

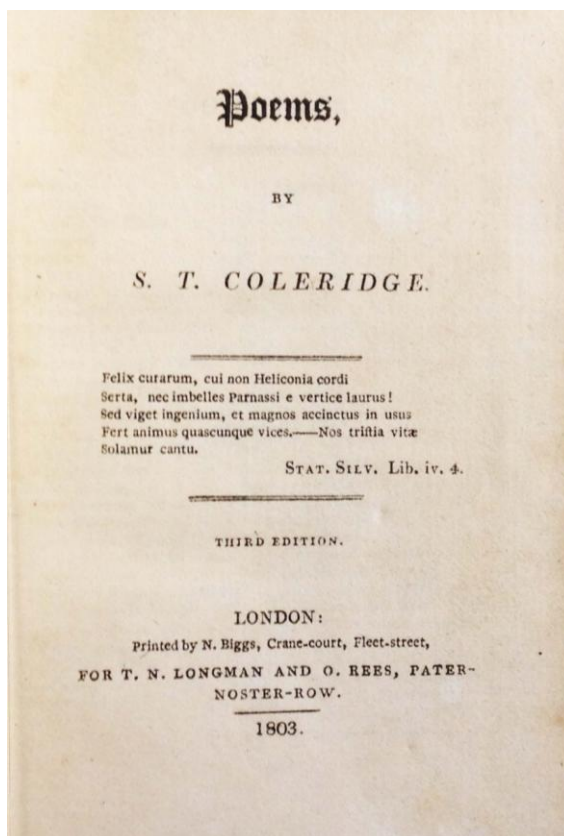
Coleridge's *Poems 1803*: the Fall of Cottle and the Rise of Longman

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*Introduction*¹

COLERIDGE'S *POEMS 1803* IS THE THIRD OF SEVEN successive collections of his poems published between 1796 and 1834.² Editors have been divided over whether to privilege the earliest version of a poem, or to privilege the final version printed under the author's supervision; and a similar view applies to the authors' own re-assessment and re-arranging of their accumulating body of work as successive collections are published. With this attention on the first and last, the intermediate stages can fall out of view. Jim Mays reviews this dilemma between first and last versions in his introduction to the Collected Coleridge *Poetical Works*, and concludes that both approaches are fundamentally the same quest for a single stable authoritative text, and that this quest fails to recognise the true complexity of the situation: when multiple texts exist, each successive version of a poem can reflect an equally valid authorial intention (PW I 1 cxv-cxxii).

Because Coleridge was such an interesting reviser of his own poems, and had such a mutable sense of himself as a poet, *Poems 1803* (title page, right) deserves attention both for the revisions to poems that are unique to that edition, and for the way he selected his poems at that particular point in time to present himself to the reading public. His selection is mainly significant in a negative sense, as he did not include any poems written since the publication of the previous edition in 1797. This is remarkable when we consider that the twelve month period straddling 1797-8 is hailed as the 'annus mirabilis': the



¹ I am grateful to William St Clair, Matthew Sangster, James Vigus and Tim Fulford for their comments on a first draft of this essay.

² 1796, 1797, 1803, 1817 (*Sibylline Leaves*), 1828, 1829, 1834. S. T. Coleridge, *Poems* (London: Longman and Rees, 1803) will be referred to as *Poems 1803*.

Quantock year when Coleridge and William and Dorothy Wordsworth 'wanton'd in wild poesy'³, and Coleridge wrote the poems which have brought him lasting fame. Several of these new poems—including 'Christabel' and 'Kubla Khan'—remained unpublished, and thus available for inclusion.

Another point *Poems 1803* serves to exemplify is the part played by forces external to the author. Any piece of writing is the product of many different influences and interactions, from the author's immediate circle to the printing, publication and bookselling industry that brings their work before the public. William St Clair's *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* has made this industry so visible that it is hard to overlook how essential it is to the works we prefer to imagine as coming direct from an unmediated author.⁴

Poems 1803 was very much a product of these external forces, as Coleridge changed publisher from Joseph Cottle of Bristol to Longman and Rees of London in the course of its planning. At first sight, Coleridge's move from an obscure local press to a leading national publisher seems an inevitable step for a growing talent deserving wider recognition. But a closer examination will show that there were very particular reasons forcing Cottle to wind up his bookselling, and that Thomas Norton Longman's acquisition of Cottle's circle of Romantic poets was a significant new initiative for his conservative and prudent publishing house, one of the largest in the country, whose business mainly consisted in school text books and other safe perennial fare.⁵ There was nothing inevitable about this changeover.

Changing Booksellers: From Cottle To Longman

I use the eighteenth-century term 'bookseller' to emphasize the retail characteristics of the publishing trade at this time; a bookseller had a shop, which primarily sold the books he / she produced (i.e. published), but there would also be reciprocal arrangements with other booksellers so each could hold a wider range of books to add to their trade. The bookseller had typically lived above the shop, and when the business was successful enough for the proprietor to move to remote residential accommodation, the upper floor rooms of the shop would continue to be used as a meeting place for authors and other members of the bookseller's literary and social circle.⁶

The first discussion about a third edition of his poems took place in letters between Coleridge and Joseph Cottle, his bookseller, early in that great year of 1798.⁷ In the first of these letters Coleridge told Cottle that he had three long poems: 'The Ancient Mariner', 'Osorio' and 'The Destiny of Nations' (CL I

³ William Wordsworth, *The Prelude 1799, 1805, 1850*, ed. by Jonathan Wordsworth, M. H. Abrams, and Stephen Gill (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1979), 481.

⁴ William St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004; pbk. 2007).

⁵ St Clair, 159.

⁶ Philip Wallis, *At the Sign of the Ship: Notes on the House of Longman 1724-1974* (Harlow: Longman, 1974), 1-5 gives an excellent summary. Asa Briggs, *A History of Longmans and Their Books 1724-1990* (London: The British Library, 2008), 171 reproduces an invitation to Longman & Rees' 'Weekly Literary Meetings' at their Paternoster Row shop premises. I am grateful to Matthew Sangster for drawing my attention to Briggs's history.

⁷ CL I 386-7, 390-1, 399-400.

386-7). He wondered whether to publish these now as a second volume to his poems, or to follow his 'first intention', which was to make his third edition a single volume. His motive for immediate publication was evidently financial, because in his next letter—after thanking Cottle for an advance of money—he reverted to the plan to prepare a single volume with the new poems replacing an equivalent quantity of verse that he felt he had outgrown (CL I 390). His final shaping of these two alternatives depended on urgency. If a third edition had to be produced immediately, it should be a revised version of the poems already published:

But if there be no occasion for the volume to go to the press for ten weeks, at the expiration of that time I would make it a volume worthy of me, and omit utterly near one half of the present volume—a sacrifice to pitch-black oblivion.—Whichever be the case, I will repay you the money you have payed for me [...] in a few weeks. (CL I 399).

At this point the letter suddenly changes tack: 'I am requested by Wordsworth to put the following questions...'. These consist of various publication proposals including a possible joint volume. Here we reach the fork in the road that led to the joint authorship of *Lyrical Ballads*, and until 1803 no further collection of Coleridge's own poetry would appear in book form with one important exception: the *Fears in Solitude* pamphlet published by Joseph Johnson in 1798 just before Coleridge left for Germany. By his own account Coleridge breezed into Johnson's shop by St Paul's Cathedral, and sold him these three poems for £30 (CL I 417). Why did Coleridge offer these poems to Johnson rather than Cottle, who had previously been so generous with his advances? Until recently it seemed so natural to view this as a sign of Coleridge outgrowing his Bristol publisher that the move away from Cottle has hardly been questioned.⁸ But Cottle was in many ways a viable and ideal publisher for Coleridge, Wordsworth and Southey; he was sympathetic to their aims, he paid well for their works, and he consistently published them in conjunction with London booksellers, who appear as co-publishers on the title pages of his books.⁹ The movement was in fact entirely on Cottle's side: he had financial problems which forced him to raise money by selling off his business assets, and ultimately to cease trading altogether. Given Cottle's circumstances, Coleridge needed to look for an alternative publisher, and it seems that he at this time (like Wordsworth, as I will show later) set his sights on Johnson.

