The Publication of Coleridge's "Dejection: An Ode" in the *Morning Post*

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Jack Stillinger rightly points out that "[t]he knottiest problem in textual theory, regardless of who is doing the theorizing, is the relationship of the words of a text to the physical document embodying them." When we meet a famous Romantic poem such as "Dejection: An Ode" for the first time, it is usually in the form of an anthology, a university textbook, or a collected, so called 'standard,' edition. The formats in which these versions are presented usually create or confirm the status of the poem in a canonical hierarchy (as a 'major Romantic poem'), its location among other texts in this genre (a fine example of the 'Greater Romantic Lyric'), or its position in the *oeuvre* of a particular poet (Coleridge's 'swansong'). Removed from its original context of publication, the poem becomes part of a range of histories, pedagogical structures and cultural configurations which do not always consider the significance of its original site of appearance. This is not necessarily a problem; we choose to read texts in different formats or editions depending on our reading goals and reading contexts. Do we want to read "Dejection" on a tramping trip in the New Zealand bush? Are we including the poem in an introductory poetry course for undergraduate students? Are we trying to figure out how many textual variants there are to the addressees in Coleridge's ode? The potential answers to these questions will dictate which forms will be best suited to or available for our engagement with the poem. In addition to these material, pedagogical, cultural circumstances and demands, our reading of a poem is also influenced by the materials or texts immediately surrounding the poem. In the chronologically organized New Oxford Book of Romantic Period Verse, for instance, Jerome McGann includes "Dejection" among two other poems first published in 1802, Mary Lamb's "Helen" and Mary Robinson's "The Camp." This kind of presentation highlights, among other things, the juxtaposition between canonical and not-so-canonical poems, the detail that both Robinson's and Coleridge's poems were first published in the Morning Post, the fact that women were publishing poems, and the striking variety of poetic forms which were prevalent in 1802. In most cases, the poem we are interested in will be accompanied by other poems, but this does not necessarily have to be the case. It makes sense to examine poems in their original forms of appearance, even when, and maybe particularly when, that original form is rather 'unpoetical' in its connotations, such as a newspaper for instance. In its original locations the poem is informed by and conversant

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with all sorts of things, material and textual, which surround it and which qualify the solitary, monumental status we have come to associate with Romantic poems that have stood the test of time. This essay considers, briefly, Coleridge's famous "Dejection: An Ode" in the contemporary context of its publication in the *Morning Post*.

Paul Magnuson has argued cogently for the necessity of reading Romantic poems in their original publications:

In their original publication with their verbal boundaries or frames, which are the crossroads of the discursive forms of cultural significance, their complex allusive figures, and their answerability, they appear as very different kinds of public utterances than those familiar to us in the late twentieth century. The public significance of a literary work rests, not in itself, not within its own generic boundaries, but in its locations for the simple reason that without precise location, there is no cultural significance.⁵

While the importance of multiple versions and the significance of relating textual and bibliographical studies to the interpretation of literary works have long been recognized, the idea of precise 'location' is still relatively unexplored in literary criticism, in particular with respect to canonical poems. To some extent the monumental, monolithic status which has been attributed to a major canonical poem endows it with a fundamental, sublime or aloof, solitude. Part of the poem's status lies in its superiority to anything else: neither context nor juxtaposition with anything else is allowed to taint it. In addition, our resistance to location may have something to do with our desire for a clear-cut, unique, single version of a poem around which we can build a coherent critical discussion. The idea of the monolithic single text creates the illusion that we are all talking about the same thing. But just as the dominance of one version of a literary text in most criticism obscures the mutability, the fluidity of the poem's many manifestations, so does our blindness to the location of a poem's appearance.

At the risk of sounding like a real estate agent ('location, location, location!'), I want to argue that a detailed analysis of the text as part of its location is not a reductive exercise. On the contrary, location can be read as an extension of the so-called paratextuality of a text. Paratextuality is a term which Gérard Genette uses for "those liminal devices and conventions, both within the book (peritext) and outside it (epitext), that mediate the book to the reader," such as titles, pseudonyms, forewords and afterwords, dedications, epigraphs and epilogues, authorial correspondence. Analysis of the larger context of the manifestation of a poem contributes to a web of interpretation which constitutes the knowledge of a poem. It illuminates in particular what Jerome McGann calls "the originary textual

moment" which comprises the author, any other persons or groups "involved in the initial process of production," the "phases or stages in the initial productive process" and the "materials, means, and modes of the initial productive process."

