

NOTES

PREFACE

1. AV, *Recollections*, 196.
2. SC, “Diary, 1848–1852” (August 19, 1850; vol. 3) (HRC).
3. SC, “Diary, 1844–1848” (HRC).

1 BEAUTY

1. Sara’s father recorded the time of her birth: “Sara Coleridge, born ½ past six, Dec. 23. 1802 on Thursday—I returned to Keswick on Friday 24th—arriving ½ past 2 P.M. (CN 1:1310).” Throughout this book, I refer to Sara Coleridge as “Sara,” “Coleridge,” or SC. Her father will be referred to as S. T. Coleridge or STC. References to Sara’s mother, Sarah (Fricker) Coleridge (whose name is variously spelled in primary sources as “Sarah” or “Sara”) will be abbreviated SFC or spelled as Sarah (except in direct quotations).
2. PW (2001) 1.2:272–73, 279–82.
3. SC, “Book of Mourning,” vol. 1 (HRC).
4. SC, “Commonplace Book 1” (HRC).
5. Letter: SC to HNC (September 20, 1834) (HRC). I have followed the HRC in assigning dates, except in cases where evidence reveals otherwise.
6. Letter: SC to HNC (September 20, 1834) (HRC).
7. Letter: SC to JHG (October 24, 1849) in “Regeneration and Baptism: Letters Defending Her Views” (HRC).
8. Robert Lovell died in 1796, leaving Mary (Fricker) Lovell to the protection of Southey, as well.
9. SC, “The Plunge,” in “Children’s Verse, II” (HRC); *SCCP* 103.
10. In the “Autobiography,” Aunt Lovell’s words are finally compassionate: “Yes, and you will be miserable...if your mother doesn’t put you on a cap” (*SCAB* 252) Yet the break between the two parts of her aunt’s warning looms large in Sara’s narrative, as the reader waits to find what reason might exist for continued misery and begins to sense the misfortune awaiting her in later years.

11. Southey charged Sara, along with her cousins Edith and Bertha, with the task of cataloguing his collection in spring 1822. Sara's mother described the laborious task: "They work an hour and a half each day, and they have already been nine weeks about it: S[outhey] thinks they cannot be finished before May; it is a most tedious employment, and very cold work, for they have to stand in cold passages, and fireless rooms, to mount up and down step-ladders, and the whole library—upward of 6,000 volumes is to be arranged, so that one set of books may be taken down and put up many times" (*MAT* 94–95).
12. SC, "When Mama was Young," in "Children's Verse, II" (HRC); *SCCP* 220; cf. the use of Derwent instead of Edith in similar verses is a reminder of the tension between SC and her cousin Edith in later years ("When Herbert's Mama was a slim little Maid" [HRC]; *SCCP* 97).
13. Her father's experience with darkness is similar: "At six years old I remember to have read Belisarius, Robinson Crusoe, & Philip Quarle [Quarll]—and then I found the Arabian Nights' entertainments—one tale of which (the tale of a man who was compelled to seek for a pure virgin) made so deep an impression on me (I had read it in the evening while my mother was mending stockings) that I was haunted by specters, whenever I was in the dark—and I distinctly remember the anxious & fearful eagerness, with which I used to watch the window, in which the books lay—& whenever the Sun lay upon them, I would seize it, carry it by the wall, & bask, & read—. My Father found out the effect, which these books had produced—and burnt them.—So I became a *dreamer*" (*CL* 1:347 [October 9, 1797]).
14. The portrait is visible above the desk adjacent to the window in George Scharf's "Samuel Taylor Coleridge's Bed-and-Book-room, No. 3 The Grove, Highgate" (plate II, facing *CN* 5:6108); see also Paley, App. 1.
15. The medical practices of the day likely exacerbated Sara's poor health; if part of the problem related to difficulties with menstruation, as her later diagnosis of hysteria may indicate, then remaining indoors would have been consistent with her treatment: "Most Victorian doctors, throughout the century, advised that physical exercise be curtailed, that sea bathing and cold baths be avoided, and that the diet be controlled. Traveling during the monthly period was held to be potentially dangerous for girls; one mid-Victorian medical man advised that railway journeys could have especially harmful consequences. Pleasure and excitement were also thought to be dangerous, because emotional stimulation was believed to have an adverse effect on the menstrual flow" (Gorham 87).
16. Cf. *SCAB* 251 and *CL* 2:1013.
17. The events surrounding the loss of Hartley's fellowship at Oriel brought tremendous stress and embarrassment on the entire family (Griggs 33–35).

18. RS described Sara's work as "an extraordinary proof of industry and self-acquired attainments" to John Rickman (November 9, 1821; Southey, *Selections* 3:286); cf. Low 107–10.
19. Sara wrote to Southey in 1823: "I am sure it will give you pleasure to learn from Mama's letter how more than amply I have been remunerated for my share in the Translation you were so kind as to entrust to me, and to give up your valuable time to assist me in and manage for me."
20. Mudge 30. Mudge notes, too, that John May, Jr., had courted Sara the summer prior to her visit to Highgate, but failed to gain his father's permission to wed her: "Because of opposition from various corners, including the Southeys, SC put an end to the affair" (Mudge 271n.16).
21. HNC to SC (October 18, 1824) in "Commonplace Book, 2" (HRC).
22. Letter: SC to JTC (August 17, 1824) (HRC).
23. Letter: SC to DC (November 26, 1824) (HRC).
24. According to Robinson, STC believed that siblings were to have a "beneficial influence . . . in educating as it were both sexes for the conjugal affection. He attributed, he said, certain peculiarities in the character of his wife, Mrs. Southey, and Mrs. Lovell to the circumstance that they had no brother" (*HCR* 1:27).
25. Letter: SC to DC (November 26, 1824) (HRC).
26. Letter: SC to DC (June 6, 1825) (HRC).
27. *Ibid.*
28. *Ibid.*
29. Letter: SC to MS (October 19, 1825) (WLMS Moorsom/55/1/3) (JC); qtd. in Mudge, 37.
30. *SW&F* 2:1344n; *CL* 6:589n.
31. Letter: HC to DC (1826) (HRC).
32. Lat., "other things being equal" (*SW&F* 2:1345). STC's concerns aside, the "Table of Kindred and Affinity" in the *Book of Common Prayer* allowed for the marriage of first cousins.
33. Letter: HNC to Fanny Coleridge (January 1823) (HRC); qtd. in Mudge 30.
34. SC, "They tell me that my eye is dim," in "Poetry" (HRC); *SCCP* 39. Sara's poetry collection is largely contained in the so-called Red Book, which serves as the primary source for Peter Swaab's transcriptions in *SCCP*. Many poems have slight variations in drafts first appearing in letters and note cards.
35. In the summer of 1827, SFC reports that SC "has written to S.T.C. to tell him how much she has been amused & instructed by his 'Aids to Reflection'" (*MAT* 137).
36. Any number of individuals—SFC and RS seem the most likely candidates—may be indicated by the tantalizing phrase "suggested to my girlish mind by acquaintance with some now gone" (Letter: SC to IF [September 1847] [HRC]).

37. Letter: SC to DC (January 6, 1827) (HRC); qtd. in Mudge, 46–47.
38. SC, “Poetry” (HRC); *SCCP* 48.
39. SC, “Those parched lips I’d rather press,” in “Poetry” (HRC); *SCCP* 59.
40. SC, “Commonplace Book 3” (HRC).
41. Sara closes affectionately in Italian, “*Goodbye my life*” (emphasis added) (Letter: SC to HNC [February 9, 1827] [HRC]).

2 EDUCATION

1. *MAT* 147. The handwritten “Certificate of Marriage” (HRC) lists 16 witnesses to the wedding, including Robert and Edith Southey, the Southey girls, Emily Trevenan, and Martha Fricker (on the wedding, cf. Lefebure, 242–44). SFC, still uncertain where she would live now that life at Greta Hall was coming to a close, wrote to Poole shortly after the wedding: “Do not suppose that I went to this merry meeting: I remained at home with my poor sister Lovell, and, even, began some of my packing, such as books, which was better than sitting quite still, and thinking of the miseries of quitting a beloved residence of 29 years duration which, you will see, by this date I have just undergone” (*MAT* 152–53).
2. *LHC* 101. “My Brother gets a wife—well—my Sister is to have a Husband—well—I remain alone, bare and barren and blasted, ill-omen’d and unsightly as Wordsworth’s melancholy thorn on the bleak hill-top. So hath it been ordain’d and it is well” (*LHC* 99). Elsewhere Hartley worries over Sara’s “morbid delicacy” and inauspicious selection of an author and barrister, “since she cannot bear to have any of her friends spoken or written against” (*LHC* 110).
3. Between the time Sara moved to London and her death two decades later, the city had grown from 1.6 million to more than 2.3 million residents (Goodway 3). London’s unprecedented population growth also included an astonishing number of uneducated children: “Accuracy is impossible, but the general demographic structure of the country meant that possibly half the population was under twenty years of age and half of these were children under ten. There were children everywhere” (Hilton 135).
4. Edith Coleridge wrote affectionately of Ann Parrott’s service to the family through so many losses, including the death of Henry, Sara, and Herbert—losses “under which weaker minds and more selfish characters would have given way . . . [she] ended her days at Hanwell Rectory, Middlesex, in the summer of 1869” (*MLSC* 2:366n.). Such lengthy service to the Coleridge household was noteworthy for the time: “A study done at the end of the nineteenth century found that between one-third and one-half of the nursemaids in London had been in the same household for less than a year. The rate of job turnover implied by the survey is surprisingly high. The average length of

