**University of Alberta**

# Networking Romanticism: Forging Print-Media Inter-Networks of Cross-Cultural Exchange

by

Maximiliaan Floris Pierre van Woudenberg

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of English

Edmonton, Alberta

Fall 2002

**University of Alberta**

**Library Release Form**

**Name of Author:** Maximiliaan Floris Pierre van Woudenberg

**Title of Thesis:** *Networking Romanticism: Forging Print-Media Inter-Networks of Cross-Cultural Exchange*

**Degree:** Doctor of Philosophy

**Year this Degree Granted:** 2002



Maximiliaan van Woudenberg
1266 Mohawk Road
Ancaster, Ontario, Canada L9G 3K9

May 31, 2002

**University of Alberta**

**Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research**

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Networking Romanticism: Forging Print-Media Networks of Cross-Cultural Exchange" submitted by Maximiliaan Floris Pierre van Woudenberg in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Dr. David S. Miall, Supervisor

Dr. James D. Mulvihill

Dr. Marianne Henn

Dr. Lesley Cormack

Dr. William B. Warner

May 17, 2002

## Dedication

*This dissertation is affectionately dedicated to my Mom, Dad, Sister, and relatives.*
*Thanks everyone for your support.*

**Abstract**

This dissertation examines print-media "inter-networks" during the Romantic period against the backdrop of communication history. Specifically, this study argues that institutional print-media communication networks (newspapers; government publications) and private intellectual and epistolary print-media networks (personal correspondence; private acquisition of foreign texts) are re-formatted into decentralized "inter-networks" of print-media dissemination in the early-nineteenth century public sphere. These print-media "inter-networks"—often amalgamations of domestic and foreign print media—challenge both the liberty of the individual and the hegemony of the political status quo in the public sphere. The decentralization of Romantic print-media "inter-networks" presents a historical paradigm for theorizing the Internet as a decentralized "inter-network" of networks in the electronic public sphere.

The first phase of the study historicizes the liberationist and supersessionist definitions of the Internet as a decentralized communication system by hypertext critics in regard to the decentralized function of print-media communication networks in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. The implications of rational-critical debate in the public sphere fostered by the cross-cultural exchange mediated by these decentralized print-media "inter-networks" was far more revolutionary during the Romantic period than the current "revolutionary" rhetoric of hypertext critics about the globally liberalizing function of the Internet.

The second phase of the dissertation examines the private print-media information networks of Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Lord Byron. Coleridge's library borrowings at Göttingen in 1799 successfully forged a private print-media information "inter-network" to facilitate his literary studies of German literature. However, upon his return to England, resistance towards the dissemination of foreign (i.e. German) information via centralized print-media networks effectively censored Coleridgean networks, isolating the participation of the cosmopolitan individual in the public sphere. In contrast, Byron's cosmopolitanism fostered print-media "inter-networks" which culturally and geographically travelled to him. These foreign travelling networks stimulated the composition of *Manfred* (1817)—a new aesthetic "inter-network" in itself—which was successfully disseminated in the English public sphere because it obscures its sources in foreign networks.

The study concludes in historicizing our understanding of current electronic networks in a "rewired" public sphere as an evolutionary, rather than revolutionary, stage in communication history, which curbs, rather than facilitates, individual liberty and rational critical debate.

**Acknowledgements**

I would like to acknowledge the financial assistance of the University of Alberta. The Sarah Nettie Christie Travel Bursaries funded valuable research at the British Library and the Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek in Göttingen.

First and foremost I would like to thank my supervisor Dr. David S. Miall for his patience and support in guiding this dissertation. I could not have imagined a better supervisor when I literally "bumped" into you on my very first day as a Ph.D. student. It has been a real pleasure working with you on this dissertation and various Humanities Computing endeavors. Thanks for everything David. I'll look forward to us working together again in the future.

I would also like to thank Dr. Marianne Henn from the Department of Modern Languages & Cultural Studies for her enthusiasm in going beyond the required duties of a second reader. Your kindness in allowing me to audit your courses and in proof-reading my translations from the German Fraktur font has forged a new appreciation for the scholarship involved in reading eighteenth and nineteenth century German print-media. Vielen Dank!

Many thanks to Dr. Lesley Cormack, Dr. James D. Mulvihill, and Dr. William B. Warner for an engaging afternoon of discussion. I would especially like to thank Dr. Warner for his kindness in sharing his work and ideas about networks with me. Your work provoked me to think about my dissertation in new and exciting ways, and most importantly, the concept of networks allowed me to balance my historical research and hypertext interests within the history of communication. Thank you for making the journey from the University of California, Santa Barbara, and for acting as my external examiner.

Over the course of this degree I have had the good fortune of working with Dr. Robert Brazeau and Dr. Ann F. Howey. Your generosity and advice throughout my journey in the Ph.D. programme was very helpful and is much appreciated.

I would also like to thank all the members of the administrative staff with whom I have worked over the past several years and without whose help this project would certainly not have been completed as smoothly. Thanks to: Kim Brown, Theresa Daniels, Mary Marshall Durrell, Liz Kuiken, Carolyn Preshing, and especially Kris Calhoun for her support of various web projects.

Lastly, a special thanks to der Herr Dieter Müller of the Abteilung für Handschriften und Alte Drucke at the Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek in Göttingen for his help in locating "catalogue-elusive" manuscript documents and library registers contemporary to Coleridge's university career at Göttingen in 1799.

**Table of Contents**

Chapter One:
Introduction: The Concept of "Inter-Networks" in Communication History 1

Chapter Two:
Print-Media "Inter-Networks" of Cross-Cultural Exchange: The Decentralized Periodical in the Public Sphere, 1790-1820 24

Chapter Three:
Networking Germany Part One: Coleridgean Communication Networks and the Link(s) to the University of Göttingen 65

Chapter Four:
Networking Germany Part Two: Forging Private Print-Information Networks: Coleridge's Second University Career at the University of Göttingen, 1799 110

Chapter Five:
*Manfred*: An "Inter-Network" of Romantic Travel and Travelling Texts 163

Chapter Six:
Conclusion: Decentralized Print-Media and Electronic "Inter-Networks" and the Romantic and Contemporary Public Spheres 205

Appendix A:
The Cross-Cultural Exchange of the *Jenaische Allgemeine Literatur- Zeitung* and *The Analytical Review* 220

Appendix B:
Coleridge's 1799 Library Borrowings at the University of Göttingen: A Complete List 253

# Chapter One: Introduction

## The Concept of "Inter-Networks" in Communication History

*Networks constitute the new social morphology of our societies, and the diffusion of networking logic substantially modifies the operation and outcomes in processes of production, experience, power and culture. While the networking form of social organization has existed in other times and spaces, the new information technology paradigm provides the material basis for its pervasive expansion throughout the entire social structure.*

Manuel Castells. *The Rise of Network Society*

*When the question of technology is posed we see immediately how the Internet disrupts the basic assumptions of the older positions. The Internet is above all, a decentralized communication system....The Internet is also decentralized at a basic level of organization since, as a network of networks, new networks may be added so long as they conform to certain communication protocols.*

Mark Poster. "Cyberdemocracy: Internet and the Public Sphere"

*How do the Internet (a word that derives from inter-network) and the subset of it called the World Wide Web extend the concept of the network?*

William Warner[1]

### Introduction

There has been, and certainly continues to be, much revolutionary "hype" about the promise of hypertext and the Internet as ushering in a period of cultural transformation. Indeed, if one believes most of the hypertext critics we are currently in the midst of a cultural revolution. The revolutionary rhetoric, particularly of the earlier hypertext critics, construed the electronic communication networks of hypertext and the Internet as a "liberalizing" and "democratizing" network in contrast to the imprisoning linearity of print-media communication networks. George Landow, in *Hypertext* (1992) and

[1] Warner, William. "Declaring Independence as Unlicensed Circulation; or, How the Continental Congress Rewired the British Empire Network and Invented a Flat Network Design." Unpublished paper presented at Sheffield-Hallam University on July 20, 2001, at the *Print Culture in the Age of the Circulating Library, 1750-1850, Conference.* I am grateful to Dr. Warner for forwarding me a copy of his paper. For more information about Warner's work see: <http://dc-mrg.english.ucsb.edu/committee/warner/warnerCV.html>.

