridge was well enough to dine at the home of Hookham Frere, where he again met Canning and Lord Liverpool (who "had expressed a wish to meet me") as well as "some other of the Magnates, Ministerial & Diplomatic".⁵ He also assisted Green, who was canvassing for the post of Surgeon to St. Thomas's Hospital, left vacant by the death of his cousin, Henry Cline.⁶ Since 1818 Green had shared with Astley Cooper the lectureship in surgery at St. Thomas's, and in 1820 he published Dissector's Manual, an enlarged version of his earlier Outlines of a Course of Dissections.⁷ Coleridge also enlisted Allsop to help Green obtain the post.⁸ Green won the election and was Surgeon to St. Thomas's Hospital from 1820 to 1852.

1 L V 42-44

2 L V 51

3 L V 45

4 L V 50

5 L V 55

6 L V 52

7 D.N.B. "Joseph Henry Green"

8 L V 52

One of the "four griping and grasping sorrows"¹ of Coleridge's life now overwhelmed him. On 30 June a letter arrived for Coleridge from John Taylor Coleridge. He had addressed it to the Gillmans, because "anything which affects ... [Coleridge] acts so directly upon his bodily health".² John had received a letter about Hartley from John Keble, one of the Fellows of Oriel College, on 19 June.

We have just discovered and ascertained ... [that Hartley] has been living in habits of such continued irregularity, & frequent sottishness, with all their degrading accompaniments of low company, neglect of college duties &c. as to make it quite wrong and unfit for the college to admit him to his actual fellowship³.

John Coleridge informed Southey, who had just arrived in London from Oxford where he had received an honorary degree. He had met Hartley and dined with him in Oriel, but he had not had the "slightest suspicion" of Hartley's "propensities to sottishness, or to low company". Southey informed the Wordsworths, who were also in London, and waited until he returned to the Lakes in July before telling Mrs. Coleridge, who was soon sending "letter after letter" to Highgate⁴. But Southey did not inform Coleridge. He left it to John Taylor Coleridge.

When the Gillmans received John's letter on 30 June they immediately broke the bad news to Coleridge. John informed them that Hartley would probably lose his Fellowship because of "sottishness, a love of low company, and general inattention to College rules". Another Fellow had also informed John that Hartley had formed "an attachment for a young person, the daughter I think of an architect". The College had no desire for

1 L V 249

2 B.M.MS. 47553 f.7, Robert Southey to John Taylor Coleridge
24 June 1820

3 L V 65-66

4 B.M.MS. 47553 f.5, Southey to John Taylor Coleridge (?)
20 June 1820

"unnecessary exposure". If Hartley resigned before October "he might still keep his place in the world".¹ When he heard these details, Coleridge was "convulsed with agony, tho' at first he was calm". Mrs. Gillman accompanied him for a walk in an attempt to divert "his mind from this sad subject, until he must of necessity go into it fully". In the evening he became tranquil. "His God & his Books are his refuge, & a sure help in time of trouble."² But that night his sleep was broken by horrifying dreams,

so distinct and conscience-like How like the Hell of Swedenborg it appeared - how completely conceivable (some malignant, but all perfectly unbenignant, Spirits) did the different human beings appear.

The dreams were accompanied by fits of screaming or weeping in his sleep and a feeling of inability to breathe³. Derwent had "never seen any human being, before or since, so deeply afflicted".⁴

Coleridge sent Derwent to Oxford to investigate and bring Hartley back to Highgate⁵. But before he got there Hartley had fled. Hartley's friend, Robert Burton, an Exeter College Fellow, gave Derwent some additional details which he sent back to Highgate in two letters. Coleridge had overcome the first shock, but was distressed by Derwent's first letter which informed him of Hartley's having left Oxford, presumably for Keswick. This seemed to Coleridge to indicate that "he considered me

1 L V 67

2 Nineteenth-Century Studies ed. H. Davis 70

3 B.M.MS. 47521 f.18, notebook 23; L V 83

4 Poems by Hartley Coleridge ed. Derwent Coleridge I lxxv

5 Nineteenth-Century Studies ed. H. Davis 70

as having forfeited the interest and authority of a Father per desuetudinem usûs, & as a Defaulter in the Duties, which I owed his Youth".¹ But when Derwent's second letter arrived telling him that Hartley had been advised to go to Canada, as "damaged goods do best for the Colonies", he began to hope Hartley had really only gone to Keswick, fearing that his son was "wandering on some wild scheme, in no dissimilar mood or chaos of thoughts and feelings to that which possessed his unhappy father at an earlier age during the month that ended in the Army-freak". He might even be "scheming to take passage from Liverpool to America".² He felt that he could not contact Mrs Coleridge's friends in Liverpool in case they began to wonder what was happening. And for the same reason he called Derwent back to Highgate: "Else it will be rumoured that your Brother has run off, & that you are sent to seek after him".³

Coleridge determined to meet Dr Edward Coplestone, the Provost of Oriel, who had supervised Hartley as a probationary Fellow. He hoped to have the probationary year extended, although Hartley's flight would make it difficult for him to clear away misunderstandings and misinterpretations. "I might exert the influence of my friends with Dr C. & with each of the Fellows singly, to bring things about."⁴ To obtain more information he asked Samuel Mence, formerly a Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, and now minister of the School Chapel at Highgate, to write to William James, one of the Oriel Fellows. James replied on 15 July.

1 L V 82

2 L V 84

3 L V 84

4 L V 85

Although the decision to exclude Hartley would not formally be taken until the Fellows' Meeting in October, it should be considered as already decided. If Hartley did not take the opportunity of resigning before the October Meeting, the charges against him would be made public. "I know it has been suggested to him to go to Canada - ... so great a change in the plan of his life, the design of residing abroad for a term of years would give to the world some reason for his apparently resigning his fellowship."¹

By mid-July Hartley and Derwent were back at Highgate. It is not known where he had spent the previous weeks². From him and from details coming in from other sources Coleridge was at last able to construct a picture of the situation.

Hartley's election to a probationary Fellowship at Oriel had surprised everyone, not least himself. Initial elation had been followed by "uneasy melancholy". He felt that he was among strangers and had been selected for "the vague appearance of **T**alent", not the "hearty conviction" of his suitability³. Oriel was the outstanding Oxford College and its Fellows behaved accordingly, encouraged as they were to set a pattern to other Colleges for scholarship, devotion to their pupils, and even in the minor details of life. The critical life and conversation of the Common Room repelled Hartley, contrasting sharply with the warmth and geniality of undergraduate life at Merton College. He continued to associate with

1 L V 68-69

2 L V 86

3 Letters of Hartley Coleridge ed. G.E. and E.L. Griggs 54

undergraduate friends from Merton and Exeter, and seemed unable to adapt to the requirements of his new position despite frequent warnings from Dr. Coplestone about his conduct, "which was not likely to recommend him to the favour and esteem of the College". He exhorted Hartley to "court the society of the Fellows and of the other probationers", but to no avail¹. Coleridge also warned him to display "cheerful good humour" and to try to "check in himself what was confessedly not in harmony with the established forms".²

Hartley's attendances at Chapel were also very irregular. At first Coplestone attributed his behaviour to "a little eccentricity of character, unmixed with any immoral habits". But the discovery late in the probationary year that Hartley had apparently been guilty of intemperance seemed to provide an explanation for his strangeness. The Provost and Fellows met informally on 30 May, and decided that Hartley was not fit to be admitted to a full Fellowship: "Had we known a tenth part of what his Probationary year had brought to light, he never would have been elected at all".³ When informed of their decision by the Dean, Hartley pleaded for an extension of his probationary year. This was refused. The probationary year existed to enable the Fellows to judge the probationer's real character, not to shape and discipline him to fit in. With threats of "disclosures" it was suggested to Hartley that he resign, but he refused, and so the formal decision to deprive him of his Fellowship, completely unprecedented at Oriel, had to be left until the full meeting in October of all the Fellows, resident and non-resident. A proposal would also be considered to offer him some financial assistance.

1 A Memorandum signed by E. Coplestone, 15 June 1820, quoted in L V 59-60

2 L V 83

3 Coplestone's Memorandum in L V 59-60

Hartley's interviews and letters to Fellows, the Dean and the Provost were to no avail. On 13 June Hartley dined in Oxford with Southey, who was about to receive an honorary D.C.L., but told him nothing of his plight¹.

When Hartley arrived at Highgate, Coleridge immediately set him to work. They worked together on an Essay on Metre "illustrated and exemplified from Mr. Frere's Aristophanic Poems", which they would offer to the Quarterly Review as a review of Frere's translations of Aristophanes, which they expected to be published soon². Frere's translations were not published until 1839.

In the midst of Coleridge's tribulations with Hartley, Charles Tulk told a meeting of the New Church of Coleridge's earlier offer to write a history of the mind of Swedenborg, "if £200 should be given him in remuneration". James Arbouin, an active member of the New Church, had "doubts of Mr. Coleridge's doctrinal fitness", and being a friend of the Gillmans managed to have himself invited to dine with them. After dinner he asked Coleridge "directly and openly" what his opinion was of Swedenborg. He received "a guarded but unfavourable reply", which, when conveyed to the New Church, put an end to the proposal to subscribe £200. "No doubt mortified somewhat", Tulk wrote to Coleridge for an explanation. Coleridge replied that he had been questioned rudely, before a mixed company and, not prepared to give his opinion unreservedly, he had replied accordingly³.

1 B.M.MS. 47553 ff.5-6, Robert Southey to John Taylor Coleridge (?)
20 June 1820

2 L V 93

3 L V 86-91, 89 n 1; J.B. Beer Coleridge the Visionary 41;
New-Church Review (October 1909) 516

Much of his time was filled by preparations to meet Dr Coplestone in October. But he also continued to work with Green, mainly on the Bible¹. He made several journeys into London in search of lodgings for Hartley, who by early August was temporarily settled in the home of Basil Montagu². Derwent became ill, and Coleridge was sure that one cause was the numerous letters sent to him by Mrs Coleridge, who was in great distress. The letters contained "every uncomfortable recollection & anticipation that she could conjure up" about Hartley³. Coleridge found time to recommend Hurwitz's Vindiciae Hebraicae to John Murray for publication,⁴ and to advise and assist Mrs Mary Evans Todd, the Mary Evans with whom he had been in love as an undergraduate, who was now attempting to support herself as a school teacher⁵.

After several weeks of unsureness he was informed that Dr Coplestone would return to Oxford on 13 October, four days before the Fellows' Meeting⁶. Coleridge asked Hartley in September to prepare "a full statement" of the events at Oriel and his relationship with the Fellows. Hartley complied, and sent his father a second letter on 2 October with "a plain statement of facts" about Oriel, in which he cautioned Coleridge not to try to defend him on "untenable points".⁷ Derwent set off for his first term at Cambridge just as Coleridge was making arrangements to travel to Oxford to see Dr Coplestone before the Fellows' Meeting. In consequence of Mrs Gillman's "kind but unnecessary anxieties", Thomas Allsop would accompany him⁸.

1 L V 94

2 L V 93

3 L V 94

4 L V 92; it was published in 1821 by F.C. and J. Rivington and Boosey and Sons

5 L V 101-02

6 L V 103

7 L V 69-70

8 L V 101-02

In preparation for his interview Coleridge composed a letter, which Hartley copied, protesting against the accusations of frequent intemperance. He confessed to intoxication on only one occasion, a degree-passing party. He denied that his irregular attendance at Chapel was caused by "the intemperance and the late hours of the preceding day". And he denied any association with "low company": his society consisted of former undergraduate friends "of good morals & sound religious principles".¹ Coleridge believed that his son's personal peculiarities had prejudiced the Fellows against him and wrote a long letter to Dr Coplestone, only fragments of which are extant, describing Hartley's "Habits and Dispositions", present in him from earliest childhood². He planned that Coplestone should receive it on 13 October to allow him "a day's preparation for the personal Interview".³

Coleridge's meeting with Dr Coplestone took place on Sunday morning, 15 October. Their discussion lasted a long time, and the central issue was the charge of "sottishness". Despite Coleridge's arguments Coplestone would not be moved. He spoke of Hartley's "talents, acquirements and dispositions", but refused to accept Coleridge's criticisms of the system of probation and repeated the charges of "frequent intemperance etc., etc."⁴ Coplestone sent a letter to Coleridge, who was staying at the Cross Inn in Oxford, agreeing that "exaggerated and even false reports" of Hartley's "offences" were circulating. Neither he nor any of the other Fellows believed Hartley to be "addicted to solitary drinking", commonly included under "the imputation of 'sottishness'".⁵ Coleridge returned to Highgate frustrated and bitter. Later Allsop wrote:

1 L V 103-06

2 L V 107-15

3 L V 118

4 Letters of Hartley Coleridge ed G.E. and E.L. Griggs 53;
T. Mozley Reminiscences Chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement
II 411

5 L V 73-74

"Of this journey to Oxford I have a very painful recollection; perhaps the most painful recollection (one excepted) connected with the memory of Coleridge".¹

In view of Hartley's denials and Coleridge's intervention, the evidence about Hartley's behaviour had to be examined at the Fellows' Meeting on 17 October. The letters from Hartley and Coleridge were read, and Dr Coplestone described their interview. Evidence was submitted by "the servants of his College and of his lodging-house", and it is possible that one of the Fellows, James Tyler, reported having seen Hartley lying drunk in a gutter in Oriel Lane². Formal action was taken two days later to remove Hartley's Fellowship and, although the Oriel records make no mention of it, £300 was to be offered Hartley from College funds³.

Coplestone travelled to London immediately after the Fellows' Meeting. He met Coleridge on 18 October for "a few minutes' conversation on the subject which he hinted to Mr. Coleridge at Oxford, namely some allowance from the College on his son's leaving the University". Coleridge took the opportunity to present another protest to him written by Hartley. Coplestone told him that Hartley "had been 3 times picked up dead drunk in the Street!"⁴ Coleridge refused the offered £300 in Hartley's name.

'If', said he, 'my Son be innocent of the heavier part of your charges, far be it from me to compromise his honour; if, after all his denials to me, he is guilty - he may do as he pleases but I will not be the channel of conveying the money to him.'⁵

Frere, the Wordsworths and the Gillmans all agreed that Hartley would be wrong to accept the money - "it would have tongue-tied me, it

1 T. Allsop Letters, Conversations and Recollections 68

2 L V 59; T. Mozley Reminiscences Chiefly of Oriel and the Oxford Movement I 86-87

3 L V 75

4 L V 75-76; Letters of Hartley Coleridge ed. G.E. and E.L. Griggs 53

5 Letters of Hartley Coleridge ed. G.E. and E.L. Griggs 54

would have convinced the world that I was even such as they have named me".¹

Coleridge believed implicitly that Hartley was innocent and that Oriel College was guilty of "most cruel and unjust persecution".² He composed a letter for Hartley to the Warden of Merton College, defending his behaviour,³ and in December revealed his bitterness in a letter to John Gibson Lockhart⁴. George Frere was told that Hartley had been "most virulently and unjustly persecuted".⁵ At Coleridge's insistence Hartley wrote to Sir George Beaumont and to Edward Coleridge defending himself against the charges⁶. Mrs. Coleridge believed the charges to be "false", and Thomas Poole believed Hartley had been wronged - "even to the end of his life, the very name of Dr. Coplestone could never be heard by him with patience, or without some fierce word of denunciation of all the authorities of Oriel".⁷ Wordsworth believed Hartley "gave most offence by the unrestrained freedom of his speech, and by threats to introduce all sorts of changes into the College".⁸ And even Southey accepted that he had been "dealt with according to the rigour of the law & that his manners may have contributed greatly to this", although "I cannot believe that there has been any intentional injustice".⁹

1 Letters of Hartley Coleridge ed. G.E. and E.L. Griggs 56

2 L V 126

3 L V 120-23

4 L V 126

5 Letter from G. Frere to Mrs. G. Frere 19 November 1820 - MS. in possession of the Frere family

6 L V 77

7 H. Sandford Thomas Poole and His Friends II 261

8 J.P. Collier An Old Man's Diary I 89

9 B.M.MS. 47553 ff.9-10, Robert Southey to John Taylor Coleridge 19 December 1820

Eventually Hartley was able to see his own faults in the matter and did not blame the Oriel Fellows:

They invented no scandals - they heard some disagreeable facts, and being prepossessed by them, and my general eccentricity against me, believed all that was said by I know not whom¹.

Hartley's future was now uncertain. Coleridge and Samuel Mence agreed that he should return to Oxford and support himself by "Private Pupils".² But "full of hope and self-confidence",³ he remained in London at the Montagus' writing several articles for the London Magazine and working on his poem "Prometheus".⁴ He could not apply himself continuously however, and did not earn enough to pay his expenses, remaining dependent on Coleridge and others for his support. In frequent moods of despondency and self-condemnation he occasionally left the Montagus' home, disappearing for weeks in London. His drinking became more heavy, and eventually Coleridge became disillusioned⁵. By 1822 he was convinced that Hartley had to be removed from London's temptations, and despairingly decided that he should return to Keswick⁶.

Despite his preoccupation with Hartley and Oriel College Coleridge watched the attempts made by George IV in the House of Lords to divorce Queen Caroline on the grounds of her alleged adultery. As in 1796, when he had written his poem To An Unfortunate Princess,⁷ he was sympathetic to the plight of the Queen⁸. "They put a body up the nostrils in the dunghill of reeking Slander & then exclaim: There is no Smoke without some fire."⁹ Gillman's advice prevented him from publishing an article

1 Letters of Hartley Coleridge ed. G.E. and E.L. Griggs 54

2 Letters of Hartley Coleridge ed. G.E. and E.L. Griggs 54

3 Poems by Hartley Coleridge ed. Derwent Coleridge I lxxxviii

4 Letters of Hartley Coleridge ed. G.E. and E.L. Griggs 56

5 Letters of Hartley Coleridge ed. G.E. and E.L. Griggs 56, 71-72

6 L V 78; Letters of Hartley Coleridge ed. G.E. and E.L. Griggs 72

7 L I 223

8 L V 116

9 L V 117

on Queen Caroline's case in the Eclectic Review,¹ but did not stop him catechising Crabb Robinson to ensure that, if he was not a "Queenite", he was at least an "anti-Kingite".²

Coleridge's letter to Lockhart in gratitude for his favourable remarks in Peter's Letters was published without Coleridge's consent in the September number of Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine. Before Coleridge had even noticed it, John Scott, the editor of Baldwin's London Magazine, who had denounced "Maga" in several articles, alluded scornfully (in his issue of December 1820) to this "unauthorized publication" of Coleridge's "private letter". He stated that Lockhart had been the author of the infamous review of Biographia Literaria in Blackwood's Magazine in October 1817,³ and also that Coleridge's letter was published "without the writer's consent, and, as we have reason to know, very much to the writer's displeasure".⁴

John Scott had not consulted Coleridge before publishing his denunciation, and his account of Coleridge's "displeasure" was probably an invention or based on gossip from Charles Lamb⁵. Lockhart wrote to Coleridge for "explanations" of Scott's account. Coleridge's reply was temperate, possibly because he was aware of the growing animosity between Scott and Lockhart. He explained that he had not seen his letter in print, but Hartley and Derwent had and were "vexed and distressed". The idea that he was displeased might have arisen from his dismissive reaction when it had been mentioned to him.

1 L V 118-19

2 Robinson's Diary II 196

3 The author was in fact John Wilson

4 Baldwin's London Magazine (December 1820) 669, 676

5 L V 128

But as to telling any one that it was a confidential Letter to a Friend - what nonsense a man may chuse to infer, I cannot say - but that it should have been said by me, or fairly inferable from my words, is out of the Question.

Despite this reply the quarrel between John Scott and Lockhart grew. Lockhart travelled from Edinburgh to London to challenge John Scott to a duel but his second, an old college friend named Christie, could not get Scott even to accept the challenge. Lockhart returned to Edinburgh triumphantly proclaiming Scott a liar and a coward. But when Lockhart left London, there was an exchange of sharp public statements between John Scott and Christie, and Scott challenged Christie. The duel took place on 21 February 1821. John Scott was killed and Christie fled to France. When he subsequently returned to face trial he was acquitted².

Lockhart's publication of the letter had worried Coleridge, Hartley and Derwent because "so many persons would know that it alluded in part to Wordsworth - that it would widen the breach or rather convert a coolness³ into a breach".⁴ Wordsworth had recently been in London but had not called on Coleridge because of "infirmity and my attendance at Chantry's, for my Bust, and numerous other engagements".⁵

The rancour Coleridge had felt towards Wordsworth even after their "reconciliation" in 1812, found expression in his revelatory letters to Thomas Allsop. In one letter, written in December 1818, Coleridge contrasted his youthful "enthusiastic self-oblivion" and eager assistance

1 L V 125, 127

2 E. Johnson Sir Walter Scott: The Great Unknown I 724-27

3 Coleridge first wrote "alienation"

4 L V 127

5 Middle Years 615

with the behaviour of "those" who could find "nothing but cold praise and effective discouragement" for his poetry. They admitted it was "not without merit, but were abundantly anxious to acquit their judgments of any blindness to the very numerous defects".¹ Coleridge had also been angered in early 1819 by Wordsworth's attitude to the old debt Coleridge owed John Hutchinson, the money he had advanced in 1809 to buy stamped paper for The Friend. Coleridge complained that he had been asked to repay it just at the time of Rest Fenner's bankruptcy. Wordsworth had refused to renew the Bill himself, because he too was short of money,

& an hour after attempted to extort from me a transfer to himself of all that I could call my own in the world, my Books, as the condition of his paying a Bill which in equity was as much, but in honor and gratitude was far more, his Debt than mine!²

Coleridge privately began to contrast the respect and love for him shown by the Gillmans with the coldness of the Wordsworth circle:

O it is melancholy to think, how the very forms and geniality of my Affections, my belief of obligation, consequent gratitude & anxious sense of duty, were wasted on the Shadows of Friendship - With few exceptions I can almost say, that till I came to Highgate in 1816, I never found what Friends were - & doubtless in more than one instance I sacrificed Substances who loved me, to Semblances who were well pleased that I should love them, but who never loved nor inwardly respected aught but themsleves S.T.C. could not feel more deeply ... - he could not feel, think & act with a more entire devotion, to A.G.; ..; or J.H.G.; ..; ..; than he did to S.H.; W.W. and R.S.

1 L IV 888

2 L V 250 and n 3

3 * sets of initials scored out heavily; B.M.MS 47537 f.88, notebook 42; entry undated but probably 1829-30; the initials S.H. are also scored out but are legible.

The Christmas season found Coleridge content to spend most evenings with the Gillmans and their friends¹. He refused an invitation to dine with the Duke of Sussex because he no longer dared spend the night "away from my home - i.e. from those, who are accustomed to & prepared for, the sudden seizures, to which I am liable ... after any excitement of animal spirits from genial Society".² He gradually recovered from the illness caused by his exertions on Hartley's behalf, and in the cold weather cheerfully watched young Henry Gillman, a "most triumphant Slider".³ He enjoyed two essays by Charles Lamb in Baldwin's London Magazine, "New Year's Eve" and "The Two Races of Men"; in the latter he appeared as "Comberbatch, matchless in his depredations" of books⁴. He considered writing an "answer" to "New Year's Eve". But "alas! I have so many things to do, and such very pressing reasons for doing them, that I can do nothing!"⁵

Henry Cary's son, William, set off for India in January 1821 armed with a letter of introduction from Coleridge to his Christ's Hospital and Cambridge friend, Dr Middleton, the Bishop of Calcutta⁶. Coleridge and Green still spent most Sundays working on his "(Anti-Paleyogrotian) Assertion of Religion as necessarily implying Revelation, and of Xtianity as the only Revelation of universal validity".⁷ An interpretation of Genesis occupied much of his time, and Hurwitz and another Jewish friend, Neumegen, assisted with transcriptions from the Hebrew Bible⁸.

1 L V 130

2 L V 129

3 L V 132

4 L V 128, 133; Baldwin's London Magazine December 1820, January 1821

5 L V 133

6 L V 131; Middleton's death had been mistakenly reported in Biographia Literaria

7 L V 134

8 L V 134, 135

Derwent seemed to be doing well at Cambridge. Although neither learned nor well-disciplined he at least seemed to his cousin, Henry Nelson Coleridge, "kind-hearted and perfectly honest".¹ But Henry feared that Derwent might become "an exquisite" and give up Mathematics, "by which he must live", to study Classics in which he would never "shine".² Spurred on by a note from Mrs Coleridge, Mary Wordsworth asked Monkhouse to try to find some means of financial assistance for Derwent³. Hookham Frere had left England for Malta in 1820 for his wife's health, and the first instalment of the financial support he had promised Derwent, £80 a year, was paid to Gillman in February by George Frere. George reported to Hookham Frere that Derwent wished to give up Mathematics and study Classics, as Henry Nelson Coleridge feared⁴. Derwent already disliked St John's College despite Hartley's attempts to reconcile him to his new life⁵. Coleridge warned Derwent not to run up large bills at College, remembering his own debts at Cambridge⁶.

To assist Hartley, who was trying to write a poem based on Aeschylus' Prometheus, Coleridge dictated to Green "a small volume almost" of comments mainly from Schelling on "the full import of this most pregnant and sublime Mythos and Philosopheme". Hartley's poem remained unfinished and Derwent believe Coleridge's "profound and complex philosopheme" crippled Hartley's powers. However Coleridge was

1 B.M.MS. 47557 ff. 65-66, Henry Nelson Coleridge to John Taylor Coleridge 28 February 1821

2 B.M.MS. 47558 ff. 80-81, Henry Nelson Coleridge to Francis George Coleridge 10 November 1820

3 The Letters of Mary Wordsworth ed. M.E. Burton 75

4 Works of John Hookham Frere ed. W.E. and B. Frere I 182; Letters from George Frere to John Hookham Frere April, June 1821; Letters of Hartley Coleridge ed. G.E. and E.L. Griggs 57

5 Letters of Hartley Coleridge ed. G.E. and E.L. Griggs 59-60, 64

6 L V 139-40

later able to use his material in his essay On the Prometheus of Aeschylus for the Royal Society of Literature¹. Hartley's habit of arriving unexpectedly at Highgate on Sundays with his friend Robert Burton caused Coleridge some agitation. Sunday was the day he liked to spend with Green, and moreover the Gillmans entertained their and his friends on Sundays. Allsop was a frequent guest, as were Charles and Mary Lamb, who now were able occasionally to spend the night at a neighbour's house². Coleridge's health was, as usual, uncertain, but "in the belief of those well qualified to judge I am not so ill as I fancy myself to be".³ Lamb was sure his old friend was a hypochondriac. On 1 May he transcribed a note Coleridge had written to him on 17 April 1807: "Midnight - God bless you, dear Charles Lamb, I am dying; I feel I have not many weeks left".⁴ When Coleridge first introduced Lamb to Charles Mathews, Lamb, feeling that he was on display, mischievously decided to upset Coleridge's plan to show him off. Lamb's absurd puns and jokes throughout dinner "almost harassed Coleridge out of his self-complacency", and he was forced to try to divert the party by speaking of the way he had almost become a preacher in his youth. After a while, believing Lamb to be subdued, he benignly asked him whether he had ever heard him preach.

As if concentrating his pent-up resentment and pique into one focus, and with less of his wonted hesitation, Lamb replied, with great emphasis, "I ne-ever heard you do anything else".⁵

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- 1 L V 142-43, 460-61; Poems by Hartley Coleridge ed. Derwent Coleridge II 257; N. Fruman Coleridge, The Damaged Archangel 68; G. Whalley "Coleridge and the Royal Society of Literature" in Essays by Divers Hands n.s. XXXV (1969) 147-51; S.W. Reid "The Composition and Revision of Coleridge's Essay on Aeschylus' Promethæus" in Studies in Bibliography 24 (1971) 176-83
 - 2 L V 142; Lamb Letters II 295
 - 3 L V 139
 - 4 Lamb Letters II 295
 - 5 The Life and Correspondence of Charles Mathews the Elder ed. E. Yates 246

In June Coleridge's brother, the Reverend George Coleridge, came to London. His nephew, William Hart Coleridge, with whom he was staying, invited Coleridge to dine in order to meet him again "after an interval of 3 or 4 and twenty years, of something too like Alienation!"¹ Coleridge hoped that a second meeting on 8 June might finally heal the breach caused by George's reaction to Coleridge's separation from his wife, and although he realised that inclement weather was to blame, he "had his feelings much wounded" when George did not keep the engagement².

A few days later Mrs. Gillman "was obliged to tell him about Hartley".³ The Montagus, with whom he had been staying for the past ten months, decided that because of his erratic behaviour they could no longer have him in their home. Despite anxious attempts by Coleridge and Mrs. Gillman to change their minds the Montagus remained adamant, and Hartley had to take up lodgings in Gray's Inn Square with Robert Jameson, a boyhood friend⁴.

Coleridge's friendship with Thomas Allsop now became somewhat strained. He noticed that Allsop was "anxious about something" and wished to be taken into his confidence⁵. Allsop had in fact decided to marry against his family's wishes, and judged it unwise to discuss the problem with either Coleridge or Mrs. Gillman⁶. Because of Allsop's reticence Coleridge "altogether misapprehended the particular cause of

1 L V 147, 149

2 L V 147 ; Nineteenth-Century Studies ed. N. Davis 70-71

3 Nineteenth-Century Studies ed. H. Davis 70-71

4 L V 149, 225

5 L V 151

6 L V 151

my anxiety, or, as I doubt not, considered it irresolution and misgiving".¹
 But the misapprehension did not diminish Coleridge's affection for his young friend, and Allsop's sister stayed with the Gillmans in July².

The artist Thomas Phillips, who had painted Coleridge's portrait in Summer 1818, returned to paint him again in June. Coleridge carefully instructed him not to portray him clutching a handkerchief. "My Snuff-box grasped in my left hand on my knee, and a book held down with my Thumb in it in the right, is my ordinary and unconscious way of sitting & talking."³

By now Coleridge was very dependent financially on the Gillmans. In early August Thomas De Quincey wrote to him. In unhappy exile from his family and the Lakes and in the toils of his Confessions of an English Opium Eater and uncongenial hack-work for Taylor and Hessey, De Quincey asked Coleridge for assistance, reminding him of the £300 he had given Coleridge in 1807 as a token of his admiration⁴. With "anguish & sickness of soul" Coleridge explained why he was unable to help him. By lecturing and "literary Job-work" he had earned enough to pay for his keep during his first two years at Highgate, but since then his expenses had grown. Hartley and Derwent, the bankruptcy of Rest Fenner and his repurchase of his works, Hartley's dependence after the loss of his Fellowship, all had mounted. Although the "nominal sum ... barely adequate to the first-cost of my actual maintenance - ... medicine, & medical attendance are not put down at all", he was in debt to Gillman

1 T. Allsop Letters, Conversations and Recollections II 13

2 L V 158-59, 164, 176 etc.

3 L V 159; Sara Coleridge and Henry Reed ed. L.N. Broughton 85

4 De Quincey Memorials ed. E.H. Japp I 146; Unpublished Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge ed. E.L. Griggs II 293 n 1

for £500 - "of which, but a short time back, he struck off 120£, as incurred for Derwent and Hartley, as if they had been his Visitors".¹ De Quincey's request made Coleridge feel his poverty "as a humiliation"; indeed "for months past I have not had a shilling in my pocket - nor do I know how or where to procure a guinea".²

Blackwood had paid him in advance for a still-unwritten contribution which Coleridge wanted to submit in order to request another advance. He was held up by Thomas Poole's delay in sending him the letters about his childhood and his ascent of the Brocken, written in 1799, which he had asked him to return in order to rework them for Blackwood's Magazine.³ He eventually sent a parcel of contributions to Blackwood in September. It appeared in the October issue as "Selections from Mr. Coleridge's Literary Correspondence with Friends, and Men of Letters".⁴ Lockhart wrote to Blackwood: "Coleridge is evidently mad and unintelligible but I venture to say you will never repent giving him sixteen pages a-month. These will always be thoughts and expressions of the most inimitable beauty".⁵ Perhaps because of their aversion to "Maga" nobody at Grasmere believed the "Letters" to be Coleridge's: "they were too stupid to induce us to read, except a sentence here and there".⁶

In a few weeks the Gillmans intended to spend their usual long holiday by the sea, and Coleridge asked Blackwood for an advance of £50, which he apparently received. "It is my intent to devote the next six weeks undividedly to the Magazine".⁷ Allsop, in Derbyshire on business,

1 L V 163-64

2 L V 161-64

3 L V 160; "Over the Brocken" appeared in The Amulet in 1829

4 L V 165-66

5 M. Oliphant Annals of a Publishing House I 218-19, letter misdated

6 The Letters of Sara Hutchinson ed. K. Coburn 227 and n

7 L V 167, 174

also sent him £50, and Coleridge's spirits rose at the prospect of a few weeks on the coast. "I entertain some hope too, that my Logic, which I could begin printing immediately if I could find a Publisher willing to undertake it on equitable terms, might prove an exception to the general fate of my publications".¹

He was with the Gillmans at Ramsgate from 1 October to 17 November². He enjoyed his stay enormously and his health improved³. Gillman recovered slowly from an infection in his arm which he had contracted while dissecting a corpse⁴. Coleridge's enjoyment of the sea was child-like -

It was glorious! I watched each time from the top-step for a high Wave coming, and then with my utmost power of projection shot myself off into it, for all the world like a Congreve Rocket into a Whale?

His only difficulty was to ensure an adequate supply of snuff for himself, the brand obtainable locally being "vile ramsgate Plug-nostril".⁶ His favourite brand was "Irish blackguard" which he bought in London by the pound and smothered himself with⁷. Charles Cowden Clarke introduced himself to Coleridge on the East Cliff as a friend of Charles Lamb, and Coleridge at once treated him as an old acquaintance. He talked for an hour and a half, pausing only to catch his breath "which, in the heat of his teeming mind, he did like a schoolboy repeating by rote his task".⁸

1 L V 177

2 L V 179, 187

3 L V 179-80

4 L V 180

5 L V 185

6 L V 186

7 J.H. Lloyd History, Topography and Antiquities of Highgate 322

8 C. and M. Cowden Clarke Recollections of Writers 30-32

When they returned to Highgate on 17 November, Coleridge found an invitation from John Anster of Trinity College, Dublin, to deliver a course of lectures there. He was at first tempted to accept, but the opposition of the Gillmans and Allsop decided him to remain in London¹. Highgate was "in high feud".² The governors of Cholmeley's Free Grammar School in Highgate had announced their intention to pull down the school chapel and build a new one from the funds of the charity which supported the school. This aroused opposition from a group of wealthy local inhabitants who set up a committee to investigate the charity's funds. The Reverend Samuel Mence was master of the school and Coleridge gave his support to Mence and the governors. They had given notice on 10 August of their intention to petition Parliament, and before he had left for Ramsgate Coleridge had written to Charles Tulk to borrow a report by Henry Brougham on the charity's endowments and administration. The opponents claimed that the proposal involved a "misuse" of the charity's funds, but the Bishop of London approved their plan.³ Coleridge advised one of the governors in November not to publish a reply to the objectors, and tried to restrain Gillman, who believed that the objections were "factious" in "nature and origin". "I am constantly afraid of his Honesty spurting out in the face of his Interest."⁴

1 L V 187-89

2 L V 189

3 Gentleman's Magazine (April 1834) 380-85; J.H. Lloyd The History, Topography and Antiquities of Highgate 111-49; G.W. Thornbury and E. Walford Old and New London V 418-23; The Times August 1822, December 1823, January 1824; L V 173

4 L V 190

But with no "Interest" to protect, Coleridge now felt sufficiently a member of the community to give his active support. The governors' Bill was laid before Parliament in 1822 but was not approved despite several letters from Coleridge lobbying the support of various Members¹. Proceedings against the governors were then initiated in the Court of Chancery where the case dragged on for several years.

Hartley dined with John Taylor Coleridge on 1 December. The subject of Oriel College was discussed and John "rather persuaded" him to accept the £300 offered him. Hartley explained that he had refused it because acceptance "might look like an acknowledgement of the whole of the Charge". If he took it he would send it to his mother. He hoped to take Orders in a few years. On his own initiative John Coleridge contacted Keble who advised him how to apply to Oriel. The £300 was paid to John Coleridge several months later, and in January 1823 Hartley sent £216:16s:0d. to his mother, being the total left after his debt at Oxford and to Gillman had been paid².

Derwent's career at Cambridge was not very successful. He had founded a society for collecting books of early English literature, and spent his time "poring over old plays and old romances". To Henry Nelson Coleridge this was intolerable.

A fellow who has no money, whose single chance is a good degree, ... who has a mother deserted and poverty-stricken before his eyes, a sister turning a scribbler, a brother a wanderer and outcast, and a father aliena quadra viventem - this ass, this fool wasting the precious moments, wherein he might redeem himself and family, and living in a manner and pursuing such devices, as would be considered trifling and scarcely blameless in the dillettante heir to a £1000 per ann!³

1 L V 235, 237, 238

2 L V 195 n 1; Letters of Hartley Coleridge ed. G.E. and E.L. Griggs 36, 50, 54, 76; Minnow 86, 91

3 B.M.MS. 47557 ff. 69-72, Henry Nelson Coleridge to John Taylor Coleridge 11 December 1821

Derwent had already been given Coleridge's permission to change his College and his course of study, but had decided to remain at St. John's¹ although he was still unhappy there. His feelings adversely affected his conduct. He annoyed even Hartley by criticising the Milnes, friends of the Gillmans at Highgate, whom he thought "vulgar people".² His exam results suffered: from "4th in the first class" in June he slipped to "8th in the first class" by December 1821³. The results reached Coleridge in January 1822, at the same time as John Taylor Coleridge informed him of what he had been told by Henry Nelson Coleridge⁴. In his initial distress Coleridge wrote an anguished, almost hysterical, letter to Derwent on 11 January. "What can I urge that would not be the mere repetition of counsels already urged". High classical honours never went with "Pleasure, Dress, and Family Visiting". He begged Derwent to end "This accursed Coxcomby", describing his own undergraduate days when reading had occupied all his waking hours apart from two and a half hours before midnight, when "we had true Noctes atticae which I cannot to this hour think of without a strong emotion". Societies for "old books" not only "dissipate your time & thoughts, they dissipate & perplex your character". "Can you not controll your Love of appearance and Showing off for two or three years?"⁵ Derwent's reply had a calming effect, and on 15 January Coleridge felt obliged to explain his fears and apologise for his first violent reaction⁶. But he remained vexed and grieved by Derwent's excuses and tone of self-defence⁷.

1 L V 196

2 Letters of Hartley Coleridge ed. G.E. and E.L. Griggs 70

3 L V 194 n 2

4 L V 210

5 L V 191-94

6 L V 194-97

7 L V 210

"Your business at present is to learn, to acquire, to habituate - not to teach - to be, not not to shew - or rather to become".¹

Coleridge's appeals had only slight effect. In June 1822 Derwent was "5th in first class" but by December he was "Inferior to those in the first class, but entitled to Prizes if in the 1st class at the next examination". He was, however, "not classed" in May 1823, because he was "absent from part of the Examination with leave".²

The issue of Blackwood's Magazine for January 1822 contained Coleridge's "History and Gests of Maxilian". Blackwood must have agreed that it fully liquidated his advance of £50, for despite frequent excellent intentions Coleridge contributed only once more to "Maga", in June 1832³. He wrote to John Murray on 18 January 1822, offering him a volume of "The Beauties of Archbishop Leighton selected and methodized, with a (better) Life of the Author".⁴ He had been an admirer of the writings of Archbishop Robert Leighton of Glasgow since 1814,⁵ and intended to use quotations from them as an "antidote" to Dissent and a defence of Trinitarian Christianity as a practical rule of conduct and politics and as an essential part of metaphysics⁶. His attempt to return to Murray as a publisher was probably prompted by Murray's publication in late 1821 of his daughter Sara's translation of Dobrizhoffer's

1 L V 197

2 L V 194 n 2

3 L VI 821-22; A.L. Strout "Samuel Taylor Coleridge and John Wilson of Blackwood's Magazine" in P.M.L.A. 48 (1933) 100-28

4 L V 200

5 L III 479; Chambers's misdating of 1807 results from accepting Cottle's wrong date of a letter - E.K. Chambers Samuel Taylor Coleridge 310 and n 2

6 L V 197-98

An Account of the Abipones, for which she was paid £125¹. Murray responded to Coleridge's proposal by sending him a reprint of Jerment's 1805-08 edition of Leighton. Coleridge agreed to mark and annotate several passages, "to enable you to form a tolerably correct fore-judgement of the contents and appearance of the Volume".² He set to work on it at once.

1 E.L. Griggs Coleridge Fille 54-55; see also Lamb Letters III 22 and Table-Talk 4 August 1832

2 L V 205

CHAPTER 5. FEBRUARY 1822 - MARCH 1824

An announcement appeared in the Courier on 25 February that Coleridge proposed to devote

a determinate portion of each week to a small and select number of gentlemen ... for the purpose of assisting them in the formation of their minds, and the regulation of their studies.