- service in a single household was fifteen months for four-fifths of the servants. Only one servant in ten stayed with the same family for five years, but those who did averaged nearly eighteen years of service in the same household” (McBride 50). On women’s duties of household management in middle- and upper-class homes, see Gleadle 51–53.
5. Few records indicate precisely how the Coleridges managed caring for the children during these early years, but the psychological strains Sara faced undoubtedly coincided with challenges associated with raising infants and toddlers. Medicaments such as Street’s Infant Quietness and Atkinson’s Infant Preservative, many of which contained laudanum, were commonplace at the time. The use of such drugs, as Thompson explains, “was a normal part of the popular culture of infant rearing which held that quietness and sleep were essential, and were no less beneficial if induced by opium; it was also far from unknown in upper-class nurseries” (Thompson 121–22; Hopkins 108).
 6. SC, “Written in my illness at Hampstead during Edith’s infancy,” in “Poetry” (HRC); *SCCP* 62.
 7. Letter: SC to ET (August 12, 1832) (HRC).
 8. *Ibid.* For other accounts of Edith’s christening and dinner, see *MAT* 164–65, *CL* 6:918–19.
 9. SFC to ET appended to Letter: SC to ET (August 12, 1832) (HRC).
 10. SFC continues: “if she should get any weaker than she now is, she will not be able to hold up the books: we shall be broken-down, *indeed*, if this sh[ould] happen” (*MAT* 178).
 11. SC, “Diary, 1835” (HRC).
 12. *Ibid.*
 13. On the status of governesses during the Victorian period, see Gleadle 53; see also, *MLSC* 2:223–24.
 14. On Rousseau and education, see Woodley 24–25; Hilton 36; Gaull 54.
 15. Thomas Arnold, whose life and letters Sara read with enthusiasm, speaks of his “great admiration” for Jacob Abbott’s *The Young Christian* (1:325).
 16. SC, “Diary, 1844–1848” (HRC).
 17. Jacob Abbott cites 2 Timothy 2:24, “apt to teach, patient” (300).
 18. Letter: SC to HNC (October 6, 1835) (HRC).
 19. *Ibid.*
 20. *RSCT* 9; cf. *RSCT* 143.
 21. *PLV* 5; *SCCP* 64. Sara’s efforts paid off in the end: Herbert received a double first in classics and mathematical sciences.
 22. *PLV* 7–8; *SCCP* 65; cf. “January is the first month in the year” and “January brings the blast” (*SCCP* 80, 82).
 23. *PLV* 67; *SCCP* 70–71.
 24. Qtd. in Thomson 549; *RSCT* 4.
 25. Extending the association of women with the education of children, the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 “made women solely

- responsible for the maintenance of illegitimate children” (Gleadle 40; cf. Hopkins 161–91).
26. Thompson continues: “Their popularity continued to increase, as church attendance itself declined, to reach a peak of over 6 million pupils in 1906, well over 80 per cent of the age group” (140).
 27. Gomersall 46. The training of working-class girls was twofold: “Girls were taught spinning and husbandry skills and housework and child care by their mothers in preparation for their dual role as housewives and supplementary earners” (Gomersall 46). On the impact of the 1844 Factory Act on women’s roles, see Gomersall 17–22.
 28. During this period, *The Athenaeum* also ran reviews of books which associated the curvature of the spine with female education. For Sara’s comments on female education and the body, see *MLSC* 1:142–44.
 29. On the National Society, see Goldstrom 97–107.
 30. On the range of educational initiatives by the various church parties in England, see Harris 65–124, 219–56.
 31. Letter: Baptist W. Noel to William Wilberforce (July 27, 1820) (MSS. Wilberforce, d. 14, ff. 86–87, Bodleian Library, Oxford).
 32. Letter: SC to DC (December 1820) (HRC).
 33. *Ibid.*
 34. For more on STC’s view of education, see *Table Talk* 2:179, 245.
 35. *Thirtieth Annual Report*, vii, 17. On Derwent’s relationship to the National Society, see Hainton and Hainton, part V.
 36. Letter: SC to IF (August 20, 1846) (HRC).
 37. *Ibid.*
 38. On the social, religious, and political spheres of working-class, middle-class, and upper-class women in Britain between 1800 and 1860, see Gleadle 9–91.
 39. Sara worried for her safety during the Chartist demonstrations of 1848. Letters from the period describe Chartist activities planned for Regent’s Park and “rumour after rumour after rumour” that left her “irritated” and “worked up.” After the household was removed to St. Mark’s for their safety, Sara notes that she felt “a touch of *real alarm* for the first time” (Letter: SC to JTC [April 12, 1848] [HRC]; cf. *MLSC* 2:161–65).
 40. *MLSC* 2:164. On Sara’s “absurd caricature” of the Chartists, see Vardy 127–32.
 41. SC, “Asceticism” (HRC).

3 DREAMS

1. “Maudra” in SC, *Phantasmion* (155).
2. SC, “Asceticism” (HRC). Reference to SC’s friend Aubrey de Vere—“an Argument *against* Aubrey de Vere *on* Asceticism”—on the outer envelope indicates that SC authored the essay during the period when

the two engaged in considerable conflict over theological matters. The longer title at the top of the first page, “Thoughts on Asceticism by a ‘Rationalist’ in search of true Religion, or rather in search of a true *form* of faith already found,” extends her (slightly misleading) self-identification as a “rationalist” in matters of religion and faith (see chapter 6, “Reason”).

3. SC, “Asceticism” (HRC).
4. There is no indication that Sara believed opiates enhanced the writing process. One letter records her uncle’s skepticism toward “dream verse-making”: “He thought that, on these occasions, men either dreamed that they composed in a dream (if the poem was good for anything, like Kubla Khan), or dreamed that their dream verses were good poetry” (*MLSC* 2:21–22).
5. SC, “Sara Coleridge for Herbert and Edith. April 19th 1834,” in “Children’s Verse, II” (HRC); *SCCP* 87. These dedicatory verses, as Swaab notes, appear inside the front cover of the second volume of children’s verse (218–19). However, while Sara addresses the poem chiefly to Edith, which complements the matching verses dedicated to Herbert in the first volume, she concludes by addressing both Herbert and Edith in the final line: “To grace your pensive brows when I am dead” (*SCCP* 87).
6. SC, “Sara Coleridge for Herbert and Edith” in “Poetry” (HRC); *SCCP* 87.
7. SC, “Verses written in sickness 1833, before the birth of Berkeley and Florence” in “Poetry” (HRC) (*SCCP* 62).
8. SC, “Diary, 1848–1852” (back cover; vol. 2) (HRC).
9. Letter: SC to HC (July 23, 1834) (HRC); cf. Griggs 88.
10. Letter: SC to HC (August 5, 1834) (Victoria College Library), quoted in Mudge 71.
11. SC, “Diary of Her Children’s Early Years” (1830–38) (HRC).
12. Letter: SC to ET (April 13–14, 1833) (HRC). The use of narcotics such as morphine and laudanum likely contributed to her digestive problems (much as her father suffered from similar ailments). Letters from the period confirm the diaries. Her mother wrote of Sara’s confinement to the sofa from “weakness in the back” (*MAT* 180) and Sara wrote to Hartley of her inability to “sit upright for an hour at a time” (Letter: SC to HC [Winter 1834/35] [HRC]).
13. SC, “Nervousness” (HRC) (subsequent pagination refers to Mudge 201–16).
14. SC, “Fine Birds and Their Plain Wives” (HRC) and *SCCP* 106.
15. SC, “Diary of Her Children’s Early Years” (1830–38) (HRC); cf. Mudge 88–89.
16. Letter: SC to HNC (October 16, 1836) (HRC); cf. Mudge 89; Watters “Airy Dreams” 9–10.
17. Letter: SC to HNC (October 18, 1836) (HRC).

18. SC, "The Pair that will not Meet," in "Children's Verse, II" (HRC); *SCCP* 100.
19. Letter: SC to HNC (November 7, 1836) (HRC).
20. SC, "Consolation in Trouble," in "Children's Verse, II" (HRC); *SCCP* 88.
21. Letter: SC to HNC (November 10, 1836) (HRC).
22. *Ibid.*
23. Letter: SC to HNC (November 13, 1836) (HRC). Notably, in this letter Sara blames her constitutional weakness on scaling Mount Helvellyn as a child, whereas her "Autobiography" lays the blame on an Estecean plunge into the River Greta.
24. Wilson notes that "*Phantasmion* is not a book for every child, and could, perhaps, be wholly comprehended by none, but a child to whom its full suggestions of experience can appeal will treasure sentences for perfect understanding as the path of life becomes more tangled" (205).
25. In fact, about a decade after the publication of *Phantasmion*, Sara wrote another work of fantasy, *Howithorn* (HRC). Fragments of the "wild poem," which Swaab describes as "a magical world of witches and warriors, love and desertion, madness and disguise," appear in *SCCP* 199–211. Notably, fantasy is not so far from metaphysics (despite her deathbed regret that debates with Aubrey de Vere distracted her from writing such tales), as an approving quote from the *Christian Remembrancer* in her "Introduction" to *Biographia Literaria* (1847) reveals: "A child, on reading in fairy tales about magical conversions and metamorphoses, has most simple definite *ideas* instantly of things... a philosopher may tell him that he cannot have them really... but the child has them, such as they are, and they are powerful ones, and mean something real at the bottom" (*BL* [1847] 1:clii).
26. Wilson notes that "*Phantasmion* is but the history of a mortal company with their loves and hates, ambitions, weakness, variability, and even madness, translated into a fairy land, a fairy land which... is but the Lake Country" (Wilson 223).
27. Some manuscript evidence indicates that Sara came to recognize a unified meaning in *Phantasmion*. In an undated poem on her work, Sara exhorts the "little book" to go forth and "sing of love and beauty, / To tempt the worldling into fairy land: / Tell him that airy dreams are sacred duty, / Bring better wealth than aught his toils command" (*SCCP* 177). Sara's daughter Edith believed that beauty was the central theme: "Do you ask what is its grand characteristic? It is beauty,—beauty, truly feminine, beauty of conception, character, and expression" (*MLSC* 1:42–43).
28. Letter: HC to SFC (May 15, 1843) (HRC).
29. Letter: SC to HC (August 5, 1834) (in Blunden and Griggs 230).

4 CRITICISM

1. Green's slow progress on publishing works related to STC was a topic of frequent conversation between the two. Finally, more than 30 years after STC's death, *Spiritual Philosophy; Founded on the Teaching of the Late Samuel Taylor Coleridge* (1865) appeared by "the late Joseph Henry Green." One exception to Sara's authority over her father's works was the publication of *Hints towards the Formation of a More Comprehensive Theory of Life* (1848), which was published by Seth Watson and ascribed to the joint efforts of STC and James Gillman, Sr. Coleridge was furious when she discovered that Watson attributed the work as "the joint production" of her father and Gillman in the "Postscript" (95).
2. SC to Arabella Brooke (July 29, 1837) (HRC).
3. SC, "The British Constitution" (HRC) (qtd. Mudge 235); cf. *MLSC* 1:196ff. Mudge observes that while the essay is ostensibly a refutation of John James Park's political opinions, it is better understood as "a Coleridgean response to [Harriet] Martineau's 1837 travelogue and treatise, *Society in America*" (100).
4. Letter: SC to ET (May 7, 1840) (HRC).
5. Edith included this letter in her collection, but strategically left off the phrase "if I were a man" (*MLSC* 1:192–93).
6. SC "Diary, 1835" (April 26, 1835) (HRC).
7. EC, "Memoir of Sara Coleridge" 20–21 (HRC).
8. Letter: HCR to Mary (Hutchinson) Wordsworth (February 22, 1849) (JC).
9. SC, "Journal of Bertha Fanny Coleridge's Death" (July 1840) (HRC).
10. Letter: SFC to Ann "Nurse" Parrott (July 18, 1840) (HRC).
11. SC, "Journal of Bertha Fanny Coleridge's Death" (July 1840) (HRC).
12. *Ibid.*
13. Sara wrote to Henry: "Our dear baby is so poorly that the clergyman is now baptizing it. There is *some* hope but more fear. Come if you can" (Letter: SC to HNC [July 1840] [HRC]). Sara and Henry had originally asked Hartley to serve as the child's godfather. He replied, characteristically, with hesitance regarding the meaning of the role, but eventually acquiesced: "In fine—since you and Sara think me not unworthy, I will gladly, though not without fear, establish a new kink of Christian affection between your dear family, and one who though a barren is not yet—I hope—altogether a severed branch" (*LHC* 240). Mary Stranger intended to serve as Bertha's godmother (Letter: SC to MS [July 1840] [WLMS Moorsom/55/1/18] [JC]).
14. SC, "Diary, 1848–1852" (back cover; vol. 2) (HRC).
15. SC, "Journal of Bertha Fanny Coleridge's Death" (July 1840) (HRC).