One of Coleridge's most famous poems, "Dejection: An Ode," started out as a verse letter addressed to Sara Hutchinson in April 1802.7 Coloridge rewrote the epistle in the course of the next six months, sending new versions to friends, and finally publishing "Dejection: An Ode" in the Morning Post of 4 October 1802. Jack Stillinger distinguishes between fifteen separate versions, in which the addressee changes from "Sara," to "Wordsworth," to "Edmund," to "William," to "Edmund" again, and finally to the unnamed "Lady." The poem did not appear in book form until fifteen years later, when it was included in Sibylline Leaves (1817). The biographical background to both the verse letter and the poem revolves around Coleridge's relationships with his wife Sara Fricker, the Hutchinsons, the Wordsworths, and in particular around his infatuation with Sara Hutchinson. She was the sister of Mary Hutchinson who was to become Wordsworth's wife on 4 October 1802, the date on which Coleridge's "Dejection" was published in the Morning Post and which was also the sixth anniversary of Coleridge's own unhappy marriage. According to Jim Mays, the editor of the Poetical Works, "the first publication on W[illiam] W[ordsworth']s wedding-day was a tribute with no trace of conscious irony."9 I am not so sure about this. Coleridge's decision to publish "Dejection" on this particular day, in a very public medium, illustrates his conflicting feelings about the disparities between Wordsworth's life and his own, between Wordsworth's poetic career path and his own. More so than any of the other versions, the Morning Post "Dejection" addresses a double audience, the Wordsworth set and the larger newspaper reading public. 10 An awareness of both levels of audience enhances our understanding of the possible tensions which are played out in the poem, as I hope to outline briefly below.

The 'location' of the first publication of "Dejection" has been ignored, because newspapers in particular do not fit in well with textual transmission studies of famous poems. Overall, we do not really read newspapers in order to have specific access to poems, although we may enjoy, in the course of our perusal of the paper as a whole, the serendipitous encounter with a particularly powerful poem. Yet many poems were first published in newspaper or magazines. I came across very little research on poems in eighteenth-century and early-nineteenth-century newspapers, and the little that I found usually confirmed George Crabbe's satirical condemnation of newspaper versifying:¹¹

Last in these ranks and least, their art's disgrace, Neglected stand the Muse's meanest race; Scribblers who court contempt, whose verse the eye Disdainful views, and glances swiftly by: This Poet's Corner is the place they choose, A fatal nursery for an infant Muse.¹²

Clearly, the Morning Post's "Original Poetry" section was obviously not a "fatal nursery" for the many poems by Wordsworth and Coleridge which were published between 1797 and 1803.13 William St Clair makes the point that much high quality Romantic poetry was first published in periodicals, but, like most critics before him, he does not discriminate very carefully between newspapers and magazines.¹⁴ It does make sense, however, to make the distinction. Magazines, for instance, are usually accorded a more permanent status than newspapers, no matter how short their actual lives in terms of years might have been. They may end up in private libraries bound in annual collections, or even reissued in book form as in the case of the Rambler and Spectator papers, while newspapers are more likely to end up lining trunks and cake tins (a form in which, incidentally, they may reach yet another audience among the lower classes). Periodicals have usually been considered a more straightforward or acceptable publication outlet for poetry, and some of them were considered particularly appropriate locations for the kinds of poetry they publish. For instance, in the Annals of the Fine Arts, in which Keats's "Ode on a Grecian Urn" first appeared, there is a clear thematic correspondence between the periodical contents as a whole and the subject matter of the poem.

