

SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE  
JOHN B. BEER

# The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge

*Aids to Reflection, Volume 9*



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THE COLLECTED WORKS OF  
SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE · 9

AIDS TO REFLECTION

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13. LOGIC

14. TABLE TALK

15. OPUS MAXIMUM

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1. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, from a portrait  
painted by an unidentified artist about 1826

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THE COLLECTED WORKS OF  
Samuel Taylor Coleridge

Aids to  
Reflection

EDITED BY  
John Beer



ROUTLEDGE

✂ BOLLINGEN SERIES LXXV  
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THIS EDITION  
OF THE WORKS OF  
SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE  
IS DEDICATED  
IN GRATITUDE TO  
THE FAMILY EDITORS  
IN EACH GENERATION





# CONTENTS

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	page x
EDITOR'S FOREWORD: PLAN OF THIS EDITION; ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	xi
EDITORIAL PRACTICE, SYMBOLS, AND ABBREVIATIONS	xvii
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE	xxvii
EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION	xli

## *Aids to Reflection*

To the Reader	3
Preface ( <i>Pref</i> )	5
Introductory Aphorisms ( <i>Int Aph</i> ) <sup>1</sup>	11
Prudential Aphorisms ( <i>Prud Aph</i> )	43
Reflections, introductory to Moral and Religious Aphorisms ( <i>Refl Mor</i> )	55
Moral and Religious Aphorisms ( <i>Mor Aph</i> )	67
Elements of Religious Philosophy, preliminary to the Aphorisms on Spiritual Religion ( <i>Prel Sp Aph</i> )	133
Aphorisms on Spiritual Religion ( <i>Sp Aph A</i> )	145
Aphorisms on that which is indeed Spiritual Religion ( <i>Sp Aph B</i> )	155

<sup>1</sup> The *Contents* page of *AR* (1831) also indicated two subdivisions to this section: "On the Duty and Advantage of Cultivating the Power and Habit of Reflection" (pp "1-14", i.e. *Int Aph I-XIX* below) and "Prudence, Morality and Reli-

gion interdistinguished" (pp "15-30", i.e. *Int Aph XX-XXXII*). These titles were not carried forward into the 1831 text itself, which continued to indicate all the aphorisms, as in 1825, simply as "Introductory Aphorisms".

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Conclusion ( <i>Conc</i> )	383
Author's Appendix	413

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## EDITOR'S APPENDIXES

A	Printed sources of <i>Aids to Reflection</i>	417
B	Manuscripts and an early proof	433
C	J. H. Green's discussion of Instinct	457
D	Four extended notes on <i>Aids to Reflection</i> (1825)	465
	(a) The distinction between Reason and Understanding	467
	(b) The distinction between criminal Deed and wicked Act	470
	(c) On the proper role of Consciousness	473
	(d) A further note on Baptism, 1828	474
E	Annotated, inscribed, and association copies of <i>Aids to Reflection</i> (1825)	477
F	James Marsh, Preliminary Essay to <i>Aids to Reflection</i> (Burlington, Vermont 1829)	487
G	Passages omitted from the 1825 text in <i>Aids to Reflection</i> (1831)	531
H	Editions and reprintings of <i>Aids to Reflection</i> from 1825 onwards	543
I	Excursus Notes	549
	(1) "Logos" and related words	551
	(2) Psyche as butterfly and soul	551
	(3) "Sneers at Verbal Criticism by the contemporaries of Bentley"	552
	(4) Coleridge on Nous and Logos	553
	(5) Coleridge on the Cosmological Proof	554
	(6) Coleridge on God as "pure Act"	555
	(7) Coleridge and Bacon's "Lumen siccum"	555
	(8) Coleridge's interest in the "Glory"	556
	(9) Bayle and Simonides	557
	(10) Coleridge on Natura Naturans and Natura Naturata	558
	(11) Coleridge on the Law of Continuity ("In Nature there are no leaps")	559
	(12) Indian religion and Christianity	560
	(13) Javan and the Ionians	560
	(14) Coleridge and the Prometheus myth	561

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(15) Coleridge, Waterland, and "St Paul's 'in the Heavens' "	562
(16) Coleridge and the word "Agonistes"	563
(17) Coleridge and the Abyss of Being	563
(18) Two words for "Will"	564
(19) Mant and D'Oyly on Baptism	565
(20) Coleridge and Edward Irving	566
(21) Coleridge and William Law's <i>Spirit of     Prayer and Spirit of Love</i>	567
(22) Coleridge on Enthusiasm and Fanaticism	567
INDEX	569

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

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1. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, from a portrait painted by an unidentified artist about 1826<sup>1</sup> *frontispiece*
2. *Aids to Reflection* (1825). Title-page of a copy presented to Dr Keate, Headmaster of Eton, in July 1825  
*facing page cvi*
3. *Aids to Reflection* (1831). Title-page  
*facing page cxxxi*
4. Front page of *The Medical Adviser* 17 Jan 1824, which included a phrenological account of the head of John Thurtell, murderer  
*facing page 151*
5. Two pages from the first proof of *Aids to Reflection* (1825), showing the earlier proposed format and Coleridge's original corrections *between pages 456 and 457*

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of this painting and its provenance see E. W. Nye "A Portrait of the Sage at

Highgate" *The Wordsworth Circle* xiii (1982) 231-2.

## EDITOR'S FOREWORD: PLAN OF THIS EDITION; ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

*Aids to Reflection* presents a variety of challenges to its editor. It was the central piece of writing in Coleridge's later career, yet, as explained more fully in the Editor's Introduction below, it came into being half by accident, having begun as a more modest scheme. In a volume to be entitled "The Beauties of Archbishop Leighton" he had planned to offer his readers the experience of exposure to a saintly seventeenth-century divine in whose mind thought and devotion were so intimately associated as to offer a total vision of the world more compelling than could be attained by use of the reasoning powers alone. As the work grew into the more ambitious *Aids to Reflection* the range of its reference became correspondingly extended: sometimes he would write in a strain of homely wisdom, sometimes make a scholarly point, sometimes address major questions of theology. As a result the book is often more like a piece of "work in progress" as Coleridge summons up successive topics and presents his latest thinking in relation to them.

Since in doing so he drew upon the fruits of a lifetime's reading, annotation of the volume that resulted must necessarily range very extensively, covering not only the works he was turning to while writing his volume but others that he had read years before. One aim of such annotation is to discover the degree to which, working across the whole range of contemporary knowledge and claiming to make his own contribution in a number of fields, his conclusions were justifiable in terms of what was known in his own time, as well as in ours. The fact that *Aids to Reflection* is a nodal document in his later writing makes such extended annotation desirable also as an aid to understanding his other work during the last period of his life. In view of this larger relevance attention is drawn in the notes to discussions by other scholars of important points, even though for obvious reasons such coverage cannot hope to be exhaustive.

In certain instances the relevance of the thought and knowledge

opened up by a single word or phrase, though important for an understanding of Coleridge's work as a whole, extends well beyond the particular matter under discussion. In such cases it has proved desirable to examine the issues involved in "Excursus Notes", printed in an appendix, where the discussions are made available to those who are interested.

A further complication is created by the fact that the volume was itself a piece of editing by Coleridge—his presentation of Leighton and some other seventeenth-century authors—and that the main text he was dealing with, Leighton's commentary on the First Epistle of Peter, was also, in one sense, an editorial enterprise. We are in the unusual position of being able to examine not only how Coleridge dealt with the task of editing another author's work but how he did so when that work itself consisted of commentary on a further text. The materials for such a study are present in the notes and will be found also in a number of the appendixes.

Among the interests that run through this particular volume is Coleridge's concern with language. Thinking about religion meant reflecting not only on the words which it employs, but on ordinary speech as well. In the introductory section, particularly, he recurs to questions of etymology, claiming that to trace the history of a particular word will often throw unexpected light upon some abiding human concern. This archaeological enterprise was not a matter of excavating dead forms: Coleridge was concerned to show that words were living entities, and that their life was always in growth. His delight in inventing words, prominent in earlier years, had lost little of its former impetus, moreover: readers of the notes will observe how often his use of a word is the first or only example recorded in the *Oxford English Dictionary*.

The editing has also involved investigating the actual production of the volume. Coleridge's dealings with the printer were more demanding than would nowadays be tolerated. Part of the setting-up was undertaken directly from marginal annotations by him in the original volumes of Leighton, part from additional transcripts and notes which he supplied separately. The main annotated volumes have survived but the manuscript material is only partially extant; it seems that after his death the Gillmans, with whom he had been living, sometimes gave away pages of it to friends as mementos. While some long sections of the surviving text were retained together, later to be acquired by the British Museum, other short pieces are now scattered through libraries all over the world. All known examples are reproduced in an appendix to the present volume. The printer's proof has disappeared, apart from a single sheet, but

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that sheet, as is explained in the Editor's Introduction below, throws considerable light upon the early stages of the printing. After the volume was published, moreover, Coleridge wrote copious annotations in some of the volumes which he presented to others—more indeed than in any other of his works. As much of this material as has been tracked down to date is reproduced in the textual and editorial notes and in Appendix D below.

Coleridge's enthusiasm for the seventeenth-century divines took him to some recondite places, so that it becomes necessary to explore minute points of theology. As always, however, his major enterprise was the difficult one of reconciling the wisdom of the old with the insights of the new, tracing ancient roots while also responding to modern energies. Once discovered, his sources often throw further light on these processes.

It is now many years since the production of a collected edition of Coleridge's work was first planned, and I have had the privilege of being included among the editors from the first stages. In the early days the enthusiasm of Rupert Hart-Davis carried the editors through doubts and difficulties, to be followed in due course by the sustaining encouragement given by Jack Barrett, Vaun Gilmour, and others associated with the Bollingen foundation and the Princeton University Press. Among the latter, Elizabeth Powers deserves special mention for her continuing commitment to the edition. The guiding spirit throughout has of course been that of Kathleen Coburn, who was willing to add to the labours of producing the *Notebooks* those of looking after this even more ambitious project. It was a happy experience to draw upon her advice and help over so many years and a great sadness when in September 1991 the ill health that had for the last few years forced her to withdraw into the background was followed by her death. The debt owed to her by all the editors of the edition has been incalculable.

As the work has progressed, also, editors have acknowledged a steadily increasing debt to the Associate Editor, Bart Winer. With his unrivalled experience from previous volumes he was always at hand to assist successive editors with suggestions for possible further notes and to point out cases where an annotation might need to be looked at again. His unexpected death early in 1989 was a bitter blow; but it is a source of limited consolation that he had by then solved most of the complex problems of presentation that arose in the edition as a whole. Fortunately for the present volume, one of the most difficult to organise for publication, he had also been able to see the first major version and had copy-



edited most of the typescript at the time of his death. While the volume necessarily lacks some touches that he would have provided in the last stages, the amount of work he had done on it renders it another monument to his skills. The work he put in has been supplemented at proof stage by John Waś.

An equally great debt is owed to the work of Lorna Arnold, the adviser to the edition on matters involving the classics. Coleridge's great interest in etymology at the time of this volume meant that he was more than usually attentive to the histories of the words he was using—including those in Latin and Greek. The editor needs to be able not only to make clear the correct position according to etymologists of the present day but to convey what Coleridge's contemporaries would have thought at a time when such questions were open to fertile speculation. Lorna Arnold has also been able to bring the knowledge acquired from her previous editing—particularly of the later volumes of the *Notebooks* and of the *Philosophical Lectures*—to the philosophical and theological discussions called for here. In a large number of cases she has been able to improve my notes on such matters, sometimes transforming them out of all recognition. Her hand is particularly detectable in some of the *Excursus Notes*.

In view of the fact that Coleridge was now calling on thirty years' reading and writing, it has been a particular benefit to be able to undertake the main editing of this volume at a point when a number of important works on his earlier thinking have appeared, including those of J. Robert Barth, Thomas McFarland, and Elinor Shaffer—who have also been happy to share their fuller knowledge with me. In the same way I was privileged to exchange views and information with the late Earl Leslie Griggs over a number of years, particularly during the time when he was working on the relevant volumes of the *Letters*. It was a memorable experience to work for many years with George Whalley, who asked me to share the editing of the annotations on Robert Leighton for the *Marginalia*, so that work on *Aids to Reflection* could be aligned with that on its most important single source. His death in 1983 was a particularly sad blow, for he had set his individual stamp on Coleridge studies, providing by his unfailing courtesy and elegant writing a model for the rest of us. To Heather Jackson, who has taken over the editing of the *Marginalia* since George Whalley's death, I owe equally large debts—particularly, again, with regard to the annotations on Leighton. As a co-editor in the edition as a whole I have continually received from her more than I have been able to give. My gratitude is further due to others who have been editing relevant volumes and have been generous

of their time in dealing with my queries or raising points of mutual interest: I think particularly of Reg Foakes, Robin Jackson, Jim Mays, the late Barbara Rooke, and Carl Woodring.

It has not always been possible to track citations to their original source—particularly when, as sometimes happened, Coleridge was relying on an imperfect memory—and I shall be delighted to hear from anyone who recognises a source for any of those where it has been necessary to acknowledge temporary defeat at the time of going to press. Among those who have already earned my gratitude, Geoffrey Day was able to throw light on *insania amabilis*, Nick Penny on the blindness of Cupid, and Myles Burnyeat on the *sorites*. In the field of theology I have been able to draw on the expertise of Paul Avis, Daniel Hardy, Douglas Hedley, David Jasper, and Alister McGrath, and for the history of science on that of Trevor Levere and Desmond King-Hele. Marian Hobson and Ralph Leigh were helpful on points of French language and literature; others who have provided information on specific points include Peter Allen, John Chapple, Tim Chilcott, Stephen Clark, John Drew, Howard Erskine-Hill, Anthony Harding, Mary Jacobus, Brian Mastin, Mary Anne Perkins, Christopher Ricks, Paul Stanwood, and John Woolford. I am also grateful to others who replied promptly and helpfully to my queries: Owen Chadwick, Nicholas de Lange, Peter Dronke, Susan James, Paul Magnuson, Edwin W. Marrs, Jr, Jeremy Maule, Henry Merlen, Leon Pompa, Quentin Skinner, the late Gordon Rupp, Anthony W. Shipps, and Keith Thomas. It is a particular pleasure to acknowledge the help of members of my own college, including Henry Chadwick (who pointed me to important possible sources in Augustine and Waterland), Hugh Dacre, Caroline Moore (who solved several queries, from sources as diverse as Pliny and Indian religion), Roderick Munday, Ted Kenney, and Philip Pattenden. Jim McCusick kindly provided additional information on word-coinages by Coleridge as recorded in the *Oxford English Dictionary*.

Eric Nye drew my attention to an uncollected letter of Coleridge's to William Blackwood, and Mary Anne Perkins to a hitherto unknown annotated copy of *Aids to Reflection* now in her possession, about which she was able to provide detailed information. Among the libraries whose staffs have given me assistance must be mentioned first and foremost the British Library (including the Students' Room and Newspaper Room), Cambridge University Library and the library of Victoria College, Toronto—including those who over the years have staffed the Coleridge Room there and in particular Freda Gough. In addition I should like to thank the librarians and staff of the following institutions for answering

queries and making materials available to me: the Bodleian Library; the English Faculty Library, Cambridge; Eton College Library; Trinity College Library, Hartford, Connecticut; the Highgate Literary and Scientific Institution; the Houghton Library at Harvard; Leeds University Library; the Lilly Library, Indiana University; Liverpool University Library; London University Library; Manchester Public Libraries; Manchester University Library; Peterhouse Library; the Pierpont Morgan Library; Reading University Library; the John Rylands Library; the Library of the Royal College of Surgeons of England; the Bailey/Howe Library, University of Vermont; the Wisbech and Fenland Museum; Yale University Library.

For permission to reproduce the portrait of Coleridge used as the frontispiece, grateful acknowledgments are due to the Highgate Literary and Scientific Institution; for permission to reproduce the title-page of the copy of the 1825 edition presented to Dr Keate, to the Provost and Fellows of Eton College. For permission to reproduce the annotations on various copies of the 1825 edition the edition is indebted to the Berg Collection, the New York Public Library, the Pierpont Morgan Library, Yale University Library, the British Library, Mrs N. F. D. Coleridge, and Mary Anne Perkins. For permission to reproduce manuscript fragments in their possession it is indebted to the British Library, Harvard University Library, the Osborn Collection in Yale University Library, Cornell University Library, the Fales Collection in New York University Library, the University of Iowa Library, Penn State University Library, and Victoria College Library, Toronto.

For an original collation of the 1825 and 1831 texts of *Aids to Reflection* I am grateful to Mary Firth and for expert and painstaking help in an extended checking of textual notes to the keen eye of Lyndeth Vasey. The typing, often of tortuously presented manuscripts, has been undertaken patiently and accurately by Hazel M. Dunn and Maureen Ashby. A final word is due to my wife, since although the editing of the volume has been by no means a continuous process it has been a presence, at least in the background, throughout our married life. Her patience has been exemplary.

*Peterhouse, Cambridge*

JOHN BEER

## EDITORIAL PRACTICE, SYMBOLS, AND ABBREVIATIONS

AS EXPLAINED in the Editor's Introduction below, the copy-text used here is that of the second edition, published in 1831, which was the one followed for later nineteenth-century editions, and all variations between the texts of 1825 and 1831 are recorded in the Textual Notes to the present volume. Fortunately the differences between the two texts on a large scale are not so great as to cause much confusion. In general the aim has been to reproduce the texts of both as exactly as possible. In accordance with the practice of the *Collected Works* generally, accents in Greek, French, and Italian are, where appropriate, normalised. The original readings are recorded in the textual notes. In the extracts from Coleridge's own manuscript writings on the other hand, and in the extracts from the 1825 edition reproduced in Appendix G, the Greek accents or lack of them are reproduced exactly. In all cases Greek abbreviations are regularised and Greek ligatures (only) are expanded. Page-references in Coleridge's text are adjusted to the pagination of the present edition.

Coleridge's footnotes are indicated by symbols (\*, †, etc) and are printed full measure. The editor's footnotes are numbered and (when not too brief) are printed in double columns. The order of the editor's footnotes follows (perhaps Coleridgean) logic: i.e. it is assumed that when the text contains an asterisk or a dagger the reader then turns from text to note and then goes back again. The editor's footnotes, which are sometimes notes on Coleridge's footnotes, follow that order. Thus the footnote indicators within the text may leap from 1 to 5, notes 2–4 being notes on Coleridge's footnotes. Textual notes at the foot of the page, preceding the editor's footnotes, are designated by superior letters (<sup>a-b</sup>, etc) and are ordered as they occur on the page. They take account of the 1825 edition, its List of Corrections and Amendments, and the further amendments made by Coleridge to copies of it he annotated. Where the words EDITOR, LEIGHTON, *et sim* are recorded they are to be understood as appearing full right in the 1825 text.

IMPORTANT NOTE: Page-numbers of the 1825 edition are incorporated into the Textual Notes. References from *AR* (1825), as given in other volumes of the *Collected Coleridge*, can easily be found by looking through those notes, therefore. Page-numbers in *AR* (1831) normally vary by only a few pages from those in *AR* (1825), which can thus be used as a rough guide in locating their place in the *CC* text.

Coleridge manuscripts, where quoted, are printed literatim, including cancellations, except that “it’s”, “its’ ”, “your’s”, and “yours’ ” have been standardised to “its” and “yours” unless appearing so in a published version. The following symbols are also used in quoting from mss (with “wild” as an example):

[wild]	A reading supplied by the editor.
[?wild]	An uncertain reading.
[?wild/world]	Possible alternative readings.
[wild]	A tentative reading (owing to obliterations, torn paper, etc).
[. . .]	An illegible word or phrase.
<wild>	A later insertion by Coleridge.

Strokes, dashes, and other symbols are Coleridge’s.

The editions referred to in the editor’s footnotes are, when they are known, those that Coleridge used. Exceptions are made in the case of some writers for whom such editions, found only in a few libraries, are unavailable to most readers, but for whom the standard modern editions may be readily available.

#### ABBREVIATIONS

(Place of publication is London, unless otherwise noted.)

<i>AR</i> (1825)	S. T. Coleridge <i>Aids to Reflection</i> (1825). Later editions (see App H) indicated similarly by date.
<i>AR</i> (1825) Corr	“Corrections and Amendments”, a list of Errata on pp xv–xvi of <i>AR</i> (1825).
AV	The “Authorised Version”—or “King James Version”—of the Bible, in modern orthography.
Barth	J. R. Barth, SJ <i>Coleridge and Christian Doctrine</i> (Cambridge, Mass 1969).
<i>BCP</i>	<i>The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the</i>

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	<i>Sacraments and other rites and ceremonies of the Church according to the use of the Church of England.</i>
<i>Beer CPI</i>	J. B. Beer <i>Coleridge's Poetic Intelligence</i> (1977).
<i>Beer CV</i>	J. B. Beer <i>Coleridge the Visionary</i> (1959).
<i>BL</i> (1817)	S. T. Coleridge <i>Biographia Literaria; or Biographical Sketches of My Literary Life and Opinions</i> (2 vols 1817).
<i>BL</i> (1847)	S. T. Coleridge <i>Biographia Literaria</i> ed H. N. and Sara Coleridge (2 vols 1847).
<i>BL</i> (1907)	S. T. Coleridge <i>Biographia Literaria . . . with his Aesthetical Essays</i> ed J. Shawcross (2 vols Oxford 1907).
<i>BL</i> (CC)	S. T. Coleridge <i>Biographia Literaria</i> ed James Engell and W. Jackson Bate (2 vols London & Princeton 1983) = CC vii.
<i>Bl Mag</i>	<i>Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine</i> (Edinburgh 1817–1980).
BM	British Library, Reference Division, formerly "British Museum Library".
Boulger	J. D. Boulger <i>Coleridge as Religious Thinker</i> (New Haven, Conn 1961).
<i>B Poets</i>	<i>The Works of the British Poets</i> ed Robert Anderson (13 vols Edinburgh & London 1792–5; vol xiv 1807).
<i>Bristol LB</i>	George Whalley "The Bristol Library Borrowings of Southey and Coleridge" <i>Library</i> iv (Sept 1949) 114–31.
C	Samuel Taylor Coleridge.
C&S	S. T. Coleridge <i>On the Constitution of the Church and State, According to the Idea of Each</i> (1829, 2nd ed 1830).
<i>C&amp;S</i> (CC)	S. T. Coleridge <i>On the Constitution of the Church and State</i> ed John Colmer (London & Princeton 1976) = CC x.
<i>C&amp;SH</i>	George Whalley <i>Coleridge and Sara Hutchinson and the Asra Poems</i> (1955).
<i>Carlisle LB</i>	Carlisle Cathedral Library Borrowings 1801–2.
CC	<i>The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge</i> general editor Kathleen Coburn (London & Princeton 1969– ).
CH	<i>Coleridge: The Critical Heritage</i> ed J. R. de J. Jackson (1970).
<i>CIS</i> (1840)	S. T. Coleridge <i>Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit</i> ed H. N. Coleridge (1840). To appear in <i>SW&amp;F</i> (CC).
CL	Charles Lamb.
CL	<i>Collected Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge</i> ed Earl Leslie Griggs (6 vols Oxford & New York 1956–71).