This idea had recurred periodically to him all his life. He had considered such a class even before his journey to Germany in 1796,¹ and this seemed an opportune time to begin. He already had two pupils, Charles Stutfield and Gillman's assistant, John Watson, as well as Green's long-standing assistance:

There have been three or four Young men (under five and twenty) who within the last five years have believed themselves and have been thought by their Acquaintance, to have derived benefit from their frequent opportunities of conversing, reading, and occasionally corresponding with me².

He consulted Allsop and Daniel Stuart. The Gillmans approved because it would ensure that his philosophical work proceeded regularly, and "in conjunction with other reliable resources would remove my anxiety with regard to the increasing any positive pressure on their finances".³ He proposed to charge his pupils no fixed fee, relying on their honour to provide "grateful recompense". Green offered the drawing-room of his home as a class-room, but in fact the classes were held at Highgate. Besides conversation, Coleridge's method of instruction was to dictate to his pupils, with the intention of providing them with "a volume" on logic. He occasionally digressed "from the dry theme of lecture into some branching topic, having life in it, and a reference to life".⁴

1 L I 209

2 L V 219

3 L V 204, 220

4 L V 203-220; Anon. "Monologues by the late Samuel Taylor Coleridge" in Fraser's Magazine LXXI, LXXII (November, December 1835) vol. XII 439-96, 619-29; A.D. Snyder "Coleridge and the Watsons" in T.L.S. 25 August 1927

It seems unlikely however that all Coleridge's expectations for the class were fulfilled: he never had "five or six" pupils, and the course probably did not run the full two years.

Mrs Gillman made her introductory call on Allsop's new wife on 26 February¹. Coleridge spent much of the spring of 1822 reassuring Allsop of the high regard in which he was held at Highgate². Clearly Allsop's family's opposition to his marriage, and their subsequent attitude, badly affected him. Coleridge assured him that they would welcome Mrs Allsop when she called at Highgate, in the face of Allsop's firm belief that his wife lacked the "accomplishments" necessary for society's respect³. Only when his daughter was born in June 1822 did Allsop's relationship with Coleridge return to something like its earlier closeness⁴.

Coleridge received word from his wife that she was planning to bring Sara to London for several weeks in the summer⁵. In fact, however they did not leave Keswick until November⁶. Hartley disappeared again for several days in April, giving Coleridge great concern. He remembered Hartley's "moody defences of the right of suicide - his excessive Cowardice of mental pain".⁷ Coleridge became convinced that Hartley should leave London as soon as possible and obtain regular employment elsewhere. Gillman agreed, and wrote to Southey about possibly sending him to Keswick "to be under his mother's eye".⁸

1 L V 211

2 L V 216-26

3 L V 215, 216-18

4 L V 238

5 L V 210

6 Minnow 99

7 L V 226

8 New Letters of Robert Southey ed. K. Curry II 234

Hartley's former schoolteacher, John Dawes, sent an invitation to Hartley to become his assistant in the school at Ambleside. Coleridge was relieved and grateful, but felt bound to describe Hartley's peculiar temperament in full to Dawes:

He has neither the resentment, the ambition, nor the Self-love of a man With this is connected his want of ... a self-acting principle of Volition of all the Waifs, I ever knew, Hartley is the least likely and the least calculated to lead any human Being astray by his example.¹

Southey, however, was not delighted by the prospect of Hartley's return to the Lake District. He thought it was "preposterous" to think of placing Hartley under his mother's guidance at the age of "six and twenty". The behaviour which prevented Hartley taking Orders also, Southey believed, made him unfit to be a teacher. "Writing is his only resource; and it is in London that he must follow it." He refused to allow Hartley to return to Greta Hall: "I certainly will not suffer any such disturbance of my peace and comfort as such an arrangement would inevitably bring with it. Mrs. C. perfectly understand this"² He explained to John Taylor Coleridge that his primary concern was for Sara. She must not be exposed to "the disquietudes & disgusts which she would inevitably meet with, nor to some of the society into which she would be thrown".³ Southey asked Wordsworth to express his objections

1 L V 230-33

2 New Letters of Robert Southey ed. K. Curry II 234-35

3 B.M.MS. 47553 ff. 22-23, Southey to John Taylor Coleridge
4 June 1822

to Gillman, and to remind him that Mrs. Coleridge had no home of her own to receive her son. "I have vexations and burdens enough of my own, God knows"¹ Accordingly Wordsworth wrote to Gillman that they had no wish to see Hartley "at this time" at Ambleside².

Mrs. Coleridge also sent letters to Highgate urgently insisting that Hartley remain in London. This angered Coleridge most of all:

the Wish of his selfish ~~worrelling~~ every-complaining never-satisfied Mother. He might go to perdition body and soul, the trouble, embarrassment and anguish remaining on my shoulders, rather than be saved at the risk of any occasional annoyance to her, or of Mr. Wordsworth's disapprobation"³

On 24 June Derwent came to Highgate suffering from a fever which Gillman feared might "degenerate into a low or typhoid character".⁴ Coleridge took turns with Hartley, sitting by Derwent's bed⁵.

The opposition from the Lakes which angered Coleridge caused Hartley great distress, and he pleaded to be allowed to remain in London. "The going to Ambleside, in the face of such unfavourable sentiments on the part of some, certainly weighed upon my heart."⁶ But Coleridge remained convinced that Hartley's future was in John Dawes's school⁷. When Hartley received his letter to this effect, "on the 19th day of Derwent's Fever", he ran away again and disappeared in London. Of the following weeks Hartley later wrote - "I must have had a hard heart and an indomitable spirit not to despair and die in that dark September".⁸

a

1 New Letters of Robert Southey ed. K. Curry II 234-35

2 B.M.MS. 47553 ff. 22-23, Robert Southey to John Taylor Coleridge 4 June 1822

3 L V 248

4 L V 240

5 L V 241

6 Letters of Hartley Coleridge ed. G.E. and E.L. Griggs 75

7. L V 243-45

8 L V 229, 251; Letters of Hartley Coleridge ed. G.E. and E.L. Griggs 78

It was Hartley's flight which first roused Coleridge's suspicions that in defending him against the charges of Oriel College he "had been deliberately deceived & made an accomplice in deceiving others".¹ "Alas, Sir! I am almost broken-hearted!"²

Coleridge was not inactive despite the time consumed in sitting with Derwent. He contacted John Taylor Coleridge about the money due to Hartley from Oriel;³ he lobbied several Members of Parliament about the Highgate School Chapel Bill;⁴ and he canvassed on Derwent's behalf for one of the studentships awarded by the Tancred Charities.⁵ Although Derwent did not obtain a Tancred studentship, on 7 November the Mercers' Company elected him to a Lady North Exhibition of £20 per annum, thanks to the influence of one of the Wardens of the Mercers' Company, Robert Sutton, one of their neighbours at Highgate.⁶ And on 14 May 1823 the Court of Assistants of the Goldsmiths' Company nominated him to an exhibition worth £20 per annum for five years.⁷

In early June Coleridge dined with George Frere. One of the other guests was Joanna Baillie, an old acquaintance whom he had quite forgotten. Another of the guests delighted him by singing one of Joanna Baillie's songs and, recognising her at the same moment, "he was quite in an ecstasy. I should like to know whether he did not compose during his walk to Highgate on that fine moonlight night".⁸ On 5 July George Frere assisted Coleridge's nephew Edward, who had just graduated with second class honours from Corpus Christi, Oxford, to obtain a post as a private tutor. In subsequent years Edward accompanied his young pupil to Eton, where he became a master.⁹

1 L V 251

2 L V 246

3 L V 246; B.M.MS. 47557 ff. 73-74, Henry Nelson Coleridge to John Taylor Coleridge 19 July 1822

4 L V 235, 237, 238, 242

5 L V 248-49

6 L V 273 n 1, VI 725-29

7 L V 361 n 1

8 Frere MS. Mrs G. Frere to Mrs J.H. Frere 4 June 1822

9 B.M.MS. 47555 Autobiography of Rev. Edward Coleridge

Coleridge became frightened for Derwent's safety on 15 July when he and Mrs. Gillman were forbidden to sit with him any more. Gillman feared that the fever exhibited "a tendency at least to a typhous character". However, after more than six weeks in bed Derwent recovered. Dorothy Wordsworth heard that the same fever had killed five students at St. John's College¹.

In early September Coleridge accompanied Mrs. Gillman and her two sons to the home of one of her relations in Walmer. He was again unwell, with

a disposition to a sudden Confusion in my head, accompanied with an odd but very distressing propensity to utter a faint shriek, followed by a feeling of heat that seemed to be somewhere in the Brain, and finally giving way to a numbness of my forehead & weight on and over my eyes".²

At first he disliked Walmer, comparing it with a "Nest-hillock of termites or Bug-a-boos",³ but as his health improved he began to enjoy walks and bathing. "It seems to me the healthiest Spot, I ever sojourned on."⁴ After a few weeks there they removed to Ramsgate, accompanied by Jane Harding, Mrs. Gillman's sister, to "satisfy the etiquette of the world".⁵ Again Coleridge enjoyed bathing in the sea. He proudly reported to Gillman his meeting with Lord Liverpool and George Canning on the promenade. They did not recognize him "till I took off my Hat (by Mrs. G's desire as if to dry my locks, I having just returned from the Machine)". He accompanied them to look at the new Wellington Crescent.

1 L V 247; Later Years I 87

2 L V 249

3 L V 251

4 L V 253-54

5 L V 255

A few days later Liverpool recognised him at a public dinner and presented him to its organiser, Sir William Curtis - "The meaning seemed, an indirect either censure or apology for my not having been placed at the first Table". Liverpool expressed his regret for not having known of Coleridge's earlier visit to Walmer, because he would have been welcomed at Walmer Castle. "All very pleasant in it's way, because I knew it would please you & gratify Mrs Gillman - and it may facilitate the introduction of my Work".¹ They returned to London on 13 November².

Hartley had still been in London when Coleridge had set off for Walmer in September. He left in late October, probably persuaded by Gillman, and by 19 November was teaching in Dawes's school at Ambleside. He soon realized that Coleridge's decision for him had been correct. "I have found more kindness both here and elsewhere than I have earn'd. I have been deliver'd, providentially deliver'd, when I was hopeless of delivering myself."³ He remained in the North of England for the rest of his life, and never saw his father again. When Dawes retired in 1823, Hartley took over the school, assisted by a Mr Stuart. It grew, a larger building was taken, but within a few years the school had to be closed, and Hartley moved to Grasmere. He was never without friends despite his increasingly erratic behaviour. He contributed occasionally to periodicals, especially Blackwood's Magazine, whose editor John Wilson

1 L V 256-57

2 L V 256

3 Letters of Hartley Coleridge ed. G.E. and E.L. Griggs 78;
B.M.MS. 47553 f. 26, Southey to John Taylor Coleridge 2 November 1822

attempted to assist him. In 1832 he moved to Leeds at the invitation of F.E. Bingley, where he published his Poems and Biographia Borealis; or Lives of Distinguished Northerns, before Bingley became bankrupt. He returned to Grasmere in July 1833 and remained there until his death in 1849, apart from two periods of schoolteaching at Sedbergh in Yorkshire, and the preparation of a critical introduction for Moxon's edition of the works of Massinger and Ford¹.

Coleridge expressed his gratitude in December 1822 in a note to Mrs Gillman for her and Gillman's care of himself, Derwent and, especially, Hartley.

I declare before God that I want words to express my admiration of your fortitude, and of that genial strength which the mere sense of Duty could not have supplied, had it not been fed by natural goodness.²

No doubt the recent opposition of Wordsworth and Southey to Hartley's return to the Lakes reinforced his feeling for the Gillmans, combined with Gillman's care for Derwent in his long illness. On 21 December he starred as usual at a "splendid" dinner given by Charles Aders, although he seemed "somewhat less animated and brilliant and paradoxical". Crabb Robinson was struck by his critical remarks on Wordsworth's recent poetry, in which Coleridge implied "a decline of his faculties". He also spoke scathingly of Southey - "intellectually a very dependent, but morally an independent man".³

Coleridge celebrated the Christmas season at several parties. He spent much of Christmas Day discussing logic with either Stutfield or Watson⁴. On Boxing Day he announced to Allsop, who had presented him with a turkey and a ham for Christmas⁵, "we are in sight of Land". By

1 Letters of Hartley Coleridge ed. G.E. and E.L. Griggs 77, 94, 138, 167, 207, 230; Poems by Hartley Coleridge ed. D. Coleridge ix-clxxxviii; D.N.B. "Hartley Coleridge".

2 L V 261

3 Robinson on Writers I 288

4 L V 261

5 L V 266

the end of January he expected "the Logic, in all it's three main Divisions" to be ready for the press¹. By the time it was printed he hoped to have finished another volume of "Logical Exercises - or the Logic exemplified and applied in a Critique on 1. Condillac, 2. Paley, 3. the French Chemistry & Philosophy". All had been achieved, he claimed, "without interrupting the greater Work on Religion, of which the first Half ... was completed Sunday last".² With these two cleared away "I have no doubt or dread of afterwards obtaining an honorable sufficiency, were it only by School-books & Compilations from my own Memorandum Volumes".³

On 28 December he dined with John Taylor Coleridge, an increasingly successful barrister, who had long admired his uncle, and frequently listened happily to his monologues. Coleridge was intimately acquainted with John's wife and their two-year old son, John Duke. In later years she remembered how "in the baby days of the future Chief Justice, 'Uncle Sam would roll the child about on the carpet, muttering "Of such is the Kingdom of Heaven!"'"⁴ Henry Nelson Coleridge, John's younger brother, was also present at the dinner. He had just come down from King's College, Cambridge, where he had been very successful, and was beginning as a Chancery barrister, convinced that his career was of supreme importance:

1 L V 263-64; the two-volume unfinished MS. of this work is in the British Museum - see A.D. Snyder Coleridge on Logic and Learning xi, 66-74, 78-127

2 L V 265

3 L V 265

4 Arthur Coleridge, Reminiscences ed. J.A. Fuller-Maitland xii

"Domestic ties lie in the way".¹ Henry had read The Friend, and having heard his brother's glowing reports looked forward to meeting Coleridge. It was at this dinner that he made his first brief record of Coleridge's conversation, the first of the entries published in 1835 as the two-volume Specimens of the Table Talk of the late Samuel Taylor Coleridge.²

The long-awaited visit to London of Mrs Coleridge and Sara at last took place. Having left Keswick in November, they had called on Derwent at Cambridge,³ and on Lady Beaumont in Leicestershire. After a two-month stay in London they intended to travel on 5 March to visit relatives at Ottery St Mary. They arrived at Highgate on 3 January 1823, and two days later John Taylor Coleridge and Henry Nelson Coleridge were invited to meet them for the first time⁴. Before the meeting John "swore that he would kiss Sara ... but he quailed in the moment of trial". Henry was content "with the most affectionate, prolonged diminuendo and crescendo squeeze with both hands".⁵ During most of their stay in London they lived with John and his wife. On 9 January Coleridge was invited to dine and "held an almost continuous harangue from the time he entered the house till the moment he left it".⁶

1 B.M.MS. 47558 ff. 82-83, Henry Nelson Coleridge to James Coleridge 22 February 1821

2 The dates of entries in Table Talk can not be accepted without question: some conversations dated as if they occurred on several evenings are in fact all from the same evening's talk e.g. 29 December 1822, 4, 6 January 1823

3 See Sara Coleridge and Henry Reed ed. L.N. Broughton 83-84

4 L V 267, 268

5 E.L. Griggs Coleridge Fille 42

6 B.M.MS. 47558 ff. 90-91, Henry Nelson Coleridge to James Coleridge 11 January 1823; B. Coleridge This for Remembrance 34

Henry, who was to be secretly engaged to Sara before she left London on 5 March, did not react at first as a lover. He saw "design" in Mrs Coleridge's eye, and she was "wonderfully kind and attentive and watchful". Sara was "lovely" and, for a young woman who had published a translation from the Latin, not at all formidable - "very ordinary in her wishes and thoughts". She was clearly destined to create havoc among the London beaux, "and truly let not the Special despair; he will find this little sylph of Ulleswater sufficiently susceptible, if I do not mistake".¹ Perhaps his cynical reaction was reinforced by a letter from Southey on 10 February warning John Taylor Coleridge that Lady Beaumont probably planned to show Sara off; "I am afraid Mrs C. would enter into it too readily".² However Henry became increasingly fond of his beautiful and talented cousin, whom he thought an acquisition to the family.

She has scarcely any touch of ceruleanism about her, and talks with much anticipated pleasure of seeing a play or an Opera, or any such mundane divertisement, wch your Miss Barker kind of creatures think beneath their exalted ultra purified stupid insensibilities.³

But her mother was "a detestable fidgett, if not a tyrant", which was not only his opinion - "My authority ... is strong - even from the victim herself".⁴

Coleridge was delighted with his daughter - "She is a darling"⁵ - but curiously reticent about his wife during this their first meeting for eleven years. He saw little of them because he was unwell for several

1 E.L. Griggs Coleridge Fille 43

2 L V 268 n 1

3 B.M.MS. 47558 ff. 90-91, Henry Nelson Coleridge to James Coleridge 11 January 1823

4 B.M.MS. 47558 ff. 92-93, Henry Nelson Coleridge to James Coleridge 11 March 1823

5 L V 273

weeks after Christmas with a tearing cough and pains in the chest and side¹. As a result, "during the 5 weeks' interval between their leaving Highgate & returning for one day to take their parting leave for Devon, I never saw them".² For Mrs Coleridge the meeting was "very satisfactory".³ It marked a considerable reconciliation between Coleridge and his wife. Her critical attitude to him was replaced by consideration, affection and even pride⁴. But Southey remained sceptical when John Coleridge asked him whether they might not be reunited. He pointed out that it would be a sacrifice of Mrs Coleridge's comfort, and that Sara's happiness would be destroyed by finding out "what her father is". He also believed Coleridge would be uninterested:

He considers nothing but his own ease: & well knowing how little he can rely upon himself, will prefer the mode of life he has followed so many years - that is of living with any person who will have him, & collecting auditors about him.⁵

The Gillmans did all they could to bring Coleridge closer to his family. Mrs Gillman wrote frequently to Mrs Coleridge, especially if Coleridge was indisposed or too busy⁶. One direct result of this visit however was that he began to write more frequently to his wife - "he improves".⁷

Like everyone else who met her, Crabb Robinson and Lamb were captivated by Sara's combination of talent and beauty⁸. Both noticed that she was not afraid to express her opinion in contradiction of her father.

1 L V 269-70, 273

2 L V 271

3 Minnow 99

4 E.L. Griggs Coleridge Fille 41

5 B.M.MS. 47553 ff. 28-29, Southey to John Taylor Coleridge 15 February 1823

6 Minnow 81

7 Minnow 107

8 Robinson on Writers II 270, 289; Lamb Letters II 370, 374

Once in Lamb's presence she interrupted one of Coleridge's monologues on theology with "Uncle Southey doesn't think so". As he was driven home afterwards Lamb was heard chuckling, "Uncle S-Southey d-doesn't think s-so".¹ Lamb regretted their having to leave London on 5 March, and wished Coleridge had a home to receive his daughter in. "But he is but as a stranger or a visitor in this world."²

Henry and Sara knew that they would be unable to marry for several years. They feared opposition from their families and so their engagement remained secret. For a time only Mrs. Coleridge and Henry's sister, Fanny, knew of the arrangement³. Their visit to Ottery on 5 March was as successful as their stay in London. Colonel James Coleridge, Henry's and John's father, was so pleased with Sara (though not her mother) that he proposed to contribute £20 a year to Mrs. Coleridge's support⁴. Henry was distressed to learn that Sara had caught a cold which affected her eyes - "I wish she would come to Highgate and submit herself to Mr. Gillman's care".⁵ When Mrs. Coleridge and Sara returned to Greta Hall in June, Dorothy Wordsworth thought Sara "much improved".⁶

No sooner had "the she Coleridges"⁷ left London in March than there was "an inundation of poetry from the Lakes", as Wordsworth and Southey arrived, accompanied by Mrs. Wordsworth and Sara Hutchinson.⁸

1 E.L. Griggs Coleridge Fille 40

2 Lamb Letters II 374

3 Fanny was Frances Duke Coleridge; E.L. Griggs Coleridge Fille 43-44

4 E.L. Griggs Coleridge Fille 45

5 B.M.M.S. 47558 f. 94, Henry Nelson Coleridge to Frances Duke Coleridge n.d. 1823

6 Later Years I 104, 110

7 Lamb's phrase, see Lamb Letters II 374

8 L.V 270; Lamb Letters II 374, 382

On 4 April Thomas Monkhouse gave a party which was attended by Wordsworth, Coleridge, Lamb, Thomas Moore and Samuel Rogers - "half the Poetry of England constellated and clustered in Gloster Place". Robinson, Gillman, Mary Lamb, Mrs. Wordsworth and Sara Hutchinson were also there. Coleridge seemed in excellent health and spirits, and spoke well: "let 'em talk as evilly as they do of the Envy of Poets, I am sure not one there but was content to be nothing but a listener".¹ The next night Crabb Robinson organised a "musical party and supper" at the home of Charles Aders. Wordsworth, the ladies, Coleridge, the Gillmans and Rogers were again among the guests. During the music Wordsworth covered his face and seemed to all present to fall asleep, while Coleridge greatly enjoyed it, openly expressing his pleasure².

The visit of Mrs. Coleridge and Sara to Ottery appears to have drawn the entire Coleridge family more closely together. On Saturday 26 April and Thursday 1 May Coleridge dined with John Taylor Coleridge to meet John's parents, Coleridge's oldest brother and sister-in-law, Colonel and Mrs. James Coleridge, who were in London on a short visit accompanied by their daughter Fanny³. Whenever he was invited to dine in London, Coleridge arranged to stay with the Allsops⁴. On 2 May he attended a dinner-party given by Green, where as usual he dominated the conversation,⁵ and on 10 June he dined with Sir George and Lady Beaumont⁶. Elizabeth Grant, a niece of George Frere from Scotland, was struck by his behaviour at dinner parties: "that poor, mad poet ... who never held his

1 Robinson on Writers I 292-93; Lamb Letters II 376-77; Memoirs, Journal and Correspondence of Thomas Moore ed. Lord John Russell IV 49

2 Robinson on Writers I 293; Robinson's Diary II 249

3 L V 273-74

4 L V 274

5 Robinson on Writers I 294

6 L V 276

tongue, stood pouring out a deluge of words meaning nothing, with eyes on fire, and his silver hair streaming down to his waist".¹

Sara Hutchinson and Lamb thought of organising an excursion with Coleridge, but Lamb's occupation at the India House and Sara's plans to visit France gave them no opportunity. "And besides I think the Gilmans would scarce trust him with us. I have a malicious knack at cutting of apron strings."²

Coleridge's literary work during this period was somewhat abortive. In February he had been told by William Godwin that Lady Caroline Lamb had expressed her admiration of Coleridge's old translation of Schiller's Wallenstein (1800). Godwin suggested it might provide a suitable vehicle for the talents of Edmund Kean³. Several years earlier, in 1820, Coleridge had planned to publish a revised edition of his translation, and had asked Southey to approach Longman and Rees who owned the copyright. It "might be of considerable benefit to my widow if not myself".⁴ Southey had done nothing, and so Coleridge contacted Longman and Rees himself - "they kindly desired me to consider it as a manuscript, with the Copy-right of which I had not parted". He decided to act on Godwin's suggestion and contact Kean,⁵ who apparently expressed an interest⁶. But Wallenstein was not republished until 1828, when it appeared in the edition of Coleridge's Poetical Works published by Pickering. He also

1 Memoirs of a Highland Lady ed. Lady Strachey 385

2 Lamb Letters II 382

3 L V 269

4 L V 50-51

5 L V 269

6 The Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey ed. C.C. Southey V 142

promised to translate a hitherto untranslated poem by Schiller for a friend of Charles Aders. It would, he feared, take some time; his copy of Schiller's poems was with Sara in Keswick, and moreover he feared that his "poetic Spring", unused for so many years, had been "dried up ... by the severities of austere Metaphysics".¹ There is no trace of this translation.

Almost ready for the printer, he informed Tulk, was the "Assertion of Religion as implying Revelation", which he intended to publish by subscription². And he had been looking over his old notebooks from which he decided to extract entries for publication: "what I have seen and what I have thought with a little of what I have felt, in the words in which I told and talked them to my pocket-books".³ But the most important of these projects, the "Logic", was, he believed, ready for publication. "I am most anxious that it should be, not indeed read but, sufficiently looked over and into by some man of good sense and academic education". John Taylor Coleridge was the "man of good sense" he chose⁴. On 5 June he invited John to call at Highgate: if he approved the work perhaps he might mention it to John Murray. "If he could be induced likewise to publish my Poems - so long out of Print & lately called for - including my Remorse &c - & to take the remaining

1 L V 271

2 L V 273

3 L V 265; Anima Poetae, motto

4 Coleridge probably chose him at least in part because of John's excellent relationship with Murray; John was soon to be honoured with the post of Editor of Murray's Quarterly Review.

Copies of the Friend - in short, if he would be my Publisher".¹

In his reply John Coleridge objected to this blatant attempt at self-publicity, and Coleridge was forced to explain that he was "too sensible of the appearances and possible interpretations, to which our Relationship would give rise" to suggest that John should actually recommend the work to Murray. He merely wanted John to mention that he had seen it, and perhaps add: "it appears to me a work of ability". He intended to write to Murray for himself².

Charles Tulk called on Coleridge in early June with a suggestion for a blank-verse translation of Swedenborg's Delitiaesapientiae de Amore conjugiali³. He also mentioned that he had just come from John Murray, who had expressed an interest in publishing Coleridge's philosophical works and poems⁴. Coleridge was not interested in translating Swedenborg - "the mere circumstance of it being a work of Swedenborg's, would be ruinous to my present Efforts - as I have good reason to believe, that a large number of my Subscribers will be Clergymen and Residents of our Universities".⁵ But he was emboldened by Tulk's mention of Murray to call on him at once. Murray was "all courtesy" about both poems and philosophy but, apparently, unwilling to commit himself⁶. When Tulk again called on him, Murray's advice was that the "Logic" should be published by subscription; he would help to reduce the costs by supplying the paper and by printing the work at the trade price. As for the poems: he would publish them only on condition that

1 L V 275-76

2 L V 277-78

3 L V 284

4 L V 283

5 L V 284

6 L V 279-80

the edition be supervised by H.H. Milman, who would select, omit and correct as he wished. On his way to dine with Tulk to hear these proposals of Murray's, Coleridge took the opportunity to call on Murray to discuss the annotated selection from the works of Archbishop Leighton discussed eighteen months previously¹. Murray, however, could not see him and Coleridge left the annotated edition of Leighton for his perusal with a note that he would call back on the following Friday for Murray's decision.² When informed by Tulk of Murray's advice, Coleridge decided to accept his offer of assistance in publishing the "Logic" by subscription - "the connection with Mr. Murray, as my Publisher, and not any money-bargain with him, was & ever had been uppermost in my mind"³ - but the suggestion that Milman should supervise an edition of his poems was unacceptable. He could not submit his compositions.

to the Judgement or perhaps the after-dinner mood of Men whom I know to be my inferiors in Learning, comparative strangers to the philosophic and genial principles of Criticism, & whose own Articles do not impress me with any respect.

But he suppressed his anger at this "impertinent" condition and resolved that when he met Murray on Friday, he would agree to submit his best poems to the judgement of two "men of taste" - perhaps Samuel Rogers, Sir Walter Scott or Hookham Frere⁴. Murray however was not available when he called as arranged on Friday. He had left a note declining the work on Leighton "in a very dry way", but made no mention of the "Logic" or his poems⁵. To Gillman it was clear that Murray wanted nothing to do

1 see above pp. 122-23

2 L V 282-83

3 L V 283

4 L V 283, 291

5 L V 282-83

with any of Coleridge's works, but Coleridge refused to accept this without proof, and in mid-July wrote to ask Tulk to call once more on Murray¹. Unfortunately, however, Tulk had left London for a long holiday in Brighton and did not receive Coleridge's letter for a month². The long silence which resulted probably increased Coleridge's anxiety, and led him to consider other publishers. On 8 August he submitted the work on Leighton to Taylor and Hessey, who had published Cary's Dante at his request. Like so many of his works its title had changed over the months, but he thought its present title best described it:

Aids to Reflection: or Beauties and Characteristics of Archbishop Leighton, extracted from his various Writings, and arranged on a principle of connection under the three Heads, of
 1. Philosophical and Miscellaneous. 2. Moral and Prudential.
 3. Spiritual - with a Life of Leighton & a critique on his writings and opinions - with Notes throughout by the Editor.³

The proposal appealed to Taylor and Hessey, especially as Taylor had long admired Leighton, and they accepted it within the week, offering at the same time to publish any of Coleridge's other works⁴. This removed all pressure to accept Murray's conditions for the publication of his poems. "If Mr. Murray will take them as I send them, I shall be happy to make any arrangement, that shall be considered as equitable." And Murray would have to guarantee cheap paper and printing for the "Logic", publicise it as if he were the publisher, and undertake to do the same for any future work he refused to publish in the normal way⁵. However when

1 L V 283-84

2 L V 291, 295

3 L V 289-90

4 L V 290, 293

5 L V 292

Tulk returned from Brighton to meet Coleridge on 15 August, they agreed to abandon any idea of again approaching Murray. Tulk especially felt that Murray had "trifled" with them¹. Coleridge accepted Taylor and Hessey's offer the next day - "The Leighton may be put to the press immediately if you please". He would call on them to discuss two other works he had ready for the press, the "Logic" and "Assertion of Religion".² Taylor and Hessey agreed to publish both works, and when Aids to Reflection appeared in 1825, the "Logic" was advertised in it as "Elements of Discourse", soon to appear.

One Sunday in June Gillman drove Coleridge into London to attend a service at "the Scotch Chapel" in Hatton Garden where the Rev. Edward Irving, "the present Idol of the World of Fashion", was preaching³. A few weeks later Coleridge met Irving at the home of a friend and their friendship began⁴. Irving frequently came to Highgate to listen to Coleridge during the next few years, and for several months, until Irving moved out to Essex, the Gillmans always drank tea at their normal dinner-time on Thursdays because Irving and Basil Montagu were visiting them⁵. After his removal to Essex Irving called as often as possible⁶. Coleridge thought him "the greatest Orator I ever heard ... a man of great simplicity, of overflowing affections and enthusiastically in earnest".⁷ Soon Irving was looking for books Coleridge needed for Aids to Reflection, and by early 1824 he informed Crabb Robinson that he had been inspired by Coleridge to study the German philosophers⁸.

1 L V 438; see also T. Chilcott A Publisher and his Circle 176-77

2 L V 294

3 L V 280

4 L V 284

5 L V 362, 365

6 L V 365, 369

7 L V 286-87

8 L V 301; Robinson's Diary II 267

Mrs. Gillman became very ill in August and Coleridge began to worry that she might not be well enough for them to take their usual sea-side holiday¹. Her son, James, now fifteen years old, was packed off to spend a few weeks with his Aunt Lucy Harding and a tutor at Stonesfield,² because Gillman intended to take advantage of the absence of all his family and Coleridge in order to remove from Moreton House to a larger house at No. 3 The Grove, Highgate³. Coleridge promised Hessey that Aids to Reflection would be ready for the printer before they left Highgate⁴. It was not his only literary activity that Autumn. A note in one of his memorandum books records that his poem Youth and Age was written at 10 a.m. on Wednesday 10 September, as he remembered his youth among the Quantocks⁵.

They expected to leave for Ramsgate on 6 October, but their departure was delayed⁶. Coleridge spent the interval writing letters of introduction for Gillman's assistant, John Watson, who was going to spend several months in Berlin to attend "the medical, chirurgical and philosophical lectures".⁷ On 9 October Coleridge called at Taylor and Hessey's with the title-page and preface for Aids to Reflection, promising that the remainder would soon be ready⁸. But he had still not submitted it to them when he and Mrs. Gillman travelled to Ramsgate on 11 October, intending to remain there for a month⁹.

1 L V 295

2 L V 296-98

3 L V 311, 335

4 L V 301

5 The Poems of Samuel Taylor Coleridge ed. E.H. Coleridge 582-83

6 L V 303

7 L V 287-88, 303, 304

8 E Blunden Keats's Publisher 143

9 L V 317; The Letters of Sara Hutchinson ed. K. Coburn 264

The first few days at Ramsgate must have been difficult because they were both unwell. Mrs. Gillman was "alarmingly affected" in her head, shoulders and eyes, and he felt "confused & with a sense of fullness in the head, so that I declined bathing". He attributed his symptoms in part at least to "the villainous Creature", Ramsgate table beer. On 16 October the unexpected arrival of two letters for him at breakfast so agitated him that he spent "a wretched day till near Tea-time". At night he awoke from a dream with a "sensation of the intensest, deepest, bitterest Agony of Grief respecting Derwent", and found himself suffering from "a heavy pain across the umbilical region". He had frequently noticed this "translation of pain into mental passion!" But bathing and calomel pills worked effectively to remove the "Aching across the umbilical region", and he began to feel well enough even to "compose the third part of Christabel, or the song of her desolation". Later when he re-read the entries in this notebook describing these first days at Ramsgate, he became concerned at their unusually detailed personal description, and added to them, as if it were a title-page, the disclaimer that the pages were written "while contemplating a sort of Dramatic Novel, or Tale in a series of Dialogues, to one of the imaginary characters in which the Thoughts, Complaints, Heart-effusions &c, refer". The reader must not suppose that they were "Materials of actual biography - & the Vie interieure of S.T. Coleridge".¹

1 B.M.MS. 47527 ff. 60-67, notebook 30

Sara Hutchinson was in Ramsgate with Mrs Thomas Monkhouse, who invited Coleridge to dine with them on 18 October to meet Wordsworth's friend, Edward Quillinan¹. Quillinan was "quite astonished" by Coleridge who, as usual, dominated the conversation, leaving Quillinan uncomfortably silent, because "he could not presume to talk to him". They discussed Southey's article on Lamb's Essays of Elia in the January issue of the Quarterly Review, which contained the remark that Lamb's essays required "a sounder religious feeling". Hurt, and believing that his sales would be affected, Lamb had published a reply in the October number of Baldwin's London Magazine. Coleridge tried to find a copy to show Sara and Quillinan, but nobody in Ramsgate seemed to take it².

Coleridge was "in despair" when Sara regretfully announced that she had to leave Ramsgate on 20 October with Quillinan and Mrs Monkhouse³. Quillinan invited Coleridge to visit him at Lee Priory but Coleridge had to decline when it became clear that Gillman would not be able to get away from Highgate to be with his wife⁴. When they left, Coleridge had plenty of time to work, and he sent several pages of copy and corrected proofs of Aids to Reflection to Hessey in November.

1 L V 305

2 Lamb Letters II 350-94; The Letters of Sara Hutchinson ed. K. Coburn 266-67; The Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey ed. C.C. Southey V 149-53; L V 305

3 The Letters of Sara Hutchinson ed. K. Coburn 267

4 L V 307-08

Anxious about its appearance - "the disorderly and heterogeneous appearance which the Selections intermixed with my own comments &c would have" - he began to believe that the arrangement of the book should be altered: "the more I reflected, the more desirable it appeared to me to carry on the promise of the Title Page (Aids to reflection) systematically throughout the work".¹

On 6 November a letter from Gillman called Coleridge and Mrs Gillman back to Highgate². While they had been at Ramsgate he had completed the removal of their possessions to the house in The Grove where Coleridge was to live for the remainder of his life³. At first his room was on the second floor beside the Gillmans', but he soon discovered that from the attic room above there was a delightful view over Caen Wood and the adjacent valley. He therefore asked if he could move into the back attic room, and was installed in his garret by December. When he first moved into it the room had sloping ceilings, but Gillman had it rebuilt for him a few years later making it rectangular, although traces of the sloping ceiling remained visible. Another room on a lower floor was kept for his use, for receiving visitors or dictating to his "disciples", but most of his visitors were taken to the attic. He considered the views "substitutes for Cumberland".⁴

Thomas Carlyle was also impressed by the view in summer:

1 L V 305-07

2 L V 308

3 L V 311, 335

4 L V 313 ff. , 335 ; L.E. Watson Coleridge at Highgate 51; a lithograph of George Scharf's water-colour of the room is reproduced in L VI 659

Waving blooming country of the brightest green;
 dotted all over with handsome villas, handsome groves;
 crossed by roads and human traffic, here inaudible or
 heard only as a musical hum: and behind all swam,
 under olive-tinted haze, the illimitable liminary ocean
 of London....¹

In spite of a heavy cold, caught in changing rooms, which confused and depressed him, he worked on the proofs of Aids to Reflection while the Gillmans unpacked, rearranged "and all the long et ceteras consequent on changing houses". One evening Mrs Gillman was helping him look for some missing proofs when she slipped on the attic stairs and fell. The shock of her scream so affected him that for several weeks he was distressed and prevented from writing by "a loud and continued Noise in my Ear as of a Forge Hammer at some distance".² Mrs Gillman had broken her right arm and injured her wrist and hand, but although she had to remain in bed for several weeks, she did not become fevered³.

Coleridge declined an invitation to lecture to the Leeds Literary and Philosophical Society,⁴ and his heavy cold prevented him from accepting an invitation to dine on 27 December with Monkhouse to meet Southey, his daughter Edith, Wordsworth's daughter Dora, and Sara Hutchinson, "the dearest of many dear Housemates in happier Days".⁵ His cold kept him in the new house for several weeks in December and early January. He diverted himself with the view, and recorded in his notebook several descriptions of the winter weather. A compact halo around the moon reminded him that he had wondered the previous year whether it indicated frost or a thaw - "wished I had kept a weather book".

1 T. Carlyle Life of John Sterling 70

2 L V 311, 314, 315, 317-20

3 L V 317

4 L V 308-13

5 L V 318; New Letters of Robert Southey ed. K. Curry II 260

He watched several beautiful sunsets reflected on the frozen ponds, and recorded one - "such a Sunset as I scarce ever beheld, in respect of Yellow-greens, yellow-reds and orange-reds & blues indescribable".¹

When his health improved, he walked to Lamb's home on 18 January 1824. Lamb also had been ill for several weeks. They discussed Aids to Reflection which was a "good part printed" although Coleridge's cold had halted the press. Lamb hoped there would be "plenty of good notes in it, more of Bishop Coleridge than Leighton ... for what is Leighton?"² Coleridge promised to send Hessey the remaining copy without delay.³ In fact his original plan for the work had changed radically. Begun as merely an annotated selection from Leighton, the editorial notes now greatly outnumbered those of Leighton. Recognising the increasing disproportion, he confessed that "the present Volume owed its accidental origin to the intention of compiling one of a different description". However he still believed that the selections from Leighton were sufficient for the reader to understand the "Idea" of his works and to excite his interest in them.⁴

On 26 January Derwent arrived unexpectedly from Cambridge. Coleridge was able to talk to him that night for only an hour, during which he learned that Derwent had been admitted to a B.A. "pass" degree two days earlier and was now on his way to Plymouth where he had accepted a teaching post. He was unwilling to remain at Cambridge because he feared that he would obtain only second class honours. Moreover he was not willing to be ordained in the Church of England.⁵ At St. John's he had become

1 B.M. MS. 47527 f. 52, notebook 30

2 Lamb Letters II 416; L V 323

3 L V 324-26

4 S.T. Coleridge Aids to Reflection "Advertisement"

5 Minnow 108; L V 327, 336 n 1

friendly with Winthrop Praed, Thomas Babington Macaulay, Sidney Walker, Charles Austin and Bulwer, with whom in Autumn 1822 he had become a frequent contributor to Knight's Quarterly Magazine. He had signed his contributions, mainly poems, "Davenant Cecil".¹ Coleridge feared that it was from Austin and Macaulay that Derwent had learned "a set of captions Questions & objections startling only to those for whom they are new, and new only to those who had read so little on the subject".² His first reaction was self-castigation:

O heaven! I have passed my life in over-rating every body, but myself in posse and there I have erred still more mortally, for from hour to hour I have dreamt - thro' life over-rating the Velle, the strength of the Will to effect the 'Hoc Age', which I had promised myself to perform.³

But he soon became angry as he realised how shallow were Derwent's ideas. "Vanity, aided by a sterile fluency which Girls and the Literaturi of the Talking Clubs take for Genius and Eloquence, is at the bottom of it".⁴ A letter some days later from Plymouth was more comforting, for Derwent promised to examine his "imagined convictions" and to devote his leisure to a study of logic and mathematics.⁵ Derwent's irresolution lasted little over a year and he returned to Cambridge and took Orders soon afterwards.⁶

1 D.N.B. "Derwent Coleridge"

2 L V 330

3 B.M.MS. 47527 f. 49, notebook 30

4 L V 330-31, 336

5 L V 340

6 D.N.B. "Derwent Coleridge"

Coleridge received a letter on 15 February from Mrs Basil Montagu containing a list of the members of the Council of the Royal Society of Literature. She suggested that he should contact several of the Council to ensure that he was elected to one of the Society's newly-established Royal Associateships¹. The Royal Society of Literature was approved by George IV in 1821. Sir Walter Scott had been consulted during its planning and had recognised that the King's offer of a substantial gift from the Privy Purse might be the means of assisting literary men of "undeniable" merit such as Coleridge, Maturin or James Hogg, who were in indigent circumstances². 1100 guineas a year were to be made available and it was decided that this would provide annual grants of one hundred guineas for life to ten Royal Associates, who would in return read an essay each year, and an annual prize for an essay. In fact George IV had intended no more than a once-for-all gift of one thousand guineas to the Society and an annual grant of £100, but the public interest and applause for the royal generosity prevented him from rectifying the mistake. Three Royal Associates were elected by the Council in July 1823, and on 12 February 1824 a list of Honorary Associates was prepared from which the remaining Royal Associates were to be chosen³.