The lack of attention to the publication of poems in newspapers may have something to do with the disposable, explicitly short-lived, transient nature of the newspaper as a daily (or near daily) publication. It is a genre which is fundamentally at odds with, even inimical to, the canonical, monumental and therefore timeless status we now associate with famous poems. 'News' for the early ninetheenth-century London newspapers translated largely, if the amount of space allocated is anything to go by, into news relating to the war with France. The war with France was not just a strictly political, theoretical matter; it affected many people, such as merchants, farmers, families of soldiers, who all had to rely on newspaper reporting for the management of their affairs or news about loved ones. The immediacy and urgency associated with reporting of this kind, the vital importance of a changing narrative, is diametrically opposed to the rhetoric of the Romantic lyric in which a particular moment encapsulates the seemingly timeless disposition of the lyric speaker.

The sense of urgency and transitoriness connected with newspapers is also reflected in the layout of articles on the page, which is not restricted to one genre or

kind of text, and which accommodates a wide range of writings. Again, George Crabbe's lines capture the potential absurdity of these juxtapositions well:

Next, in what rare production shall we trace Such various subjects in so small a space? As the first ship upon the waters bore Incongruous kinds that never met before; Or as some curious virtuoso joins, In one small room, moths, minerals, and coins, Birds, beasts, and fishes; nor refuses place To serpents, toads, and all the reptile race. ¹⁶

When we look at the writing on the page of a newspaper we see a crowded collage, a patchwork of very different kinds of writing, arranged in ways that have nothing to do with traditional genre hierarchies. All of these kinds of writing jostle for attention on the page, and this creates a potentially cursory reading experience, one which we may give to occasional or light verse, but which we do not readily associate with an engaged reading of a long lyrical poem. All the markers which potentially heighten the intrinsic importance of the poem as poem are absent from the newspaper. We do not see the poem surrounded by other poems in a book, a book which may be part of a prestigious series such as Major British Poets, and therefore would confirm the status of the writer in the pantheon of the greats such as Shakespeare and Milton.

In addition, the poets themselves often insisted on some form of control over the layout choices for the publication of their work in book form. Wordsworth and Coleridge, for instance, closely supervised the publication of their 1798 joint effort, *Lyrical Ballads*, and their correspondence makes it abundantly clear that the sober, uncluttered typography and presentation of the poems, free from flourishes and fancy fonts, was a conscious aesthetic decision to highlight the contents of the poems.¹⁷ We usually see the history of a poem in terms of a progress away from messy drafts to a centred presence on a page framed by a border of white space which highlights its uniqueness, similar to the "nemeral" in Katherine Mansfield's "At the Bay" where for the children a bit of green glass has been turned into a jewel, far removed from its origins of a cheap green bottle shard.¹⁸

In contrast with many other forms of publication, the format of a newspaper is largely out of the control of the poet whose work is published in it. In the newspaper, the poem does not hold centre stage; our eye involuntarily roves to the column next to it. Its layout is designed for overview and cursory reading, a layout designed to reach and satisfy the attention span of a large and diverse audience, which is much less defined than the coterie audience of poetry readers. In addi-

tion we need to keep in mind that newspapers in particular were eagerly, and often communally read, silently or aloud, in coffee houses, public houses, or the reading rooms of subscription libraries. This kind of reading seems at odds with, but was actually concurrent with the emergent private reading experience. It is the latter experience, the one in retirement, which we now usually associate with the reading of lyrics, as if the rhetoric of private confession demands an equally reserved reading context as opposed to one of potential public recitation.

So, what do we make of Coleridge's choice to publish this melancholy swansong, this self-avowed withdrawal from poetry in such a public location? I would like to argue that Coleridge's carefully timed publication of "Dejection" in the Morning Post announces his ambivalent feelings about Wordsworth's private happiness and his focused endeavours in his poetry. Coleridge's penchant for ambiguous, hyperbolic praise is well known — his troubled praise poem "To William Wordsworth" is perhaps the most obvious example — but what is less well recognized is the scope of Coleridge's rhetorical exercise. The extent of this becomes more obvious when we consider Coleridge's writings within their contexts of publication. In the monumental Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, for instance, genre, not location, is the standard for the editorial choices of this edition. So, while Erdman's introduction to the three-volume edition of Coleridge's contributions to the Morning Post and the Courier refers astutely to political poems which Coleridge was composing at the same time, the actual edition only includes the prose writings and lists the titles of the poems in an appendix. The poems are included in separately dedicated Poetical Works volumes that make very little of the newspaper contexts. It would have made sense however, to include the poetry in both sets of volumes. Coleridge's newspaper verse and prose contributions, regardless of whether we read them as vehicles for public arousal or as outpourings of private grief, demonstrate how his mind was engaged in a range of complex, contradictory ways at that particular moment. The beauty of this complexity is lost or reduced when we lose sight of the stage on which the mind is displayed; the centred text on a white page gives us the illusion of a self-contained platform of interpretation.