16. *Ibid.*
17. Letters: SC to HC (October 3, 1841) and SC to ET (October 27–29, 1841) (HRC).
18. SC, “Book of Mourning,” vol. 1 (HRC); cf. Griggs 139.
19. Letter: SC to Herbert Coleridge (January 26, 1843) (HRC).
20. Sara’s efforts to arrange for Henry to be side-by-side with her father in a private vault can be seen in letters from the summer of 1843. To her brother Derwent, she conspired that application might be made to the Gillmans (who had assumed responsibility for STC in 1834) that their father’s grave was difficult to locate for those who continued to pay their respects to his memory, but warned that Derwent “drop all mention of my beloved Henry, or of proximity to him” (Letter: SC to DC [June 1843] [HRC]).
21. SC, “Book of Mourning,” vol. 1 (HRC).
22. Letter: SC to ET (1843) (HRC).
23. *BL* (1847) clxxxiv and *SCCP* 186.
24. SC, “Diary, 1848–1852” (January 29, 1850; vol. 3) (HRC).
25. In Southey’s opinion, all good biographers and editors require selective memory: “There are two streams of which Dante makes the purged spirit drink before it enters paradise. Lethe is the one; the other, which he calls Eunoe, was to bring back the remembrance of all that it is not better to forget. One who writes Coleridge’s life (if he is fully acquainted with it) must often wish to drink of both” (*LRS* 497).
26. On the relationship with Pickering, see Vardy, ch. 8.
27. Subsequent references refer to Mudge 236–44.
28. SC, “Diary, 1835” (April 29, 1835) (HRC).
29. Her translations remain authoritative: “The editors of the present edition have great admiration for her courage in trying to meet this problem. She is on occasion forgivably a little vague judged by modern standards of editing. She at moments, perhaps unconsciously, minimises the directness with which Coleridge translates. Nor did she notice the extent of Coleridge’s indebtedness to Maass or Jacobi” (*BL* [1983] cxv).
30. SC, “Diary, 1848–1852” (September 28, 1848; vol. 1) (HRC).
31. Letter: SC to JTC (June 1843) (HRC).
32. SC, “Diary, 1848–1852” (September 28, 1848; vol. 1) (HRC).
33. SC, “Diary, 1848–1852” (October 28, 1848; vol. 1) (HRC).

5 AUTHORITY

1. Letter: SC to Isabella Fenwick (July 7, 1847) (HRC); cf. *RSCT* 40.
2. On STC’s travels and activities in Germany, see Holmes, *Coleridge: Early Visions*, ch. 9.
3. *CN* 2:2448. STC’s thinking on religious matters changed gradually. Elsewhere, I have described the coherence of these changes as

- a “journey of faith,” in order to leave space for public and private professions of belief that include areas of contradiction, false starts, unorthodoxies, and doubts. In this way, scholars can meaningfully compare his work to many other religious thinkers who remained open to faith and doubt while persisting in a profession of belief, rather than imagining that STC simply converted from Unitarian unbelief to Trinitarian belief or progressed linearly toward a final, orthodox goal. On the gradual shift in his religious thinking, see Barbeau, *Coleridge, the Bible, and Religion*, ch. 2.
4. Letter: SC to JTC (1843) (HRC).
 5. Letter: SC to FGC (February 1, 1844) (HRC).
 6. On the mission of Bible societies, see Howsam’s *Cheap Bibles* (1991).
 7. On STC’s reading of biblical literature, see Barbeau, *Coleridge, the Bible, and Religion*, chs. 3–5.
 8. Letter: SC to JTC (January 1843) (HRC).
 9. In the end, Edward Coleridge paid Herbert’s tuition at Eton (Letter: SC to JTC [March 28, 1843] [HRC]).
 10. Letter: SC to JTC (January 1843) (HRC).
 11. Letter: SC to JTC (August 16, 1843) (HRC).
 12. Letter: SC to Unidentified (1843) (HRC).
 13. Letter: SC to JTC (March 1843) (HRC).
 14. Letter: SC to JTC (August 25, 1843) (HRC).
 15. *Ibid.*
 16. Letter: SC to SFC (September 13, 1843) (HRC).
 17. Letter: SC to FGC (February 1, 1844) (HRC).
 18. *Ibid.*
 19. Despite her knowledge of his addiction, Sara could not bear the thought of her father enslaved by the drug. She confided to her diary, “My Father did not take opium when he wrote, *Kubla Khan*, I think” (SC, “Diary, 1848–1852” [June 3, 1850; vol. 3] [HRC]).
 20. Sara was not alone in the effort to cast him in such a light. The Gillman family purchased a memorial for the north wall of the newly constructed St. Michael’s Church, Highgate, where STC worshipped during the final 18 months of his life. The memorial exalts STC’s “sweet and angelic” disposition and concludes: “Reader! For the world, mourn: / A Light! has passed away from the earth; / But for this pious and exalted Christian / *Rejoice, and again I say unto you, rejoice!*”
 21. Letter: SC to Mrs. Henry Moultry Jones (1838) (HRC).
 22. *CIS* [1840] 8, 56–57; *SW&F* 2:1120.
 23. Regrettably, the *Collected Coleridge* only includes a manuscript version of the work, heightening a sense of its fragmentariness, ignoring implicitly its significant reception history, and depriving readers of a suitable text (*SW&F* 2:1111).

24. STC, *On the Constitution of the Church and State* 233; *CM* 3:6, 17–18; *CN* 5:5515, 5588, 5591.
25. *CIS* (1840) 10.
26. *Ibid.*, 88. On the association between Spirit and individual reason, STC claims that “Reason is but the *sensorium*, which the Spirit must fill” (*CN* 4:4840); see also, Barbeau, *Coleridge, the Bible, and Religion*, ch. 7. Harter’s *Coleridge’s Philosophy of Faith* criticizes readings of STC that fall into the modern theological tendency to separate reason and revelation. He asserts: “Like all symbols, scripture is neither purely objective nor purely subjective. Even in its objectivity, we always experience scripture subjectively” (197).
27. *CIS* (1840) 92. The mention of “indifference” in the proposed “scheme” should be regarded as further evidence of the direct connection between the “Pentad” and the published form of *Confessions* (see also, *SW&F* 2:1168, where “*Indifference*” is underscored).
28. Letter: SC to ET (November 28, 1840) (HRC).
29. *Ibid.*
30. Blanco White’s rejection of Christianity deeply disturbed her: “Couldst thou in calmness yield thy mortal breath, / Without the Christian’s sure and certain hope? / ... To thee dare I bear witness” (*CIS* [1849] 241*; *SCCP* 165).
31. Letter: SC to Frances Mackintosh Wedgwood (wife of Hensleigh Wedgwood) (1849) (HRC).
32. *Ibid.*
33. Letter: SC to DC (March 12, 1845) (HRC).
34. SC, “Diary, 1844–1848” (HRC).
35. “If we can dim even Reason by poring on it too closely, and ‘distort the image of God’ which it presents, much more may we dim the glass of Holy Writ, which holds divine truth in a human medium, the medium of language, and is not so immediately the mirror of the divine image as the inward revelation” (*SCOR* [1848] 98).
36. Letter: SC to AV (transcription by EC) (September 1845) (HRC).
37. Letter: SC to ET (December 15–18, 1848) (HRC).
38. SC, “Sara Coleridge’s ‘Critique of Dante and Milton,’” 24.
39. *Ibid.*, 24–25.
40. In addition to the part of *Regeneration Dialogues* devoted to Scripture (*RD* 2), Sara’s manuscripts include preparatory work on central passages of the Bible related to the doctrine of regeneration (*Reg* 3).
41. SC, “Ezekiel’s Vision” 2, in Letter: SC to John Ranicar Park (1839) (HRC).
42. SC, “Ezekiel’s Vision” 8, in Letter: SC to John Ranicar Park (1839) (HRC).
43. Letter: JCH to SC (April 11, 1850) (HRC).
44. Letter: SC to DC (November 12, 1848) (HRC).
45. Letter: JCH to SC (April 26, 1850) (HRC). On Hare’s response, see also, Vardy 155–60.

46. Letter: JCH to SC (April 26, 1850) (HRC).
47. *Ibid.*
48. *RSC* 43. The review of Sara's new edition of *Confessions* appeared in the December 1849 edition of the *English Review*. Sara's "Note" is attributed to Henry, who "has introduced a lengthened vindication of his father's tenets" (250). Green's "Introduction" is praised for "the candid and manly tone in which it is written, and its total freedom from any attempt to mystify the reader, or to conceal any part of the truth," but later characterized for its overall "disingenuousness" (251, 253).