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<i>C Life</i> (C)	E. K. Chambers <i>Samuel Taylor Coleridge</i> (Oxford 1938).
<i>C Life</i> (G)	James Gillman <i>The Life of Samuel Taylor Coleridge</i> (vol 1 only pub, 1838).
<i>CM</i> (CC)	S. T. Coleridge <i>Marginalia</i> ed George Whalley (London & Princeton 1980– ) = CC xii.
<i>CN</i>	<i>The Notebooks of Samuel Taylor Coleridge</i> ed Kathleen Coburn (New York, Princeton, & London 1957– ).
<i>Conc</i>	“Conclusion” to the present edition, pp 383–410 below.
<i>C Pantheist</i>	Thomas McFarland <i>Coleridge and the Pantheist Tradition</i> (Oxford 1969).
<i>CRB</i>	<i>Henry Crabb Robinson on Books and Their Writers</i> ed Edith J. Morley (3 vols 1938).
<i>CR</i> (BCW)	<i>Blake, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Lamb, etc. being Selections from the Remains of Henry Crabb Robinson</i> ed Edith J. Morley (Manchester 1922).
<i>CRD</i>	<i>Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson</i> ed Thomas Sadler (2 vols 1872).
<i>C 17th C</i>	<i>Coleridge on the Seventeenth Century</i> ed R. F. Brinkley (Durham, NC 1955).
<i>C Talker</i>	R. W. Armour and R. F. Howes <i>Coleridge the Talker</i> (Ithaca, NY 1949).
<i>CW</i>	<i>The Complete Works of S. T. Coleridge</i> ed W. G. T. Shedd (7 vols New York 1853).
<i>DC</i>	Derwent Coleridge.
<i>DeQ</i>	Thomas De Quincey.
<i>DeQ Works</i>	<i>The Collected Writings of Thomas De Quincey</i> ed David Masson (14 vols Edinburgh 1889–90).
<i>Diels</i>	Hermann Diels <i>Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker</i> ed Walther Kranz (3 vols Zurich 1972).
<i>DNB</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i> (1885– ).
<i>Duffy</i>	<i>Coleridge's American Disciples: the Selected Correspondence of James Marsh</i> ed J. J. Duffy (Amherst, Mass 1943).
<i>DW</i>	Dorothy Wordsworth.
<i>DWJ</i>	<i>Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth</i> ed Ernest de Selincourt (2 vols 1941).
<i>EB</i>	<i>Encyclopaedia Britannica</i> (11th ed 29 vols Cambridge 1910–11).
<i>EC</i>	Edward Coleridge
<i>Ed Rev</i>	<i>The Edinburgh Review</i> (Edinburgh & London 1802–1929).

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EHC	Ernest Hartley Coleridge
EM	<i>Encyclopaedia Metropolitana</i> (26 vols 1845).
Enc RE	<i>Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics</i> ed J. Hastings (13 vols Edinburgh 1908–26).
EOT (CC)	S. T. Coleridge <i>Essays on His Times</i> in ‘ <i>The Morning Post</i> ’ and ‘ <i>The Courier</i> ’ ed David V. Erdman (3 vols London & Princeton 1978) = CC III.
Friend (CC)	S. T. Coleridge <i>The Friend</i> ed Barbara E. Rooke (2 vols London & Princeton 1969) = CC IV.
G Mag	<i>The Gentleman's Magazine</i> (1731–1907).
HC	Hartley Coleridge.
HC Poems	<i>Poems by Hartley Coleridge, with a memoir of his life by his brother</i> [Derwent Coleridge] (2 vols 1851).
HCR	Henry Crabb Robinson.
HEHL ms	MS 8195, ‘‘On the Divine Ideas’’, at Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California: part of the <i>Op Max</i> ms (see below).
HNC	Henry Nelson Coleridge.
H Works	<i>The Complete Works of William Hazlitt</i> ed P. P. Howe (12 vols 1930–4).
Int Aph	‘‘Introductory Aphorisms: On the duty and advantage of cultivating the power and habit of Reflection’’ in the present edition, pp 11–42 below.
IS	<i>Inquiring Spirit: A New Presentation of Coleridge from His Published and Unpublished Prose Writings</i> ed Kathleen Coburn (1951; rev ed Toronto 1979).
JDC	James Dykes Campbell.
JEGP	<i>Journal of English and Germanic Philology</i> (Urbana, Ill 1903– ).
JHI	<i>Journal of the History of Ideas</i> (New York 1940– ).
L&L	<i>Coleridge on Logic and Learning</i> ed Alice D. Snyder (New Haven & London 1929).
L&S	H. G. Liddell and R. Scott <i>A Greek–English Lexicon</i> (1843; 9th ed Oxford 1940).
LCL	Loeb Classical Library.
Lects 1795 (CC)	S. T. Coleridge <i>Lectures 1795: On Politics and Religion</i> ed Lewis Patton and Peter Mann (London & Princeton 1971) = CC I.
Lects 1808–1819 (CC)	S. T. Coleridge <i>Lectures 1808–1819: On Literature</i> ed Reginald A. Foakes (2 vols London & Princeton 1984) = CC VI.
Leighton COPY A	<i>The Expository Works and Other Remains of Archbishop</i>



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- Leighton, some of which were never before printed. Revised by Philip Doddridge, D.D. With a preface by the Doctor (2 vols Edinburgh 1748). CM (CC) III.*
- Leighton COPY B *The Genuine Works of R. Leighton, D.D. Archbishop of Glasgow: with a preface by Philip Doddridge, D.D. A new edition, with corrections and additional letters. To which is now prefixed, the life of the author, by the Rev. Erasmus Middleton (4 vols 1819). CM (CC) III.*
- Leighton COPY C *The Whole Works of Robert Leighton, D.D. some time Bishop of Dunblane, afterwards Archbishop of Glasgow. A new edition, carefully corrected. To which is prefixed a memoir of the author, by George Jerment, D.D. (4 vols 1820). BM c 126 h 1. CM (CC) III.*
- LL *The Letters of Charles Lamb to Which Are Added Those of His Sister Mary Lamb ed E. V. Lucas (3 vols 1935).*
- LL (M) *The Letters of Charles and Mary Lamb ed Edwin W. Marrs, Jr (Ithaca, NY 1975- ).*
- Logic (CC) *S. T. Coleridge Logic ed J. R. de J. Jackson (London & Princeton 1980) = CC XIII.*
- LR *The Literary Remains of Samuel Taylor Coleridge ed H. N. Coleridge (4 vols 1836-9).*
- LRR "Lectures on Revealed Religion" in *Lects 1795 (CC)*.
- LS *S. T. Coleridge A Lay Sermon, Addressed to the Higher and Middle Classes, on the Existing Distresses and Discontents (1817).*
- LS (CC) *S. T. Coleridge Lay Sermons [being The Statesman's Manual and A Lay Sermon] ed R. J. White (London & Princeton 1972) = CC v.*
- M Chron *The Morning Chronicle (1769-82).*
- Migne PG *Patriologiae cursus completus . . . series Graeca ed J. P. Migne (162 vols Paris 1857-1912).*
- Migne PL *Patriologiae cursus completus . . . series Latina ed J. P. Migne (221 vols Paris 1844-64).*
- Misc C *Coleridge's Miscellaneous Criticism ed T. M. Raysor (1936).*
- MLN *Modern Language Notes (Baltimore 1886- ).*
- Mor Aph "Moral and Religious Aphorisms" in the present edition, pp 69-132 below.
- MP *Modern Philology (Chicago 1903- ).*
- M Post *The Morning Post (1702-1937).*
- Mrs C Sara Coleridge née Fricker (wife of C).
- N Notebook of Samuel Taylor Coleridge (numbered or otherwise denominated) in ms. References given by folio.

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<i>N&amp;Q</i>	<i>Notes and Queries</i> (1849– ).
<i>NED</i>	S. T. Coleridge <i>Notes on English Divines</i> ed Derwent Coleridge (2 vols 1853).
<i>NF<sup>o</sup></i>	Coleridge's folio notebook, now in the Henry E. Huntington Library.
<i>NLS</i>	S. T. Coleridge <i>Notes and Lectures upon Shakespeare and Some Other Old Poets and Dramatists with Other Literary Remains</i> ed Sara Coleridge (2 vols 1849).
<i>NTP</i>	S. T. Coleridge <i>Notes, Theological, Political and Miscellaneous</i> ed Derwent Coleridge (1853).
<i>NYPL</i>	New York Public Library.
<i>ODCC</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church</i> ed F. L. Cross (1957; 2nd ed 1974).
<i>OED</i>	<i>The Oxford English Dictionary</i> being a corrected reissue . . . of "A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles" (12 vols Oxford 1970).
<i>Omniana</i>	<i>Omniana, or Horae otiosiores</i> ed Robert Southey [with articles by C] (2 vols 1812).
<i>Op Max ms</i>	MSS of Coleridge's "Opus Maximum", mss VCL S MS 28–9, vols numbered according to Alice Snyder's scheme in <i>L&amp;L</i> xii (with older numbering in brackets). See also <i>HEHL ms</i> above.
<i>Phil Trans RS</i>	<i>The Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society</i> (1665–1886).
<i>PL</i>	John Milton, <i>Paradise Lost</i> . (See also Migne above.)
<i>P Lects</i> (1949)	<i>The Philosophical Lectures of Samuel Taylor Coleridge</i> ed Kathleen Coburn (London & New York 1949).
<i>P Lects</i> (CC)	<i>The Philosophical Lectures of Samuel Taylor Coleridge</i> ed Owen Barfield and Kathleen Coburn = CC viii.
<i>PML</i>	The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.
<i>PMLA</i>	<i>Publications of the Modern Language Association of America</i> (Baltimore 1889– ).
<i>Pref</i>	Coleridge's "Preface" in the present edition, pp 5–10 below.
<i>Prel Sp Aph</i>	"Elements of Religious Philosophy, preliminary to the Aphorisms on Spiritual Religion" in the present edition, pp 133–43 below.
<i>Prelude</i> (1959)	1805 and 1850 versions of <i>The Prelude</i> in William Wordsworth <i>The Prelude, or Growth of a Poet's Mind</i> ed Ernest de Selincourt, rev Helen Darbishire (Oxford 1959).
" <i>Prometheus</i> "	S. T. Coleridge "On the <i>Prometheus</i> of Aeschylus: An Essay . . . read at the Royal Society of Literature, May 18, 1825", first printed in <i>Transactions of the Royal So-</i>

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- ciety of Literature* II (1834) 384–404 and to appear in *SW&F* (CC).
- Prud Aph* “Prudential Aphorisms” in the present edition, pp 45–53 below.
- PW* (1829) *Poetical Works* (3 vols 1829).
- PW* (EHC) *The Complete Poetical Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge* ed E. H. Coleridge (2 vols Oxford 1912).
- PW* (JDC) *The Poetical Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge* ed J. D. Campbell (1893).
- QR* *The Quarterly Review* (1809–1952).
- Rees Cyclopaedia* Abraham Rees *The Cyclopaedia; or, Universal Dictionary of arts, sciences and literature* (39 vols 1819).
- Refl Mor* “Reflections respecting Morality” in the present edition, pp 55–65 below.
- RS* Robert Southey.
- RSL* Royal Society of Literature.
- RX* John Livingston Lowes *The Road to Xanadu* (Boston 1927, rev 1930).
- SB* *Studies in Bibliography* (Charlottesville, Va 1949– ).
- SC* Sara Coleridge (daughter of C, and wife of HNC).
- SC Memoir* *Memoir and Letters of Sara Coleridge* ed Edith Coleridge (2 vols 1873).
- SH* Sara Hutchinson
- Sh C* *Coleridge's Shakespearean Criticism* ed. T. M. Raysor (2 vols 1930; rev ed 2 vols 1960).
- SIR* *Studies in Romanticism* (Boston, Mass 1961– ).
- S Letters* (Curry) *New Letters of Robert Southey* ed Kenneth Curry (2 vols New York & London 1965).
- S Life* (CS) *Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey* ed C. C. Southey (6 vols 1849–50).
- S Life* (Simmons) Jack Simmons *Southey* (1945).
- SM* S. T. Coleridge *The Statesman's Manual: or, The Bible, the Best Guide to Political Skill and Foresight. A Lay-Sermon Addressed to the Higher Classes of Society* (1816).
- SM* (CC) S. T. Coleridge *The Statesman's Manual* in *LS* (CC) above.
- Sp Aph A* “Aphorisms on Spiritual Religion” in the present edition, pp 145–53 below.
- Sp Aph B* “Aphorisms on that which is indeed Spiritual Religion” in the present edition, pp 155–410 below.
- SW&F* (CC) S. T. Coleridge *Shorter Works and Fragments* ed H. J.

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	Jackson and J. R. de J. Jackson (2 vols London & Princeton, in press) = CC xi.
Tennemann	W. G. Tennemann <i>Geschichte der Philosophie</i> (11 vols Leipzig 1798–1819). C's annotated copy in BM (C 43 e 24): CM (CC) v.
TL (1848)	S. T. Coleridge <i>Hints Toward the Formation of a More Comprehensive Theory of Life</i> ed Seth B. Watson (1848).
TT (1836)	<i>Table Talk of Samuel Taylor Coleridge</i> ed H. N. Coleridge (rev ed 1836). Cited as part of TT (CC).
TT (CC)	<i>Table Talk</i> ed Carl R. Woodring (London & Princeton 1990) = CC xiv.
VCL	Victoria College Library, University of Toronto.
Watchman (CC)	S. T. Coleridge <i>The Watchman</i> ed Lewis Patton (London & Princeton 1970) = CC ii.
W Prose	<i>The Prose Works of William Wordsworth</i> ed W. J. B. Owen and J. W. Smyser (3 vols Oxford 1974).
WPW	<i>The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth</i> ed Ernest de Selincourt and Helen Darbishire (5 vols Oxford 1940–9).
WW	William Wordsworth.



# CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

## 1772–1834

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| 1772 | (21 Oct) Birth of C at Ottery St Mary, Devonshire, to the Rev John and Ann (Bowden) Coleridge, youngest of their 10 (and John's 14) children  | George III king (1760–1820)<br>Wordsworth two years old<br>Scott one year old<br>Swedenborg d<br><i>M Post</i> begun  |
| 1774 |   | Southey b<br>Priestley discovers oxygen   |
| 1775 |   | American War of Independence<br>C. Lamb b<br>Jane Austen b  |
| 1776 |   | (4 Jul) US Declaration of Independence<br>Adam Smith <i>Wealth of Nations</i><br>Gibbon <i>Decline and Fall</i> (–1788)   |
| 1778 | C to Ottery Grammar School  | Hazlitt b<br>Rousseau and Voltaire d  |
| 1779 |   | Hume <i>Dialogues concerning Natural Religion</i><br>Johnson <i>Lives of the Poets</i> (–1781) (as prefaces)  |
| 1780 | (Nov) Death of brother William  | Gordon Riots  |
| 1781 | (6 Oct) Death of C's father   | Lessing d<br>Kant <i>Critik der reinen Vernunft</i><br>Schiller <i>Die Räuber</i><br>Rousseau <i>Confessions</i> (–1788)  |
| 1782 | (Spring) In London with John Bowden<br>(Jul) Enrolled at Christ's Hospital, Hertford<br>(Sept) Christ's Hospital, London (to 1791); to meet C. Lamb, G. Dyer, T. F. Middleton, R. Allen, J. M. Gutch, Le Grice brothers | Priestley <i>Corruptions of Christianity</i>  |
| 1783 |   | (3 Sept) Treaty of Versailles between Britain, France, and USA<br>(19 Dec) Pitt's first ministry (–1801)<br>Blake <i>Poetical Sketches</i><br>J. G. Eichhorn <i>Einleitung ins Alte Testament</i> completed |
| 1784 | Brother George graduates from Pembroke College, Oxford  | Samuel Johnson d  |

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| 1785 | Walks wards of London Hospital with brother Luke   | DeQ b<br>Paley <i>Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy</i><br>Cowper <i>The Task</i> and John Gilpin   |
| 1786 |  | American Constitution drafted<br>Mozart <i>The Marriage of Figaro</i>  |
| 1787 | (Apr) Death of brother Jack in India<br>First contribution to Boyer's <i>Liber Aureus</i>  | Thomas Taylor's <i>Concerning the Beautiful</i> (from Plotinus) initiates his Neoplatonist translations  |
| 1788 | (Feb) Brother James marries Frances Duke Taylor<br>(early summer) Elected Grecian; meets Evans family  | Byron b<br>Hutton <i>New Theory of the Earth</i><br>Kant <i>Kritik der praktischen Vernunft</i><br>Crowe <i>Lewesdon Hill</i>  |
| 1789 | (Summer) Visits Ottery after 7 years<br>Introduced to Bowles's <i>Sonnets</i> by Middleton<br>Spends much of year 1789–90 in school sick-ward  | Washington first President of USA<br>(14 Jul) Fall of Bastille: French Revolution<br>Blake <i>Songs of Innocence</i><br>Erasmus Darwin <i>The Botanic Garden</i> (–1791)   |
| 1790 | (Feb) Death of brother Luke<br>(26 Jul) C's first published poem (in <i>The World</i> )  | Burke <i>Reflections on the Revolution in France</i><br>Bruce <i>Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile</i><br>Mozart <i>Così fan tutte</i>  |
| 1791 | (12 March) Death of sister Ann<br>(Oct) Jesus College, Cambridge, Exhibitioner, Sizar, Rustat Scholar; to meet W. Frend, S. Butler, Porson, C. Wordsworth, Wrangham  | (2 Mar) John Wesley d<br>(Jul) Anti-Jacobin riots at Birmingham; Priestley's house attacked.<br>Paine <i>Rights of Man</i> (–1792)<br>Boswell <i>Life of Johnson</i><br>Mackintosh <i>Vindiciae Gallicae</i><br>Mozart <i>The Magic Flute</i>  |
| 1792 | Death of brother Francis in India: C hears news a year later<br>Wins Browne medal with Greek Sapphic <i>Ode on the Slave Trade</i> ; poem read at Commencement (3 Jul)<br>(Summer) visits Ottery and praises WW's poetry in Exeter   | Shelley b<br>(22 Sept) Fr Republic proclaimed<br>Pitt's attack on the slave-trade<br>Fox's Libel Bill<br>Rogers <i>Pleasures of Memory</i><br>Wollstonecraft <i>Rights of Woman</i>  |
| 1793 | (Jan) One of four placed first for Craven Studentship (awarded to youngest) (May)<br>Attends Cambridge trial of Frend<br>(Summer) Greek <i>Ode on Astronomy</i> fails to win Browne medal<br>(25 Jul) First poem in <i>Morning Chronicle</i><br>(2 Dec) Enlists in 15th Light Dragoons as Silas Tomkyn Comberbache | (21 Jan) Louis xvi executed<br>(1 Feb) France declares war on England and Holland<br>(Mar–Dec) Revolt of La Vendée<br>(June) Reign of Terror begins<br>(16 Oct) Marie Antoinette executed<br>(16 Oct) John Hunter d<br>Godwin <i>Political Justice</i><br>Wordsworth <i>An Evening Walk</i> and <i>Descriptive Sketches</i><br>Kant <i>Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft</i> |
| 1794 | (9 Apr) Returns to Cambridge   | (23 May) Suspension of Habeas Corpus   |

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| <p>(Jun) Sets out with Joseph Hucks; meets RS in Oxford and plans pantisocracy; Welsh tour</p> <p>(Aug–Sept) Joins RS and Burnett in Bristol; meets Thomas Poole, engaged to Sara Fricker</p> <p>(Sept) To London and Cambridge; with RS publishes <i>The Fall of Robespierre</i> (Cambridge); <i>Monody on Chatterton</i> published with Rowley <i>Poems</i> (Cambridge)</p> <p>(Dec) To London; sonnets in <i>M Chron</i>; “noctes Atticae” with Lamb at Salutation and Cat</p> <p>(24 Dec) <i>Religious Musings</i> begun</p> <p>1795 (Jan) RS brings C back to Bristol; lodgings with RS, Burnett; meets Joseph Cottle</p> <p>(Late Jan–Feb) Political Lectures</p> <p>(Feb) <i>A Moral and Political Lecture</i> published</p> <p>(May–Jun) Lectures on Revealed Religion</p> <p>(16 Jun) Lecture on Slave-Trade</p> <p>Portrait by Peter Vandyke</p> <p>(Aug) Quarrel with RS; pantisocracy abandoned; meets WW in Bristol</p> <p>(4 Oct) Marriage to Sara Fricker</p> <p>(26 Nov) Lecture on the Two Bills</p> <p>(3 Dec) <i>Conciones ad Populum</i> published</p> <p>(Dec) <i>An Answer to “A Letter to Edward Long Fox”</i> and <i>The Plot Discovered</i> published; <i>The Watchman</i> planned</p> <p>1796 (9 Jan–13 Feb) Tour to Midlands and north to sell <i>The Watchman</i>; meets Erasmus Darwin, Joseph Wright (painter)</p> <p>(1 Mar–13 May) <i>The Watchman</i> in ten numbers</p> <p>(16 Apr) <i>Poems on Various Subjects</i></p> <p>(19 Sept) Birth of Hartley C; reconciliation with RS</p> <p>(31 Dec) <i>Ode to the Departing Year</i> in <i>Cambridge Intelligencer</i>; move to Nether Stowey completed</p> <p>1797 (Mar) WW at Stowey</p> <p>(Jun) C at Racedown</p> <p>(Jul) DW, WW, and Lamb at Stowey; DW and WW to Alfoxden House</p> <p>(Jul–Sept) <i>Poems, to Which Are Now Added, Poems by Charles Lamb and Charles Lloyd</i></p> | <p>“Glorious First of June”</p> <p>(28 Jul) Robespierre executed; end of Terror</p> <p>(Oct–Dec) State Trials: Hardy, Tooke, and Thelwall acquitted of charge of high treason</p> <p>Paine <i>Age of Reason</i> (–1795)</p> <p>Paley <i>Evidences of Christianity</i></p> <p>Radcliffe <i>Mysteries of Udolpho</i></p> <p>Blake <i>Songs of Experience, Europe, Book of Urizen</i></p> <p>E. Darwin <i>Zoonomia</i> (–1796)</p> <p>J. G. Fichte <i>Über den Begriff der Wissenschaftslehre</i></p> <p>(3 Jan) Josiah Wedgwood d</p> <p>(19 May) Boswell d</p> <p>(13 Jun) T Arnold b</p> <p>(Jun–Jul) Quiberon expedition</p> <p>(26 Sept) WW and DW to Racedown</p> <p>(5 Oct) Bonaparte disperses Paris mob</p> <p>(31 Oct) Keats b</p> <p>(Nov) Directory begins</p> <p>(6 Nov) Treason and Convention Bills introduced</p> <p>(4 Dec) Carlyle b</p> <p>(18 Dec) Two Acts put into effect</p> <p>M. G. Lewis <i>Ambrosio, or the Monk</i></p> <p>Blake <i>Book of Los, Song of Los, Book of Ahania</i></p> <p>Goethe <i>Wilhelm Meister</i></p> <p>(Jul) Robert Burns d</p> <p>(Sept) Mary Lamb’s violent illness</p> <p>(Nov) Catherine of Russia d</p> <p>England treating for peace with France</p> <p>Threats of invasion of England</p> <p>Jenner performs first smallpox vaccination</p> <p>Burke <i>Letters on a Regicide Peace</i></p> <p>Dr Thomas Beddoes <i>Essay on the Public Merits of Mr Pitt</i></p> <p>Lewis’s novel reissued as <i>The Monk</i></p> <p>Pitt proposes to finance the renewed war against France by increasing taxes.</p> <p>(Feb) Bank of England suspends cash payments</p> <p>(Apr–Jun) Mutinies in British Navy</p> <p>(26 May) Grey’s motion for Parliamen-</p> |
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- (14 Oct) *Osorio* finished; C visits Bowles.  
 ('Fall of the year') *Kubla Khan* composed  
 (13–16 Nov) Walk with Wordsworths to Lynton; *Ancient Mariner* begun  
 (Nov) C engaged by *M Post*  
 (Dec) poetry in *M Post*, inc *Visions of the Maid of Orleans*  
 (9 Jul) Burke d  
 (17 Oct) France and Austria sign peace treaty  
 (Nov) Frederick William II of Prussia d; Frederick William III begins rule  
 (20 Nov) *Anti-Jacobin*, or *Weekly Examiner* begins  
 Schelling *Ideen zur Philosophie der Natur*  
 Radcliffe *The Italian*  
 1798 (2 Jan) First prose definitely by C appears in *M Post*  
 (Jan) C's Unitarian sermon at Shrewsbury heard by Hazlitt; Wedgwood £150 annuity accepted  
 (Feb) *Frost at Midnight*  
 (Mar) *Ancient Mariner* completed  
 (Apr) *The Recantation* (later *France: An Ode*; *Fears in Solitude*)  
 (14 May) Birth of Berkeley C  
 (c 20 May–11 Jun) Hazlitt visits Stowey  
 (Sept) *Lyrical Ballads* published  
 (19 Sept) WW, DW, Chester, and C to Hamburg; (21) meets Klopstock; (30) to Ratzeburg  
 (Feb–Oct) Irish uprising  
 (Spring) Swiss cantons suppressed  
 (12 Jun) Malta taken by French  
 (Jul) Bonaparte invades Egypt  
 (9 Jul) *Anti-Jacobin* last number  
 (1–2 Aug) Battle of the Nile: Nelson's victory  
 Lloyd Edmund Oliver  
 Malthus *Essay on the Principles of Population*  
 Bell introduces Madras system of education into England  
 Fichte *System der Sittenlehre*  
 1799 Stuart buys *Courier*  
 (10 Feb) Death of Berkeley C; news reaches C c 6 Apr  
 (12 Feb) C to University of Göttingen  
 (May) Ascent of Brocken  
 (29 Jul) In Stowey again  
 (Sept) Devon walking tour with RS  
 (Oct) Nitrous oxide experiments with Humphry Davy in Bristol  
 (26 Oct) Meets Sara Hutchinson  
 (Oct–Nov) Walking tour of Lakes from Sockburn, with WW  
 (10 Nov) C receives Stuart's invitation to work in London  
 (27 Nov) Arrives in London  
 (4 Dec) C and Davy visit Godwin  
 (c 20 Dec) DW and WW to Town End (later Dove Cottage)  
 (Jan) First attempt at vote for Union defeated in the Irish Parliament  
 (Apr) Newspaper Act  
 (25 Jul) Bonaparte drives Turks from Aboukir  
 (29 Aug) Pope Pius VI d as prisoner at Valence, France  
 (8 Oct) Bonaparte suddenly appears in France  
 (9 Nov) Bonaparte first consul under new constitution  
 Royal Institution founded  
 Schiller *Piccolomini* and *Wallensteins Tod* published  
 1800 (Jan–6 Apr) *M Post* reporter and leader-writer; translating *Wallenstein* at Lamb's  
 (2 Mar) Mrs C leaves London  
 (Mar) C at Pentonville with Lamb; offered proprietary share in *M Post*, declines offer  
 (6 Apr–4 May) At Grasmere with WW; *Wallenstein* completed 20 Apr, pub soon after  
 (18 Jan) Debate over Union in Dublin  
 (3 Feb) Fox returns to Parliament  
 (Feb) Bill for Union passed  
 (Mar–Apr) Pius VII Pope  
 (Apr) Commons approves bill for Union  
 (25 Apr) Cowper d  
 (14 Jun) Battle of Marengo  
 (Aug) Union of Great Britain and Ireland