The Fall of Cottle

Cottle was understandably shy of disclosing his financial misadventures when

⁸ I have made use of Basil Cottle's comprehensive biography, *Joseph Cottle and the Romantics* (Bristol: Recliff Press, 2008), and two articles by Timothy Whelan: 'Joseph Cottle the Baptist', *Charles Lamb Bulletin* 111 (July 2000), 96-108, 'Review of *Joseph Cottle and the Romantics* by Basil Cottle', *Coleridge Bulletin* NS 32 (Winter 2008), 99-106. Hereafter cited as Whelan Baptist and Whelan Review.

⁹ Cottle used several London booksellers in this way: G. G. & J. Robinson (for STC's poems, 1796 and 1797), Joseph Johnson, Arch & Co., Longmans, and Lee & Hurst.

writing his memoirs, but in 1823 he gave a private account of his financial circumstances to the publisher Thomas Cadell. He was living on income from his sister, and explained to Cadell that he would apply any income raised from his own writing to pay off creditors from the time when his business collapsed in 1798-9 due to what he called 'bad debts and losses in the Kennet and Avon Canal'.¹⁰

Cottle's part in the latter has not been explored. Plans for The Kennet and Avon Canal Navigation Company—a canal that would enable goods to be transported by water between Bristol and London—crystallised in 1792. This was a period of such economic optimism that shares in the company had to be rationed: in Bristol money was easy to borrow, and canals were seen as a tempting investment.¹¹ Income of 30–40% a year was anticipated; and the shares were also expected to increase in value: a share in the Birmingham Canal originally worth £140 could in late 1792 be sold for £1,250.¹² The resulting stampede of investors from all classes of society came to be called canal mania. One group of would-be Bristol investors advertised a fictitious meeting to be held in Devizes, a town on the projected canal route some thirty-five miles away, in order to keep the numbers down for the meeting in Bristol they were secretly planning for the same day.¹³

The investment was in the form of instalments (known as 'calls') to be requested by the company as the funds became needed to build the canal. An initial payment of £5 secured a share of £120, and evidently investors—given the high anticipated return—were confident that, even if they ran out of the necessary funds to pay the subsequent calls, the high prospective value of the shares would cover a loan, or could be sold on at a profit. This turned out not to be the case. The war with France in 1793 triggered an economic downturn and the costs of constructing the canal escalated.¹⁴ A diary kept by William Dyer, a Bristol accountant, shows how badly his city was affected by the financial crisis. 1793, he wrote, was 'a year remarkable for bankruptcies. Bristol Banks had a remarkable demand. Their notes from all parts of the country being presented for payment.'¹⁵ By July 1796 nearly a quarter of the shareholders were in arrears, and had to be threatened with forfeiture. Eventually about one eighth of the shares were forfeited, and no buyers could be found when the shares were put up for auction.¹⁶

¹⁰ BL MS Add 34486 fo26 (cit B. Cottle, 115).

¹¹ J. R. Ward, *The Finance of Canal Building in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974), 138-140.

¹² Expectation of profit: Ward, 135. Share values: T. S. Ashton, *Economic Fluctuations in England 1700-1800* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), 167.

¹³ Kenneth R. Clew, *The Kennet and Avon Canal: an Illustrated History* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1985), 50-61. The episode is portrayed by the Bristol poet Romaine Joseph Thorne in *The Mad Gallop; or a Trip to Devizes* (Bristol: Owen Rees, 1793) and Cornelius Vapid in *Canaling* (Bristol: for the author, 1793).

¹⁴ Clew, 59. Ashton, 102-3.

¹⁵ Bristol Central Library, Bristol Collection 20095, (a 2 volume digest of Dyer's diaries from 1751-1801), 1793, fol. 272.

¹⁶ Clew, 60-1.

All this makes sense of Cottle's story and raises the possibility that ruinous canal speculation has left an unnoticed mark on the publication history of the first generation Romantic poets. Initially it was hard to determine how deeply Cottle was embroiled: the Kennet and Avon Canal Navigation Company records at the National Archive do not include any lists of shareholders, other than the forfeited defaulters (of whom Cottle was not one).¹⁷ But fortunately, as companies at this stage had to be formed by Act of Parliament, a reference in J. R. Ward's finely detailed economic study alerted me to extant records in the Parliamentary Archives, where I discovered that Cottle held 4 of these £120 shares.¹⁸

The payments he had to make (up to 1799, the year of his closure) are shown on the table (*see right*); one might conclude that, though they would be painful, instalments totalling £480 over a six year period would not be enough to overthrow a thriving business. (To give an idea of what this sum means, Coleridge was estimating in January 1798 that he needed £100 a year to live on, but was to find his £150 Wedgwood annuity insufficient.¹⁹)

Cottle's 'Losses in the Kennet and Avon Canal'
Kennet and Avon Canal Call Notice (from National Archive RAIL 842/73)

Following an initial £20 payment for 4 shares subscribed to during a period of economic boom, Cottle faced repeated demands for further payments as shown below, which totalled £480 by 1799:

1793	£20
1795	£40
1796	£140
1797	£120
1798	£80
1799	£80

Calls

See National Archive
RAIL 842/149. Kennet
and Avon Canal Ledger
fo 1

Cottle's shareholding

See Parliamentary
Archives
HL/PO/PB/plan1
Kennet and Avon Canal
Subscription Contract
1794

Kennet and Avon Canal Navigation,
Seventeenth Call, making 115l. per Share.

NOTICE is hereby given, That at a General Quarterly Meeting of the Committee of Management of the Affairs and Business of the Company of Proprietors of the KENNET and AVON CANAL NAVIGATION, held at the *White-Hart Inn*, at Bath, on Tuesday the 23rd Day of June, 1799, at Eleven o'Clock in the Forenoon, pursuant to public Advertisement, the said Committee did find a Call from the several Proprietors of the Navigation and Undertaking authorised to be made and carried on by the said Company of Proprietors, for the Sum of £5. for and in respect of every Whole Share, and £2. 10s. for and in respect of every Half Share in the said Navigation and Undertaking to be wanting and necessary, in order to defray the Expenses of, and to carry on the same. And did make a Call from the said several Proprietors for the said Sum of £5. for and in respect of every Whole Share, and £2. 10s. for and in respect of every Half Share in the said Navigation and Undertaking for those Purposes accordingly; and did appoint the same to be paid into the Hands of Messrs. HARTFORD, HARTFORD, DAVIS, & Co. Treasurers, of the said Company in Bristol, on or before the 1st Day of August, 1799.

By Order of the said Committee,

JOHN WARD, Principal Clerk.

MARLBOROUGH,
6th July, 1799. }

To pay on the 1st of August, 1799, £ 5.

Sir,

You are desired to make your Payment as above, by the Day appointed. If it be not convenient to you to pay the Call in Person, you may send a Draft on any Banker, in London or Bristol, payable at a short Date, in a Letter, (post-paid) addressed to Messrs. Hartford, Hartford, Davis, & Co. Bankers, Bristol; or the Call may be paid to Messrs. Whitehead and Howard, London.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

John Ward.

¹⁷ National Archive, RAIL842 and sub-series.

¹⁸ Ward, 66. Parliamentary Archive, HL/PO/PB/plan1. Kennet and Avon Canal Subscription Contract 1794. (1794 being the year of eventual enactment of the Bill proposed in 1793).