6 REASON

1. STC typically capitalized Reason and Understanding in order to distinguish the unique meanings he attached to these terms. While SC follows her father's use of terminology, she does not typically maintain his practice of capitalization. I will, whenever possible, maintain their respective practices.
2. The challenges of managing the household staff occupied her attention to the end of her life (Letter: SC to MPC [November 1849] [HRC]).
3. On Edith Southey's final illness and death, see Letter: SC to MS (November 28, 1837) (WLMS Moorsom/55/1/12) (JC).
4. Sara recalls an "embarrassing" meeting with her cousin Edith Southey in July 1851: "I should say she has not worn *handsomely*" (Letter: SC to MPC [July 31, 1851] [HRC]); for critical remarks on Caroline, see Letter: SC to MS (July 15, 1845) (WLMS/55/1/42) (JC).
5. SC, "Diary Covers, 1845–1848" (HRC).
6. Letter: SC to HC (January 20–21, 1845) (HRC).
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*
11. SC, "Book of Mourning," vol. 1 (HRC).
12. Reed was surely not alone in his assessment of Sara's theology. The appearance of Edith Coleridge's *Memoir and Letters* spurred Prof. James M. Hoppin to write a long article on her "original" contributions to theology in 1875.
13. Sara's minister at Christ Church, Albany Street, Rev. William Dodsworth, was himself a leading figure in the Oxford Movement and introduced her to Tractarians such as Pusey (she discussed the Hampden affair with Pusey at Dodsworth's home, for example, in January 1848 [Letter: SC to IF (January 27, 1848) (HRC)]).
14. Letter: SC to Arabella Brooke (July 29, 1837) (HRC).
15. *Ibid.*

16. Letter: SC to ET (May 7, 1840) (HRC).
17. Coleridge complained that Newman and the Tractarians represented “not children only, but men, as the *passive* un-cooperating subject (or rather, in one sense, *object*) of divine operation” (*MLSC* 1:185).
18. STC, *Lay Sermons* 135; cf. Barbeau, *Coleridge, the Bible, and Religion*, ch. 7.
19. STC, *Opus Maximum* 160; cf. Barbeau, *Coleridge’s Assertion of Religion*, ch. 8.
20. SC, “On the same,” in “Poetry” (HRC) and *SCCP* 174.
21. SC, “Diary, 1844–1848” (July 28, 1844) (HRC).
22. Letter: SC to FDM (November 21, 1843) (HRC).
23. Sara claims that divine presence is typically described by biblical authors in primarily metaphorical language; thus one may meaningfully refer to “Christ’s *being within* the soul.” In matters of divine presence, there can be no degrees: “a literal *being within* is not a thing of more or less” (SC, “Argument on the Meaning of Spiritual Indwelling” [HRC]).
24. Tod Jones and others claim that STC “planted the seed of the movement” (141).
25. Erskine equates the heart with “the whole mind” rather than the affections exclusively (*Essay on Faith* 47). In a letter to Aubrey de Vere, Sara claims: “Men think of the ‘heart’ as if it really were a fleshy receptacle. They do not consider that the *heart* means the mind considered as feeling, and that the mind is essentially *action*. The very passivity of the mind is an *act* of suffering” (*MLSC* 2:16).
26. In one of many letters exchanged between Sara and F. D. Maurice, she defended the rationalized understanding in Christological terms, claiming that the ground of all belief is an inward knowledge of the divine: “It was one great object of my *Essay* to shew that *it is our personality* which is the ground of our union with Christ in the Spirit—that it is our *will* to which He is present, and which by His presence He regenerates, conforming it to Himself. According to this view, religion existing in the human mind as its subject, is essentially personal” (Letter: SC to FDM [November 21, 1843] [HRC]).
27. Letter: SC to JTC (March 22, 1843) (HRC); *RSCT* 14.
28. SC, “Diary, 1844–1848” (July 28, 1844) (HRC).

7 REGENERATION

1. Letter: SC to ET (December 5, 1847) (HRC).
2. *SCOR* (1848) 98, 171–77, 193, 195–220. The new section on Waterland derived, in part, from deleted footnotes from the 1843 edition (*SCOR* [1843] 529–37).
3. Article II of the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion.
4. SC, “Regeneration and Baptism: Letters Defending Her Views,” 6 (HRC).

5. *Ibid.*, 6–7 (HRC).
6. *Ibid.*, 9 (HRC).
7. Letter: SC to SFC (September 9–10, 1843) (HRC).
8. Letter: SC to FDM (November 27, 1843) (HRC).
9. Sara claimed that Pusey owed his great influence to “persuasive personal presence” rather than intellect—“brass beside the pure gold of Holy Writ” (*BL* [1847] 1:lxxviii).
10. *SCNT* 280 and *SCCP* 187.
11. Swaab mistakenly refers to the two works as a single project comprised of seven dialogues (*SCCP* 240).
12. Letter: SC to MPC (December 18, 1849) (HRC).
13. Letter: SC to MPC (March 1850) (HRC). Sara’s remark may signal tension between Derwent and his sister over the doctrine. Derwent had commented on the matter in *The Scriptural Character of the English Church* (1839). While he attempted to resolve conflicts between church parties, Derwent simultaneously claimed both that “Baptism *is* regeneration” and “we err greatly if we affirm that regeneration *is* baptism” (324); cf. Hainton and Hainton 148–53.
14. In later works on the subject, Lyttelton maintained a doctrine of baptismal regeneration and thought that any judgment of the effectiveness of baptism on the works of the believer amounted to nothing short of a confusion of “a thing and its effects” (Macallan 121).
15. Letter: SC to MPC (July 18, 1848) (HRC).
16. Letter: SC to ET (1849) (HRC).
17. Notably, Wilberforce’s treatise on baptism equates the denial of baptismal regeneration with forms of modern rationalism (299–300).

8 COMMUNITY

1. Letter: SC to IF (June 1847) (HRC).
2. Nor did everyone prefer Sara: “[Sara] is not a person that hits my taste, she has I suspect too much of her father in her” (Fanny Allen to Elizabeth Wedgwood [December 26, 1847], in Litchfield, *Emma Darwin*, 2:114).
3. Letter: SC to JTC (July 3, 1843) (HRC).
4. Letter: SC to DC (February 24, 1846) (HRC). Sara’s strong dislike for Alexander Scott, though he was married at the time, makes him the most likely candidate.
5. Letter: SC to DC (February 24, 1846) (HRC).
6. Letter: SC to IF (June 1847) (HRC).
7. *Ibid.*
8. Letter: SC to JTC (October 16, 1845) (HRC)
9. SC, “Dreams III. To a Friend” (subtitled “To A. de Vere”) in “Poetry” (HRC); *SCCP* 162. The phrase, “placid in its going” is from Wordsworth (*SCCP* 228). In one extraordinary entry in her diary, Sara records a similarly “ghastly” dream in which Aubrey’s

- dead body lay beside her in a coffin: "I sat beside him, talked and took care of him. Then we went forward, as it were, on a journey to convey the body to his friends or for some indefinite purpose." As the two proceeded, however, Sara's clothes dropped off her back, which distracted her long enough for others to take his corpse away without realizing its sensible state ("Diary, 1848–1852" [August 19, 1849; vol. 2] [HRC]).
10. SC, "Dreams III. To A. de Vere," in "Poetry" (HRC); *SCCP* 162–63.
 11. Sara's feelings of love and thoughts on fading beauty are evident in other poems, too. In "On Reading My Father's 'Youth and Age,'" Sara declares: "This only dare I for myself to say, / That, let me lose or gain what charms I may, / Heav'n grants me more and more a heart t'admire / All beauty that can genial thoughts inspire . . . Herein *to have* is surely best by far— / To—gaze—to love—and care not what we *are*" (in "Poetry" [HRC]; *SCCP* 167).
 12. SC, "Dream-love" in "Poetry" (HRC); *SCCP* 168–69.
 13. Villiers's husband was brother to George Villiers, the fourth Earl of Clarendon. Despite their mutual friendship with AV, Sara's letters indicate that she and Elizabeth only first met at the home of Henry Taylor in October 1848 (Letter: SC to Mrs. Richard E. Townsend [October 5, 1848] [HRC]).
 14. Letter: SC to AV (transcription by EC) (June 10, 1849) (HRC). The manuscript cuts off abruptly soon after.
 15. Sara's conversations with Aubrey de Vere belong to the context of her unpublished manuscript "Asceticism, or Thoughts on Asceticism by a 'Rationalist' in search of true Religion, or rather in search of a true form of faith already found" (HRC). The outer envelope includes the further remark: "an Argument *against* Aubrey de Vere *on* Asceticism"; cf. "Asceticism" (*SCCP* 164).
 16. Letter: SC to Arabella Brooke (July 29, 1837) (HRC).
 17. *Ibid.*
 18. For examples of their correspondence, see *The Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman*, 8:391–92, 405–6; 9:370–71; 11:12–13.
 19. Letter: SC to DC (n.d.) (HRC).
 20. *Ibid.*
 21. Burrows 11. Burrows, who served as the second perpetual curate, wrote the standard history of Christ Church.
 22. Letter: SC to Mary Keate Coleridge (November 6, 1843) (HRC). Dieleman's study relates specific architectural changes in Christ Church to liturgical (and Tractarian) meaning during the 1840s (see esp. 120–26, 277n.50).
 23. SC, "Diary, 1848–1852" (November 5, 1848; vol. 1) (HRC).
 24. *Ibid.*
 25. Letter: SC to MPC (December 24, 1850) (HRC).
 26. *Ibid.*

27. Ibid.
28. William Dodsworth, *Letter to Dr. Pusey*, qtd. in Short 99–100.
29. Letter: SC to Isabella Fenwick (April 29, 1851) (HRC).
30. On Roman Catholic emancipation, see the especially helpful works of Wheeler and Andrews.
31. Letter: SC to IF (November 18–22, 1850) (HRC).
32. Letter: SC to FDM (November 21, 1843) (HRC).
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
36. Letter: SC to JTC (August 25, 1843) (HRC).
37. Letter: SC to FDM (November 21, 1843) (HRC). Sara remarked of her dear friend (and Dora Wordsworth's husband) Edward Quillinan: "He is as much a Papist as a high spirited English gentleman can be—& that in being a Romanist far more in name & profession than in conception & feeling" (Letter: SC to MPC [September 16, 1850] [HRC]).
38. Letter: SC to MPC (December 3, 1850) (HRC).
39. "The 'little horn' of Daniel presents to me a staring likeness of the Pope. That it was intended for him, and for none other than he, I will not venture to say... But when I read the language of the New Testament on the Man of Sin and Antichrist, instead of seeing this picture enlarged and rendered more distinct,—on the contrary, I see only a generalization. The mystery of iniquity is in the Papacy;—but that popery, and popery alone, is the mystery of iniquity I cannot persuade myself" (*MLSC* 1:327).
40. Letter: SC to ET (November 7, 1850) (HRC).
41. Sara's correspondence with Edward Quillinan represents her ability to maintain close friendships with Roman Catholics (see, e.g., the many extant letters in HRC and JC).
42. For more on Sara's political views, see her introduction to *EOT* and Vardy 122–41.
43. Of the High Church, Sara claimed: "Their theology, on the whole, I think better than that of any other party. But the theology of all parties wants ventilating and sifting. The abuse of Rome in the Anglican party is vulgar and ignorant, and their representations of Calvinism are the finest specimens of misrepresentation that I am acquainted with" (*MLSC* 2:127).
44. Letter: SC to JTC (September 15–19, 1843) (HRC).
45. Ibid.
46. Conybeare later expanded the work (1855) and reprinted it numerous times.
47. Jones, *Broad Church* 43. Jones, Sanders, Prickett, and Reardon are among the many authors who link the Broad Church movement to the influence of S. T. Coleridge.