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| <p>(May–Jun) In Stowey and Bristol<br/>         (24 Jul) Move to Greta Hall, Keswick<br/>         (14 Sept) Birth of Derwent C<br/>         (Sept–Oct) Superintends printing of <i>Lyrical Ballads</i> (2nd ed)</p>  | <p>(5 Sep) Malta falls to English after long siege.<br/>         Burns <i>Works</i> ed Currie<br/>         Davy <i>Researches . . . concerning Nitrous Oxide</i><br/>         Schelling <i>System der Transzendentalen Idealismus</i></p>   |
| <p>1801 (Jan) <i>Lyrical Ballads</i> (1800) published; prolonged illnesses<br/>         (21 Jan) C returns to London<br/>         (Jul–Aug) At Gallow Hill and Middleton with MH and SH, reading in Durham Cathedral Library<br/>         (15 Nov) To London; writing for <i>M Post</i><br/>         (28 Dec–c 19 Jan) At Stowey</p>   | <p>Davy lecturer at Royal Institution<br/>         (Jan) Evangelicals begin monthly <i>Christian Observer</i><br/>         (Mar) Pitt resigns over Catholic Emancipation: Addington ministry (–1804)<br/>         (2 Apr) Battle of Copenhagen<br/>         (Jul) Bonaparte signs Concordat with Pope<br/>         Treaty of Luneville; Austria makes peace; French gains in Germany</p>  |
| <p>1802 (21 Jan–Mar) In London; attends Davy's lectures at Royal Institution; writing for <i>M Post</i>; to Gallow Hill<br/>         (From 19 Mar) At Greta Hall; severe domestic discord<br/>         (4 Apr) 1st version of <i>Dejection</i> as "A Letter to — [Sara Hutchinson]"<br/>         Suspects "radical difference" from WW in opinions respecting poetry<br/>         (1–9 Aug) Lakes tour and Scafell climb; (late Aug) visit by Lambs<br/>         (Sept–Jan) Writing for <i>M Post</i><br/>         (4 Oct) <i>Dejection</i> ode in <i>M Post</i><br/>         (Nov) Three-day visit to London<br/>         (Nov–Dec) Tour of South Wales with Tom and Sally Wedgwood<br/>         (23 Dec) Birth of Sara C</p> | <p>(25 Mar) Peace of Amiens<br/>         (18 Apr) Erasmus Darwin d<br/>         (8 May) Bonaparte life consul<br/>         (4 Oct) WW marries Mary Hutchinson<br/>         (Oct) French army enters Switzerland<br/>         Fox encounters Bonaparte at his levee in Paris<br/> <i>Ed Rev</i> founded<br/>         Cobbett's <i>Weekly Political Register</i> started (–1835)<br/>         Paley <i>Natural Theology</i><br/>         Spinoza <i>Opera</i> ed Paulus (1802–3)<br/>         Bentham's <i>Civil and Penal Legislation</i> introduces theory of Utilitarianism<br/>         Lamb <i>Charles Woodvil</i><br/>         Scott <i>Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border</i> begun</p> |
| <p>1803 (Jan–Mar) in West Country with Wedgwoods, Poole; with Lamb in London; makes will<br/>         (Jun) <i>Poems</i> (1803)<br/>         (summer) Visits by Hazlitt, Beaumonts, and S. Rogers to C in Lakes; Hazlitt's portrait of C<br/>         (Jul–Aug) "The Men and the Times" in <i>M Post</i><br/>         (15–29 Aug) Scottish tour with DW and WW<br/>         (29 Aug–15 Sept) Continues Scottish tour alone<br/>         (15 Sept) Returns to Keswick<br/>         (Sept–Oct) Plans to write "my metaphysical works, as <i>my Life</i>, &amp; <i>in my Life</i>"<br/>         (20 Dec) To Grasmere on way to London</p>   | <p>(Jan) Charles Erskine elected cardinal<br/>         (Feb) Act of Mediation in Switzerland<br/>         (30 Apr) Louisiana bought by US from France<br/>         (18 May) Official declaration of war against France.<br/>         (25 May) Emerson b<br/>         (Sept) Emmet's execution in Ireland<br/>         Cobbett starts <i>Parliamentary Debates</i> (later Hansard)<br/>         Chatterton <i>Works</i> ed RS and Cottle<br/>         Malthus <i>Essay on . . . Population</i> (2nd ed)</p>  |
| <p>1804 (Jan) Ill at Grasmere<br/>         (14 Jan) To London; portrait by Northcote</p>   | <p>(6 Feb) Priestley d<br/>         (12 Feb) Kant d<br/>         (14 Feb) King George becomes ill</p>   |

- (Feb–Mar) Writes for *Courier*  
 (27 Mar) To Portsmouth  
 (9 Apr–18 May) In convoy to Malta  
 (Jul) Under-secretary to Alexander Ball, British High Commissioner at Malta  
 (Aug–Nov) Sicily, ascent of Etna; stays with G. F. Leckie
- 1805 (18 Jan) Appointed Acting Public Secretary in Malta  
 (5 Feb) John Wordsworth drowned in loss of *Abergavenny*; news reaches C  
 31 Mar  
 (Sept–Nov) In Sicily  
 (mid-Nov) To Naples  
 (Dec) Calabria, Naples again  
 (25 Dec) Sets out for Rome
- (Mar) Code Napoleon  
 (Apr) Collapse of Addington's administration; 2nd Pitt ministry (–1806)  
 (16 May) Napoleon Emperor  
 (12 Dec) Spain declares war on Britain  
 J. C. Eichhorn *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*  
 (Apr) Third Coalition against France.  
 (9 May) Schiller d  
 (26 May) Napoleon King of Italy  
 (10 Jul) T. Wedgwood d  
 (17 Oct) Napoleon's victory at Ulm  
 (21 Oct) Trafalgar  
 (2 Dec) Austerlitz  
 Hazlitt *Principles of Human Action*  
 Knight *Principles of Taste*  
 Scott *Lay of the Last Minstrel*  
 RS *Madoc*  
 Beethoven *Fidelio*
- 1806 (18 Jan) In Rome, meets W von Humboldt and L. Tieck, stays with Washington Allston at Olevano  
 (Mar) Meets Angelica Catalani  
 (18 May) To Florence, Pisa  
 (23 Jun) Sails from Leghorn  
 (17 Aug) Lands in England; London, job-hunting; letters on theological issues  
 (26–8 Oct) In Kendal with Wordsworths and SH  
 (30 Oct–7 Dec) Keswick, determined on separation from Mrs C  
 (21 Dec) Joins Wordsworths and SH at Coleorton; (26) crisis of jealousy
- (23 Jan) Pitt d; (Feb) "Ministry of All the Talents" under Grenville (–1807)  
 (Apr) British blockade begins  
 (6 Aug) Holy Roman Empire ends  
 (26 Aug) Palm executed  
 (13 Sept) Fox d  
 (14 Oct) Napoleon's victory at Jena  
 (Nov) Berlin Decrees begin  
 Continental System  
 Arndt *Geist der Zeit* (–1818)
- 1807 (Jan–Apr) At Coleorton; (late Jan) hears WW read *Prelude*, writes *Lines to William Wordsworth*  
 (Apr 4) To London with Wordsworths; discusses plans for 2-vol collection of poems with Longman  
 (Jun) To Stowey with family; remains till Sept alone  
 (Jul) Meets DeQ in Bridgewater  
 (Sept–Nov) In Bristol and Stowey  
 (23 Nov) To London; thoughts of rewriting *Osorio*
- (Feb) Napoleon attacks Russia  
 (Mar) Portland ministry (–1809)  
 (25 Mar) Abolition of slave-trade  
 (Apr) WW *Poems in Two Volumes*  
 (Jul) Peace of Tilsit  
 (Aug) Truce between Russia and Turkey  
 (2–5 Sept) British fleet bombards Copenhagen  
 (Dec) Peninsular War begins  
 RS *Letters from England by Don Esprilla*; *Specimens of the Later English Poets*  
 C. and M. Lamb *Tales from Shakespeare*  
 Hegel *Phänomenologie des Geistes*  
 Crabbe *The Parish Register*  
 Byron *Hours of Idleness*
- 1808 C translates and revises Arndt *Geist der Zeit*  
 Bell–Lancaster controversy  
 Joseph Bonaparte made king in Spain

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| <p>(13 Jan–Jun) In rooms at <i>Courier</i> office.<br/>Strand; lectures at Royal Institution on<br/>Poetry and Principles of Taste; illness<br/>(Feb–Mar) WW in London<br/>(May) Wordsworths move to Allan<br/>Bank, Grasmere<br/>(Jun) To Clarkson at Bury St Edmunds<br/>(Jul) Review of Clarkson's <i>History of the<br/>Abolition of the Slave-Trade in Ed Rev</i><br/>(Aug) Leeds and the north<br/>(1 Sept) Arrives at Allan Bank<br/>(5 Sept) to Keswick with WW<br/>(7 Sept) To Allan Bank; instructs Mrs C<br/>to send his books<br/>(Nov) First Prospectus of <i>The Friend</i> is-<br/>sued at Kendal</p> | <p>(1 May) Hazlitt marries Sarah Stoddart<br/>(21 Aug) Wellington's victory at Vi-<br/>meiro<br/>(30 Aug) Convention of Cintra<br/>(14 Nov) Arrival of British troops un-<br/>der Moore in Salamanca<br/>(23 Nov) Spanish armies routed<br/>(Dec) Napoleon invades Spain<br/>(4 Dec) Madrid reoccupied by French<br/>(24 Dec) Dr T. Beddoes d. Dalton <i>New<br/>System of Chemical Philosophy</i><br/>(–1810) and publication of atomic<br/>theory<br/><i>Lamb Specimens of English Dramatic<br/>Poets</i><br/><i>Scott Marmion</i><br/>John and Leigh Hunt begin <i>Examiner</i><br/>Goethe <i>Faust</i> pt I</p> |
| <p>1809 (1 Jun–15 Mar 1810) <i>The Friend</i> in 27<br/>numbers plus supernumerary<br/>(7 Dec–20 Jan 1810) "Letters on the<br/>Spaniards" in <i>Courier</i></p>  | <p>(Jan) Sir John Moore d at Corunna; vic-<br/>tories in the Peninsula<br/>(Feb) <i>Quarterly Review</i> founded<br/>(9 Mar) Byron <i>English Bards and<br/>Scotch Reviewers</i><br/>(23 Mar) Holcroft d<br/>(May) Napoleon captures Vienna<br/>WW <i>Convention of Cintra</i> pamphlet<br/>(21 Sept) Canning–Castlereagh duel<br/>(Oct) Perceval ministry (–1812)<br/>(14 Oct) Peace of Schönbrunn<br/>(20 Oct) Alexander Ball d in Malta<br/>A. W. Schlegel <i>Vorlesungen über<br/>dramatische Kunst und Literatur</i><br/>(–1811)</p>   |
| <p>1810 (Mar) SH leaves Grasmere for Wales<br/>(15 Mar) <i>The Friend</i> last number<br/>(May–Oct) At Keswick<br/>(16–18 Oct) To London; Montagu pre-<br/>cipitates WW–C quarrel; with Mor-<br/>gans in Hammersmith<br/>(Nov) Meets HCR at Lamb's and other<br/>houses; personal association begins</p>   | <p>(Mar) Battle over admission of press to<br/><i>House of Commons</i><br/>(May) Whig reform bill to extend fran-<br/>chise defeated<br/>(21 Jun) Burdett released from Tower<br/>(Jul) Napoleon annexes Holland<br/>(Dec) George III generally recognised<br/>as insane<br/><i>WW Guide to the Lakes</i><br/>Mme de Staël <i>De l'Allemagne</i> (tr 1813)<br/><i>Scott Lady of the Lake</i><br/><i>RS Curse of Kehama</i><br/>Crabbe <i>The Borough</i></p>  |
| <p>1811 (Mar–Apr) Miniature painted by M. Be-<br/>tham; meets Grattan<br/>(20 Apr) First table talk recorded by JTC<br/>(May–Sept) Regular contributions to<br/><i>Courier</i><br/>(18 Nov–27 Jan 1812) Lectures on<br/>Shakespeare and Milton at Scot's Cor-</p>  | <p>(5 Feb) Prince of Wales made Regent<br/>(18 Jun) Debate on Catholic Emanci-<br/>pation ("Catholic claims")<br/>(27 Jun) Lord Stanhope introduces bill<br/>to make banknotes legal tender<br/>(Nov) Bread riots in Nottingham<br/>(Nov) Luddite uprisings begin</p>   |

- poration Hall, attended by Collier, Byron, Rogers, HCR  
(Dec) George Dawe bust of C
- 1812 (Jan–May) Essays in *Courier*  
(Feb–Mar) Last journey to the Lakes to collect copies of *Friend*  
(Apr) With the Morgans, Berners Street, Soho  
(Apr–Jul) WW in London  
(May–Jun) Lectures on drama in Willis's Rooms; portrait by Dawe  
(May) Lamb and HCR patch WW quarrel  
(14 May) C writes obituary on Perceval for *Courier*  
(4 Jun) Catharine Wordsworth d  
(Jun) *The Friend* reissued  
(3 Nov–26 Jan 1813) Belles Lettres lectures in Surrey Institution  
(Nov) Half Wedgwood annuity withdrawn; RS and C *Omniana*  
(1 Dec) Thomas Wordsworth d
- 1813 (23 Jan) *Remorse* opens at Drury Lane and runs 20 nights  
(1 May) Wordsworths move to Rydal Mount  
(summer) Morgan's financial affairs deteriorating; he escapes to Ireland by Oct  
(autumn) Meets Mme de Staël  
(Oct–Nov) Lectures in Bristol on Shakespeare and education, in Clifton on Milton and poetry  
(Dec) Mary Morgan and Charlotte Brent at Ashley nr Bath  
(winter) illness and spiritual crisis at Bath and Bristol
- 1814 (Apr) Lectures at Bristol on Milton, Cervantes, Taste; lecture on French Revolution and Napoleon; under medical care of Dr Daniel for addiction and suicidal depression; first enthusiasm for Leighton and annotations in *Expository Works* (1748)  
(26–7 Apr) Corresponds with Cottle on his condition  
(1 Aug) *Remorse* performed in Bristol  
(Aug–Sept) Allston portrait of C and Bristol exhibition; essays "On the Principles of Genial Criticism" pub  
(Sept) At Ashley Cottage, joint tenant
- (25 Nov) Dr Marsh addresses University of Cambridge concerning Bible Society  
*Shelley Necessity of Atheism*, *St Irvine Jane Austen Sense and Sensibility*  
(Mar) Wellington captures Badajos  
(11 May) Spencer Perceval assassinated in House of Commons by John Bellingham  
(Jun) Lord Liverpool forms cabinet  
(Jun) US Congress approves war against Britain  
(22 Jun) Napoleon enters Russia  
(Oct–Dec) Retreat from Moscow  
(18 Dec) Napoleon reaches Paris  
*Combe Tour of Dr Syntax in Search of the Picturesque*  
Byron *Childe Harold* cantos i and ii  
Davy *Elements of Chemical Philosophy*
- (21 Jun) Vittoria: Wellington's victory  
(Jul–Aug) Peace Congress at Prague fails  
(10 Aug) Austria declares war on Napoleon  
(Sept) RS Poet Laureate  
(Oct) Wellington enters France  
(autumn) Switzerland, Holland, Italy, Rhineland, Spain, Trieste, Dalmatia freed of French rule  
Leigh Hunt imprisoned for libel (–1815)  
RS *Life of Nelson*  
Northcote *Memoirs of Reynolds*  
Jane Austen *Pride and Prejudice*  
Shelley *Queen Mab*
- (1 Jan) Invasion of France by Allies  
(Mar) Allied forces reach Paris  
(9 Mar) Castlereagh obtains four-power pact against separate negotiations.  
(22 Mar) Ministers decide against further negotiations with Bonaparte  
(11 Apr) Napoleon abdicates  
(30 May) Napoleon exiled to Elba; restoration of the Bourbons; First Treaty of Paris  
(Sept–Jun 1815) Congress of Vienna  
(24 Dec) Peace of Ghent signed by Britain and US

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| <p>with Morgan<br/>         (autumn) Visits P. C. Methuen<br/>         (20 Sept–10 Dec) Letters “To Mr. Justice Fletcher” in <i>Courier</i><br/>         (Nov) Acquires Field <i>Of the Church</i><br/>         (c 5 Dec) Moves with Morgans to Calne, Wilts “at a Mr Page’s, Surgeon”</p>  | <p>Inquisition re-established in Spain<br/> <i>WW Excursion</i><br/> <i>Scott Waverley</i><br/>         Cary’s <i>Dante</i> completed<br/>         Jane Austen <i>Mansfield Park</i></p>  |
| <p>1815 (Apr–May) C to collect his poems with a new “preface”. Receives 1815 ed of <i>WW’s Poems</i><br/>         (May) HC to Merton Coll. Oxford<br/>         (Jun) <i>Remorse</i> performed at Calne<br/>         (summer) HC at Calne for Long Vacation<br/>         (Jul–Sept) Extends preface into an “Autobiographia literaria”<br/>         (Aug–Sept) Printing of <i>BL</i> with <i>Sibylline Leaves</i> begins at Bristol</p>  | <p>(Feb) Napoleon escapes from Elba, returns to France<br/>         (Mar–Jun) <i>The Hundred Days</i><br/>         (6 Apr) Allies mobilise vs Napoleon<br/>         (18 Jun) Waterloo<br/>         Restoration of Louis XVIII<br/>         (Oct) Napoleon from Plymouth to St Helena<br/>         (20 Nov) Second Treaty of Paris<br/> <i>WW Poems of 1815; The White Doe of Rylstone</i><br/> <i>Scott Guy Mannering</i></p>   |
| <p>1816 (Feb) Grant from Literary Fund, gift from Byron<br/>         (Mar) To London: illness<br/>         (10 Apr) Sends <i>Zapolya</i> to Byron<br/>         (15 Apr) Accepted as patient and house-mate by James Gillman, Surgeon, Moreton House, Highgate<br/>         (25 May) <i>Christabel, Kubla Khan and The Pains of Sleep</i>; renews acquaintance with J. H. Frere<br/>         (Sept–Nov) At Muddiford: friendship with H. J. Rose begins<br/>         (Nov–Dec) Composes <i>Theory of Life</i> (pub 1848)<br/>         (Dec) <i>Statesman’s Manual</i> pub<br/>         Antagonistic reviews of C, attributed to Hazlitt, in <i>Examiner</i> (Jun, Sept, Dec) and <i>Ed Rev</i> (Dec)</p> | <p>(Feb) Byron <i>Siege of Corinth</i><br/>         (24 Apr) Byron’s departure from England<br/>         (21 Jun) Motion for relief of Roman Catholics rejected in Lords<br/>         (7 Jul) Sheridan d<br/>         Parliamentary Committee on Education of the Poor<br/>         (2 Dec) Spa Fields Riot<br/>         Shelley <i>Alastor and Other Poems</i><br/>         Peacock <i>Headlong Hall</i><br/>         Maturin <i>Bertram</i><br/>         J. H. Frere ms tr of Aristophanes<br/>         Jane Austen <i>Emma</i><br/>         Scott <i>Antiquary, Old Mortality</i><br/>         Cuvier <i>Le Règne animal</i></p> |
| <p>1817 (Mar) Second <i>Lay Sermon</i> pub<br/>         (14 and 16 Apr) <i>Remorse</i> revived<br/>         (13 Jun) Meets L. Tieck at house of new acquaintance, Joseph Henry Green<br/>         (Jul) <i>Biographia Literaria, Sibylline Leaves</i> pub<br/>         (autumn) At Littlehampton, meets Henry Francis Cary; association with C. A. Tulk begins<br/>         (Nov) <i>Zapolya</i> pub; C’s tr of Hurwitz’s <i>Hebrew Dirge</i> for Princess Charlotte</p>  | <p>(13 Feb) RS Wat Tyler<br/>         (4 Mar) Habeas Corpus suspended<br/>         (4 Mar) <i>Cobbett’s Political Register</i> reduces price to 2d<br/>         (27 Mar) Sidmouth Circular on libels<br/>         (Apr) <i>Blackwood’s Magazine</i> founded as <i>Edinburgh Monthly Magazine</i><br/>         (18 Jul) Jane Austen d<br/>         (18 Dec) ‘Immortal evening’ at Haydon’s<br/>         Elgin Marbles purchased by Govt and put in BM<br/>         Hazlitt <i>Characters of Shakespeare’s Plays</i><br/>         Ricardo <i>Principles of Political Economy</i></p>  |