*Hypertext 2.0* (1997) celebrates the promise of hypertext in freeing the reader from the authorial constraints of print-media.

> [Postmodernists],[2] like many others who write on hypertext or literary theory, argue that we must abandon conceptual systems founded upon ideas of center, margin, hierarchy, and linearity and replace them with ones of multilinearity, nodes, links, and networks. Almost all parties to this paradigm shift, which marks a revolution in human thought, see electronic writing as a direct response to the strengths and weaknesses of the printed book. This response has profound implications for literature, education, and politics. (*Hypertext 2.0*, 2)

Where Landow lauds the promise of hypertext, Sven Birkerts, in his *The Gutenberg Elegies* (1994), laments the death of reading and print culture. For Birkerts, the bombardment of electronic media (i.e. information overload) is a "revolutionary" process that is transforming "primary human relations":

> in the blink of the eye of history, our culture has begun to go through what promises to be a total metamorphosis. The influx of electronic communication and information processing technologies...has rapidly brought on a condition of critical mass....The primary human relations—to space, time, nature, and to other people—have been subjected to a warping pressure that is something new under the sun....Our era has seen an escalation of the rate of change so drastic that all possibilities of evolutionary accommodation has been short-circuited. The advent of the computer and the astonishing sophistication achieved by our electronic communications media have together turned a range of isolated changes into something systemic....Reading, for me, is one activity that inscribes the limit of the old conception of the individual and his relation to the world. It is precisely where reading leaves off, where it is supplanted by other modes of processing and transmitting experience, that the new dispensation is said to begin. (3; 15)[3]

Clearly disagreeing about the implications of the so-called promise of hypertext and electronic communications media—Landow lauding a "paradigm shift" and "revolution in human thought" while Birkerts laments the death of reading and fears a "total metamorphosis" of print culture—both critics nonetheless feel that the transformation from print culture to electronic culture is both inevitable and revolutionary.

---

[2] Landow specifically refers to: Jacques Derrida, Theodore Nelson, Roland Barthes and Andries van Dam.

[3] See also: "Our historically sudden transition into an electronic culture has thrust us into a place of unknowing. We have been stripped not only of familiar habits and ways, but of familiar points of moral and psychological reference. Looking out at our society, we see no real leaders, no larger figures of wisdom. Not a brave new world at all, but a fearful one" (Birkerts, 21).

Birkerts proclaims the current cultural transformation as unique and unprecedented in history. Indeed, the "hypertextual moment" is constructed as a moment of technological determinism. Change has been "so drastic" that our psychological "evolutionary accommodation has been short-circuited." As a result, Birkerts argues, our cognitive skills of reading have been "supplanted by other modes of processing and transmitting experience" subject to electronic communications media. In contrast to the imprisonment of Birkerts' technological determinism, Landow constructs the technological determinism of hypertext as liberating. Hypertext is the agent of change that liberates the reader from the "conceptual systems founded upon ideas of center, margin, hierarchy, and linearity." However, the technological determinism of both Birkerts and Landow dislocates the cultural transformation of the "hypertextual moment" from the history of communication.

The revolutionary rhetoric of technological determinism blindly dehistoricizes the transformation from print-media communication networks to electronic-media communication networks. As a result, the concept of the network is defined by hypertext critics as an electronic phenomenon, disjoining the network from its historical moment of construction, as well as the print-media applications of networks in print culture. For example, Landow's rhetoric, perhaps unwittingly, presents the concept of the network as new, transformative, and revolutionary, in stating that the "conceptual ideas" of print-media are replaced "with ones of multilinearity, nodes, links, and networks." In fact, multilinearity and links are conceptual characteristics of the network, including print-media networks, throughout history.[4] And as William Warner asks—"How do the Internet (a word that derives from inter-network) and the subset of it called the World Wide Web extend the concept of the network?"—the concept of the "inter-network" is neither a new nor an ahistorical electronic phenomenon. In other words, as Warner suggests, the "inter-networks" of hypertext and the Internet *extend*, rather than *transform*, the links and multilinearity of previous conceptions of the network—especially print-media communication networks.

In this chapter, against the backdrop of communication history, I historicize the concept of the "inter-network" in order to contextualize the evolutionary, rather than revolutionary, shift from print-media communication networks to electronic-media communication networks. First, an analysis of contemporary arguments by hypertext critics about the technological determinism of hypertext and the Internet as liberating "inter-networks," examines the "close affinity" between hypertext theory and postmodernism. Hypertext critics invoke postmodernism in order to legitimize claims of revolution and transformation. Paul Duguid's article, "Material matters: The past and futurology of the book" (1996), examines how the technological determinism of hypertext critics is embodied in the

---

[4] See Chapter Two: "Print-Media Inter-Networks of Cross-Cultural Exchange: The Decentralized Periodical in the Public Sphere, 1790-1820." In section two I historicize the significance of links and multilinearity in print-media communication networks (see pages 35-60).

futurologist tropes of supersession and liberation. The "doctrine of supersession has close affinities with the theoretical program of postmodernism, with its insistence that history moves by abrupt and sweeping discontinuities" (10). Drawing on Duguid, I argue that through postmodernism, hypertext critics dehistoricize the continuity of the concept of the network, and "inter-networks," from communication history and print culture in order to foreground the alleged "revolution" of "inter-networks" fostered by the "new" electronic media. In doing so, hypertext theory not only attempts to legitimize and control the current historical moment, but to defer the fact that the network is, and remains—regardless of electronic or print media—a fundamentally modern concept in its communication applications.

Second, I specifically historicize the "inter-network" as a modern concept in foregrounding its function as a decentralized mode of communication. In my definition of the network and "inter-network" as modern concepts I invoke the basic tenets of the power of human reason, logic, knowledge, rational critical debate, and democracy, of the "modern" period in history (1750 - present day). The promise of electronic "inter-networks," celebrated by hypertext critics as a network mediating a liberal and democratic interchange of information, must be situated within the applied function of "inter-networks" as a decentred communication network.[5] In short, the function of an "inter-network" as a decentralized communication network is not technologically-specific to electronic culture and media, but also a dominant function of print-media communication networks in print culture. The electronic networks of hypertext and the Internet are construed as "liberating" and "democratizing" by hypertext critics precisely because these decentred "inter-networks" present an alternative to, and challenge, the "one to many" transmission of mass media communication. Moreover, as Mark Poster argues, the invocation of democracy in defining the alleged "postmodernist" function of the Internet is problematic because "democracy" remains a modern concept in definition and application.

---

[5] Armand Mattelart has argued that the invocation of communication networks as an agent of liberation is illusory. "Networks, a leading symbol of progress, have made their incursion into utopian thinking. The communication network is an internal promise symbolizing a world that is better because it is united. From road and rail to information highways, that belief has been revived with each technological generation, yet networks have never ceased to be at the center of struggles for control of the world....Charting the genealogy of the international sphere is proving to be all the more crucial since the new globalization label tends to be intoxicating. As a matter of method, it is advisable to treat this notion with a measure of doubt and to refute the idea of the social a-topia of words that name the world, and rather to identify the standpoint from which those who conceive and use them are talking. For this term had traveled round the world even before its definition was established as an analytical tool. Its vertiginous rise in importance, underscored by stock market and environmental crises, military expedition, major sporting events, or other such happenings broadcast wordwide by satellite, is only one side of the coin; the other is the sinking of history into oblivion. The risk is therefore great that it will become increasingly difficult to distinguish dreams from reality in a filed of representation already wide open to myths" (viii).
See Mattelart, Armand. *Networking the World: 1794-2000.* Translated by Liz Carey-Libbrecht and James A. Cohen. Minneapolis. University of Minnesota Press, 2000.