The textual critical discussion about "Dejection" has often revolved around a genre distinction within texts, the comparative merits of the manuscript verse letter, "A Letter to [Sara Hutchinson]," and the 1817 publication in Sibylline Leaves, a focus which highlights, not only the biographical significance of Coleridge's private unhappiness, but also the generic importance of "Dejection" as an eminent example of the so-called Greater Romantic Lyric. M. H. Abrams' seminal essay on what has become known as the quintessential lyric genre of the Romantic period has, in a way, created a critical location for "Dejection." Abrams' emphasis

on the speaker's meditation as the *raison d'être* of the poem sets up spatial expectations of retirement and isolation, in which the speaker, easily identified with the poet, becomes a hermit of sorts. ¹⁹ The emphasis on the individual thought process of the speaker in Romantic poetry can be, and often has been, associated with the biographical construction of the poet's existential loneliness.

In the case of "Dejection" this loneliness is substantiated by a story of creative paralysis in which the speaker compares the failure of his own "genial spirits" with the "light and love" which surrounds Wordsworth. Coleridge's autobiographical construction of himself in "Dejection" as a despondent character who regrets the loss of his "shaping spirit of imagination" contrasts sharply with his status at that moment as one of the most, if not the most influential journalist, writing for one of the most prominent newspapers in London at the time. Coleridge's creative and personal nadir is staged at the apex of his career as a journalist. In his theatrical portrayal of depression Coleridge is not unlike media superstars, past and present, whose protestations about retired living and private collapses are enacted in the full force of the media glare.

This is not the right moment to survey Coleridge's considerable career as a journalist and his involvement with the Morning Post in particular, but the following points may illustrate the importance of his involvement with the paper for his poetry.²⁰ Daniel Stuart bought the then moribund newspaper in 1795 and turned it into a very successful paper: "When Stuart purchased the Morning Post in 1795 its circulation had declined to 350 copies per day. Within three years, he had increased this to 2,000 copies per day, reaching an unprecedented sale of 4,500 copies per day in 1803, the year he sold it and bought the evening paper, the Courier."21 His secret of success was the combination of attracting quality writing by the likes of Coleridge, Wordsworth, Southey, Lamb, all of whom he was prepared to pay handsomely, and the highly profitable use of small advertisements which increased sales. Overt commercialism and an eye for quality writing characterized Stuart's editorship. Stuart encouraged the inclusion of quality poetry as a form of relief to the ferocity of the political reporting, and he definitely considered Coleridge the star among his journalists, often taking the trouble to announce pieces by Coleridge with extravagant puffs. There is no doubt that his high opinion must have been informed, at least to some extent, by the sales figures. Coleridge's political reporting was far from consistent but always passionate, a bonus for newspaper writing with its daily need for renewed sensation. Not surprisingly, Coleridge, like so many of his contemporaries who made a living by it, often distanced himself from journalism as a profession, but as the following letter to Tom Wedgwood, of 4 February 1800, illustrates, he did thrive on the size of his projected audience:

We Newspaper scribes are true Galley-Slaves. . . . Yet it is not unflattering to a man's Vanity to reflect that what he writes at 12 at night will before 12 hours is over have perhaps 5 or 6000 Readers! To trace a happy phrase, good image, or new argument running thro' the Town, & sliding into all the papers! Few Wine merchants can boast of creating more sensation. ²²