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- 1818 (Jan) "Treatise on Method" pub in *Encyclopaedia Metropolitana*  
 (Jan) Meets Thomas Allsop  
 (27 Jan–13 Mar) 14 lectures on principles of judgment, culture, and European literature  
 (9 Feb) *Zapolya* at Surrey Theatre for 10 nights.  
 (Apr) Two pamphlets supporting Peel's Bill against exploitation of child labour. Meetings with J. H. Green begin  
 (summer) Portrait by Thomas Phillips  
 (Nov) *The Friend* (3-vol ed)  
 Drawing by C. R. Leslie  
 (Dec–Mar 1819) Alternating lectures: 14 Dec–29 Mar, 14 on History of Philosophy; 17 Dec–28 Jan, 6 on Shakespeare, 11 Feb–25 Mar, 7 on Shakespeare, Milton, Dante, Spenser, Cervantes
- 1819 (Mar) Financial losses from bankruptcy of publisher Rest Fenner  
 (29 Mar) Last lecture  
 (11 Apr) Meets Keats in Millfield Lane  
 (14) HC elected probationary Fellow of Oriel  
 (spring) More on child labour. Bill passes Lords. Begins occasional contributions to *Bl Mag* (–1822)  
 Gillman acquires Leighton *Genuine Works*  
 (13 Dec) First record of conversation by Allsop  
 B. W. Procter meets C at Lamb's
- 1820 (Mar) Letter on renewed plans for Great Work  
 (May) HC refused renewal of Fellowship at Oriel; C intervenes unsuccessfully through summer  
 (summer) Green becomes surgeon to St Thomas' Hospital  
 (Aug) Green acting as weekly amanuensis to record C's work on Old and New Testament  
 (Oct) DC to St John's Cambridge  
 (1820–1) Writings for HC, later to become part of "*Prometheus*"
- 1st American ed of *BL Keats Poems*  
 Moore *Lalla Rookh*
- (28 Jan) Habeas Corpus restored, not again suspended  
 (1 Jun) Parliamentary motion for universal suffrage and annual parliaments defeated  
 (Jun) Westmorland election  
 Keats *Endymion*  
 Jane Austen *Northanger Abbey, Persuasion*  
 (Aug) *Bl Mag* and *QR* attacks on Keats  
 Hallam *Middle Ages*  
 Hazlitt *Lectures on the English Poets*  
 Lamb *Collected Works* (vol II dedicated to C)  
 Peacock *Nightmare Abbey*  
 Scott *Heart of Midlothian*  
 Mary Shelley *Frankenstein*
- (May) Grattan's Motion for Relief of Roman Catholics defeated  
 (Jun) Grey's Bill to abolish Declaration against transubstantiation defeated  
 (16 Aug) Peterloo massacre  
 WW *Peter Bell and The Waggoner*  
 Scott *Ivanhoe*  
 Byron *Don Juan* (–1824)  
 Shelley *The Masque of Anarchy*  
 Schopenhauer *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*
- (29 Jan) George III d; accession of George IV  
 Cato Street Conspiracy  
 (Feb) Parliament dissolved  
 (Summer) Christopher W Master of Trinity Coll. Cambridge  
 Revolution in Spain and Portugal  
 (Aug–Nov) Trial of Queen Caroline  
 Godwin *Of Population*  
 Keats *Lamia . . . and Other Poems*  
 Lamb *Essays of Elia in London Magazine* (–1823)  
 Shelley *Prometheus Unbound etc*  
 RS *Life of Wesley*  
 WW *The River Duddon*
- (Feb) Plunkett's Motion for Relief of
- 1821 (8 Jan) "Getting regularly on" with

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| <p>             "Logic", devoting Sundays with Green to "Assertion of . . . Religion"<br/>             (Apr–May) Projects 3 Letters to C. A. Tulk MP on Catholic Question<br/>             (8 Jun) George C fails to visit Highgate<br/>             (Jun) HC excluded from Montagu's house<br/>             (Nov) Invitation to lecture in Dublin declined<br/>             HNC essay on C in <i>Etonian</i> </p>  | <p>             Roman Catholics passed by Commons, rejected in Lords (Apr)<br/>             (23 Feb) Keats d in Rome<br/>             (5 May) Napoleon d<br/>             Greek War of Independence<br/>             DeQ "Confessions of an English Opium Eater" in <i>London Magazine</i><br/>             Hazlitt <i>Lectures on Elizabethan Drama</i><br/>             Mill <i>Elements of Political Economy</i><br/>             RS <i>A Vision of Judgment</i><br/>             Schleiermacher <i>Der christliche Glaube</i> 1st ed (–1822)         </p>  |
| <p>             1822 (18 Jan) Proposes "Beauties of Archbishop Leighton" to Murray, who sends him <i>Whole Works</i> (1820)<br/>             (Jan) Dictating "Logic" to C. B. Stutfield and J. Watson<br/>             (25 Feb) Announces weekly select class on philosophical subjects for young men<br/>             (spring) SC's tr of Martin Dobrizhoffer <i>An account of the Abipones</i><br/>             (Jun–Jul) DC seriously ill at Highgate<br/>             Julius Hare becomes tutor at Cambridge<br/>             (8 Oct) Describes "four griping and grasping sorrows" of his life<br/>             (Oct–13 Nov) At Ramsgate<br/>             (6 Nov) Meets Liverpool and Canning there<br/>             (29 Dec) First record of table talk made by HNC         </p>                    | <p>             (30 Apr) Canning's Catholic Peers Bill carried in Commons, rejected in Lords<br/>             (8 Jul) Shelley d<br/>             (12 Aug) Castlereagh's suicide<br/>             (Sept) Canning Foreign Secretary<br/>             (Nov–Dec) Faction-fights between Orangemen and Catholics in Ireland<br/>             (24 Dec) M. Arnold b<br/>             Congress of Verona<br/>             Byron <i>The Vision of Judgment</i><br/>             Grattan <i>Speeches</i><br/>             Shelley <i>Hellas</i><br/>             Blanco White <i>Letters from Spain</i><br/>             WW <i>Ecclesiastical Sonnets</i> </p> |
| <p>             1823 (3 Jan–5 Mar) Mrs C and SC at Highgate<br/>             (21 Mar) HNC's diary claims secret engagement to SC<br/>             (Jun) Meets W. E. Channing<br/>             (Jul) Meets Edward Irving<br/>             (Jul) Murray declines "Beauties of Leighton"; offered as AR to Taylor and Hessey (8 Aug); accepted by 15th<br/>             (Sept) Reading for prefatory Life of Leighton; proposes to seek admission to BM through Sir Humphry Davy<br/>             (Oct–10 Nov) At Ramsgate; receives proofs; meets SH again<br/>             (Nov, before 10th) Gillmans move to 3 The Grove; C's attic study<br/>             (11 Nov) Declines invitation to lecture at Leeds<br/>             (Dec) Accident to Mrs Gillman; "forge-hammer sound" in his ear         </p> | <p>             (Apr) Plunkett's Motion for Relief of Roman Catholics abandoned for lack of support<br/>             Establishment of Catholic Association in Dublin (May); in London (Jun)<br/>             War between France and Spain<br/>             Hazlitt <i>Liber Amoris</i><br/>             RS <i>History of the Peninsular War</i> </p>   |
| <p>             1824 (24 Jan) DC takes pass degree at Cambridge; to become schoolmaster<br/>             (c 26 Jan) DC visits on way from Cam-         </p>   | <p>             (9 Jan) John Thurtell hanged<br/>             (30 Mar–1 May) Green's first lectures as Professor of Anatomy         </p>   |



- bridge; C alarmed by his religious opinions  
 (18 Feb) SC "everything the fondest and most ambitious Parent could pray for"  
 (18 Feb) AR has been "growing and new-forming itself" under his hand  
 (by 24 Feb) "Comfortable letter" from DC  
 (Mar) Elected Royal Associate, Royal Society of Literature, with annuity of 100 guineas  
 (late Mar) Misunderstanding with Gillmans; C withdraws till 7 Apr  
 (Jun) Carlyle calls at Highgate  
 (Sept) JTC becomes editor of *QR* (–Oct 1825)  
 (Oct–Nov) At Ramsgate
- 1825 (15 Apr) Dr Prati calls on C and introduces Vico's work to him  
 (6 May) Six Disquisitions on religious subjects promised to publisher, J. A. Hessey  
 (10 May) Proposes three lectures in connection with projected London University; (17) gives up plan  
 (18 May) "*Prometheus*" delivered before RSL  
 (c 25 May) *Aids to Reflection* pub; Bp of London expresses favourable opinion  
 (30 Jun) Partnership of Taylor and Hessey dissolved.  
 (Jul) Blanco White visits C  
 (Sept) Henry Gillman to Eton after C's coaching  
 (Oct–Nov) At Ramsgate  
 (Nov) Corrects proofs of Hurwitz's *Hebrew Tales*
- 1826 (spring) Intensive work on Daniel and Apocalypse  
 (summer) Long periods with Frere  
 (Sep) Frere obtains promise of sinecure of £200 from Liverpool for C  
 (11 Oct–14 Dec) At Ramsgate  
 (29 Oct) DC ordained deacon  
 (late Oct) Henry Gillman removed from Eton  
 (Dec) Occupies his renovated book-room on return to Highgate  
 C disturbed by Irving's wild theories  
 C visits H. F. Cary at BM
- 1827 (4 Feb) J. A. Heraud's first visit  
 (7 Feb) Sir George Beaumont d leaving £100 to Mrs C  
 (Feb) Lord Dudley & Ward intending to
- (19 Apr) Byron d aiding Greeks  
 Foundation of London Mechanics' Institution  
 Repeal of Combination Acts  
 Cary tr *The Birds of Aristophanes*  
 Godwin *History of the Commonwealth of England* (–1828)  
 RS *The Book of the Church*  
 Landor *Imaginary Conversations*  
 Scott *Redgauntlet*
- (Feb–May) Burdett's Motion for the Relief of Roman Catholics passed in Commons, defeated in Lords  
 (May) Liverpool's speech on Coronation Oath; quoted with approval by Canning  
 (Aug) Frere arrives in England  
 First railway, Stockton to Darlington, opened  
 Brougham *Practical Observations upon the Education of the People*  
 Hazlitt *The Spirit of the Age*  
 Mill *Essays on Government* (–1828)  
 C. Butler *Book of the Roman-Catholic Church*  
 Blanco White *Poor Man's Preservative Against Popery and Practical and Internal Evidence Against Catholicism*
- General Election with Corn Laws and Catholic Emancipation as main issues  
 England sends troops to Portugal  
 First Atlantic crossing under steam  
 HNC *Six Months in the West Indies*  
 Turner *History of Henry VIII*  
 RS *Vindiciae Ecclesiae Anglicanae*  
 Blanco White *A Letter to Charles Butler*
- (17 Feb) Liverpool seized with paralysis and forced to resign  
 (Mar) Burdett's Bill rejected in Commons; Canning PM

- 
- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p> speak to Liverpool on C's behalf<br/> (May) Hears Thomas Chalmers preach;<br/> (10) Chalmers calls at Highgate; C's<br/> serious illness; visit from Poole<br/> (15 Jul) DC ordained priest<br/> (Oct–22 Nov) At Ramsgate<br/> (6 Dec) DC marries Mary Pridham </p>  | <p> (26 Mar) Beethoven d<br/> (8 Aug) Canning d<br/> (12 Aug) Blake d<br/> (31 Aug) Goderich ministry<br/> University of London founded<br/> Hallam <i>Constitutional History</i><br/> J. C. and A. Hare <i>Guesses at Truth</i><br/> Irving tr of <i>The Coming of Messiah</i><br/> Keble <i>Christian Year</i><br/> A. and C. Tennyson <i>Poems by Two</i><br/> <i>Brothers</i> </p>   |
| <p> 1828 (12 Jan) Death of George C<br/> (22 Apr) Fenimore Cooper meets C<br/> (21 Jun–7 Aug) Netherlands and Rhine<br/> Tour with Dora and WW<br/> J. C. Young, T. C. Grattan meet C<br/> (18 Aug) Bacchanal party at Reynolds's<br/> with Hook, Lockhart, and Jerdan<br/> (Jun–Jul) <i>Poetical Works</i> (3 vols)<br/> John Sterling first visits Highgate<br/> Hyman Hurwitz appointed Professor of<br/> Hebrew, London University, with sup-<br/> port from C<br/> (Oct–Nov) At Ramsgate<br/> (17 Oct) Derwent Moultrie C b<br/> (11 Nov) Hurwitz <i>Introductory Lecture</i><br/> A. H. Hallam and Monckton Milnes call<br/> at Highgate </p>  | <p> (Jan) Wellington administration<br/> (Apr) Russia goes to war with Turkey<br/> (May) Repeal of Test and Corporation<br/> Acts<br/> (May–Jun) Burdett's Bill for Relief of<br/> Roman Catholics passed in Com-<br/> mons, rejected in Lords<br/> (Aug) Peel and Wellington correspond<br/> over Catholic question<br/> (Sept) T. Arnold Headmaster of Rugby<br/> (4 Dec) Lord Liverpool d<br/> F. D. Maurice editing <i>Athenaeum</i>,<br/> Sterling contributing<br/> Brougham <i>A Speech on the Present</i><br/> <i>State of the Law of the Country</i><br/> Hazlitt <i>Life of Napoleon</i> (–1830) </p>  |
| <p> 1829 (Jan–Feb) Refuses to sign Petition<br/> against Catholic Emancipation<br/> (Mar) W. P. Wood visits C<br/> (spring) Illness delays writing of <i>C&amp;S</i><br/> (May) <i>Poetical Works</i> (2nd ed)<br/> (14 July) Lady Beaumont d leaving C<br/> £50, which he sends to Sara C for HC<br/> (28 July and 1 Aug) John Wheeler visits<br/> C<br/> (summer) Onset of severe intermittent ill-<br/> nesses<br/> (3 Sept) SC marries her cousin HNC;<br/> Poole visits Highgate<br/> (17 Sept) C revises will<br/> (Sept) Mrs C leaves Greta Hall for good<br/> W. B. Donne reports that C talks of re-<br/> casting his "Aids"<br/> American ed of <i>AR</i>, ed J. Marsh<br/> HNC and SC living in Holborn area<br/> (Dec) <i>On the Constitution of the Church</i><br/> <i>and State</i> pub </p> | <p> (Jan) King agrees to discussion of<br/> Catholic Emancipation in Cabinet<br/> (Feb–Mar) Bill passed to suppress<br/> Catholic Association<br/> (10 Mar) 1st reading in Commons of<br/> Catholic Relief Bill<br/> (10 Apr) 3rd reading in Lords passed<br/> (13 Apr) George IV gives reluctant as-<br/> sent<br/> (spring) A. H. Hallam's ref to C in<br/> poem <i>Timbuctoo</i><br/> (29 May) Sir Humphry Davy d<br/> (Nov) Visit of Cambridge Conversa-<br/> zione Club members to Oxford with<br/> enthusiasm for C's ideas<br/> Thomas Arnold <i>Sermons</i><br/> Hurwitz <i>Elements of the Hebrew Lan-</i><br/> <i>guage</i><br/> RS <i>Sir Thomas More</i><br/> [Isaac Taylor] <i>Natural History of En-</i><br/> <i>thusiasm</i> (May) </p> |
| <p> 1830 (Apr) Republication of <i>The Devil's Walk</i><br/> as "by Professor Porson"; reissued in<br/> autumn as by C and RS<br/> (c Apr) <i>On the Constitution of the Church</i><br/> <i>and State</i> (2nd ed) </p>  | <p> Reform agitation<br/> (25 Jun) Death of George IV; accession<br/> of William IV<br/> (Jul) Revolution in France<br/> (Nov) Grey ministry </p>  |

- (3 May) Chalmers visits C again  
 (4 Jun) John McVickar visits C  
 (Jun) HNC and SC settle in Hampstead  
 (2 Jul) Codicil to will concerning HC  
 (18 Sept) Hazlitt d  
 (7 Oct) Herbert C b  
 (winter) Last meetings with WW
- 1831 *Aids to Reflection* (2nd ed)  
 (May) Emma Willard visits C  
 (May) RSL annuity withdrawn; C refuses personal grant of £200 from Grey, claiming devotion to principle, not party politics  
 (23 Sept) J. S. Mill, Henry Taylor, James Stephen visit C  
 Comments on Parliamentary Reform in *Table Talk*.  
 American ed of *The Friend* ed J. Marsh
- 1832 Legacy of £300 from Steinmetz  
 (20 Mar) W. R. Hamilton's first visit (summer) Thomas McLellan visits C  
 (9 Aug) Attends christening of Edith C (b 2 Aug)  
 (29 Sept) HCR brings W. S. Landor to C  
 (Sept) Portrait by Moses Haughton  
 (? this year) Harriet Martineau visits C
- 1833 HC's *Poems*, dedicated to C  
 (24–9 Jun) At Cambridge for meetings of British Association  
 (Jul) At Ramsgate  
 (5 Aug) Emerson calls at Highgate  
 (Sept) Visit to C by correspondent of *New York Observer*  
 HC's *Biographia Borealis* (*Northern Worthies*)
- 1834 (Mar–Aug) *Poetical Works* (3rd ed) 3 vols published separately  
 (Apr) Instructs Hurst to dispose of his share in eds of *AR* and *C&S*  
 (30 Jun) Viscount Adare visits C and reports to Hamilton  
 (25 July, 6.30 a.m.) Death of C at Highgate followed by autopsy  
 (2 Aug) Funeral: C immured in vault in Highgate Churchyard.
- Greece independent  
 Comte *Cours de philosophie positive*  
 Lyell *Principles of Geology*  
 Tennyson *Poems*, chiefly *Lyrical*
- (1 Mar) Lord John Russell introduces Reform Bill in Commons  
 (23 Apr) Dissolution of Parliament  
 (Sept–Oct) Second Reform Bill passes Commons, rejected by Lords  
 (14 Nov) Hegel d  
 (12 Dec) Third Reform Bill introduced  
 British Association founded  
 J. S. Mill *The Spirit of the Age*  
 Hurwitz *Erymology and Syntax*  
 Walsh *Popular Opinions on Parliamentary Reform*
- (3 Feb) Crabbe d  
 (22 Mar) Goethe d  
 (May) Grey resigns; Wellington fails to form ministry; Grey recalled  
 (6 Jun) Bentham d  
 (7 Jun) Reform Bill becomes law  
 (21 Sept) Scott d  
 Green *Address Delivered in King's College*  
 Martineau *Illustrations of Political Economy* (–1834)  
 Park *Dogmas of the Constitution*
- (14 Jul) Keble's sermon on "National Apostasy"  
 (25–9 Jul) "Hadleigh Conference" at H. J. Rose's Rectory; Oxford Movement initiated  
*Tracts for the Times* (Newman *et al*) begin  
 Thomas Arnold *Principles of Church Reform*  
 Carlyle *Sartor Resartus*  
 Lamb *Last Essays of Elia*  
 Browning *Pauline*
- (Feb) New Poor Law  
 (18 Feb) Augustus Hare d  
 (Apr) Petition to admit Dissenters to Cambridge degrees  
 (23 Dec) Malthus d  
 (27 Dec) Lamb d  
 Tolpuddle martyrs  
 Bentham *Deontology*

## EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

*Aids to Reflection*, which began life as a simple proposal by Coleridge to reprint the best passages of a seventeenth-century divine accompanied by comments of his own, became in the making a much more complex work—so much so that when it was published he found himself obliged to comment on the changes it had undergone since he returned the proofs of the first pages to the printer. Characteristically, his explanation took the form of an organic simile:

In the bodies of several species of Animals there are found certain Parts, of which neither the office, the functions, nor the relations could be ascertained by the Comparative Anatomist, till he had become acquainted with the state of the Animal before birth.<sup>1</sup>

Some of the changes, he explained, had taken place as a result of his own reflections while compiling the work, supplemented by "conversation with men of eminence in the Literary and Religious Circles"; but it is clear that the complexity of its composition is also due to processes that had been in motion long before it was ever conceived. *Aids to Reflection* represented an attempt on his part to hand on as directly as possible the fruits of his own spiritual experiences in a work that would be acceptable to the general educated public, but those spiritual experiences, however simple they might seem in their essence, could not be separated from his previous intellectual and psychical development. When Coleridge tried to comment on a passage, his straightforward and immediate response was likely to become involved with issues and questions that had stirred him all his life. By degrees, therefore, the volume began to present itself as a preliminary version of the work on religion which he had been planning for more than twenty years. It could not take the place of the projected "Assertion of Religion", the work in which he hoped to establish his position at length and philosophically, but it brought forward some of the issues in that work which he felt to be urgent in the intellectual life of his own time and which lay close to the heart of his own concerns. In order to understand its form, then, it is necessary to take some account of his earlier thinking.

<sup>1</sup> AR (1825) "Advertisement": see App G(a) below.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF  
COLERIDGE'S RELIGIOUS THOUGHT

Even during the years when Coleridge was a Unitarian, his religious thinking was disturbed by intellectual conflict. Discussing his state when he was living at Stowey, he sums up his religious dilemma at that time as follows in *Biographia Literaria*: "For a very long time indeed I could not reconcile personality with infinity; and my head was with Spinoza, though my whole heart remained with Paul and John."<sup>2</sup> During this period, which lasted at least until his journey to Malta in 1804, his metaphysical speculations were particularly spurred on by discussions with Wordsworth, Godwin, Tom Wedgwood, and other radical intellectuals: many of the investigations described in his notebooks represent attempts to explore connexions between the "nature" that was revealed in the external world, and the "nature" that worked in the human unconscious through dreams and abnormal mental phenomena.

There were times, indeed, when his thought seemed to be verging on pure Spinozism, but he was never a pantheist. Throughout the period there are evidences of a continuing devotion to the Christian religion in some form. While exploring the implications of nature as far as they led him he was trying (as the account in the *Biographia* states) to find an intellectual position that would also embody the thinking of St Paul and St John. The names are not simply representative, moreover. Years later he would write that he had found a greater authority in their writings than in those of the other Apostles—including the first three Gospels.<sup>3</sup> To St Paul he looked for doctrines based on the conviction of man's sin and unworthiness before God; to St John for the doctrine (unfolded in the fourth Gospel) that showed the workings of the Creative Word as an essential part of the whole divine process. The great tradition in Christian thinking, so far as he was concerned, was that which had continued to affirm, and endeavoured to reconcile, the thinking of these two great figures. By following it he might hope to bring together the sense of his own failings and shortcomings with his continuing belief that his career as a creative writer and thinker was also morally significant.

The first indication that he might be hoping to present the results of his labours in a prose work is in a notebook entry of 1802 which gives a list of projected writings:

1. On Popery. 2. Luther & Lutheranism, Calvin & Calvinism (with Zwinglius).

<sup>2</sup> *BL* ch 10 (*CC*) i 201.