Locating the origins of the "inter-network" in print culture, I suggest that decentred "inter-networks" are neither historically nor technologically determined, but rather fostered by the modern development and cultural and ideological application of these "inter-networks" as modes of communication. As such, the concept of the network is part of the socio-political and historical sphere because it is essentially human agency, not technology nor electronic or print-media, that determines the application of networks and the formation of "inter-networks."

# I
# The Technological Determinism of Hypertext Theory and the De-Historicizing of the "Inter-Network"

**The Algorithm of Determinism: Internet = Post-Modernism?**

The technological determinism of hypertext critics over the promise of hypertext and the Internet supposedly liberates and "democratizes" the role of the individual in modern society. For example, in his 1996 article "Thinking Locally, Acting Globally," John Perry Barlow argues that the Internet transcends the economic and legal boundaries of nation states because it is a network which potentially operates outside of the control of governments.

> The Internet is too widespread to be easily dominated by any single government. By creating a seamless global-economic zone, borderless and unregulatable, the Internet calls into question the very idea of a nation-state.... What the Net offers is the promise of a new social space, global and antisovereign, within which anybody, anywhere can express to the rest of humanity whatever he or she believes without fear. There is in these new media a foreshadowing of the intellectual and economic liberty that might undo all the authoritarian powers on earth.[6]

Barlow characterizes the Internet as a democratic network free from government control because it operates outside of the jurisdiction of the nation state. Hence this freedom fosters the greater intellectual and economic liberty of the individual. However, in light of the developing legal regulation of such file-sharing "inter-networks" such as Napster, which threaten the economic interests of corporations, for example, Barlow's

---

[6] Barlow, John Perry. "Thinking Locally, Acting Globally." Time Magazine. January 15, 1996. Cited from the *EFF "Publications - John Perry Barlow" Archive.* <http://www.eff.org/pub/Misc/Publications/John_Perry_Barlow/think_local_act_global_011596.article> (accessed January 03, 2002).

proclamation of the Internet as "borderless and unregulatable" appears somewhat simplistic, if not naïve. Nonetheless, for Barlow, and many other hypertext critics, the Internet is the embodiment of postmodernism because it allegedly moves beyond the hierarchical restrictions imposed by the modern nation state. In short, the Internet liberates the individual from the shackles of a modern ideological framework of power, democracy, and the nation state. The "inter-network" function of electronic media is construed as rhizomatic rather than arboreal.

In her *Life on the Screen: Identity in the Age of the Internet* (1995), Sherry Turkle argues similarly for the "postmodern" liberation of the individual from the dominance of modern ideology through electronic communication networks.

> These ideas [postmodernism] are difficult to define simply, but they are characterized by such terms as "decentred," "fluid," "nonlinear," and "opaque." They contrast with modernism [sic], the...world-view that has dominated Western thinking since the Enlightenment. The modernist view of reality is characterized by such terms as "linear," "logical," "hierarchical," and by having "depths" that can be plumbed and understood....The online world of the Internet is not the only instance of evocative computer objects and experiences bringing postmodernism down to earth. (17)[7]

Like Barlow, Turkle construes the Internet as a practical implementation of postmodern concepts and ideology allowing the individual to go beyond the confines of modern conceptions of politics and subjectivity. Indeed, the Internet facilitates the postmodern application of "decentred, fluid and nonlinear" identities and thus challenges, if not transcends, the dominance of the modern ideological framework of logic and linearity. The technology of the Internet has finally brought "postmodernism down to earth" and made postmodernism accessible to all individuals. Through the communication technology "true" individual democracy has finally been achieved.

Barlow and Turkle both argue that the Internet is a democratizing technology that mediates postmodernist ideology in the political sphere. However, Turkle and Barlow can proclaim the Internet as a postmodernist technology only by the dismissal, or rather negation, of history. In his "Cyberdemocracy: Internet and the Public Sphere" Mark Poster has argued that the postmodernist potential of the Internet in the field of politics

---

[7] See also Turkle's conclusion to her study: "I have argued that Internet experiences help us develop models of psychological well-being that are in a meaningful sense postmodern: They admit multiplicity and flexibility. They acknowledge the constructed nature of reality, self, and other. The Internet is not alone in encouraging such models. There are many places within our culture that do so. What they have in common is that they all suggest the value of approaching one's "story" in several ways and with fluid access to one's different aspects. We are encouraged to think of ourselves as fluid, emergent, decentralized, multiplicitous, flexible, and ever in process" (Turkle, 263-264).

foregrounds the difficulty that democracy itself, is a "'modern' category...and thus outside of the spectrum of the post-modernist potential of the Internet" (203-204).[8] Citing such theorists "as Phillipe Lacoue Labarthe and Jean-Luc Nancy" regarding "the limitations of a 'left/right' spectrum of ideologies for addressing contemporary political issues" (203), Poster, a historian and media critic, points out that the "left/right" ideologies

> [derive] from seating arrangements of legislators during the French Revolution of 1789, the modern ideological spectrum inscribes a grand narrative of liberation which contains several problematic aspects....the "postmodern" position need not be taken as a metaphysical assertion of a new age. Theorists are trapped within existing frameworks as much as they may be critical of them and wish not to be. (203, 204)

In short, postmodern theorists—and we can add hypertext critics who appropriate postmodern theories to this category—are still trapped within the existing frameworks of the "modern ideological spectrum."

Poster (re)-positions the limitations of current postmodern discussions of "left/right" ideologies by tracing the context of the historical construction of these ideologies to the French Revolution—which along with the American Revolution fostered the application of modern political concepts. In other words, in defining their claims of liberation from a modern ideology, hypertext theories are automatically entrapped within a modern ideological framework because of their invocation of modern concepts to define their "revolutionary" and postmodern position. Moreover, the proclamation of the current revolution of postmodernist ideology mediated via the technology of hypertext and the Internet, is accomplished, as Poster points out, by dehistoricizing the moment of construction of the modern concept of democracy.

In the introduction to *The Future of the Book* (1996) Geoffrey Nunberg states that unlike "the postmodernists and postindustrialists" the "enthusiasts of the new technologies have no real interest in advancing a historical thesis....the point of their historical determinism...is chiefly to establish their right to control the cultural moment" (11). The technological determinism of Turkle and Barlow generalizes and simplifies the promise of the Internet and hypertext as a communication network that fosters a liberal

---

[8] See Poster, Mark. "Cyberdemocracy: Internet and the Public Sphere. " In *Internet Culture.* Ed. David Porter. New York and London: Routledge, 1997. 201-217. "To ask, then, about the relation of the Internet to democracy is to challenge or to risk challenging our existing theoretical approaches to these questions. If one brackets political theories that address modern governmental institutions in order to assess the "postmodern" possibilities suggested by the Internet, two difficulties immediately emerge: 1 there is no adequate "postmodern" theory of politics and 2 the issue of democracy...is itself a "modern" category" (Poster, 202-203).

individualism from the hierarchy of the nation state and modern ideology. Indeed, as Poster argues, such enthusiasm dehistoricizes the historical and cultural construction of the ideologies from which the Internet is the liberalizing agent. Such rhetorical strategies of revolution obscure the historical construction of the ideologies and concepts against which the revolution is positioned. It is not the Internet as technology, nor the application of Internet technology as a communication network, but rather the ideology of technological determinism of hypertext critics that constructs the Internet as an "inter-network" of postmodernism.