Coleridge was on this list and was aware that two of the electors, Basil Montagu and Bryan Procter, were vigorously canvassing on his behalf⁴.

1 L V 328-29

2 Scott's Letters VI 397-400, 488

3 G. Whalley "Coleridge and the Royal Society of Literature" in Essays by Divers Hands n.s. XXXV (1969) 147-51

4 Sir James Mackintosh may also have been assisting him - see D. Stuart "Anecdotes of the Poet, Coleridge" in the Gentleman's Magazine IX, X (May-August 1838)

But Mrs Montagu's suggestion that he canvass personally was completely unacceptable: "what a man's friends did sub rosâ¹ ... was one thing - what a man did in his own name & person, was another - and ... I would not, could not, solicit a single vote". He asked Green to contact Chantrey, one of the electors, on his behalf¹. He felt that the requirement to produce an annual essay was an imposition, but "it is urged, that it may lead to something better".²

A few days after the next meeting of the Society on 11 March Coleridge was informed by the Secretary, Rev. Richard Cattermole, that he had been elected to one of the Royal Associateships. He formally accepted the status and, as required, informed Cattermole of the "department of Letters" he would represent:

1. The reciprocal oppositions and conjunctions of Philosophy, Religion, and Poetry (the heroic and dramatic especially, the former comprising both the homeric and hesiodic species, and the latter including the lyric) in the Gentile World, and in early Greece more particularly. - To which, as an Offset, I add - the differences between the Popular, the Sacerdotal and the - if I may hazard the word - Mysterial, Religion of civilized Paganism.
2. The influences of the Institutions and Theology of the Latin Church on Philosophy, Language, Science and the Liberal Arts from the VIIth to the XIVth Century.³

Two weeks after the meeting Cattermole informed the King's private Secretary, Sir William Knighton, of the names of the ten Royal Associates and the first two winners of medals worth fifty guineas each, which had replaced the proposed essay prize⁴. Southey had refused their offer of a

1 L V 328-29

2 L V 337

3 L V 343-44

4 the other Royal Associates were Rev. Edward Davies, Rev. Dr John Jamieson, Rev. Thomas R. Malthus, T.J. Mathias, James Millingen, Sir William Ouseley, William Roscoe, Rev. John H. Todd, and Sharon Turner; the medals were given to William Mitford and Signor Angelo Mai - see The Letters of King George IV ed. A. Aspinall III 68-69

Royal Associateship. Either the honour or the money would have been acceptable, but the required annual essay would have forced him to forego one of his Quarterly Review articles and its income -

what I write in the Review is read everywhere, is received with deference, and carries with it weight: whereas, their transactions cannot by possibility have a fiftieth part of the circulation, and will either excite ridicule, or drop stillborn from the press.¹

In fact, on average fewer than half the Royal Associates submitted the annual essay. Coleridge submitted only one during the seven years of his Associateship².

Henry Nelson Coleridge was delighted for his uncle. The annuity for the Royal Associateship would provide for Coleridge a "little modicum for life".³

1 The Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey ed. C.C. Southey V 183

2 G. Whalley "Coleridge and the Royal Society of Literature" in Essays by Diverse Hands n.s. XXXV (1969) 147-51

3 B.M.MS. 47558 ff. 99-100, Henry Nelson Coleridge to Rev. James D. Coleridge 2 July 1824

CHAPTER 6. MARCH 1824 - JUNE 1825

Coleridge's consumption of opium had been controlled and reduced, but his addiction had not been cured. Unknown to the Gillmans, for several years he had been obtaining supplies of laudanum from the chemist's shop of Thomas Henry Dunn in the High Street, Highgate, from whom Gillman also obtained many of the drugs for his practice. Regularly about every five days Coleridge took a "twelve ounce pint" bottle to Dunn's. He went quite openly, although he entered by a side door, and was frequently recognised by local residents. He often chatted to Dunn's young apprentice, Seymour Teulon Porter, who assisted Dunn from 1824 to 1829. Porter was warned by Dunn not to discuss Coleridge with anyone, and never to mention his purchasing laudanum. Coleridge told Porter that if he was deprived of laudanum for long he felt as if he was "sinking in various morbidity into the total collapse of death". He said that he took only enough laudanum to sustain normal health, like a man with gout "who bore indeed, consequences of sins or errors of youth, but who was not deprived of his guaiacum or his colchicum as a preventive or an alleviation of acute attacks". Dunn agreed with Coleridge. When, possibly in 1828, Mrs Gillman discovered Coleridge's secret supply of laudanum, she asked Dunn not to continue selling it to him. But Dunn refused to withhold the laudanum and "boldly declared his persuasion that without laudanum Coleridge would soon languish, fail, & die".

Coleridge took more than an ordinary wine glass full of laudanum every day, approximately two and a half ounces. The ordinary retail price was eight pence an ounce, but Dunn sold it to him for five pence, filling his bottle for five shillings. Coleridge's payments were more irregular than his calls for supply - but Porter could not remember him

ever being more than three months in arrears¹.

Several of his letters to Dunn are extant, almost all offering excuses for being in arrears with his account and promising to pay within a few days². The Royal Society of Literature's annual grant of 100 guineas must have been useful, for Coleridge did not tell his wife about it. When Mrs Coleridge heard about the annuity from Lady Beaumont, however, she was content to accept that he needed the money - "he is, I daresay, so much in arrears, that he cannot make over any part of it to our use"³.

At the end of March a temporary rupture occurred in the even flow of life at The Grove. Mrs Gillman's arm still caused her great pain, and this so undermined her general health that it was decided that she should travel to Chelsea to convalesce⁴. Gillman's normally equable temperament had been adversely affected by a diet which he had been following for the past nine months, losing a lot of weight⁵, and in the middle of March he had again neglected the rudimentary hygiene of the period at a post-mortem examination, as a result of which he was infected and became ill with several ugly boils on his arms⁶. Perhaps because of their own illnesses and worries, the Gillmans seemed rather less considerate of Coleridge's feelings than usual. He considered their behaviour was "cooler" than usual. Mrs Gillman expressed some impatience with him, and Gillman became concerned and angry at the delays in the printing of

1 E.L.Griggs "Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Opium" in Huntington Library Quarterly 17 (1953-54) 357-78

2 L V 342, 362, 373, 414, etc.

3 Minnow 116

4 L V 335, 348

5 L V 334

6 L V 348

Aids to Reflection¹. Coleridge became so distressed that he left The Grove at the end of March and went to stay with the Allsops in London. After ten days, however, he became "more than very unwell" and was ready to return home at once when, after an emotional note from Mrs Gillman, Gillman called on 7 April with a gig. He left the Allsops in such haste that he forgot some books and a manuscript given him by Wordsworth².

His own agitation and illness was made worse when he saw how ill Gillman looked³. But Gillman's "aperient doses" cured Coleridge's ailments after two days in bed⁴. Gillman refused to see another doctor about his own illness, but when he became feverish during the evening of 9 April, Coleridge wrote urgently to Green to call the next day. He himself took Gillman's place when a neighbour called that night, "mad with fright, his child dying". The child was dead when Coleridge and Gillman's new assistant, Douglas, arrived, but only the mother's "Tyger-cat" emotional violence prevented Coleridge from trying "Zoo-magnetism, i.e. to try my hand at a resurrection. I felt or fancied a power in me to concenter my will that I never felt or fancied before"⁵. Gillman's fever was reduced next morning and he thought of persuading the father to "have the child opened"; his arm remained "fearfully inflamed & painful", until he cleaned out the boils himself⁶.

The manuscript Coleridge had to ask Allsop to return was an attempt by Wordsworth to translate Virgil's Aeneid, which Wordsworth had asked

1 Nineteenth-Century Studies ed. H. Davis 67-69

2 L V 346-48, VI 1052; Later Years I 139

3 L V 347

4 L V 348

5 L V 349-50

6 L V 351, 354

Coleridge to examine when they had met at dinner at Monkhouse's on 3 April¹. Coleridge told Wordsworth that he had wasted his time in attempting the translation - it would not even "sustain your well-merited fame, for pure diction". Coleridge's verdict may have influenced Wordsworth against going on with the work².

Mrs Gillman returned from Chelsea on 17 April in somewhat better health³. Coleridge was delighted by the renewed "kind attentions" of the Gillmans. "I am content, well knowing that the genial glow of Friendship once deadened can never be rekindled."⁴ He had been reading Spenser, and when he was informed that John Coleridge's sister, Fanny, intended to marry on 22 April, promised to write "an Epithalamion"⁵. This was probably Love's First Hope⁶. On 24 April "without taking my pen off the paper" he wrote the lines "Idly we supplicate the Powers above", added in 1852 as L'Envoy to Love's Apparition and Evanishment⁷.

On 3 May he gratefully acknowledged a gift of £30 from John Coleridge, which he used to buy a new suit for his formal admission on 6 May as Royal Associate of the Royal Society of Literature⁸. He was uneasy about John's negotiations with Murray for the post of Editor of the Quarterly Review which was soon to become vacant. He was not merely still annoyed

1 L VI 1052; Later Years I 139

2 L VI 1052; The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth ed. E.de Selincourt and H.Darbshire IV 470

3 L V 355

4 L V 360

5 L V 357

6 Campbell 193, 641 n 207

7 Campbell 209, 644 n 222; L V 360

8 L V 360; G.Whalley "Coleridge and the Royal Society of Literature" in Essays by Divers Hands n.s. XXXV (1969) 147-51

about Murray's insolent treatment of him over Aids to Reflection and the proposed edition of his poems; he also feared that acceptance of the Editorship might injure John professionally¹. Wordsworth agreed with him, and fearing that John might be considering the post because he mistakenly underrated his future prospects as a barrister, Coleridge began to write a long letter to him, but burnt it when Gillman informed him that John's appointment was settled². Lockhart called on Coleridge the following day and confirmed the news. This was the first meeting between Lockhart and Coleridge, and Lockhart came away believing Coleridge to be worth five hundred of his contemporaries. "Ebony should merely keep him in his house for a summer with Johnny Dow in a cupboard, and he would drive the windmills before him."³ John Taylor Coleridge was Editor of the Quarterly Review from December 1824 to November 1825, when he was succeeded by Lockhart.

Coleridge was delighted when Green in his lectures at the Royal College of Surgeons on "the Zoological part of Natural History", adopted "and sanctioned" Coleridge's "contra-distinction of Understanding from Reason, for which during twenty years I have been contending"⁴. Green was appointed Professor of Anatomy at the Royal College of Surgeons in 1824⁵.

1 L V 422-23

2 L V 361; Mrs Gordon Christopher North II 70; Mrs Gordon misdates this letter.

3 Mrs Gordon Christopher North II 70; "Ebony" was Blackwood's nickname; Johnny Dow was an Edinburgh shorthand-writer

4 Aids to Reflection 234 ff. ; in the preface to his essay "On Instinct" included as an appendix to Vital Dynamics (1840) Green acknowledged his debt to Coleridge's "instructive conversation"

5 D.N.B. "Joseph Henry Green"

Since Mrs Gillman was still not fully recovered, much of the preparation of the Gillmans' house-warming party on 1 June fell on Coleridge - "the upside down, to wit, of Carpets, Furniture, &c in order to the compression of 150 accepters of the invitation cards"¹. The party was a success. "I am equally surprized and delighted to see Mrs Gillman bear up so well, amid such an ocean of Glasses, Jelly Cups, Ice Saucers, & Lord knows what to be packed up & off."² Two days later he attended a "dance and rout" given by Green. Crabb Robinson, who was also there, felt "as acceptable to him as a listener as he to me as a talker", although Robinson regretted that Coleridge "metaphysicized a la Schelling while he abused him"³.

"Conversazioni", evenings of artistic, literary or political conversation, were then very popular in certain London circles⁴. Basil Montagu had been holding literary receptions for several years in Bedford Square. The only day such receptions did not take place was Thursday, for Montagu spent almost every Thursday evening at the similar receptions held by Coleridge at Highgate⁵. Coleridge felt that the main failing of these "conversazioni" was that the talk became too miscellaneous, degenerating into "Pinches, a Pinch of this, and a Pinch of that, without the least connection between the subjects, and with as little interest". His own Thursday evenings were, of course, quite the opposite and, besides, "in addition to a few Ladies & pretty Lasses we have seldom more than 5 or 6

1 L V 365

2 L V 368

3 Robinson's Diary II 272-73

4 see The Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle ed. C.R.Sanders III 70-90

5 A Memoir of ... William Page Wood, Baron Hatherley ed. W.R.W.Stephens I 51; T.Carlyle Reminiscences ed. J.A.Froude I 231-32

in company, and these generally of as many different professions or pursuits"¹. As well as Green, Montagu and Irving, the nucleus of Coleridge's receptions was usually formed around Crabb Robinson, Lamb, and occasionally John Taylor Coleridge and Sara's fiance, Henry.² John occasionally took his son, John Duke Coleridge, to Highgate as a small boy. In later years he remembered nothing of what Coleridge had said, only the "extraordinary melody" of his voice, and the suppressed murmurs of admiration whenever he paused - "That last was very fine", "He is beyond himself today"³. New friends were often brought into the circle. A large party gathered at Highgate on Thursday 10 June: Mr and Mrs Green, Irving, Montagu, Mr and Mrs Aders, Lamb and others. The discussion hinged on theology, and Coleridge, who was at his best, was supported by Irving. Henry Taylor acted as advocatus diaboli and "affirmed that those evidences which the Christian thinks he finds in his internal convictions, the Mahometan also thinks he has". As they left, Lamb asked Taylor jokingly whether he had come in a hat or a turban. Again Robinson was distressed by Coleridge's denigration of Herder and Goethe⁴.

Perhaps the most famous introduction into the circle was that of Thomas Carlyle, who arrived in London from Scotland on 10 June and was taken to Highgate a few days later by Irving and Mrs Montagu. Carlyle disapproved of the fashion for conversational evenings, but wanted very much to confirm his prejudices by seeing Coleridge, to whom he sent a present of a copy of his recent translation of Goethe's Wilhelm Meister.

1 L V 474

2 L V 365, 369, etc.

3 Life and Correspondence of John Duke, Lord Coleridge ed. E.H. Coleridge II 378-80

4 Robinson's Diary II 273

Carlyle saw a "fat, flabby incurvated personage, at once short, rotund and relaxed, with a watery mouth, a snuffy nose, a pair of strange brown timid yet earnest looking eyes, a high tapering brow, and a great bush of grey hair". Coleridge seemed never to straighten his knees, his "fat, illshapen" shoulders stooped and he scuffed his feet. "He is also always busied to keep by strong and frequent inhalations the water of his mouth from overflowing." From the first it seemed to Carlyle that Coleridge's cardinal sin was lack of willpower: "he would do with all his heart, but he knows he dare not". As they walked in the garden, Carlyle tried in vain "to get something about Kant & Co. from him, about 'reason' versus 'understanding' and the like". But, as he had expected, Coleridge produced "a forest of thoughts", some true, others questionable, often ingenious, but quite without method or purpose - "he wanders like a man sailing among many currents, withersoever his lazy mind directs him". And most intolerable and tedious of all he "preaches, or rather soliloquizes ... with a kind of solemn emphasis on matters which were of no interest (and even reading pieces in proof of his opinion thereon)". However, they parted amicably, and Carlyle accepted Coleridge's invitation, visiting Highgate several times with Irving and Montagu, who usually returned from Highgate "blessing Heaven" for what they had heard. Carlyle thought that Irving tried hard to believe Coleridge was passing on priceless wisdom, "but must have had his misgivings"¹.

Coleridge's health was unusually good that summer. He was to be seen daily, "trudging on Highgate Hill and blooming"². On Monday 12 July

1 T. Carlyle Reminiscences ed. J.A. Froude I 230-31; The Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle ed. C.R. Sanders III 70-79, 90-91, 139

2 Lamb Letters II 431

he joined the large crowd of people who followed the long funeral procession which mounted Highgate Hill with the body of Lord Byron, who was to be buried at Hucknall Torkard. Recognising Porter in the chemist's doorway, Coleridge spoke for several minutes about Byron's life and "prodigious works", remembering Byron's patronage in 1815 and 1816 at Drury Lane rather than the remarks published two years later in Don Juan. He believed Byron's literary merits would be increasingly appreciated, "while his personal errors, if not denied, or altogether forgotten, would be little noticed, & would be treated with ever softening gentleness"¹.

A Highgate neighbour, Robert Sutton, was one of the Wardens of the Mercers' Company and had helped Coleridge to obtain a Lady North Exhibition for Derwent in 1821². He had long been friendly to Coleridge and had offered Hartley a bed in his home³, although the division caused in Highgate by the attempt of the governors of Highgate School to build a new chapel had caused some friction between them for a time⁴. Now, however, that cause of animosity was buried in the proceedings of the Court of Chancery, and Sutton offered to assist Gillman to obtain an elected office within the Mercers' Company. His opponent would be another local doctor, Mr Snow, but Sutton believed that his influence was powerful enough to ensure that Gillman was elected⁵. Coleridge thought Sutton was motivated by vanity:

1 E.L.Griggs "Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Opium" in Huntington Library Quarterly 17 (1953-54) 371-72; L.A.Marchand Byron III 1258-61

2 L V 273 n 1, VI 725-29; see above pp. 128-29

3 L V 142

4 L V 142, 189 n 3

5 L V 376-77

to do everything by his own weight, but in order to have it seen and felt that he was every thing, to call up a shew of opposition and difficulty - a bustle of Canvas, a display of impartiality, a magistratical duplexity of character, R.Sutton, Esqre, the confidential Trustee and Publicist of a rich and munificent Company, and Mr Sutton, the kind and patronizing Neighbour, on whose single vote with whatever small weight that might carry, you might rely¹.

Coleridge tried to assist Gillman in canvassing, and also in rewriting his essay On the Bite of a Rabid Animal (1812)². As a result he was not as happy as usual at the prospect of his annual holiday with Mrs Gillman at Ramsgate in October. Mrs Gillman and her son, Henry, had already gone to the coast, as her continuing illness meant that she would be there longer than usual³. In view of the ill-health of Coleridge's daughter, Sara, the Gillmans had invited her to come to Highgate to be under Gillman's care for several months before her visit to Dublin, planned for the next Spring. But Mrs Gillman's illness forced them to withdraw their invitation⁴. Henry Nelson Coleridge had decided to accompany his cousin, William Hart Coleridge, who had recently been appointed Bishop of Barbados and the Leeward Islands, and was about to visit his new Bishopric in the West Indies⁵. Henry was going with him for health reasons: a rheumatic complaint had prevented him visiting Sara in the Lake District that summer. Instead he had sought his father's approval of their engagement. The Colonel had not only refused his consent; he had insisted that the understanding between them be broken off. His decision was not simply motivated by Sara being Coleridge's daughter; he appears

1 L V 376

2 L V 375, 386

3 L V 374

4 L V 357; Minnow 124

5 L V 357; Minnow 124

to have reacted in the same way whenever any of his sons asked his permission to marry. Sara however refused to consider herself "disengaged".¹

Coleridge travelled to Ramsgate on 6 October². He found Mrs Gillman still unwell, and his own abdominal pains, which he now attributed to a stone in the bladder and to diseased kidneys, began almost as soon as he arrived. His self-diagnosis was incongruously complicated. "I have more than suspected Diabetes, ever since I first read Dr Prout's Work."³ But he was soon well enough to bathe in the sea, and on 14 October dined at Sir Thomas Grey's⁴. Although he spent some time teaching Greek to Henry⁵, he also read in Burgess's library for much of the time. He was shocked to read there in a newspaper of the death of the wife of his friend, Charles Augustus Tulk⁶. But this was dismissed from his mind when Gillman on 22 October reported that he had lost the Mercers' Company election to Snow. Mrs Gillman was bitterly disappointed, and Coleridge anxiously wrote several letters to try to comfort Gillman. As Coleridge had feared, Sutton's vanity had led him to underestimate Snow's chances. He had not known that Snow had been canvassing for several months, and Mrs Gillman now learned that there had long existed a secret conspiracy within the Mercers' Company to take the first opportunity to humble Sutton. It was unfortunate that Gillman was involved - "you were a mere & perfect

1 E.L.Griggs Coleridge Fille 48, 50; B.Coleridge The Story of a Devonshire House 120, 265 etc.

2 L V 374

3 L V 375-76; his diagnosis may also have been prompted by Green's interest in lithotomy - his reputation as a surgeon at King's College, London, after 1830 was largely based on his skill in lithotomy, the operation to remove stones from the bladder - see D.N.B. "Joseph Henry Green"

4 L V 377

5 L V 378

6 L V 383, 419

transparency between them & Sutton, the Bull's Eye of their Target". Coleridge advised Gillman not to reproach Sutton, realising that the mortification would place Sutton in his debt. All disagreements over the Chapel scheme would be forgotten "and he may have it in his power to make abundant compensation"¹. Gillman should continue rewriting On the Bite of a Rabid Animal; it would be more serviceable "than ten times the disservice of this Election". Gillman's practice at Highgate would not become smaller and he had no plans to extend it into London². His patients and friends would be sympathetic - indeed several were at Ramsgate and all spoke of the misfortune as reflecting more on Sutton than Gillman³.

Despite heavy rain, a painful cough and intestinal pains Coleridge continued to bathe in the sea. Once, over-exertion carried him out of his depth, "so that it is no false alarm when those who cannot swim are warned that a person may be drowned a very few yards from the machine"⁴. When young James Gillman arrived, they had to move to new lodgings in Wellington Crescent. To Coleridge's distress their new and roomier lodgings contained a piano on which James strummed continuously - "not to speak of the after-dinner dancing, to which the Currant wine in the glass & bottle dances in sympathy, in the room below - where I am sitting"⁵.

1 L V 382, 385, 387, 393

2 L V 387

3 L V 386; one acquaintance named by Coleridge is William Abud - this was also the name of the creditor of Sir Walter Scott who in 1826 tried to force Scott into bankruptcy - see E. Johnson Sir Walter Scott 998, 1030-34

4 L V 391-92

5 L V 395

One of the men he met in Ramsgate was Sir Alexander Johnston, who shared his interest in things German. At his request Coleridge transcribed for him his translation of "Mignon's Song" from Goethe's Wilhelm Meister¹. "At Mrs Gillman's especial request" Coleridge sent Gillman an example of the kind of compliment paid him by Johnston:

Sir, I have never in the course of my life received so much and so valuable information from any man as from you. It is not this however that I shall most remember you by; but that every time, I have left you, I have felt myself a better man.

But he claimed not to enjoy this lionising. The frequent requests from young ladies that he write some lines in their albums led him to indelicacy about albums. "If the first syllable (videlicet the sum total of these precious MSS) were applied to the last, it would be an approach to a Christian Purpose - since Cleanliness is next to Godliness"².

Severe November gales, which delayed Henry Nelson Coleridge's departure from Plymouth for the West Indies³, caused several shipwrecks near Ramsgate. Boats in the harbour ran foul of each other and the pier, causing Coleridge's friend, Captin Martin, considerable trouble - "nay, his very speaking Trumpet has got a sore throat"⁴. Coleridge greatly enjoyed the storm but his spirits quailed and he left the seafront when a large vessel ran aground just outside the harbour. Instead he watched from their lodgings in Wellington Crescent as its crew was brought ashore by the "crane basket"⁵. As the sea grew calmer, he joined the other onlookers on the beach:

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- 1 L V 389; The Poems of Samuel Taylor Coleridge ed. E.H.Coleridge 311 - the lines were first published in September 1829 in Blackwood's Magazine
 - 2 L V 395
 - 3 B.M.MS. 47557 f.75, Henry Nelson Coleridge to John Taylor Coleridge 27 Nov.1824
 - 4 L V 396
 - 5 L V 398

Alas! that stately Wreck looks ten times more forlorn, and melancholy - strikes and seems to feel, a sadder, sicker dejection, as it circumscribes the Sunshine with its scarcely heaving Shadow, than when the waves were breaking thro' it and over it and the poor Mariners clinging to, and hiding their faces on, the Bow-sprit feared to catch at the Ropes that were thrown to them, lest the Blast should tear them off and fling them on the Billows¹.

He was amused to learn that it was a "good Wreck", a welcome "diffusion" of goods among the Ramsgate poor, because the Excise officers had arrived on the beach too late².

Mrs Gillman and Coleridge returned to Highgate on 30 November, "much benefitted by our sea-sojourn"³. The conversational evenings at Highgate continued much as usual. At one there was some discussion about the execution for forgery on 30 November of the banker Henry Fautleroy, whose trial had excited much public interest⁴. A notice which had appeared in a newspaper shortly afterwards - "To all good Christians! Pray for the soul of Fautleroy" - led to some argument about whether Fautleroy had been a Catholic. Coleridge asked Lamb if he knew anything about the notice. " 'I should think I d-d-d-did', said Elia, 'for I paid s-s-s-seven and sixpence for it'."⁵ In a more serious vein, however, Lamb reported to Coleridge that during the summer he had met a contemporary of theirs at Christ's Hospital, Rev. Frederick William Franklin. He was now a Church of England clergyman and when Lamb dined with him he had begun a vigorous attack on Coleridge's moral character. Lamb had attempted to defend Coleridge but Franklin had triumphantly halted all

1 L V 399

2 L V 401-02

3 L V 398, 402, 404

4 Coleridge introduced an account of Fautleroy into Aids to Reflection 324-25

5 Extracts from the Journal and Letters of Caroline Fox ed. H.N.Pym 46

argument by solemnly asking Lamb whether it was not common knowledge that Coleridge was living in "a state of open adultery" with Mrs Gillman. "Such it is if Ladies will go gadding about with other people's husbands at watering places."¹ Subsequently Coleridge and Mrs Gillman never went to Ramsgate unaccompanied².

Gabriele Rossetti, the father of Christina and Dante Gabriel Rossetti, called on Coleridge in mid-December. He had been forced to flee from Naples because of his share in the revolutionary movement that was to lead to the unification of Italy, and had obtained a letter of introduction to Coleridge from Hookham Frere in Malta. At Rossetti's request Coleridge gave him a letter of introduction to Cary, with whom Rossetti wanted to discuss his "Manuscript on the spirit of Dante and the mechanism and interpretation of the 'Divina Commedia' ". Coleridge was "strongly impressed" by Rossetti's manners and conversation. "He is a poet who has been driven into exile for the high morale of his writings. For even general sentiments breathing the spirit of nobler times are treasons in the present Neapolitan and Holy Alliance Codes!" Rossetti's interpretation of Dante was published in two volumes in 1826-27, as La Divina Commedia ... con commento analitico di Gabriele Rossetti³.

Coleridge busied himself preparing the essay he would submit to the Royal Society of Literature in the Spring, using much of the material he had gathered to assist Hartley when he had been composing his poetic adaptation of Aeschylus' Prometheus⁴.

1 Lamb Letters II 445

2 see below pp. 189, 203

3 L V 403-04

4 S.W.Reid "The Composition and Revision of Coleridge's Essay on Aeschylus' Prometheus" in Studies in Bibliography 24 (1971) 176-83

As part of his research for his essay he called on 25 January 1825 at the studio of the sculptor, John Flaxman, accompanied by several Highgate neighbours. Ostensibly, since his essay was to be "on the connection of Statuary and Sculpture with Religion, the Origin of Statuary as a Fine Art, that is, as a form or species of Poesy", he wanted to meet Flaxman to "kindle and embody my Thoughts by the contemplation of such works as you may happen to have in your Laboratory"¹. But he probably also wanted to become acquainted with "the First ... of all modern sculptors"² because of Flaxman's influential position in the Royal Academy. Joseph Green was busy canvassing for the position of Professor of Anatomy to the Royal Academy, recently vacated by Sir Anthony Carlisle, and had written to Flaxman about it on 17 December³. Later, on 26 March, Green sent Flaxman a free ticket for a lecture he gave at the Royal College of Surgeons⁴. Coleridge may have wanted to "puff" Green to Flaxman. Green won the Professorship at the Royal Academy in 1825, and retained it until 1852. He had to give six lectures a year on anatomy in relation to art. Coleridge helped him prepare his first lectures in September 1825⁵.

Thomas Allsop also looked to Coleridge for assistance. The recent financial expansion in Britain had been accompanied by an enormous increase in the formation of new joint-stock companies. The scale of the expansion, and the increasing incidence of fraudulent speculations, had already led to some criticism of the companies, and by the end of 1825, a general

1 L V 408-09

2 L V 408

3 B.M.MS. 39781 f.211, Green to Flaxman 17 Dec.1824

4 B.M.MS. 39781 f.217, Green to Flaxman 26 March 1825

5 D.N.B. "Joseph Henry Green"; L V 494-96

nervousness was to cause a crisis of confidence which left many speculators, and a few established companies, in financial ruin. However in January 1825 confidence was at its peak. Allsop, who was already with Harding, Allsop and Co.,¹ had decided with some acquaintances to speculate by founding a joint-stock company to mine for lead in Derbyshire, where they could take advantage of unique mining laws which gave the right to mine to the first discoverer of ore, no matter who owned the land. The company would be called the "Peak Association"². In late January Allsop wrote to Coleridge for a letter of introduction to his old friend, Sir Humphry Davy³. Coleridge willingly gave Allsop his support, although he had misgivings because of the rash of fraudulent operations, and sent Allsop a letter of introduction to Davy, supplemented by a personal letter to Davy about Allsop⁴. He also passed on to Allsop a request from a neighbour, E.Chance, "one of the two largest Glass-Manufacturers & Merchants in the South of England", for shares⁵. Coleridge also offered his advice about publicising the venture. Since The Times had joined "the No Bubble! cry", it would probably head any laudatory article with "Advertisement". Reports of speeches made at public meetings or a Director's report should be considered instead⁶.

When he read the Company's advertisement in The Times of 28 April, his vague misgivings were reinforced. What he had hoped would be an "honorable enterprize" now seemed "a feverish spirit of Gambling".

1 L V 410

2 The Times 28 April 1825

3 L V 409-10

4 L V 409-10

5 L V 417-19

6 L V 413

He told Allsop he would rather see him starving in a garret than becoming "an Adventurer" with £20,000 at his command. "I heard of the swarm, I saw in the papers the very productivity of putrefaction in the mob of Maggots that crawled forth every succeeding day." What concerned him was "the effect of these speculations on the frame of your moral & intellectual Being"¹. Allsop could not accept this criticism. He claimed that he was not hoping to speculate his way to riches, but saw the company as "a sound, useful, practical project". The company eventually collapsed, but not, he believed, because of the unsoundness of its aims: it failed "from the unfitness of the men who were associated in its management, and from the general discredit into which all similar undertakings fell at this era".²

Coleridge was very busy during the first months of 1825, although he was again unwell with depressing bowel pains³. The Gillmans' concern about Aids to Reflection, for which he was still sending copy to the printers, caused him some annoyance: "to be fidget-watched and 'are you going on?' - what are you doing now? - is this for the Book? ' &c &c, precisely as if I were Henry at his Lesson"⁴. On 21 February he wrote in his notebook a draft of Work without Hope, addressed to "My Dear Friend" (probably Mrs Gillman). It was written in the manner of George Herbert, and an alternative title was "THE ALONE MOST DEAR: A Complaint of Jacob to Rachel as in the tenth year of his Service he saw in her or fancied that he saw Symptoms of Alienation"⁵. He was in debt to Thomas Dunn for

1 L V 430

2 T.Allsop Letters, Conversations and Recollections II 180-81

3 L V 407, 409-10

4 L V 411, 413

5 L V 415; From Sensibility to Romanticism ed. F.W.Hilles and H.Bloom 423

the laudanum he had received the previous Autumn¹, and probably intended to pay him from the fee he anticipated for assisting Hyman Hurwitz by giving "point, polish of style &c" to his Hebrew Tales, which had grown out of Murray's suggestion in 1816 that Coleridge collect more "Specimens of Rabbinical Wisdom". Hurwitz had made such a collection and had written an essay on Hebrew literature². A commendation by Coleridge of the Hebrew Tales was planned to be included in Aids to Reflection, but was cancelled in the proof³. He was also engaged on the essay for the Royal Society of Literature, On the Prometheus of Aeschylus, which he submitted to the Secretary on 26 April, explaining that it was to be regarded as

the first specimen of a series of Disquisitions respecting the Nature, Origin, and distinctive characters of the Religious Institutions of Ancient Greece ... and of the relation, in which the Philosophy, the Epic and Dramatic Poetry, and the Fine Arts of the Greek Republics stood to each of these⁴.

The essay was read on 18 May at 3 p.m., and Coleridge afterwards felt "most remorseful Sympathy with the Audience, who could not possibly understand the 10th part". The reading lasted almost an hour and a half. Thomas Burgess, Bishop of St David's and President of the Society, was in the Chair, and several of Coleridge's friends, including Green, were in the audience. This was Coleridge's only attendance at the Society, although he became friendly with the Secretary, Richard Cattermole, and in August 1828 attended the baptism of his son who was named after Coleridge. Coleridge's essay was not published in the Society's Transactions until 1834⁵.

1 L V 414

2 L V 418, 433

3 L V 438, 509; Hebrew Tales was published in 1826 by Morrison and Watt

4 L V 428

5 L V 456, 460-61, 580, 712, 750-51; G. Whalley "Coleridge and the Royal Society of Literature" in Essays by Divers Hands n.s. XXXV (1969) 147-51

He had been somewhat upset when he had learned that John Taylor Coleridge had accepted the Editorship of the Quarterly Review in December 1824. Although discussions with various lawyers, including George Frere, had convinced him that it would not adversely affect John's professional prospects, he remained slightly unhappy¹. Since his nephew now controlled one of the two most influential periodicals of the time, Coleridge clearly expected his own position in the world of letters to improve, although he realised that any obvious new partiality for his works in its pages would leave John open to criticism². Nevertheless he made strenuous attempts to represent his life to John in the most favourable way³. On 8 April when John asked him to assist a German man of letters, Dr Reich, he replied that his influence was severely limited because of "prejudices excited against me by Jeffrey, combining with the mistaken notion of my German metaphysics"⁴. The "mistaken notion", recently repeated in Medwin's Conversations of Lord Byron⁵, was that Coleridge's greatness as a poet would have grown had he "never gone to Germany, nor spoilt his fine genius by the transcendental philosophy and German metaphysics". Coleridge was very concerned to quash any idea in John's mind that his philosophy was merely the result of his reading in the works of Kant, Fichte or Schelling.

I can not only honestly assert, but I can satisfactorily prove by reference to Writings (... that have never been in my possession since I first left England for Hamburgh, &c) that all the elements ... of my present Opinions existed for

1 L V 421-22

2 L V 526

3 the number of extant letters from Coleridge to John is one obvious index of this: in 1822 there is one; 1823, four; 1824, two; in 1825, when John was Editor, there are eleven; and after 1826 there are no extant letters

4 L V 421

5 (1824) 266

me before I had ever seen a book of German Metaphysics, later than Wolff or Leibnitz, or could have read it if I had. - But what will this avail? A High German Transcendentalist I must be content to remain¹.

No letters, marginalia or notebooks have been discovered which completely substantiate Coleridge's claim² and there can be little doubt that he was seeking to use the Quarterly Review to "correct" the accepted opinion.

John became concerned about Coleridge's obvious dislike of Murray and asked Coleridge to supply a statement of the "terms" on which he stood with Murray. Coleridge complied on 8 May with three letters in one. The first, for John's personal perusal, contained a full description of all his dealings with Murray since his arrival in London in 1816, describing Murray's refusal to publish his works and his later "trifling" with Tulk. However, "nothing in the Nature of any Dispute or expressed Resentment has passed between me & Murray".

My unfavourable Opinions or rather feelings, of μυσφις originated in sundry anecdotes which Wordsworth told me, in addition to a conversation of M. himself with Wordsworth. Did you ever read Galt's Provost? If you have you will understand me³.

The second letter Coleridge expected John to show to Murray. In it he praised Hebrew Tales, first suggested by Murray, and Hurwitz - "the first Hebrew and Rabbinical Scholar in the Kingdom". Coleridge suggested that Murray might wish to publish the work, "it owing it's existence to Mr Murray's Suggestion, and being in fact a realizing of his Plan & Outline". He also pressed his case for becoming a contributor to the Quarterly Review, but chose an unfortunate subject:

1 L V 421-22

2 see N.Fruman Coleridge, The Damaged Archangel 84, 119; R.Haven "Coleridge, Hartley, and the Mystics" in Journal of the History of Ideas XX (1959) 477-94; for an early expression of his claim see D.E.Sultana Coleridge in Malta and Italy 250; but see also R.L.Brett Reason and Imagination 80-81

3 L V 436-39

I have for some time worked hard in Egyptian Antiquities; & if I do not delude myself, have the means of quashing the deduction at least which certain half Infidels have drawn from Champollion or what's his name's decypherings.

This absurd and pretentious claim was, he informed John, to have been submitted to the Royal Society of Literature, but the Quarterly Review could have it. For Murray's benefit he piled anti-French bias and ignorance upon absurdity:

My Belief, grounded on no slight evidence, in addition to that of common sense & the Harmony of Historical Experience, is: that all Inscriptions, Hieroglyphics, &c earlier than Moses are ancient Forgeries - that the wisest Ancients were well acquainted with these pretended Kings &c & regarded them as mere Egyptian Lies - &c &c - In short my researches with the light of English Common Sense have rendered me a sturdy Anti-egyptian & a very sceptical Hindostanist¹.

In his third letter Coleridge sent some of the proofs of Aids to Reflection for John's comments on "the effect of the aphorismatic form; whether it distracts or relieves the attention"². If his intention was to secure a review of the work in the Quarterly Review, he was unsuccessful. John replied a few days later giving his complete approval of the passages he had read, and suggesting some alterations and cancellations (among them Coleridge's praise of Hurwitz's Hebrew Tales) which were carried out³. All the copy for Aids to Reflection was in the hands of the printers before the end of April, although even on 10 May he sent them mottoes to be printed on a blank page⁴. The work was issued on 23 May⁵. Its title, like its format, had changed from that first submitted to

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- 1 L V 439-42; J.F.Champollion's pioneering work in deciphering hieroglyphics dates from 1821
 - 2 L V 443-45
 - 3 L V 457, 459-60
 - 4 L V 429, 445
 - 5 L V 456

Taylor and Hessey in August 1823¹. It was now

Aids to Reflection in the Formation of a Manly Character on
the several grounds of Prudence, Morality and Religion:
illustrated by select passages from our elder Divines,
especially from Archbishop Leighton.

Another Italian revolutionary in exile, Gioacchino de' Prati, who was introduced to Coleridge on 15 April by Edward Coleridge, made a far greater impression on him than Rossetti had done². By 14 May he offered Prati all his "growing influence", and requested references and attestations from several of his friends for Prati³. On their first meeting he was as loquacious as usual and they walked in the garden talking together in German. They had much in common, for Prati had read Boehme, Bruno, Spinoza and Schelling, and was personally acquainted with Jacobi, Schelling, Friedrich Schlegel, Ritter, Oken and Mesmer, and could give Coleridge eye-witness accounts of "Zoo-magnetism". He had also published a biography of Dante. He loaned Coleridge a copy of G.B.Vico's Principii d'una Scienza Nuova, which Coleridge began reading by 2 May. From it Coleridge took one of the mottoes he sent in for Aids to Reflection on 10 May. Prati's visits to Highgate continued "at least once a week" throughout 1825⁴.