<sup>3</sup> See letters of 1826: *CL* vi 552, 556. C seems later to have given greater promi-

nence to Luke than to Matthew and Mark: see e.g. *ibid* 784.

3. Presbyterians & Baxterians in the time of Charles 1 and 2nd—George Fox—& Quakerism/ Socinians & Modern Unitarians.<sup>4</sup>

Another such list a year later included a revised version of this scheme as the ninth proposal:

Revolutionary Minds, Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, Luther, Baxter as represent. of the English Presbyterians & as affording a place for the Church of England—Socinus, G. Fox.—<sup>5</sup>

In this later scheme the emphasis is laid on minds rather than on movements. Luther and Baxter, figures whom Coleridge continued to honour throughout his career, retain equal importance in each; Quakerism and Unitarianism, however, have receded into a brief mention of George Fox and Socinus, while the (apparently disparaging) reference to "Popery" has been replaced (following Coleridge's sympathetic reading in the scholastic tradition at that time) by mention of Aquinas and Scotus, minds now seen to be important for his own sense of Christian metaphysics.

"Revolutionary Minds" remained one project among many; even in 1803 his ultimate plan was to write a great work "On Man, and the probable Destiny of the Human Race, followed & illustrated by the Organum vere Organum, & philosophical Romance to explain the whole growth of Language . . ."<sup>6</sup> Such a work, however, would require many years' labour, and was planned to appear late in his life; the important work of the decade under discussion was *The Friend*, a periodical in which his main aim was to establish a position of responsibility, of regard for principle, which chimed with the views of Wordsworth at the time, and in which religious thinking was one strand among many. First and foremost *The Friend* was a work addressed to men of goodwill everywhere, and had the political, intellectual, and social condition of the times as its central concern.

Coleridge's religious speculations, which had continued, emerge with particular distinctness in several letters to George Fricker and to Thomas Clarkson, written during the autumn of 1806. In one of these he recorded the change in his beliefs that had taken place since 1798:

I was for many years a Socinian; and at times almost a Naturalist, but sorrow, and ill health, and disappointment in the only deep wish I had ever cherished,

<sup>4</sup> CN I 1181.

<sup>5</sup> CN I 1646.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. The Latin title means "Organ that is truly an Organ". In 1803 (CL II 947) C gives the alternative "or an *Instrument*

of practical Reasoning in the Business of real Life"; in 1828 (CL VI 773) "or Logic in it's living uses, for the Senate, the Pulpit, the Bar . . .".

forced me to look into myself; I read the New Testament again, and I became fully convinced, that Socinianism was not only not the doctrine of the New Testament, but that it scarcely deserved the name of a religion in any sense.

The “. . . mode of defending Christianity, adopted by Grotius first; and latterly, among many others, by Dr. Paley”<sup>7</sup> had, he thought, increased the number of infidels:

. . . never could it have been so great, if thinking men had been habitually led to look into their own souls, instead of always looking out, both of themselves, and of their nature. If to curb attack, such as yours on miracles, it had been answered:—Well, brother! but granting these miracles to have been in part the growth of delusion at the time, and of exaggeration afterward, yet still all the doctrines will remain untouched by this circumstance, and binding on thee. Still must thou repent and be regenerated, and be crucified to the flesh; and this not by thy own mere power; but by a mysterious action of the moral Governor on thee; of the Ordo-ordinians, the Logos, or Word. Still will the eternal filiation, or Sonship of the Word from the Father; still will the Trinity of the Deity, the redemption, and the thereto necessary assumption of humanity by the Word, “who is with God, and is God,” remain truths: and still will the vital head-and-heart FAITH in these truths, be the living and only fountain of all true virtue. Believe all these, and with the grace of the spirit consult your own heart, in quietness and humility, they will furnish you with proofs, that surpass all understanding, because they are felt and known; believe all these I say, so as that thy faith shall be not merely real in the acquiescence of the intellect; but actual, in the thereto assimilated affections; then shalt thou KNOW from God, whether or not Christ be of God. But take notice, I only say, the miracles are extra essential; I by no means deny their importance, much less hold them useless, or superfluous. Even as Christ did, so would I teach; that is, build the miracle on the faith, not the faith on the miracle.<sup>8</sup>

Coleridge was to retain for the rest of his life the set of convictions recorded here, including the insistence that some kinds of evidence could be furnished only by belief. George Fricker evidently protested against his playing down of the doctrine of redemption, since in his next letter he explained that they did not constitute the whole of his faith, but comprised such

. . . as a clear Head & honest Heart assisted by divine Grace might in part discover by self-examination and the light of natural conscience, & which efficiently & practically believed would prepare the way for the *peculiar Doctrine of Christianity*, namely Salvation by the Cross of Christ. I meant these doctrines as the Skeleton, to which the death & Mediation of Christ with the supervention of the Holy Ghost were to add the Flesh, and Blood, Muscles, nerves, & vitality.—

<sup>7</sup> Letter to George Fricker 4 Oct 1806: CL II 1189.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid* 1189–90. The text is from Cottle;

C presumably wrote *ordinans* without a second “i”: cf *Sp Aph B II* at n 49 below, and *CN IV* 4728 f 2.

He continued, however:

God of his goodness grant, that I may arrive at a more living Faith in these last, than I now feel. What I now feel is only a very strong *presentiment* of their Truth and Importance aided by a thorough conviction of the hollowness of all other Systems. Alas! my moral being is too untranquil, too deeply possessed by one lingering passion after an earthly good withheld—& probably withheld by divine goodness—from me, to be capable of being that, which it's own 'still small voice' tells me, even in my dreams, that it ought to be, yet of itse[lf] cannot be.<sup>9</sup>

The "earthly good withheld" was presumably that of reciprocated human love—figured for him at the time in the possibility of marrying Sara Hutchinson; the presence and encouragement of Wordsworth, meanwhile, held before him intellectual ideals of a mainly secular kind. When Sara finally withdrew and Wordsworth seemed no longer sympathetic towards his larger enterprises he had been left in a state of emotional aridity, leading gradually into spiritual crisis.

At the end of 1813 he suffered a week of severe illness, in which (to quote his own account) " . . . tho' driven up and down for seven dreadful Days by restless Pain, like a Leopard in a Den, yet the anguish & remorse of Mind was worse than the pain of the whole Body.—O I have had a new world opened to me, in the infinity of my own Spirit!"<sup>10</sup> To another correspondent he described that new world in greater detail:

. . . You have no conception of what my sufferings have been, forced to struggle and struggle in order not to desire a death for which I am not prepared.—I have scarcely known what sleep is, but like a leopard in its den have been drawn up and down the room by extreme pain, and restlessness, worse than pain itself.

O how I have prayed even to loud agony only to be able to pray! O how I have felt the impossibility of any real *good will* not born anew from the Word and the Spirit! O I have seen far, far deeper and clearer than I ever saw before the ground of pernicious errors! O I have seen, I have felt that the worst offences are those against our own souls! That our souls are infinite in depth, and therefore our sins are infinite, and redeemable only by an infinitely higher infinity; that of the Love of God in Christ Jesus. I have called my soul infinite, but O infinite in the depth of darkness, an infinite craving, an infinite capacity of pain and weakness, and excellent only as being passively capacious of the light from above. Should I recover I will—no—no may God grant me power to struggle to become *not another* but a *better man*—O that I had been a partaker with you of the discourse of Mr Robt Hall! But it pleased the Redeemer to appoint for me a sterner, fearfuller, and even more eloquent preacher, if to be impressive is to be eloquent. O God save me—save me from myself. . . .<sup>11</sup>

The crisis had persisted throughout the spring of 1814, when Cole-

<sup>9</sup> Letter to Fricker 9 Oct 1806: *CL* II 1813: *CL* III 463–4.  
1192.

<sup>11</sup> Letter to Thomas Roberts c 19 Dec

<sup>10</sup> Letter to Mrs J. J. Morgan 19 Dec 1813: *CL* III 463.



ridge visited Bristol and was stung by a letter from Joseph Cottle, who had just discovered the extent of his drug addiction and urged him to rouse himself. Coleridge replied that this was like asking a man paralysed in both arms to rub them briskly together. Cottle wrote a further letter immediately, urging him to pray, to which he replied the same day:

O I do pray inwardly to be able to *pray*; but indeed to pray, to pray with the faith to which Blessing is promised, this is the reward of Faith, this is the Gift of God to the Elect. O if to feel how infinitely worthless I am, how poor a wretch, with just free will enough to be deserving of wrath, & of my own contempt, & of none to merit a moment's peace, can make a part of a Christian's creed; so far I am a Christian—. <sup>12</sup>

In another letter to Cottle at this time, however, he discussed the question of prayer in a less agonised manner, declaring that Christians expected ‘. . . no outward or sensible Miracles from Prayer—It's effects and it's fruitions are spiritual, and accompanied (to use the words of that true *Divine*, Archbishop Leighton) ‘not by Reasons and Arguments; but by an inexpressible kind of Evidence, which they only know who have it.’ <sup>13</sup> In the remainder of the letter he described further the wretchedness of his own condition and his desire to have himself put under some kind of permanent supervision.

The mention of Leighton in that letter indicates something of the extent to which his writings were assisting Coleridge's fight for spiritual survival at this time. In the same month he wrote in the copy of his major work that William Brame Elwyn had lent him,

Surely if ever Work not in the sacred Canon might suggest a belief of Inspiration, of something more than human, this it is. When Mr Elwyn made this assertion, I took it as an hyperbole of affection, but now I subscribe to it seriously & bless the Hour that introduced me to the knowlege of the evangelical apostolical Archbishop Leighton. <sup>14</sup>

In later notes he was to develop an image of Leighton's commentary on the First Epistle of Peter as being a true reverberation from the inspiration of the Gospels—‘Next to the inspired Scriptures, yea, and as the *vibration* of that once struck hour remaining on the Air . . .’ <sup>15</sup> If this sense of a timeless truth speaking to him was comforting, however, it could also be alarming. When Leighton wrote ‘If any one's Head or

<sup>12</sup> Letter to Cottle 26 Apr 1814: *CL* iii 478.

<sup>13</sup> 27 Apr 1814: *CL* iii 478–9, citing Leighton copy A 183; cf *CM* (CC) iii 509.

<sup>14</sup> Note on Leighton copy A flyleaf: *CM*

(CC) iii. For title-page details of copy A see Abbreviations under Leighton.

<sup>15</sup> *CN* iv 4867 (Jan 1822). Cf letter to John Murray 18 Jan 1822, quoted at n 36 below.

Tongue should grow apace, and all the rest stand at a Stay, it would certainly make him a Monster", Coleridge recognised the picture guiltily and wrote down repeated cries for mercy.<sup>16</sup> When Leighton wrote of a sick man that "... the Kindness and Love of God is then as seasonable and refreshing to him, as in Health, and possibly more", Coleridge wrote in the margin: "To the regenerate; but to the conscious Sinner a Source of Terrors insupportable"—and then, perhaps aware that he had just written a capital S and a capital T, he continued, "S. T. C. i.e. Sinful, Tormented Culprit."<sup>17</sup> Yet he was also sustained by Leighton's assurances concerning the grace of God. On a passage concluding "... though I saw, as it were, his Hand lifted up to destroy me, yet from that same Hand would I expect Salvation", he wrote: "Bless God O my soul! for this sweet and strong Comforter. The Honey in the Lion."<sup>18</sup> On the sentence "... such an Assent as this, is the peculiar Work of the Spirit of God, and is certainly saving Faith", he commented, "Lord I believe! help thou my unbelief. My natural reason acquiesces. I believe enough to *fear*—& grant me the Belief that brings sweet Hope."<sup>19</sup>

Coleridge warmed particularly to the presence, amid Leighton's warnings and assurances, of a strong imaginative sense that linked with his own. Above all he came to admire the chastity of Leighton's imagination: "... a *subduedness*, a self-checking Timidity, in his Colouring, a sobering silvery-grey Tone over all ... by this sacrifice, however, of particular effects giving an increased permanence to the impression of the Whole, and wonderfully facilitating it's soft and quiet *Illapse* into the very recesses of our Conviction".<sup>20</sup> He seems also to have felt that such writing sprang from the impersonal element of the author's nature. This was a feature equally of his great admiration for Luther, whose doctrine of justification by faith relied likewise not on a self-conscious personal response, but on a more impersonal acceptance within the depths of one's being.

For the rest of 1814 Leighton's star continued in the ascendant. Coleridge visited the estate of Paul Cobb Methuen near Bath as a guest that autumn; years later his son Thomas was to recall how in 1814–16 he had marvelled at his "... familiarity with Leighton and kindred religious authors". "From the rich, and spiritually speaking, jewelled pages of Leighton, he would repeat ample passages."<sup>21</sup> Yet little of this enthusi-

<sup>16</sup> Note on Leighton COPY A 1 213: *CM* (CC) III.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid 219: *CM* (CC) III.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid 75: *CM* (CC) III.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid 82: *CM* (CC) III.

<sup>20</sup> Letter to Murray 18 Jan 1822, quoted more fully at n 36 below: *CL* v 199.

<sup>21</sup> *C Talker* 304, 310.

asm passed directly into his published writings of the following period, and the copy he had annotated probably went back to its owner at an early stage.

During the remainder of 1814 and well into 1815, nevertheless, Cole-ridge continued to think about theological questions and to read theological works. In November he touched on Jeremy Taylor's views on original sin and acquired Richard Field's *Of the Church*.<sup>22</sup> He discussed Edward Williams's views on modern Calvinism in the following spring and, a little later in 1815, miracles.<sup>23</sup> For him to be thinking about such matters was not, as we have seen, new. In the 1809–10 *Friend*, for instance, a long passage (which was to be introduced into *Aids to Reflection*) was devoted to the question of the Fall, and of the rôle of the will.<sup>24</sup> In that passage, however, there had been no mention of Arminius and Calvin; his new interest was evidently connected with a reading of Williams's *Defence of Modern Calvinism* (1812), probably after his discovery of Leighton and shortly before a letter to R. H. Brabant of March 1815 in which he went on to discuss Williams's *Essay on the Equity of Divine Government*:

My remarks on the larger work I have written on slips of Paper, which you will find at the pages to which they refer: with the exception of my opinion de toto which I incautiously wrote on the blank Leaf at the Beginning. But if it should be improper to send it back to the owner thus, you can take it out and with a few Drops of Gum-water replace it to advantage with a leaf of better paper.—If Dr W's Opinions be indeed those of the Modern Calvinists collectively, I have taken my last Farewell of Modern Calvinism. It is in it's inevitable consequences Spinosism, not that which Spinosism, i.e. the doctrine of the Immanence of the World in God, might be improved into, but Spinosism with all it's Skeleton unflashed, bare Bones and Eye-holes, as presented by Spinoza himself. In one thing only does it differ. It has not the noble honesty, that majesty of openness, so delightful in Spinoza, which made him scorn all attempts to varnish over fair consequences, or to deny in words what was affirmed in the reasoning.—I said, in one thing only. O I did injustice to thee, Spinoza!—Righteous and gentle Spirit, where should I find that iron Chain of Logic, which neither man or angel could break, but which falls of itself by dissolving the rock of Ice, to which it is stapled—and which thou in common with all thy contemporaries & predecessors didst mistake for a rock of adamant? Where shall I find the hundred deep and solemn Truths, which as so many Germs of Resurrection to Life and a glorified Body will make, sooner or later, "the dry Bones Live?"—

That I am not mischarging Dr Williams, you would be convinced in ten minutes by merely turning to Spinoza's three Letters, (especially the second) to

<sup>22</sup> Letter to John Kenyon 3 Nov 1814: CL III 540–2; inscription in Richard Field *Of the Church* (1635): CM (CC) II 686.

553 (see also below at n 26); note of May 1815: CN III 4249.

<sup>23</sup> Letter to Brabant 13 Mar 1815: CL IV

<sup>24</sup> *Friend* (CC) II 279–81; cf *Prel Sp Aph* below.

Blyenburgh.—But Spinoza never was guilty of such an evasion, as that we were responsible Beings to God, as a *Judge*, because he does not act on the will, but only the Heart, or Nature—which however the Will *cannot* but follow—He knew too well, that *Causa causae causa causati*.<sup>25</sup> You might as well cut the Rope that suspended a hanging Scaffolding, and pretend that the man in it fell and broke his Limbs of his own accord—for you never pushed him—you did not even touch him.—No! Spinoza tells his Correspondent plainly—"The difference between us is, that you consider Actions in relation to God, as a *Judge*—and if I did the same, I could not evade your consequences, but should myself exclaim—Why yet findeth he fault, seeing we do nothing but what he himself forced us to do? seeing that in truth we do nothing but it is he worketh in us both to will and to do? But I do not contemplate God as a *Judge*, or attribute any human Qualities or offices to him, but regard him as the Eternal Source of necessary Causes."—Now this is fair Dealing at least.—

So much for theological Metaphysics! . . .<sup>26</sup>

\* viz. God as an *Object*, forgetting that an *Object* as much presupposes a *Subject*, as a *Subject* does an *Object*. Spinoza's is a World with one Pole only, & consequently no Equator. He had commenced either with the *natura naturata*, as the Objective Pole, or at the "I per se I" as the Subjective Pole—he must necessarily in either case have arrived at the Equator, or Identity of Subject and Object—and thence instead of a *God*, = the one only Substance, of which all finite Things are the modes and accidents, he would have revealed to himself the doctrine of The Living God, having the Ground of his own Existence within himself, and the originating Principle of all dependent Existence in his Will and Word.

The intellectual stability that he had achieved from his reflections on Leighton also helped give space and opportunity for creative works such as *Biographia Literaria*, *Zapolya*, and the *Lay Sermons*, together with new editions of his poems and *The Friend*. The next clear stage in the relationship came in 1819, when James Gillman, in whose house he had been living for three years, bought a copy of Leighton's *Genuine Works*, an edition which, issued first in 1805 with Philip Doddridge's preface and a life by Erasmus Middleton, contained not only the Commentary on 1 Peter but the rest of his surviving works. The comments which Coleridge wrote in this volume survive only in manuscript transcripts by John Watson and Sara Coleridge; they represent a further stage in Coleridge's relationship to Leighton, however, which has been obscured by the fact that when they were printed after his death, in *Literary Remains* iv, they were run together with the earlier annotations. Examined as a separate sequence, their specific character is clearer. In 1814 Leighton had been an immediate presence, the inspired man speaking to Coleridge directly across the years. In the new sequence, by contrast, the

<sup>25</sup> "The cause of the cause is the cause of the thing caused": for C's use in *AR* see

below, *Sp Aph B Xb* n 11.

<sup>26</sup> *CL* iv 548–9.

quality of Leighton's inspiration is taken for granted and Coleridge's concern becomes more theological. His first, very important note shows him grappling with a key doctrine of Christianity: that of the atonement for sin made by Christ and the mode of its effect on human beings. Unlike some Christians, who were unhappy with such a doctrine as a whole, and sought to modify its implications, Coleridge (whatever he might have thought at an earlier stage in his life) had now become convinced that such doctrines could not " . . . be denied or explained away without removing (as the modern Unitarians) or (as the Arminians) unsettling and undermining the foundation of the Faith".<sup>27</sup> It was therefore his aim to reaffirm such doctrines while still managing to allow for the disquiets that some Christians might feel concerning some of its possible implications. He could not, like the Unitarians, simply disregard the doctrine as part of a mistaken mystification that had taken place in the Church; nor could he, like the later Arminians, oppose the Calvinist doctrines of election—at least if (as in the later developments of Arminianism as typified by Grotius) that opposition led to an assertion of man's free will so powerful that it seemed to set it in the power of human beings whether or not they chose to be saved from sin. Yet this did not mean, either, that he accepted Calvinism itself—though, as with Arminianism, it was *modern* Calvinism that attracted his hostility. In a letter concerning proposed lectures on theological questions he had set out his problem and his fear of alienating the audience by offending both opposing parties:

. . . Now on the subject proposed I must of *moral* necessity deliver opinions that would bring down a Swarm from opposite Hives—. The so called moderate Grotian and Paleyan Divines and *thus almost all who will hear me* who have formed their notions of Christian Evidence from the Writers of this School I must offend by the proof that the Church of England and the great Founders of the Reformation held these opinions as scarcely less than heretical pravity, or half way between Popery and Pelagianism and even Socinianism—and that I am decisively and earnestly of the same opinion.

The (modern) Calvinists I should offend bitterly by proving that Calvin would have cried: Fire & Faggot, before he had read 100 pages of Dr Williams's Modern Calvinism—and by declaring my conviction that it would be difficult to say which stand at the greatest Distance from Luther, Calvin, our Whitaker, Field, &c., the hodiernal Evangelicals or their Antagonists with Mr Mant at their head. Above all, the Missionary Society—how would they recoil from the assertion, that Go ye into all nations, &c means nothing more, than/ Preach the Gospel indifferently to (Jews and Gentiles—) all that will hear you, in whatever part of the Roman Empire the Hearer may have been . . .<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Annotation on Leighton COPY B 1 9—13; CM (CC) III. For title-page details of COPY B (the *Genuine Works* of 1819) see

Abbreviations under Leighton.

<sup>28</sup> Fragment of a letter pasted into Kant *Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der*

Other notes on the 1819 Leighton show Coleridge more ready to criticise him than before, while retaining reverence and delight for him at his best: "Oh! were it not for my manifold infirmities, whereby I am so all unlike the white-robed Leighton, I could almost conceit that my soul had been an emanation from his!"<sup>29</sup> In his notebooks and letters, meanwhile, he was continuing to explore theological themes more generally and still working on the thoughts of St John and St Paul, protagonists respectively of the Word and the Will. A feature of Leighton's writing that had appealed particularly to him was his ability to bring together these themes quite effortlessly, speaking of the inward light in a way that accorded with Christian Platonism while also affirming the depravity of man and his need for redemption.

Recognition of the complete infirmity of his own will had driven him more forcibly towards the affirmations of St Paul concerning the transcendence of God and the inability of sinful man to approach him by way of his own reason and volition alone; yet continuing awareness of his own intelligential powers drew him to reflect on the possibility that inner revelation could also be ministered to by propitious circumstances. In an undated note on Kant's *Religion*, discussing the mode by which the unmediated act of God in redemption might take place, he referred to this other possibility as a kind of complementary mode:

. . . The will then may be acted on . . . by shocks of Sickness forcing the attention backward in upon the state of our collective consciousness;—&c. &c. (See that fine Sonnet, entitled Sin, p 37 of Herbert's Temple)—Why not then an influence of influences from the Son of God with the Spirit of God, acting directly on the Homo Nouμενον, as well as thro' the Homo Phænomenon? This would make a just distinction between Grace to Redemption, and Providential Aids—the direct action on the Noumenon would be the Grace, the Call—the influence on the Noumenon thro' the Homo phænomenon by the pre-arrangement of outward or bodily circumstances would be, as they are commonly called in pious language, Providences.—<sup>30</sup>

The reference to the rôle of sickness in preparing a propitious state of mind and the allusion to Herbert's *Sin* (quoted also in *Biographia Literaria*<sup>31</sup>) are relevant to the production of *Aids to Reflection*, in which both appear; the reference to "Providential Aids" may also have helped the formulation of the title.

The work which he was annotating, Kant's *Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft*, also had its part to play in the germinat-

*blossen Vernunft* (Königsberg 1794) between 210 and 211: *CM* (CC) III 308–9. Cf *P Lects* (1949) 446–7.