**The Algorithm of Determinism Continued: Hypertext = Post-Modernism?**

A decidedly less political approach to the liberalizing function of hypertext and the Internet is George Landow's *Hypertext 2.0* (1997).[9] Landow shifts the emphasis from Turkle and Barlow, who position the application of hypertext and Internet technology as a validation of postmodern *ideology*, to hypertext technology as a liberalizing and postmodern communication *system* itself. Landow attempts to historicize the development and promise of hypertext as a system through the empirical example of his own Intermedia system and subsequent web sites.[10] While Landow's argument embodies a decidedly greater degree of complexity, it nonetheless also depends upon the postmodern paradigm to validate its revolutionary rhetoric. Despite his emphasis on hypertext as a system, Landow constructs the technological determinism of hypertext as media that moves beyond the conventional "modern" ideological concepts of linearity and centredness supposedly embodied in print-media, but not in electronic media.

As noted above, Landow argues that the "conceptual systems" theorized by Derrida and Barthes about "multilinearity, nodes, links, and networks" will offer a "paradigm shift, which marks the revolution in human thought, [and] see electronic writing as a direct response to the strengths and weaknesses of the printed books" (*Hypertext 2.0*, 2).[11] For Landow, a network of links undermines the authorial narrative, liberating the reader

---

[9] Landow, George P. *Hypertext: 2.0*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1997.

[10] See the *George P. Landow — Homepage* at: <http://landow.stg.brown.edu/cv/landow_ov.html>.

[11] Landow draws on Derrida in presenting his argument that hypertext allows for the escape of "the constraints of linearity" of print media. "Hypertext, in other words, implements Derrida's call for a new form of hieroglyphic writing that can avoid some of the problems implicit and therefore inevitable in Western writing systems and their printed versions. Derrida argues for the inclusion of pictographic elements in writing as a means of escaping the constraints of linearity. Commenting on this thrust in Derrida's argument, Gregory Ulmer explains that grammatology thereby "confronts" four millenia during which anything in language that "resisted linearization was suppressed. Briefly stated, this suppression amounts to the denial of the pluridimensional character of symbolic thought originally present in the 'mythogram' (Leroi-Gourhan's term), or non-linear writing (pictographic and rebus writing)" (*Applied Grammatology*, 8). Derrida, who asks for a new pictographic writing as a way out of logocentricism, has to a large extent had his requests granted in hypertext" (Landow, 59). It would be interesting to test this theory of linearity in regard to handwritten and hand-illustrated texts; especially in manuscript culture.

whose individual agency, instead of the author's, will decide what links or lexia to follow; thus ushering in a revolutionary paradigm shift in human thought. Landow claims that the reader of hypertext is a more "active reader" than the reader of print-media

> when one considers that hypertext [as a technological system] involves a more active reader, one who not only chooses her reading paths but also has the opportunity of reading as an author; at any time the person reading can assume an authorial role by attaching links or adding material to the text being read. Therefore, a term like *reader*, which some computer systems employ for their electronic mailboxes or message spaces, does not seem appropriate either. (*Hypertext 2.0*, 57)

According to Landow the new "active reader" of hypertext is historically unprecedented. Even the "term *reader*" has become an inaccurate definition when applied to describe the reading of hypertext. In fact, Landow claims that the hypertext system goes beyond the conventional roles of reader and author because the reader is potentially an author that can link his/her own textual responses to the author's text.[12] The act of reading, therefore, is transformed from a passive print-media reader directed by the linear constraints of the author's text, to an "active" hypertext reader.

Landow's "active reader" is liberated and authorial because his/her dual function as reader and author allows for the attaching of new links and texts to the authorial text, as well as a non-linear reading path mediated by the reader's own choice of links to texts. While the electronic encoding of information may alter the access to texts for reading (i.e. the access to lexia in a non-linear fashion), however, it does not alter the fundamental mode of reading an argument, or of reading narrative.

In a recent critique David Miall argues that the non-linear mode of reading problematizes the very act of reading itself since "from the perspective of the reader the inherent tendency of hypertext is, paradoxically, to disconnect text sections, not to connect them" (161).[13] Landow's idealization of the liberated hypertext reader is problematic in practice because despite the reader's choice of links, the reader's choices remain subject to a textual system organized by the hypertext designer.[14] Miall further argues that in

---

[12] "This terminological problem arises, as has now become obvious, because the roles of reader and author change so much in hypermedia technology that our current vocabulary does not have much appropriate to offer" (Landow, *Hypertext 2.0*, 58).

[13] See: Miall, David S. "Trivializing or Liberating? The Limitations of Hypertext Theorizing." *Mosaic* 32 (June 1999): 157-171.

[14] Landow appears to contradict himself in suggesting that while the "active reader" reads in a non-linear fashion, he simultaneously suggests that we "still read *according to* print technology" in a linear mode (*Hypertext 2.0*, 57). "Since hypertext radically changes the experiences that *reading*, *writing*, and *text* signify, how, without misleading, can one employ these terms, so burdened with the assumptions of print

> most hypertexts...the nodes linked to the current text are off-screen, and little or no information about nodes is offered; thus anticipation is disabled. Under these circumstances the choice of which link to pursue becomes either problematic or arbitrary, since either I must spend time attempting to reflect on the relationship between the current text and the one I have just left (but this places heavy demands on memory if the previous text is now off-screen), or I accept that the present text is no more meaningful than any other text to which I might have moved, so that the quality of attention I give to it is likely to be reduced....The computer framework thus places more limitations on writing (and reading) than does conventional printed text. The infinite possibilities of response by each reader are limited to the few links prepared by the hypertext designer....The choice of multiple pathways through hypertextual space provides only an illusion of reader emancipation. (160, 162)

The reading process is disrupted, if not disabled, by the links to lexia which shift the focus away from the current text to an un-anticipatable text. Moreover, the supposed liberation of the reader from a "linear" text comes at a cost: the new subjection to the non-linear lexia links of the hypertext designer. Thus, the reader is still limited to a few pre-determined reading paths. The postmodernist concepts of non-linearity embodied in the hypertext system are not accommodated by a postmodern shift in the mode of reading hypertext. Hypertext does not alter the basic act of reading (although it may disrupt it). Arguments and narratives are still constructed, or rather read, in an essentially modern mode of reading, and hence, there is essentially no revolution in communication.

Landow's second qualification that the "active *reader*" can also function as an author who adds his/her own links in response to the authorial narrative is similarly problematic. Dismissing for a moment the obvious political and technical management issues regarding reader/author access and authorization to add links, Landow argues that the hypertext reader embodies the reader/author concepts often celebrated in postmodernist theory, but not possible in practice until the hypertext system. However, such an argument is historically inaccurate. In eighteenth-century coffeehouse and periodical culture, every reader was potentially also an author via a network of readers' letters and responses published in periodicals. As will be discussed in more detail in chapter two, one of the main characteristics of Jürgen Habermas' concept of the public sphere is that every reader can potentially participate in rational-critical debate via this epistolary-periodical network and is thereby directly linked to the public sphere.

---

technology, when referring to electronic materials? We still read *according to* print technology, and we still direct almost all of what we write toward print modes of publication, but we can already glimpse the first appearances of hypertextuality and begin to ascertain some aspects of its possible futures" (Landow, *Hypertext 2.0*, 57).

In short, Landow's construction of the new "active *reader*" facilitated by the hypertext system is not unprecedented in history. What is new, but certainly not revolutionary to "human thought," is that the dual role of reader/author is facilitated by an electronic mode, instead of a print mode, of communication. While the dual role of reader/author has existed prior to hypertext, it is *now* facilitated electronically via a hypertext system, rather than print-media. This allows for a geographical immediacy decidedly faster than geographically transmitted print-media responses. However, apart from the increase in speed this certainly is not revolutionary nor new as other historical moments facilitated similar patterns of communication via print-media networks. In the presentation of his argument Landow dehistoricizes print-media communication networks and fails to consider that a "liberated" reader/author forging his/her own network via print-media has existed previously in history.