1 L V 290; see above, chap.5

2 L V 452-53

3 L V 452-53; B.M.MS. 34255 ff.168-69, list of references and attestations secured for Prati

4 L V 445; B.M.MS. 47517 f.16, notebook 20; G.Whalley "Coleridge and Vico" in Giambattista Vico: An International Symposium ed. G.Tagliacozzo and H.V.White 225-44; M.H.Fisch "The Coleridges, Dr Prati, and Vico" in Modern Philology (Nov.1943) 111-22

Prati's loan of Principii d'una Scienza Nuova provided Coleridge's first introduction to Vico. While Coleridge had mentioned Vico in his essay On the Theory of Life, written in 1816, probably the earliest reference to Vico in English literature, M.H.Fisch has proved that the Vico passage in it was lifted and adapted from Jacobi's Von den Göttlichen Dingen¹. Within a few weeks of the loan, Coleridge offered John Coleridge a number of "notes" on Vico for the Quarterly Review, and his conversation was soon full of references to and borrowings from Vico, especially Vico's anticipation of Wolf's theory concerning the unity of Homer, "which Coleridge says was his at college"². In return Coleridge tried to enable Prati to become a contributor to the Quarterly Review or Blackwood's Magazine. But Prati's first article was on Schiller and quite unsaleable because of Carlyle's series on "Schiller's Life and Writings" in Blackwood's Magazine in 1823 and 1824³. Coleridge also introduced him to Green, under whose guidance Prati mastered the standard English medical and pharmaceutical treatises while in prison for debt in 1829⁴. Prati's visits to Highgate ended in early 1826, soon after John Coleridge resigned the Editorship of the Quarterly Review. Coleridge never met him again, although two letters to Prati in 1828 and 1833 indicate his continuing friendly interest⁵.

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- 1 see M.H.Fisch "The Coleridges, Dr Prati, and Vico" in Modern Philology (Nov.1943) 111-22
 - 2 L V 470; Table Talk 30 April 1830 and notes; Robinson's Diary II 297
 - 3 L VI 578-79
 - 4 M.H.Fisch "The Coleridges, Dr Prati, and Vico" in Modern Philology (Nov.1943) 111-22
 - 5 L VI 767, 964; see also G.Whalley "Coleridge and Vico" in Giambattista Vico: An International Symposium ed. G.Tagliacozzo and H.V.White

The announcement of the proposal to found the University of London suggested to Coleridge that he might deliver three lectures on the subject. He asked advice from several of his friends: Green, Allsop, Joseph Hughes and Taylor and Hessey. Opinions were divided but by 17 May he had abandoned the idea. Public lectures might make him appear as an advocate of a Dissenting University, and "I am not certain ... that as a Cambridge Man I should be right in so doing". He was also not certain that he could attract sufficiently large audiences: "a 100 would be but 50£, I should only expose my own lack of influencive reputation"¹.

Instead he would begin "the one yet to be written Disquisition"². He had proposed to Hessey to write six short disquisitions, a total of two hundred or two hundred and fifty pages:

1. ON FAITH .
2. ON THE EUCHARIST, doctrinally and historically.
3. On the PHILOSOPHY OF PRAYER.
4. On the Hebrew Prophets & the prophetic Gift. (not more than four pages)
5. On the Church - & the true character of the Romish Church.
6. On the right and the superstitions Use of the Sacred Scriptures³.

In Aids to Reflection⁴ was an announcement of the first, second, third, fifth and sixth of the disquisitions, but only the fifth was published during his lifetime, On the Constitution of Church and State, according to the Idea of Each: with Aids toward a Right Judgement on the late Catholic Bill (1830). The sixth disquisition was published by Henry Nelson Coleridge in 1840 as Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit, and

1 L V 445-49, VI 1053-55

2 L V 459

3 L V 434

4 pp.376, 381

the first may be the "Essay on Faith" in Literary Remains¹. Coleridge offered Taylor and Hessey the six disquisitions to be published as a supplement to Aids to Reflection². Unfortunately however, Aids to Reflection was the last work published by Taylor and Hessey. Financial pressures forced them to dissolve their partnership on 30 June. Hessey continued as a bookseller and Taylor remained a publisher. In 1826 Coleridge still called Taylor "my Publisher", but none of his subsequent works was issued by him, although in 1828 Coleridge approached him again with his Logic and a proposal to publish a second edition of Aids to Reflection³.

Throughout early May Coleridge was "in anxious contriving" to prepare convenient lodgings for his wife and daughter who intended to come to London in the Autumn, "being with me two or three months"⁴. Sara's eyes still troubled her⁵, and Gillman hoped to take her to the best London oculists⁶. However, probably in order to forget her unhappiness about her engagement to Henry, she had busied herself assisting Uncle Southey to teach the children, and had begun a new translation, the sixteenth-century French Memoirs of the Chevalier Bayard, by the Loyal Servant. It was published by Murray in 1825⁷. Once again, however, the visit to London had to be postponed. Sara caught whooping-cough and it was decided that they should delay their visit until the Summer of 1826⁸.

1 IV 425

2 L V 435

3 L V 435, 464, VI 543, 773, 781; T.Chilcott A Publisher and his Circle 178-79

4 L V 441

5 Later Years I 202

6 Minnow 126

7 E.L.Griggs Coleridge Fille 54, 56

8 Minnow 92-93

Mrs Coleridge had heard so much about the Logic during her visit to London that she was surprised when Aids to Reflection was published before it¹. She had been told that Aids to Reflection was to be reviewed in the Quarterly Review, but it never was, although it was mentioned in several articles². She found it "far beyond my comprehension in parts, and even Hartley tells me he means to read it three times over"³. On their way to tour Holland and Germany, Southey and his daughter met Coleridge in mid-June at the London home of Sir George Beaumont. They reported to Mrs Coleridge that he looked well and was in good spirits⁴. Although he wrote to his wife more frequently than in the past, she was still glad that her friends in town, among them John Taylor Coleridge and Lady Beaumont, kept her informed about him, "knowing how seldom that gentleman writes"⁵.

Derwent wrote frequently to his mother from Plymouth, although he refused to send her any of his poems because of her earlier attempts to dissuade him from "indulging that luxury". He lectured at the Plymouth Athenaeum on poetry, mainly Wordsworth's, and informed his mother that his lecture had been well received. "I doubt not, however, there were two opinions."⁶ When Derwent published this lecture in the Metropolitan Quarterly Magazine in 1826, Coleridge was highly critical of his derogatory remarks on Wordsworth's later poems. "Charles Lamb justly observed that if these poems had been discovered among Wordsworth's Papers a century

1 Minnow 120

2 Minnow 93; Quarterly Review XXXII (Oct.1825) 112, XXXV (Jan.1827) 113-14

3 Minnow 93

4 Minnow 122; L V 468; New Letters of Robert Southey ed. K.Curry II 284

5 Minnow 122

6 Minnow 121

after his death, there are portions that would have given a glory to the whole."¹ Allsop endeavoured to praise Derwent to Coleridge, finding in him "much to admire and love" despite his vanity, which intercourse with Plymouth society might help to eradicate².

Coleridge's health suddenly improved greatly when he followed the recommendation of the artist, William Collins, and dosed himself with white mustard seed:

For the last 15 years it has been my lot to awake every morning in pain, more or less severe - and to continue in a discomfortable state of feeling for an hour or two. The first morning, after the first 3 doses of the preceding day, the Pain was manifestly much less - the second morning it was trifling - and for the last two mornings (and I made an unusually copious dinner, and drank at least a bottle of Wine at Mr Sotheby's yesterday) for the first time in 15 - nay, I might say 20 years, I have awoke in perfect comfort of body, without pain, without drowsiness³.

The improvement lasted for several weeks, although Benjamin Robert Haydon noticed only how he had aged when he met Coleridge for the first time in seventeen years. "He looked at my bald front, and I at his hair, with mutual sympathy and head-shaking."⁴ But Lamb noticed how well Coleridge looked. "His accomplishing his book at last has been a source of vigour to him."⁵ Coleridge was gratified by the reaction of the Bishop of London to Aids to Reflection - he "expressed a MOST favourable Opinion". In consequence the theological writer, Joseph Blanco White, bought a copy of it and also one of The Friend⁶. He also procured an introduction from Sir George Beaumont and was invited to the Thursday

1 L VI 587

2 Nineteenth-Century Studies ed. H.Davis 65

3 L V 469

4 G.Paston Benjamin Robert Haydon and his Friends 148

5 Lamb Letters III 23

6 L V 475, 481

gathering at Highgate on 14 July, when he spent six hours with Coleridge¹. White seemed to Coleridge "a very good man", and he admired his Practical and Internal Evidence against Catholicism which made him the "Protestant champion" in the fight against the Pope². Coleridge's publisher, John Taylor, was also greatly influenced by Aids to Reflection. He sent Coleridge a copy of Thirlwall's translation of F.D.E. Schleiermacher's A Critical Essay on the Gospel of St Luke together with "a very handsome letter announcing his own conversion by the Aids to Reflection"³. And in the Universities, notably Cambridge, "it was beginning to be acknowledged by more than a few that Coleridge is the true sovereign of modern English thought"⁴.

Crabb Robinson thought Aids to Reflection showed the best adaptation of Kantian principles to English religious feeling, and also found evidence in it for a trend he began increasingly to find in Coleridge's conversation: his philosophy remained his own but his religion was becoming "of the vulgar"⁵. Coleridge was aware of his increasing religious orthodoxy. In his notebook he wrote a long comparison of the Catholic priesthood with that of the Church of England. The "boasted merit" of the Catholic priest's attendance on the dying in pestilence was simply the relief of an urgent need of his own creation: "and the comfort they minister, derived from the superstitious terrors & vain god-dishonouring hopes & fancies, they had themselves engineered". In contrast, the Protestant

1 L V 481; The Life of the Rev. Joseph Blanco White ed. J.H.Thom I 417-18

2 L V 476 n 1, 481, 485-86

3 L VI 543

4 Essays and Tales by John Sterling ed. J.C.Hare xiv

5 Robinson on Writers I 335-36; Robinson on Blake, Coleridge etc. 88; see for example Robinson's Diary II 297

clergyman had previously armed his flock with confidence in the mercy of God and so spent his time during the plague "usefully & more humanely" in causing "the Rich & Healthy to contribute abundantly the means of medical relief"¹. Coleridge's beliefs were changing, but he saw no evidence of their having undergone a revolution. He believed that he was not growing towards "a servile & selfish religion of fear"; his thinking was coloured by a "more cheerful sense of freedom".

But in one point I have attained to a conviction which till of late I never had in any available form or degree - namely, the confidence in the efficacy of Prayer. I know by experience, that it is Light, Strength, and Comfort².

This sinking towards an Anglican orthodoxy was accompanied by a corresponding collapse into a kind of philosophical orthodoxy. For most of his life he had been formulating a philosophy of the mind active and creative in perception, in a sustained attempt to refute the orthodox philosophy of Locke, as he understood it, that the mind was passive and receptive in the process of perceiving the outside world, a tabula rasa or waxed tablet into which the impressions of the senses write or project themselves; the word "impressions" indicates an understanding of this theory of the process of perception. But in a letter to Gillman from Ramsgate on 9 October 1825 he reveals, despite the ironic tone, an acknowledgment of personal defeat.

In Youth and early Manhood the Mind and Nature are, as it were, two rival Artists, both potent Magicians, and engaged, like the King's Daughter and the rebel Genie in the Arabian Nights' Enternts., in sharp conflict of Conjunction - each having for it's object to turn the other into Canvas to paint on, Clay to mould, or Cabinet to contain. For a while the

1 B.M.MS. 47517 ff.18-22, notebook 20

2 L VI 577

Mind seems to have the better in the contest, and makes of Nature what it likes; takes her Lichens and weather-stains for Types & Printer's Ink and prints Maps & Fac Similes of Arabic and Sanscrit Mss. on her rocks; composes Country-Dances on her moon-shiny Ripples, Fandangos on her Waves and Walzes on her Eddy-pools; transforms her Summer Gales into Harps and Harpers, Lovers' Sighs and sighing Lovers, and her Winter Blasts into Pindaric Odes, Christabels & Ancient Mariners set to music by Beethoven, and in the insolence of triumph Conjures her Clouds into Whales and Walrusses with Palanquins on their Backs, and chases the dodging Stars in a Sky-hunt! - But alas! alas! that Nature is a wary wily long-breathed old Witch, tough-lived as a Turtle and divisible as the Polyp, repullulative in a thousand Snips and Cuttings, *integra et in toto!* She is sure to get the better of Lady MIND in the long run, and to take her revenge too - transforms our To Day into a Canvass dead-colored to receive the dull featureless Portrait of Yesterday; not alone turns the mimic Mind, the *ci-devant* Sculptress with all her kaleidoscopic freaks and symmetries! into clay, but leaves it such a clay, to cast dumps or bullets in; and lastly (to end with that which suggested the beginning -) she mocks the mind with it's own metaphors, metamorphosing the Memory into a *lignum vitae* Escrutoire to keep unpaid Bills & Dun's Letters in, with Outlines that had never been filled up, MSS that never went farther than the Title-pages, and Proof-Sheets & Foul Copies of Watchmen, Friends, Aids to Reflection & other Stationary Wares that have kissed the Publisher's Shelf with gluey Lips with all the tender intimacy of inoculation! - *Finis!* ¹

His philosophy collapsed under the weight of his own experience.

The Magnum Opus, with its declared aim of producing

a revolution of all that has been called Philosophy or Metaphysics in England and France ... and with this the present fashionable Views not only of Religion, Morals and Politics but even of the modern Physics and Physiology²,

could now never be completed. It was still occasionally mentioned for the rest of his life, and the manuscript was left to Green in his Will for posthumous publication, just as he continued to describe the "Volitional principle", the mind active in perception, but there was little conviction³.

1 L V 496-97; see also M.H.Abrams Natural Supernaturalism 459

2 L V 28

3 e.g. L VI 714-15

CHAPTER 7. JUNE 1825 - FEBRUARY 1827.

Coleridge gave much of his attention during the Spring and Summer of 1825 to attempts to assist the Gillmans. On 5 May he asked John Taylor Coleridge to recommend Gillman in preference to Snow as a doctor to one of John's acquaintances, Mr Harrison, a Quaker barrister who was about to move to Highgate¹. He sent a similar appeal to Dorothy Wordsworth. Although she thought it a strange request of little importance, she recognised that for Coleridge "from his extreme earnestness, it is evident few things at this present time are of more"². Gillman was also one of the doctors whose certificate of ill-health enabled Lamb to retire early from the India House³.

In February Coleridge had written to his nephew, Edward, who was a master at Eton, to ask his advice and assistance to enable the Gillmans to transfer their younger son Henry from the local school to Eton⁴. Their other son James still attended the Merchant Taylors' School⁵. Coleridge coached Henry for the entrance examination in July and did his best to influence Edward to overlook any ill-success in the examination⁶. He accompanied Henry to Eton for the examination on 21 July, and was pleased when Henry passed. However, he asked the Headmaster, Dr Keate, Edward Coleridge's new father-in-law, not to decide on Henry's class until term began in September when, after several weeks' coaching from Coleridge, Henry could be "ranked in the manner most conducive to his future fortunes"⁷.

1 L V 432

2 Later Years I 200-02

3 Lamb Letters II 465-67

4 L V 424-25

5 L VI 535

6 L V 482-83

7 L V 483, 485, 487

Coleridge enjoyed his short stay at Eton, flattered by the attentions of Dr Keate and the masters. Unfortunately, however,

I raised the House ... by the long & loud screams & distressful Noises in my sleep - I was quite unconscious of what had occurred in the morning - I doubt not, this often happens; but at Highgate, I am not so within hearing¹

When he returned to Highgate on 26 July, he went to Dunn's chemist's shop for a supply of laudanum and entertained Porter with an account of his reception at Eton².

During the first two weeks in August he felt unusually "sick & sad". On 18 August he woke "like Nebuchadnessar's Idol - an Image all gold"³. He had contracted jaundice, and although his skin had cleared by the eighth day, he was too unwell to work for several weeks⁴. He was able, however, to join the Thursday evening gathering on 18 August where he impressed at least one visitor, John Merivale, "with his wonderful powers both of speech and thought, with the flow of his imagery and happiness of his illustrations"⁵. Merivale returned on 4 September, "still unconvinced both of the soundness and clearness of his perceptions, but astonished at his vast flow of words, retentiveness of memory ... and exalted powers of eloquence"⁶.

Coleridge's attack of jaundice and uncertainty about the date when Henry Gillman had to begin his first term at Eton, meant that Henry received somewhat less tutoring than expected. Coleridge's illness also

1 L V 487

2 E.L.Griggs "Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Opium" in Huntington Library Quarterly 17 (1953-54) 357-78

3 B.M.MS. 47517 f.36, notebook 20

4 L V 490

5 E.H.A.Koch Leaves from the Diary of a Literary Amateur 27-29; A.W.Merivale Family Memorials 262-63

6 A.W.Merivale Family Memorials 268-69

prevented him preparing "Scraps" from his notebooks which he had promised Edward. Instead, when Henry Gillman went to Eton on 7 September, he carried with him several of Coleridge's earlier notebooks, with a letter for Edward.

There are passages, which I do not mind your seeing - for the more you know what my mind has been as well as what it is, for strength and for weakness, the more accordant will your judgement respecting me be with my wishes - only you will read them dramatically - i.e. as the portrait and impress of the mood and the moment - ... But I would have them sacred to your eyes¹.

Coleridge and Mrs Gillman travelled to Ramsgate for their usual Autumn holiday on 5 October, accompanied by their Highgate neighbours, Thomas Steel and his wife and daughter, Susan. Coleridge and Steel had been contemporaries at Christ's Hospital². A series of mishaps spoiled his holiday. Firstly, he had intended to use it to translate Bacon's Novum Organum for an edition Basil Montagu was preparing³. Struck by Vico's admiration for Bacon and the numerous parallels between Bacon and Vico's Scienza Nuova, Coleridge proposed to use Vico for the introduction and notes. However, instead of the set of Vico which Prati had loaned him Coleridge took to Ramsgate a volume of Blackwood's Magazine. This mistake was sufficient to prevent him ever translating Novum Organum, and the translation in Montagu's edition was by another friend, William Page Wood⁴. The second interruption of Coleridge's usually calm holiday occurred when a letter arrived from Edward Coleridge containing such horrifying descriptions of Henry Gillman's bad behaviour that, in great

1 L V 490, 492-93

2 L V 496-501

3 published in 16 vols. by William Pickering in 1825-26

4 L V 493, 498

distress, Coleridge decided to travel all the way to Eton to bring Henry home¹. When he arrived, however, he learned that he had acted too hastily. Edward had merely written to warn the Gillmans that he saw tendencies in Henry which might lead him into danger:

'If his moral Being should receive a stain, more than superficial; and if his classical education should make no advance, or none that for a moment would be considered by you as compensation for the loss of innocence in it's two great points, Veracity and Purity; I must not be held responsible for the result.'²

Henry Gillman's misdeed had been to accompany some school-fellows to a slaughter-yard nearby where they had been given an unofficial lesson in animal anatomy by the apprentices, who had also made Henry show them the bloody marks of a recent flogging he had received from Edward, who was his house-master³. Edward Coleridge had the most successful house at Eton for several years, "and when he flogged the boys, which he did with a will, he said he loved them more for every stroke he gave them"⁴. Coleridge was not sure what to do about Henry and waited at Eton for Gillman's decision. Henry wanted to stay here, and Edward agreed, pointing out that six weeks was really too short a trial. But Coleridge feared for Henry's moral safety - "there are many bad Boys, from whose intimacy I can warn him, but from whose neighbourhood I cannot remove him"⁵. Gillman decided that the advantages of an education at Eton outweighed any possible danger of his son's moral corruption, and Coleridge returned to Ramsgate leaving Henry at school⁶.

1 L V 500-02

2 L V 500-02

3 L V 505-08

4 B. Coleridge The Story of a Devonshire House 83-84

5 L V 505-08

6 L V 515

The third interruption of his holiday occurred when Steel had to return to London and asked his wife and daughter to curtail their Ramsgate holiday. Probably because of the gossip Lamb had reported to them¹, Mrs Gillman decided that she too had to return to London with the Steels on 17 November². Coleridge appealed to Gillman, who agreed that she should remain, and Thomas Steel offered to leave his daughter, Susan, as chaperone. Mrs Gillman finally consented to remain with Coleridge although at first she was unwilling to do so. "It is only one of the occasions, in which I feel the sharp and jagged Contrast of the wickedness of the World & my own innocence."³ The remainder of his stay at Ramsgate was uneventful, and they returned to Highgate on 1 December⁴.

Edward Coleridge accepted his invitation to visit Highgate at the end of the Eton term, and Coleridge spent much of the early part of December arranging for various friends to come to Highgate to meet him, among them Lamb, Irving and Blanco White⁵. In return Edward agreed to bring his brother Henry Nelson Coleridge, who had just returned from his visit to the West Indies with William Hart Coleridge⁶. Edward brought Henry Gillman home when he visited Highgate. Coleridge carefully questioned Henry and reported to his parents that he seemed "much improved"⁷. Coleridge was delighted when John Taylor Coleridge resigned the Editorship of the Quarterly Review in favour of John Gibson Lockhart, because of an

1 see above pp. 167

2 L V 496-501, 512

3 L V 512, 514

4 L V 513, 519

5 L V 520, 521, 522-23

6 L V 523

7 L V 529

increase in his legal duties¹. It had never received the approbation of his father, Colonel James Coleridge. The following year John was appointed Commissioner in Bankruptcy².

One of the tutors at Cambridge, Ralph Tatham, had recommended Derwent to the Bishop of Quebec as a possible Chaplain and Secretary. John Taylor Coleridge had been approached for further information about Derwent, and on 20 December applied to Coleridge for information about Derwent's present attitude to ordination in the Church of England. Coleridge was forced to confess that he did not know, and was in any case not sure whether the situation was desirable for Derwent "in present emolument or future prospects". He wrote to Derwent about the proposal, suggesting that he contact John for further details. "I go on from month to month as if I had no Sons in the world, never hearing of you or Hartley without a compounded or biforked Sting of grief and shame that I never hear from you."³ He was not even sure of Derwent's address⁴, because he had recently become "first classical assistant" in a large school at Buckfastleigh⁵. Southey was typically amused at the thought of Derwent as a Canadian missionary:

he who when he was last here bandaged his hair every night to make it sit gracefully - & slept in gloves - he to bivouack in the woods, & be thankful for a meal of pemmican or a log house!⁶

1 L V 525

2 B.Coleridge The Story of a Devonshire House 285, 292

3 L V 527

4 L V 524

5 Minnow 94

6 B.M.MS. 47553 ff.125-26, Southey to John Taylor Coleridge 26 Dec.1825

Derwent did not become a Canadian missionary, but he informed his father that he intended to return to Cambridge and become ordained. His decision gave Coleridge "Comfort and gladness"¹.

John Hookham Frere had returned to England from Malta in September for a year². Coleridge dined with him in London on Christmas Eve³, and met him socially on several occasions during the Spring of 1826⁴. Frere visited Highgate in early January 1826 where he read to Coleridge passages from his metrical translation of Aristophanes' Knights and "a religious and philosophic Poem, which I flatter myself, he will permit me to publish in my supplementary small Volume - (= The three disquisitions, on 1. Faith: 2. the Eucharist: 3. the philosophy of Prayer)"⁵. Frere renewed his promise to obtain some kind of public pension for Coleridge. "If I could but get £200 a year -

Thou kenst not, Percy! how the Rhyme should rage!"⁶

He suggested to Derwent that it might be worth his while to visit Highgate in the near future - "you would on this scheme be likely to see a good deal of Mr J.H. Frere"⁷ - and Derwent spent three or four days there in January on his way to Cambridge⁸. Frere took Coleridge to call on the Marquess of Hastings on 13 January⁹, and also asked Coleridge for a copy

1 L VI 533; Minnow 98

2 The Works of John Hookham Frere ed. W.E. and B.Frere I 196 etc.

3 L V 529

4 e.g. L VI 572

5 L VI 534

6 L VI 536

7 L VI 536

8 L VI 548

9 MS notebook in Huntington Library, quoted L VI 538 n 4

of Aids to Reflection for Lord Liverpool¹. Liverpool returned Aids to Reflection to Frere in September with a promise to "do something" for Coleridge when he could: "but I will be obliged to you not to commit me"². Before returning to Malta later that month Frere informed Coleridge that he had Liverpool's "positive Promise" of a sinecure for him of £200 a year. But Coleridge's indolence and "procrastination"³ meant that before the sinecure was obtained Lord Liverpool suffered a paralytic stroke and "King George the IVth gave the place to another"⁴.

In the general financial collapse of late 1825 two of the Banks used by Frere stopped payments and his losses were large. Coleridge believed that Frere's vexation at this was aggravated by the thought of his reduced ability to assist Coleridge. He would have pressed Frere to publish his translation of Aristophanes' The Frogs, "had I not some reason to believe that one of Mr Frere's motives for publishing them would be to give me the Honorarium"⁵. In his Will, made in 1829, Coleridge left the manuscript of Frere's translations from Aristophanes, which was in his possession, to Gillman⁶. When Frere eventually published them in 1839, he gave Gillman half the profits. And in 1843 he was concerned to ensure that Mrs Gillman was still profiting by their sale⁷.

1 L VI 539, 542

2 MS letter Liverpool to Frere 13 Sep. 1826, quoted L VI 539 n 3

3 L VI 671

4 L VI 669-70, 680, 705; Scott's remark in his Journal that Frere had told him that "he had made up to Mr. Coleridge the pension of £200 from the board of literature from his own fortune" is probably a garbled version of this attempt by Frere to secure a sinecure for Coleridge from Liverpool - see The Journal of Sir Walter Scott ed. W.E.K. Anderson 690

5 L VI 559

6 L VI 998-1001

7 The Works of John Hookham Frere ed. W.E. and B. Frere I 296, 322-23

Frere was not Coleridge's only acquaintance to suffer in the financial crisis of 1825 and 1826. In 1825 there were 2683 bankruptcies, and in the winter of 1825-26, 79 Banks stopped payment¹. Sir Walter Scott was also caught in the crisis and stood revealed with debts of almost £117,000². Coleridge did not join in the great wave of popular sympathy for Scott. He agreed entirely with Edward Coleridge and gloated over Scott's misfortune:

when I think of the wretched trash, that the Lust of Gain induced him to publish for the last three or four years, which must have been manufactured for the greater part, even my feelings assist in hardening me. I should indeed be sorry if any ultimate success had attended the attempt to unite the Poet and the Worldling³.

He was more distressed by the news that Thomas Allsop was also being shaken by the storm. "Heaven knows! I have enough to feel for without wasting my Sympathy on a Scotchman suffering the penalty of his Scotchery⁴."

The relief of his abdominal pain gained by the use of white mustard seed had not lasted long⁵. In January 1826 he began to suspect a stomach ulcer⁶, and, seeing the benefit young Henry Gillman obtained from a course of "Sulphur Vapor Baths", began to consider them for himself⁷. Because of the pain he was now able to work at most four or five hours a day⁸. He caught a cold when the weather changed, and experienced pains in his limbs and back: "the fatiguing frequency of cough & expectoration ... made my head feel like a Bruise, preventing any sound or continued sleep"⁹.

1 Haydn's Dictionary of Dates ed. B.Vincent 86, 663

2 E.Johnson Sir Walter Scott; The Great Unknown II 970

3 L VI 562

4 L VI 562-63

5 L V 469

6 L VI 537; stomach ulceration was noticed by the surgeons who performed the post-mortem examination of his body in 1834 - see L VI 992

7 L VI 533, 535

8 L VI 536

9 L VI 548, 549

During his illness a letter arrived from Mrs Coleridge expressing her concern, as she did every year, about his ability to pay the premium of his life assurance policy. He patiently explained that, in 1818, during the first year of their friendship, Green had promised to pay all the future premiums, "& I have no doubt, that he has put it in his Will, in even so unlikely an event as my Surviving him". He also assured her that she and Sara would certainly receive the full proceeds on his death, "whatever may be the state of my personal engagements to the Gillmans ... (& to no one else am I indebted)"¹. Mrs Coleridge was also concerned about a letter from Derwent announcing his intention to marry "as soon as may be". He was probably already engaged to Mary Pridham whom he married two years later. On 30 January Mrs Coleridge warned him not to marry before he had ensured the means to support a family: "I have known so many difficulties myself that I have reason to warn my children!"² Coleridge also gave him some warmly-expressed advice: "For God's sake, think and think again before you give the least portion of your own free-agency out of your own power! You give away more than Life"³.

The return of Gillman's former assistant, John Watson, from Germany in early February caused some excitement. He stayed with them for less than a week before going to the North of England for a few months for the sake of his health, after which he would return to the Gillmans. "He loves Germany & Germans - dislikes the Italians, and ABHORS the French - all as a good man ought to do - just as I would have had it!"⁴

Coleridge asked Crabb Robinson to look for a copy of Eichhorn's

1 L VI 552-53

2 MSS letters quoted in L VI 546 n 3

3 L VI 547

4 L VI 553

Commentarius in Apocalypsin Joannis¹ in one of the circulating libraries². From about this time a large number of the entries in Coleridge's notebooks record his studies in the Old and New Testaments, apparently the skeleton of a projected publication. From 5 July 1827, when Green presented him with a thin paper-covered memorandum book, the notebooks are numbered by Coleridge as a series of "Fly-catchers", subtitled "Day-book for impounding Stray Nota-benes ... Unus Multorum", and used specifically for religious theory and Biblical criticism. Several entries mention Eichhorn either to praise or to criticise him³. In a letter to Edward Coleridge on 8 February, possibly intended more as the expression of the views of a father whose son would shortly be looking for a Living to the brother of a potentially useful Bishop, than as a full expression of his private opinions, Coleridge wrote that his studies in the Gospels had led him to a faith

More duly proportioned to the objective and historical part of Christianity - to the Church Militant and to the Kingdom of Christ on earth instead of dwelling with too exclusive a preference on the subjective, timeless, and individually spiritual⁴.

He was disappointed that William Hart Coleridge, the Bishop of Barbados, who had recently returned from his See, had not called at Highgate⁵. Henry Nelson Coleridge, who had returned with him, had called in December, and Coleridge was in the midst of reading Henry's newly-published account of his Six Months in the West Indies in 1825⁶.

1 2 volumes 1791

2 Robinson on Writers I 332

3 B.M.MS 47528 f.1, notebook 33

4 L VI 556

5 L VI 561

6 L VI 560

Southey and Sara thought it "delightfully vivacious & amusing"¹, but it seemed to Sara Hutchinson "conceited"². Coleridge found it entertaining, although its style unfortunately smacked of Southey's and "I could almost be angry with Henry for that very indiscreet & ex omni parte objectionable episode on María"³. The first edition was withdrawn on orders from Henry's father, and a second edition was quickly issued with the objectionable passage, a disrespectful reference to an aunt, removed⁴. An advertisement Henry had planned to insert was also removed at Coleridge's urging⁵.

In mid-April Daniel Stuart was thrown from his carriage and run over. Confined to bed for several weeks, he contacted Coleridge and the Gillmans to find suitable lodgings in Highgate for his wife and daughter⁶. At Coleridge's insistence they stayed at The Grove with the Gillmans until early May⁷. Coleridge consulted Charles Lamb about an idea of modernising a play by Dekker as a pantomime for Lamb's friend, the actress Fanny Kelly. Lamb agreed to submit the idea to Miss Kelly and offered to lend him a copy of the play, "if you can filch anything out of it"⁸. The proposed modernisation was never completed. Lamb was amused by a sentence in a letter from Coleridge in late April: "Summer has set in with its usual Severity"⁹. Coleridge's usual walks in Highgate were interrupted

1 B. Coleridge The Story of a Devonshire House 142; MS letter quoted L VI 560 n 1

2 The Letters of Sara Hutchinson ed. K. Coburn 322-23

3 L VI 560

4 The Letters of Sara Hutchinson ed. K. Coburn 323 n

5 L VI 571

6 Letters from the Lake Poets ed. E. H. Coleridge 291 n

7 L VI 575-76, 577

8 Lamb Letters III 39-40; Dykes Campbell suggested that the play might have been Old Fortunatus

9 Lamb Letters III 45

by the bad weather, but he could still enjoy the many pot-plants in his room. A large clump of "Cherry-blossoms, Polyanthuses, Double Violets, Periwinkle, Wall Flowers" seemed dull in daylight and better when the candles were lit, whereas spring flowers "look best in the Day, and by Sunshine"¹. He listened to the nightingales on the hill. "The gardener (N.B. so deaf that I was forced to halloa in his ear) had heard them he said two days before."² It was in Coleridge's company that the artist Charles Robert Leslie first learned to distinguish the calls of nightingales from other birds. "He even told me how many there were."³ Coleridge also experimented with a quill-pen made from a rook's feather - "the pens would be very useful for marginal notes"⁴. On 18 May he received the annual 100 guineas from the Royal Society of Literature, and was invited to dine with the Secretary, Richard Cattermole⁵.

Hookham Frere was still a frequent visitor at Highgate⁶. On 3 June he accompanied Coleridge to the home of Charles and Mrs Aders to see their collection of paintings and the many excellent copies of Old Masters by Mrs Aders, for which she was much admired⁷. A few days before this visit, a remark of Mrs Gillman's that she wondered that for all her suffering Mrs Aders still retained her beauty, had set Coleridge dreaming, "and out of the weeds that spring up in the garden of Morpheus, I wove next morning the accompanying wreath". This was the poem subsequently published as

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- 1 B.M.MS. 47521 f.46, notebook 23; see Anima Poetae 304-05 with minor variants
 - 2 MS quoted in L.E.Watson Coleridge at Highgate 58
 - 3 Autobiography of Charles Robert Leslie ed. T.Taylor I 48
 - 4 B.M.MS. 47524 f.2, notebook 26
 - 5 L VI 580-81
 - 6 L VI 583, 585
 - 7 L VI 582; E.C.Clayton English Female Artists I 408

The Two Founts, originally entitled "To Eliza in pain"¹. He later copied the lines into Mrs Aders's album².

On 15 June Crabb Robinson listened to Irving gloomily proclaiming at Highgate "God's vengeance against the nation for its irreligion", followed by Coleridge criticising Irving's views on the Prophets³. Coleridge was deeply disturbed by the new tendency of Irving's beliefs. Irving had recently become acquainted with one of Hookham Frere's brothers, a writer on prophecy, James Hatley Frere, "a pious and well-meaning but gloomy & enthusiastic Calvinist". James Frere so impressed Irving that he began to preach long sermons on the Second Coming "to the serious detriment of his health, and the bewilderment of his Auditors"⁴. Coleridge regarded his views as "Delusion, of a very serious nature", and had invited him to Highgate several months before to go through the "Apocalypse" and the Book of Daniel, his main sources, with him line by line⁵. But this was of no avail, although Irving confessed to Crabb Robinson that Coleridge had almost convinced him that he was a bibliolatr⁶. Coleridge told Robinson that he believed Irving to be "mad in the juridical sense of the word", unsettled by flattery which stimulated his "exorbitant vanity"⁷. Irving's sermons gradually became more heretical. A prosecution for heresy of his The Orthodox and Catholic Doctrine of our Lord's Human Nature in 1830 failed because he withdrew from the jurisdiction of the London presbytery. The

1 L VI 582, 662

2 L VI 662

3 Robinson's Diary II 330

4 L VI 550, 556-57

5 L VI 570

6 Robinson's Diary II 330

7 Robinson on Blake, Coleridge etc. 88

trustees of the Regent Square Church removed him in 1832 and he founded the "Holy Catholic Apostolic Church". He lost his standing as a Church of Scotland minister in 1833 when he was found guilty of heresy, and later he was suspended by his own congregation in London¹.

Coleridge was looking forward to the arrival of Sara from the Lake District. She was expected in July but became unwell soon after starting and was taken back to Greta Hall by her mother. The journey was postponed until September². The new delay caused Coleridge some disappointment but he realised that Sara's disappointment would be even greater. For he had just been told of Sara's engagement to Henry, of which he disapproved because they were first cousins:

The motives ordinarily assigned for the prohibition under the highest penalty of marriages between Brothers and Sisters apply with diminished force ... against marriages between First Cousins³.

However he was quite prepared to accept the Church's ruling giving consent to such marriages⁴, because he shrank from the thought that his refusal of consent would leave Sara "condemned to a miserable Heart-wasting". He grudgingly consented to their marriage, although he remained uncertain and uneasy about the situation and asked Daniel Stuart's opinion⁵.

He was displeased with his nephews during the Summer of 1826. Derwent was about to take Orders at last, and Coleridge felt that Henry was not sufficiently using his influence with the Bishop of Barbados to assist Derwent in his search for a curacy. A letter from Henry in which

1 D.N.B. "Edward Irving"

2 L VI 587, 589

3 B.M.MS. Egerton 2800 f.151; see also Table Talk 10 June 1824

4 Table Talk 10 June 1824

5 L VI 590-91, 604; E.L.Griggs Coleridge Fille 60-61

he subscribed himself "your dutiful nephew" was received with a sardonic smile. Edward had also been engaged to influence the Bishop, but Coleridge feared that his own reputation with the influential clergy was not sufficiently "High Church". "I have little doubt, indeed none, that your episcopal Cousin has contrived to sigh & look sad or remain intelligibly silent whenever my name was mentioned." Lady Beaumont was not successful in her attempts to influence the Bishop of London, and Samuel Mence, the Highgate clergyman, also tried to be of assistance. Coleridge tried to be optimistic in letters to Derwent: "Be assured, nothing shall be lost from any neglect on my part"¹. Derwent was ordained as a Deacon by the Bishop of Exeter on 29 October. For a short time he served as curate to his cousin, Rev. James Duke Coleridge, in Cornwall. In 1827 he became master of the grammar school at Helston in Cornwall, where he remained until 1841².

For much of the Summer Coleridge acted as Gillman's secretary. Charles Augustus Tulk had asked Gillman about Winchester Hall, a large house nearby, which had been put up for sale. It had belonged to Thomas Hurst, a partner in Longman and Co., the publishers, but his activities in attempting to assist his brother's failing publishing firm, Hurst, Robinson and Co., had forced him into bankruptcy. The assignees of the bankruptcy had decided to sell his house at auction, but in mid-August Gillman obtained their promise to give Tulk first refusal³. Despite a growing feeling of distress and pain, Coleridge acted as Gillman's amanuensis throughout the negotiations. His ill-health lasted for

1 L VI 585, 586-87

2 L VI 658 n 2; D.N.B. "Derwent Coleridge"

3 L VI 605; The Auto-Biography of John Britton I 209 n

several months¹. Green was unable to diagnose the cause, but was

inclined to think the ganglionic System, pectoral & abdominal, to be the seat of the disorder - the more so, from the worst sufferings being in sleep, and my greatest weakness and languor during the two or three hours after my last Sleep².

Tulk declined to accept their advice to offer more, and offered only £5500 for Winchester Hall. This was refused and the assignees sold the house at public auction³.

The first draft of Coleridge's poem Duty Surviving Self-Love is dated 2 September 1826 and is ostensibly his answer to the question "Am I the happier for my Philosophy"⁴. He may have been reminded of poetry by the appearance in The Times on 29 August of Thomas Moore's poem entitled "A Vision, by the author of Christabel", which forced Coleridge to write to the editor denying all knowledge of it⁵.

On 9 September he dined at Colebrook Cottage, the home of Charles and Mary Lamb, where he met the dramatist, Frederick Mansell Reynolds⁶. On another occasion when Coleridge dined at the Lambs that summer another guest described Coleridge's meeting with the poet, Thomas Hood. When the evening was late, Coleridge walked the three or four miles back to Highgate, after affectionate farewells from Lamb, "as if they had been boys", and a parting kiss from Mary⁷.

Sara Coleridge arrived in London on 17 September⁸. Mrs Coleridge had been determined that Sara should make the journey because she knew that the uncertainty of her long engagement was undermining Sara's

1 L VI 605

2 L VI 607

3 L VI 610, 614, 682

4 The Poetical Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge ed. J.D.Campbell 642-43

5 L VI 606; Memoirs, Journal and Correspondence of Thomas Moore, ed. Lord John Russell V 100

6 Lamb Letters III 59

7 anon. article in Monthly Repository (1835) 162-69

8 B.M.MS. 47524 f.1, notebook 26

precarious health, and also because she was afraid that Coleridge's health might decline and so necessitate an indefinite postponement, or even, as her earlier anxiety about the premium of his insurance policy indicates, that Sara's journey might be prevented by his death¹. Sara remained at The Grove until 8 October when Coleridge and Mrs Gillman left for Ramsgate², after which she went to the home of John Taylor Coleridge again for the winter, although she was a frequent visitor to Highgate. In John's home in Torrington Square she made herself useful, as she had at Greta Hall with Southey's children, teaching John Duke Coleridge, John's oldest child, in preparation for his going to school³. Coleridge carefully made a list in one of his notebooks of the names and ages of John's four children⁴. Henry Nelson Coleridge was out of town when Sara arrived, but wrote to John that he would be "glad to be remembered to her"⁵. They were soon reunited. Sara had thought that "it was impossible to love him better than I did in absence but I feel the chain grow tighter and tighter every day"⁶. Henry's methodical record of Coleridge's conversation had halted in 1824 before his journey to the West Indies, and he had not resumed it on his return in 1825. In January 1827 he presented Sara with a notebook containing fifty-seven items which later became part of Table Talk, in the front of which he wrote:

These are all the Memorabilia, my love, I have. It would be well worth your while to be very attentive to your father's conversation, when you are with him, and endeavour afterwards to preserve some of it, as I have done. Especially as he talks to you on plainer subjects.