<sup>29</sup> Note on Leighton COPY B III 63: *CM*

(CC) III.

<sup>30</sup> Note on Kant *Religion* +2–+4, referring to p 297: *CM* (CC) III 312–13.

<sup>31</sup> *BL* ch 19 (CC) II 95–6.

ing process. Kant discusses such terms as "virtue" (*Tugend*) and "prudence" (*Klugheit*).<sup>32</sup> He puts the case for a "reflective" (*reflectirend*) faith in contradiction to the alternatives of fanaticism (*Schwärmerei*), superstition (*Aberglaube*), illumination (*Illuminatismus*), and thaumaturgy (*Thaumaturgie*).<sup>33</sup> More importantly, his concern with the rôle of Will in relation to sin and redemption was evidently a stimulus to Coleridge's thinking; indeed, as Elinor Shaffer has pointed out, some later sections of *Aids to Reflection* can be read as covertly offering an alternative to Kant's views on these questions, with Coleridge invoking Kant's concept of "transcendental reflection", as elaborated in the *Critik der reinen Vernunft*, to provide a new solution for the problems raised in his treatise on religion.<sup>34</sup>

At first, however, Coleridge's plans for a new work were less ambitious, and his proposed title different. Since giving his Lectures on the History of Philosophy in 1819, Coleridge had been turning his thoughts more and more to his projected "Assertion of Religion",<sup>35</sup> a work calling for extensive thought and complex construction. Meanwhile, however, his friends (and especially James Gillman) seem to have been anxious to see another work from the press: an offering to serve the needs of the current hour, including those connected with the doubts and uncertainties of the younger generation.

If he was to satisfy the urgings of his friends and the needs of his contemporaries yet still give attention to the "Assertion of Religion" a book that would not be too demanding of his time was called for. What more natural, then, than that he should turn back to the work which had made such a strong impression upon him in the time of his own spiritual need? If Leighton's commentary on St Peter had held out such valuable admonitions and assurances to him, why should he not help make them available to others who were in need? But if so, what was needed was not a new edition of the work as such (two new editions had recently been published) but a persuasive presentation of Leighton's best thoughts together with interpretative comments.

Coleridge set out his project to John Murray on 18 January 1822. Since his letter includes various points later to be taken up in the final work it will bear quoting in full:

Dear Sir

If not with the works, you are doubtless familiar with the name of that "wonderful man" (for such, says Doddridge, I must deliberately call him) Arch-

<sup>32</sup> Kant *Religion* 67, 70.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid 63-4.

<sup>34</sup> Elinor S. Shaffer "Metaphysics of Culture: Kant and Coleridge's *Aids to Re-*

*fection*" *JHI* xxxi (1970) 199-218.

<sup>35</sup> See e.g. his letter to Allsop 26 Nov 1820: *CL* v 119-20.

bishop Leighton. It would not be easy to point out another name, which the eminent of all parties, Catholic and Protestant, Episcopal and Presbyterian, Whigs and Tories, have been so unanimous in extolling. "There is a spirit in Archbishop Leighton, I never met with in any human writings; nor can I read many lines in them without impressions which I could wish always to retain"—observes a Dignitary of our Establishment and F.R.S. eminent in his day both as a Philosopher and a Divine. In fact, it would make no small addition to the size of the volume, if as was the fashion in editing the Classics, we should collect the eulogies on his writings passed by Bishops only and Church Divines, from Burnet to Porteus. That this confluence of favorable opinions is not without good Cause, my own experience convinces me. For at a time, when I had read but a small portion of the Archbishop's principal Work, when I was altogether ignorant of it's celebrity, much more of the peculiar character attributed to his writings (that of making and leaving a deep impression on Readers of all classes) I remember saying to Mr Southey—"that in the Apostolic Epistles I heard the last Hour of Inspiration striking, and in Arch. Leighton's Commentary the lingering *Vibration* of the Sound;" Perspicuous, I had almost said transparent, his style is *elegant* by the mere compulsion of the Thoughts and feelings, and in despite, as it were, of the writer's wish to the contrary. Profound as his Conceptions often are, and numerous as the passages are, where the most *athletic* Thinker will find himself tracing a rich vein from the surface downward, and leave off with an unknown depth for to morrow's delving—yet there is this quality peculiar to Leighton—unless we add Shakespear—that there is always a sense on the very surface, which the simplest may understand, if they have head and heart to understand any thing. The same or nearly the same, excellence characterizes his Eloquence. Leighton had by nature a quick and pregnant Fancy: and the august Objects of his habitual Contemplation, and their remoteness from the outward senses; his constant endeavour to see or to bring all things under some point of Unity; but above all, the rare and vital Union of Head and Heart, of Light and Love, in his own character;—all these working conjointly could not fail to form and nourish in him the higher power, and more akin to Reason—the power, I mean, of Imagination. And yet in his freest and most figurative passages there is a *subduedness*, a self-checking Timidity, in his Colouring, a sobering silvery-grey Tone over all; and an experienced eye may easily see where and in how many instances Leighton has substituted *neutral tints* for a strong Light or a bold Relief—by this sacrifice, however, of particular effects giving an increased permanence to the impression of the Whole, and wonderfully facilitating it's soft and quiet *Illapse* into the very recesses of our Conviction. Leighton's happiest ornaments of style are made to appear as efforts on the part of the Author to express himself *less* ornamentally—more plainly.

Since the late alarm respecting Church Calvinism and Calvinistic Methodism (—a cry of Fire! Fire! in consequence of a red glare on one or two of the windows, from a bonfire of Straw and Stubble in the Church-yard, while the Dry Rot of virtual Socinianism is snugly at work in the Beams and Joists of the venerable Edifice—) I have heard of certain gentle Doubts and Questions as to the Archbishop's *perfect* Orthodoxy—some small speck in the Diamond which had escaped the quick eye of all former Theological Jewellers from Bishop Burnet to the outrageously Anti-methodistic Warburton. But on what grounds I cannot even conjecture—unless it be, that the Christianity which Leighton teaches contains the doctrines peculiar to the Gospel as well as the Truths common to it



with the (so called) Light of Nature or Natural Religion—that he dissu[a]des students and the generality of Christians from all attempts at explaining the Mysteries of Faith by *notional* and metaphysical speculations, and rather by a heavenly life and temper to obtain a closer view of these Truths, the *full* Sight and Knowledge of which it is in Heaven only that we shall possess. He further advises them in speaking of these Truths to prefer scripture-language; but since something more than this had been made necessary by the restless spirit of Dispute, to take this “*something more*” in the precise terms of the Liturgy and Articles of the established Church.—Enthusiasm? Fanaticism?—Had I to recommend an Antidote, I declare on my conscience that above all others it should be Leighton. And as to *Calvinism*, L’s exposition of the scriptural sense of Election ought to have prevented the very [?suspicion].

You will long ago, I fear, have [?been asking yourself,] To what does all this tend?—Briefly then—I feel strongly persuaded—perhaps because I strongly wish it—that The Beauties of Archbishop Leighton selected and methodized, with a (*better*) Life of the Author, i.e. a biographical and critical Introduction or Preface, and Notes—would make not only a useful but an interesting POCKET VOLUME.—‘Beauties’ in general are objectionable works—injurious to the original Author, as disorganizing his productions—pulling to pieces the well-wrought *Crown* of his glory to pick out the shining stones—and injurious to the Reader, by indulging the taste for unconnected & for that reason unretained single Thoughts—till it fares with him as with the old Gentleman at Edinburgh, who eat six *Kittiwakes* by way of *whetting* his appetite—whereas (said he) it proved quite the contrary: I never sat down to a dinner with so little!—But Leighton’s principal Work—that which fills two Volumes and a half of the 4—being a Commentary on St Peter’s Epistles, verse by verse, and varying of course, in subject, &c with almost every paragraph, the Volume, I propose, would not only bring together his finest passages, but these being afterwards arranged on a principle wholly independent of the accidental place of each in the original Volumes, and guided by their relative bearings, it would give a connection or at least a propriety of *sequency*, that was before of necessity wanting.—It may be worth noticing, that the Editions, both the one in Three, and the other in Four, Volumes are most grievously misprinted & otherwise disfigured.—Should you be disposed to think this worthy your attention, I would even send you the Proof *transcribed*, sheet by sheet, as it should be printed, tho’ doubtless, by sacrificing one Copy of Leighton’s Works, it might be effected by references to Volume, page, and line—I having first carefully corrected the Copy.—Or should you think another more likely to execute the plan better or that another name would better promote it’s sale—I should by no means resent the preference—nor feel any mortification, for which the having occasioned the existence of such a Work tastefully selected & judiciously arranged would not be sufficient compensation for,

dear Sir, your obliged

S. T. Coleridge.

P.S. Might I request the favor of a single Line in answer?<sup>36</sup>

<sup>36</sup> CL v 197–200. The “Dignitary” was Gilbert Burnet, who wrote a eulogy of

Leighton in *History of His Own Time* (1724) 134–9.

Murray wrote back to Coleridge encouragingly and evidently offered him a copy of Leighton's *Whole Works* (edited by George Jerment, 1820) to work from, since Coleridge wrote again on 26 January:

Your suggestion entirely coincides with my purpose. I waited indeed only to know that you did not decline it *primâ facie*—to have proposed the same myself. There is a Copy of Leighton's Works here; but it is not my own—nor would it be proper for me to use it as such. I will therefore embrace your offer of sending me your Copy—which I doubt not, I shall be able to send back with the passages marked, and with a sufficient numeration of the order in which I intend them to stand, and specimens of the Headings, to enable you to form a tolerably correct fore-judgement of the contents and appearance of the Volume.—A few inaccuracies and slovenly combinations, I think, may be silently corrected where they chance to interfere with the effect of a passage otherwise eminently interesting—and I had some thoughts of adjoining, as a sort of appendix, some short biographical and critical notice of that every way interesting class of Writers, before and immediately following Thomas à Kempis, whose works and labors were the powerful and most effective Pioneers of the Reformation—with some short specimens from the very rare Works of J. Tauler which were with difficulty procured for me in Germany last year—& which thoroughly bear out the high character, which I once heard Klopstock give of them—<sup>37</sup>

The fate of the "Beauties of Leighton" soon became caught up in a further proposal that John Murray should become the publisher of Coleridge's philosophical works, and a version of the *Logic* was apparently submitted to him. These initiatives resulted in disappointment, however. More than a year later, on 7 July 1823, Coleridge wrote to Charlotte Brent that he had been

. . . always at the West End of the Town—and mostly dancing attendance on a proud Bookseller, & I fear, to little purpose—weary enough of my existence, God knows! and yet not a tittle the more disposed to better it at the price of Apostasy or Suppression of the Truth.—If I could but once get off the two Works, on which I rely for the Proof that I have not lived in vain, and had these off my mind, I could then maintain myself well enough by writing for the purpose of what I got by it . . .<sup>38</sup>

Shortly afterwards he was to report puzzlement as to Murray's intentions concerning the acceptance of any of his works. As far as "The Beauties of Leighton" was concerned, he wrote to C. A. Tulk,

The case is this. On the Day, I dined with you, I had called in Albermarle Street with the Volumes of Archbishop Leighton's Works, with the several passages, I had considered as the characteristic Beauties of his Writings, marked in the side Margins, and my own Notes in the blank space at the top and bottom of the

<sup>37</sup> CL v 205. For title-page details of Murray's edition under Leighton. Copy C (the Jerment edition) see Abbreviations under Leighton.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid 280.

Page—and having waited an hour or so & the young Gentleman in attendance informing [me] that there was no chance of Mr Murray's coming for that day, I wrote a few lines stating the proposed title, and scheme of the little Volume, and intimated that I should call again on the Friday following at two o'clock. I did so. But Mr Murray was not at home to me; but had left a note, declining the publication on a ground, which he knew as well when the Proposal was first made by me & to a certain degree encouraged by him—namely, the existence of a Reprint of Leighton's Works—and entreated my Acceptance of the Copy, which he had sent me, for the purpose of selecting from it—<sup>39</sup>

Undeterred, Coleridge now submitted the planned volume to Taylor and Hessey. In a letter of 8 August 1823 he again set out his reasons for admiring Leighton and gave an account of the volume as he planned it:

Dear Sirs

I have the honor of agreeing with all the thinking Men, with whom I have conversed, in their objection to "Beauties" of this or that writer, taken as a *general* Rule. In the greater number of cases, these collections of striking and shewy passages without any connection given in lieu of that which had been destroyed is almost as injurious to the Original, as the taking out of the Lights of a Titian or a Correggio & presenting them apart from the Shades would be, considered as a specimen of the Picture. And it is in fact no less injurious to the Reader, and one of the most effective recipes for depraving his Taste and weakening his memory.—But if, as in all cases, there are any exceptions to this Rule, the Works of Archbishop Leighton form one of the strongest. I need not enlarge to *you* on the high and peculiar Merits of Leighton—on his persuasive and penetrating eloquence, or the fine Fancy and profound Reflection which seem trying to hide themselves in the earnest simplicity and if I may so express myself, in the cordiality and *conversingness* of his style and manner. The point, on which I mainly rest as to my present purpose, is this: that from the nature and necessity of his principal work, (A commentary on the 1 Epistle of St Peter, Text by Text) the most important and valuable Lights of these precious Volumes present themselves to the Reader in a far more *un-* or rather *dis-*connected manner, than they would in the Work, I have in view: so much so indeed, that I was first led to take it in hand from the observations of several, to whom I had strongly recommended the original Volumes, that from the abrupt transitions from one subject to other and wholly different, and the continual interruptions of the thread of Interest as well as of Thought had prevented them, some from continuing the perusal, and more from reading him with the satisfaction, they would otherwise have received—.

Now the Volume, I have prepared, will be best described to you by the proposed Title—

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.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid* 282 (July 1823).

I have marked out all the passages intended for Extraction in my Copy of Leighton's Works—which, if you think the proposal worth attending to in the first instance, I would leave with you—tho' you are well aware, how much more favorable Impression the passages would make, arranged and in sequence, with the necessary additions, or completions, & the occasional substitutions of a word or phrase when the words in the original have acquired by association & change of fashion a mean or ludicrous sense. Will you do me the favor of letting me know your opinion either by my friend or by a Line addressed to me at Highgate?—In the mean time I remain,

dear Sirs, | with sincere respect | Your obliged Servt.  
S. T. Coleridge

To

Messrs. Taylor and Hesse

P.S. The volume, I should propose, would be a small pocket octavo (Fool's cap, I believe, they call the size, I mean) of about 300 pages: which, I can with truth aver, w[ill] contain the greater portion of all in the 4 thick miserably misprinted Volumes that is peculiarly and characteristically Leighton's Mind and Genius— & give to nine Readers out of ten a much truer, livelier, and more retainable Idea than they would form from their own reading of the Works themselves, even on the assumption that their patience held out so far.<sup>40</sup>

This letter seems to mark the point at which the final title for the work was adopted, since the previous letter quoted was still referring to "the characteristic Beauties" of Leighton's writings; two years later, moreover, looking back on the event, he remembered Murray as "... declining the publication of the proposed Life [& Be]auties of Arch-bishop Leighton".<sup>41</sup> The new title, indeed, may have been partly prompted by his own reference to the "fine Fancy and profound Reflection" that seemed to be "trying to hide themselves" in Leighton's other qualities.

The reply from Taylor and Hessey was evidently swift and satisfactory, since by 16 August he was thanking them for it and giving a businesslike account of his plans. He also asked if they could procure works by Laud and Leighton for him:<sup>42</sup> the plan for a "Life of Leighton & a critique on his writings and opinions" was now uppermost in his mind. It was indeed to dominate his work during the later part of 1823. Another letter of the time (probably to a bookseller) makes a further request for works on Laud, Leighton, Burton, and others, along with Archbishop Spottiswood's *History of the Church and State of Scotland*.<sup>43</sup> By September 1823 he was writing to Hessey that he had collated "Spottis-

<sup>40</sup> Ibid 289–91.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid 438. Given his growing reservations about Paleyan theology, it is possible that the original title "The Beauties of Archbishop Leighton" was conceived

partly as a response to that of W. Reid's selection *The Beauties of Paley* (1810).

<sup>42</sup> Ibid 294.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid 295.

wood, Heylin, Prynne, Wharton, Burnet, Hackett &c'',<sup>44</sup> and we know that he borrowed from Sion College Library Gilbert Burnet's *Memoires, The History of the Troubles and Tryal of . . . William Laud, Wrote by himself, The Second Volume of the Remains of . . . William Laud* and Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe's edition, from manuscript, of James Kirkton's *The Secret and True History of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the year 1678*.<sup>45</sup> Evidence of work towards the "Life" survives both in marginal comments on some of the relevant volumes and in various manuscript drafts, particularly in the Egerton manuscripts in the British Library.<sup>46</sup> Eventually the project of writing such an introductory life and critique was to be abandoned, but the work he did for it was not without its effect on the final volume, where some of the historical instances cited seem to spring from his reading of these and related works.

The scheme as first presented to Taylor and Hessey was a simple one, designed to be realised in print by the end of the year. In the event the volume did not appear until nearly two years later and on the way various changes took place. On occasion, as a result, type was left set up for long periods. Sheets were normally printed off once the final proof-reading was complete, moreover, and so put beyond the possibility of change while Coleridge was writing the later part of the work. Although no one could be blamed for this Coleridge felt a natural sense of frustration, which he expressed in the "Advertisement" he wrote as the work finally went to press. Some features of the completed work, certainly, cannot be understood unless we consider both the technical problems that arose and the changes in Coleridge's conception of what he was doing.

#### FIRST WORK FOR THE 1825 EDITION

Coleridge's first problem as he began to prepare copy for the printer was that of producing large quantities of material which included long extracts from another writer. In his first letter to Murray he had pronounced himself ready to transcribe everything but had also pointed out that "by sacrificing one Copy of Leighton's works" the task could be accomplished more economically, since then only "references to Volume, page and line" would be needed. Murray's gift of the 1820 edition of

<sup>44</sup> Ibid 300-1.

<sup>45</sup> In Sept: *CM* (CC) II xvi, *CN* IV 4990n.

<sup>46</sup> I.e. in MS Egerton 2801, part of the

miscellaneous collection sold by EHC to the BM in the 1880s. See also e.g. *CL* v 299-301. Coleridge's work towards it will form part of *SW&F* (CC).

the *Whole Works* enabled him to carry out the latter plan; he did not at that time foresee the problems that would be created when proofs based on this edition were sent to Highgate, where he had only the differently paginated edition of the 1819 *Genuine Works* to check them against.

As he marked and annotated the copy of Leighton given him by Murray, the plan described to Taylor and Hessey in August was probably the one in his mind, since a list of references on the end flyleaf of volume iv includes, apart from those for "Life of Leighton", several for "P.", "M.", and "S": i.e. the sections 1–3 that he had detailed in his letter.<sup>47</sup> These could stand for the "Prudential", "Moral and Religious", and "Spiritual" sections of the final volume, but it seems more likely that they stood for the "Philosophical and Miscellaneous", "Moral and Prudential", and "Spiritual" of the earlier scheme: the one extract indicated by "P." seems marginally more fitted to "Philosophical and Miscellaneous", while one of those indicated by "M." was eventually included in the "Prudential" section of the 1825 edition; if that section had already existed in Coleridge's mind when he made the extract he could be expected to have written "P." rather than "M." at that point.

In pursuit of his plan to send the whole work as quickly as possible to Taylor and Hessey, Coleridge devoted a good deal of his time initially to the "Life of Leighton". On 16 August 1823 he wrote:

The Leighton may be put to the Press *immediately* if you please—I wish only to learn from you, what number of pages you would consider as the advisable limit, and what proportion the Life and Critique should make. Would 50 pages for this latter be too much—? Of course, it will be the elucidations from little known Writers of that age, and biographical sketches of the Men with whom Leighton was condemned to act, that will carry the Life to this extent—and it will therefore be no difficult, tho' from the beauty or curiosity of the quotations an unwilling, task to shorten it. But I should be much obliged to you, if you could procure for me the Loan of Archbishop Laud's Works, including his Diary or private Journal. And (from Williams's or the Dissenters' Library?) the Zion's Plea of Leighton's Father, with the small Tract containing the Detail of his Sufferings and those of his Companions, Burton &c.—I saw this latter once at Sir G. Beaumont's near Ashby de la Zouch—and a work of deeper interest I never read.—<sup>48</sup>

On 9 September he reported further progress on the "Life":

I find that my apology for the Life of Leighton—which I believe, whether from vanity or on good grounds to *deserve* as a yet more appropriate tho' less expedient Title that of—The first impartial and philosophical Account & Explanation of the Conflict between the Protestant Hierarchy (from Edward VI to the

<sup>47</sup> CL iv 290; cf note on Leighton COPY  
C iv \*1: CM (CC) III.

<sup>48</sup> CL iv 294.

Revolution) and the Puritans of England with the Presbyterians in Scotland—which how especially it is the vital Center of the History of England might be presumed even from the unexampled interest felt by all ranks in the first Series of Sir Walter Scott's Novels—I find, I say (you must forgive my hasty *parentheses* in my letters, & I will take [care] that you shall find few to be forgiven in my future publications) that the Life &c will occupy a full half of the Volume—. I think it right to apprize you of this—that if you see any objection as to the saleability of the Book, it may be altered—which however can only be done by retaining only the abstract of the main events of Leighton's Life which, however, I could give only as an Abstract from the Lives prefixed to the several Editions of his Works, not worthy to be called even an Apology for a Life—or such an apology as the fragments of a dry Caterpillar Skin could be for the Life of the Butterfly.—

Now all my Materials are both ready, and arranged, save only a spot of terra incognita which I hope to colonize out of WOODROW'S History of the Church—to which, but of far less Likelihood, I may add the "*Bibliographia Scoticana*".—But the former I *must* have looked thro' before I dare publish my Life—well aware of the immense importance of the Advice given me in the inclosed Note from that worthy & enlightened man, the Revd. Joseph Hughes, the Secretary of the Brit. & For. Bible Society. In my laborious Collation of Spottiswood, Heylin, Prynne, Wharton, Burnet, Hacket &c I have had reason to congratulate myself on the having submitted to the Task.—Now Woodrow's Work (in two Volumes Folio) is, Mr Irving assures me, a common book in Scotland—and he was surprized at his disappointment in not being able to procure it for me from any of his Scottish Acquaintance and Church-members in London—Neither is it or the *Bibliographia Scoticana*, in Sion College or in Dr Williams's Library in Red Cross Street—. I should be much obliged to you to have it enquired whether it is in the London Institution Library—. I trust that it will, at all events, be in the British Museum, & have this morning written to Sir H. Davy to be admitted, as a Reader there—. If not, my last resource must be to procure it by Mr Irving's means from Scotland.—But should it be in any of the London Catalogues, and could be purchased for any tolerable price (for instance, not exceeding five guineas) I would gladly have the sum put to my Account—if the Loan of it for a fortnight could not be obtained—and so too (but with less anxiety) the Book entitled, *Bibliographia Scoticana*.—<sup>49</sup>

"I shall not go to the Sea side till I have the whole of the 'Aids to Reflection' ready for the Printer," he continued. This was over-optimistic, but his publishers were now convinced that the work was well advanced. On Thursday, 9 October, Hessey wrote to Taylor: "Mr Coleridge has been with me again today with his Title and Preface, and on Saturday the whole will be in my hands. It will be a delightful Book and will be sure to sell well."<sup>50</sup>

On the following Monday, 13 October, Coleridge was by the sea at Ramsgate, but only part of the work was by then with the publisher.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid 299–300. It is not clear when the planned "Life" was dropped.