Coleridge's verse and prose contributions, both political and poetical, to the *Morning Post* were particularly frequent in the second half of 1802, a period which coincided with the fragile, so-called 'Peace of Amiens' (March 1802-April 1803), during which hostilities with France were temporarily suspended. It was during this period also that Wordsworth, with his usual foresight and focus, visited his former lover Annette Vallon and their child Caroline in France in order to come to an agreement which would smooth the path towards his marriage with Mary Hutchinson. In typically contradictory fashion Coleridge was staging his personal unhappiness in 'Dejection,' writing vigorous articles which "later could be seen to have added fuel to the renewing British hostility to Napoleon," and planning a trip to the continent that, to his great surprise, he had to cancel because of the resumption of warfare.²³

When the readers of the Morning Post on Monday 4 October 1802 opened the paper over their morning coffee, what are some of the things they would have seen? The paper itself consists of four pages, with four columns on each page. It features many different kinds of advertisements, notices, and announcements on the first and the last of its four pages. We find out, for instance, that Cymbeline is on at the Theatre Royal at Drury Lane; that somebody is offering the princely sum of One Guinea reward for returning a lost "Old French Dog, lately shorn, of a Light Brown Colour"; "a lady of respectability" is offering her services to accompany a family to "India or to the Continent"; new books and dubious medicines are offered for sale; a letter to the editor consists of a passionate plea for "immediate assistance" by one Elizabeth Gooch who adds "it matters not, in the public opinion, whether others have brought on me this terrible catastrophe, or whether my own wilful extravagance has effected it." The second page features two columns of political editorial commentary, detailing possible sedition in the Breton section of the French army against Napoleon, then First Consul, the situation of Malta, Switzerland, the general preparedness of British troops, and slave insurgence in Guadeloupe. The third column of the second page is entirely devoted to the "Fashionable World" which tells us about the clothes in Paris and latest gossip about politicians, the demi-monde and the fashionable set. Adjacent to the Fashion column is the "Original Poetry" column, where we find "Dejection," which also takes up about twenty per cent of the next column on the next page, a very generous space allocation for a poem by the usual standards. "Dejection" is followed by another letter to the Editor, theatre reviews, shipping news, and crime reports. The fourth and final page includes more crime news, financial news, "sporting intelligence," announcements of births, marriages and deaths, followed by two final columns of small advertisements, including "sales by auction" (of, among other things, paintings by Vandyke, Correggio, and Caneletto). The final advertisement sings the praises of Leake's Patent Pills in the form of a letter by a miraculously cured sufferer of a "Venereal Complaint."

The plethora of advertisements for what we would now call self-help books, medicines, goods of all sorts and the detailed accounts of fashions in Paris indicate the early nineteenth-century obsession with 'fashion' and 'improvement' which were closely connected with the booming commercialisation of goods and the concomitant advertising of those products.²⁴ Newspapers played a vital part in promoting the products deemed vital for the construction of a polite society: clothes, gardens, literature and dance were all part of this. In a combination of straightforward advertisements (often for books on social graces such as dancing and music), puffs (advertisements masquerading as informative articles, what we would now call infomercials) and editorial choices (such as columns about fashion and columns for original poetry), newspapers set rules to live by. In this context "Dejection" reads far less like the heartfelt cry of a lonely Romantic poet and far more as a traditional poem of sensibility on a fashionable subject, the expression of melancholy. Even the image of the Aeolian lute, a wind harp, fits in with the cult of sensibility in which the harp was very popular. The advertised short tunics, white turbans and sad poems are all part of the spirit of the age.

In addition to the more general features above, which distinguish the newspaper version of "Dejection" from its other versions, regular newspaper readers familiar with Coleridge's and Wordsworth's poetry and personal circumstances would have noticed quite a few other things as well. The most obvious internal allusions, such as the references to Wordsworth's poems "Peter Bell" and "Lucy Gray," have long been part of the critical discussion. What has been less considered are the other poems that Coleridge was publishing in the Morning Post at about the same time as "Dejection." In a letter of 20 October 1802, to his friend Thomas Wedgwood, Coleridge labels his profuse poetic output for the Morning Post during September and October as "merely the emptying out of my Desk." 25 Nothing could be further from the truth. Not only does Coleridge publish some of his most significant poems during this period, works which he himself took very seriously if the numerous references in his letters are anything to go by ("Chamouni" on 11 September, "Dejection" on 4 October, 'France: An Ode' on 14 October), he also presents to the world a number of shorter works which greatly trouble the location of "Dejection," his supposed epithalamium to Wordsworth. In this context 1

will only focus on what is probably the most striking example of savage satire directed towards Wordsworth. The rousing finale to "Dejection" pronounces a blessing on "virtuous Edmund" who is the speaker's "friend of [his] devoutest choice":

Joy lifts thy spirit, joy attunes thy voice, To thee all things live from pole to pole, Their life the eddying of thy living soul! Oh simple spirit, guided from above; Oh lofty poet, full of light and love; Brother and friend of my devoutest choice, Thus may'st thou ever, evermore rejoice!