His record of Coleridge's conversation was resumed on 24 February 1827⁷.

1 E.L.Griggs Coleridge Fille 61; Minnow 132

2 L VI 657

3 Life and Correspondence of John Duke, Lord Coleridge ed. E.H.Coleridge I 21

4 B.M.MS. 47524 f.99, notebook 26

5 B.M.MS. 47557 ff.78-79, 29 Sep.1826

6 E.L.Griggs Coleridge Fille 61

7 Table Talk 24 Feb.1827; E.L.Griggs Coleridge Fille 61

Coleridge always tried to assist or advise the many acquaintances and strangers who wrote to him. He helped Lamb's friend, Samuel Bloxam, to obtain a job at Eton with the aid of Edward Coleridge¹. To another applicant, T.J.Ouseley, he had to explain his financial circumstances. "I do not possess as many shillings as you mention pounds; and ... if I were arrested for a debt of eight sovereigns, I have no other means of procuring the money but by the sale of my books."² He patiently explained to an acquaintance, a Mrs Morgan, that he could not secure a present or former pupil of Christ's Hospital to tutor her children³. And his attempt to assist a German artist, Madame von Predl, ended disastrously. He believed that a good portrait of him would help establish her reputation, and she produced several excellent likenesses of his friends and a good portrait of Coleridge in chalk. But she could not translate the chalk portrait into a good likeness in oils, and he was forced to ask Mrs Aders to explain to her that he would not pay her fee of thirty guineas for it. "Madame's deafness & mode of pronouncing German and my own difficulty in understanding German except when slowly and distinctly spoken" had prevented him from explaining to her. Mrs Aders's assistance soon solved the misunderstanding⁴.

Mrs Gillman was again unwell, and Coleridge suffered many sleepless nights because of his abdominal pains. Green and Gillman prescribed "change of Scene & Salt-water Hot Bathing", and it was decided that Coleridge should accompany Mrs Gillman and, at Mrs Gillman's insistence, Susan Steel, to Ramsgate on 8 October⁵. While they were away, Gillman

1 Lamb Letters III 54; L VI 647

2 L VI 607

3 L VI 619

4 L VI 588, 652-54

5 L VI 619, 623, 648, 657

would effect some alterations to the house, including rebuilding Coleridge's garret, "transforming its original sloping ceiling ... into rectangular dignity", which gave Coleridge an additional excuse for going to Ramsgate: "the smell of paint is poison to me"¹. A timely gift from Daniel Stuart solved any financial problems, and they were settled at Ramsgate by 11 October².

The usual dramatic improvement in Mrs Gillman's health from exercise and fresh air was halted only a few days after their arrival by news from Highgate that Gillman had been thrown from his gig and badly bruised³. A second, more severe, shock for them both came in a letter from Edward Coleridge requesting that Henry Gillman be removed at once from Eton⁴, apparently for insolence to Edward⁵. Gillman did not know what to do; he was still shocked by his recent accident and busily involved with the workmen who were doing the alterations in the house. "'I have ... such a sinking within me, and ... such a feeling of weakness & despondency, that I dare not rely on my own judgement'."⁶ He asked Coleridge to act for him⁷. Instead of going himself to Eton, as he had the previous year, Coleridge suggested to Gillman that James be sent to Eton to bring Henry back to Ramsgate until his future could be decided⁸. In a letter to Edward, Coleridge defended the Gillmans' ambition for their children:

1 L VI 650; L.E.Watson Coleridge at Highgate 51

2 L VI 623, 623 n 1

3 L VI 633, 641-42, 644

4 L VI 641

5 L VI 646-47

6 L VI 642-43

7 L VI 643

8 L VI 640-41, 648

you are too well aware, how much our family (with the single exception of myself occasioned by my father's sudden Death) owe to your Grandmother's maternal ambition, to condemn the same aspirations, the same forward-looking schemes and wishes in Mrs Gillman¹.

Henry was so shaken by his sudden removal from Eton that he fell into a fever. It became worse when he was told that the headmaster of a school to which his parents wanted him to go refused to take him, fearing "the moral corruption that was likely to be imparted by any boy fresh from Eton"². The remainder of their stay at Ramsgate was unhappy - "5 weeks of such continued heart-ache may I never know again"³. Coleridge's distress was increased by the news from Mrs Coleridge in the Lake District of Hartley's irresponsible behaviour since the closure of the Ambleside school the previous Autumn. With the release of all restraint Hartley had reverted to his earlier habits of procrastination and irregularity. He was again trying to support himself by writing. Alaric Watts had accepted some contributions from him for his literary annual, The Literary Souvenir⁴, and John Wilson was trying to make him a regular contributor to Blackwood's Magazine. Once he kept Hartley imprisoned "for some weeks" to finish a contribution, after which to everyone's surprise Hartley fled from the house at full speed, "until the sound of his far-off footsteps gradually died away in the distance"⁵. Southey, however, subsequently discovered that Hartley's occasional stays at inns in the district were probably not occasioned by alcoholism:

1 L VI 643

2 L VI 645

3 L VI 645-47, 658

4 Minnow 133

5 Letters of Hartley Coleridge ed. G.E. and E.L.Griggs 94-95

it is not the love of liquor that leads him into the alehouses which he prefers to all other places of abode, - for we know, by his bills, that he drinks little there, - but a strange perverse principle of action, - a sort of wilful desperation - as if it were a determination of making himself as miserable as all circumstances of squalid & loathsome wretchedness can make him¹.

Despite his gloom and "wretchedness of mind" Coleridge tried to find out from Henry why he had behaved to Edward as he had. He could detect no sign of "moral deterioration", and the only reason he could discover for Henry's behaviour was that he had been persuaded by school-friends that Edward had been unfair to him, "and his Idleness, no doubt, aiding the operation of this ear-poison, he got into one of his wilful moods"². Coleridge's distress and bewilderment slowly turned to anger, and before he returned to Highgate he was convinced that Henry had been treated unfairly: "the whole charge against the child was smoke, & my nephew has betrayed throughout a deplorable want of Temper, Sense and Delicacy"³. He passed on to Edward a cordial invitation from the Gillmans to visit Highgate during the Christmas holidays, but, although the few references to Edward in subsequent letters are politely friendly, no later letters from Coleridge to Edward are extant, and they seem to have dropped each other's acquaintance⁴.

Coleridge was confined to his lodgings during the last three weeks of the holiday at Ramsgate by an acute attack of erysipelas, which severely ulcerated his leg. With Mrs Gillman and Susan Steel he returned to Highgate on 14 December, and Gillman bandaged the leg until it healed⁵.

1 B.M.MS. 47553 ff.129-30, Southey to John Taylor Coleridge 9 Jan.1827

2 L VI 648, 650

3 L VI 658

4 L VI 647, 662 etc.

5 L VI 654, 658

With the aid of Samuel Mence a place was eventually found for Henry Gillman in Dr Butler's Free Grammar School in Shrewsbury, where Henry was sent on 31 January¹. The Gillmans' elder son, James, now head boy at the Merchant Taylors' School, had won a place at St John's College, Oxford, where he would matriculate on 25 June 1827².

Gillman's alterations to the house, especially the rebuilding of the attic room, pleased Coleridge. "G. has done wonders."³ Edward Irving and Basil Montagu were invited to Highgate to meet Thomas Poole, who made one of his infrequent journeys to London in January 1827⁴. Coleridge was still busy helping others. He corrected poems submitted to him by one caller⁵, and wrote to Viscount Dudley and Ward, the Marquess of Lansdown, Henry Brougham and Sir James Mackintosh to recommend Hyman Hurwitz for the new Chair of Hebrew Language and Literature at London University⁶. Hurwitz was elected to the Chair in 1828. Thomas Allsop's Derbyshire mining venture had failed during the economic depression and he was now "a ruined man"⁷. He had not visited Coleridge for several months, but had found the Lambs "never wanting in my hour of need"⁸. Lamb went to Highgate on 2 February 1827 to explain his predicament to Coleridge, who at once wrote to Allsop begging him to call at Highgate and "disburthen your whole mind & feelings to us"⁹ Lamb noticed that

1 L VI 647, 665

2 L VI 659; A.W.Gillman The Gillmans of Highgate 23

3 L VI 658-59

4 L VI 661-62

5 L VI 666

6 L VI 668, 709-10

7 Robinson on Writers I 344

8 T.Allsop Letters, Conversations and Recollections 124

9 L VI 667

Coleridge seemed more confident than usual of his ability to help his friend. "Something, I believe, is doing for him."¹

Lamb was quite correct. Coleridge had begun to exert himself, "not half as early as I ought to have done"², to secure the pension promised him as a result of Hookham Frere's influential activities during the summer of 1826³. Mrs Aders informed Coleridge in January 1827 that an application by her brother-in-law for a sinecure, which had recently fallen vacant on the death of the incumbent, William Gifford, had been refused because the place, Paymaster of the Gentlemen-Pensioners, worth £1000 a year, "was reserved for Mr Coleridge". "Not hearing any further" Coleridge wrote, as Frere had advised him, to Viscount Dudley and Ward who was in Brighton, and received a "very kind" reply on 10 February promising to speak to Lord Liverpool when Dudley returned from Brighton, which would be in approximately ten days. However, before Dudley returned, Lord Liverpool suffered a paralytic stroke on 17 February, which completely incapacitated him. He was rarely conscious for the remainder of his life and died on 4 December 1828⁴. Unsure of what to do, Coleridge desperately appealed to Mrs Aders and Daniel Stuart on 20 February for advice⁵.

I declare to God, that if the Faces before me (N.B. my Daughter is with us) did not remind me too forcibly of an urgent Duty, I should not, nay could not, have mingled the grief, I feel as a man & an Englishman, with any regret respecting my own Loss or Gain⁶.

1 L VI 667; Lamb Letters III 71-72

2 L VI 670

3 see above pp. 1792; L VI 539 n 3

4 L VI 669-70 and notes

5 L VI 670, 671

6 L VI 671

He begged them to act as quickly as possible: "I am quite sure, that you will not follow the bad example of S.T.C. in the procrastination of his duty to himself"¹

Dudley's reply to a second letter from Coleridge was "remarkable cold". He agreed however that Coleridge should write to Liverpool's successor, George Canning. "In the meantime, the King himself filled up the Place."² Canning promised "to have done some thing for me instead - and Enteritis cried, Veto"³. Canning's death on 8 August gave "the settling Blow" to Coleridge's hopes of a pension⁴. "And God knows, I grieved so much more for their Deaths than for my own Loss, that but on poor Hartley's account I should not have heaved the 9th part of a sigh for the latter."⁵

Sir George Beaumont died on 7 February, leaving several bequests to old Lakeland friends, including £100 to Mrs Coleridge, £100 to Southey, and £100 a year for life to Wordsworth, who wished to keep the bequest secret. Coleridge, however, received nothing. Lamb was indignant, fearing that it "seemed to mark Coleridge with a stigma". If Beaumont had believed Coleridge was "a scamp", he should not have continued to invite him to dinner. Sara reported to her mother that Coleridge "expressed no sentiment but sorrow for the loss of his esteemed friend". She was obviously not aware that Coleridge believed Beaumont's exclusion

1 L VI 671

2 L VI 680

3 L VI 705

4 L VI 701, 705

5 L VI 705

of him from his Will was "an implicit but trumpet-tongued Brand on my Honor & character", and that he blamed Mrs Coleridge and the "Spirit of Calumny from the North and from the South", to which she had "so long unthinkingly lent her aid in her rash and God knows! most unjust speeches & the impressions made & permitted to be made even on my own children!"¹

Only a few of Coleridge's poems had been published in periodicals during the last few years². But like most of his literary contemporaries he now began to find himself increasingly in demand among the editors and proprietors of the newly fashionable literary annuals. Alaric Watts, the proprietor of The Literary Souvenir, had been carefully cultivating him for some time, sending him copies of the annual for 1825, 1826 and 1827. Coleridge had sold him The Exchange for the 1826 number, and the issue for 1827 contained Coleridge's Lines suggested by the last Words of Berengarius and Epitaphium Testamentarium. Watts did not accept his Sancti Dominici Pallium, but asked if he might publish it in the first number of the Standard, on which he was a sub-editor, where it appeared on 21 May³. S.C.Hall, who founded The Amulet in 1826, also came to terms with Coleridge for two hundred lines. Hall received a large amount of material from him, but it must have arrived too late for inclusion in the issue for 1827⁴. Coleridge's relationship with Hall was very unpleasant, and he subsequently had many complaints about his treatment. Hall selected The Improvisatore for The Amulet of 1828, paying Coleridge only £10 instead of the £20 he had offered. Before returning the other

1 L VI 680-81; Minnow 137; C.R.Leslie Autobiographical Recollections ed. T.Taylor I 54

2 see Wise 239-40

3 L VI 659-60 and notes, 713-14, 713 n 5; Lamb Letters II 449

4 L VI 698 n 1

material to Coleridge he copied "the Brocken letters" and used them in the 1829 issue without payment, causing Coleridge, who had in the interim signed an agreement to contribute exclusively to another annual, The Keepsake, a great deal of embarrassment¹.

On 25 February Coleridge reported excitedly to Daniel Stuart that a publisher, William Pickering, had offered to publish a collected edition of Coleridge's poetical works, which would be superintended by Gillman and Robert Jameson, a boyhood friend of Hartley's from Ambleside². Coleridge had decided that all his share of the profits of this edition would go to Gillman³, and busied himself collecting poems together. The edition was originally planned as four volumes, but lack of material reduced it to three despite Pickering's insistence that it should include not only poems already published but also "much that had far better in their present state have remained unpublished". Coleridge rapidly became disenchanted with Pickering and began to fear that Gillman might not benefit as expected from the edition - "never receive a pickled herring from this Pickering"⁴.

1 L VI 698 n 1, 699-700; see below pp. 228-29

2 L V 225, VI 672

3 L VI 700, 703; see also A.W.Gillman The Gillmans of Highgate 20

4 L VI 699-700; A.W.Gillman The Gillmans of Highgate 20

CHAPTER 8. APRIL 1827 - DECEMBER 1829

Coleridge had always been very fond of flowers, and enjoyed the red roses with which Gillman had replanted the garden of The Grove. Neighbours sent presents of flowers, and Mrs. Gillman ensured that he had flowers in his garret¹. The myrtle was one of his favourite plants, for its beauty and its classical associations with poetical honour. A bouquet given him on 3 May by Mrs. Gillman, which contained a slip of myrtle, moved him to record his gratitude in a short note. "He who has once possessed and prized a genuine Myrtle will rather remember it under the Cypress Tree, than seek to forget it among the Rose-bushes of a Paradise."²

On 10 May Irving and Montagu introduced Dr. Thomas Chalmers at one of his Thursday evening gatherings, where Chalmers remained for three hours³. On the following Sunday Gillman took Coleridge to the "new National Scotch Church" to listen to Chalmers preaching, and also to attend the baptism of Irving's daughter, Mary⁴. A few days later Coleridge was told that John Watson, Gillman's former assistant, recently returned from Germany, was in a "hopeless state of consumption". He found himself unable to pray for Watson's recovery, "it was not in my power - I could not pray in faith - It would have been a form of prayer on the Lip".⁵ Before Watson went abroad again Coleridge presented him with a copy of Aids to Reflection. Watson died on 9 July, and Coleridge and Mrs. Gillman "wept together over his mother's letter".⁶

1 L.E. Watson Coleridge at Highgate 52

2 L VI 678; L.E. Watson Coleridge at Highgate 132, 134-35

3 W. Hanna Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers III 160

4 B.M.MS. 47524 f. 104, notebook 26

5 B.M.MS. 47524 f. 108, notebook 26

6 L VI 693 and n 2

In June Coleridge acknowledged the receipt of a presentation copy of William Sotheby's Georgica Publii Virgilii Maronis Hexaglotta - "it shall be, as far as the full and earnest expression of my Will can make it such, a Heirloom in my Family; which I shall, D V, deliver to my Daughter on her Wedding Day".¹ He bequeathed Sotheby's polyglot Georgics in his Will to Sara, to be given to her daughter in due course.² On Sara's wedding day he inscribed the same wish on the fly-leaf of the volume³.

Although he told Blanco White that he disliked the Standard because of "the vampire attacks and malignant Personalities on Mr. Canning, with which the Paper infamized itself",⁴ the publication in it of his Sancti Dominici Pallium was followed by the inclusion of one of his epigrams in the issue for 29 June. "If it would be of any service beyond the mere filling a gap, I will send him a Sheet-full."⁵ Coleridge became increasingly friendly with the editor of the Standard, Alaric Watts, and began to make frequent visits to Watts's family in their home at Regent's Park. Mrs. Watts believed his friendship with her husband was built less on any philosophical agreement than on "a certain harmony of critical taste in poetry, and a substantial agreement of opinion in politics". Their son, born in 1827, was named after him, Francis Coleridge Watts, and Mrs. Watts was pleased to be told that Mrs. Gillman "had been good enough to say she was rather jealous of me".⁶ Their "harmony of critical taste"

1 L VI 691

2 L VI 1000

3 L VI 692 n 1

4 L VI 713-14

5 L VI 695

6 A.A. Watts Alaric Watts. A Narrative of his Life I 242-43

led Coleridge to suggest that Watts might assist him with his planned edition of Shakespeare, "with notes that should bonâ fide explain what for the general Reader needs explanation, as briefly as possible, and with the expulsion of all antiquarian Rubbish". The notes, prefaces and analyses would embody "five and twenty Years' Study", and would attempt to "distinguish and ascertain what Shakespear possessed in common with other great Men of his Age ... and what was & is peculiar to himself". Although he even asked Watts to discuss the edition with a publisher, there is no subsequent mention of this project¹.

The presentation to him of a new notebook² on 25 July by Green began the series of memorandum books entitled "Fly-Catchers", dedicated primarily to the recording of religious and philosophical thoughts. Subsequent notebooks were carefully numbered and used consecutively as "Fly-Cathers", although on at least one occasion he used the wrong notebook in the series³. In May 1833 he began a new series, having filled eighteen notebooks in the first series⁴.

The difference between the style in these Note-books ... and that in a work adapted to publication is this: that the former represents the order in which the Truths were arrived at, the latter the order, in which, after the Thinker has them collectively before him, & can command them in a Synopsis, he judges the best suited to communicate them to another⁵

They were usually used immediately before going to bed and often also in sleepless moments during the night, whenever a thought occurred to him⁶.

Green's visits on Sundays had become less regular, and he now came often to the Thursday evening gatherings⁷. Many of Coleridge's visitors

1 L VI 695

2 B.M.MS.47528, notebook 33

3 B.M.MS. 47541 f.1, notebook 46

4 B.M.MS. 47545, 47546, notebooks 50, 51

5 B.M.MS. 47528 f. 1, notebook 33

6 e.g. B.M.MS. 47538 f. 14, notebook 43

7 L VI 697

were from Cambridge University, especially Trinity College. One of them, John Sterling, first came to Highgate on 23 August to meet the author of Aids to Reflection. He may have been introduced by Julius Charles Hare¹. Sterling wrote a seven-page record of Coleridge's conversation at their first meeting, for circulation among his friends². Sterling was in Coleridge's company for three hours, of which Coleridge talked for two and three-quarter hours. He seemed to Sterling "somewhat formally courteous"; he laughed gently, spoke "perhaps rather slowly" with the strongest appearance of conviction, but not violently. His language was "sometimes harsh - sometimes careless - often quaint". But it pained Sterling to see how his eyes glittered - "a light half unearthly half morbid" - and his cheeks were flushed with over-excitement. "His conversation - or rather his monologue - is by far the most interesting I ever heard".³ Sterling left Cambridge that year without a degree⁴, and did not return to Highgate again until 1 May 1828⁵, after which he returned many times, believing that he profited greatly from his visits⁶.

1 D.N.B. "John Sterling"; see below p.284

2 N.L.S. MS. 1765 ff. 62-68; the MS differs frequently from the transcription in Hare's life of Sterling prefixed to Essays and Tales of John Sterling ed. J.C. Hare xv - xxvi

3 N.L.S. MS 1765 ff. 66-68

4 Essays and Tales of John Sterling ed. J.C. Hare xxxii

5 N.L.S. MS. 1765 f.95

6 A.K. Tuell John Sterling 240-41; Essays and Tales of John Sterling ed. J.C. Hare x - xlvi; D.N.B. "John Sterling"

Coleridge had been in almost constant pain for several months, and also suffered from "a depression of spirits". His usual inability to open any letter he received now increased - "I literally am afraid to open it".¹ He had been negotiating with S.C. Hall for payment for his poem, The Improvisatore, contributed to The Amulet for 1828, but having received nothing from Hall, he had no money for his annual holiday at Ramsgate. "With extreme reluctance" he asked Daniel Stuart on 4 October for £30, the sum Stuart had given him to go to Ramsgate for the last three years². He explained that the Gillmans and Sara were very anxious about his health, but could not themselves afford to subsidise a visit to the seaside. "FOR GOD'S SAKE, do not think the worse, or feel the less kindly, of me for this letter."³ Stuart's order for £30 arrived four days later and Coleridge accompanied the Gillmans to Ramsgate on 4 October⁴.

Gillman was unable to remain at Ramsgate for more than a few days, returning to London by sea, his first voyage in a steamship⁵. Coleridge sent him reports of the improvement in Mrs. Gillman's health, and his own sea-bathing. He felt "as well as a man of my age with diabetes and intestinal torpor with pruritis senilis Scroti can be or I in particular have any right to expect".⁶ He was sufficiently well on 23 October to attend the consecration of St. George's Church, Ramsgate, "& I liked the service & the Anthem (admirably sung) and the Sermon".⁷

1 L VI 697

2 L VI 699, 703

3 L VI 703

4 L VI 704, 707

5 L VI 706; L.E. Watson Coleridge at Highgate 135

6 L VI 706-07

7 L VI 706, 708

The first payment of £5 from S.C. Hall for The Improvisatore arrived on 14 November. He eventually received an additional payment of £5 for it in January 1828¹.

For the first time, however, he was unhappy at Ramsgate. After only five weeks he decided to return alone to Highgate on 20 November,

and nothing but my too well grounded [fears] in the Strength of my will when tasked to persevere in saying No! where the Feelings of another are interesting [interested] in my saying, yes! stands in the way of my adding - for ever²

He travelled to Margate where he hoped to join the steamship, but its departure was delayed by bad weather, and he had to travel to London by coach through a heavy snowstorm³. Although he was in fact to agree the following year to accompany Mrs. Gillman to Ramsgate, that was his last visit until 1833, the year before he died⁴.

When he arrived at Highgate, he was "stunned" by complaints from Alaric Watts and Blanco White about The Bijou, a literary annual launched in 1828 by William Pickering. It contained not only a poem, Youth and Age, which Coleridge had promised to give Watts for The Literary Souvenir of 1828, but also an unpublished sonnet of White's, Night and Death, addressed to Coleridge. W. Fraser, the editor of The Bijou, which Coleridge had never heard of before, had apparently obtained five of his poems from Pickering after Gillman had persuaded the reluctant Coleridge to include them in his forthcoming Poetical Works, published by Pickering. Fraser had not only printed them all without permission, but had also added an "impudent" expression of gratitude to Coleridge, who, he said, had "in the most liberal manner, permitted the Editor to select what he pleased from all his unpublished MSS...." The poems had been printed from almost illegible

1 L VI 708, 721, 801

2 B.M.MS. 47530 f. 46, notebooks 35

3 B.M.MS. 47530 f. 46, notebook 35

4 L VI 764-66; see below pp.

manuscripts and were "(as how should they be otherwise, no Proof having been sent?) infamously incorrect!"¹ And the crowning insult was that Coleridge was not sent a copy of the annual or any "pecuniary acknowledgement".² Alaric Watts could only print a note in the Preface of The Literary Souvenir, pointing out that Youth and Age had appeared in another annual, and concluding: "I can only say, that I received it from the author, as a contribution to the Literary Souvenir". He also printed the poem in the Standard and the St James Chronicle on 20 October.

In the weeks after his return from Ramsgate Coleridge also had to reply to a reminder from the Royal Society of Literature about his next paper. He promised to set to work at once and finish it, an interpretation of Prometheus, within the week. It would be "more literary at least and more likely to be easily understood than my first attempt". But he failed to carry out his intention, and in 1828 confessed that he had deliberately left unopened "Remembrancers" from the Society³.

He had never seen his future daughter-in-law, Mary Pridham, who married Derwent on 6 December. But he expressed his happiness at the prospect in the poem To Mary Pridham, which he inscribed on the first page of an album presented to her on her wedding day⁴. Only a few days after he had written the poem, Henry Nelson Coleridge travelled out to Highgate to inform him that his brother, Rev. George Coleridge, was dying. Coleridge piously remembered the best part of his relationship with George, "the only one of my Brothers who from my 12th to my 22nd year did act a brother's part by me & whom for many a year after that I loved tho' with a filial rather than a fraternal affection".⁵

1 L VI 710, 759

2 L VI 759

3 L VI 712, 725

4 L VI 705; The Poems of Samuel Taylor Coleridge ed. E.H. Coleridge 468, 468 n 1

5 L VI 719

The breach in their relationship had arisen out of "My Cambridge Eccentric Movements, with my connection with the Unitarians and Liberals of Bristol, & imprudent Marriage", and despite a partial reconciliation in 1800, "the more important differences of character, habits, aims and ends - constituted an alienation".¹ George Coleridge died on 12 January 1828 after dictating a letter for Coleridge,² who wrote to George's son, George May Coleridge, that he could not remember once since leaving Cambridge when "I have either thought, felt, spoken or intentionally acted ... in relation to my Brother, otherwise than as one who loved in him Father and Brother in one".³ This may have impressed George May Coleridge, but, for us, too many epistolary references have survived⁴ for this claim to read anything other than "curiously".⁵

On 25 December he took Communion in the Church of England for the first time since 1793, his first year at Cambridge. He recognised the tremendous significance of the act - "I have now made the last sacrifice required of a Christian - I have sacrificed my Reason on the altar of Faith".⁶ He was seriously ill during December and January. Another attack of erysipelas lamed him, and when he learned that George's death was blamed on an abscessed liver, he began to fear that his own recurrent abdominal pains indicated the same disease.⁷

1 L I 570; B.M.MS. 47531 f.47, notebook 36

2 Minnow 142

3 L VI 720

4 e.g. L II 756, III 25, 31, 102-104 and n n., 252, etc.

5 The word is E.K. Chambers's - see Samuel Taylor Coleridge 314

6 B.M.MS. 47531 ff. 32, 47, notebook 36; see ~~above~~ pp 182-84

7 L VI 722; B.M.MS. 47531 f. 47, notebook 36.

I have no wish to have my life prolonged but what is involved in the wish to complete the views, I have taken, of Life as beginning in separation from Nature and ending in Union with God, and to reduce to an intelligible if not artistical form the results of my religious, biblical and ecclesiastical Lucubrations¹.

By mid-February he had placed his manuscripts in some semblance of order, so that "should He call me tomorrow", Green would find little difficulty in publishing them². In May he wrote out in a notebook a "detailed synopsis" of his Magnum Opus³.

He recovered slowly over the first few months of 1828, and was stirred into activity by a decision of the Mercers' Company to declare vacant the Exhibition now held by Derwent. "I am ashamed to confess that for the last three or four months mistaking the letters from the Clerk of the Mercer's Company for Remembrancers from the Royal Society of Literature ... I never opened them." He had merely to obtain a certificate from one of the Fellows of Derwent's College that he had not absented himself without leave, and Derwent would be paid the arrears due since 1823 and "the 25 or 30£ yearly" until the end of the Exhibition, which was eventually withdrawn on Lady Day 1829. On 27 February Coleridge paid £90 from the Mercers' Company into Derwent's bank account. Unfortunately Derwent's Goldsmiths' Company Exhibition had been allowed to lapse⁴.

Although he was weakened by his illness, his Thursday evening parties continued⁵. He dined at Green's on 19 February, where he read

1 L VI 722-23

2 L VI 724

3 B.M.MS. 47532, notebook 37; A.D. Snyder Coleridge on Logic and Learning 3-8

4 L VI 725, 727, 728 n 2, 729; B.M.MS. 47532 f.12, notebook 37

5 L VI 732

Leigh Hunt's unflattering description of him in Lord Byron and Some of His Contemporaries. "I have not laughed so loud and long for many a month".¹ But a few months later Thomas Colley Grattan learned that the character sketch had greatly annoyed him². Coleridge also accompanied Sara on a visit to Lady Beaumont, who urged him to resume writing poetry.

Alas! how can I? - Is the power extinct? No! No! scarce a week of my Life shuffles by, that does not at some moment feel the spur of the old genial impulse - even so do there fall on my inward Ear swells, and broken snatches of sweet Melody, reminding me that I still have that within me which is both Harp and Breeze. But in the same moment awakes the Sense of Change without - Life unendeared. The tenderest Strings no longer thrill'd.³

He wrote to Lockhart, the new editor of the Quarterly Review, offering an article on the first volume of W.F.P. Napier's History of the War in the Peninsula and in the South of France, and mentioning his work for the Critical Quarterly in 1797, which he believed qualified him as a reviewer thirty-one years later. "I shall be assisted in forming a sane judgement by a military Man, of deservedly high chracter ... who was in Spain."⁴ This was Charles William Pasley, whom he had known since his stay in Malta⁵. No such article appeared in the Quarterly Review. On 19 April one of his epigrams was printed in the Berkshire Chronicle, signed "W.R.". He wrote in complaint to the editor, pointing out that the epigram had recently appeared in the Standard. "I should not notice the imposition but that the quarter in which it occurs is of such high respectability."⁶

1 L VI 729

2 T.C. Grattan Beaten Paths and Those who Trod Them II 137

3 L VI 731; MS quoted in L VI 731 n 1

4 L VI 733-35

5 see D.E. Sultana Samuel Taylor Coleridge in Malta and Italy passim

6 L VI 735

He was invited to a large dinner party given on 22 April by William Sotheby. Also present were Sir Walter Scott, Lockhart, Scott's friend J.B.S. Morritt of Rokeby, and James Fenimore Cooper, the American novelist. During dinner Coleridge was silent, but afterwards he amazed (and amused) Scott by "a most learned harangue" on the origin of all fairy-stories in the Samothracian mysteries, after which he moved on to state the theory he had recently learned from Vico's Scienza Nuova, that Homer's Iliad was "a collection of poems by different authors at different times during a century". Morritt and Sotheby, who were both interested in the Homeric canon, opposed him. "Mr. Coleridge behaved with the utmost complaisance and temper but relaxd not from his exertions."¹ A few days later, at Sotheby's suggestion, Fenimore Cooper called at Highgate. Coleridge talked for the entire visit. "If Coleridge was scholastic and redundant, it was because he could not help himself; ... it was a sort of boiling over of the pot on account of the intense heat beneath."²

On Sunday 27 April Coleridge's brother, Colonel James Coleridge, called on him at Highgate, and invited him to visit Ottery St Mary in the Autumn with Henry Nelson Coleridge³. This was their first meeting since the engagement of Sara and Henry, to which James had at first objected. Subsequent attempts to obtain his approval had been delayed by his ill-health, but now James had expressed his approval of the engagement, and although two more years would elapse before they could marry, the ultimate realisation of their hopes was assured⁴.

1 The Journal of Sir Walter Scott ed. W.E.K. Anderson 462; Table Talk 12 May 1830 n ; J.F. Cooper Gleanings in Europe ed. R.E. Spiller II 157-63

2 J.F. Cooper Gleanings in Europe ed. R.E. Spiller II 332-34; L VI 736

3 L VI 736; Minnow 142

4 Minnow 142; E.L. Griggs Coleridge Fille 53-54, 62

Coleridge was concerned when Green began canvassing for the Chair of Surgery at the new King's College, London. He not only feared "party purposes" in the establishment of the College to rival the University of London (later known as University College), but was also concerned that Green might be forced to abandon his increasingly lucrative private practice in order to lecture¹. The College opened in October 1831 and Green was appointed to the Chair. He gave the opening address of the winter session in 1832, dealing in his lecture with "the functions or duties of the professions of divinity, law and medicine according to Coleridge". It was "admittedly based on Coleridge's 'Constitution of Church and State'".² John Sterling noted that the main subject of Coleridge's conversation when they met on 1 May was "the Constitution of Universities".³ Sterling returned to Highgate a few days later to meet Wordsworth, who had recently arrived in London with his daughter, Dora. They planned to spend some weeks in London before joining Mrs Wordsworth at their son, John's, new curacy at Whitwick. Sterling found Wordsworth's conversation "as different from Coleridge's as can be, and ... certainly far less interesting". Coleridge, "without much attention to time or place, pours out his mind in reflection", while Wordsworth talked about his surroundings, "is full of observation and kindness, and refers directly to the people he is among".⁴ Dora Wordsworth found the London "whirl" fatiguing -

1 L VI 740-41

2 A.D. Snyder Coleridge on Logic and Learning 43-44; D.N.B. "Joseph Henry Green"; L VI 737-44

3 N.L.S.MS. 1765 f.95, Sterling to James Dunn 2 May 1828

4 A.K. Tuell John Sterling 240-41; Essays and Tales by John Sterling ed. J.C. Hare xxvi - xxviii

"Sir Walter Scott, Rogers, Coleridge, Southey, Sotheby Moore, Lockhart, Mrs Joanna Bailey, Lady Caroline Bury - and others too numerous to insert...."¹

To the great surprise of Mrs Wordsworth,² Wordsworth decided to make a tour to the Rhine instead of remaining in London, probably at the suggestion of Charles Aders. Wordsworth intended to visit Mrs Aders, who was spending the summer in the castle which Aders owned on the Rhine at Godesberg. Fortified by the knowledge that Frederick Mansell Reynolds had offered him £50 to contribute to The Keepsake, and knowing that Gillman intended to quit London for much of the summer, Coleridge agreed to accompany Wordsworth, and Dora was invited to join them³. Their tour was supposed to last only three weeks, but they left Margate for Ostend on 21 June and returned at last on 5 August. They travelled by road and canal from Ostend to Brussels, halting to see Bruges and Ghent. At Brussels they called on Major Pryse Gordon, who introduced them to Thomas Colley Grattan, who accompanied them to the field of Waterloo and up the River Meuse to Dinant⁴. Grattan thought Coleridge looked more like a clergyman and Wordsworth more like a hill-farmer than poets⁵. In Cologne the noise and smells led Coleridge to write two epigrams, but the disadvantages of the town were balanced by the excellent wine, Mum's Rudesheimer, which spoiled his taste for any other German wine⁶. Some particularly

1 Letters of Dora Wordsworth ed. H.P. Vincent 38-39, 41

2 The Letters of Mary Wordsworth ed. M.E. Burton 124

3 L VI 747, 749 n 1; L.E. Watson Coleridge at Highgate 119; Dove Cottage MS letters from Dora Wordsworth to Mrs Hoare 16 June 1828, Dora to Christopher Wordsworth 29 September 1828

4 Dora Wordsworth's unpublished journal, a long detailed account of the entire tour, is in Dove Cottage Library. It is the source of some of the following details of the tour

5 T.C. Grattan Beaten Paths and Those Who Trod Them 107-14

6 The Poems of Samuel Taylor Coleridge ed. E.H. Coleridge 477; B.M.MS. 47535 f.6, notebook 40.

undrinkable hock occasioned the impromptu

In Spain, that land of monks and apes,
The thing called wine doth come from grapes;
But on the noble river Rhine,
The thing called gripes doth come from wine¹

They rested at Aders's chateau in Godesberg from 4 to 9 July². One of the other guests was Julian Young, who described their visit at length³. Coleridge had been badly affected by the heat, the early rising and the long, arduous days of travel. He was unwell at Godesberg and unable to accompany the Wordsworths on several excursions into the surrounding countryside⁴. Young described the poets in a similar way to Grattan, and he noticed, as Grattan had, that Wordsworth was usually content to allow Coleridge the larger share of the conversation. Their lack of petty jealousy surprised Young, "considering the vanity possessed by each".⁵ Dora reported to her mother that they "get on famously", but complained that Coleridge slowed them down - "he likes prosing to the folks better than exerting himself to see the face of the country". Her father's "few $\frac{1}{2}$ dozen words of German" were more practically useful than all Coleridge's "weight of German literature".⁶ During their stay Mrs. Aders celebrated her wedding anniversary on Sunday 6 July by inviting the "literati" of Bonn to a supper in the castle's banqueting hall. Among those who attended were Augustus von Schlegel, Niebuhr, Dr. Alton and Frau von Schopenhauer. Coleridge was too ill to be present and Wordsworth was made to propose a toast to Mrs. Aders⁷.

1 J.C. Young A Memoir of Charles Mayne Young 122

2 Dora Wordsworth's journal, Dove Cottage MS.

3 J.C. Young A Memoir of Charles Mayne Young 115-25

4 Dora Wordsworth's journal

5 J.C. Young op.cit. 122

6 The Letters of Mary Wordsworth ed. M.E. Burton 126

7 Robinson's Correspondence I 190; J.C. Young op. cit. 117-19;
Dora Wordsworth's journal

When Coleridge's health improved, they decided to attempt to reach Heidelberg but, to Dora's great disappointment, because of delays caused in part by Wordsworth's refusal to allow their driver to overcharge them, they only got as far as Bingen before deciding that the season was too far advanced for them to dare to venture further. They returned to Godesberg, where they remained between 16 and 21 July¹. During this visit Coleridge met Schlegel, "a consummate coxcomb".² They each praised the other's translations (of Shakespeare and Schiller's Wallenstein) but Coleridge disagreed with Schlegel over the merits of Byron's poetry: "'Byron is a meteor which will but blaze and rove and die": Wordsworth there' (pointing to him) 'is a "star luminous and fixed"'.³ Although Mrs. Aders preferred Coleridge, she was "delighted" with Wordsworth, but told Crabb Robinson that Wordsworth was not liked in Germany: "he was too haughty and reserved".⁴

Before they left Godesberg on their leisurely homeward journey down the Rhine, Coleridge, "as ... one who has himself been at a German university", warned Julian Young about his intended visit to Heidelberg. "You will, ten to one, be wantonly insulted by some of the students, who will challenge you on the slightest pretext. Instantly accept, but name pistols as your weapons." By following

1 Dora Wordsworth's Journal

2 T.C. Grattan Beaten Paths and Those Who Trod Them 107-38

3 J.C. Young op. cit. 117-19

4 Robinson on Writers I 361

alleviate his depression one day by showing him Stothard's engraving of the garden of Boccaccio¹. Subsequently, however, Alice du Clos was not printed in The Keepsake for 1829, "owing to the disproportionate length of Sir W. Scott's Prose".² His agreement with Reynolds prohibited contributions to any other annual for 1829, except Watts's The Literary Souvenir, with which he already had an engagement³. He was therefore distressed to discover only a few days later that Hall intended to include extracts from his 1799 letters on the Brocken, without his permission, in The Amulet for 1829. These were the letters which Hall "had last year rejected & sent back to me; but as it appears not without having taken a copy".⁴ On 14 August Coleridge informed Aders that before he could give Rudolph Ackermann any contribution for his German annual, Forget-Me-Not, he would have to obtain Reynolds's permission. If Reynolds agreed, Ackermann could have "the poem, I am now finishing on the Rhine", presumably the poem he had promised to write for Mrs Aders in Godesberg. No such poem has come to light⁵. Despite Coleridge's attempts to keep to his bargain with Reynolds, his relationship with The Keepsake eventually proved as disillusioning as that with Hall's The Amulet or Fraser's The Bijou⁶.

1 L VI 748-49; L.E. Watson Coleridge at Highgate 137

2 L VI 756-57; see also The Journal of Sir Walter Scott ed. W.E.K. Anderson 435

3 L VI 752

4 L VI 752

5 L VI 752-53; Robinson's Correspondence I 190

6 see below p. 234

Shortly afterwards he attended a drunken party at Reynolds's lodgings¹. The other guests included Lockhart, Theodore Hook, and William Jerdan. The nature of the party is sufficiently evident from the almost complete disagreement of the details in the three main contemporary descriptions². So disturbed was Coleridge's sleep the night before the party - "literally I awoke the House with my Shouts and Screams" - that next day he took several calomel pills and "a Black-dose".³ There were eight (or nine, or eleven) guests at the party, which was boisterous from the start. While Hook invented and sang comic songs, the others smashed the wine glasses because they were too small. Reynolds's landlady, who prepared the dinner, was frightened out of the house by the noise. Coleridge's initial reserved silence soon disappeared and he joined in the glass-breaking. Jerdan was almost arrested by "a Charley" on the way home, and Coleridge was accompanied home by Lockhart, declaring on the way that Hook was as true a genius as Dante⁴.