Therefore, despite its liberating potential, in its application as a system hypertext remains a communication tool for the dissemination and transmission of text between reader and writer. In approaching hypertext as a communication tool Landow positions his argument of liberation within a modern ideological framework. Poster argues that the conceptualization of hypertext as a tool for communication still operates within a modern conception of subjectivity. For Poster, the "relation between the technology and human beings is external...they [humans] impose upon the technology from a preconstituted position of subjectivity" (205). Poster qualifies his argument further by stating that the question, or examination, should not be about the effects of technology, but specifically how the Internet

> imposes a dematerialization of communication and in many aspects a transformation of the subject position of the individual who engages within it...It installs a new regime of relations between humans and matter...reconfiguring the relation of technology to culture. (205)

However, the "dematerialization of communication" of electronic media is still dependent on hardware and electricity just as print-culture is dependent on printing and paper. The reconfiguration of "relations between human and matter," therefore, remains dependent on the subject position of the individual applying the "materials of communication" as a tool. The pre-conceived notion of subjectivity defines electronic media as a tool.

The issue of how hypertext transforms the "subject position of the individual...[in] reconfiguring the relation of technology to culture" remains entrapped within the modernist approach to electronic media as a communication network and/or tool. In order to escape the modernist framework that approach "technology from a preconstituted position of subjectivity" Landow dehistoricizes hypertext in claiming it as an unique moment in history. Landow positions the "active *reader*" as liberated by the non-

linearity of texts; however, nowhere in Landow's *Hypertext 2.0* is the reader of print media historicized as imprisoned by the linear modes of print-media communication networks.[15] In other words, Landow negates previous cultural transformations in history mediated by the application of print-media networks. In doing so, Landow positions his argument only within the framework of the current "hypertextual" moment which privileges the promise of "new" technology in order to substantiate a postmodern approach to electronic communication networks.

The technological determinism of hypertext in Landow's rhetorical strategy of dehistoricization is most apparent in *Hypertext 2.0*, where Landow argues that Tennyson's *In Memoriam* (1850) anticipates hypertext. According to Landow, the 133 fragmented stanzas of the poem are ideally suited for his *In Memoriam* Project—a hypertext project about Tennyson's poem. Given the non-linearity of the fragmented stanzas, links can be added to "(1) variant readings from manuscripts, (2) published critical commentary, as well as (3) commentary by members of the seminar, and (4) passages from works by other authors" (*Hypertext 2.0*, 239). Therefore, hypertext can "do things virtually impossible with book technology" (*Hypertext 2.0*, 239).

However, this argument contradicts Landow's earlier claim that the print-media edition of "*In Memoriam* anticipates electronic hypertextuality precisely by challenging narrative and the literary form based upon it" (*Hypertext 2.0*, 54). How can the printed text anticipate what is "virtually impossible with book technology" and can only be accomplished by hypertext?

> *In Memoriam* anticipates electronic hypertextuality precisely by challenging narrative and the literary form based upon it....The proto-hypertextuality of *In Memoriam* atomizes and disperses Tennyson the man. He is to be found nowhere, except in the epilogue....*The In "Memoriam" Web* [Landow's hypertext of the poem][16] attempts to capture the multilinear organization of the poem by

[15] In *Writing Space: The Computer, Hypertext, and the History of Writing* (1991) Bolter also defines print and electronic media as communication tools. "The book in whatever form is an intellectual tool rather than a means of relaxation. If the tool is powerful, writers and readers will put up with the inconveniences to use it. In any technique of writing, structure matters more than appearance or convenience, and the electronic book, whether it is embodied in today's boxy microcomputer or in a slim electronic notebook of the future, gives text a new structure. In place of the static pages of the printed book, the electronic book maintains text as a fluid network of verbal elements" (Bolter, 5). In contrast to Landow, however, for Bolter the linearity of print-media limits it as a communication tool. According to Bolter we must learn "how to write electronically" (Bolter, 6).

[16] The *In Memoriam Web* is now marketed as a "landmark in the development of serious hypertext." At the time of printing it retailed at $49.95 USD. See: <http://www.eastgate.com/catalog/InMemoriam.html> (accessed April 05, 2002). "A landmark in the development of serious hypertext, The *In Memoriam Web* demonstrated the critical power and excitement that can be created by collaborative hypertext writing. Like many great works of literature, Alfred Lord Tennyson's *In Memoriam* is densely allusive and referential, a

> linking sections.... *The In "Memoriam" Web* contains reference materials and variant readings, its major difference appears in its use of link paths that permit the reader to organize the poem by means of its network of leitmotifs and echoing sections. (*Hypertext 2.0*, 54, 55)

The "network" of "link paths" has been anticipated in the print-media production of Tennyson's Victorian poem, but it is only through the application of hypertext technology as a communication tool that finally allows for the "intended" reading which was not previously communicable via print-media. Within the postmodern hypertextual paradigm, Tennyson's *In Memoriam* is dislocated from its historical, cultural, autobiographical, and print moment of construction. Nowhere does Landow historicize the complexities concerning the print production, distribution, and consumption of the text in the Victorian period in regard to the poem's challenge to "narrative and the literary form based upon it." The Victorian reader, the Victorian (print) mode of reading *In Memoriam*, the Victorian author (indeed Tennyson "the man" is dispersed" and "found nowhere"), are negated at the expense of the cultural and historical significances of the text.

It is clear that for Landow, hypertext technology is the catalyst system, the communication mode of the current moment of transformation in re-appropriating the printed text to *how* it should be read. However, in stating that Tennyson's *In Memoriam* "anticipates electronic hypertextuality," Landow attempts to validate hypertext in history without addressing the role of print-media communication networks in the Victorian era. Tennyson's poem anticipates hypertext only because the tool of communication of the poem has changed—from print-media network to an electronic hypertext network—but not because the Victorians read, or Tennyson wrote, the poem hypertextually. Therefore, *In Memoriam* "anticipates electronic hypertextuality" not historically, culturally, or practically, but only because Landow argues so without clarifying whether the Victorians read the poem linearly or hypertextually. In print the 133 stanzas of *In Memoriam* are fragments; in hypertext the same 133 stanzas are a network. In short, Landow celebrates the network function of hypertext by dehistoricizing the network function of print-media in communication history.

**Liberation and Supersession: The Decentralized Modern "Inter-Network"**

The proclaimed "revolutionary" developments of "link paths," networks, information overload, and metatexts mediated by electronic technology, is accomplished through a

---

sort of hypertext in the making; but since *In Memoriam* was composed in discrete parts meant to be read reflectively and in juxtaposition, this work lends itself particularly well to hypertextual treatment. Landow and Lanestedt's work provides students and scholars with a remarkable perspective on this momument of elegiac verse."

negation of other periods of cultural transformation and the application of print-media networks and technology in history.[17] Paul Duguid's article, "Material matters: The past and futurology of the book" (1996), forewarns us not to dismiss the old technologies of the past in favour of new technologies. Duguid argues that "[t]echnology's...passing flirtation with 'critical theory,' harbors...what Jameson calls postmodernism's 'deafness to history'" (65). The rhetorical strategies of hypertext critics to dismiss the role of old technologies in history can be categorized into "two futurological tropes": supersession and liberation. Duguid states that

> any idea that old technologies can tell us anything about new ones has been discouraged by two futurological tropes (supported in varying degrees by critical theory)...The first is...*supersession* — the idea that each new technological type vanquishes or subsumes its predecessors....The second is the claim of *liberation*, the argument or assumption that the pursuit of new information technologies is simultaneously a righteous pursuit of liberty. Liberationists hold...that new technology is going to free it [information]....First, cultural arguments for supersession lean heavily on the language of postmodernism, while liberationists' arguments about emancipation are laden with the ideas of postmodernism's great antipathy, "the enlightenment project." And second, technological ideas of supersession understandably expect progress through technology, while liberation looks for freedom from it. (65-66; Emphasis Duguid's)

The liberation and supersession arguments about hypertext enforces blinders to the role of technologies and media in history. Since old technologies cannot inform us about new technologies—the notion that archaic print-media cannot inform us about hypertext media, for example, and must be superseded—the past is simply dismissed.