<sup>50</sup> Edmund Blunden *Keats's Publisher* . . . (1936) 143.

That part of it had by then been delivered seems clear from a letter from Hessey to Taylor seven days later, which includes the statement "Here is also a second sheet of Mr Coleridge's book".<sup>51</sup> Coleridge must have received proofs quickly, also, since when he wrote to Hessey on 6 November he was insisting that he had been ". . . busily and anxiously employed" since their last meeting.<sup>52</sup> A week later he referred to a proof sheet that had been sent on to him at Ramsgate.<sup>53</sup>

The course of production cannot be determined with complete exactitude on present evidence but it seems clear that by early October Coleridge had left material with the printer taking the volume into the "Moral" section (however that section was further defined): that is, enough for about sixty-four pages or four signatures. There are various possibilities here: he might have left all that material, together with volumes I and IV of Leighton, with Hessey on 11 October (probably on his way to Ramsgate), or sent it to him then—or he might have left part of the material earlier and even perhaps have picked up a first signature at that meeting. At all events, it seems clear that he did not actually see a proof to study it until after his last call on Hessey (whether that was on 9 or 11 October). In the November letter he wrote:

As soon as I saw the Proof, I was struck with the apprehension of the disorderly and heterogeneous appearance which the Selections intermixed with my own comments &c would have—I had not calculated aright on the relative quantity of the one and the other—and 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—But little did I anticipate the time and trouble, that this *rifacciamento* would cost me—<sup>54</sup>

Later in the letter he also proposed a change in format:

I leave it to your better Judgement; but it strikes me, that by printing the Aphorisms *numerically* with interspace, as I have written them—thus—

Aphorism I

Then the title or heading of it, if any: and then the passage itself, would be so very much the best way, as to make it worth while—and instead of the (Leighton, Vol. I. p. —) at the *end*, simply to have an L. either thus

Aphorism V. L.

or before the first word of the aphorism, on the same line with it.

L. A reflecting mind &c—

and when it is not Leighton's, to put either E. (Editor's) or nothing.—

<sup>51</sup> *The Keats Circle* ed H. E. Rollins (Cambridge, Mass 1965) II 452.

<sup>52</sup> *CL* v 306.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid* 308.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid* 306.



In those Aphorisms in which part only is Leighton's, they might be marked L. E.

On the address sheet there also appeared a sketch for the same notation:

APHORISM I. (LEIGHTON)

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----- (Vol 4. P. 32)

APHORISM II (ED.)<sup>55</sup>

If, as Earl Leslie Griggs suggests, this is in Hessey's handwriting, we may further surmise that the latter sketched this out as a way of dealing with Coleridge's suggestion and that subsequently (perhaps at the meeting on 11 November promised in Coleridge's letter) it was further modified to the final format, in which neither brackets nor page-references to Leighton appear.

From this letter it is clear that the division into aphorisms was a late innovation, the original submission having been at least partly in continuous prose, and that only after some consideration had Coleridge decided on a new method of arrangement, isolating the quotations into separate sections to be entitled "Aphorisms" and writing "Comments" on them where appropriate. With these he interspersed Aphorisms of his own.

The term "aphorism" deserves attention. As with "Beauties", the aphoristic method was one which he himself had sometimes criticised in the past: in *Biographia Literaria*, for example, he had attacked the popular philosophy introduced by "certain immethodological aphorising Eclectics".<sup>56</sup> Yet it could be seen to offer a convenient way of dealing with a writer such as Leighton, much of whose best work had been presented not systematically but in the course of commentary on another text. And if the length of the aphorisms in part of *Aids to Reflection* is startling to those who recall Pascal or La Rochefoucauld, they can find Coleridge's main justification—and no doubt his inspiration as well—in the work of Bacon, who had organised his *Novum Organum* into "Aphorismi", which, while not as long as the most extended discussions in *Aids to Reflection*, were often much longer than aphorisms of the normal kind.

The wisdom of adapting the mode throughout the work is nevertheless debatable; there are places, in the first section at least, where the reader who is willing to ignore the headings may find that various of the successive paragraphs read better as the continuous prose in which they

<sup>55</sup> Ibid 306–7.

<sup>56</sup> BL ch 12 (CC) 1 292.

were originally written. The distinction between comment and aphorism is not always clear, moreover—particularly since aphorisms of Coleridge's are also, sometimes, followed by "Comments".

The fragments of manuscript (j) and (k) printed in Appendix B below throw further light on the original printing. A passage originally marked by the printer to appear on page "42" was eventually printed on page 37 of the first edition; a passage marked to begin signature "D" on page "49" appeared on page 42. This indication that the original proofs took up more pages is explained by a further piece of evidence,<sup>57</sup> a single page of proof surviving evidently from among those corrected by Coleridge at Ramsgate. While this used the same typeface it was set in a smaller format than that adopted for the 1825 edition. The decision to have more words on the page may have been taken to accommodate the changes now proposed by Coleridge.

Throughout this first proof, apparently, the extracts from Leighton were set in inverted commas, the reference to the 1820 edition being given at the end. The surviving portion opened in the middle of a passage later used for Aphorism 12 of the Prudential Aphorisms, on pages 45–6 of *AR* (1825): ". . . or hurried hither and thither . . .", and had at the end the reference: "LEIGHTON, vol. iv, p. 268".

Next came the passage "There is a settled friendship, nay, . . . to HIMSELF." with the reference: "Leighton, p. 274, 275". This is marked in the margin "Aph. 13"—which is where it is in *AR* (1825), on page 46. Then followed "And if we seriously consider this subject but a little", down to ". . . peaceable than . . ." (at which point the proof breaks off). In the proof this is deleted; in *AR* (1825) it appears on page 37 as Prudential Aphorism 8. Leighton's Latin and Greek footnotes, which had been reproduced in full by the printer, were marked for deletion in the proof and do not appear in *AR* (1825). On both pages the words "Aids to Reflection" appear as running heading, whereas in *AR* (1825) the words appear, in larger type, on the left-hand page only, the right hand carrying the name of the current section.

This proof contains further pieces of valuable information. The two pages are numbered 57 and 58; this evidence that at least four signatures had been printed off in October is further reinforced by a statement in Coleridge's letter of 4 November: "If it were feared, that there is too much matter—all the extracts from l. 2 of p. 52, viz. Aphorisms 12, 13, 14, 15, might be omitted." In point of fact these aphorisms did appear in 1825, on pages 45–8, again suggesting that problems of space were

<sup>57</sup> Reproduced as Illustration 5 to the present volume.

one reason for enlarging the format from the “pocket” size, originally proposed by Coleridge and used in the proof, to the size used in the edition as finally published. The proof confirms that the printer was taking text directly from Leighton, since the notes cancelled by Coleridge would not have been included in a transcription by him; its successive extracts in inverted commas also help to suggest why Coleridge was disturbed when he first saw the proof, his actual work on it witnessing to some of the shifting around which he undertook as a result.

Further light on the original state of the proofs is given by the appearance of page 2 in the 1825 edition, where the first paragraph of the passage from Leighton is included in inverted commas, repeated at the beginning of each line. Since this is the only occasion where this happens in the whole of the 1825 edition it may be supposed that a feature from the original printing was through an oversight perpetuated. As will be seen from the text of the present edition,<sup>58</sup> it was not changed in 1831.

We can also learn something of the original form of the copy from a number of the manuscripts for the early sections that are reproduced in Appendix B below. As it happens, none of these intermesh with extracts from Leighton’s text; it seems likely that Coleridge indicated the latter by way of references on slips for the printer to work from, as he does on one or two manuscripts for later sections. They confirm, however, that Coleridge originally wrote much of his work in continuous prose; there is also evidence of some work towards the eventual numbering of the aphorisms once they had been so designated. In one case (BM MS Egerton 2801 f 165<sup>v</sup>, App B (j) below) the successive paragraphs are numbered “7” and “8”. In the final version paragraph 7 appears under the title Aphorism VII, but after this there appears as Aphorism VIII the paragraph noticed above as deleted from page “54” of the original proof sheet. The paragraph marked “8” in the manuscript then appears as a “Comment” to that aphorism. Some parts of the manuscript, then, already contained numbered paragraphs, thus providing an embryonic version of the aphorism form finally decided upon.

One final source of evidence concerning the copy as originally submitted and used by the printer may be mentioned. On page 22 of volume I of Coleridge’s 1820 Leighton a handwritten “F” and the number “65” appear in pencil in the gutter: the only occasion when such a mark is made in these volumes. The number evidently corresponds to the paging of *Aids to Reflection*; in the 1825 edition it marks the point where a line begins on page 64 and close examination suggests that that line has been

<sup>58</sup> See *Int Aph IV*, below.

brought up into the page at that point, the gap between that and the line above being rather narrow. "F", then, indicates the new signature (F) that was to begin with page 65.

The existence of this mark is significant for a further reason. In AR (1825) the extracts from Leighton which form the first two sections are all taken from volume iv of Leighton, while those which make up "Moral and Prudential Aphorisms" are all taken from volume i. While all these are marked for the printer at the places in question, none is given a number. The Aphorism that begins just before page 65, and in which the mark occurs, also signals a development in this respect: as well as being marked in pencil it is numbered in ink "M.5" (corresponding to its number in the 1825 edition). From then on all extracts are numbered in ink.

All this evidence would suggest that Coleridge's first submission to the publisher took the form of continuous prose of his own in manuscript, coupled with detailed references to the passages from Leighton which he wished to be printed. The printer set these up in proof down to the end of page 64, marked the place where he left off, and sent them back to Coleridge at Ramsgate together with volume iv of Leighton. Coleridge's next move would then be signalled by the following letter, sent probably just before the one of 6 November quoted earlier:

Having an opportunity of trusting them to a young friend on whom I can rely for delivering them to your own hand, I have sent the more important MSS, in the first instance—while the books, corrected proofs, and all that belongs to the Work, the Essay on the Life, Character, & Times of Leighton not included, will be forwarded *per Coach* on Thursday Night—unless an old Highgate Neighbor should decide on returning to Town by the Saturday Morning's Steam-vessel, which I shall know before Thursday—

You will then see the causes of my silence & in part at least, the rewards of the delay—. <sup>59</sup>

In the meantime, we may further suppose, Coleridge had not only altered the proofs that had been sent to him, but marked up volume i of Leighton for the remainder of the "Moral and Religious" Aphorisms, numbering them throughout. What went back to Hessey on 6 November, therefore, consisted of corrected proofs for signatures B to E (in the old format) accompanied by copy taking the work to the end of the Moral and Religious Aphorisms. The printer then revised the format of the volume into a larger page to accommodate Coleridge's extra material, ending signature E roughly where he had done before. The new copy

<sup>59</sup> CL v 305–6.

that was then set up provided as many sheets again, taking the volume up to page 128. In view of Coleridge's statement in the letter of 6 November that he would return "the conclusion of the last Division (Spiritual & Philosophical)" with the next proofs,<sup>60</sup> it might be supposed that he had included some of this section also with his copy; but this is by no means clear. The last sentence of "Moral and Religious Aphorisms" promises that an aphorism by Leighton will ". . . commence the Aphorisms relating to Spiritual Religion"; this statement does not square with the beginning of the next section, which is devoted to Henry More. Nor was the section called "Spiritual and Philosophical" when it was printed. It is possible, however, that the section entitled "Elements of Religious Philosophy, preliminary to the Aphorisms on Spiritual Religion", up to the break on page 139, was sent with the November packet of copy.<sup>61</sup> All such matters, however, are caught up in the question of further revisions that ensued. By now it was Coleridge's conception of the work as a whole that was causing his main problems.

#### COLERIDGE'S DEVELOPING CONCEPTION OF *Aids to Reflection*

From the first, Coleridge's changes were more than just a matter of improving typographical elegance. In his opening pages he had devoted a good deal of his discussion to the importance of language: he had emphasised the need to give attention to the exact derivations and meanings of words and had tried to suggest ways in which (as he put it in his preface) they were not "THINGS" but "LIVING POWERS". Once this was comprehended, even apparently commonplace expressions could be transformed into new lustre, while the act of reflection would cease to be regarded as a mechanical process and come to be appreciated for its illuminating power. Yet he felt the difficulty of conveying all this to the reader and seems to have feared that the adoption of continuous prose would encourage over-swift reading of sentences where the meaning was highly concentrated. The aphoristic method had the advantage that it held up specific statements as successive points of focus for the reader's meditation, making a superficial reading more difficult. He could again find justification in Bacon, who had praised the aphorising method in *The Advancement of Learning* on the grounds, first, that ". . . it tries the writer, whether he be light and superficial in his knowledge, or solid"; secondly, that ". . . as actions in common life are dispersed,

<sup>60</sup> Ibid 306.

<sup>61</sup> See above, pp lxi-lxii.

and not arranged in order, dispersed directions do best for them''; and thirdly, that aphorisms, ''... representing only portions and as it were fragments of knowledge, invite others to contribute and add something in their turn''.<sup>62</sup>

As has been noted above, the early work on the volume resulted in a change in the ordering of the contents, from the three sections proposed in August 1823: ''1. Philosophical and Miscellaneous. 2. Moral and Prudential. 3. Spiritual'', towards those of the volume as it finally appeared: Introductory Aphorisms; Prudential Aphorisms; Reflections respecting Morality; Moral and Religious Aphorisms; Elements of Religious Philosophy, preliminary to the Aphorisms on Spiritual Religion; Aphorisms on Spiritual Religion; Aphorisms on that which is indeed Spiritual Religion; and Conclusion.

The new ascent via ''Introductory'', ''Prudential'', and ''Moral and Religious'' led more naturally to the same, ''Spiritual'', section; the intervening ''Reflections respecting Morality'' and ''Elements of Religious Philosophy'' suggest a further attempt to convey a continuous overall argument, raising the reader's mind from the realm of the prudential to that of moral principle and so, via the inculcation of religious philosophy, to a true understanding of spiritual religion. In spite of this, however, Coleridge's method of compilation in these early sections became increasingly ''mechanical'' after the introductory aphorisms—at least in the sense that the extracts from Leighton's writing appeared in the same order as in the original.

Examination of the annotated volumes in the British Library elucidates Coleridge's method of working. He went through the volumes marking, and sometimes annotating, the chosen passages, and then produced further slips (some of which survive) to provide further comments and give instructions to the printer. The books and slips went together to the printing-house, where the sheets were then set up. The fact that the order of aphorisms in the early sections usually corresponds to the

<sup>62</sup> Bacon ''De Augmentis'' vi 2: *Works* ed J. Spedding et al (1860) iv 450–1 (cf 85). Reflecting on the history of the mode in a review of Arthur Helps *Thoughts in the Cloister and the Crowd* (1835) John Stuart Mill cited in addition to Bacon Thucydides, Aristotle, and Quintilian among classical writers and in later times Pascal, La Rochefoucauld, Burke, and Goethe. Although he discussed works by Coleridge he apparently overlooked the use of the term in *AR*: ''Aphorism: Thoughts in the Clois-

ter and the Crowd'' (1837) *Collected Works* ed J. M. Robson and J. Stillinger (Toronto 1981– ) 1419–29.

C's re-examination of the role of language (which, as will be mentioned later, was one of the most influential elements in *AR* for its early Victorian readers) is a central theme in ch 7 of Stephen Prickett's *Wordsworth and Coleridge: The Poetry of Growth* (Cambridge 1970) and in his *Romanticism and Religion* (Cambridge 1976).

order in which they appeared in the original may represent a concession to the needs of the compositor, who thus needed only to turn to the next passage each time, not to search out a new reference. Since the order was that provided by commentary on a biblical text, the sense of a developing discourse was here necessarily reduced, being sustained largely by Coleridge's own interspersed comments; in the "moral and religious" section these become rarer. When they do occur, however, they are often longer, keeping alive the sense of a continuing discussion.

In these discourses Coleridge's aim was to present Leighton's passages to a reader whom he conceived of as accepting the need for morality but not convinced of any necessary link between morality and religion. He was particularly concerned with the term "spirit", which was to figure centrally in the final section and to become the subject of a long discourse in "Moral and Religious Aphorisms" (after Aphorism VI).<sup>63</sup> Coleridge had long been disturbed not only by the rationalist movements of eighteenth-century theology—including Deism and Unitarianism—but by the more rational apologists for Anglicanism, such as Paley, who by their emphasis on "evidences" for religion seemed in danger of adopting a method of argument which, if pursued logically within terms set by human sense-experience, might lead the enquirer out of religion rather than into it. At the same time he was equally disturbed by writers such as Swift, Samuel Butler, and Warburton, who by their savage satire on those people (often members of small dissenting religious sects) who pretended to "Gifts of the Spirit" might discourage *any* sense of the working of the Spirit and so in the end undermine the basis of Christianity itself.

Coleridge's method of defence here is to go back to the basic nature of *being* in humans; it is of the essence of the Spirit, he contends, that it cannot be known directly by human consciousness. When the term "spirit" is used in the Bible, it tends to be qualified by reference to some particular moral gift: we hear of "the spirit of meekness", "the spirit of righteousness", and so on. The Bible does not speak of the Spirit directly in such contexts, because it cannot be known directly; its working through particular moral gifts, on the other hand, may be immediately experienced. And such workings are still a supernatural process, which should not be ignored in favour of rational proofs derived from the workings of nature. The mistake of those who claim special possession by the spirit lies not in what they are claiming (which may be true) but in their assurance that they can know directly what is in fact ultimately

<sup>63</sup> See *Mor Aph VI* (Comment), below.

unknowable, for it is revealed, if at all, only in the depths of the unconscious, at a level to which human rational enquiry can never penetrate. The human being who is convinced of the need for a moral basis to human life should not feel discouraged from exploring the possibility that such a spiritual element exists, but should approach that possibility with the humility called for by awareness that if it does it can never be known directly.

One of the few aphorisms in this section which is wholly Coleridge's, rather than Leighton's or a blend, stresses the need for such a humble spirit. After Leighton's assertion that "dubious questioning is a much better evidence, than that senseless deadness which most take for believing", Coleridge offers an injunction of his own: "Never be afraid to doubt, if only you have the disposition to believe, and doubt in order that you may end in believing the Truth", followed by an aphorism that was to become famous:

He, who begins by loving Christianity better than Truth, will proceed by loving his own Sect or Church better than Christianity, and end in loving himself better than all.<sup>64</sup>

This asseveration, which foreshadows a tradition in Victorian thinking summed up in Tennyson's

There lives more faith in honest doubt,  
Believe me, than in half the creeds<sup>65</sup>

did not in Coleridge's thinking allow for the diverse paths into which later thinkers would be led by following such "honest doubt". On the contrary, it was germane to his position that anyone who followed his injunction was bound to reach the same conclusion as himself. As he was to put it in a subsequent discussion, "I assume a something, the proof of which no man can *give* to another, yet every man can *find* for himself. If any man assert, that he *can* not find it, I am *bound* to disbelieve him! I *cannot* do otherwise without unsettling the very foundations of my own moral Nature."<sup>66</sup>

In further support of his object in the present section, Coleridge draws on an analogy with natural phenomena. In his comment on Aphorism VI he compares the interaction between the air and the "vital energy" of the lungs in breathing to suggest the necessary relationship between human will and the moral universe, with which it must interact in order to produce good actions. This argument against moral self-sufficiency is

<sup>64</sup> *Mor Aph XXV*, below.

<sup>65</sup> Tennyson *In Memoriam* xcvi 11.

<sup>66</sup> "Elements of Religious Philosophy".  
*Prel Sp Aph*, below.



followed by another, drawn from even more basic principles of nature: “. . . in the World we see every where evidences of a Unity, which the component parts are so far from explaining, that they necessarily presuppose it as the cause and condition of their existing as those parts: or even of their existing at all.”<sup>67</sup>

A similar “antecedent Unity” is traced in the moral universe, a “One universal Presence, a One present to all and in all” within the “great Community of *Persons*”.<sup>68</sup> The “one Life” idea is thus brought from its quasi-pantheist status in *The Eolian Harp*<sup>69</sup> to a more orthodox version—which still suggests an essential benevolence in nature. Something of the same kind is to be found in an account, first written on the pages of Leighton, of the moral qualities to be discerned in the various gradations of being through nature: “. . . the filial and loyal Bee; the home-building, wedded, and divorceless Swallow; and above all the manifoldly intelligent Ant Tribes . . .” Who, asks Coleridge, could look at these without perceiving “. . . the Shadow of approaching Humanity”? Each rank of creatures, moreover, “as it ascends in the scale of Creation leaves death behind it or under it”: the metal at the height of its being crystallises into a semblance of vegetation, vegetation in its blossom and flower seems impatient of the fixedness that differentiates it from the butterfly that in other ways resembles it.<sup>70</sup>

At a swift first reading, this might well seem an evolutionary account of the development of nature by which each ascending mode of living creatures, emerging at a new stage in time, represents a closer approach to man, with signs of a corresponding ascent towards the best in human nature. Such a benevolent evolutionism (which indeed had a place in pre-Darwinian thinking) was not, however, a part of Coleridge’s purpose; indeed, for some years he had been attacking the “. . . absurd notion . . . of Man’s having progressed from an Ouran Outang state—so contrary to all History, to all Religion, nay, to all Possibility . . .”<sup>71</sup> (The last point no doubt had to do with contemporary acceptance of the biblical time-scheme, which left little or no time for such a development.) Instead, Coleridge pictures the ascent through the scale of creation not as a process accomplished through development in time but as inherent in the swift unfolding of the creation described in Genesis, in the “. . . teeming Work-days of the Creator”.<sup>72</sup> Coleridge was writing

<sup>67</sup> *Mor Aph VI* below at n 6.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.* remainder of paragraph.

<sup>69</sup> See below, *Int Aph IX* n 1.

<sup>70</sup> Annotation on Leighton COPY C II 52—  
8: *CM (CC)* III. Cf *Mor Aph XXXVI* n 7 below.

low.

<sup>71</sup> Letter to WW 30 May 1815: *CL* IV 574–5.

<sup>72</sup> *Mor Aph XXXVI* at n 7, below.

for a public still dominated by the idea of a guiding providence which had not only created all things but had also set here and there in the creation signs of the moral ascendancy that man was meant to achieve as the head of the scale. As a whole, the account becomes a comment on a single sentence of Leighton's: "It must be a higher good to make you happy." Coleridge uses arguments from analogy and from human experience to suggest the existence of an absolute ground behind all man's moral strivings, the readership to which he is addressing himself being, above all, that select group of individuals ". . . whose inward State, though disquieted by Doubts and oftener still perhaps by blank Misgivings, may, nevertheless, betoken the commencement of a Transition from a not irreligious Morality to a Spiritual Religion".<sup>73</sup> What that "Spiritual Religion" was like, would be, as he several times intimated, the concern of the final section, which was to be the crown of the work.

#### THE SPIRITUAL APHORISMS

As Coleridge considered the nature of spiritual experience the question that increasingly engaged his mind was that of redemption. The presupposition that sin could be followed quite simply by repentance and a turning to God, claiming a forgiveness already promised, seemed to him inadequate: it was certainly one which his own experience made questionable.

Coleridge's first plan for the Spiritual Aphorisms seems to have been that a discussion of the question of redemption on these lines (still drawing on extracts from Leighton and comments of his own) would have been followed by further quotations from and comments on passages in Leighton which described the nature of the spiritual life more generally. Traces of the work that had already been carried out for the section survive in the volumes of Leighton now in the British Library, where several extracts are marked out with the designation "Sp" or "Spir"; in some cases verbal alterations had already been made. Some other passages which are sidelined or marked off as aphorisms would no doubt have been considered for possible inclusion.