¹⁹ CL I 365, cit. Richard Holmes, *Coleridge: Early Visions* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1989), 176. Holmes gives useful information on earnings of the different social classes quoting from an unpublished paper by William St Clair. St Clair, 195-6 seems to be the author's eventual publication of this research.

Possibly for Cottle the Kennet and Avon losses were partly a convenient alibi: it is better for one's self respect to fail in a general calamity than by events within one's own control. However, in times of economic downturn a domino effect comes into play once everyone starts delaying payment of bills, and banks refuse to extend loans. This would not have been anticipated when Cottle set up his bookshop aged 21, in the rosy economic climate of 1791, relying on borrowed money.²⁰ His reference to bad debts does suggest such a combination, which fits the well-documented economic slump that followed the peak of 1792.²¹

Cottle's need to raise money by selling his business stock only became apparent in July 1798: that is, just before the publication of *Lyrical Ballads*, which is seen by posterity as his crowning achievement. First he sold two new Southey publications (the second edition of *Joan of Arc* and the collection of his shorter poems) to the London bookseller Thomas Norton Longman for a lump sum of £370; this deal took Southey by surprise.²² Cottle then sold *Lyrical Ballads* in a complicated arrangement that has been extensively pored over.²³ Cottle had this volume printed in Bristol, in partnership with the printer Nathaniel Biggs, and a few extant copies name T. N. Longman as the bookseller on the title page. But the bulk of the 500 printed copies were eventually sold to another London bookseller, J. & A. Arch, whereupon a title page with their name was duly substituted (*see next page*). The London bookseller Joseph Johnson was also in the running to succeed Cottle as Coleridge and Wordsworth's bookseller. Although Cottle had given Wordsworth a letter of introduction to Longman, when Wordsworth travelled to London at the end of August 1798 he made contact with Johnson, and wrote to Cottle telling him to transfer the *Lyrical Ballads* copyright to Johnson. This came to nothing because Cottle had by then already completed the deal

Thomas Norton Longman III (1771-1842)



²⁰ This is a fair inference given the long term nature of the indebtedness he is still carrying as a moral duty in 1823.

²¹ Ashton, 170-2.

²² *The Collected Letters of Robert Southey* ed. by Lynda Pratt, Tim Fulford, and Ian Packer, 14 Jul 1798. (Hereafter cit. RSL + date in text) <http://www.rc.umd.edu/editions/southey_letters/letterEEed.26.about.html>

The amount is disclosed later by STC in a letter to Southey. See CL II 551.

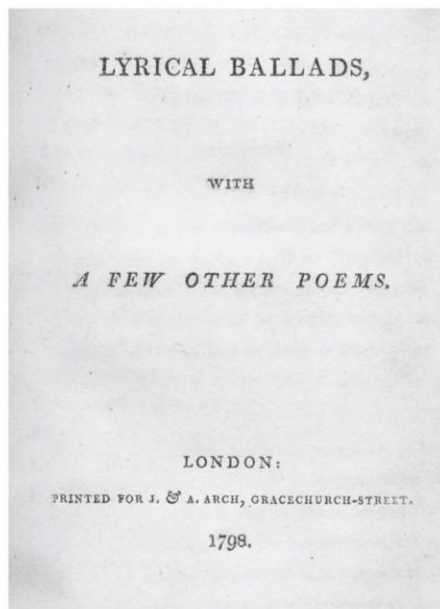
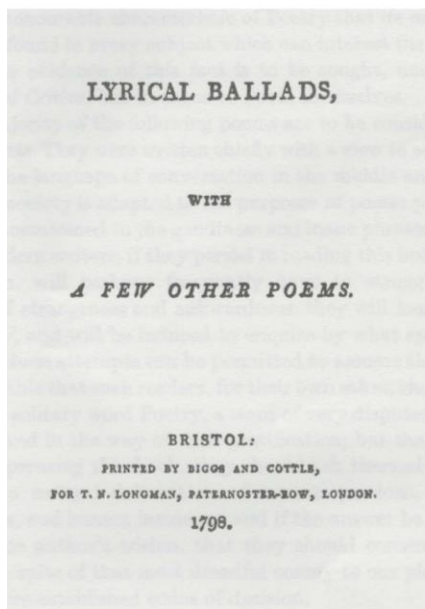
²³ James A. Butler, 'Wordsworth, Cottle, and the *Lyrical Ballads*: Five Letters, 1797-1800', *Journal of English and German Philology* 75 (1976), 139-53. As cited in Michael Gamer and Dahlia Porter, eds *Lyrical Ballads 1798 and 1800*, (Ontario: Broadview, 2008), 15-17.

with Arch. Out of these three booksellers, Longman became, at the end of this series of Cottle's disposals, the owner of the copyright to Coleridge's *Poems*, and thereby held the rights to a third edition.

Lyrical Ballads, 1798

Bristol: Printed by Biggs and Cottle
for T.N. Longman

London: printed for J. & A. Arch



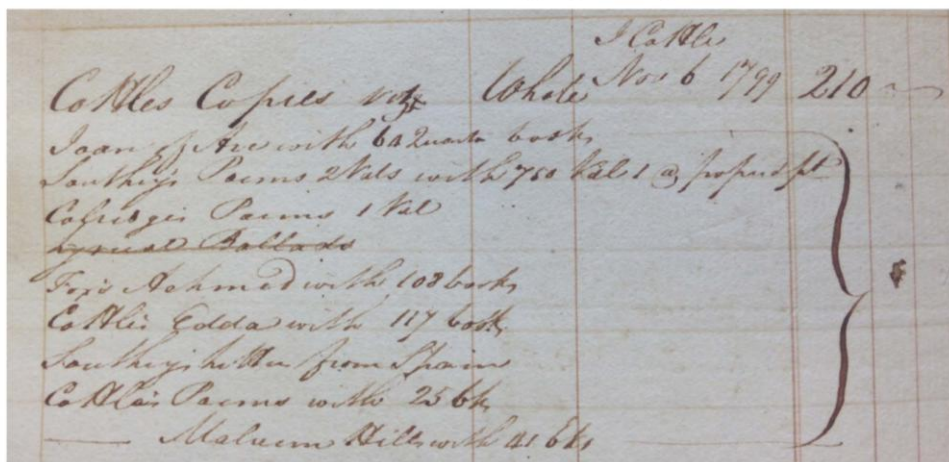
Longman's main acquisition of Cottle's copyrights took place on 6 November 1799.²⁴ The timing of the transaction—shortly after Cottle's journey north to Sockburn with Coleridge—helps explain why Cottle appeared so downcast on this trip. Coleridge recalled being 'on the road in a post-chaise with poor Cottle / the modest men in conversation, the vain the envious in their closets, & on their pillows!' (CN I 1575). The contemporaneous notebook entry shows Coleridge cringing over Cottle's bardic aspirations as author of the much derided *Alfred, an Epic* (CN I 566); but Coleridge was well aware that Cottle was facing insolvency, and was in the process of losing his business, so the expression 'poor Cottle' could be a sign that Coleridge felt some degree of sympathy. Coleridge, Wordsworth and Cottle then set off from Sockburn on their expedition to the Lake District, but Cottle left them after a couple of days and headed for London. He had wanted so much to be regarded by them as a fellow poet, and it is hard not to feel the poignancy of his position, as it dawned on him that by losing his bookselling business he

²⁴ Longman Archive, Reading University, Copyright Ledger 1 1794-1800 (unfoliated; no catalogue reference).

could no longer even command their respect by being useful to them.