48. Letter: SC to Arabella Brooke (July 29, 1837) (HRC).
49. Letter: SC to ET (January 17, 1842) (HRC).
50. Letter: SC to MPC (1846) (HRC).
51. SC, "Dogmatism Defended—by a *Protestant*—against Popery, Dissent, and Extremes in Every Direction" (HRC).
52. Letter: SC to DC (September 21, 1837) (HRC).
53. Letter: SC to Edward Bickersteth (November 6, 1843) (HRC).
54. *Ibid.*
55. *Ibid.*
56. *Ibid.*
57. Letter: SC to Rev. Henry Moore (April 15, 1848) (transcription by EC) (HRC).
58. Letter: SC to AV (transcription by EC) (October 1, 1850) (HRC).
59. Letter: SC to JTC (November 21, 1851) (HRC).
60. Letter: SC to DC (February 4, 1852) (HRC).

9 DEATH

1. Albinet's response to Iarine in SC, *Phantasmion* 150.
2. Letter: SC to DC and MPC (1850/1851) (HRC). On SC, passivity, and the body, see Meiners's "Imagining Cancer."
3. HC 1:cxcviii; *ODNB*.
4. SC, "Book of Mourning," vol. 2 (HRC).
5. On SC's poetry and childhood, see Barbeau, "Suffering Servant" and Mercer.
6. *PLV* 78; *SCCP* 75.
7. *PLV* 67; *SCCP* 71.
8. *PLV* 83; *SCCP* 77.
9. *PLV* 83–84; *SCCP* 77.
10. SC, "Prayers" (1842) (HRC).
11. Letter: SC to Sara Anne Coleridge (January 5, 1850) (HRC).
12. SC, "Diary, 1848–1852" (December 7, 1849; vol. 3) (HRC).
13. SC, "Diary, 1848–1852" (September 25, 1850; vol. 4) (HRC).
14. Letter: SC to IF (November 18–22, 1850) (HRC); cf. *MLSC* 2:368–70.
15. Letter: SC to IF (November 18–22, 1850) (HRC).
16. SC, "Diary, 1848–1852" (December 5, 1850; vol. 4) (HRC).
17. Letter: Charles Hare Townshend to SC (September 18, 1851) (HRC).
18. SC, "Diary, 1848–1852" (August 21, 1851; vol. 5) (HRC).
19. SC, "Diary, 1848–1852" (September 8, 1851; vol. 5) (HRC).
20. SC, "Diary, 1848–1852" (September 9, 1851; vol. 5) (HRC).
21. *SCAB* 249; cf. SC, "Autobiography," 1:1 (HRC).
22. *MLSC* 1:26; cf. SC, "Autobiography," 2:14 (HRC). Mudge's transcription includes a misleading, unbracketed ellipses (as if SC intended irresolution) at the end of the "Autobiography" (266).

23. Letter: SC to IF (May 6, 1850) (HRC).
24. Ibid.
25. *SCOR* (1843) 486; Letter: SC to IF (May 6, 1850) (HRC); cf. *MLSC* 1:235, 338–39.
26. Letter: HCR to Mary Wordsworth (February 9, 1852) (JC).
27. Letter: SC to MPC (December 3, 1851) (HRC).
28. SC, “Diary, 1848–1852” (December 19, 1851; vol. 5) (HRC).
29. SC, “Diary, 1848–1852” (November 8, 1851; vol. 5) (HRC).
30. SC, “Diary, 1848–1852” (October 26, 1851; vol. 5) (HRC).
31. SC, “Doggrel Charm” (HRC). The original manuscript actually reads “that it is was not a fresh growth.” I have opted for the present tense “is” rather than “was” (cf. *SCCP* 198). In postclassical Latin, “pretermit” may mean “to bring to an end” (*OED*).
32. Letter: FDM to SC (March 3, 1843) (HRC); SC, “Diary, 1848–1852” (April 23, 1852; vol. 5) (HRC).
33. Herbert Coleridge (1830–61) married the following year, but died of tuberculosis in the very same home at Chester Place only nine years later (*ODNB*). Edith Coleridge (1832–1911), who is largely responsible for the preservation of her mother’s memory, later published the *Memoir and Letters of Sara Coleridge* in two volumes (1873) and subsequent editions.
34. Letter: SC to DC (April 1852) (HRC).

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INDEX

- Abbott, Jacob, 36–7, 62, 123, 124
Abbott, John S. C., 39–40
Aikin, Lucy, 29
Andrews, Stuart, 160, 199
apostolic succession, 119
Aquinas, Thomas, xi
Arabian Nights, 184
Arches, Court of, 109, 138
Arnold, Thomas, 95, 97, 166, 187
atonement, 146
Augustine, 104, 135, 146
Austen, Jane, 19, 84
- Bacon, Francis, 19–20
Baillie, Joanna, 62, 68, 84
baptism
 as entrance into the church, 133
 infant, 132, 133–5, 141, 144, 145
 and justification, 120, 132
 and Oxford Movement, 118, 131
 water, 132–3
 see also regeneration, baptismal
Barbault, Anna Laetitia, 35–6, 37
Barbeau, Jeffrey, 193, 194, 196, 200
beauty, 19–24, 25–6, 154, 190, 198
 and education, 32, 45
Beer, John, 176
Belisarius, Flavius, 184
Bell, Andrew, 8, 45–7
Bethell, Christopher, 140–1
Bible
 authority of, 111, 122, 130
 books of
 Judges: 5
 Job: 18
 Isaiah: 103
 Ephesians 2.8: 120
 Ezekiel: 103
 Ezekiel 10: 105
 Daniel: 107, 162, 199
 Matthew: 64, 102, 107
 Mark: 102
 Luke: 102
 John 3.5: 141, 144
 John 3.8: 141
 Acts 2: 106
 Acts 17.28: 145
 Romans: 18
 Romans 10.17: 131
 Galatians: 18
 2 Timothy 2.25: 187
 Revelation 13.8: 146
 and doctrine, 102
 and education of children, 34, 37, 38–9
 and English culture, 90–1, 108
 German criticism, 108
 inspiration of, xii, 97, 98, 101–2, 164–5
 interpretation of, 103, 145
 and Johannine literature, 102
 and knowledge of God, 95–7
 as literature, 95, 103, 105, 109
 and moral conduct, 123
 and Pauline literature, 102, 107
 and prophets, 105–6
 and reason, 141
 and regeneration, 135, 137, 140, 141–2, 143, 144

- Bible—*Continued*
 and Sara's religious practices, 74, 89, 174
 and symbols, 194
 Blumenbach, J. F., 90
 body, 23–4, 61
 and addiction, 56
 and dream states, 65–7
 and mind, 55–7, 177, 196
 and pain, 75
 resurrection of, 170, 179
 and soul, 25, 51–2, 147
see also beauty; death
Book of Common Prayer, 158, 172, 185
 Bowles, Caroline Anne. *See* Southey, Caroline
 Brady, John, 28
 British and Foreign Bible Society, 90–1
 British and Foreign Schools Society, 46
 Britton, J., 28, 72
 Broad Church, 164–5
 S. T. Coleridge's influence on, 108, 199
 and toleration, 166, 167–9
 Brodie, Benjamin, 77
 Brontë, Charlotte, 83
 Brooke, Arabella, 36, 72, 156
 Broughton, Leslie Nathan, xii
 Browning, Elizabeth Barrett, 84, 149
 Browning, Robert, 149
 Brownson, Orestes, 68–9, 97
 Burke, Edmund, 19, 20–1, 25–6
 Burney, Frances, 19
 Burrows, Henry William, 157, 159, 198
 Busk, Mary Margaret, 36
 Butler, Charles, 159
 Butler, Joseph, xi
 Byron, George Gordon, 154
 Calvert, Mary, 17
 Calvin, John, 105
 Carlyle, Thomas, 82, 97, 105, 150, 168
 Chancery, Court of, 54–5
 Channing, William Ellery, xi
 charity schools, 42, 43
 Chartism, 49–50, 188
 children
 suffering of, 173–5
 working class, 43–4
see also education
 Children's Employment Commission, 42
 Christ Church (Albany Street, London), 156, 157–8, 162–3, 164, 174, 198
 Christianity
 evidences of, xi, 100–1
 church, 120
 and knowledge of God, 96
 Church of England. *See* England, Church of
 Cicero, 12
 Cobbett, William, 159–60
 Coleridge, Berkeley (brother), 2, 134
 Coleridge, Berkeley (son), 30, 53, 73, 76, 134, 171
 Coleridge, Bertha Fanny (daughter), 30, 75–7, 134, 171
 baptized, 191
 Coleridge, Derwent (brother), 5, 6, 8, 25, 167, 170
 absent from Sara's wedding, 27
 and burial of father, 192
 criticism of Sara's editorial work, 86
 and death of father, 53–4
 and death of Hartley Coleridge, 172
 and father's views of the Bible, 99, 102
 and Gorham Judgment, 139
 at Greta Hall, 12–13
 and legacy of his father, 79–80, 107
 physical likeness to his father, 116

- principal of St. Mark's College, 48
- receives report from Sara on education, 46–7
- relationship with father, 11
- Sara appeals to for assistance, 150–1
- and Sara's engagement, 16, 21
- and Sara's final illness, 171, 177, 180, 181
- The Scriptural Character of the English Church*, 197
- as translator, 13
- views on Henry Nelson Coleridge, 17
- Coleridge, Edith (daughter), 57, 115, 171, 186, 189
- baptism of, 30
- birth of, 29, 30, 73, 76
- description of her mother, 75
- as editor, xii, xiii, 191, 195, 201
- education of, 31, 33, 34, 112, 149
- family life, 42, 113, 173–4
- infancy, 52–3
- interpretation of *Phantasmion*, 190
- needs after father's death, 92, 93
- Sara writes "Autobiography" for, 177–8
- social circle, 157
- takes dictation during Sara's final illness, 180
- transcribes letters, 151
- Coleridge, Edward (uncle), 17, 113, 193
- Coleridge, Fanny (sister-in-law), 180
- Coleridge, Florence (daughter), 30, 53, 73, 76, 134, 171
- Coleridge, Hartley (brother), xii, 5, 23
- absent from Sara's wedding, 27, 186
- and baptism of infants, 134, 191
- concerns about Henry's *Table Talk*, 81
- concerns for Sara's wellbeing, 51–2, 114
- death of, 172–3
- and death of father, 53–4
- father's absence, 89
- on female writers, 126
- on life at Greta Hall, 9–10
- loss of fellowship, 184
- perceived heir to father's genius, 13, 116
- praise for *On Rationalism* (1843), 126
- praise for *Pretty Lessons in Verse*, 40–1
- relationship with father, 11
- on responses to *Phantasmion*, 68
- Sara advises, 37–8, 70
- Sara shares her grief with, 113
- on Sara's role as mother, 29
- supported by his mother, 93
- teasing Sara, 12
- "Twins," 134
- views on Henry Nelson Coleridge, 17
- visits father in London, 7
- Coleridge, Henry Nelson (cousin/husband), 3, 32, 37, 134, 153, 174
- as barrister, 28, 54–5, 73
- and beauty, 25–6
- begins *Table Talk*, 15, 81
- burial of, 192
- concerns for Sara in illness, 30, 52, 57–9
- death of, xiv, 77–8, 81, 171, 173, 186
- and death of Bertha Fanny Coleridge, 75–7, 191
- as editor, xiv, 81–3, 95, 195
- encourages Sara to publish, 40, 59
- engagement, 14–16, 24
- failed renegotiation with Pickering, 90
- and legacy of Sara's father, 79
- marriage to Sara, 27, 29, 151, 180