The liberation arguments of Barlow and Turkle foreground the interconnectedness of information via links and electronic "inter-networks." The unrestricted access to information liberates the individual. The rhetoric of postmodernism and poststructuralism is embodied in electronic media which has liberated the reader and individual from the confinements of print media and modernist conceptions of the state. Landow's dehistoricization clearly embodies the trope of supersession. After all, it is hypertext that embodies postmodernist concepts and it is print-media, specifically the book, that "we must abandon" because of its shortcomings (i.e. linearity instead of non-linearity etc). In short, as we have seen, for Landow the past must be abandoned if we are to embrace the future, and recognize the revolutionary technology of hypertext. To

---

[17] Landow also predicts that in "the future there will be more metatexts formed by linking individual sections of individual works, although the notion of an individual, discrete work becomes increasingly undermined and untenable within this form of information technology, as it already has within much contemporary critical theory" (Landow, *Hypertext 2.0*, 56).

escape the past is a supersessionist proclamation of independence, according to Duguid, in order to "secede from history and set to work on a newly cleaned *tabula rasa*" (68).[18]

Duguid's tropes of supersession and liberation are useful in schematizing the critical ramifications that are a result of the dehistoricization of old technologies such as print-media in hypertext and critical theory. What I am specifically suggesting here is that the hypertext argument of an unprecedented cultural transformation can only be established by hypertext critics in dehistoricizing the concept of the network, and by re-configuring the network as a "new" facet unique to electronic media and culture. Both "supersession and liberation assume that information stands aloof from the technology that carries it" (Duguid, 66). However, information and technology are not mutually exclusive. The mode of communication, especially the concept of the network, is essential in simultaneously linking information to the technology transmitting information. In other words, as such literary critics of textuality as Jerome J. McGann suggest, and as I briefly suggested in my critique of Landow's claim that *In Memoriam* is a proto-hypertext, the representation of a text, whether in electronic or print-media format, the relation between author, work and audience, are all cultural factors that produce a text.[19] The secession from history, then, is significant "because we are also losing valuable cultural insights gained through old communicative technologies, just as we are trying to build new ones" (71).[20] An analysis of "old communicative technologies" within the evolution of communication history, such as print-media applications in print culture, extends both our understanding of the application of print-media networks, as well as the function of networks in current electronic technologies.

Moreover, such an analysis dehistoricizes the concept of the network and locates the application of the network as a communication tool of modern ideology. The futurologist tropes of supersession and liberation assert postmodernist concepts, in order to, in the words of Fredric Jameson, "get rid of whatever you found confining, unsatisfying, or

---

[18] Duguid astutely points out the irony of the supersession of technology for futurologists and hypertext critics: "the rapid, predatory supersession of both hardware and software is rendering recently created digital documents and archives inaccessible or unreadable" (Duguid, 71).

[19] "Arguments against the book...often characterize it not in terms of the whole cycle, from writers to readers and back again, but from the point of authorial production alone. Isolating this position allows the book to appear to exert malign, authoritative influences over passive audiences....Information technology, by contrast, is often characterized in terms of the circulating text or of cultural consumption, but not of production. Privileging the circulating text makes information seem remarkably self-sufficient and the book, by contrast, imprisoning" (Duguid, 79).

[20] "We need to be cautious about the trivilization and dismissal of the past, however, not simply because we may lose particular documents or artifacts, but we are also losing valuable cultural insights gained through old communicative technologies, just as we are trying to build new ones" (Duguid, 71). For supersessionists, however, "Technology, it is assumed, is projecting society into a postmodern, posthistorical plenum where the only problems are caused by Luddites" (Duguid, 73).

boring about the modern, modernism, or modernity."[21] In the "inter-network's" replacement of the book with "multilinearity, nodes, links, and [other] networks" Landow classifies the concept of the network as postmodern in order to dislocate the concept of the network from a modern ideological framework and to contextualize it within the current media transformation. For example, Landow's definition of the "Internet, the international network composed of interlinked computers" equates the network with computers and electronic media in an attempt to dehistoricize and disconnect the concept of linked "inter-networks" and from print culture (Landow, 1996: 227).[22]

Poster argues that in their use of "democracy" hypertext and postmodern critics are trapped within a modern ideological framework in their definition and application of the term. Likewise, hypertext critics dislocate the concept of the network from its historical construction in order to re-configure networks as revolutionary component of electronic media. In other words, hypertext critics remain trapped in a modern ideological framework in their use of the concept of the network as a communication system and tool despite wanting to locate the concept of the network as specific to electronic media and postmodernism.

Even Poster, surprisingly, seems to fall into this trap, albeit momentarily. Poster characterizes the Internet as "decentralized technology":

> When the question of technology is posed we see immediately how the Internet disrupts the basic assumptions of the older positions. The Internet is above all, a decentralized communication system....The Internet is also decentralized at a basic level of organization since, as a network of networks, new networks may be added so long as they conform to certain communication protocols. (204)[23]

---

[21] Jameson, Fredric. *Postmodernism or the Cultural State of Late Capitalism* (1994), xiv.

[22] "Connecting computers together in networks adds another series of qualities to digital textuality. Digitizing text permits one to reproduce, manipulate, and reconfigure it with great ease and rapidity....Unlike the world of networked digital information technology, disseminating a text required physically moving it from one place to another....as electronic bulletin boards, discussion lists, and the World Wide Web make clear, many readers and writers have already moved beyond the book into essentially location-independent texts and text-bases" (Landow, 1996: 219-220). The reproduction, manipulation and reconfiguration and moving texts into "location-independent texts and text-bases" was also accomplished via print-media communication networks in the eighteenth century. See Chapter Two, "*The Analytical Review* as an Inter-Network of Cross-Cultural Exchange." Despite the speed of transmission, which is a technological characteristic of electronic media, the utilization of networks to transmit texts is hardly revolutionary and has numerous precedents in history.

[23] Since Poster published his article in 1997 a hegemony of the Internet has definitely emerged challenging the function of the Internet as a decentralized communication system. Recent mergers of Time-Warner Inc., and Microsoft's interest to become the portal of Internet traffic foreshadows the inevitable centralization, institutionalization, regulation and standardization of the communication protocols that regulate the Internet.

It is this decentralized function of the Internet as "a network of networks"—an "inter-network" of networks to which new networks can be added—that Poster construes as unique to electronic media. However, the concept of an "inter-network" as a network of networks, is certainly not historically, politically, and culturally, specific to electronic media and culture, but a key component of print-media communication networks during the eighteenth century.

In fact, a variety of print-media networks, especially the periodical in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, functioned as decentralized technology in the form of print-media "inter-networks." As will be discussed in detail in Chapter Two, the "inter-networks" of the decentralized periodical during the period from 1790 to 1820 operated as a cross-cultural and international "inter-network" linked to foreign networks that, in turn, forged new communication networks beyond the boundaries of the nation state and local culture. The "inter-network" of the decentralized periodical was regulated by its own "communication protocols" until it became subject to censorship and other institutional forms of regulation imposed by government authority during the early 1800s.

Specifically, it is this decentralizing function of an "inter-network," what Duguid refers to as demassification[24]—"the increasing ease with which socially complex technologies can be made not just for broad masses of people, but for small groups and individuals" (83)—that is celebrated by both supersessionists and liberationists as the revolutionary promise of electronic media. The key promise of liberation and supersession for hypertext enthusiasts is that electronic media provides an *alternative* to the standardized mass-communication modes of production, distribution and consumption of information. Specifically, the decentralized communication potential of hypertext and the Internet fulfill Poster's criteria for the Internet as a disrupter of "basic assumptions of the older [i.e., "broadcast" networks] positions." Positioned against the "one to many" broadcast networks of mass communication in the twentieth century, hypertext technology and the Internet functions as, or rather fulfills, the role of alternative "decentralized technology." Hypertext critics construe the function of the Internet as an alternative decentralized technology as a guarantee without contention. On the contrary, however, the conflict over the promise of the Internet as a decentralized communication "inter-network" will present itself as the next major power struggle in the twenty-first century. An analysis of "old communicative technologies" as Duguid suggests, specifically of the function of the role of decentralized print-media communication "inter-networks," becomes increasingly significant, in order to extend our understanding of the application of current electronic technologies and decentralized networks.