The Poetical Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, published in three volumes by Pickering, appeared in August 1828. The edition was

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- 1 E.L. Griggs dates it as 18 August without referring to a source - L VI 754 n 1 - but if L VI 754-55 is correctly dated, the party apparently occurred one week later - see also L. Werkmeister "'High Jinks' at Highgate" in Philological Quarterly XL, I (1961) 104-11
 - 2 see W. Jerdan Autobiography IV 238-40; W. Jerdan Men I Have Known 121-122, 128-30; J.G. Lockhart in Quarterly Review LXXII (1843) 65-66; see also L. Werkmeister op.cit.
 - 3 its active ingredient was opium; L VI 754-55
 - 4 L. Werkmeister op.cit.

reasonably comprehensive, including several early poems, the great poems, the three dramas and some unpublished verse. Coleridge was upset by the way it was published. He had not seen all the proof sheets, and had not even received a copy of the edition by mid-September. Furthermore, Pickering informed Gillman not to expect any of the profits, as he intended to print only three hundred copies, which would just cover the printing costs. Coleridge believed that an edition of one thousand copies would have sold within one year, and events proved him right. The entire edition of three hundred was sold in two months. "So much for Mr Pickering and Company!"¹

From 16 to 18 September Coleridge paid his "long-delayed first Visit" to the new home of Charles and Mary Lamb in Enfield, where they had moved almost a year earlier². Since his Continental tour he had felt that he "had taken on a new lease of effective life", and felt well enough to accompany Lamb on a twelve-mile walk. The resulting blisters on his feet forced him to spend several days lying down when he returned to The Grove. Shortly afterwards he suffered a "smart attack of erysipelas" in both legs lasting for several weeks³. He believed that he suffered the repeated attacks of erysipelas because "in my constitution it is a substitute for the Gout, to which my Father was subject".⁴

1 L VI 760, 766; Poetical Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge
ed. E.H. Coleridge II 1155-58

2 L VI 762; Lamb Letters III 135, 190

3 L VI 764-65

4 L VI 765

Fortunately the condition cleared up in time to enable him to accompany Mrs Gillman to Ramsgate for a month on 20 October. Stuart had given him £20 to cover his expenses¹. On holiday he intended to do nothing but "write verses, & finish the correction of the last part of my Work on the power & use of WORDS".² This was the first time he could remember allowing "my birthday to pass undrunk ... and unblest", an indication, he hoped, "of the sobriety of the following year".³ He had not forgotten his recent fears of impending death, and was worried that "what I have omitted to do, or failed in doing" would outweigh "what I have performed". He despaired of being able to convey to others

the sensations, which (suspended by the stimulus of earnest conversation or of rapid motion) annoy and at times overwhelm me as soon as I sit down alone, with my pen in my⁴ hand, and my head bending and body compressed, over my table.

Just before they returned to Highgate on 25 November⁵ Coleridge wrote to Hyman Hurwitz, who had recently been appointed to the Chair of Hebrew at London University, asking him to contact John Taylor, now publisher to the University, to obtain a statement of account in respect of Aids to Reflection, for which he had received none of the profits since its publication. "Something surely ought to be coming to me - two years ago only sixty Copies remained unsold."⁶ He was also

1 L VI 764-66, 766 n 1

2 L VI 766

3 L VI 768

4 L VI 770

5 L VI 773

6 L VI 773

considering whether Taylor would again become his publisher

because it is my purpose immediately on my return to put to the Press ... my long-announced Work on the power and use of words - in short, an Organum verè organum, or Logic in it's living uses, for the Senate, the Pulpit, the Bar - and secondly, I have been strongly urged to re-publish the Aids to Reflection, considerably improved.¹

This pretended intention to publish the Magnum Opus was clearly meant merely to impress Hurwitz. In Hurwitz's recent "Introductory Lecture" at London University, he had paid graceful tribute to his "friend", Coleridge, and stated his intention to direct his students' attention to his Aids to Reflection and The Friend.²

Coleridge found something more immediately pressing when he returned to Highgate. Mrs Morgan and Charlotte Brent, whom he had not seen for several years, called on him in great distress, "almost clamorously" begging him to help them gather together £20, "which would save her from God knows what".³ Gillman tried to get him to promise to refuse to help the ladies "on the score of absolute inability", but faced by their obvious distress "my fortitude turned tail".⁴ He failed in an attempt to get S.C. Hall to pay for Over the Brocken, published without his permission in The Amulet for 1829,⁵ and was eventually forced to persuade Basil Montagu to guarantee a long-dated Bill of Exchange drawn on William Pickering, his publisher. He fully expected that before

1 L VI 773

2 An Introductory Lecture delivered in the University of London, on Tuesday, November 11, 1828, by Hyman Hurwitz ... (1828) 23

3 L VI 775-76; Morgan had died in 1821 - L V 162

4 L VI 914

5 L VI 752, 776

it fell due for repayment Frederick Reynolds would pay him £30 for his contribution to The Keepsake for 1830¹. Pickering accepted the Bill and Coleridge passed the money to Mrs Morgan². His charitable act was to cause him considerable trouble. With his assistance Pickering was publishing a revised edition of Coleridge's poetry³. When Reynolds's promised payment for Coleridge's contribution to The Keepsake was not forthcoming, Pickering agreed to renew the Bill until November 1829. But on 17 November 1829 Coleridge again had to renew the Bill until February 1830⁴. Eventually, realising that he would never be able to repay the debt, he tried to get Montagu to take it upon himself, but Montagu "found it inconvenient". At Montagu's suggestion Coleridge allowed Pickering to write off the £30 as "advanced to me on account of the Poems, sold or hereafter to be sold".⁵ This £30 was the only payment he received for the 1829 edition of his poems; he had received nothing for the 1828 edition⁶.

He believed himself "under a tie of honor" to contribute only to Reynolds's The Keepsake for 1830, and informed Reynolds when Alaric Watts offered him £50 for a poem for The Literary Souvenir, together with an additional sum for an exclusive contract⁷. Reynolds encouraged him to decline Watts's offer, and this ended his association with Watts⁸.

1 L VI 914

2 L VI 782

3 L VI 782-83

4 L VI 803, 822

5 L VI 914

6 L VI 760, 914

7 L VI 776-80

8 L VI 776, 807

Only then did Reynolds inform him that his contribution to The Keepsake for 1829 had been four pages short of the amount contracted and paid for, and that unless he made up the deficiency in the 1830 issue, without additional payment, he would not be paid for contributions to the 1830 issue¹. And this was in spite of the fact that one of Coleridge's 1829 contributions had been returned to him for the editor's convenience, to make way for Scott's contribution². Other contributors found themselves in the same position. Scott was told that his 1829 contribution had been short, but reacted angrily when, instead of cash, he was offered engravings for the new edition of the Waverley Novels in payment for 1830 contributions³. Additional contributions were demanded from Southey and also from Wordsworth, who felt that he had been used "most scurvily"⁴.

Coleridge made no complaint and, as suggested, sent Reynolds the completed ballad Alice du Clos in July 1829. But without his knowledge, Gillman protested vigorously against the "injustice". To settle the dispute Coleridge was willing to return up to half the £50 he had received for the 1829 contribution. The disagreement was finally settled by Reynolds returning Alice du Clos and Coleridge allowing him to print in The Keepsake for 1830 his two poems, Song, ex improviso, and The Poet's Answer⁵.

1 L VI 804-08

2 L VI 778

3 The Journal of Sir Walter Scott ed. W.E.K. Anderson 524-25

4 Later Years 337-39, 344, 351-53, 378-79, 385-87; Selections from the Letters of Robert Southey ed. J.W. Warter IV 103, 113, 124

5 L VI 800-03, 804-08

John Taylor had reacted favourably when Hurwitz had approached him on Coleridge's behalf. Aids to Reflection had been sold, and in January 1829 Taylor agreed to publish a revised edition, and allowed Coleridge to draw on him for £30 as his share of the profits of the first edition¹. Before the partnership had been dissolved, Taylor and Hessey had agreed in 1823 to publish Elements of Discourse and The Assertion of Religion,² and now Taylor again agreed to publish them. Coleridge insisted that a clause be added to the agreement: "there shall be a yearly settlement of each of these three works, and ... the division of the Profits, should there be any, shall not be deferred to the time, when the whole Edition shall have been sold off".³ Coleridge began to work on Aids to Reflection at once, and before ill-health prevented him, managed to complete several revisions, omitted several passages and added new material. He was also busy with the new edition of his poetry for Pickering⁴. This was the last edition of his poems which he supervised, the 1834 edition being largely the work of Henry Nelson Coleridge, although possibly Coleridge himself authorised some of its changes⁵. Revision filled most of his day, and his work on the New Testament, "collating our version with the Greek" assisted by Eichhorn's Einleitung in das Neue Testament⁶, was relegated to the two hours before bed-time⁷. But the improvement in his health resulting from

1 L VI 780-81

2 L V 294; T. Chilcott A Publisher and His Circle 178-79; see above p. 142

3 Agreement quoted L VI 781 n 3

4 L VI 782-83; The Poetical Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge ed. E.H. Coleridge II 1159

5 see The Poems of Samuel Taylor Coleridge ed. E.H. Coleridge preface v-vi

6 3 vols. 1804-14

7 L VI 784

his tour with Wordsworth and the holiday at Ramsgate did not last. A heavy cold and "a functional derangement of the Bronchia" halted work on Aids to Reflection, and was succeeded by attacks of erysipelas in his legs, "to which I have to add some nephritic symptoms".¹

The revision of Aids to Reflection gave place to a new work, which was eventually published as On the Constitution of the Church and State, according to the Idea of Each: with Aids toward a right Judgement on the late Catholic Bill. He had been given a new incentive to complete the work, planned in 1825, because the Catholic Emancipation Bill, to which the title refers, was mentioned in the King's Speech at the opening of Parliament on 5 February². Church and State had originally be announced in Aids to Reflection as one of six forthcoming supplementary disquisitions, and had been almost ready by September 1826, when Frere had suggested showing it to Lord Liverpool³. In early 1827 Henry Nelson Coleridge had published a pamphlet stating Coleridge's opinion on the Catholic Question, "but unfortunately ... he has not stated all the grounds etc."⁴ Coleridge had tried to explain his views to Thomas Colley Grattan when they met in Belgium, but had succeeded only in confusing him⁵. Now, aware that his contribution to the discussion had to be published quickly, Coleridge was distressed when ill-health stopped his work with "only half a dozen pages" to go⁶. His publishers, Hurst, Chance and Company, even managed to send

1 L VI 786, 787

2 A Memoir of ... William Page Wood, Baron Hatherley ed. W.R.W. Stephens I 181

3 Samuel Taylor Coleridge On The Constitution of the Church and State ed. J. Barrell "Advertisement" iv

4 Minnow 136

5 T.C. Grattan Beaten Paths and Those Who Trod Them II 135-36

6 L VI 787-88

him "a few printed sheets"¹ before he was stopped in late March by erysipelas, which "flew from my legs to my Neck and Forehead & brought my inward head into a state, never before experienced by me".² The delay was in some ways unfortunate. The Catholic Emancipation Bill passed the Commons on 30 March, and the Lords on 10 April, receiving the Royal Assent three days later. Church and State was not published until December 1829,³ and so lost the degree of interest it would have possessed from its relevance to contemporary political issues. Its most recent editor detects in it an element of embarrassment because he had so little to say about the measure, which in its final form eliminated all his doubts about the degree of protection given to existing institutions against the new political power of Rome⁴.

His illness was serious enough for his Thursday evening parties to be cancelled in late March. He had to remain in his room with Green as his only visitor⁵. One of the last of his Thursday evening gatherings was attended by John Stuart Mill, who was brought by Henry Taylor on 12 February⁶. Mill's subsequent favourable review of the 1829 edition of Coleridge's Poetical Works and his celebrated essay, Coleridge, probably owed much to this and subsequent visits to Highgate⁷.

1 L VI 787

2 L VI 789

3 L VI 824

4 Samuel Taylor Coleridge on the Constitution of the Church and State
ed. J. Barrell ix

5 L VI 788; Minnow 146

6 L VI 785

7 The Westminster Review XII (Jan 1830) 1-31, XXXIII (March 1840)
257-302; Mill on Bentham and Coleridge ed. F.R. Leavis passim

Coleridge's reputation was at last becoming secure. Biographia Literaria, the Lay Sermons, The Friend and Aids to Reflection were already making their impact. Many of the young men at Oxford and, even more, at Cambridge, were beginning to read and re-read these works, to which in later years they were always willing to acknowledge their indebtedness¹. One measure of his reputation was that Hazlitt had for several years been less savagely critical of him. Spirit of the Age, published in 1825, contained a sketch of Coleridge which Dykes Campbell thought showed a "remorseful desire to be simply just and fair".² And Hazlitt's "Memorabilia of Mr. Coleridge", published in The Atlas in March 1829, praised Coleridge's conversation "in which the ideas seemed set to music - it had the materials of philosophy and the sound of music ..."³ The two editions of Coleridge's poetry in 1828 and 1829 also revealed him to a wider audience. "Such a collection was needful to make the full extent of his powers felt, and render us aware of the amount of enjoyment for which we are his debtors."⁴ In February 1829 a debate at the Cambridge Union was on the question: "Will Mr. Coleridge's poem of the Ancient Mariner, or Mr. Martin's Acts, be most effectual in preventing cruelty to animals". Despite the absurdity of the proposition and of some of the

1 see C.R. Sanders Coleridge and the Broad Church Movement passim

2 Campbell cxiii

3 Complete Works of William Hazlitt ed. P.P. Howe XX 215-18

4 J.S. Mill in The Westminster Review XII (Jan 1830) 1-31

speeches, one, "a most eloquent commentary upon the poem itself", so won the house that "when he read the last verses the cheering was tremendous".¹ Several young Cambridge men had begun to visit Highgate: John Sterling, William Page Wood (later Baron Hatherley) who was translating Novum Organum for Montagu's edition of Bacon, Richard Monckton Milnes (first Lord Houghton), and Tennyson's great friend, Arthur Hallam². But Coleridge did not forget his old friends. Allsop, who had not visited him for several months, wrote to him in late April. With the "utter, and as it then seemed, the hopeless ruin of my prospects", Allsop had decided to try the Colonies, and asked Coleridge to write on his behalf to Lady Louisa Murray, the wife of the Colonial Secretary, Sir George Murray³. Although Coleridge did not know her, he did as he was asked, but tried to persuade Allsop to reconsider - "Have you the judgement of any third person competent to form an opinion of your circumstances - and is there no possibility of your going on, in whatever unambitious a way?"⁴ Allsop abandoned the plan.

By May, despite constant bowel pains and sleepless nights caused by bad dreams⁵, Coleridge was well enough to assist Hurwitz to correct the style of his Elements of the Hebrew Language. When it was published

1 T.W. Reid The Life ... of Richard Monckton Milnes, First Lord Houghton I 61

2 L VI 843-44; T.W. Reid op.cit. II 432; A Memoir of ... William Page Wood, Baron Hatherley ed. W.R.W. Stephens I 51, 157, 175, 180, 189

3 L VI 789-90; T. Allsop Letters, Conversations and Recollections 243

4 L VI 789-90

5 B.M.MS. 47536 f.1, notebook 41

in mid-1829, he helped Hurwitz with a continuation, The Etymology and Syntax¹. He began to receive visitors again in July,² although his right leg ached "as if four and twenty Rats 'all in a row' from the right Hip to the Ankle Bone were gnawing away at me".³ Laudanum from Dunn's shop helped him control the pain⁴.

His visitors in July included John Anster,⁵ and John Wheeler, an American Congregational minister, whom Coleridge impressed by his now almost stock discourse on the Trinity⁶. Wheeler was one of many American academics and clergymen whose numerous visits to Highgate testify to the spread of Coleridge's reputation in the United States. He knew of his importance there - "I am known there. I am a poor poet in England, but I am a great philosopher in America".⁷ Derwent with his wife, Mary, and son, Derwent Moultrie⁸, spent several days in London to collect one of Basil Montagu's sons who was to be one of Derwent's pupils at Helston. Coleridge was delighted with Mary and his grandson, and contemplated visiting them at Helston. "Tell my dearest Mary that she has left a genial life on the whole state of my thought and feelings, has shed in upon my spirit a new light of Love, and Hope & cheerful Purposes, which I could not have anticipated."⁹ A less congenial task

1 L VI 786, 791, 816-18 and n n

2 L VI 793

3 L VI 813, 815

4 L VI 813

5 L VI 793

6 Coleridge the Talker ed. R.W. Armour and R.F. Howes 359-60

7 T.W. Reid The Life ... of Richard Monckton Milnes, First Lord Houghton II 432

8 born 17 October 1828

9 L VI 814-15; Minnow 148-54

was to advise John Anster not to consider himself as a suitor for Susan Steel. His task was complicated by the fact that Gillman's son, James, had begun to pay "marked attentions" to Susan, "& the Union, I have some reason to know, would at a proper time be looked forward to, not without predilection, by Mr and Mrs S."¹ In January 1832 Coleridge expressed his approval of the proposed engagement of James and Susan, but they never married².

Lady Beaumont died on 14 July, leaving him £50 in her Will, which he sent at once to Mrs Coleridge for Hartley.³ His thoughts had for several months been tending toward the Lakes in anticipation of the marriage of Sara and Henry, planned for 3 September in Crosthwaite Parish Church, Keswick⁴. On his way north, Henry called at Highgate on 26 August with news of an improvement in Sara's health. Coleridge had "no doubt, her Nervous system finds an apter symbol in a group of Aspens in breeze & Sunshine, than in the Weeping Willow over the unwrinkled Pool at breathless Twilight".⁵

The responsibility for Sara's well-being was now being removed onto the shoulders of her future husband; Derwent seemed settled with a growing family and an assured future, and Coleridge now felt responsible only for Hartley⁶. On 1 September he became very ill; his breathing was difficult and a sharp pain down his right side made him scream.

1 L VI 793-95

2 L VI 878-79

3 L VI 814-15

4 Minnow 146

5 L VI 814

6 L VI 797-98

His suffering lasted much of the following day, and he began to fear not only death but also "the horror of the apprehended interval" of agony before death's release¹. This attack and Sara's marriage on 3 September probably influenced him to remake his Will on 2 September, superseding the Will he had made in 1803². The new Will was dictated to James Gillman, and witnessed by Mrs Gillman, Gillman's apprentice, Henry Langley Porter, and Harriet Macklin, the Gillmans' servant who had for several years acted as Coleridge's personal attendant³. He made several minor bequests. He left his paintings and prints to the Gillmans and also bequeathed to Gillman, as an heirloom to remain in his family, the volume of Frere's manuscript translations of Aristophanes' plays⁴. Sara was left Sotheby's Georgica Hexaglotta and Derwent's wife, Mary, held in trust an annotated copy of The Friend for her son, Derwent. Mourning rings went to Lamb, Montagu, Thomas Poole, Josiah Wade, Launcelot Wade and Sara Hutchinson. His executor, Green, was instructed to sell the rest of his estate (apart from those of his books Green wanted to retain) and use the proceeds, the life assurance policy, and profits from posthumous publications to obtain an income for Mrs. Coleridge during her life-time. After her death, unless Sara was widowed or unmarried, (in which case she would enjoy the income) it would be divided equally among his three children and ultimately go to the last survivor.

1 B.M.MS. 47536 ff. 53, 55, notebook 41

2 L II 945

3 L VI 936, 1001; B.M.MSS. 47536 ff. 54-55, notebook 41; 47542 f.15, notebook 47

4 see above pp.32-33; and The Works of ... John Hookham Frere ed. W.E. Frere with a Memoir by Sir B. Frere I 296, 314, 322-23

But as for those, whom they may bring into the World, to them I can only look forward in my prayers, & by this scanty addition to the power of their parents on whom rests the duty of providing for them, according to their ability¹.

Coleridge added a codicil nine months later².

Sara had eight bridesmaids at her wedding on 3 September.

John Wordsworth performed the ceremony and Southey gave away the bride.

The wedding breakfast was in Southey's study at Greta Hall³.

Hartley was invited to the wedding but declined⁴. Neither of Sara's parents were wholly happy. Mrs Coleridge would now leave Greta Hall, but was not yet sure where she would find a home. She could not face the wedding-ball but remained at Greta Hall, packing, "which was better than sitting quite still, and thinking of the miseries of quitting a beloved residence of 29 years duration"⁵. Coleridge thought gloomily of his wife's new loneliness, and also remembered that when she left Keswick, Hartley would be alone in the Lakes. He also feared the "pain" to which Sara's feelings might be exposed, not from Henry, "but from his family, especially from the Wives". She had married "into the only family perhaps in which her being my daughter would not have been considered as a Dishonor"⁶. Mrs Coleridge paid a long visit to Derwent at Helston in Cornwall⁷. Southey felt

1 L VI 998-1001; B.M.MS. 47536 ff. 54-55, notebook 41; B.M.Add. Charters 66314, 66315

2 see L VI 1001-02

3 L VI 814; Minnow 153; Dove Cottage MS letter, Dora Wordsworth to Christopher Wordsworth 27 Aug. 1829

4 B.M.MS. 47536 f.59, notebook 41

5 Minnow 148, 153

6 B.M.MS. 47536 f.59, notebook 51

7 Later Years I 402

her leaving Greta Hall as a "great change ... and one which tho
looked for, and for some reasons to be desired, could not take
place without much pain"¹

Perhaps as a refuge Coleridge again began work on Church and State².
So pleased was he with Hurst and Chance as his publishers that he
decided to "contrive with honor" to transfer his other works to them
from John Taylor. He had arranged that in future Henry would assist
him in order to prevent "any delays & interruptions occasioned by the
precarious Nature of my Health".³ A notice in Blackwood's Magazine
caught his eye, requesting that no more contributions be submitted,
for "Maga" had enough for a long time. Coleridge wrote to Blackwood
that he had intended to send several contributions. "If I did not
think them creditable to me, or if my Friends thought otherwise, I
would not offer them to you."⁴ Two of his intended articles, on
Rabelais and Cervantes, were attempts to "prove and exemplify" his
belief that "in every ... work of Genius, there is an IDEA, that is
at once the final Cause of the Whole, and the Spiritual Life and Light
pervading and shining thro' the literal sense and proximate purposes
of the component parts". He believed he had tried to prove this

1 New Letters of Robert Southey ed. K. Curry II 345

2 L VI 818-19

3 L VI 819, 824

4 L VI 821

at an earlier period in the Hamlet; in the Macbeth; in the Othello; and in the Rich.IIIr., Falstaff, and Iago, of Shakespear. But my Lectures were not published - and therefore very safely appropriated - not the loss of value but the Mutilation of the Sense, grieves me in this¹.

Although a short essay on Rabelais is in one of his memorandum books,² none of his proposed contributions appeared in Blackwood's Magazine. He destroyed an order for £10 which Blackwood sent him, "it being against one of my rules to receive payment for work not delivered".³ The free copies of "Maga" which he had received since 1817, were very useful - "Blackwood and Sir Walter's novels have been my comforters in many a sleepless night when I should but for them have been comfortless"⁴ - and in a note in Church and State he praised "Maga" as "incomparable".⁵

His painful symptoms returned, and for several months attacks of erysipelas alternated with severe depression and "rheumatic" pains, "the more grievous, that the paroxysms have come on, about midnight, & rendered it impracticable to lie down or even to sit still for many minutes together, till 7 or 8 in the morning".⁶ His illness was probably the main reason why he did not accompany Mrs Gillman to Ramsgate in November, although a heavily-deleted entry in a notebook, referring

1 B.M.MS. 47537 ff. 9-10, notebook 42; see K. Coburn in T.L.S. 20 May 1965

2 B.M.MS. 47537 ff. 7-9, notebook 42

3 L VI 836

4 L VI 821

5 Samuel Taylor Coleridge on the Constitution of the Church and State ed. J. Barrell 98 n - 99 n

6 L VI 823, 836

to his "Poverty", may indicate that Stuart did not send him the usual £20 or £30¹. He arranged to send a few pre-publication copies of Church and State to influential friends, one of which was sent to the Lord Chief Baron, Lord Lyndhurst². Church and State was published in December in a very small edition - "I believe not 300" - and Henry agreed with him that "half a guinea is a choking price".³ Anticipating an early demand for a second edition, he quickly prepared a revised copy during "tolerably cheerful and vigorous-minded intervals". The second edition, with additions and divided into chapters, was issued before May 1830⁴.

Henry and Sara returned to London before Christmas, and Coleridge sounded out several of his more influential visitors to assist Henry to establish himself as a barrister. "I should imagine that Mr George Frere might, if the inclination existed, serve you Without puff and connections few men begin a reputation."⁵ They dined on a snowy Christmas Day on turkeys and sausages, and he received a present from Susan Steel, a purse she had netted for him⁶.

1 B.M.MS. 47537 f.25, notebook 42

2 L VI 823, 823 n 1, 824

3 L VI 825

4 L VI 825 - 26, 838; B.M.MS. 47537 f.64, notebook 42

5 L VI 825

6 B.M.MSS. 47536 ff.78, 79, notebook 41; 47537 f.59, notebook 42

During the Summer his notes on the New Testament had reached the Epistles,¹ and after Christmas he began his commentary again with Genesis².

I have imposed the Law on myself; lest I might be tempted by the Awe of religion itself into the irreligion of imagining that God can be honoured by the suppression of truth ... to put down the reflections and objections which the Scriptures in the instant of perusal have excited or suggested, either to answer the objections, or in the hope of hereafter answering them³.

- 1 B.M.MS. 47536 f.12, notebook 41
- 2 B.M.MS. 47536 f.80, notebook 41
- 3 B.M.MS. 47536 f.88, notebook 41

CHAPTER 9. JANUARY 1830 - DECEMBER 1831.

On 12 January 1830 Coleridge felt sufficiently well to venture out to spend the evening at the bottom of Highgate Hill in the Kentish Town home of his old school-fellow, Thomas Steel. After dinner, while James Gillman, jr., and Susan Steel played the piano, Coleridge sat down to play Whist with Steel and the Gillmans. "And it is this that is the subject and occasion of this Memorandum." Despite all his attempts to concentrate on the game, he played poorly - "in short, I both played and felt exactly as I have often observed very old Persons play in the decay of their Faculties". He took this as the first evidence that his "mental powers" were collapsing with his physical health. The decay had begun exactly where he had expected, in the weakest part, "the application of the Sense and judgement to outward things In the application of my Mind to Thoughts, either in their renewal or their combination, or in the appreciative and inferential Acts, I have hitherto traced no decline". He believed that the "caries or necrosis" would work "inward" from the "surface" of his mind "to the power that converses with Thoughts", at which time he feared that he might no longer be conscious of the decay of his faculties.

With this view, under the admonition of this forebodement I have made this Memorandum - and shall desire Mr Green and Mr Gillman to take a note that I have so done ... in order that when the one or the other exerts, as I fervently beseech, hope and trust that they will not be deterred from doing, the trying but most needful duty of true and enduring Friends by admonishing me, that in such or such a composition, or that in such or such lengthy talkings, the decaying energy betray itself ... - then should I appear doubtful, this Memorandum may be recalled to my Memory.

1 B.M.MS. 47539 ff. 3-6, notebook 44

A large part of the remaining period of his life is summed up in a sentence from a letter he wrote just before he died: "the last 3 or 4 years have with few & brief intervals, been confined to a sick room".¹ Henry conveyed to his family at Ottery news of how the frequent attacks of erysipelas had affected Coleridge's health, "& he is visibly broken in strength & spirits".² But he still received any visitors, either taking them to his attic room or inviting them to accompany him on his daily walk on Highgate Hill between noon and one o'clock³. Aspiring poets still sought him out to criticise their works. Charles Whitehead called to discuss his poem, The Solitary, published in 1831, and Mrs Gillman opened a letter from Sotheby about his translation of the Iliad, "and forced the contents on my reluctant ear"⁴. Mr and Mrs Cowden Clarke visited him in March to show him a poem, Cain, The Wanderer, written by John Edmund Reade, whose own delicacy prevented him from approaching personally the author of The Wanderings of Cain. "We found Coleridge, bland, amiable, affably inclined to renew the intercourse of some years previous on the cliff at Ramsgate."⁵ When Reade published his poem in 1830 he received "on the same day, gratifying letters from Goethe, and from Coleridge"⁶. An idea for a poem occurred to Coleridge, a "lyrical lamentation" comparing his feelings about the night as experienced in youth and health

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1 L VI 990

2 B.M.MS. 47558 f. 111, Henry Nelson Coleridge to Francis G. Coleridge 25 Jan. 1830

3 L VI 829

4 L VI 827

5 C. and M. Cowden Clarke Recollections of Writers 63; see above p. 118

6 L VI 849 and n 4; R.W. Armour and R.F. Howes Coleridge the Talker 220

with those of old age and disease; he promised himself that he would write it as soon as he was restored "for any measurable interval to bodily ease and a competency of Strength and Genial general Sensation"¹.

Early in April it was brought to his attention that the poem he had written jointly with Southey in 1799, The Devil's Thoughts, had just been published by H.W. Montagu. First published anonymously in the Morning Post on 6 September 1799, it had since been attributed generally to Professor Richard Porson, and Montagu had published it as The Devil's Walk; A Poem by Professor Porson. The volume also contained a biography of Porson and engravings "after the Designs of R. Cruikshank"². As a result of Coleridge's letter of protest to Montagu - "surely, Mr Montagu could not even suspect that such a Man as Southey, or even that Mr Coleridge - could be guilty of claiming the work of another - & that too such a trifle"³ - Montagu reissued the poem later that year, mentioning Coleridge's "communication" in the Preface, and apologising for the "error respecting the Authorship". A second edition bearing the names of Coleridge and Southey was also called for within the year, the "Advertisement" of which states that it had sold 15,000 copies, "a circumstance which offers an unanswerable proof of its popularity, and, we may add of its excellence"⁴.

Henry's record of Coleridge's conversation began again on 13 April, after a break of nearly three years⁵. Coleridge was still experiencing

1 B.M.MS. 47538 f. 3, notebook 43

2 Wise 135-40

3 L VI 829-30

4 Wise 138-40

5 Table Talk 30 August 1827, 13 April 1830

great pain, and mourned "like Job, under the stretching Wrack of the Hours!" He longed for sleep, "and but for the stern interposed veto of my Conscience, should persevere in longing for Death, the Suspender"¹. Notebook entries simply recording "Very, very ill" are followed by anguished (if studied) prayers for patience and fortitude:

O most merciful God, by the eternal Word my Creator, Redeemer and Judge! withdraw not thy Spirit from me. O let neither bodily pains and sinkings, nor the deep sense of my utter unworthiness, nor self-accusation and the misgivings of Conscience so² prevail against me, as to relax my Grasp of Faith and Hope.

The crisis of his illness came in late April and early May. One of the servants was alarmed by the noise of a heavy fall in his room, and he was discovered on the floor "pulseless and senseless, and continued thus about half an hour, when animation was restored, chiefly, I believe, by means of mustard-plasters applied to the chest and abdomen". Gillman and Green decided that there was no evidence of convulsions, and the attack was not paralytic³. Charles and Mary Lamb were told of the collapse when they spent the day at Highgate on 5 May: "if I had not heard of it, I should not have found it out. He looks, and especially speaks, strong"⁴. Coleridge accepted tranquilly that his health was collapsing⁵. He wrote a short note to Mrs Gillman, "weighed down by a heavy presentiment respecting my own sojourn here", in which he acknowledged gratefully her anxious care for him during the last fourteen years. "I

1 B.M.MS. 47538 f. 9, notebook 43

2 B.M.MS. 47538 f. 4, notebook 43; MS. 47539 f. 18, notebook 44

3 L VI 836; W. Hanna Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers III 261-62; see also B. Coleridge The Story of a Devonshire House 296

4 Lamb Letters III 270; B.M.MS. 47538 f. 21, notebook 43

5 L VI 835

not only hope but have a steadfast faith that God will be your reward."¹ But his spirits gradually improved as he became stronger. He tried to assist Hurst, Chance and Company to decide on a name for a literary annual they were planning. It appeared in 1831 as The New Comic Annual². And on 10 May he asked Basil Montagu to persuade William Page Wood, a frequent visitor in early 1829, to call and see him again, "feeble as I am". He hoped to influence Wood, and through him his father, Alderman Mathew Wood, who was the only "inveterate opponent" in the Commons to the recently introduced Bill authorising the governors of the Highgate Charity to contribute £2000 toward the erection of a new chapel. The Bill passed the Lords on 5 April and was read, after some confusion, in the Commons on 3 and 10 May³. He thought Alderman Wood was "acting on good impulses from false and calumnious impressions", and hoped Wood's son might help alter his views if the case were put to him by a disinterested observer, as Coleridge believed himself to be, "in my present state of health and under my present presentiments"⁴. The Bill passed the Commons on 24 May and the Lords on 3 June, and obtained the Royal Assent two weeks later.

On 15 May he wrote to Blackwood on behalf of Joseph Hardman, who had contributed The Headsman. A Tale of Doom to Blackwood's Magazine in February, and apparently had since been attacked for plagiarism, "putting forth as original the English translation of a German work".⁵ Hardman's

1 L VI 832-33

2 L VI 831-32

3 L VI 833-35; J.H. Lloyd The History, Topography and Antiquities of Highgate 146-47

4 L VI 833-35

5 L VI 836-39; M. Oliphant Annals of a Publishing House I 416, II 288

story had been headed by two stanzas translated from Goethe by Coleridge, "Knowst thou the land"¹ Coleridge's more formal defence of the accused plagiarist is not extant², but in the personal letter to Blackwood his remarks, in view of his own unacknowledged plagiarisms, are interesting. He pointed out that Hardman made no claims to omniscience, and, verily, something very like it he must be supposed to possess, before it can be naturally required of him that he should be cognizant of every tale and novelette ... published during the last twenty years". Hardman was, however, conscientious in his reading in European literature, was a man of talent, and "that he is a man of the highest respectability and purest honour you may believe on my assurance". The importance of the incident had been exaggerated. "Why, bless me! ten well-written lines describing the case would have converted it into an additional interest."³

His strength continued to increase and he decided to watch a comet promised for midnight on 18 May⁴. But the rapid improvement in his spirits was halted when he noticed, two nights later, "a loose tumour, seemingly like that on my left cheek, on the inside of my left thigh, close by the bend of my knee. slightly painful on pressure & somewhat red".⁵ The tumour on his cheek, "a Lump ... just on the edge of my whisker"⁶, had first appeared when he had been on "the Top of the Brocken, Hartz,

1 The first stanza differs considerably from that published by J.D. Campbell and E.H. Coleridge, and the second stanza has not been included in any edition of Coleridge's poetry since its original publication - see L VI 837 n 2

2 see L VI 838

3 L VI 838-39

4 B.M.MS. 47538 f. 73, notebook 43

5 B.M.MS. 47538 f. 72, notebook 43

6 L II 897

Midsummer Midnight, 1800 - or 1799, I forget which"¹. With his improved strength the number of visitors to Highgate increased: Mr and Mrs Aders,² Dr. Thomas Chalmers with his wife and daughter³, the Montagus, Edward Irving, and several academics from the United States⁴. In consequence he was too tired to spend much time with Green when he called⁵. His illness had halted his critical remarks in his notebooks on the Old Testament at Exodus, and with a new notebook, volume 12 in the series of "Fly-Catchers", he began again at Numbers⁶. He read Southey's Life of Bunyan, prefixed to the recently-published edition of Pilgrim's Progress. It seemed "interesting and delightful", but he noticed that it became biased "whenever the persecution of the Sectaries by the established Church cannot be concealed, yet will not be condemned"⁷. Assisted by Green, he pressed on with "my philosophic Enterprize ... - our this day's work: the identification of the diurnal revolution of the Globe with electricity"⁸.

He heard of the death of King George IV on 26 June. (After a decent interval he believed that a future historian would read "a most impressive Lesson for Princes in his reign". The contrast between the "calamitous Measures and events" in George III's reign and the brilliant success of the Regency - and yet the death of George III had been regretted more by the public than that of George IV. As for William IV:

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- 1 L VI 977; in fact in 1799
 - 2 B.M.MS. 47540 f. 14, notebook 45
 - 3 L VI 839-40
 - 4 B.M.MS. 47540 ff. 19, 23, notebook 45
 - 5 B.M.MS. 47540 f. 18, notebook 45
 - 6 B.M.MS. 47540 f. 18, notebook 45
 - 7 B.M.MS. 47540 f. 21, notebook 45
 - 8 B.M.MS. 47540 f. 29, notebook 45

If his Ascension should be the occasion of checking the plan of the last 20 years to force the Military on us as the Premier Class, and their obtrusion on all situations of public Trust, at home & in the Colonies - we shall have reason fo be thankful for the Change.¹

But in Lamb's company his remarks on William IV were more robust.

S.T.C. says we have had wicked kings, foolish kings, wise kings, good kings (but few) but never till now have we had a Blackguard King - Charles 2d was profligate, but a Gentleman.²

But his own health caused him more concern than the death of the King. His intestinal pains returned in full force during the last few days of June. "God have mercy on me."³ Three days later, on 2 July, he wrote and signed the codicil of his Will, in which Green, Gillman and Henry Nelson Coleridge were made trustees for Hartley's one-third of the estate. His "anxious wish" was to "ensure for my Son the continued means of a Home"⁴. He had doubtless heard of Hartley's strange, wandering behaviour in the Lake District. Wordsworth had even been forced to warn the owner of an inn that neither Mrs Coleridge nor anybody else "would be answerable for payment" if Hartley were allowed to remain there. The Wordsworths found him lodgings in a cottage belonging to the Flemings, but after working steadily there for seven weeks he left as soon as he was paid for his work. Since then he had been heard of at several inns, on the roads, or "having lodged in this barn or that"⁵.

Charles and Mary Lamb moved from Enfield to 34 Southampton Buildings,

1 B.M.MS. 47540 ff. 38-39, notebook 45

2 Lamb Letters III 283

3 B.M.MS. 47540 f. 40, notebook 45

4 L VI 1001-02; B.M.MS. 47540 f. 43, notebook 45

5 Later Years 451 -55, 464-65

where Coleridge had taken lodgings in March 1811¹. Mary was immediately taken ill again. Lamb carried the news to Highgate on 8 July, and although Coleridge could not understand why they had left Enfield, since it was known that Mary suffered a relapse whenever they moved, he sympathised with Lamb's obvious distress. "I exerted myself, & he left me comforted - & promises to let us see him soon."² But he could not extend any sympathy to Charles X, the King of France. An article in the Courier of 6 July excited his contempt by its description of "the unfortunate aged & mistaken Monarch!" He believed that in consequence of "a long-concerted conspiracy" Charles X had "massacred in cold blood from 9 to 15000 of his unoffending Subjects! Psha! aged? Why, he is a mere Youngster compared with the Devil! and the Devil himself could not have done worse"³. The subsequent revolution starting on 27 July led to the abdication of Charles X. Coleridge praised the French for their wisdom and magnanimity in allowing him to flee France unharmed. "That the French would have violated any principle of Right, had they chosen to try him, and brought him to the Scaffold, I cannot admit."⁴

He found the changeable weather "ungenial". When the temperature rose to 70 degrees, he was very uncomfortable: "I have often felt less oppressed in Malta and Sicily at 95°"⁵. But by eating very little for a whole day he managed to reduce "the hot turmoil of the head"⁶. He was

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- 1 L III 302 ff.; see above p 3
 - 2 B.M.MS. 47539 ff. 22-23, notebook 44
 - 3 B.M.MS. 47539 f. 49, notebook 44
 - 4 B.M.MS. 47541 f. 2, notebook 46
 - 5 B.M.MS. 47539 ff. 30, 42, notebook 44
 - 6 B.M.MS. 47539 f. 44, notebook 44

concerned about the self-deception involved in an excessive consumption of wine "& similar Excitants", because over-indulgence affected the judgement.