Yet only a week later, in the *Morning Post* of Monday 11 October 1802, the reverential tone in the references to "virtuous Edmund" in "Dejection" is cruelly echoed in Coleridge's free adaptation of one of Wernicke's epigrams, 'Spots in the Sun':

My Father Confessor is strict & holy
Mi Fili, still he cries, peccare noli.
But yet how oft I find the pious man,
At Annette's Door, the lovely Courtesan.
Her soul's deformity the good man wins
And not her Charms: he comes to hear her sins.
Good Father, I would fain not do thee wrong;
But O! I fear that they who oft & long
Stand gazing at the Sun to count each spot,
Must sometimes find the Sun itself too hot.²⁶

The striking substitution of Annette as the courtesan's name for Wernicke's "Thais" would most certainly have alarmed and offended Wordsworth who earlier that year had visited his former lover Annette Vallon and their child Caroline in France. The implied satirical construction of Wordsworth as a hypocritical priest who urges others not to sin but who basks in the presence of a prostitute to whom he is father confessor contrasts alarmingly with the reverential characterization of the "lofty poet" in "Dejection" which had graced the *Morning Post* only a week before. The salient contrast in genre between the lofty ode and the satirical epigram both reinforces and underplays the connections between the two poems. The magnanimous addresses to Edmund in "Dejection" sound hollow after reading the mocking condescension in the address to the "Good father" of "Spots in the Sun." The "virtuous Edmund" who ranks with the "pure" in "Dejection" is now recast as a "pious man" who is at the door of Annette, the "lovely courtesan."

308

The publication of "Dejection" in the Morning Post provided Coleridge with the opportunity to both congratulate and deride Wordsworth. The general reader was in all likelihood entirely unaware of the connections between Edmund, Wordsworth, the Father Confessor, and Annette. Those who knew about Annette were probably appalled at Coleridge's temerity, not only for writing the epigram, but also for the scandalous timing of its appearance in such a public forum. In this respect, reading "Dejection" in the larger context of Coleridge's involvement with the Morning Post casts a new light on Wordsworth's profound uneasiness about Coleridge's efforts at canonisation. Wordsworth steadfastly pursued his poetic mission with a keen eye on posterity, while Coleridge, from this time onward, regularly broadcast, with equal steadfastness one might argue, his own demise as a poet. The choice of a newspaper for this first public assertion of control over Wordsworth, who worked so hard to manage his reputation in his prefaces and dealings with publishers and who divorced himself increasingly from Coleridge's name and work, is richly ironic indeed.