- Coleridge, Henry
 Nelson—*Continued*
 meets Sara in London, 14
 move to Regent's Park, 71
 political views, 74
 recognizes Sara's intellect, 26, 126
 relationship with Sara's father,
 78, 81
 returns to London, 28
 reviews *Phantasmion*, 68
 Sara's grief after his death, 91,
 112, 113, 149
 Six Months in the West Indies
 (1826), 17–18
- Coleridge, Herbert (son), 8, 30, 57,
 155, 171, 189
 birth of, 29, 73, 76
 death of, 186, 201
 education of, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36,
 50, 187
 at Eton, 112, 113, 115, 193
 family life, 42, 173–4
 inspiration for *Phantasmion*, 59
 learns of father's death, 77
 needs after father's death, 92, 93
 social circle, 157
- Coleridge, James (uncle/father-in-
 law), 15, 25
- Coleridge, James Duke (cousin/
 brother-in-law), 77, 78
- Coleridge, John Taylor (cousin/
 brother-in-law), 15–16, 85,
 86, 151, 157, 169–70
 cares for Sara and the children, 92
- Coleridge, Mary (Pridham) (sister-
 in-law), 40, 59, 139, 169
- Coleridge, Samuel Taylor (father)
 absent from Sara's birth, 1–2, 183
 absent from Sara's wedding, 27
 addiction to opium, 6, 18, 41, 81
 admirers visit Sara after his death,
 71
 attends Edith's baptism, 30
 and Aubrey de Vere, 152
 and Bible/biblical criticism, x–xi,
 18, 89, 90–1, 95, 101–2
 death of, 53–4, 70, 171
 and dreams, 64–5
 on faith, 100
 fall into river, 6
 Father of Broad Church, 165
 fears in youth, 184
 heir to Reformation, 129
 on imagination, 63
 influence on Sara, 12, 23,
 111–12, 153, 163, 178
 intellectual influences on, 90
 legacy of, xiv, 1, 70
 likeness to Sara, 68
 living near Sara, 28
 on love, 18
 marriage to Sarah Fricker, xiv, 1,
 5, 185
 and mesmerism, 176
 and method, 64
 “Pentad of Operative
 Christianity,” 96–7, 194
 and plagiarism, x, xiv, 94
 poor health, 7
 and Reason/Understanding dis-
 tinction, 121, 194
 reception in the United States, xi
 relationship with children, 1–2, 4
 relationship with Henry, 81
 relationship with Robert Southey,
 5
 relationship with Sara,
 10–11, 180
 as religious thinker, 93–5, 108–9
 and Roman Catholic
 emancipation, 160
 and Sara's engagement, 16, 17–18
 study in Germany, 89–90
 Trinitarianism of, 90, 193
 Unitarianism of, 89–90, 94–5,
 168, 193
 views of marriage, 16, 18–19
 and will, 147
- Works*
 Aids to Reflection, xi, 57, 68,
 91, 93, 97, 117, 130, 141, 185
 “The Apostles' Creed,” 98

- Biographia Literaria*, 82–3, 85, 97, 99, 130
 “Christabel,” 65
Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit, xi, 81, 91, 95–102, 111, 193
On the Constitution of Church and State, xi, 81, 93, 160, 177
 “The Definition of Miracles,” 98
 “Dejection: An Ode,” 1–2
 “Essay on Faith,” 98
Essays on His Own Times, 80, 94
 “Evidences of Christianity,” 98
The Friend, 9, 10, 81, 107
 “Frost at Midnight,” 8
Hints towards the Formation of a More Comprehensive Theory of Life, 191
 “Kubla Khan,” 65, 193
Lay Sermons, xi, 81, 177
 “A Letter to——,” 1–2
Literary Remains, 81, 96
Lyrical Ballads, 107
Notes and Lectures on Shakespeare, 47
Notes, Theological, Political, and Miscellaneous, 177
Poems, 177, 180
 “Rime of the Ancient Mariner,” 65, 176
Specimens of the Table Talk of S. T. Coleridge, 15, 81
 worries about Sara’s misfortunes, 18
 writing style compared to Sara, 111, 117
- Coleridge, Sara
 addiction to narcotics, xiv, 17, 29, 41–2, 52, 55, 56, 92–3, 114, 175, 176–7, 179
 affection for Aubrey de Vere, 151–6, 169–70
 anti-Catholicism, 162
 association with Oxford Movement, 118–19, 120, 129, 142, 162–3, 165
 biblical interpretation, 105–6
 birth of, 1–2, 183
 and Broad Church, 165–6
 challenges her father’s views, 23
 childhood, 2–19, 24–6
 and church parties, 163–5, 199
 compared to her father, x–xi, 7, 68–9, 79, 111, 116, 125, 163, 178, 197
 death of, xiv, 181, 186
 and death of Bertha Fanny Coleridge, 75–7
 and death of Hartley, 172
 and death of Henry, 77–8, 81, 192
 and death of her father, 53–4, 70, 78–9
 defense of her father, ix–x, xiii, xiv, 2–3, 90, 91, 93–5, 99, 101, 129, 193
 depression, xiv, 15, 17, 31, 40, 50, 55, 57, 92, 151
 desire to be a minister/theologian, 16, 74, 190
 difficulties with parents’ separation, 9–10, 22
 disciple of her father, ix–xi, 111–12
 distances herself from her father, 102, 135
 dreams/nightmares, 9, 52, 55, 114, 197–8
 editor, ix–x, xii–xiii, xiv, 81–3, 86, 97, 109, 177, 180, 192
 education at Greta Hall, 10, 11–12
 engagement to Henry, 14–16, 21–2
 fall into river, 6, 59
 final illness, 175–81
 friendship with F. D. Maurice, 160–1, 165–6, 181
 and Gorham Judgment, 138–41, 158–9

Coleridge, Sara—*Continued*

grieves death of family and friends, 171–3
 happiness, 73
 health crisis at Ilchester, 57–9
 and Henry's political views, 74
 honeymoon, 28
 household responsibilities, 28–9, 31, 34, 71, 91–2, 93
 illnesses, xiv, 1, 6, 9–10, 12, 14, 15, 21, 29–30, 40, 50, 51, 52–3, 55, 57, 59, 184, 189, 190
 influence of German thought on, 166
 and journey of faith, 192–3
 and legacy of her father, 29, 70, 71–2, 79–80
 literary critic, xiii
 marriage, xiv, 27, 186
 miscarriages, xiv, 134
 mistaken for Henry in print, 68, 109, 195
 move to Hampstead, 28
 move to Regent's Park, 71, 72–3
 physical appearance, 3, 8, 11, 14, 75, 115, 153
 plagiarisms of her father, 85, 97
 plans work on education, 37
 pregnancies, 29, 30, 52–3
 prose style, xi–xii, 124–5
 reading habits, 31, 34, 57, 71, 77, 127, 184, 185
 reinterprets her father's works, 129–30
 relationship with her father, xiv, 1–19
 relationship with her mother, 2, 9
 relationship with Robert Southey, 4–5, 7
 religious formation of her children, 32–3
 religious practices, 74–5
 reunion with Henry in London, 24–6
 seeks advice from Hare on late notebooks, 107–8

and sleep, 17, 29, 52, 55
 talker, ix, xiv, 29, 115–16, 142, 147
 tension with her cousin Edith, 184
 thoughts of death, 53, 58–9, 78, 93
 translator, ix, xiv, 12–13, 14, 185, 192
 and travel, 24–5, 30, 57–8, 77, 113
 unwanted advances after Henry's death, 150–1
 verse cards of, 32, 41–2
 visits father in London, 13–14
 widowhood, 91–3, 113–14, 115–16, 125, 127, 149, 155

Works

An Account of the Abipones, an Equestrian People of Paraguay, 13
 "Asceticism," 51, 188, 198
 "Benoni," 41
 "The Blessing of Health," 173–4
 "Book of Mourning," 2, 172
 "On the British Constitution," xii, 73–4
 "Childish Tears," 174
 "Consolation in Trouble," 58
 "On the Disadvantages Resulting from the Possession of Beauty," xii, xiv, 19–23, 85
 "A Disappointment," 42
 "Doggrel Charm," 180–1, 201
 "Dream Love," 153
 "Dreams III. To a Friend," 152
 "Extracts from a New Treatise on Regeneration" (1848), xiv, 112, 135–7, 141
 "Ezekiel's Vision," 105
 "For my Father on his lines called 'Work Without Hope,'" 112
 "To Herbert, when He Objected to a Walk," 62
Howithorn, 190

- "Introduction" to *Biographia Literaria* (1847), x, xiv, 82–3, 94, 99, 112, 129, 166, 190
 "Introduction" to *Essays on His Own Times* (1850), 80, 94
 "L'Envoy to *Phantasmion*," 190
 "The Months," ix, 41
 "My Henry, like a modest youth," 25
 "Nervousness," xii, 52, 55–7
 "Note on 'Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit'" (1849), x, 98, 99–100, 195
 "The Pair that will not Meet," 58
Phantasmion (1837), ix, xiv, 52, 59–69, 73, 126, 154–5, 179, 190
 "The Plunge," 6
 "Poppies," 41–2, 174
Pretty Lessons in Verse for Good Children (1834), xiv, 40–2, 62, 73
On Rationalism (1843), xiv, 23, 112, 116–18, 120–7, 130, 196
On Rationalism (1848), 112, 130–1, 135–7, 196
 "On Reading My Father's 'Youth and Age,'" 198
Regeneration, xi, 112, 137–42
Regeneration Dialogues, xi, 23, 112, 142–7, 194
 "Reply to Strictures of Three Gentlemen upon Carlyle," 82
The Right Joyous and Pleasant History of the Feats, Gests, and Prowesses of the Chevalier Bayard, 13, 14
 "On the Same," 122
 "Sara Coleridge for Herbert and Edith," 52–3, 189
 "They tell me that my eye is dim," 22
 "Verse Written in Sickness 1833," 53
 "When Herbert's Mama was a slim little Maid," 184
 "When Mama was Young," 8, 184
 "Written in my illness at Hampstead during Edith's infancy," 29
 and writing for the public, 59–60, 82, 85, 97
 Coleridge, Sarah (Fricker) (mother)
 absent from Sara's wedding, 27, 186
 attends Edith's baptism, 30
 birth of Sara, 2
 death of, 114–15, 127, 171, 173
 and death of husband, 54
 and Henry's employment, 55
 life at Greta Hall, 10
 marriage, xiv, 1, 3, 11, 89
 moves to London, 28
 relationship with Sara, 2, 11, 180
 reports on Sara, 26, 30
 and Roman Catholic emancipation, 160
 and Sara's opium use, 24, 55
 supports Hartley financially, 93
 worries over Sara's health, 15, 184
 Collins, William, 11, 68
 conscience, 126
 conversion. *See* regeneration
 Conybeare, William John, 164–5, 166, 199
 Correggio, Antonio Allegri da, 155
 Cottle, Joseph, 1
 Cowley, Abraham, 19
 Cromwell, Oliver, 7
 Crosthwaite Church (Keswick), 27–8
 Cudworth, Ralph, 147
 Cyprian of Carthage, 130
 Dante, 25, 65, 105, 192
 De Quincey, Thomas, 8, 80, 93, 107