It is a strong presumption of a 'too much', when a man in a mixed society talks to or against another, reducing the rest of the Company to Spectators & Auditors. He reduces himself to the character of a Shewman, or an intellectual Gladiator.¹

And he was still worried about the difficulty of judging the extent of the decline of intellectual power in old age. He hoped that if a friend - "Mr Green, for instance" - warned him, he would feel properly grateful. "The duty of acting on the intellect of other men is remitted with the withdrawal of the intellectual powers that effectuated him."² He still found his Sundays, spent working with Green, pleasant and profitable, and was delighted to observe the "continual and progressive expansion, comprehension, and productivity of my friend's intellect". He looked forward

with delight to the conjunction of our names, and with a pardonable pride of heart indulge my fancy in the conceit, that the System of evolving all the truths and central facts of moral & physical Science, all the constitutive principles of the Fine Arts, and all the all the (sic) spiritual verities of Religion, out of one Postulate, to which no man can refuse his assent but by a perverse exercise of the very power, the existence of which he denies - that this bold, but at all events meritorious Attempt may be known to the World under the name of the Chloro-esteesian Philosophy or connected Disquisitions concerning God, Nature and Man by J.H. Green and S.T. Coleridge.³

On 14 August he was well enough to attend with Gillman and his son Henry a lecture in Highgate on Egypt. "The first half sufficiently

1 B.M.MS. 47539 f. 45, notebook 44

2 B.M.MS. 47539 f. 46, notebook 44

3 B.M.MS. 47539 ff. 74-75, notebook 44

interesting - but the Hollow beneath the Surface too often betrayed itself thro' crack & chasm."¹ Despite discomfort and pain - "What can go right when the Rectum itself goes wrong?" - he was tranquil and felt as much peace of mind as was compatible with his belief that his pain and depression "have been the consequences, and ought to be regarded as the deserved penance of my own transgressions, & culpable Weaknesses & Indiscretions"².

Hurst, Chance and Company had decided to print a second edition of Aids to Reflection, and were pressing for copy. The delay was caused by his determination to send nothing to the printers until he had the whole work ready for the press. But he had to compromise, sending them copy for the first half on 23 August, a day of "bodily ease and gleams of convalescence",³ on the understanding that he would send the rest whenever they wanted it, finished or not.

This is the best compromise that in the present uncertainty and restiveness of my Beast-body I can make between my desire to improve the Book and my anxiety not to worry or disappoint you or your Printer.⁴

The second edition of Aids to Reflection was issued in 1831.

On 29 August he spent the day in London to consult a dentist about a front tooth loosened by his habit of grinding his teeth together "during pain in sleep". Charles Lamb gave him the "melancholy" news that Hazlitt was dying in near destitution, with Lamb as his only source of comfort and assistance. Coleridge remembered his first meeting with Hazlitt near

1 B.M.MS. 47539 f. 61, notebook 44

2 B.M.MS. 47539 f. 67, notebook 44

3 B.M.MS. 47539 f. 78, notebook 44

4 L VI 845

Shrewsbury

& what I then found Hazlitt encourages me to hope, that his almost savage butting against & goring all, who from an anticipative faith in his mental powers, were anxious to befriend him, & who perseveringly did befriend him, has its' ground in some constitutional warp, for which he is not individually responsible!¹

When Hazlitt died on 18 September Coleridge wrote an epitaph for him with "an earnest hope" that he might find forgiveness for his "acts & feelings":

Beneath this Stone doth William Hazlitt lie
Thankless for all, that God or Man could give,
He lived like one who never thought to die,²
He died like one who dared not hope to live.

After visiting the "new improvements" at Farringdon and Covent Garden Markets - "very honorable to the Age - & true Ornaments to the Metropolis" - he dined with Green before returning by stage to Highgate, "gratified tho' fatigued by the so unusual exertion"³.

Heavy cloud prevented him watching a promised total lunar eclipse on 2 September, but this proved more of a disappointment to the Gillmans than to him, "in that I had seen and watched a total eclipse of the Moon in the cloudless sky of Malta"⁴. He took large doses of laxative salts to try to reduce a dull ache down the left side of his body in order that he might comfortably attend a play at the local Jewish school on 8 September⁵. He still received some visitors on Thursday evenings although the conversational evenings were now stopped. Henry Taylor with

1 B.M.MS. 47541 f. 9, notebook 46

2 B.M.MS. 47542 f. 1, notebook 47

3 B.M.MS. 47541 f. 9, notebook 46

4 B.M.MS. 47541 f. 13, notebook 46 *cf. N 2610*

5 B.M.MS. 47541 ff. 15, 21, notebook 46

his friend, Thomas Hyde Villéers, still called regularly¹. A new visitor was George Frere's son, John, a graduate of Trinity College, Cambridge, and a friend of Tennyson and Arthur Hallam². His most regular visitor was Adam Steinmetz, "that meek and amiable Seeker for and Lover of the Good in the True, and of the True for the sake of the Good"³. Gillman extracted Coleridge's loose tooth on 20 September, and it was carefully stored so that the dentist could later replace it:

O Harriet! beware!
Tis my Tooth! have a care!
Tis my Tooth, my front Tooth,
The Friend of my Youth
Which tho' now tis check-mated
Is to be re-instated.⁴

His daughter Sara was due to give birth to her first child in early October. They had moved during the Summer to a larger house at Hampstead, and in anticipation of her confinement Sara asked her mother to come up from Helston. Mrs Coleridge had been happy with Derwent's family at Helston, but wanted to be with Sara and happily travelled to London. She lived in her daughter's house for the remaining fifteen years of her life, sometimes a trial as she grew older, but more often a comfort and consolation⁵. Coleridge was "very nervous" about Sara, and his ill-health made it impossible for him to come to see her or his wife. "I have not yet seen him, but as soon as he is well enough, after his daughter is safe in bed he will come over."⁶ Sara's child, a boy named Herbert

1 L VI 783 and n 5

2 B.M.MS. 47541 f. 29, notebook 46; see also E.M. Green "A Talk with Coleridge" in Cornhill Magazine XLII n.s. (1917) 402-10

3 B.M.MS. 47542 f. 33, notebook 47

4 B.M.MS. 47541 f. 37, notebook 46

5 E.L. Griggs Coleridge Fille 72

6 Minnow 160-62

after Southey's beloved son, was born on 7 October. He delighted everyone, "but his father thinks he is too much like himself to be pretty". Gillman, who had cared for Sara during her confinement, carried the good news back to Highgate¹.

Coleridge realised that he was becoming bowed with age when he mentioned to Gillman's apprentice, Henry Porter, that he had not seen a shooting star for several years and asked Porter if he ever saw them. "'Why! every starry night, Sir! - I am seeing them constantly, when I am out at nights.' - This is a symptom of age which Wordsworth would make poetic use of."² His birthday on 20 October passed uncelebrated, and the sudden, unexpected death of his father at the age of sixty-two was often in his thoughts. He remembered that his father used to say that although he prayed against sudden death "as the Mouth-piece of his Congregation", in his private devotions, although he could not pray for it, "yet neither could he with sincere heart pray against it"³.

The deteriorating state of British politics caused him much concern. "Alas! All Europe at present seems a Gunpowder Plot, with Guy Fauxes in the Senates themselves."⁴ Although the cancellation of the Lord Mayor's Feast seemed to him a perfect subject for "a philosophic Poet"⁵, he wondered whether he should suggest to Daniel Stuart the formation of "associations of all men of property in who (sic) from Christian principles feel themselves to have a property (sic) in the order & therefore the

1 Minnow 163-64; E.L. Griggs Coleridge Fille 73

2 B.M.MS. 47542 f. 15, notebook 47

3 B.M.MS. 47547 ff. 21-22, notebook 47

4 B.M.MS. 47543 f. 3, notebook 48

5 B.M.MS. 47543 f. 9, notebook 48

subordination of the Country"¹. Green told him that his second Lay Sermon, on the distresses in Britain at the end of the Napoleonic Wars, was still just as relevant as if it had been "written within the last fortnight"².

Henry Cary called at Highgate on 22 November³, and Coleridge asked his assistance to improve the style of the second edition of Church and State; he was making "a sincere attempt to ascertain the causes of the Obscurity felt generally in my prose writings"⁴. Henry Nelson Coleridge was assisting him in the preparation of the second edition of Aids to Reflection, and asked Coleridge's permission to remove the headings, "Leighton", "Editor", "L. & Ed.", which had in the first edition indicated the authorship of the aphorisms. Coleridge gave him "Chart Blanch for any amendments" in the style:

For my object, God knows! being to convey what appeared to me truths of infinite concernment, I thought neither of Leighton nor of myself - but simply of how it was most likely they should be rendered intelligible and impressive.⁵

Henry caused the headings to be removed in the second edition, thus removing all indication of the authorship of the aphorisms. It is possible, however, that he exceeded Coleridge's intentions by removing all references to him as "Editor" or "annotator", replacing them with "Author". Also the "Advertisement" in the 1825 edition, which explained the origin of the work in the works of Leighton, was replaced by an address "TO THE READER" in which Leighton is not even mentioned. Henry repeated the same process

1 B.M.MS. 47544 f. 13, notebook 49

2 L VI 848

3 B.M.MS. 47543 f. 24, notebook 48

4 L VI 847

5 L VI 848-49

in the 1834 edition of The Poetical Works of S.T. Coleridge, removing the original attributions from several of the poems and thus giving the appearance of plagiarism to several translations.

Mrs William Lorance Rogers asked Coleridge to recommend her brother, John Frederic Daniell, for the Chair of Chemistry in King's College, London. He not only promised his support - "little, I fear, would the influence of my name & opinion be, with the potentiaries of the World" - but also obtained the support of Green, whom Wordsworth now described as a "distinguished surgeon"¹. Southey was in London from October to December but apparently never called on Coleridge². News of Coleridge's ill-health had reached the Lake District, and when Wordsworth visited London in December with his wife and Dora, they called to see him several times³. Dora was delighted with Sara's baby, but Coleridge seemed "much aged" since their tour in 1828⁴. The Wordsworths dined at The Grove on Christmas Day, as did Mr and Mrs Aders, and Henry and Sara Coleridge. "A happy Christmas Day throughout - God be blessed."⁵ Wordsworth was saddened by the obvious collapse of Coleridge's health, although his mind seemed to have "lost none of its vigour"⁶. Early in the new year Derwent visited Coleridge for a few hours on his way back to Cornwall from Harrow. He had been inspecting a large private school there in which he had been offered a share, but the scheme had to be abandoned because of lack of

1 L VI 850-51; Later Years II 587

2 The Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey ed. C.C. Southey VI 120

3 Later Years I 522, II 545, 546; The Letters of Mary Wordsworth ed. M.E. Burton 133-34

4 Letters of Dora Wordsworth ed. H.P. Vincent 37, letter misdated

5 B.M.MS. 47544 f.24, notebook 49

6 Later Years II 546-47

capital¹.

"Too ill, too low, and by the frequent subsultus of muscle & seemingly of the whole trunk too painfully interrupted", he became unable to write, and took refuge in light reading. Otto von Kotzebue's narrative, translated as A New Voyage round the World in the Years 1823-26 (1830), so disturbed him by its criticisms of British missionaries that on 14 January 1831 he wrote to his old friend, Rev. Joseph Hughes, the Secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Although he noticed Kotzebue's obvious prejudice against Western Christianity, and that he exaggerated and distorted the situation, he believed that if the accusations were false, they should not go uncontradicted. If accepted, they put the Missionary Society on a par with "the Franciscan and Dominican Friars of New California", for they appeared to show "a woful scene of folly and fanaticism, spiritual pride, and lust of temporal power" beneath a facade of spiritual purpose. "I have long regretted the too general unfitness of the men chosen as missionaries, with some splendid exceptions in the East Indies."² Hughes was able to satisfy him on the subject, and Rev. W. Ellis published a reply exposing Kotzebue's "falsifications".³

He also read widely in the Quarterly Review and was "more than usually interested" by an article in the October 1830 issue on the first volume of Charles Lyell's Principles of Geology (1830)⁴. "As far as I can judge from the Review, he has a half-truth by the tail - tho' not half the truth."⁵

1 L VI 854 and n 1

2 L VI 1055-56

3 J. Leifchild Memoir of the Late Rev. Joseph Hughes A.M. 468

4 Volumes II and III were published in 1832 and 1833

5 L VI 854

But he became distressed to feel himself growing "useless and worthless - a discredit to the Past, a Burthen for the Present, a Despair for the Future"¹. At Green's suggestion in March he made the first of many trips to Great Malborough Street where he took "sulphurized hot Air Baths"². His son-in-law was pleased with the result: "I never saw a man so set up in spirits by any thing"³.

Some recent attempts to analyse the effective constituents of opium received Coleridge's partial approval, although he thought that conclusive evidence was still lacking for the effects of individual components. But he believed that the new opium compounds should be tried, especially "muriate of morphia", because it would be "of no slight advantage that it may be administered without the Patient's finding out what the particular thing was that had procured him ease and pleasurable Sleep"⁴.

The fears he had expressed the previous Autumn for the state of the nation were unexpectedly confirmed for him on 22 April when parliament was dissolved and an election called. The Whig administration of Earl Grey, pledged to electoral reform, had been defeated in committee three days earlier on the Reform Bill,

a substitution of a non-descript partial Plebsim
(Democracy is no fit term for a senseless Tin-Pounding)
for that miracle & mystery of State-Life and National
Wisdom, the English Constitution! - Hence forward I
have no Country but Christendom. I will never consent
to be any thing else but an Englishman - and England is -
no more!⁵

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- 1 B.M.MS. 47545 f. 2, notebook 50
 - 2 B.M.MS. 47545 f. 6, notebook 50
 - 3 B.M.MS. 47558 ff. 114-15, Henry Nelson Coleridge to Francis George Coleridge 21 March 1831
 - 4 B.M.MS. 47545 ff. 8-9, notebook 50
 - 5 B.M.MS. 47545 f. 9, notebook 50

But this news faded into comparative insignificance only a few days later when he was informed in early May, just before payment was due, that the annual grants to the Royal Associates of the Royal Society of Literature had been discontinued. No warning had been given. Only two months earlier he had presented the Society's Library with copies of the second editions of Aids to Reflection and Church and State¹. For Coleridge the loss was enormous: he had received one hundred guineas a year for the last seven years, his only regular income. The pensions had in fact been the personal bounty of George IV and had ceased on his death in June 1830, but the Royal Associates had received no intimation of their discontinuance until the next payment was due, in May 1831. Coleridge consulted his friends² and on their advice wrote on 19 May to Lord Brougham, the Lord Chancellor. The letter, which is not extant, was transmitted by Henry Nelson Coleridge to William Sotheby, who had offered his assistance³. Sotheby delivered it to Brougham, who consulted the Treasury⁴. This was apparently the first intimation that Lord Grey, first Lord of the Treasury, had of the discontinuance of the annuities. Believing Coleridge's circumstances to be desperate, Grey at once offered a temporary gift from the Treasury, and Brougham informed Sotheby that £200 had been "found" for Coleridge. "Let him have $\frac{1}{2}$ each year." Sotheby informed Coleridge at once on 26 May, delighted with his success⁵.

Coleridge, however, did not share Sotheby's pleasure. In place of the "public honour and stipend" he was to be given a private gift from the Treasury solely to help alleviate his poverty: "on the supposition that a

1 G. Whalley "Coleridge and the Royal Society of Literature" in Essays by Divers Hands n.s. XXXV (1969) 147-51

2 L VI 857

3 L VI 858

4 B.M.MS. 47545 f. 11, notebook 50

5 L VI 859-60

hundred pound would suffice to prevent me from starving for 12 months, I have a respite of a full year before my deposition in the work-house"¹. Although he disliked the offer and wished to refuse it, he consulted his friends before writing to Sotheby on 3 June "respectfully" declining it². The communication of his decision to Sotheby may have been hastened by columns in The Times and Morning Chronicle on 2 and 3 June, which quoted passages from an article in the Englishman's Magazine on the plight of the Royal Associates³. It was probably written by his friend, Joseph Hardman, who had proposed it in a letter to Gillman in May when the discontinuance of the grants had first been announced. He had informed them that he intended to refer to Coleridge's situation, and asked if any application had been made to the government⁴. Although Coleridge had asked him not to use his name, for such an article "could do no good, and might work injuriously"⁵, Hardman published his political attack on the Whigs. The discontinuance was a "melancholy and ... most disgraceful fact", especially since "the Pension List has been sacredly preserved in all its entirety of political infamy". He called upon Brougham, the "official keeper of the royal conscience", to prevent William IV performing "an action so unworthy of the dignity of the beloved sovereign of Britain". It was a "miserable attempt at economy". Grey, too, was exhorted to act⁶. In response The Times on 3 June exonerated the Whigs from any responsibility

1 L VI 680

2 L VI 861-63

3 L VI 866 and n 1

4 L VI 866-67

5 L VI 867

6 "Extraordinary Case of the Royal Associates of the Royal Society of Literature" in Englishman's Magazine (June 1831)

for the "harsh" discontinuance. It also stated that when Lord Grey had learned that Coleridge had lost "the pittance on which he had hitherto existed", he had "agreed to grant him an annuity equal to that withdrawn from him, though issuing out of a fund which is only temporary". The discontinuance had been "a blunder", but the government was not to blame. "The truth is, that the pensions were supplied by order of GEORGE IV, from the Privy Purse, over which ... no person has authority but the King himself."

These public statements of his poverty and the apparently official "strange misstatement" that he had been offered an annuity¹, decided Coleridge to make public all the details. Thus a letter signed by Gillman, but probably at least in part dictated by Coleridge (and certainly with his approval), appeared in The Times on 4 June. It described his application to Brougham and Grey, and the offer of £200 as a "private grant" from the Treasury. It concluded by stating that he had "felt it his duty most respectfully to decline it, though with every grateful acknowledgement of the prompt and courteous attention which his case had received from both their Lordships"².

Meanwhile, without Coleridge's knowledge, others had also been active on his behalf. Hardman had requested Thomas Pringle's assistance, and Pringle had approached Samuel Rogers, James Mackintosh and C.R. Fox, Equerry to Queen Adelaide. Mackintosh, who was in Harrogate, thought that it was impossible to obtain anything for Coleridge, and suggested a subscription.

1 L VI 866

2 The Times 4 June 1831

Rogers went at once to Lord Grey on 26 May, and was informed that Coleridge would still receive "his annuity". Pringle at once told Hardman, who passed the news happily to Coleridge¹. Coleridge thanked Pringle in early June, and again had to explain why he refused Grey's offer of a gift from the Treasury².

Charles Lamb had also been trying to help. With the assistance of Dr J. Badams, the Birmingham manufacturer and scientist, Lamb had passed a "moving" letter about Coleridge to Edward Ellice, Grey's brother-in-law, who was in the Treasury. Ellice consulted Grey and was told of the gift offered to Coleridge. In late May Lamb was received at the Treasury by Lord Grey "with the utmost cordiality (shook hands with me coming and going)", who told him that his application for Coleridge would receive an answer in, at most, three days.

Meantime Gilman's extraordinary insolent letter comes out in the Times! As to my acquiescing in this strange step, I told Mr. Ellice ... that I consider'd such a grant as almost equivalent to the lost pension, as from C.'s appearance and the representations of the Gillmans, I scarce could think C.'s life worth 2 years' purchase.³

After seeing Ellice again Lamb wrote "in the most urgent manner" to Gillman, asking that an immediate letter of acknowledgement be sent to Badams, who had "come forward so disinterestedly, amidst his complicated illnesses and embarrassments, to use up an interest, which he may so well need, in favor of a stranger". Neither Lamb nor Badams received a reply. "Poor C. is not to blame, for he is in leading strings."⁴

1 The Poetical Works of Thomas Pringle ed. L. Ritchie cviii-cx

2 L VI 867-68

3 Lamb Letters III 315-16

4 Lamb Letters III 316

Sotheby called at Highgate as soon as he received Coleridge's letter of 3 June declining the gift from the Treasury. He offered Coleridge a present of £50, which was accepted, and again tried to persuade him to accept the gift from the Treasury. Coleridge, however, remained firm, and when he had recovered from a short indisposition, wrote a letter of explanation to Lord Brougham on 14 June¹. As far as he was concerned the matter was ended.

But public attention was drawn to the Royal Associates for several months. The Englishman's Magazine reported in July an appeal by the Committee of the Royal Society of Literature to Lord Grey, and kept up its attack on the Whig ministry. Nothing came of the appeal, and subsequently the title of "Royal Associate" was dropped and replaced by the original "Honorary Associate"². Coleridge's case was finally brought to the King's attention when Daniel Stuart wrote to one of William IV's illegitimate sons, the Earl of Munster, on 19 July. Munster promised to give Stuart's letter to the King, but offered no encouragement.

The late King, whose income doubl'd my Father's, had the means of giving out of his Privy Purse £1100 a Year, but it was found quite impossible it should be continued in the present reign from the very reduced Income of his present Majesty³.

There is no evidence that Coleridge ever received any money from the Treasury⁴. Only a few months before his death he wrote that he had not

1 L VI 868-69

2 G. Whalley "Coleridge and the Royal Society of Literature" in Essays by Divers Hands n.s. XXXV (1969) 147-51

3 Letters from the Lake Poets to Daniel Stuart ed. E.H. Coleridge 319-22

4 but see Letters from the Lake Poets to Daniel Stuart ed. E.H. Coleridge 319 n.

possessed

a shilling of my own in the world since King William the Fourth took my poor gold chain of a hundred links - one hundred pounds - with those of nine other literary veterans, to emblazon d'or, the black bar across the Royal arms of the Fitzclarences.

Scott was probably confusing earlier attempts by Frere to assist Coleridge when he recorded in Malta in December 1831 that Frere gave Coleridge a pension of £200 "out of his own fortune"². In August 1834 Sara told Hartley that just before Coleridge's final illness the Secretary of the Royal Society of Literature had informed him "that his pension was to be continued from last April"³. There is no record of this in the records of the Royal Society of Literature, although the Secretary may have been referring to a Civil List pension, like those eventually paid to other former Royal Associates, Sharon Turner and James Millingen⁴. Coleridge, however, received no such pension.

The anxiety and stress of his unaccustomed exertions in trying to save his pension caused a severe relapse in his condition⁵. Between August 1831 and May 1833 he even abandoned all use of the memorandum books, his "Fly-catchers"⁶. A mood of depression on 9 August led to an expression of his life-long self-doubt in terms almost precisely similar to those he had used in a letter to Southey in August 1803⁷.

1 L VI 982

2 The Journal of Sir Walter Scott ed. W.E.K. Anderson 690

3 Coleridge: Studies by Several Hands ed. E. Blunden and E.L. Griggs 228

4 G. Whalley "Coleridge and the Royal Society of Literature" in Essays by Divers Hands n.s. XXXV (1969) 147-51; L VI 857 headnote

5 L VI 869

6 B.M.MS. 47546 f. 2, notebook 51

7 L II 959; E. Schneider Coleridge, Opium and Kubla Khan 107, 327 n 131

From my earliest recollections I have had a consciousness of Power without Strength - a perception, an experience, of more than ordinary power, with an inward sense of Weakness. - O more than ever, tho' I can & it would perhaps be instructive, to trace it thro' the different periods of my Life, in characteristic instances - more than ever do I feel it now, when I have to struggle day after day with life-loathing Sickness¹

Green remained his most devoted friend, and visited him at least once a week². And in spite of Coleridge' ill-health Henry Nelson Coleridge called frequently. "My Uncle is much as usual - very grand and eloquent, & my memorabilia augment rapidly. My Aunt is also pretty well."³ In September Coleridge suffered two attacks of bilious cholera⁴ and suffered greatly from coughs and excessive production of phlegm⁵. Henry Taylor called at Highgate on 22 September, accompanied by John Stuart Mill, a Mr Elliot, and Sir James Stephen⁶. Taylor thought he looked "sadly enfeebled and even crippled", but his conversational powers remained impressive.

One heard from him ... things which could have come from ~~from~~ no one else; not such continuous and unintermitted eloquence as I have sometimes heard from him, but the 'flash and outbreak of a fiery mind' from time to time.⁷

More difficult for Coleridge to bear was the alternation of erysipelas in one or both legs with severe "rheumatic" pains, which kept him confined to his room "by the weakness and paralysed state of the Sciatic Nerve"⁸.

1 B.M.MS. 47545 f. 17, notebook 50

2 L VI 870 etc.

3 B.M.MS. 47557 ff. 84-86, Henry Nelson Coleridge to John Taylor Coleridge 4 Sep. 1831

4 Later Years II 587; Correspondence of Henry Taylor ed. E. Dowden 39

5 L VI 870 etc.

6 L VI 872; U. Taylor Guests and Memories 14; R.W. Armour and R.F. Howes Coleridge the Talker 464 n 1

7 Correspondence of Henry Taylor ed. E. Dowden 39-40

8 L VI 874

The pain - "Sharp as the pang from the asp's tooth" - was little, however, compared to the "torpor of the voluntary muscles" which it induced¹.

I am strongly inclined to think ... that both the Expectoration and the sciatic weakness are effects of the same cause. But alas! who shall extricate my feet² out of the Net which I have unhappily woven for myself?

David Scott, the Edinburgh painter, had drawn a series of illustrations for The Ancient Mariner, and wrote to him in November asking if there was a publisher interested in the poem to whom the drawings might be sent³. Coleridge's reply on 19 November was a discouraging catalogue of his illnesses and financial misfortunes. He could offer Scott no hope of publishing the drawings. "I question whether there ever existed a man of letters, so utterly friendless, or so unconnected as I am, with the Dispensers of contemporary reputation "⁴ Scott persevered, however, and his drawings illustrated an edition of The Ancient Mariner published in 1837 by Alexander Hill of Edinburgh, and Ackermann and Company, London⁵.

James Gillman, jr., graduated B.C.L. from St John's College, Oxford, in November, and became a Fellow of his College. He prepared to take Orders, and on 15 December Coleridge delightedly informed Green that James had "passed an unusually strict & long examination for ordination with great Credit, & was selected by the Bishop to read the Lessons in the service". His parents were, naturally, very pleased, and doubtless Coleridge's share in the young man's education was not forgotten⁶.

1 L VI 874

2 L VI 873

3 W.B. Scott Memoir of David Scott 48

4 L VI 1057-58

5 W.B. Scott Memoir of David Scott 47-49

6 L VI 877; A.W. Gillman The Gillmans of Highgate 28

CHAPTER 10. JANUARY 1832 - JULY 1834

Because of the incapacitating pains in his legs and abdomen, on 6 January 1832 Coleridge was forced to send out openly to Dunn's chemist's shop for a bottle of "Tinct. Op." - "on my very first Excursion I will call on you & settle this with what other favors I have yet to account for"¹. A minor domestic crisis led to a resumption of his "rhyming madness" and the composition of "A Sesqui-Sonnet - or Elegiac Farewell to my black Tin Shaving-Pot". He sent the lines to Green on 11 January, and later sent a copy to Blackwood².

No longer in possession of any regular income he now found it necessary to "take courage & look my affairs in the face - from which I have year after year shrunk"³. He therefore applied to James Baldwin, one of the assignees of the bankrupt estate of Rest Fenner⁴, to learn the state of his account⁵. Several months later, after repeated requests to Baldwin for information, he complained to Henry Nelson Coleridge that he had heard nothing⁶. Only a few days later, on 29 June, he had to acknowledge shame-facedly the receipt of a cheque for £102 from Baldwin, to whom he explained apologetically that his delay in answering the note which accompanied it had been caused by

an old bad habit of mine - viz. a sort of cowardly awe and superstitious reverence for the Seals (whether wax or wafer) of my Correspondents' Letters, with the consequent suspension sine die of all knowledge of their contents⁷.

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- 1 L VI 877, 880
 - 2 L VI 880-81, 911-13; E.H.Coleridge did not include the lines in his edition of Coleridge's Poems, but they were printed in M.Oliphant's Annals of a Publishing House I 421
 - 3 L VI 882
 - 4 see above pp. 85-86
 - 5 L VI 882
 - 6 L VI 913
 - 7 L VI 914-15

Henry Nelson Coleridge suggested that he might contribute some articles to Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country, but Coleridge objected that he ought to offer any contribution first to Blackwood's Magazine, and asked Henry to write for him to John Wilson offering articles for his consideration. "Of course, my Whole and only object is the desire to see them put into the possibility of becoming useful."¹ In dark hours of severe abdominal pain he contemplated suicide, almost envying the Roman or Brahmin his permissive attitude. But not only was suicide "so evidently inconsistent ... with the virtues & graces which our Lord does command", death might prove no release from pain: "what if these painful sensations, under which you groan, shall be even the merciful Sheathes of a sharper argument"² Green's enemas and the frequent "Bed-air-baths" proved of little value³, and so in desperation he began to experiment with his diet and his consumption of laudanum. Instead of his normal two chops for breakfast (usually eaten between noon and one p.m.) he took only a few thin slices of bread and butter, and two cups of tea. At three o'clock he had a bowl of meat soup, and at five a few spoonfuls of bread pudding, after which he went to bed. He also reduced his dose of laudanum by one-third, despite Gillman's disapproval⁴. At first his health improved and his spirits rose⁵. Within a month he had completely abandoned laudanum:

1 L VI 884

2 B.M.MS. 47544 ff.44-46, notebook 49

3 L VI 886

4 L VI 886-87

5 L VI 887

so far from any craving for the poison that has been the curse of my existence, my shame and my negro-slave inward humiliation and debasement, I feel an aversion, a horror at the imagining: so that I doubt, whether I could swallow a dose without a resiliency, amounting almost to a convulsion.

There was no pain, and he felt quite calm, but had "no sensation of convalescence, no genial feeling"¹. He experienced no desire for laudanum when the intestinal pain increased in late March², but when the pain continued into April he took two grains of "Acetate of Morphi-um" every twenty-four hours. He also cut down his consumption of alcohol, and now drank only a pint of wine, half a glass of brandy, and two-thirds of a bottle of port every day. "It is now 5 weeks since I have taken Laudanum - but tho' thank God! much quieter, I am daily weaker & weaker. - Scarce able indeed to sit up for 3 or 4 hours in the 24."³

However he still tried to see his visitors. On 20 March William Rowan Hamilton spent an hour and a half in Coleridge's room. In 1827, as a twenty-two year old undergraduate, Hamilton had been appointed Professor of Astronomy and Superintendent of the observatory at Trinity College, Dublin, and soon afterwards had become Astronomer Royal for Ireland. A second meeting took place on 23 March, when Hamilton spent two hours at Highgate. Coleridge impressed him:

Both interviews interested me very much, but I shall not attempt to describe them, because I feel it almost an injury to the sense of grandeur and infinity with which the whole impressed me then, to try to recall the details now⁴.

1 L VI 892

2 L VI 894

3 L VI 898-99

4 R.P.Graves Life of Sir William Rowan Hamilton I 538-39

Hamilton asked him for an autograph copy of the lines, Epitaph on an Infant, for Lady de Vere, which Coleridge duly sent him. Coleridge had spoken "slightinglly" of the poem as "crude and imperfect", and "extemporised an altered set of lines, on the same subject"¹. He also promised to lend Hamilton his copy of Kant's Vermischte Schriften, but wrongly believing that his edition was in five volumes, felt unable to send it to him when he could find only four².

Crabb Robinson was another visitor, accompanied by Mrs Aders. Coleridge received them in bed. "He looked beautifully - his eye remarkably brilliant - and he talked as eloquently as ever."³

Gradually Coleridge grew weaker, and he became convinced that he was near death⁴. In this state he could not understand why Gillman (who was himself probably tired because of the cholera epidemic which was raging in London) refused to believe that he was seriously ill. When Gillman had not visited his attic room for almost a week, he wrote despairingly to Green on 7 April. Gillman seemed to have decided that "a man with such a pulse & such a tongue, cannot be dangerously ill; ... tho' I have passed my days in moaning & groaning" It seemed to him that he had been given up for dead⁵. Lamb also received a distressed letter from him, complaining that Lamb had forgotten him or was neglecting him because he was offended. Lamb replied cheerfully, promising to visit him on 18 April⁶. Henry Blake McLellan, a young American clergyman touring

1 L VI 893; R.P.Graves Life of Sir William Rowan Hamilton I 539-40

2 L VI 896

3 Robinson's Diary III 4; Robinson on Writers I 405

4 L VI 897

5 L VI 898-99

6 Lamb Letters III 334

Europe, called on him unannounced on 27 April. Coleridge explained that he had suffered "much bodily anguish" but believed that his mind was unaffected. "For many months (thirteen) seventeen hours each day had he walked up and down his chamber."¹

(Coleridge's main preoccupation apart from his health was, as all his visitors learned, the state of the nation in consequence of the attempts to introduce the Reform Bill. A second attempt had been halted in October 1831 by the House of Lords, and Lord Grey had reluctantly accepted his cabinet's suggestion that if it was again rejected by the Lords, the King should be asked to create a sufficient number of additional peers to ensure its passage. The reintroduced Bill received its third reading in the Commons on 23 March. It was read for a second time in the Lords on 14 April, but the Opposition threatened to either halt it or change it completely in Committee. In the midst of the growing crisis Henry Cary, a supporter of Reform, called at Highgate. Coleridge became so exercised that, as he later confessed apologetically, his opposition to Cary's arguments was "very rude" and uncourteously vehement². Although he accepted that a measure of reform was necessary, he was bitterly opposed to this Reform Bill³. The Bill seemed to extend the franchise in a divisive way - "a practical disfranchisement of all above, and a discontenting of all below, a favoured class are the unavoidable results"⁴. But it seemed

1 H.B.McLellan Journal of a Residence in Scotland, and Tour through England, France, etc. 230-31

2 L VI 901

3 H.B.McLellan Journal of a Residence in Scotland, and Tour through England, France, etc. 232

4 Table Talk 3 March 1832

to him, more importantly, to raise far wider issues: "The Bill is bad enough, God knows, but the arguments of its advocates, and the manner of their advocacy, are a thousand times worse" The supporters of Reform had appealed to the "passions" and "necessary ignorance of the numerical majority of the nation", and this had limited proper freedom of discussion "by competent heads"¹. Their use of the King's name to tell the people that in the past they had been deprived of their rights to vote implied that his predecessors had enslaved the people, and the King appeared to be criticising his father and brother². It also seemed to him dangerous, in the aftermath of the recent second French Revolution, that this vital measure might be seen as being acceded to only because of fears of the danger of resisting the pressure of public opinion³.

I have heard but two arguments of any weight adduced in favour of passing this Reform Bill, and they are in substance these: - 1. We will blow your brains out if you don't pass it. 2. We will drag you through a horsepond if you don't pass it; and there is a good deal of force in both.

The decision to create new peers to force it through the Lords would destroy the constitutional independence of the Lords, and the Reformers would have "superseded the triple assent which the constitution requires to the enactment of a valid law, and have left the king alone with the delegates of the populace"⁴.

The Lords rejected the Reform Bill on 7 May, and Grey asked the King to create the required extra peers. William IV refused, and Grey resigned

1 Table Talk 20 November 1831

2 ibid

3 Robinson's Diary III 4

4 Table Talk 24 February 1832; this conversation is also recorded in B.M.MS. 47545 f.36, notebook 50

on 9 May. The Duke of Wellington was unable to form a Tory government, and Grey was recalled with the King's agreement to create additional peers. The mere threat, however, overcame the opposition, and the Reform Bill received the Royal Assent on 7 June.

Coleridge was still looking for things to publish. At Henry's suggestion, he approached Lockhart in an attempt to interest Murray in publishing a facsimile of A Collection of Tracts written by John Asgill, Esq; from the Year 1700 to the Year 1715. He had also approached Henry Cary, now Assistant Keeper of Manuscripts at the British Museum, for help with it¹. Nothing came of this proposal. In June An Old Man's Sigh: A Sonnet appeared in Blackwood's Magazine, introduced by a prose paragraph What is an English Sonnet?²

On 13 May he suffered a severe relapse in his health. The "disquieting sensations" disappeared after ten grains of "Blue Pill" - an opium compound - and Gillman insisted that he return to his previous dosage of laudanum. "But yet I grieve for the too apparent failure of the experiment."³ His health began slowly to improve, but he was not well enough to see his brother, Colonel James Coleridge, on 18 May⁴. By 10 June he was strong enough to get up for a few hours each day, thanks to a "Cordial Ether Draft" administered by Green⁵. He gleefully reported to Green that his relapse had shaken Gillman's faith in the "infallibility of the routine Tests, the Pulse, the Tongue, the face-complexion, and the non-production of pain by local pressure"⁶. He returned twice a week to

1 L VI 901, 903, 904-06

2 see L VI 910

3 L VI 907-08

4 L VI 909

5 L VI 913

6 L VI 908

the "Air-Bath" establishment in Marlborough Street. The improvement was so great that he was able to walk in the garden¹. Henry and Sara decided to take advantage of his recovery to hold the christening of their second child, born on 2 July. She was to be named Edith, after Edith Southey². The ceremony was performed by the Rev. James Gillman, jr., on 9 August. In order to be at his best Coleridge attended the "Air-Bath" establishment that morning, and was so well that he talked "incessantly" for five hours³. He and Mrs Coleridge talked a great deal about "the early days", and he asked after Thomas Poole⁴. "Bating living in the same house with her there are few women, that I have a greater respect & ratherish liking for, than Mrs C-." ⁵ She carefully kept some bad news from him. Hartley had left the Lakes and taken regular employment in Leeds with F.E.Bingley on a series of biographical studies. Mrs Coleridge feared his irresponsibility, and no longer believed him capable of self-management. But her fears proved unfounded, and the fruits of his stay in Leeds, Poems (1833) and Biographia Borealis; or Lives of Distinguished Northerns (1833), were well received by the reviewers⁶. Mrs Coleridge also concealed from her husband the bad news about the health of Wordsworth's sister, Dorothy - "her anxious friends scarcely dare hope that she will be able to pass another winter" - for if he was told, it would "throw a damp over him immediately"⁷.

1 Minnow 165

2 Minnow 165; L VI 918; E.L.Griggs Coleridge Fille 74

3 Minnow 165; L VI 919-20

4 Minnow 165

5 L VI 918

6 Minnow 165-66; Letters of Hartley Coleridge ed. G.E. and E.L.Griggs 138-54

7 Minnow 165

On 13 August Coleridge was informed that one of his closest young disciples, Adam Steinmetz, was dead¹. Steinmetz had been "enthusiastically attached" to him, and had felt deeply for him over the loss of his pension from the Royal Society of Literature. In consequence, he left Coleridge £300 in his Will. Coleridge wrote to Steinmetz's father "to know if his son was of sound mind when he made the Will; his answer was, 'perfectly'"².

A new three-volume edition of his Poetical Works was to be published by William Pickering. Because of Coleridge's ill-health most of the work was done by Henry Nelson Coleridge, although Mrs Coleridge thought that Henry's assistance was necessary because "he is so dilatory he will never do it without help"³. Their intention was to provide a cheaper edition containing several additional poems and perhaps a short autobiography⁴. Mrs Coleridge obtained several of her husband's poems from Thomas Poole - of many he "had no previous copy"⁵.

Crabb Robinson called at Highgate with Walter Savage Landor on 29 September, and was struck by Coleridge's obvious decay. "He was horribly bent, and looked seventy years of age; nor did he talk with his usual force." But there seemed little wrong with his memory, and he quoted some poetry of Landor's. "Landor and he seemed to like each other."⁶ Moses Haughton, a painter of miniatures and an engraver, was painting Coleridge's portrait. "I shall have three hours & 40 minutes

1 L VI 920-22

2 Minnow 172

3 Minnow 174

4 MS. letter H.N. Coleridge to Miss Trevenen quoted L VI 923 n 1

5 Minnow 168, 174

6 Robinson's Diary III 13-14

at your service - which will be as long, perhaps, as I can in the present state of my health continue to sit."¹

Sara Coleridge had become unwell after the birth of her second child, and was advised to try a change of scene. On 3 October, therefore, Sara, Henry and Mrs Coleridge travelled to Brighton, leaving the children at Hampstead². Coleridge wished to accompany them, but he was not strong enough, and Mrs Gillman was unable to give her consent in the absence of her husband, who was convalescing in Paris after an operation to remove a tumour from his neck³. The holiday at Brighton had little effect on Sara's health, and she remained unwell for several months⁴.

Unable to leave Highgate at all that Autumn for either Brighton or Ramsgate, Coleridge received some consolation in the renewal of his acquaintance with John Sterling, who returned from the West Indies in August. After leaving Cambridge without a degree in 1827 Sterling had lived by writing in London. He became interested in the Spanish revolutionary movement in 1829, and only ill-health saved him from accompanying General Torrijos to his execution at Malaga in 1830. Sterling married soon afterwards, and a dangerous pulmonary attack made him decide to visit St Vincent. There he became the manager of a sugar plantation belonging to his wife's family, and his son was born there in October 1831, just before his wife's health forced them to return to England⁵. While in the

1 L VI 925; the portrait was presented to Christ's Hospital in 1864 by Mary Green, the daughter of Jonathon Green, who kept the Air-Bath establishment which Coleridge attended. /a

2 Minnow 170-71

3 Minnow 172-73

4 G.E. and E.L. Griggs Coleridge Fille 75-76

5 Essays and Tales of John Sterling ed. J.C.Hare xiv-xlii; A.K.Tuell John Sterling 240-41, 249; D.N.B. "John Sterling".

West Indies he had read and re-read Coleridge's Aids to Reflection, and believed himself greatly indebted to him.