---

[24] Again, this "demassification" appears to be in the process of being reversed by such corporations as Microsoft and Time-Warner Inc.; especially if one considers the transition to digital WebTV in the coming decade.

The salient issue, then, against which hypertext technology and the Internet are characterized as a decentralized and revolutionary technology, is the *standardization* of "one to many" broadcast communication networks. This standardization developed out of the centralization of mass communication print-media networks (newspapers; journals; periodicals) in the nineteenth century and an accompanying population growth to consume the productions of mass communication.[25] The cultural struggle during the 1790s and 1820s between decentralized print-media "inter-networks" and the centralization and standardization of communication protocols to enforce the institutionalization of the "broadcast" network is dehistoricized in light of the above-noted technological determinism of networks. However, the communication protocols of electronic media networks are not immune to institutionalization and centralization by government and/or corporate policies.

The historical fallacy of technological determinism, then, is that it defines the cultural transformation of electronic media as a liberal and supersessionist agent only against contemporary conceptualizations of the nation state and mass communication. In doing so, however, these arguments of technological determinism fail to historicize the struggle between the "inter-networks" of decentralized print-media technology and "broadcast" networks of centralized print-media technology during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as a cultural transformation. The cultural transformation during the eighteenth-century—specifically centred on the French Revolution—adapted and developed the *modern ideological application* of the decentralized print-media "inter-network" to disseminate modern concepts of state, liberty, and individuality.

It is this modern ideological application of the decentralized "inter-network" that is appropriated by the liberationist and supersessionist hypertext critics. For example, in examining the role of the book during the French Revolution, Carla Hesse, in "Books in Time" (1996) argues, that France during the 1790s experimented with establishing a decentralized print-media "inter-network" that would accommodate the liberty of the individual.

> There are striking resemblances...between current descriptions of the new electronic text and the modes of textuality invented and explored by the periodical press of the eighteenth century: the free play with formatting...the notion of text as bulletin board, and alternatively, *as a transparent network for the exchange of letters*. The eighteenth century also witnessed experimentation...of putting the

[25] See Mattelart: "The nineteenth century was the age of the invention of news and the ideal of instantaneous information. The major news agencies were founded between 1830 and 1850, and in 1875 the first press group came into being. The earliest written genres in mass culture also appeared during that period. By the outbreak of World War I the film and music industries had already revealed their export potential" (23).

> power of publication into the hands of every individual citizen. In 1789, Condorcet had the fantasy of using these new technologies of print and modes of textuality to, as he put it, "bring all of France into a dialogue with itself." (Hesse, 24; Emphasis mine)[26]

Historically, then, such an "inter-network" of print-media experimentally mediated the decentralized dialogue of liberalism between individuals. In participating in such a "liberal" exchange, individuals fulfilled the dual roles of author and reader. Clearly, print-media networks were applied in the supersession and liberalist modes of decentralized communication two hundred years prior to the Internet and hypertext communication applications.

What is especially of interest is that Hesse argues that the experiment ultimately failed not because of "technological limits [but]....Rather the experiment was abandoned because of the political terror they experienced as cultural forces were unleashed with this new textuality of the French Revolution" (24). In other words, it is *not* the decentralized technology itself, but the *application* of decentralized technology as an "inter-network" of communication that mediated the cultural forces of the French Revolution that became known as The Terror. Hesse argues that it was these repercussions and applications that led to the regulation and institutionalization of "inter-networks" in order to legally and institutionally control the dissemination of information. Again, this regulation did *not* transform print-media technology itself, but regulated the *application* of print-media technology from a decentralized "inter-network" into a centralized network.[27] During the 1790s the fear of revolution in Great Britain also fostered official fear of print-media "inter-networks," and although the path of institutionalization differed from France, by the 1820s the decentralized "inter-networks" of print-media had been regulated into a centralized "broadcast" network.

Against this historical backdrop of the regulation and institutionalization of mass print-media communication networks, it is certainly of interest that the modern ideological applications of decentralized "inter-networks" in previous periods of cultural transformation are negated by hypertext critics. Print-media "inter-networks" in history

---

[26] Hesse, Carla. "Books in time." In *The Future of the Book.* Edited by Geoffrey Nunberg. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996. 21-36.

[27] Hesse further argues that the decentralized "inter-networks" during the early 1790s in France resulted in a "Cultural anarchy....In the wake of these first consequences of the deregulation of print culture, the cultural policy makers in successive national assemblies came to recognize that laissez-faire cultural politics was utopian, and that they would have to find a means to regulate the world of print if their ideal of an enlightened republic was to be realized....legal and institutional changes aimed at ensuring the dominance of the book - a cultural form that encouraged slow, reasoned reflection upon events, rather than the spontaneous and rapid interventions made possible by newspaper and pamphlet production" (Hesse, 25, 26).

are dehistoricized by supersessionists and liberationists in order to control the current moment of cultural transformation—which therefore certainly appears more revolutionary when unprecedented—but also to dislocate the modern ideology embodied in the application of decentralized "inter-networks" that facilitate the unmediated and unregulated interchange of dialogue between individuals.

Similarly, Carla Hesse argues that

> The kind of textual destabilization and experimentation apparently made possible by the advent of new electronic technologies - hypertext, electronic bulletin boards, the Internet...are less a consequence of these new media *per se* than of the process of determining the appropriate and desirable forms of their institutionalization. Indeed I might speculate that the kind of experimentation that we are currently witnessing in electronic publication is a symptom of an underregulated or rather relative to print media, unregulated communications medium that has evolved alongside of or beyond the reach of current regulatory frameworks rather than a consequence of the technological possibilities opened up by digitalization itself. (Hesse, 28)

Specifically, what I argue here is that the promise of the application of hypertext and Internet networks is in fact the promise of a modern application of decentralized "inter-networks" free from the regulation and institutionalization of mass and centralized communication networks such as television and print-media. In short, the decentralized technology of "inter-networks" facilitates the application of what is essentially a modernist ideology of liberty and information interchange against the modern concepts of the nation state and mass communication, which developed out of the period of cultural transformation in the 1790s.

**Conclusion**

Therefore, our analysis of the new technologies should, as Duguid argues, include our understanding of the application of old technologies in past periods of cultural transformation, in order to extend our understanding of the concept of the decentralized "inter-network." The Romantic period, the immediate period before the standardization of mass print-media communication networks in the nineteenth century, then, becomes significant as the *focus* for the struggle between decentralized "inter-networks" against the implementation of centralized networks of communication.

In negating the regulation of old communication technologies, many hypertext critics are blinding themselves to the possibility of the imminent regulation and standardization of the Internet and electronic media, as argued, for example, by Joseph Lackard:

> As a means of production that does not specifically belong to any identifiable owner (yet), cyberspace eludes those nineteenth-century political formulations that trailed in the wake of the Industrial Revolution. The locus of class/power relations has slipped into a more diffuse, individuated mode, yet one that certainly is not class-neutral. (220)[28]

In other words, the decentralized role of the Internet as a global communication "inter-network" is not specific to current electronic developments and needs to be historicized. Although not global, the print-media "inter-networks" of cross-cultural interchange in nineteenth century Western Europe fostered an informed cosmopolitan individual. The implications of rational critical debate in the public sphere mediated by these print-media networks was far more revolutionary and consequential during the Romantic period than the current "revolutionary" rhetoric of hypertext critics on the globally liberalizing function of the Internet. I will now turn to an examination of the decentralized periodical as an "inter-network" of cross-cultural exchange between England and Germany in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries.