The Longman ledger entry recording the sale survives (*see below*).²⁵ It is headed 'Cottle's Copies' (which was the term for copyrights). The books included in the sale of copyrights were itemised alongside. The list starts with Southey's *Joan of Arc* with 64 Quarto books', evidently the first edition. It

Cottle's Copies (Longman Archive, Copyright Ledger 1)



Transcription:

	J Cottle Nov 6 1799	210 - -
Cottles Copies viz	Whole	
Joan of Arc with 64 Quarto books		}
Southey's Poems, 2 Vols with 750 Vol 1 @ paper & p[rin]t		
Coleridge's Poems 1 Vol		
Lyrical Ballads		
Fox's Achmed with 108 books *		
Cottle's Edda with 117 books †		
Southey's Letters from Spain		
Cottle's Poems with 25 bks		
—— Malvern Hills with 41 bks		

* Charles Fox, *Aks-i partaw: A series of poems, containing the complaints, consolations, and delights of Achmed Ardebeili, a Persian exile. With notes historical and explanatory* (Bristol: printed by Bulgin and Rosser, for J. Cottle; G. G. and J. Robinson, and Cadell and Davies, London). Cottle claimed (*Reminiscences* 259-60) that this copyright was—like *Lyrical Ballads*—returned to its author at nil value, but this is not borne out by the Ledgers where Fox's title (unlike *Lyrical Ballads*) is carried forward to Copyright Ledger 2.

† *Icelandic Poetry, or The Edda of Saemund translated into English verse*, by A. S. Cottle, of Magdalen College, Cambridge (Bristol: printed by N. Biggs, for Joseph Cottle, and sold in London by Messrs. Robinsons). Amos Cottle (1768?- 1800) was Joseph's brother.

²⁵ *ibid.*

also records the acquisition of ‘Coleridge’s Poems 1 Vol’; this is the second edition of 1797, and the specification of one volume was necessary to have a clear record that the mooted second volume was not yet in existence.

The crossing out of *Lyrical Ballads* is consistent with Cottle’s account of first selling the copyright and later retracting the sale on Wordsworth’s behalf after Longman had conceded it had zero-value.²⁶ The values of the individual copyrights were not itemised – the top row shows the whole sold as a job-lot for £210. Although this seems like a finely calculated figure, it is in fact a round sum of 200 guineas, the gentlemanly unit of currency (£1, 1 Shilling, or £1.05). According to Cottle, this valuation was arrived at by a third party. It was this job-lot valuation that enabled Cottle retrospectively to negotiate that *Lyrical Ballads* could be withdrawn without much detriment to the overall value, and hence it is first entered and then crossed out. When Cottle’s Copies are carried forward to Copyright Ledger 2, *Lyrical Ballads* is no longer listed. One further aside on the transfer of Cottle’s business is that only his poetry books are included in this sale. This was a relatively small fraction of his list which included a range of scientific and religious titles.²⁷ Only a part of Longman’s records for this period have survived, and history does not relate what financial settlement Cottle made, or with whom, for this substantial (and probably more commercial) part of his copyrights.

The deal must have been mutually agreeable, as Cottle was to remain associated with Longman in conjunction with another Bristol figure, the printer Nathaniel Biggs. Biggs, who had been the printer for Cottle’s publication of works by Southey, Coleridge and Wordsworth, went into partnership with Cottle in 1798 as Biggs and Cottle (or Biggs and Co), which name appears as printer on many Longman titles (as will be apparent from the table (*Longman’s Poetry List 1*) to be discussed later). Cottle described himself as a sleeping partner in this arrangement, which was moved to London by 1802 and lasted until their partnership was dissolved on 1 February 1803.²⁸ Biggs continued printing for Longman, and in this capacity he was to print the third edition of Coleridge’s *Poems* in 1803.

Owen Rees

How did the connection between Cottle and Longman come about? The Longman dynasty had Bristol roots—the first Longman had moved to London from Bristol at the start of the eighteenth-century—but no Bristol links appear to have been retained. However, a fresh Bristol connection was created when

²⁶ Joseph Cottle, *Reminiscences of Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Robert Southey* 2nd edn (London: Houlston and Stoneman, 1848), 257–260.

²⁷ See Whelan Review, 103–104. This review amounts to an essay and provides much supplementary information about Biggs and Cottle.

²⁸ London address: see e.g. William Wordsworth, *Lyrical Ballads* 1802, Third Edition: London: | Printed for T. N. Longman and O. Rees, Paternoster-Row, | By Biggs and Cottle, Crane-Court, Fleet-Street [London]. Sleeping partner: Whelan Review, 105, citing an autograph Cottle MS in John Rylands Library, Eng. MS. 351. f. 49b. Dissolution: see London Gazette 15555 (1 Feb 1803), 143. For further biographical information on Biggs (and his stepmother Martha Biggs, the cunning woman) see also Jonathan Barry, *Witchcraft and Demonology in South-West England, 1640–1789* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 196.

T. N. Longman took on as a partner Owen Rees, a Welshman who had previously been a bookseller at 10 Wine Street, Bristol. Because this happened shortly before the purchase of Cottle's copyrights, Rees has been put forward as a possible link between Cottle and Longman.²⁹ However, all the surviving correspondence shows Cottle, Wordsworth, Southey and Coleridge, dealing directly with Longman himself.

Tempting Bristol co-incidences—Cottle had for a time a shop at 5 Wine Street, and Robert Southey was born at 9 Wine Street—have led to Rees being incorrectly described as a neighbour of Cottle's.³⁰ These apparent proximities are illusory once Rees' movements are accurately dated. Asa Briggs, for his comprehensive history of Longman, cited 'Bristol street records' (which he did not specify) to support his contention that Rees was trading as a bookseller in Bristol as late as 1798 (Briggs 149). This date (if correct) would put Rees in Bristol during Cottle's brief period of Romantic publishing. But Briggs' contention is contradicted by Matthews's *Complete Bristol Directory* and the lists of Poor Rate payments for 1793-1798, which both show Owen Rees' final listing as a Wine Street bookseller in 1794; from 1795 his shop at 10 Wine Street had a new occupant: John Reed, Bookseller.³¹ There is also a note in a Rees family album to the effect that Rees moved to London in 1795 'at the special solicitation of [...] Longman'.³² These records establish that Rees left Bristol in early 1795, well before Cottle began publishing his circle of Romantic poets. Thus Rees was never a neighbour of Joseph Cottle, who only moved to 5 Wine Street in April 1798, over three years after Rees had left the city.

There is also some uncertainty, due to absence of partnership records, over the date Rees became a partner at Longman. Briggs prefers the later date of 1799, claiming he was unable to find Rees' name on any Longman imprints prior to that year (Briggs 149n). But the designation of 'Longman and Rees, Paternoster Row' does appear on a 1797 title page, thus supporting the view of Phillip Wallis that Rees became a partner in 1797.³³ In short, there is no hard evidence of any involvement by Rees in Cottle's dealings with Longman.

The Rise of Longman

All the signs point to the acquisition of Cottle's copyrights being part of an initiative by Thomas Norton Longman, who—after taking over from his father in 1793—aspired to develop a literary side to the firm: an ambition which was to lead to the publication of best-selling long narrative poems by Walter Scott and Thomas Moore. But at the time of these Cottle transactions his poetry list

²⁹ Wallis, 15; Briggs, 149.

³⁰ *The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth, Vol I, The Early Years 1787-1805*, ed. by Ernest de Selincourt, 2nd edn, rev. by Chester L. Shaver, (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1967), I 227+n. (WWEY hereafter).

³¹ Bristol Record Office Poor Rates PR/X Ch/92a (1794 and following years). *Matthews's Complete Bristol Directory* consulted on microfilm at Bristol Central Library.

³² W. J. Phillips, 'Iolo Morganwg and the Rees Family of Gelligron', *National Library of Wales Journal* 14.2 (Winter 1965), 227-236, 229.