He taught me to believe that an empirical philosophy is none, that Faith is the highest Reason, that all criticism, whether of literature, laws or manners, is blind, without the power of discerning the organic unity of the object¹.

He now became a frequent visitor to Highgate. In a few months he "derived more good from him than in as many years before". Coleridge loaned him the manuscript of Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit and allowed him to transcribe some marginalia. "I think if I could get 2 or 3 years' quiet work in the track that he has put me in I ought finally to be of some use to my generation." Sterling's novel, Arthur Coningsby (1833), was received with general indifference, "which, however, I can well bear as Coleridge professes to like it much"². He carefully sent accounts of his visits to Highgate to two friends who were also interested in Coleridge, but who were, for various reasons, unable to visit him. One was Julius Charles Hare, whose admiration for him had grown out of an early reading of the 1818 edition of The Friend, reinforced by occasional visits to Highgate after 1822, during his years as a lecturer in Classics at Trinity College, Cambridge. Hare may even have introduced Sterling to Highgate³. Hare was ordained in 1826 and resigned his lectureship in 1832 to take the family living at Herstmonceux, after which he became too busy to travel to Highgate⁴. The other person whom Sterling wrote to was John Frederick Denison Maurice, a contemporary at Trinity College, with whom he had become friendly because of their shared admiration for Coleridge. Hare had taught Maurice, and their friendship was finally sealed by each marrying

1 Essays and Tales of John Sterling ed. J.C.Hare x-xlvi

2 A.K.Tuell John Sterling 249

3 see D.N.B. "John Sterling"

4 C.R.Sanders Coleridge and the Broad Church Movement 123, 126

the other's sister. Maurice too had left Cambridge without a degree in 1826, and two years later, with Sterling, joined the London Debating Society, where they soon became famous as defenders of Coleridge against the Benthamites, who were frequently led by John Stuart Mill¹. Maurice and Sterling apparently saw themselves as embattled heroes defending Coleridge against a horde of foes, and as a result much of Maurice's published work on Coleridge in various periodicals, until he became editor of The Athenaeum in July 1828, is warm in praise and vehement in defence of Coleridge against his detractors. Probably because of his timid, retiring nature Maurice never visited Highgate or met Coleridge, relying on Sterling's accounts. When he showed Coleridge Maurice's novel, Eustace Conway, which proclaimed Coleridgean doctrines, Sterling reported to Maurice that Coleridge was pleased by it, and spoke of its author "with evident and earnest interest"². Maurice took Holy Orders in January 1834. Throughout his career in the Church of England he was dominated by the principle of "clerisy" which Coleridge expounded in Church and State³.

Coleridge's health again collapsed during the winter, and he spent most of the time in bed. On 8 November he attended the consecration of the new chapel at Highgate which had so divided the community, and for which, no doubt, he felt some responsibility⁴. The chapel was built opposite The Grove. It was consecrated as St Michael's Church, and Rev. Samuel Mence became its first vicar⁵. The Bishop of London

1 C.R.Sanders Coleridge and the Broad Church Movement 126, 185-86

2 C.R.Sanders Coleridge and the Broad Church Movement 185-88, 191

3 J.F.Maurice The Life of F.D.Maurice I 224

4 see above p. 119 ; Later Years II 641; L VI 833 n 2

5 L VI 833 n 2

officiated at the consecration and spoke for a long time to Coleridge¹. When the old chapel was demolished in 1833, its site became part of the adjacent graveyard. Coleridge was buried on this site in August 1834.

During the first four months of 1833 (Coleridge) was confined to bed, although his mind remained as vigorous as ever; and Lamb sent him a copy of his Last Essays of Elia, published in early 1833². Green diagnosed gout, "which I have not strength enough to throw from the nerves of the Trunk to the extremities"³. He was concerned when his articulation became poor, and began to believe that his jaw was paralysed - "Green says it is from his teeth being loose"⁴. He received few visitors, if any, other than Green. Even George Frere was unable to see him to discuss the problems which his youngest brother, Temple, would face in his new situation as Chaplain to the Speaker of the House of Commons⁵.

With Spring, Coleridge's strength gradually returned, although he felt no improvement, and he became able to take some exercise. His day usually followed the same pattern. He woke at five and dozed until eight or eight-thirty, when he took some gruel and his "Opiate Draught" - "two very small tea spoonfuls of Laudanum only once in the 24 Hours - not a third of what I used to take twice a day" - after which he suffered from excessive salivation which lasted all day. He now got up at two or three p.m., and at five ate with difficulty a little cold meat, "then try to eke out sip by sip my pint of wine". He usually felt chilly and

1 Later Years II 641

2 Minnow 176; Later Years II 641, 655; Lamb Letters III 357

3 L VI 932

4 B.M.MS. 47557 ff.99-100, Henry Nelson Coleridge to John Taylor Coleridge 2 April 1833

5 The Works ... of John Hookham Frere ed. W.E. and B.Frere I 243

unable to read after eating, although a cup of tea had a beneficial effect. He went to bed at ten, but was at first unable to sleep because of "the Delirium in both my Legs & Feet, of Heat, intense Itching, & the Sensation of a Blow-up". This gradually subsided into "an itchiness of my Arms, Back &c", and he fell into a fitful sleep. "And thus you have the History of my 24 Hours."¹

He tried to help Gillman's son, James, to obtain a lectureship at Enfield, and asked Green to use his influence². On Sunday 5 May he even travelled to Enfield Church to hear James preach a test sermon, "& very proud I was of my young Protégé"³. James also applied to Charles Lamb, who had lived in Enfield, but Lamb could not help: his acquaintances there were not of the right kind to recommend a clergyman⁴. James did not obtain the lectureship and was, for a time, under-master at Highgate Grammar School⁵.

Soon Coleridge was strong enough to accompany Mrs Gillman occasionally when she went out in her carriage for fresh air⁶. As his health improved, in mid-May he began a new series of "Fly-Catchers", "post longum et triste intervallum"⁷. The first two notebooks in this new series were not used for extended Biblical commentary, as the last series had been, but for more general philosophic and religious topics. Biblical commentary began again in the third notebook of the new series in October⁸. By mid-June

1 L VI 936-37

2 L VI 938

3 L VI 939

4 Lamb Letters III 367-68

5 A.W.Gillman The Gillmans of Highgate 29

6 L VI 939

7 B.M.MS. 47546 f.2, notebook 51

8 B.M.MSS. 47546, 47547, 47548, notebooks 51-53

he was again well enough to receive callers. Among the first was the young writer, Harriet Martineau, who admired him as a poet rather than as a philosopher. To her he seemed eighty years old, "such a picture of an old poet". His neat black clothing contrasted with his long, perfectly white hair. "And the eyes - I never saw such! - glittering and shining so that one can scarcely meet them." He surprised and flattered her by saying that he watched "anxiously" for the publication of her stories every month, and read them avidly, although "there were points on which we differed". He treated her to a long metaphysical disquisition, punctuated by readings from handy books, during which nobody else spoke. "My notion of possession, prophecy, - of involuntary speech from involuntary brain action, has been clearer since."¹

Although he told (Harriet Martineau) that he now never stirred from Highgate², within a few weeks of their meeting he travelled to Cambridge on a sudden impulse with Green and Gillman to attend the meeting of the British Association at the end of June. They travelled slowly in Green's carriage, spending two days on the road and arriving on the second day of the meeting. Derwent was also attending the meeting, and the arrival of his father was a pleasant surprise. Possibly Derwent's visit to Highgate a few days earlier, on the way to Cambridge, had prompted Coleridge to make the journey³.

Coleridge was highly gratified by his reception at Cambridge, and was so pleased to see his old College again that his emotion prevented him

1 Harriet Martineau's Autobiography ed. M.W.Chapman I 396-99, III 85-86

2 Harriet Martineau's Autobiography ed. M.W.Chapman III 85

3 Minnow 176

from talking for an hour¹. He slept in College on a bed which seemed very hard. "Truly I lay down at night a man, and arose in the morning a bruise."² A crowded levee gathered at his bedside next day³. He remained in Trinity College most of the time, breakfasting and dining in the rooms of Dr Connop Thirlwall, the historian. The evening became "a symposium from which Plato himself might have carried something away", as he spoke at length about Milton, Newton, Hale, Plato, Donne, Herodotus and Thucydides, Jeremy Taylor, Sidney, Spenser, Beaumont and Fletcher, and Robert Southey⁴. Francis Garden, a College friend of Richard Monckton Milnes, was there, and thought the day in Coleridge's company the "highest luxury" of the whole week. "We ... had the pleasure of being made to think in Trinity."⁵ William Rowan Hamilton was also at Cambridge, and told Coleridge that he had read most of his published works but admitted that he had not understood them all. "'The question is, sir,' said he, 'whether I understand them all myself'."⁶ William Jerdan met him in Trinity College Chapel contemplating the statue of Newton. "All at once his noble ambition burst forth in words: 'Oh that I might deserve an honour like this, in these halls where I have been blessed so much!'"⁷

His health was so improved that the journey back to London was made in only one day⁸. He could not remember when he had last spent such enjoyable and stimulating days, and spoke highly of both Thirlwall and Faraday.

1 Minnow 176; Table Talk 29 June 1833

2 Table Talk 29 June 1833

3 Robinson's Correspondence I 248

4 R.E.A.Wilmott Conversations at Cambridge 2-36

5 T.W.Reid The Life ... of Richard Monckton Milnes I 146

6 R.P.Graves Life of Sir William Rowan Hamilton II 623

7 W.Jerdan Men I Have Known 124

8 Minnow 176

But most impressive of all had been "the marvellous sublimity and transcendent beauty" of King's College Chapel. "The principle of the Gothic architecture is infinity made imaginable. It is, no doubt, a sublimer effort of genius than the Greek style."¹

Soon after returning from Cambridge he set off, unaccompanied, for Ramsgate where Gillman and his son, Henry, met him on the pier. Mrs Gillman and Harriet Macklin, his attendant, followed him down a few days later². This was to be his last visit to Ramsgate. Although he carried part of the manuscript of the "Logic" with him, intending to revise it and turn it into "a fit preparation for, & foundation of, the more important third Part - on the IDEAS, or the resolution of the Sense, the Understanding into the Reason", he was fully occupied by Gillman's ill-health, anxieties about James Gillman's future, and his own daily bathing and visiting³. He often called on Sophia Lockhart, "an interesting and love-compelling woman", who was in Ramsgate with her two children and her cousin Anne, to recover her spirits after the recent illness of her sister, Anne, who had died on 25 June⁴. Coleridge discussed the Reform Act with Lockhart during a walk along the shore⁵, and Lockhart also asked him if Pegwell Bay at Ramsgate did not seem more interesting when it was remembered that Julius Caesar's first landing in Britain had occurred there. Coleridge replied that he attached "a delightful interest to Julius Caesar on Shakespeare's account - ... but no interest to Pegwell Bay on account of

1 Table Talk 29 June 1833

2 L VI 941

3 L VI 947

4 L VI 942-43, 947; J.G.Lockhart Memoirs of Sir Walter Scott V 451

5 J.G.Lockhart in Quarterly Review LIII (1835) 79-103; see also A.Lang The Life and Letters of John Gibson Lockhart II 285

Julius Caesar". He explained himself more fully that night in his notebook. But for Christ, Christianity and Christendom as "centres of convergence" he would "utterly want the historic Sense". No historical incident or person seemed interesting in itself - "The Objects seem to me so mean, so transient, as to degrade the agents". This was also true of historical places. He had passed through Glencoe on his tour of Scotland in 1803 without remembering the massacre which had taken place there. This seemed to him a deficiency in his character, "& have often noticed the extreme contrast in this respect between myself and the two great Poets of our Age, Sir W. Scott and W. Wordsworth"¹. During Lockhart's frequent absences from Ramsgate to look after the Quarterly Review Coleridge, their only acquaintance in Ramsgate, accompanied Sophia and the children on excursions in the vicinity². Sophia thought he had grown "old and frail" and did not much look forward to his visits - "I shall have my work ready as I suppose we shall have all the speech the Bishop ought to have spoke from his hints"³. While he was instructing her in English poetic metres a fragment of a translation of a Pindaric Ode by F.L.Stolberg occurred to him which he passed on to Henry Nelson Coleridge for criticism. Henry published it in the Quarterly Review in March 1834 in an article, Translations of Pindar, and it was included in the 1834 edition of Coleridge's Poetical Works as On a Cataract⁴.

1 B.M.MS. 47546 ff.19-20, notebook 51

2 L VI 943-44; N.L.S.MS. 3649 f.221, Sophia Lockhart to Sir Walter Scott 10 July 1833

3 N.L.S.MSS. 1554 f.98, Sophia Lockhart to J.G.Lockhart n.d. ; MS. 3649 f.221, Sophia Lockhart to Sir Walter Scott 10 July 1833

4 No mention was made of Stolberg's original poem until the 1844 edition by Sara Coleridge; L VI 944-46, 948-49; see The Poems of Samuel Taylor Coleridge ed. E.H.Coleridge 308 and nn.

"Day has followed day, without any work." He read four volumes of Joseph Bingham's Origines Ecclesiasticae (1708-22), finding in them "a continued series of historical evidences of the truth of my Convictions"¹. He travelled one day to examine Canterbury Cathedral, and visited Southey's brother, Thomas, and his family - "the feelings I have left behind with them may perhaps be a means with God's influence, of making the SOUTHEY feel his unkind neglect of me"². His attempt to entertain Anne R. Scott, who was by chance his companion on the journey to Canterbury, led to Lockhart making a jest out of her glowing report of his conversation, which Mrs Thomas Southey reported to him. Anne Scott wrote to him on 24 August to explain and apologise, and Coleridge replied with dignity that no apology was necessary. "Mr Lockhart, I have no doubt, had been previously expressing in strong terms his high opinion of my powers as a poet: and nothing sets off a thing better, than a sharp contrast."³

When he returned to Highgate on 27 July Mrs Coleridge thought that he seemed "ten year younger in spirit"⁴. He attributed his better health to "Dyasson's Warm Salt Shower-Baths" - "standing with my legs in a Tub at the temperature of near a 100, & receiving from 30 to 40 gallons of salt water of from 90 to 100"⁵. He wished Sara could take them⁶, for she still suffered greatly from physical weakness and depression, despite treatment from Sir Henry Hallford⁷. Her husband spent much of his time on

1 L VI 947

2 L VI 947

3 L VI 957-60, 957 n 1

4 Minnow 178

5 L VI 947-48

6 L VI 948

7 Minnow 175

literary activities, assisting Coleridge to prepare the edition of his poems and making several contributions to the Quarterly Review. In 1830 he had published The Life of Swing on the rick-burning disturbances, which had gone through several editions, and also an introduction to Homer, the first of a projected series on the Greek poets which was never followed up¹. His legal career was not successful, and they did not have enough money to allow Sara to leave London to convalesce. Crabb Robinson and Mrs Clarkson gossiped about Sara's situation, agreeing that Henry's father, Colonel James Coleridge, should use some of his wife's recently-inherited wealth to assist them². John Taylor Coleridge had already suggested to Colonel James Coleridge that he should help Henry in this way. His brothers and sisters would "rejoice and be thankful to you if you were to double your annual gift to these two, who need it much by no fault of their own"³. There is no evidence that Henry and Sara benefitted from the Colonel's generosity. Mrs Clarkson also told Robinson that when Colonel Coleridge pointed out to Coleridge that he had not yet congratulated him on his new fortune, Coleridge replied that the Colonel had not yet offered his condolences for his loss of the pension from the Royal Society of Literature. "And then the Colonel did not say: 'But, brother, I am now very rich, I was always in affluence - therefore I shall make it up to you', or anything of the kind"⁴.

One of Coleridge's first visitors was Ralph Waldo Emerson who was making an educational tour of Europe. He called at Highgate on 5 August

1 D.N.B. "Henry Nelson Coleridge"

2 Robinson's Correspondence I 248

3 B.Coleridge The Story of a Devonshire House 311

4 Robinson on Writers I 442

and remained for an hour while Coleridge, covering himself with snuff, talked about his American acquaintances, Washington Allston and Dr Channing. He declaimed indignantly and at length against "the folly & ignorance" of Unitarianism, explaining that he had once been a Unitarian, "& knew what quackery it was". Emerson seized the opportunity of a pause for breath to explain that he too was a Unitarian. "Yes, he said, I supposed so, & continued as before." He also spoke of Malta and Sicily, which Emerson had visited, and recited "with great emphasis" his recent verses On My Baptismal Birthday. His conversation seemed contrived and artificial, "often like so many printed paragraphs in his books - perhaps the same - so readily did he fall into certain commonplaces". The visit was a "spectacle" and satisfactory only insofar as it satisfied Emerson's curiosity. He left England a few weeks later, thanking God for enabling him to see all the men he had wanted to - Landor, Carlyle, Wordsworth, Coleridge - "he has thereby comforted and confirmed me in my convictions To be sure not one of these is a mind of the very first class"¹.

Coleridge was "pleased, and much affected" by the dedication to him of Hartley's Biographia Borealis (1833) - "he has not seen him for ten years". Derwent left "a great pile of Sermons" at Highgate for him to criticise². And Thomas Pringle, who was now the editor of a literary annual, Friendship's Offering, accepted eleven of his poems for the 1834 issue³. He did not expect any payment for the poems, and was pleased to receive a cheque from Pringle in October: "if I supposed that in any way,

1 R.W.Emerson English Traits ed. H.M.Jones 5-8; The Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks of Ralph Waldo Emerson, various editors, IV 78-79, 407-12

2 Minnow 179

3 see L VI 949, 950-51, 952, 954-55; The Poetical Works of Thomas Pringle ed. L.Ritchie cviii-cx

direct or indirect, it came from your pocket, I should not hesitate to re-inclose it"¹. On 5 September he stood as godfather to the son of his friend, John Peirse Kennard, who was christened Adam Steinmetz after Coleridge's late disciple.² He borrowed copies of Scott's The Black Dwarf and Old Mortality for light reading³, and asked Green to buy for him J.H.Heinrichs's Apocalypsis Graece⁴. He thought of publishing a metrical translation of "the Apocalypse" with an introduction "on the Use & interpretation of Scriptures"⁵. Nothing came of this project.

On 28 October he sent Green a copy of the lines subsequently published as Epitaph⁶. Six copies of it had been made⁷, and copies were sent to Lockhart and Mrs Aders⁸. The only significant difference between the lines as he first wrote them in his notebook⁹ and as they were sent to Green, is in line 3, where the notebook's deprecatory

"A poet lies: or that which once seem'd He"

has become "... that which once was he"¹⁰. The notebook version was sent to Lockhart and Mrs Aders.

During the Autumn John Sterling was much in his thoughts. In July Sterling had met Julius Charles Hare accidentally in Bonn. There can be no doubt that this casual meeting finally led Sterling to decide to take

1 L VI 962

2 L VI 960; it was to young Kennard that Coleridge addressed his famous letter just before his death; see below p. 302

3 L VI 962

4 L VI 963; see also The Literary Remains of Samuel Taylor Coleridge ed. H.N.Coleridge III 167-70

5 L VI 967-68

6 The Poems of Samuel Taylor Coleridge ed. E.H.Coleridge 491-92, 586-87

7 L.E.Watson Coleridge at Highgate 153

8 L VI 969, 973

9 B.M.MS. 47547 f.26, notebook 52

10 L VI 963

Orders. Coleridge's influence, through Aids to Reflection, had been leading him in this direction for some time, but Hare's was the final impulse¹. Sterling informed Coleridge of his intention to return to Cambridge to prepare to take Orders, and Coleridge expressed regret that they would not meet for several months. "Many a fond dream have I amused myself with, of your residing near me or in the same house, and of preparing with your & Mr Green's assistance, my whole system for the Press."² Sterling took Deacon's Orders on Trinity Sunday, 1834, and became Hare's curate at Herstmonceux³. He attended Coleridge's funeral, travelling up from Cambridge for the purpose⁴. He hoped to follow Coleridge's wish and edit his theological manuscripts⁵, and Green, as Coleridge's literary executor, placed several of the manuscripts, notably that of Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit, in the hands of Hare and Sterling⁶. But Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit was eventually published in 1840 with Henry Nelson Coleridge as its editor. Sterling had lost his enthusiasm for Coleridge. He retired from Herstmonceux in February 1835, partially because of ill-health but mainly because he felt out of place. His ordination was seen as an ill-judged and precipitate step⁷. Carlyle had effected the change in Sterling's attitude to Coleridge⁸. Sterling now complained of Coleridge's "indolence", and thought Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit "very slight & obvious to those familiar with German

1 D.N.B. "John Sterling"; A.K.Tuell John Sterling 249; L VI 938

2 L VI 967

3 D.N.B. "John Sterling"

4 Coleridge: Studies by Several Hands ed. E.Blunden and E.L.Griggs 229

5 R.C.Trench Letters and Memorials 163-64

6 Memoir and Letters of Sara Coleridge ed. E.Coleridge I 111

7 D.N.B. "John Sterling"

8 see C.R.Sanders Coleridge and the Broad Church Movement 157 etc.

writers as Coleridge himself was, & the tone of discovery is therefore rather inappropriate". It was also "full of timidity and equivocation"¹.

Most of Coleridge's time in the Autumn of 1833 was spent with Green, working on his philosophical and Biblical studies. When he looked at his "wilderness of Scraps, and Booklets little better, or less volatile & fugitive", he decided that he really needed a new quarto Bible, half bound and interleaved for annotations². He asked Sterling to send him from Cambridge any good recent work of Biblical criticism³, and received Bertholdt's translation of the Book of Daniel, suggested for him by Connop Thirlwall⁴. When he dined at Lockhart's on 9 November, his conversation was full of his recent work on Daniel and Revelation, and he recited some of his recent work, especially Epitaph. Murray, Lady Gifford, Dr Adam Ferguson and Thomas Moore were among the guests, and Moore noticed Coleridge's "continuous drawl" throughout dinner. Moore was more pleased after dinner by Coleridge's reaction to his singing, and recorded in his diary his praise of the perfect union of music and poetry. "The music, like the honey-suckle round the stem, twining round the meaning, and at last over-topping it."⁵

Mrs Gillman suffered another fall in October which so disabled her as to ensure "a long confinement to Bed or Sopha"⁶. His nightly prayers were fervent intercessions for her and for Sara who, despite her ill-health, was again pregnant. Early in 1834 she gave birth to twins, both

1 Essays and Tales of John Sterling ed. J.C.Hare I cxxix; A.K.Tuell John Sterling 261, 264-65

2 L VI 970

3 L VI 968

4 L VI 968, 971; B.M.MS. 47549 f.5, notebook 54

5 L VI 971-73; N.L.S.MS. 1593 f.47, Diary of the Lockharts for 1833; Memoirs, Journal and Correspondence of Thomas Moore ed. Lord John Russell VII 7-8

6 L VI 972

of whom died on 16 January¹. Lines by Henry Nelson Coleridge, On Berkeley and Florence Coleridge, were included in the 1834 edition of Coleridge's Poetical Works².

Coleridge's weakness and ill-health made precious the few hours of the day which he was able to devote to his own literary work. But there were frequent interruptions - a clergyman "distressed on some points of faith", visits by Daniel Stuart and his daughter, or by the Secretary of the Royal Society of Literature, Richard Cattermole³. The essay Coleridge had delivered to the Society in 1825 had not yet been published in the first three parts of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature (1827, 1829, 1832). During preparations for publishing the fourth part (volume II, part ii), Cattermole was directed on 18 December to "refer Mr. Coleridge's Memoir on the Prometheus of Aeschylus to the Writer, with a view of its being arranged for publication in a condensed form"⁴. Coleridge's working day was, however, far too short to accomplish everything, and the new edition of his poems took priority - "I will do what I can - but do not let my doings or no doings interfere with the progress of Pickering"⁵. Henry Nelson Coleridge took over the task of condensing the essay for the Society, but they eventually decided to print the full text. Copies of Transactions containing the essay were sent to members on 4 July, but there is no evidence that Coleridge was sent one. He was, however, sent the twenty copies of an offprint of

1 L VI 974

2 II 149

3 L VI 975; Letters from the Lake Poets to Daniel Stuart ed. E.H.Coleridge 332-34

4 G.Whalley "Coleridge and the Royal Society of Literature" in Essays by Divers Hands n.s.XXV (1969) 147-51

5 L VI 975

Transactions to which he was entitled, copies of which were given to the Gillmans and to Green, although it is not certain that they were seen by Coleridge before his death in July¹.

Henry had found collecting, arranging and "correcting" Coleridge's poems an arduous task. The first volume of The Poetical Works of S.T.Coleridge was issued before 20 March and the second volume a few weeks later. The third volume was delayed until July. Henry believed the edition would never be superseded. "If S.T.C. should hereafter write much more poetry, it would be added in an^or [another] volume of the same size. This edition contains every thing up to the present day." Priced at fifteen shillings, it sold well, and Pickering sold four hundred copies a few weeks after publication². This edition was reprinted several times before it was superseded by the 1844 one, edited by Sara Coleridge³.

On 17 March Coleridge's attendant, Harriet Macklin, noticed a "peculiar red streak or splash, running from my left eye ... down the cheek". Gillman's assistant, a Mr Taylor, diagnosed slight erysipelas, "the very thing that carried off my Acquaintance-friend, Sir George Beaumont, who had likewise the same tumour, in nape of the neck & below the chin, in 5 days from it's first very unalarming appearance"⁴. Most of his day was now passed in light reading. The last entry in his notebooks was made in March⁵. The new series of the Gentleman's Magazine, M.G.Lewis's

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- 1 Wise incorrectly described these offprints as a "Private Edition" - see Wise 129; G.Whalley "Coleridge and the Royal Society of Literature" in Essays by Divers Hands n.s. XXXV (1969) 147-51
 - 2 B.M.MS. 47557 ff.103-04, Henry Nelson Coleridge to John Taylor Coleridge 20 March 1834
 - 3 Wise 303
 - 4 L VI 977
 - 5 B.M.MS. 47550 f.16, notebook 55

Journal of a West Indian Proprietor, and F.Marryat's Peter Simple, helped fill in the time¹. The authorship of Bubbles puzzled him - "at one moment I imagine that Mr Frere ... or any other Etonian, or Alumnus of Westminster or Winchester, might be the Author - at another, fall back to Joseph Hume, Dr Birkbeck, Edinburgh or Aberdeen"². The erysipelas disappeared from his face, and (Coleridge) was pleased by one of Harriet's remarks - "'To be sure, Sir! Your looks do not often pity you, as most people's do, when they are not near so ill!"³

As news of his growing ill-health spread, many of his old friends visited Highgate. Thomas Poole spent "some hours" with him in May, finding that his mind was "strong as ever, seeming impatient to take leave of its encumbrance"⁴. Sara Hutchinson called several times in May and early June. At first she was "greatly ... shocked with the changed appearance of my dear old Friend". In consideration of the continued illness of Sara Coleridge Gillman warned Sara Hutchinson not to tell the Coleridges at Hampstead, who remained optimistic, of his belief that Coleridge was dying. Mrs Coleridge even informed Hartley in a letter that Coleridge was better⁵. Mr and Mrs Aders dined at Highgate on 28 May, and two days later they gave Crabb Robinson a "very sad account" of Coleridge's health: "he can scarcely be seen by any one, and his constitution is very fast breaking up". Robinson saw Coleridge for a few moments on 8 June. He was in bed and Green was with him. "No talk beyond a jocular compliment

1 L VI 976, 980

2 L VI 979

3 B.M.MS. 47550 f.15, notebook 55

4 H.Sandford Thomas Poole and his Friends II 294

5 The Letters of Sara Hutchinson ed. K.Coburn 414, 421

to me for my health"¹. A letter of introduction from William Rowan Hamilton enabled the unsympathetic Viscount Adare to spend an hour at the dying man's bedside on 30 June. Coleridge seemed "the most remarkable looking man I ever saw", and told Adare that he was "now getting a little better". Coleridge talked non-stop "although he had difficulty in speaking at all", but Adare was not impressed:

really I found it so difficult to follow him that I cannot recollect what he said, but even less can I remember ... the subjects of conversation: this I think arises from a great want of method ...: it strikes me he rambled on².

Gillman, Green and Henry Nelson Coleridge were often at his bed-side, but Mrs Gillman's injured leg enabled her to see him only occasionally during his last months³. On 27 May Coleridge wrote to the Worshipful Company of Haberdashers in an attempt to secure for James Gillman, jr., a Living in their presentation in Suffolk⁴. James Gillman failed to obtain this Living but in 1836 was presented to one at Barfreston in Kent by St John's College, Oxford. In later years, assisted by the Secretary of the small Prudential Assurance Company, he apparently invented the type of life assurance known as industrial assurance, and in 1850 became Chairman of the Prudential Assurance Company⁵.

Eliza Nixon, the daughter of a Highgate neighbour, supplied Coleridge with a continuous stream of light-reading from a circulating library⁶.

1 Robinson on Writers I 442, 443

2 R.P.Graves Life of Sir William Rowan Hamilton II 94-95

3 G.L.Prentiss The Bright Side of Life I 256

4 L VI 983-84

5 A.W.Gillman Searches into the History of the Gillman or Gilman Family 187-93; A.W.Gillman The Gillmans of Highgate 29

6 L VI 889-90, 915, 984

Theodore Hook's Love and Pride, Maria Edgeworth's Helen and Henry Taylor's Philip Van Artevelde were all beside his bed during the last few weeks, but he was most impressed by John Sandford's life of his father, Remains of Daniel Sandford¹. "He seems to have been a thorough gentleman upon the model of St. Paul, whose manners were the finest of any man's upon record."² As his weakness increased however, he preferred to look at the pot-plants in his room. "That my sense is from illness become obtuse to the fragrance of Flowers, I but little regret, but O! let my eyes be closed when their Beauty is no longer revealed to me."³

He rallied slightly in early July, and on 5 July he walked across his room to the window with the assistance of a servant⁴. He was able to reply to a letter from a Mrs Dashwood of North Wales, who had "in terms of fervent admiration and love" sent him a large sum of money, expressing the hope "that he would accept of a small annuity from her"⁵. But the improvement was merely temporary, and Coleridge was aware that he was dying, "but certainly did not believe his end to be quite so near at hand as it was"⁶. On 13 July he wrote a letter in the Album of his young godson, Adam Steinmetz Kennard, which he could read when he was older. Health, security and the love of friends and relatives were great blessings, "but the greatest of all blessings, as it is the most ennobling of all privileges" is to be a Christian.

1 L VI 984, 985, 988

2 Table Talk 5 July 1834

3 L VI 984

4 L VI 986

5 L VI 985-87; Coleridge: Studies by Several Hands ed. E. Blunden and E. L. Griggs 228

6 note by H. N. Coleridge in Table Talk 10 July 1834

O my dear Godchild! eminently blessed are they who begin early to seek, fear, & love their God, trusting wholly in the righteousness & mediation of their Lord, Redeemer, Saviour, & everlasting High Priest, Jesus Christ. O! preserve this as a legacy & bequest from your unseen Godfather & friend, S.T.Coleridge.¹

On the evening of 19 July he became very ill. Henry was sent for on Sunday 20 July, but returned home only a few hours later because Coleridge "expressed a desire that he might be as little disturbed as possible". He took leave of Gillman and did not even wish to see Green, wishing to meditate undisturbed "on his Redeemer to whose bosom he was hastening". He told them that "he wished to evince in the manner of his death the depth & sincerity of his faith in Christ". Henry visited Highgate frequently, but made no further attempt to see him. Coleridge sent his blessing to his wife and to Sara, and it was agreed that they should not visit him, and that Derwent and Hartley should not be sent for. Coleridge was attended by Harriet Macklin, and by Gillman's assistant, Mr Watson. For several days he suffered from severe abdominal pains, but injections of laudanum eased his sufferings, and he was able to drink brandy and arrow-root and take a dose of laudanum. Fearing that she might not be able to see him before he died, Mrs Gillman sent him a note expressing her gratitude for the blessings he had conferred upon the family, "and what a happiness and a benefit his residence under her roof had been to all his fellow-inmates". On 24 July she was carried up to his room, accompanied by James. They talked for a short time, and his last words to them, as they left the room, were "But we shall be one in Christ". At mid-day he repeated to Green his formula of the Trinity. "His utterance was difficult - but his mind in perfect vigour & clearness -

1 L VI 989-90

he remarked that his intellect was quite unclouded & he said 'I could even be witty'." At about 7.30 that evening he asked to be lifted up in bed in order to write a note asking Green and Mrs Gillman to raise a contribution in Colonel James Coleridge's family "for a handsome Legacy for that most faithful, affectionate, and disinterested servant, Harriet Macklin. Henry can explain. I have never asked for myself". He also asked Gillman to convey to Colonel Coleridge the assurance that although he could not forget his "ingratitude and unkindness towards him", he now forgave him. Less than two hours later he fell into a sleep, then into a coma. Green was at his bed-side all night. Coleridge died at 6.30 a.m. on 25 July¹.

Two casts were made of his head. As he had insisted, Taylor and another young surgeon appointed by Green carried out a post-mortem examination. The heart was found to be greatly enlarged and "loaded with fat". The right lung adhered to the chest wall and there was a large quantity of water in the chest. The liver was diseased and extremely pale, and the stomach membrane inflamed and with several ulcers².

Henry announced his death to the Wordsworths, and shortly after the funeral Sara wrote to Hartley of her father's last hours³. Hartley called at Rydal, and seemed to Mrs Wordsworth calm but obviously dejected. He "expressed strongly his regret that he had not seen his father before his departure from this world"⁴. The funeral was on Saturday 2 August. Gillman was ill in bed and Mrs Gillman was too lame to attend. Sara and

1 L VI 990 and Appendix A; Coleridge: Studies by Several Hands ed. E.Blunden and E.L.Griggs 225-27; Memoir and Letters of Sara Coleridge ed. E.Coleridge I 109-16; G.L.Prentiss The Bright Side of Life I 256; Robinson on Writers I 446 (but cf. Coleridge: Studies by Several Hands ed. E.Blunden and E.L.Griggs 91); L.E.Watson Coleridge at Highgate 159

2 L VI 992 nn.1 and 2; A.W.Gillman The Gillmans of Highgate 35-37

3 L VI 991-92; Later Years II 709-10

4 Later Years II 709-10

Mrs Coleridge were also not present. Rev. Samuel Mence read the service, and the cortege was followed by James Gillman, Green, Kennard, Steinmetz, Stutfield, Maurice, Sterling, Henry Nelson Coleridge and Edward Coleridge, who travelled from Eton to attend. Coleridge's remains were placed in a vault in Highgate churchyard beside those of Mrs Gillman's sister, Miss Harding. "The funeral was handsome - a hearse & four - abundance of plumes - two mourning carriages &c."¹

Coleridge's Will was read by Green after the ceremony and he "was greatly overcome in performing his task"². Mrs Coleridge was left rather better provided for than expected. The insurance policy realised £2560, and there were few debts other than the funeral which Henry believed had been "too handsome". He was however unable to discover who had paid the insurance premium since 1817, and was not sure how much was owed to the Gillmans. "The language of the family has been & is that of persons overpaid by moral & intellectual services. If Green asks me, I mean to urge him to pay as if S.T.C. had left £10000 a year."³ Henry also sent Coleridge's last request for a subscription for Harriet to John Taylor Coleridge to pass on to their father. She was a "very good creature indeed", in her mid-thirties, who now intended to nurse her own elderly father. "I am aware of the Devonshire scale, & pray don't urge my father beyond his own suggestions. Whatever is collected will I dare say do very well with a handsome letter from Sara & me."⁴

1 L VI 993; Memoir and Letters of Sara Coleridge ed. E.Coleridge I 111

2 Memoir and Letters of Sara Coleridge ed. E.Coleridge I 111

3 B.M.MS. 47557 f.105, Henry Nelson Coleridge to John Taylor Coleridge 7 August 1834

4 B.M.MS. 47557 f.107, Henry N. Coleridge to John Taylor Coleridge 13 August 1834

The entire Gillman household was affected by Coleridge's death. For the Gillmans it was the most severe trial they had experienced, and the servants wept for him as for a father¹. Crabb Robinson heard of his death "with sorrow"². To Southey, however, Coleridge "had long been dead"³. Wordsworth's voice cracked as he read the news to a friend. Coleridge was "the most wonderful man that he had ever known"⁴. But the friend most affected by his death was Charles Lamb. He could not attend the funeral, but called at Highgate a few days later and insisted on giving five guineas to Harriet Macklin. He was inconsolable. The thought of Coleridge's death never left him, and Wordsworth believed that it hastened Lamb's own death. He died after a fall on 27 December 1834⁵. Wordsworth linked Lamb and Coleridge in his poem, Extempore Effusion upon the Death of James Hogg:

The rapt One, of the godlike forehead,
The heaven-eyed creature sleeps in earth:
And Lamb, the frolic and the gentle,
Has vanished from his lonely hearth.

Like clouds that rake the mountain-summits,
Or waves that own no curbing hand,
How fast has brother followed brother,
From sunshine to the sunless land!

1 Memoir and Letters of Sara Coleridge ed. E.Coleridge I 111-13

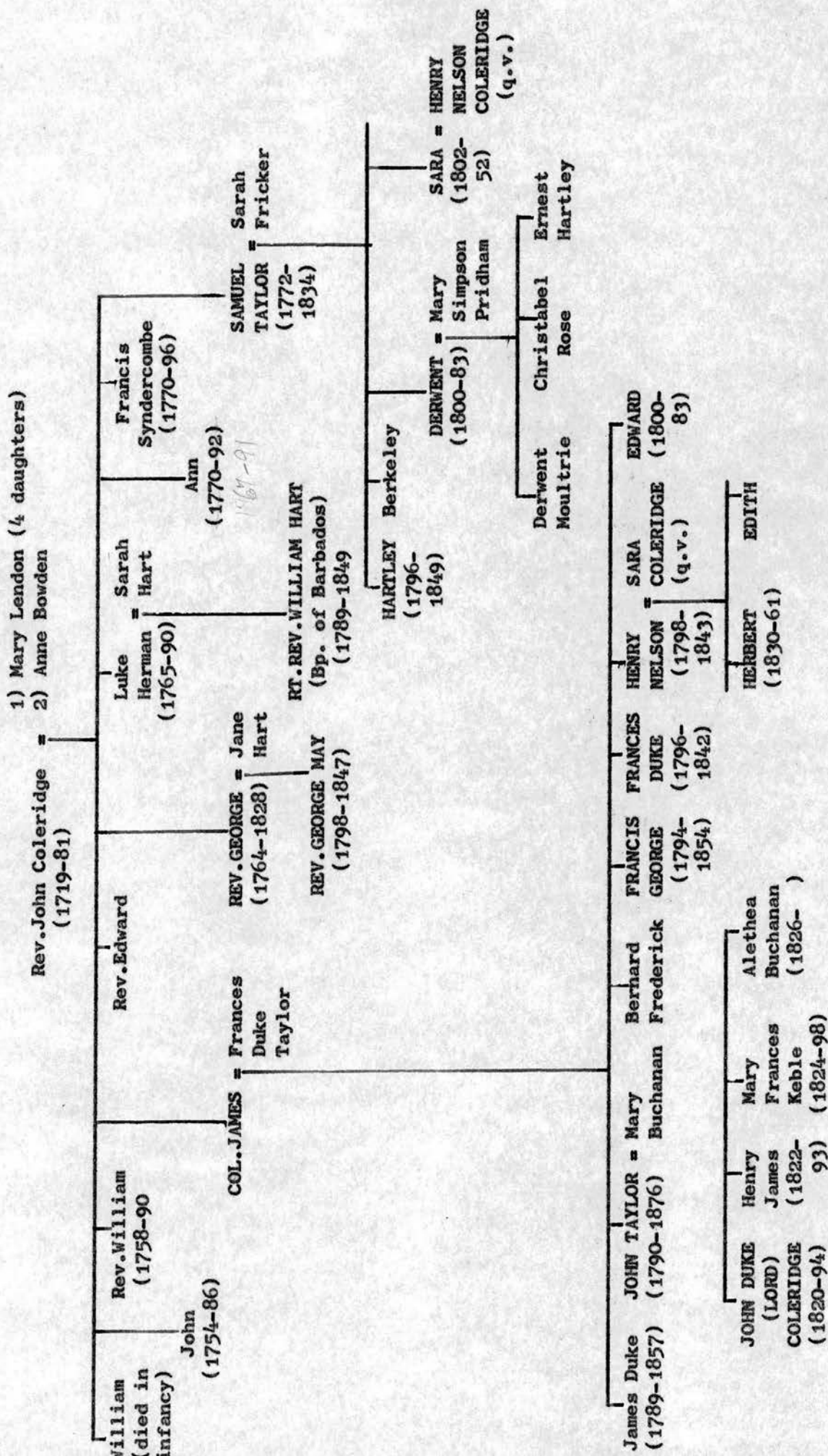
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