- De Vere, Aubrey, 24, 196
 comforts Sara, 115
 conversion to Roman
 Catholicism, 169–70, 171
 describes Sara, ix
 inspiration for “Asceticism,” 188
 relationship with Sara, 151–6,
 181, 190
 Sara dreams of his death, 197–8
 Sara fears he will convert, 159
 death, 171–3, 179, 181
 Deism, 122
 demons, xi, 106
 Diaconoff, Suellen, 36
 Dickens, Charles, 55
 Dieleman, Karen, 157, 158, 198
 Dobrizhoffer, Martin, 13
 Dodsworth, William
 described, 156–7
 and Gorham Judgment, 138–9
 and Oxford Movement, 158–9,
 195
 relationship with Sara, 134, 163–4
 and Roman Catholicism, 158–9
 dreams, ix, 9, 152
 and opium, 52, 189
 and reason, 51
 sexual, 65
 Duffy, John, 68
- Edgeworth, Maria, 84, 150
 education, xii, 31–42, 45–50
 female, 21, 24, 33–4, 35, 36, 44,
 117, 188
 national, 42–50
 and play, 35–6
 religious, 32–3, 36–7, 38–40
 and suffering, 40
 see also Bible; National Society
 Eichhorn, J. G., 90
 Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 68
 England, Church of
 complexity of membership, 163–4
 debates on regeneration, 137–42
 and dissenting churches, 169
 doctrine of, 140
 Liturgy of, 38, 39
 and national fasts, 175
 and Oxford Movement, 118–19
 and state, 49, 50
 see also Broad Church; education,
 national; High Church
 enthusiasm, 63
 Erskine, Thomas of Linlathen, 123,
 124, 196
Essays and Reviews (1860), 108–9
 Estlin, John Prior, 89
 Eucharist, 118
 Evangelicals, 99, 125, 148, 164–5
- Factory Act (1833), 43
 Factory Act (1844), 188
 faith, xi, xiii, 23, 66
 and baptism, 132
 and the Bible, 96, 100
 primacy of, 117
 and reason, 120–1, 122–3, 131
 Farrer, Mrs., 150
 Fenwick, Isabella, 149, 159, 176
 Ferrier, J. F., 93
 Ford, Jennifer, 65
 Fraser-Tytler, Ann, 38–9, 40
 Fricker, Martha, 186
 Froude, Richard Hurrell,
 118, 120, 142
- Gaull, Marilyn, 187
 Genlis, Madame de, 36
 Giddy, Davies, 43
 Gillman, Ann, 17, 28, 53, 81, 82,
 192, 193
 Gillman, James, 28, 53, 81, 82,
 191, 192, 193
 Gladstone, William, 139, 150
 Gleadle, Kathryn, 31, 187, 188
 God
 and children, 39, 40
 grace of, 167
 and revelation, 106
 will of, 180–1
 Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, 149
 Goldstrom, J. M., 44, 47

- Gomersall, Meg, 32, 44, 188
 Goodway, David, 186
 Gorham, Deborah, 32, 184
 Gorham, George Cornelius, 138
 Gorham Judgment, xiv, 138–40, 148, 158, 161
 grace, 167
 Grantz, Carl Leon, 58
 Green, Joseph Henry, 3, 82, 109
 and plagiarisms of S. T. Coleridge, 97, 98–9, 195
 and Sara's cancer diagnosis, 171, 175
 Spiritual Philosophy, 191
 and S. T. Coleridge's legacy, 79
 and S. T. Coleridge's *magnum opus*, 72
 Greta Hall, xiv, 4–5, 7, 9–10, 15, 28
 Griggs, Earl Leslie, xii, 115, 117, 184
- Hainton, Godfrey, 188, 197
 Hainton, Raymonde, 188, 197
Hamlet, 65
 Hampden, Renn Dickson, 195
 Hampstead (London), 28
 Hare, Julius Charles, 91, 139
 advises Sara on biblical criticism, 107–8
 and Broad Church, 165
 and German thought, 166
 response to Palmer, 99
 on S. T. Coleridge's plagiarisms, 93, 97
 Harry Ransom Center, xiii
 Harter, Joel, 194
 Hazlitt, William, 3
 heart, xiii, 196
 see also faith
 Heaven, 75, 76, 77, 134, 176, 178–9, 180, 181
 Hell, 134
 Hemans, Felicia, 62
The Hermit, 184
 Hickey, Alison, xiii
- High Church, 99, 108
 and baptism, 143–4
 and the Bible, 97
 and Christ Church (London), 156, 157
 and church parties, 164–5
 and education, 49, 50
 and Gorham Judgment, 138–40, 148
 and necessity of faith, 122
 perceptions of, 126
 and sacraments, 125
 see also Oxford Movement
 Hilton, Mary, 34, 35, 36, 186, 187
 Holmes, Richard, 10, 192
 Holy Spirit
 annexed to the soul of the baptized, 144
 and Broad Church beliefs, 165
 effects of, 141
 inward witness of, 101
 and knowledge, 96
 and new creation, 132
 presence in creation, 145
 and prophets, 105–6
 and Reason, 121–2, 194
 and regeneration, 135–6, 137
 and revelation, 106
 Hook, Walter Farquhar, 48–9, 157
 Hooker, Richard, xi, 96, 105, 130
 Hopkins, Eric, 42–3, 45, 46, 47, 187, 188
 Hoppin, James, 195
 Housman, John, 4
 Howitt, Mary, 40
 Howsam, Leslie, 193
 Hume, David, 122
 Hutchinson, Sara, 1–2, 9, 24, 65
- imagination, 56, 58, 62–4, 82, 104
 and childhood, 179
 and prophets, 105
 Innocent III, 162
 Ireland, 50, 175
 Irving, Edward, 149–50, 156
 Islam, 49, 100

- Jackson, William, 4
 Jacobi, F. H., 192
 Jasper, David, 95
 Jesus Christ, xi, 102, 122, 145–7
 in literature, 105
 as Logos, 90, 96
 as redeemer, 101
 and rights of the poor, 163
 and the soul, 196
 and suffering, 174
 see also Socinianism
 Jewsbury, Maria Jane, 45, 62
 John, Apostle, 94
 Jones, Kathleen, xiii
 Jones, Tod, 165, 196, 199
 Jussieu, Antoine Laurent de, 33
 justification, xii, 130, 164–5
 see also regeneration

 Kant, Immanuel, xi, 90, 94, 100,
 122–3, 129, 152, 166
 Keats, John, 104–5, 154
 Keble, John, 105, 118, 120, 139
 Keswick, 4
 Klopstock, F. G., 90

 Lamb, Charles, 172
 Lamb, Mary, 172
 Lancaster, Joseph, 45–6, 47
 Landor, Walter Savage, 142, 150
 language, theological, 137
 Larsen, Timothy, 91
 Lefebure, Molly, 28, 186
 Leibniz, G. W., 147
 Leigh, Samuel, 28, 73
 Leighton, Robert, xi
 Lessing, G. E., 90, 97, 98–9,
 100–1, 166
 LeVieux, Pierre Terrail, 13, 14
 limbo, and unbaptized children, 134
 Linnaeus, Carl, 33
 Lobban, Michael, 54
 Lockhart, John Gibson, 150
 London, 28, 42–3, 49, 186
 London Working Men's
 Association, 49–50
 love, 18, 19–24
 see also beauty; marriage
 Lovell, Mary (Fricker) (aunt), 7, 10,
 183, 185, 186
 Lovell, Robert, 183
 Low, Dennis, xiii
 Luther, Martin, 94, 95, 105,
 129–30, 132
 Lynn, Eliza, 83
 Lyttelton, George William,
 139–40, 143, 197

 Maass, Johann, 192
 Macallan, David, 197
 madness, 63
 Manning, Henry Edward, 139, 153,
 157, 169
 marriage, 16, 18–19, 22
 Marsh, James, xi, 68
 Martineau, Harriett, 84,
 176, 191
 martyrdom, 40
 Mather, F. C., 50
 Maurice, Frederick Denison, 97,
 181, 196
 and Broad Church, 165
 response to Palmer, 99
 theory of Protestantism, 160–1
 May, John, Jr., 185
 McBride, Theresa, 187
 Meiners, Katherine, 200
 Mellen, Grenville, 69
 Mellor, Anne, x
 memory, 63, 64, 155
 Mercer, Anna, 200
 Mesmer, F. A., 176
 mesmerism, 176–7, 179
 metaphysics, 32
 Methodism, 132, 169
 Milton, John, 105
 miracles, 100–1
 More, Hannah, 40, 43
 Morgan, J. J., 10
 Mudge, Bradford, xii, xiii, 56, 70,
 82, 185, 191, 200
 Murray, John, 13