³³ Wallis, 15; his 1797 date is supported by the title page of J. Downing, *A treatise on the disorders incident to horned cattle [etc.]* (Printed and Sold at Stourbridge. Sold also by ... Messrs. Longman and Rees, 1797).

was so negligible that this purchase of poems from the liquidated assets of a Bristol publisher could be regarded as his first major step in this new direction. Thomas Norton was the third Longman of a publishing dynasty that had started trading in 1724.³⁴ Longman was the biggest publishing firm in Britain; it had grown not by commissioning original works, but through trading with other booksellers: either buying copyrights in books that were already published, or buying into the large joint-publishing projects known as congers. Its main business was in religious and school text-books.³⁵

The evolution of Longman's poetry list is shown in the table below:

Longman's Poetry List 1: 1790-1800		London		Outside London	
Original Poetry Published (new editions of 'old canon' poets are excluded)		Longman Principal	Longman Conger	Bristol (+Biggs & Cottle)	Other
Abbreviated publication details. (Items listed in bold are advertised in <i>Southey Poems</i> , vol 2, 1800)					
1793	R J Thorn, <i>Retirement</i> , a Poem (Bristol: O Rees, 10 Wine Street, sold by T N Longman ... London)			X	
1794	R J Thorn, <i>Bristol</i> (Bristol: O Rees, and T N Longman, London)			X	
	R J Thorn, <i>Howe Triumphant</i> (Bristol: S Bonner and sold by T N Longman, London)			X	
1795	R J Thorn, <i>Christmas</i> (Bristol: John Reed, 10 Wine St sold by T N Longman, London)			X	
1797	Matilda Betham, <i>Elegies</i> (Ipswich: prnt. W Burrell and sold by Longman)				X
	Jane West, <i>An Elegy on the Death of Edmund Burke</i> (London: T N Longman)	X			
	T. S. Surr [Thomas Skinner] <i>Christ's Hospital, a poem</i> (for the author and sold by T N Longman)	X			
	Robert C Dallas, <i>Misc. Writings: consisting of Poems</i> [etc.] (London: T N Longman) publication by subscription	X			
1798	<i>Flowers of Poesy</i> (Carlisle: J Mitchell sold by T N Longman) 72pp Anthology includes STC 'Sonnet: On Hope'				X
	Robert Southey, <i>Joan of Arc</i> (Bristol: printed by N. Biggs for T N Longman, London, and Joseph Cottle, Bristol)			X	
	[WW & STC] <i>Lyrical Ballads</i> (Bristol: printed by Biggs & Cottle for T N Longman)			X	
	Joseph Cottle, <i>Malvern Hills</i> (London: printed for T N Longman)			X	
	Charles B Selby A Letter from an English Prisoner of War [in verse] (Gosport: J Watts sold by T N Longman London)				X
1799	<i>Annual Anthology</i> [ed R Southey] (Bristol: Biggs & Co for T N Longman and O Rees)			X	
	Charles Lloyd, <i>Lines Suggested by the Fast</i> (Birmingham: E Piercy, sold also by Hurst, and Longman and Rees)				X
	R J Thorn, <i>Lodon & Miranda</i> (Bristol: prn. Biggs and Cottle for Longman & Rees) - subscription			X	
	Alexander Thomson, <i>Picture of Poetry</i> (Edinburgh: Mundell & Son and Longman & Rees)				X
	Thomas Campbell, <i>The Pleasures of Hope</i> (Edinburgh: Mundell & Son and Longman & Rees)				X
	Robert Southey, <i>Poems</i> (Bristol: Biggs & Co for T N Longman and O Rees)			X	
	John Black, <i>Poems</i> (Ipswich: J Bush, sold also by T N Longman)				X
	Jane West, <i>Poems and Plays</i> (London: T N Longman)	X			
	[William Erskine], <i>Epistle from Lady Grange to Edward D--- esq</i> (Edinburgh: Mundell & Sons & London: T N Longman)				X
1800	Joseph Cottle, <i>Alfred, an epic poem</i> . (London: Printed for Longman and Rees, by Biggs and Co... Bristol)			X	
	<i>Annual Anthology</i> Vol 2 , [ed R Southey] (Bristol: printed by Biggs & Co for T N Longman and O Rees, London)			X	
	Friedrich Schiller, [Tr. STC], <i>The Death of Wallenstein; The Piccolomini</i> (London: T N Longman and O Rees)			X	
	<i>Lyrical Ballads</i> , 2nd edn (London: printed for T N Longman and O Rees by Biggs & Co. Bristol)			X	
	Mary Robinson, <i>Lyrical Tales</i> (London: printed for T N Longman and O Rees by Biggs and Co. Bristol)	X			
	Thomas Campbell, <i>The Pleasures of Hope</i> 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: Mundell & Son and Longman and Rees)				X
	John Jefferys, <i>The Pleasures of Retirement</i> , (Bristol: printed by Biggs and Cottle, for T N Longman and O Rees, London)			X	
	George Dyer, <i>Poems</i> (London: Longman and Rees 3rd of 8 publishers)		X		
	Robert Southey, <i>Poems, Vol 2</i> (T N Longman and O Rees prnt Biggs & Co)			X	
	Anne Bannerman, <i>Poems</i> (Edinburgh: Mundell & Son)				X
	John Boyd Greenshields, <i>Selim and Zaida with other poems</i> (Edinburgh: Constable & Longman and Rees, London)				X
		5	1	16	11

³⁴ Briggs (op cit) is the fullest and most recent history of the firm.

³⁵ St Clair, 159.

Between 1790 and 1800, out of over 1,000 new Longman publications, there were only 33 books or pamphlets of poetry. Of these, 16 originated from Cottle, and 11 from other regional publishers with Longman acting as the London retailer. Of the 6 that originated from London, only 3 were published by Longman alone: Mary Robinson's *Lyrical Tales* (which were printed in Bristol by Biggs and Cottle), and two volumes by Jane West. The remaining 3 were either joint publications (Dyer's *Poems*) or funded by subscription (T. S. Surr and Robert C. Dallas). Of Longman's own poets, only Jane West (who also wrote under the name 'Prudentia Homespun') had any consistent output as a Longman author. She mostly wrote didactic novels with, as the Oxford DNB puts it, 'anti-Jacobin, Tory, and reactionary emphasis'; her kind of 'improving' literature was in line with Longman's regular mainstream fare. As a point for comparison and to show how the list was evolving over the next three years, the poetry volumes advertised by Longman at the back of Coleridge's *Poems 1803*, still show a marked predominance of the poets acquired through Cottle, who occupy nearly half the list below

Thus Longman came to own the collected poems of Coleridge previously published by Joseph Cottle, and became entitled to print a new third edition. Such rights would normally expire after a statutory time period had elapsed, or after a specified print run.³⁶ Although Wordsworth claimed in an 1800 letter to Longman that Cottle

Longman's Poetry List 2: 1803

Poetry publications as advertised in S T Coleridge, *Poems*, 1803

Poetical Works Printed for Longman and Rees

- 1 Robert Southey, *Joan of Arc, an Epic Poem*, 2nd ed
- 2 ---, *Poems*, 2 vols
- 3 ---, *Thalaba the Destroyer*
- 4 W. Wordsworth, *Lyrical Ballads with Pastoral and other Poems*
- 5 Mary Robinson, *Lyrical Tales*
- 6 Hector Macneil, *Poetical Works*
- 7 Joseph Cottle, *Alfred, an Epic Poem* 4to
- 8 ---, *Malvern Hills, and other Poems* 3rd Ed
- 9 ---, *A New Version of David's Psalms*
- 10 W.H. Ireland, *Ballads and other Poems in Imitation of the ancient English Poets*
- 11 Thomas Holcroft, trans from the German of Goethe, *Herman and Dorothea*
- 12 Robert Bloomfield, *The Farmer's Boy* 5th ed
- 13 ---, *Rural Tales, Ballads and Songs* (inc 4to and 'Royal 4to')
- 14 William Holloway, *The Peasant's Fate*
- 15 George Dyer, *Poems and Critical Essays*. 2 vols
- 16 Mr Pratt, *Cottage Pictures, a Poem*
- 17 Mrs Opie, *Poems* 2nd ed.

had no more right to sell the copyright of *Lyrical Ballads* 'than to sell the house which I now inhabit' (WWEY 309), Cottle's copyrights must have been valid: they were not challenged (even by Wordsworth, in spite of his grumbles) and their sale to Longman is a sure sign that they were considered legally enforceable.