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Endnotes

- ¹ Jack Stillinger, Coleridge and Textual Instability: The Multiple Versions of the Major Poems (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1994), 133.
- ² Jerome J. McGann, ed., The New Oxford Book of Romantic Period Verse (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1994), 227-32.
- ³ Paul Magnuson, Reading Public Romanticism (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1998), 3.
- *Major contributions to the fruitful association of bibliography (in the wider sense of the word) and the interpretation of literary texts include, in alphabetical order, Paul Eggert's "Document and Text: The 'Life' of the Literary Work and the Capacities of Editing" (Text: Transactions of the Society for Textual Scholarship 7 (1994): 1-24); Jerome J. McGann's Textual Criticism and Literary Interpretation (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1985) and The Beauty of Inflections: Literary Investigations in Historical Method and Theory (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985); D. F. McKenzie's Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1999); Jack Stillinger's Coleridge and Textual Instability: The Multiple Versions of the Major Poems (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1994) and Multiple Authorship and the Myth of Solitary Genius (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1991).
- Gérard Genette, Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1997), xviii.
- ⁶ Jerome J. McGann, "The Monks and the Giants: Textual and Bibliographical Studies and the Interpretation of Literary Works," in *Textual Criticism and Literary Interpretation*, ed. Jerome J. McGann (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1985), 192-93.
- ⁷ All references to the poem are from the *Morning Post*, 4 October 1802. For texts and photographs of the various versions, see *Coleridge's "Dejection": The Earliest Manuscripts and the Earliest Printings*, ed. Stephen M. Parrish (Ithaca and London: Cornell Univ. Press, 1988).
- § Jack Stillinger, Coleridge and Textual Instability: The Multiple Versions of the Major Poems (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1994), 90-99.
- 9 The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge. Poetical Works I. Poems (Reading Text): Part 2, ed. J. C. C. Mays (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 2001), 696.
- 10 I am grateful to my colleague Harry Ricketts for suggesting the term "double audience."
- ¹¹ R. M. Wiles, "Provincial Culture in Early Georgian England," in *The Triumph of Culture: 18th Century Perspectives*, eds. Paul Fritz and David Williams (Toronto: Hakkert, 1972), 55.
- ¹² George Crabbe, The Newspaper: A Poem (London: Dodsley, 1785), 26.
- For a list of Wordsworth's and Coleridge's verse contributions to the Morning Post, see The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge. Essays on His Times in The Morning Post and The Courier, vol. 3, ed. David V. Erdman (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1978), 283-311.
- William St Clair, The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2004), 158-159. See also, for instance, Harold Herd, The March of Journalism: The Story of the British Press from 1622 to the Present Day (London: Allen & Unwin, 1952), 5. Herd defines newspapers (as distinct from magazines) by being "primarily devoted to news."
- ¹⁵ See Jeremy Black, *The English Press, 1621-1861* (Phoenix Mill: Sutton, 2001), 143-180, for more information on the impact of the French Revolution and its aftermath on the English press.
- 16 The Newspaper: A Poem, 15.
- Alan D. Boehm, "The 1798 Lyrical Ballads and the Poetics of Late Eighteenth-Century Book Production," in ELH, v. 63 (1996): 453-87.
- 18 Antony Alpers, ed. The Stories of Katherine Mansfield (Auckland: Oxford Univ. Press, 1988), 449.
- "Structure and Style in the Greater Romantic Lyric" in The Correspondent Breeze: Essays in English Romanticism (New York: Norton, 1984), 76-108.
- ²⁰ For a fairly comprehensive account of Coleridge's relationship with *The Morning Post* and its editor Daniel Stuart, see David Erdman's Introduction to *Essays on His Times*, vol. 1, lix-exxi. For the prominence of the *Morning Post*, see Wilfrid Hindle, *The Morning Post*, 1772-1937 (London:

Routledge, 1937); A. Aspinall, Politics and the Press, c. 1780-1850 (London: Home and Van Thal, 1949); Harold Herd, The March of Journalism: The Story of the British Press from 1622 to the Present Day (London: Allen and Unwin, 1952), 92-95; Kurt von Stutterheim, The Press in England, trans. W. H. Johnston (London: Allen and Unwin, 1934), 46-47; Lucy Werkmeister, The London Daily Press, 1772-1792 (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1963). For a brief but useful account of Coleridge's relationship to journalism, see Zachary Leader, "Coleridge and the Uses of Journalism" in Grub Street and the Ivory Tower: Literary Journalism and Literary Scholarship from Fielding to the Internet, eds. Jeremy Treglown and Bridget Bennett (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 22-40.

- ²¹ Deirdre Coleman, "The Journalist" in *The Cambridge Companion to Coleridge*, ed. Lucy Newlyn (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2002), 126.
- ²² Collected Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, ed. Earl Leslie Griggs, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1956), 569. Quoted in Essays on His Times, xciv.

23 Essays on His Times, ciii.

- ²⁴ See Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J. H. Plumb, The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England (London: Europa Publications, 1982).
- 25 Collected Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, ed. Earl Leslie Griggs, vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1956), 876.
- 2º For Wernicke's original, see The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge. Poetical Works I. Poems (Reading Text): Part 2, ed. J. C. C. Mays (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 2001), 733.