- Nash, John, 72
- National Society, 44, 46, 47–8, 50, 163
- Nelson, Horatio, 7
- Neo-Platonism, 23, 25, 90
- Newman, John Henry
 appearance described, 120, 152–3
 and baptism, 131, 134
Certain Difficulties Felt by Anglicans in Catholic Teaching, 161
 “Christ on the Waters,” 161
 distances himself from S. T. Coleridge, 119–20, 124
Essay on Development of Doctrine, 161
 friend of Sara’s minister, 156–7
 and heresy, 167
Lectures on Justification, 132
Loss and Gain, 142, 161
 and Martin Luther, 130
Parochial Sermons, 74
 and passive regeneration, 196
 represented in Sara’s
Regeneration Dialogues, 143
 and Roman Catholicism, 161
 Sara dreams of, ix
 Sara studies works of, 117, 135
 Sara’s early opinion of, 118–19
 and Sara’s *On Rationalism* (1843), 118
Tract 73, 123–4, 126
Tract 90, 118
see also Oxford Movement
- Nockles, Peter, 138
- novels, 19
- Nyffenegger, Sara, xiii
- opium, 56–7, 187
 and sleep, 65, 66–7, 77, 189
see also Coleridge, Samuel Taylor; Coleridge, Sara
- Oxford Movement, xiii
 and Christ Church (London), 156, 157–8
- influence on Aubrey de Vere, 153
 and influence of S. T. Coleridge, 74, 94, 119–20
 and influence of William Wordsworth, 119
 and *On Rationalism* (1843), 118, 125–6
 Roman Catholicism in disguise, 162, 164
 and sacraments, 124
see also High Church; Newman, John Henry
- Paine, Thomas, 108, 126
- Paley, William, 100
- Palmer, William, 97–8, 99–100, 106–7, 108, 111
 attack on Broad Church, 165
- Papal Aggression, xiv, 161–2
see also Roman Catholicism
- Park, John James, 191
- Parrott, Anne (“Nurse”), 57–8, 76, 92, 112, 176, 186
- Paul, Apostle, 94, 120
- Pelagius/Pelagianism, 105, 123, 124, 133
 Sara verges on, 136
- periodicals, 32, 38, 44
 treatment of Sara’s father, 85
- Petrarch, 25
- Phillpotts, Henry, 138
- Pickering, William, 81, 90, 137
- Pitt, William, 43
- Pius IX, 161–2
- Plato, 142
- Plutarch, 20
- poetry, 52, 104
- political economy, 32, 38
- politics, 73–4, 163–4
- Poole, Tom, 3, 11, 13, 26, 55, 70, 160
- Poor Law Amendment Act (1834), 42, 187
- prayer, 174
- Prickett, Stephen, 199
- Privy Council, 138–9, 148

- Pusey, Edward Bouverie
 and baptism, 131
 canon of Christ Church
 (London), 156–7
 conversation with Sara, 195
 discussed in Sara's *Regeneration
 Dialogues*, 143
 and Gorham Judgment, 138–40
 influence on Aubrey de Vere, 153
 and Oxford Movement, 118
 personal presence, 197
 preaching of, 74
 refuses to leave Church of
 England, 159
 Sara studies, 130, 135
Scriptural Views of Holy Baptism, 133
- Quakers, 162, 169
- Quillinan, Edward, 24, 199
- Radcliffe, Anne, 67
- Raikes, Robert, 43
- Raphael, 158
- rationalism
 and baptismal regeneration, 197
 and Church of England, 164
 defined, 120–1, 126
 and faith, 123–4
- Reardon, Bernard, 199
- Reason/reason, xi, 66, 120–3
 and beauty, 20
 and biblical interpretation, 109,
 111–12
 and bodily pain, 51–2
 and imagination, 63–4, 104
 and knowledge, 96
 and madness, 56
 practical, 126–7
 and regeneration, 135
 and revelation, 194
 and theology, 117
 and understanding, 121–2
see also understanding,
 rationalized
- Reed, Henry, xii, 40, 80, 84, 117,
 148, 195
- regeneration, 120, 130–1
 baptismal, 112, 117, 130, 140,
 144, 164
 and Bible, 105
 conditional, 138
 defined, 135
 esoteric and exoteric doctrine,
 138
 and incarnation of Jesus Christ,
 145–7
 and language, 137–8
 and moral behavior, 132–3
 and outward beauty, 23
 and perseverance, 136
 and Protestantism, 159
 and renewal of will, 122, 124
 and the self, 129
see also baptism
- Regent's Park (London), 72–3
- Reilly, M. Paraclita, 152, 154,
 155–6
- revelation, divine, 96–7
- Richmond, George, 115
- Robinson Crusoe*, 184
- Robinson, Henry Crabb, 14, 16,
 67–8, 75, 172, 179, 185
- Roman Catholic Relief Act (1791),
 159
- Roman Catholic Relief Act (1829),
 160
- Roman Catholicism
 and anti-Christ, 199
 in England, 159–60, 161–2
 and Gorham Judgment, 138–9,
 148
 in Ireland, 50
 Sara attacks in “New Treatise,”
 135
 Tractarian sympathy for, 118,
 156, 157–8, 159–60
see also Papal Aggression
- Rose, Hugh James, 166
- Rossetti, Christina, 157
- Rousseau, Jean Jacques, 34, 35, 36
- Royal Lancasterian Institute, 46
- Ruwe, Donelle, xiii

- Sabbath, and working poor, 42–3
 sacraments, and individual will, 120
 see also baptism; Eucharist;
 regeneration, baptismal
 salvation, 123
 see also regeneration
 Sanders, Charles Richard, 199
 Scharf, George, 184
 Schelling, F. W. J., 85
 Schlegel, K. W. F., 85
 Schofield, Robin, xiii
 Scott, Alexander John, 150–1, 197
 Scott, Walter, 8, 150
 Shelley, Percy Bysshe, 8, 154
 sin
 and baptism, 141
 and judgment, 134
 original, 133–4, 136, 146
 Socinianism, 49, 94
 and reason, 100
 view of Jesus Christ, 123, 168
 see also Unitarianism
 soul
 beauty of, 19, 21, 23–4, 33
 and body, 25
 and demons, 106
 and education, 37, 51
 and Holy Spirit, 136–7
 mirror of the divine, 103
 passive in dream states, 65
 and religion, 122
 of women, 84–5, 87
 Southey, Bertha (cousin), 184
 Southey, Caroline Anne (Bowles),
 19, 112–13, 195
 Southey, Edith (cousin), 8, 12, 27,
 46, 155, 184, 195
 Southey, Edith (Fricker) (aunt),
 4–5, 10, 29, 112, 185, 186,
 195
 Southey, Herbert (cousin), 12, 29,
 171
 Southey, Isabel (cousin), 171
 Southey, Margaret (cousin), 4–5
 Southey, Robert, xiv, 11, 29, 180
 Book of the Church (1824), 159
 death of, 112–13
 on dreams, 189
 and editing, 192
 and female writers, 83
 and Fricker sisters, 183
 friendship with Sara, 8
 guidance of Coleridge children,
 13, 81, 116
 influence on Sara, 65
 library of, 127, 184
 moves to Greta Hall, 4–5
 reaction to Henry's *Table Talk*,
 81
 relationship with S. T. Coleridge,
 5
 and Roman Catholic emancipa-
 tion, 159
 and Sara's education, 7, 12, 35
 on Sara's industry, 185
 and Sara's wedding, 27, 186
 views of education, 46–7, 49
 Speck, W. A., 5
 Spenser, Edmund, 143
 Spirit. *See* Holy Spirit
 Stanley, Arthur, Penrhyn, 150, 166
 Sterling, John, 95, 97, 107
 St. Mark's College (Chelsea),
 47–8, 150
 Stranger, Mary, 191
 Strauss, David Friedrich, 102, 108
 subjectivity, 23, 31, 66
 see also faith
 sublime, 20
 Sumner, John Bird, 139
 Sunday Schools, 43
 Swaab, Peter, xii, xiii, 84, 117, 185,
 189, 190, 197
 symbols, 106, 194
 Tacitus, 12
 Taylor, Henry, 14, 115, 198
 Taylor, Jeremy, xi, 19, 20, 105
 prayers of, 27, 174
 Ten Hour Bill (1847), 43
 Tennyson, Alfred, 85
 Tertullian, 130

- Thirlwall, Connop, 97
Thirtieth Annual Report, 48
 Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion,
 132, 164
 and *Tract 90*, 118
 Thompson, F. M. L., 43, 46, 187,
 188
 Thomson, Heidi, xiii
 Thormählen, Marianne, 48
 Tieck, Ludwig, 90
 tongues, gift of, 98
 Towle, Eleanor, xii
 Townshend, Chauncey Hare, 176–7
 Tractarianism. *See* Oxford
 Movement
Tracts for the Times, 118, 123, 133
 and popular opposition, 158, 159
 see also Oxford Movement
 Trevenen, Emily, 55, 59, 130, 186
 Trinity/Trinitarianism, xi, 49, 168,
 193
- understanding, rationalized, 23,
 121, 131
 see also Reason/reason
 Unitarianism, xi, 89–90, 94–5,
 123, 193
 toleration of, 168
 United States, government of, 73–4
- Vallone, Lynne, 59
 Vardy, Alan, ix, xiii, 72, 80, 192,
 194, 199
 Villiers, Elizabeth Charlotte, 154,
 156, 198
 Villiers, George, 198
 Virgil, 12
 virtue, 20–1, 25
- Waldegrave, Katie, xiii
 Ward, William George, 126–7, 154,
 157
 Sara challenges, 130
 and S. T. Coleridge on the Bible,
 99
 Waterland, Daniel, xi, 130, 196
- Watson, Seth, 191
 Watters, Shirley, xiii
 Webb, Benjamin, 158
 Wedgwood, Josiah, 89
 Wedgwood, Thomas, 3, 89
 Wesley, John, xi, 7
 West, Thomas, 4
 Wheeler, Michael, 160, 199
 Whewell, William, 150
 White, Blanco, 100, 160, 194
 Wilberforce, Robert, 139, 145,
 146–7, 197
- will
 Absolute, 121
 and ambition, 64
 and anxiety, 56
 and conversion, 131
 in dream states, 65–7
 freedom of, 123
 individual, 52
 and justification, 132
 and personality, 147
 and reason, 122, 126–7
 and repentance, 145
 and sacraments, 120
 see also Pelagius/Pelagianism
 Wilson, Mona, 190
 Wilson, Mrs. (“Wilsy”), 4
 Wilson, William Carus, 40
 Wiseman, Nicholas, 161
 Wollstonecraft, Mary, 62
- women
 and beauty, 19–24, 45
 and children, 187–8
 and hysteria, 184
 and motherhood, 31–2
 souls of, 84–5
 writers, x, xiii, 59–60, 74, 83–5,
 126
 see also beauty; education, female
- Woodley, Sophia, 35, 187
 Woolf, Derrick, xiii
 Woolf, Virginia, 178
 Wordsworth, Dora, 27, 40, 155,
 199
 Wordsworth, Dorothy, 89

- Wordsworth, John, 27
Wordsworth, Mary, 179
Wordsworth, William, xii, xiv, 1,
 11, 63, 107, 180
 and Aubrey de Vere, 152
 concern for Sara, 78
 death of, 172–3
 described by Aubrey de Vere, 153
 as extended family, 7–8
 in Germany, 89
 and Hartley Coleridge, 172
 and imagination, 104
 influence on Sara, 8, 12, 163,
 197
 meets Bell, 46
 and Oxford Movement, 119–20
 and Roman Catholic
 emancipation, 160
 and Sara’s education, 35
 and Sara’s father, 9
 and Sara’s wedding, 27
 “The Triad,” 155