As regards the fate of Coleridge's collected poems (to which I now return), the important thing to note is the effect of this change on Coleridge. Longman had bought the rights to Coleridge's poems from Cottle without Coleridge's participation. Coleridge was passed like a chattel, from an enthusiastic local bookseller who courted his friendship and regarded him as one of his chief

³⁶ St Clair, 161-167 outlines four different types of bookseller-author contracts in operation at this time.

authors, to Longman, a commercially-minded owner of a large firm, for whom he (Coleridge) could hardly anticipate being a valued acquisition.

Coleridge, Longman and the Genesis of Poems 1803.

It is hardly surprising then, that as soon as Coleridge moved to London at the end of 1799 he took the opportunity to take soundings with Longman, and initially felt quite optimistic. On 24 December 1799 he told Southey that he had dined with Longman and learned the inside story of Cottle's handover, providing facts and figures. He put himself forward as an intermediary between Southey and Longman, advising on what kind of proposals would be attractive to Longman, telling Southey: 'I can sell your *Thalaba* quite as well in your absence as in your presence' (CL I 551). Coleridge's first work for Longman was the translation of Schiller's *Wallenstein* plays.³⁷ There was terrible deadline pressure due to the risk they might be beaten to the finishing post by a rival translation (presumably because of the difficulties of international copyright). Coleridge groaned about the task: 'O this Translation is indeed a *Bore—never, never, never* will I be so taken in again', but he completed the contracted work (CL I 583).³⁸

However, Longman also experienced the down-side of Coleridge, who proposed various prose works including an account of his travels in Germany and of a tour of the north of England, none of which materialised, in spite of an advance, which (in another complication) Wordsworth agreed to set off from an amount owing to him (CL II 715). And Coleridge took full advantage of Longman's parcel delivery service.³⁹ By March 1801 Coleridge had come to view Longman as a source of pressure: all he wanted was to 'get rid of all my engagements with Longman', and the more he failed to provide the works he had proposed, the worse this feeling grew (CL II 707). Longman must have consoled himself with the thought that Southey at least was proving reliable and saleable.

These are the circumstances in which Longman took on the publication of *Poems 1803*. The process started in 1801 when Southey wrote to Coleridge saying, 'You know your old *Poems* are a third time in the press; why not set forth a second volume? Your *Christabel*, your *Three Graves*, which I remember as the very consummation of poetry' (RSL 11 Jul 1801). You must be mistaken, replied Coleridge, 'Longman could not surely be so uncouthly ill-mannered, as not to write to me to know if I wished to make any corrections or additions' (CL II 745). Southey insisted that there was no mistake: he had obtained this information from Cottle. This shows that Longman was contemplating a third edition. He might have felt it would be easier and

³⁷ St Clair, 594. This was a substantial undertaking for which he was classed as a translator rather than an original author.

³⁸ STC did not translate *Wallenstein's Camp* the first part of Schiller's *Wallenstein* trilogy, but this was only a short one act prelude and, given it should have appeared first if translated, the omission must have been acceptable to Longman (PW III 1 168-9). He even felt guilty afterwards because Longman was to lose £250 on the publication (CL II 863).

³⁹ CL II 648, 668, 733.

cheaper to go ahead without any extra poems: he would not have to pay Coleridge any money for a further edition unless there were substantial additions. The Longman Impression Book for that edition shows that nothing was paid to Coleridge. Hence the importance of the second volume, and hence too the significance of Wordsworth—always concerned about money—getting back the copyright on *Lyrical Ballads*, which meant that Longman would have to pay him £80 (i.e. for both volumes) when these were republished in 1800.⁴⁰

There is no information on how things progressed after this, but Coleridge met with Longman while he was visiting London in spring 1803, and the long mooted third edition was at last put into production. This process was not handled directly by post between author and bookseller. Charles Lamb, much to his surprise, learned from Longman that he was expected to finalise the text for the edition, and fired off a desperate letter to Coleridge:

Your poems have begun printing. Longman sent to me to arrange them the old and the new together. It seems you have left it to him [...] I promise you not to alter one word in any poem whatever but to take your last text, where two are. Can you send any wishes about the book? Longman I think should have settled with you, but it seems you have left it to him. Write as soon as you can.⁴¹

Coleridge replied to Lamb, but the letters have not survived. However, a letter he wrote to William Godwin three weeks later completes the picture:

It was my full intention to have prepared immediately a second volume of poems for the Press; but tho' the poems are all either written, or composed, excepting only the conclusion of one Poem (= to 4 days' common work) [this must be 'Christabel!'] & a few corrections, & tho' I had the most pressing motives for sending them off; yet after many attempts I was obliged to give up the very Hope—the attempts acted so perniciously on my disorder. (CL II 950).

This is exactly in line with how Coleridge had been weighing up alternatives for the third edition with Cottle five years earlier: publish the previously printed poems with a minimum of fuss, and in an unfeasibly optimistic period of time I will have a second volume that will knock your socks off. Evidently Longman wanted this edition to go to press immediately, and he knew Coleridge well enough not to have 'Volume 1' printed on the title page.

The Contents and Format of Poems 1803

Lamb set to with characteristic good grace, and proposed a chronological arrangement for the poems; thus going against Coleridge's earlier plan to relegate minor juvenilia to the back. Lamb reported that Longman did not

⁴⁰ W. J. B. Owen, 'Costs, Sales and Profits of Longman's Editions of Wordsworth', *Library*, 5th ser. 12 (1957), 93-107, 94.

⁴¹ *The Letters of Charles and Mary Lamb*, ed. by Edwin W. Marris, Jr., 3 vols (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975-78), II 111. (Cited as LCML hereafter)

want any poems left out, and judging by the results this meant reinstating poems which had been included in *Poems on Various Subjects* 1796, but omitted from *Poems* 1797.⁴² I interpret Lamb's statement that: 'I told L[ongman] I was sure that you would omit a good portion of the first edition—I instanced in several sonnets &c.—but that was not his plan' (LCML II 111), to mean that it was Longman who insisted on their inclusion.⁴³ Given that the 1797 edition included a large number of poems by Lamb and Charles Lloyd, which were to be dropped, Longman may have been concerned that the volume was getting too thin.

As might be expected from using the same printer, Nathaniel Biggs, who could be expected to know the Coleridgean house style, the 1803 format remained much the same as for 1797 typographically. The same Gothic lettering was used for the title pages of longer poems. The same prefaces were reprinted minus incidental references to the poems of Lloyd and Lamb, and the price was reduced from the 1797 price of 6s/- to 5s/6d. The latter seems to have been Longman's standard price for duodecimo poetry volumes in boards.⁴⁴

Poems additional to those printed in the 1797 edition.

Fifteen poems, which had been included in the first edition of 1796, and then dropped from the second edition of 1797, were reinstated in 1803. Eight of these were the sonnets, mostly praising eminent figures, written during Coleridge's radical period, which Coleridge had been trying to put behind him. He was still complaining in *The Friend* some six years later about the reprinting of the sonnet to the revolutionary Earl Stanhope, writing that it had been 'reinserted in the third [edition] in my absence and without my consent or knowledge' (F II 25+n).