There are hardly any comments in the margins of these unused passages, but in one or two cases Coleridge has already heightened the imagery towards a grander effect. The most striking is the following, which in Leighton reads:

<sup>73</sup> Conclusion to *Mor Aph XX*, below.

No wonder, then, that the Apostle, having stirred up his Christian brethren, whatsoever be their estate in the world, to seek to be rich in those jewels of faith, and hope, and love, and spiritual joy, and then, considering that they travel amongst a world of thieves and robbers,—no wonder, I say, that he adds this, advises them to give those their jewels in custody, under God, to this trusty and watchful grace of godly fear . . .

Coleridge writes:

Substitute—Is a Man rich in the precious Gems of Faith, and Hope, and Love, and Spiritual Joy, all set in the virgin gold of Innocence—& dare we wonder, that he is admonished to appoint godly Fear, as the trusty Warden of the Jewel Office? Seeing too, that they are Crown-jewels given in pledge—& which the Sovereign of Heaven will redeem with eternal Bliss!<sup>74</sup>

Despite the existence of such preliminary work, however, hardly any of the extracts chosen were to appear among the “Aphorisms on Spiritual Religion” in the volume as printed. Indeed, of the thirty aphorisms in those sections only eight were from Leighton at all, the rest being either from Coleridge’s other favourite divines or his own.

To the reader of *Aids to Reflection* in the final form there may indeed appear to be something strange about the transition from the Moral and Religious section to the Spiritual one. At the end of the former, Coleridge concludes his remarks on redemption with the words “But the Reflections of our evangelical Author on this subject will appropriately commence the Aphorisms relating to Spiritual Religion.”<sup>75</sup> When one turns the page, one finds a section, “Elements of Religious Philosophy, preliminary to the Aphorisms on Spiritual Religion”, followed several pages later by another, entitled “Aphorisms on Spiritual Religion”. These sections one might expect from the preceding comments to be the last (particularly since Coleridge has just invited the reader to “the third and last Division of the work”). The new section does not begin with the promised aphorism, however, but is ended abruptly after seven pages of text, to be followed by “Aphorisms on that which is indeed Spiritual Religion”. This section, on the other hand, *does* begin with the aphorism on the subject of redemption that had been marked out of Leighton as “Spir. Aph. 1” (the only extract marked as a Spiritual Aphorism which is also numbered). It is reasonable to conclude that this aphorism was the one mentioned on page 127 and that between Coleridge’s promise and his fulfilment of it on page 152 a change of his plans had taken place.

<sup>74</sup> Note on Leighton copy C I 124–5: *CM* (CC) III.

<sup>75</sup> Conclusion to *Mor Aph L*, below.

The evidence from which the reasons for such a reworking can be inferred is somewhat difficult to disentangle. There were various practical problems, to be mentioned in a later section, which delayed his work. The event most likely to have affected Coleridge's thinking about the contents of his volume, however, was a visit from his son Derwent on his way from Cambridge, which took place on 25 or 26 January 1824. The account of his intellectual position that he gave his father alarmed him. Writing to Tulk on the 26th he exclaimed, "O what a Place of Poisons that University of Cambridge is—Atheism is quite the *Ton* among the Mathematical Geniuses, Root and Branch Infidelity!"<sup>76</sup> To George Skinner at Cambridge he wrote on 17 February that he had been "... more mortified by the shallowness than frightened by the profligacy and wickedness" of Derwent's creed, ascribing it to vanity and comparing it to the "sterile fluency" of a sand torrent, which looks and sounds like water to strangers at a distance;<sup>77</sup> a passage on the relationship between intellectual and moral beliefs that then followed was subsequently used for *Aids to Reflection*. By 24 February he had received a "comfortable Letter" from Derwent which he found reassuring<sup>78</sup> and two years later Derwent was to be ordained into the Church of England. The jolt that Coleridge had experienced, however, coming as it did in the wake of severe disappointments with Hartley, may well have given a further impulse to produce work which would be genuinely helpful to young men in need of intellectual guidance. For whatever reason, the spiritual aphorisms marked up in his copy of Leighton were discarded in favour of others more suitable for opening extended discussion of particular religious doctrines.

Coleridge was not without intellectual difficulties of his own, meanwhile. His original plan seems to have been that the passage from the Moral and Religious section to the Spiritual one would have involved a simple "through the looking-glass" transition. Whereas the former had been written for those who were ready to pass from a "not irreligious Morality" to a "Spiritual Religion",<sup>79</sup> they now would be addressed rather from the standpoint of one who had made that crossing. The crucial point concerning the transcendent nature of redemption would first be made with the aid of Leighton, whose eloquent passages on the blessings surrounding those who had passed into a spiritual religion would provide a fitting series of discourses to end the work. The putting together of the two elements was not altogether easy, however, since it

<sup>76</sup> CL v 327. DC had graduated with a pass degree on 24 Jan.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid 330–1.

<sup>78</sup> Letter to Skinner: *ibid* 340.

<sup>79</sup> Conclusion to *Mor Aph XX*, quoted earlier at n 73.

called for a reasoned account of the redemption—which was something Coleridge had always found it difficult to arrive at. As he put it in a note on Luther's *Table Talk*:

I will here record my experience. Ever when I meet with the doctrine of Regeneration and Faith and Free Grace simply announced—"So it is"—then I believe; my Heart leaps forth to welcome it. But as soon as an explanation or reason is added, such explanations, namely and reasonings as I have any where met with—then my Heart leaps back again, recoils—and I exclaim, Nay! Nay! but not so.<sup>80</sup>

His presentation of Leighton's thoughts involved him in a similar dilemma. Unless he were simply to present those thoughts straightforwardly and without comments, leaving them to work on the reader directly, he must offer explanations and reasonings. And he could not sidestep the issue of redemption, since it had been central to his original encounter with Leighton and its effect on his own religious attitude.

Coleridge himself left a clue to the growth of the last section when he referred to part of his comment on the second aphorism as having been "... the first marginal Note I had pencilled on Leighton's Pages, and thus (remotely, at least), the occasion of the present Work".<sup>81</sup> The reference seems to be to a long note in Gillman's copy, dealing with Leighton's development of the text "Elect, according to the foreknowledge of God the Father, through sanctification of the Spirit, unto obedience, and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ."<sup>82</sup> Coleridge's note there sets out his already quoted conviction that the doctrines in question "... cannot be denied or explained away without removing (as the modern Unitarians) or (as the Arminians) unsettling and undermining the foundation of the Faith"; it goes on to acknowledge that they are, under certain presentations, morally offensive. Nevertheless he contends that to evolve a modified position, as the Arminians do, is of no service; rather it should be recognised that to draw out logical consequences of any kind is inappropriate in this case, since the truths in question "... are transcendent, and have their evidence, if any, in the Ideas themselves, and for the Reason". Such truths are not primarily addressed to the Intellect, "... but are substantiated for us by their correspondence to the wants, cravings, and interests, of the Moral Being, for which they were given, and without which they would be devoid of all meaning". Coleridge is reverting to his insistence on the difference in kind of such truths from those which can be mediated either by image

<sup>80</sup> Note of 25 Sept 1819 on Luther *Colloquia Mensalia* (1652) 226: CM (CC) III 752-3.

<sup>81</sup> *Sp Aph B II* n 22, below.

<sup>82</sup> Note on Leighton COPY B 19-13: CM (CC) III.

("the seeking after which is *Superstition*") or sensation ("the watching for which is *Enthusiasm* and the conceit of its presence Fanatical Dystemperature"). He concludes with a text that is central to one element in all that he is saying: "Do the will of the Father and ye shall know it."<sup>83</sup>

The doctrinal position set out in that note, which in *Aids to Reflection* is stated again in the paragraphs following the statement quoted, preserves the link with Leighton, who is seen as having reached a position of such assurance and as wisely dwelling on the spiritual and practical effects of the doctrines he is discussing rather than on the difficulties of treating them in logical terms. The discussion proceeds at some length, since Coleridge feels it to touch on other doctrines, such as that of the Trinity; he reverts to his exposition of his doctrine of the Ideas and concludes with a strong assertion that all things involved in "Faith" are "Derivatives from the practical, moral, and spiritual Nature and Being of Man".<sup>84</sup>

This emphasis on the practical is still more evident in the first of the Spiritual Aphorisms, which in Coleridge's first manuscript version was limited to a single sentence: "Where, if not in Christ, is the Power that can persuade a Sinner to return, that can *bring home a Heart to God*?" Coleridge here fashions a forceful rhetorical question out of what was in Leighton a more simple assertion: ". . . there is nothing but the power of Christ alone, that is able to effect this, to persuade a sinner to return, to bring home a heart to God"; he thus places the emphasis even more firmly on human insufficiency. Dwelling on the phrase "in Christ" (which is his and not in Leighton), he includes in its meaning "spiritual Truth", the knowledge of which ". . . is of necessity immediate and *intuitive*". But he insists that the will of man is also involved and attacks the modern Calvinism which ". . . represents a Will absolutely passive".<sup>85</sup>

Coleridge's dominant insistence on the fact of redemption here recalls the drama and directness of his original reaction to Leighton in 1814. And that in turn helps direct attention to the fact that his chief concern is with the nature of man's response. This is equally evident in his next annotations of Gillman's copy, where his various distinctions sometimes involve limited criticism. When Leighton writes, ". . . all evil actions come forth from the heart, which is there all one with the soul; and therefore this purifying begins there, *makes the tree good that the fruit*

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

<sup>85</sup> *Sp Aph B I* at n 5, below.

<sup>84</sup> Below, Conclusion to *Sp Aph B II*.

may be good", Coleridge comments (perhaps picking up the organic metaphor): "We must distinguish the Life and the Soul; tho' there is a certain Sense in which the Life may be called the Soul . . ." and goes on to explore the relation between reason and spirit.<sup>86</sup> He also takes Leighton to task for not distinguishing between the kind of belief that is involved in the "ordinary and scientific sense" and the faith in the truth "in Christ": ". . . belief is implied in faith; but faith is not necessarily implied in belief".<sup>87</sup> When Leighton then begins discussing some biblical texts that include analogies with natural phenomena, Coleridge comes back to a favourite distinction of his:

. . . in order to secure a safe and Christian interpretation to these and numerous other passages of like phrase and import in the Old Testament it is of highest concernment that we should distinguish the Personëity or Spirit as the Source and principle of personality, from the person itself as the particular product at any one period and as that which cannot be evolved or sustained but by the Co-Agency of the System and circumstances in which the individuals are placed.<sup>88</sup>

The importance for him of this distinction between personality and "personëity" is further elucidated in another annotation on Gillman's copy:

. . . the main and most noticeable difference between Leighton and the modern Methodists is to be found in the uniform *Selfishness* of the latter Not do you wish to love God? Do you love your neighbour?—Do you think O how near and lovely must Christ be or but are you certain that Christ has saved you, that he died for *you*—you—you—you yourself on to the end of the Chapter—this is Wesley's *Doctrine*.<sup>89</sup>

Coleridge's point is that the emphasis on "you yourself" continually invokes conscious personality instead of calling on the deeper resources that lie in less self-conscious areas of the being. One of Leighton's virtues, in his eyes, had lain in his power to admonish and assuage at this deeper level. The doctrine of redemption was one that had always given Coleridge trouble—for while he suffered acutely at times from states of guilt, he could not always reconcile those states with the Christian scheme. On the one hand his rational powers objected to some of the implications of the doctrine of the atonement, on the other he found that his own attempts to rid himself of guilt by simple acts of will directed towards the Christian saviour were a disastrous failure. In Leighton he encountered something less hectic: a voice that spoke in simple authority

<sup>86</sup> Note on Leighton COPY B I 157: *CM (CC)* III.

<sup>87</sup> Note ibid 158: *CM (CC)* III.

<sup>88</sup> Note ibid 170: *CM (CC)* III.

<sup>89</sup> Note ibid III 204: *CM (CC)* III.

and to which he could attend without immediately finding himself caught up into mazes of critical thinking and personal self-doubt. That voice, speaking to person<sup>ē</sup>ity rather than to personality, had offered him a lifeline at a crucial moment.

The experience of those years, when he had had (in his own words) “. . . a new world opened to me, in the infinity of my own Spirit”,<sup>90</sup> lies behind the “Aphorisms on Spiritual Religion”. It gave him a sense of certainty about the doctrine of redemption and a confident authority in commending it to others. And so as the final section of the work unfolds the standpoint is indeed changed, but more subtly. The attempt to present Christianity from a reasonable point of view continues, but interinvolved with arguments of that kind is a form of persuasion based on Coleridge's confidence concerning what will be found in the actual experience of Christianity. When we hear now of “Aids” they are “. . . all the supernatural Aids vouchsafed and conditionally promised in the Christian Dispensation”; yet as soon as they have been mentioned Coleridge can insist from this new vantage-point that the human will has its part to play: “. . . not *by* the Will of man alone; but neither *without* the Will”. He proceeds to develop the position which he had been formulating after his first encounter with Leighton, arguing for the free will of man “. . . however enslaved by sin he may be” rather than for its absence. His position he believes to have been that of Luther and Calvin alike: it is the later Calvinists such as Dr Williams and Jonathan Edwards who have failed to preserve the necessary distinction between a free will that is totally enslaved and a lack of any free will at all.<sup>91</sup>

For his second comment, the origins of which have already been discussed above, Coleridge chooses a passage from Leighton that includes a carefully worded mention of man's election: the doctrine of Election above all, he believes, illustrates his contention that one should not apply to the workings of God the processes of logic which are applicable to finite matters. As a doctrine derived from the moral being, it should be treated in moral terms. The individual needs to look for the marks of election in himself, not to speculate about the nature of election from God's point of view. Taken thus, the doctrine “. . . is in itself a necessary inference from an undeniable fact—necessary at least for all who hold that the best of men are what they are through the grace of God”.<sup>92</sup> To take logical argument further is inappropriate and dangerous, just as it would be for a reasoner to deduce from the fact that God was eternal

<sup>90</sup> CL III 463–4, quoted above, p xlv.

<sup>91</sup> See below, *Sp Aph B I* at nn 5ff.

<sup>92</sup> See below, *Sp Aph B II* at n 36.



and immutable that the creation of the universe was impossible, or possible only through some special means.

In the course of this argument address to an audience slightly different from that supposed in the "Moral and Religious Aphorisms" is again apparent. "I suppose the person, with whom I am arguing, already so far a Believer, as to have convinced himself, both that a state of enduring Bliss is attainable under certain conditions; and that these conditions consist in his compliance with the directions given and rules prescribed in the Christian Scriptures."<sup>93</sup> At the same time he admits that for most believers not trained in the schools the justification for their beliefs will lie in doctrines they accept through their own experience, not through a process of reasoning. The rôle of reason, therefore, is ultimately a negative one: it is to determine that the doctrine does not contradict any universal principle. In the same way (as he points out in his comment on the third aphorism) that same faculty is bound to test whether the ideas presented to it have an ascertainable meaning; he gives an example of a possible statement, relating to the doctrine of transubstantiation, to which no meaning could be ascribed.<sup>94</sup>

A further step brings him to the assertion that whereas ancient philosophy could speak only to those who were already fit recipients of it, and so was a light only to itself, Christianity, by cleansing the heart, the moral nature, restores the intellect itself to its proper clarity. This leads him naturally to an aphorism of his own that calls for a child-like humility at the start of the search for truth, followed by a statement of the doctrines of Christianity which he believes to be peculiar to it. His argument from experience is then invoked as the leading idea. To the questions "How can I comprehend this?" and "How is this to be proved?" his answers are, respectively, "Christianity is not a Theory, or a Speculation; but a *Life*" and "TRY IT".<sup>95</sup> Above both sense and reason stands faith, which is in a position (in Leighton's words) to correct "the errors of natural Reason judging according to Sense".<sup>96</sup> But in order to understand the full implications of this statement and to prevent the twin evils of "ultra-fidianism" (as in Sir Thomas Browne's famous assertion that there were not impossibilities enough in religion for an active faith) and "minimi-fidianism" (which amounts to the picking and choosing of beliefs to suit the understanding of the believer) Coleridge finds it necessary to set out, once again, a distinction which has over the years become central to his moral thinking.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>93</sup> See below, *Sp Aph B II*, after n 30.

<sup>94</sup> See *Sp Aph B III* below, at nn 2-3.

<sup>95</sup> See below, *Sp Aph B VII* at n 26.

<sup>96</sup> See *Sp Aph B VIII* (Aphorism), below.

<sup>97</sup> See *Sp Aph B VIIa* and *VIIIb*.

REASON AND UNDERSTANDING

The nature of the distinction between Reason and Understanding had by now been a subject of intense and continuing thought for about twenty years. Coleridge had discussed it as early as 1806 in reply to a query from Thomas Clarkson, aligning the terms with the Greek *noumena* and *phaenomena* and referring to the understanding as “. . . that Faculty of the Soul which apprehends and retains the mere notices of Experience”.<sup>98</sup> All such notices, by contrast, as were “characterized by UNIVERSALITY and NECESSITY” were the work of the Reason. He had continued: “Reason is therefore most eminently the Revelation of an immortal soul, and it's best Synonime—it is the forma formans, which contains in itself the law of it's own conceptions.” In this brief discussion Coleridge had stated the core of his distinction in a form which, as he must already have known, differed from Kant's by making reason explicitly “. . . the Revelation of an immortal soul”. In *The Friend* three years later he made a threefold discrimination, distinguishing between sense, as comprising “. . . all that Man is in common with animals, in *kind* at least”, understanding, as “. . . the faculty of thinking and forming *judgements* on the notices furnished by the Sense, according to certain rules existing in itself”, and pure Reason as “. . . the power by which we become possessed of Principle . . . and of Ideas, (N.B. not images) as the ideas of a point, a line, a circle, in Mathematics; and of Justice, Holiness, Free-Will, &c. in Morals”.<sup>99</sup> A year later, when he came to write down his Confession of Faith in a notebook, reason was being used in a more emphatically moral sense: “Reason, or a Law of Right and Wrong, which uniting with my sense of moral responsibility constitutes the voice of Conscience”. This led him to the duty of believing in a God who was, correspondingly, “. . . a Being in whom Supreme Reason and a most holy Will are one with an infinite Power”. By now he had come to complement his sense of the pure Reason by the moral demands of human nature: the doctrine of the Trinity, for instance, he believed to be “. . . a necessary *Idea* of my speculative Reason”, but it acquired the “Reality” that made it a necessary object of belief only through the fact of man's redemption.<sup>100</sup>

Subsequent years saw Coleridge finding support for his sense of the distinction in earlier English writers. By the time that he composed the *Biographia*, he was drawing attention to the correspondence with his own position to be found in Raphael's lines to Adam in *Paradise Lost* describing how as the spirits of life are sublimed they

<sup>98</sup> CL II 1198.

<sup>100</sup> CN III 4005 (3 Nov 1810).

<sup>99</sup> *Friend* 28 Sept 1809 (CC) II 104.

give both life and sense,  
 Fancie and understanding, whence the Soule  
 Reason receives, and reason is her being,  
 Discursive, or Intuitive; discourse  
 Is ofttest yours, the latter most is ours,  
 Differing but in degree, of kind the same.<sup>101</sup>

Milton's view of reason evidently seemed closer to his sense of its constitutive power than did that of Kant, who had carefully avoided any such conclusion: his own version of the distinction, he could now maintain, was "... encouraged and confirmed by the authority of our genuine divines, and philosophers, before the revolution".<sup>102</sup> Clearly, however, it was the Platonic sense of reason as an indwelling light that they supported rather than the equally important distinction between two powers, as advocated by Kant and himself.

It may have been the organic element in Milton's lines that drew Coleridge towards further speculation about the rôle of animal instinct in elucidating his distinction. When he took up residence at the house of James Gillman, this was evidently a theme of discussions with his host. In a letter to him late in 1816 he proposed to examine the implications of his thinking primarily in their relation to life, seen as at once individuation and universality.<sup>103</sup> (He was still, evidently, exploring the implications of his old formulation, "every Thing has a Life of it's own, & . . . we are all *one Life*".<sup>104</sup>) In a copy of *The Statesman's Manual* which he presented to Gillman (then or later), he drew attention to the twofold nature of reason and of understanding. At the "theoric or intellectual" level reason was "The contemplation of *immediate* truths", whereas understanding was "The power of generalizing the motives of the Sense"; at the practical level Reason was "The power of determining the Will by Ideas, as *Ultimate Ends*", whereas understanding was "The faculty of selecting and adapting means to *proximate* ends—i.e. such *ends* as in their turn become means." In this second, practical sense, understanding was "... the same faculty as the intelligent *Instinct* in the Dog, Beaver, Elephant, Ant, &c"; it became human understanding "... by its co-existence in one and the same Subject with the Reason and the Free Will".<sup>105</sup> The point about instinct can be found developed further in the 1818 *Friend*, where he maintained that "... many animals possess a share of Understanding, perfectly distin-

<sup>101</sup> *PL* v 485–90.

<sup>102</sup> *BL* ch 10 (CC) i 173.

<sup>103</sup> Letter of 10 Nov 1816: *CL* iv 688–

<sup>104</sup> *CL* ii 864.

<sup>105</sup> *SM* (CC) 60–1 (n 2). One of the annotations on this copy is dated 1830.

guishable from mere Instinct", citing the intelligence of individual dogs, or, in a more general fashion, the maternal instincts of animals and the cell-building aptitudes of bees.<sup>106</sup>

Coleridge continued to work at the question. In his marginal annotations on Tennemann's *Geschichte der Philosophie* reason appears in its negative form as the source of Principles and in its positive as an indwelling light: "Gerson's & St Victore's Contemplation is in my System = Positive Reason, or R. in her own sphere as distinguished from the merely formal & Negative Reason, R. in the lower sphere of the Understanding. The + R. = Lux [Light]; - R. = Lumen a Luce [Illumination from the Light]." <sup>107</sup> In a letter to Tulk of February 1821, meanwhile, he differentiated three levels of the power corresponding to the understanding in human beings as it was manifested in animals: vital power, ". . . the power, by which means are adapted to proximate ends", instinct, "the power which adapts means to proximate ends", and understanding, "the power which adapts means to proximate ends according to varying circumstances". It is at the last level that animal and insect behaviour approaches more closely to human understanding: he adduces the behaviour of ants as recorded by Pierre Huber. This kind of behaviour, however, still differs from that by which human beings make inferences and deductions. That belongs to the sphere of reason.<sup>108</sup>

One further development, associated with the need to give a moral dimension to reason by associating it with the human will, is Coleridge's insistence that the understanding is also to be associated with St Paul's φρόνημα σαρκός, "the wisdom of the flesh". This was a point he made repeatedly in letters, notes, and marginalia, including several dated in 1819.<sup>109</sup> While reiterating the connection between understanding and animal powers, it brings out the negative implication of that link, for the understanding is here seen as akin to the serpent, which was "the most subtle of the beasts of the field" and which, according to Genesis, seduced mankind to sin.

The fuller range of his thinking about the understanding emerges in another discussion, to be found in the *Opus Maximum* manuscript. This makes clear the manner in which its status varies in his eyes: when "irradiated" by the reason it is enabled to operate in its noblest fashion; when it remains "unsubordinated", on the other hand, it is no more than servant of the flesh:

<sup>106</sup> *Friend* (CC) I 154–61.

<sup>108</sup> *CL* v 136–8.

<sup>107</sup> Annotation on Tennemann VIII [ii]:

<sup>109</sup> See below, *Sp Aph B Xb* n 31.