The remaining seven were 'Genevieve', 'Absence: A Farewell Ode', 'The Complaint of Ninathoma', 'Imitated from Ossian', 'Imitated from the Welch', 'To the Nightingale', and 'To a Friend, in Answer to a Melancholy Letter'. Of these 'To the Nightingale' is worthy of comment. Jim Mays has shown convincingly that this blank verse poem, written in 1795, was 'in part an outgrowth of the contemporaneous [...] *The Eolian Harp*' (PW I 1 227). Coleridge probably omitted this poem from the 1797 edition because it was too closely related to *The Eolian Harp* to justify independent existence. The idea of the nightingale as organic harp was of course developed brilliantly in 1798 in the 'The Nightingale; a Conversational Poem', where the emerging moon stimulates 'An hundred airy harps' (PW I 1 519, lines 77-82). If repetition was an issue, the publication of this latter poem in *Lyrical Ballads*

⁴² For brevity I will refer to 1796 poems and 1797 poems to indicate poems published in Coleridge's collected poetry editions of those years (regardless of when they were written or first published).

⁴³ The information is patchy and Mays may be correct to make Lamb responsible (PW I 1 191)

⁴⁴ Prices per W. Bent, *The London Catalogue of Books with their Prices* [...] (London: Bent, 1811) 32; 1797 price corroborated by Longman advertisement seen in Robert Southey, *Poems*, 2nd edn, Vol 2, (Longman and Rees, 1800) British Library RB.23.a.33871.

should have been a further reason not to print the 1795 'To the Nightingale' in 1803. This may be a further sign of Longman's eagerness to fatten the volume. Of these fifteen reinstated poems not one was to appear in Coleridge's next collection, *Sibylline Leaves*, the fourth edition of 1817.

1803 Revisions

There were also a number of revisions to the poems when they were published in 1803. It is impossible to trace in what form these revisions and corrections to the poems reached the printer. It is clear from Lamb's letter that he was not provided with direct textual instructions, and if he was required to judge, for each poem, which version was the latest, he must have been working from a variety of notes, rather than a single source copy. Hence his need to refer back to Coleridge over points of uncertainty. It seems likely that Longman handed on to Lamb a complicated bundle of notes and errata that he (Longman) could not make sense of.⁴⁵

One instance of these revisions is 'Pale Roamer', a sonnet started by Southey and taken over by Coleridge, presenting a prostitute as a social victim, shunned by the self-righteous. The substantial change occurs in the final two lines: 1797 ends 'May He shed healing on thy sore disgrace, | He the great Comforter that rules above!' This vicarish benediction puts the suffering right and—however compassionately meant—leaves the reader complacent that all is ultimately taken care of. In 1803 these lines are changed to 'Man has no feeling for thy sore Disgrace: | Keen blows the blast upon the moulting Dove!' This puts a strong image in the punch line: emblematic (either classical as Venus' bird of love, or Christian dove as the Holy Spirit) yet brutally realistic, and compressed in a way that was to become characteristic of his later poems.⁴⁶ This image encapsulates the full force of the poem. Later on Coleridge wrote in Southey's copy of his (Coleridge's) *Poems 1797*: 'this Sonnet is much improved in the third Edition, but I cannot recollect the alterations'.⁴⁷ When it was next printed, in 1828, the 1797 text was used.

This is not the only instance of good 1803 revisions subsequently getting overlooked. The 1803 'Religious Musings' suffered the same fate. This ambitious poem is nicely defined by Ian Wylie as 'a working draft of Coleridge's thoughts during an exceptionally important year of his life'.⁴⁸ Unfortunately that year was 1795-6, and, as he struggled to keep faith with it, he also realised well before 1803 that its millennial fervour was too much of its time. The 1803 'Religious Musings', in Mays' view, 'embodies Coleridge's intentions at the end of the period in which he was most fully engaged by the poem' (PW I 1 171). The changes to this poem between 1797 and 1803 (see

⁴⁵ There are many hand-amended copies of *Poems 1797* dating to the months immediately after its publication (PW I 2 1287-95). Cottle had direct contact with Longman about a third edition in 1801 (RSL, 25 Jul 1801), but the notes we do know of—the errata that Coleridge sent to Cottle in July 1797 (CL I 331-2), which just missed the deadline for *Poems 1797*—were not used in 1803. This makes Cottle a doubtful source for any correction notes.

⁴⁶ I am grateful to Perdita Davidson for pointing out the Christian dove.

⁴⁷ PW I 1 193. Mays prints the 1803 version as his Reading Text on these grounds.

⁴⁸ Ian Wylie, *Young Coleridge and the Philosophers of Nature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 95.

transcription at end) are mostly concerned with clarifying the sense. There is just one expanded passage between lines 64-72: a fleshing out in a Southeyan epic style (think *Thalaba!*) of the boggy adventures of the ‘phantom, FEAR’. Again, none of these new 1803 readings survive when ‘Religious Musings’ was next printed, classed as juvenilia, in 1828.

Finally I end with the highlight: the 1803 version of ‘The Eolian Harp’. Shorn of its faery trappings and superfluities, it is the version that most embodies the Coleridge-Wordsworth joint aesthetic of 1798, and justifies a full transcription (*see transcription at end*). Unlike ‘Monody on the Death of Chatterton’ where sixteen of the 1797 lines (PW lines 49-60, 114-117) are cut from 1803 to such little effect that you wonder whether they got dropped by mistake, these cuts to ‘The Eolian Harp’ show purpose: they purge the faery decoration. And the four lines that are substituted get right into the quick of the poem’s first visionary peak:

Methinks, it should have been impossible
Not to love all things in a World like this,
Where e’en the Breezes of the simple Air
Possess the power and Spirit of Melody!

Thankfully these extra lines did survive (with minor amendment) into later versions and were further developed by the four additional lines 26-30, beginning ‘O! the one Life, within us and abroad’ that crown the poem in its *Sibylline Leaves* (1817) state. It is worth noting that ‘The Eolian Harp’ is the only poem from *Poems 1803* to be included in that next 1817 collection.⁴⁹ The lines cut for 1803 were all reinstated. A note in Coleridge’s hand in Southey’s copy of *Poems 1797* expressing doubts about the 1803 cuts makes it clear this was a deliberate decision rather than an oversight (PW II 1 326). Nevertheless the 1803 version stands in its own right as a successful restyling of that poem, in line with the conversation poems of 1797-8.

As a general rule, the 1803 variants (which, given Lamb’s insistence that he would make no changes to Coleridge’s text, must have been Coleridge’s own), with the exception of lines 30-33 of ‘The Eolian Harp’ mentioned above, were all discarded when the poems were next printed between 1828 and 1834 in the three late editions of Coleridge’s poetry.

Conclusion

This neglect—mostly on Coleridge’s part—of the 1803 edition can easily be read as part of the narrative of failure and abdication due to his sense of the relative greatness of Wordsworth. Coleridge himself told William Godwin two years earlier that ‘The Poet is dead in me’ (CL II 714). Jim Mays has recently challenged this dead poet narrative by redefining Coleridge’s essential poetic

⁴⁹ See the foldout accompanying Paul Cheshire, ‘The Eolian Harp’, *Coleridge Bulletin* NS 17 (Summer 2001), 1-26, for a single-sheet view of the chronological development of this poem.

aims in a way that shows his continuities: both of purpose and of productivity. Mays achieves this by arguing that the 'famous three' poems for which Coleridge is most admired: 'Kubla Khan', 'The Ancient Mariner' and 'Christabel' (all written by 1800) are anomalous to the main body of his poetry, which deals with his core preoccupation with the 'emblematic figures of Hope, Joy and Love'.⁵⁰ This welcome re-evaluation should certainly encourage us to look for other factors that explain his non-engagement.

Firstly, Coleridge the procrastinator was offered the fatal temptation of the mooted volume two. The notion that the first volume was of little importance compared with the next, certainly accords with our evaluation of the poems that would have been included in this second volume, and with Coleridge's own dismissal of the 1803 poems when compiling his next collection of 1817. In this case, the mystery of his non-engagement with volume one is understandable and we need to look at why volume two did not follow. This leads on to my second point: might a more sympathetic (or perhaps, a less intimidating) publisher have coaxed this out of him, at a time when his self-confidence was in decline? If so, Cottle's forced withdrawal from publishing, and the entry of Longman, need to be taken into account as events outside Coleridge's control, which had significant consequences for his development as a poet.

⁵⁰ J. C. C. Mays, *Coleridge's Experimental Poetics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), *passim*, but see especially 'famous three': 20-9; Hope, Love and Joy: 48-53.

S T Coleridge, 'Religious Musings: a Desultory Poem, written on the Christmas Eve of 1794'

CPW line	Poems, 2nd edition, 1797	Poems, 3rd edition, 1803
42-3 43fn	[... by exclusive consciousness of God All self-annihilated] See this demonstrated by Hartley, vol. 1 p. 114, and vol.2, p.329. See it likewise proved, and freed from the charge of Mysticism, by Pistorius in his Notes and Additions to part second of Hartley on Man. Addition the 18th, the 653rd page of the third volume of Hartley. Octavo Edition.	Note omitted
64-5.1 64a.1 65.1.1 65.1.2 65.1.3 66 67 68 69.1 69.1.1 69.1.2 69.1.3 69.1.4 68a.1 68b.1 69.1.5 69.1.6 70.1 70.1.1 71 72	Who the Creator love, created might Dread not: within their Tents no Terrors walk For they are Holy Things before the Lord Aye-unprofan'd, tho' Earth should league with Hell GOD's Altar grasping with an eager Hand FEAR, the wild-visag'd, pale, eye-starting wretch, Sure-refug'd hears his hot pursuing fiends Yell at vain distance. Soon refresh'd from Heaven He calms the Throb and Tempest of his Heart.	They cannot dread created might, who love God the Creator!—fair and lofty thought! It lifts and swells my heart! and as I muse, Behold a VISION gathers in my soul, Voices and shadowy shapes! In human guise I seem to see the phantom, FEAR, pass by, Hotly-pursued, and pale! From rock to rock He bounds with bleeding feet, and thro' the swamp, The quicksand and the groaning wilderness, Struggles with feeble and yet feeble flight. But lo! an altar in the wilderness, And eagerly yet feebly lo! he grasps The altar of the living God! and there With wan reverted face the trembling wretch All wildly list'ning to his Hunter-fiends Stands, till the last faint echo of their yell Dies in the distance. Soon refresh'd from Heaven He calms the Throb and Tempest of his Heart.
117 118 119 120 121 122 123	But that we roam unconscious, or with hearts Unfeeling of our universal Sire, And that in his vast family no Cain Injures uninjur'd (in her best aimed blow Victorious MURDER a blind Suicide) Haply for this some younger Angel now Looks down on Human Nature...	But that we roam unconscious, or with hearts Unfeeling of our universal Sire, Haply for this some younger Angel now Looks down on Human Nature...
222 223	Strong as an host of armed Deities, Such as the blind Ionian fabled erst.	Strong as an host of armed Deities.
253 254 255 256 257 258 259	[Philosophers and Bards...] Wandering with desultory feet inhal'd The wafted perfumes, and the flocks and woods And many-tinted streams, and setting Sun With all his gorgeous company of clouds Extatic gaz'd! then homeward as they stray'd Cast the sad eye to earth, and inly mus'd Why there was Misery in a world so fair.	[Philosophers and Bards...] Wandering with desultory feet inhal'd The wafted perfumes, gazing on the woods, The many-tinted streams, and setting Sun With all his gorgeous company of clouds, In extacy! Then homeward as they stray'd Cast the sad eye to earth, and inly mus'd Why there was misery in a world so fair.
266	Blessed Society! [used ironically]	Evil Society! [giving it straight]
273	Deep in the lucid stream his bloody jaws;	Deep in the lucid stream his gore-stain'd jaws;
278	Drives from life's plenteous feast! O thou poor Wretch,	Drives from the Feast of Life! O thou poor Wretch,
283 284 285	Polluted nights and days of blasphemy Who in loath'd orgies with lewd wassailers Must gaily laugh,	Nights of Pollution, Days of Blasphemy; Who in thy orgies with loath'd wassailers Must gaily laugh,
369 370 371 372	Wiseest he first who marked the ideal tribes Up the fine fibres thro' the sentient brain. Lo! PRIESTLEY there ...	Wiseest he first who marked the ideal tribes Up the fine fibres thro' the sentient brain Pass in fine surges. Pressing on his steps Lo! PRIESTLEY there
387 388 389 390 391	Who of woman born May image in the workings of his thought, How the black-visag'd, red-eyed Fiend outstretcht Beneath the unsteady feet of nature groans, In feverish slumbers	Who of woman born May image how the red-eyed Fiend outstretcht Beneath the unsteady feet of nature groans, In feverish slumbers

S T Coleridge, Poems 1803

*COMPOSED at CLEVEDON,
SOMERSETSHIRE.*

1797 lines deleted or substituted:

My pensive SARA! thy soft cheek reclin'd
 Thus on mine arm, most soothing sweet it is
 To sit beside our cot, our cot o'er grown
 With white-flower'd Jasmin, and the broad leav'd Myrtle,
 And watch the clouds, that late were rich with light,
 Slow-sad'ning round, and mark the star of eve
 Shine opposite! How exquisite the scents
 Snatch'd from yon bean-field! and the world so hush'd!
 Hark! the still murmur of the distant sea
 Tells us of Silence! And th'Eolian Lute
 How by the desultory breeze caress'd,
 Like some coy Maid half-yielding to her Lover,
 It pours such sweet upbraidings, as must needs
 Tempt to repeat the wrong! And now its strings
 Boldlier swept, the long sequacious notes
 Over delicious surges sink and rise,
 Such a soft floating witchery of sound——
 + Methinks, it should have been impossible
 + Not to love all things in a World like this,
 + Where e'en the Breezes of the simple Air
 + Possess the power and Spirit of Melody!
 And thus, my Love! as on the midway slope
 Of yonder hill I stretch my limbs at noon,
 Whilst thro' my half-clos'd eyelids I behold
 The sunbeams dance, like diamonds, on the main,
 And tranquil muse upon tranquillity;
 Full many a thought uncall'd and undetain'd,
 And many idle flitting phantasies,
 Traverse my indolent and passive brain,
 As wild and various, as the random gales
 That swell or flutter on this subject Lute!
 And what if all of animated nature
 Be but organic Harps diversely fram'd
 That tremble into thought, as o'er them sweeps,
 Plastic and vast, one intellectual Breeze,
 At once the Soul of each, and God of all ?
 But thy more serious eye a mild reproof
 Darts, O beloved Woman! nor such thoughts
 Dim and unhallow'd dost thou not reject,
 And biddest me walk humbly with my God.
 Meek Daughter in the Family of Christ,
 Well hast thou said and holily disprais'd
 These shapings of the unregenerate mind,
 Bubbles that glitter as they rise and break
 On vain Philosophy's aye-babbling spring.
 For never guiltless may I speak of Him,
 Th' INCOMPREHENSIBLE! save when with awe
 I praise him, and with Faith that inly *feels*;
 Who with his saving mercies healed me,
 A sinful and most miserable man
 Wilder'd and dark, and gave me to possess
 PEACE, and this COT, and THEE, heart-honor'd Maid!

Serenely brilliant (such should Wisdom be)

Plac'd length-ways in the clasping casement, hark!

As twilight Elfins make, when they at eve
 Voyage on gentle gales from Faery Land,
 Where *Melodies* round honey-dropping flowers
 Footless and wild, like birds of Paradise,
 Nor pause nor perch, hov'ring on untam'd wing.

* [Footnote as 1796]