---

[28] See: Lackard, Joseph. "Progressive Politics, Electronic Individualism and the Myth of Virtual Community." In *Internet Culture*. Ed. David Porter. New York and London: Routledge, 1997. 219-231.

## Works Cited and Consulted

Barlow, John Perry. "Thinking Locally, Acting Globally." *Time Mag*azine. January 15, 1996. Cited from the *EFF "Publications - John Perry Barlow" Archive*. <http://www.eff.org/pub/Misc/Publications/john_Perry_Barlow/ think_local_ act_global_011596.article> (accessed January 03, 2002).

Birkerts, Sven. *The Gutenberg Elegies: The Fate of Reading in an Electronic Age.* New York: Fawcett Columbine, 1994.

Bolter, Jay David. *Writing Space: The Computer, Hypertext, and the History of Writing.* Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 1991.

Castells, Manuel. *The Rise of Network Society.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 1996.

Duguid, Paul. "Material matters: The past and futurology of the book." In *The Future of the Book.* Edited by Geoffrey Nunberg. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996. 63-102.

Ess, Charles. "The Political Computer: Hypertext, Democracy, and Habermas." In *Hyper /Text / Theory.* Edited by George P. Landow. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1994.

Habermas, Jürgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere.* Translated by Thomas Burger. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1989.

Hesse, Carla. "Books in time." In *The Future of the Book.* Edited by Geoffrey Nunberg. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996. 21-36.

Holeton, Richard. *Composing Cyberspace: Identity, Community, and Knowledge in the Electronic Age.* Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1998.

Jameson, Fredric. *Postmodernism or the Cultural State of Late Capitalism.* Durham: Duke University Press, 1994.

Klancher, Jon P. *The Making of the English Reading Audiences: 1790-1832.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987.

Lackard, Joseph. "Progressive Politics, Electronic Individualism and the Myth of Virtual Community." In *Internet Culture*. Ed. David Porter. New York and London: Routledge, 1997. 219-231.

Landow, George P. *Hypertext: The Convergence of Contemporary Critical Theory and Technology*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1992.

Landow, George P. *Hypertext 2.0*. Baltimore : Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997.

Landow, George P. "Twenty minutes into the future, or how are we moving beyond the book?" In *The Future of the Book*. Edited by Geoffrey Nunberg. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996. 209-238.

Mattelart, Armand. *Networking the World, 1794-2000*. Translated by Liz Carey-Libbrecht and James A. Cohen. London and Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000.

Miall, David S. "The Hypertextual Moment." *English Studies in Canada* 24 (June 1998): 157-174.

Miall, David S. "Trivializing or Liberating? The Limitations of Hypertext Theorizing." In *Mosaic* 32 (June 1999): 157-171.

Nunberg, Geoffrey. Ed. *The Future of the Book*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.

Poster, Mark. "Cyberdemocracy: Internet and the Public Sphere." In *Internet Culture*. Ed. David Porter. New York and London: Routledge, 1997., pp. 201-217.

Turkle, Sherry. "Introduction: Identity in the Age of the Internet." In *Life on the Screen: Identity in the Age of the Internet*. Toronto: Simon & Schuster., 1995.

Warner, William. "Declaring Independence as Unlicensed Circulation; or, How the Continental Congress Rewired the British Empire Network and Invented a Flat Network Design." Unpublished paper presented at Sheffield-Hallam University on July 20, 2001, at the *Print Culture in the Age of the Circulating Library, 1750-1850, Conference*.

# Chapter Two

## Print-Media "Inter-Networks" of Cross-Cultural Exchange: The Decentralized Periodical in the Public Sphere, 1790-1820

### Introduction

During the 1790s the periodical functioned as a decentralized communication "inter-network" of domestic and foreign networks. Indeed, such an "inter-network" of "narrow-band" and "broadcast" networks facilitated the dissemination of cross-cultural exchange in the English public sphere.[1] This information exchange challenged the hegemony of the domestic political status quo. During the period from 1790 to 1820 the periodical was at the forefront of a cultural transformation of the public sphere which shifted the rational-critical debate mediated by decentralized communication networks in the public sphere to a centralized network of mass communication. By the early 1820s the periodical had become centralized and was no longer capable of mediating a "many to many" rational-critical debate in the public sphere.

Instead, the centralized periodical, in the form of the "mass journal," broadcasted a "one-to-many" dissemination of information that forged a mass audience, as well as its opinions. Jon Klancher's informative study, *The Making of the English Reading Audiences: 1790-1832* (1987), argues that the cheaply produced mass journal emerged during the later 1810s. At first, the content of these centralized mass journals addressed a "radical artisan public:"

---

[1] The terms "narrow-band" networks and "broadcast" networks are contemporary terms defining the mode of transmission in disseminating information. "Broadcast" networks are networks of "one to many" transmission, such as major newspapers, government publications, radio and/or television, which disseminate information widely to a mass audience. The reader, or receiver, of this information is not able to transmit a signal in response to the transmission and is therefore unable to participate in the communication interchange. "Narrow-band" networks are networks of "many to many" transmission of information, such as pamphlets, letters printed in newspapers and/or periodicals, webboards etc, and the self-publishing of articles and books. Since the individual can both receive and transmit a signal, he/she is both reader and writer in his/her potential participation with information interchange in the public sphere. In my application of the term "narrow-band" in regard to the Romantic period I draw on William Warner's use of the term. "The communications links by which they had coordinated their efforts so far were what we would call today "narrow-band"—limited for the most part to the manuscript letters of correspondence, and the printed pamphlets, newspapers, and sermons which circulated among the colonies" (Warner, 3-4).

> ...beginning with Cobbett's two-pence "Penny Trash" version of the *Political Register* in November 1816, artisans and laborers in tens of thousands read Cobbett, T. J. Wooler's *Black Dwarf* (1817), Richard Carlile's *Republican* (1819) [etc]...Readership of these journals ranged from 10,000 to 12,000 for the *Black Dwarf* to some 150,000 to 200,000 for the earliest two-pence editions of Cobbett's *Register*. (101)

These centralized mass journals forged an interpretative paradigm for a *mass* reading audience at the expense of the individual reader. After "1820 the radical audience dwindled into handfuls" (101), but the mass audience remained. The advent of the steam press secured the centralization of the mass journal. "[C]heap publications to all provinces and classes" addressed a mass audience in a "broadcast" one-to-many dissemination (88).

In this chapter I will historicize the salient issues regarding the cultural transformation of the periodical from a decentralized "inter-network" of communication during the 1790s to a centralized network of mass communication in the 1820s. In the first section I present an historical analysis of the periodical in the 1790s as a decentralized "inter-network" of communication in the public sphere. Drawing on Jürgen Habermas' concept of the public sphere outlined in his *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (1962; translated 1989),[2] I argue that a decentralized communication "inter-network" is essential in mediating rational-critical debate in the public sphere. Both Habermas and Klancher historicize decentralized communication "inter-networks" as a unique moment in print culture and communication history.

In the second section I examine the role of the decentralized "inter-network" of communication in mediating the cross-cultural exchange between England and Germany. *The Analytical Review* (1788-1799) provides an excellent case-study of a periodical which functions as a decentralized "inter-network" of foreign networks to disseminate information acquired from German sources and texts to an audience in the English public sphere. At the opposite end of the political spectrum was *The Anti-Jacobin Review; Or Weekly Examiner* (1797-1798) which attempted to cultivate a centralized audience through a strategy of stigmatization, labeling views opposed to the government as "Jacobin."[3]

---

[2] Habermas, Jürgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*. Translated by Thomas Burger. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1989.

[3] The term "Jacobin" was adopted by the radical political group during the French Revolution of which Robespierre was the leader who ushered in the "Reign of Terror." In Britain the term "Jacobin" was applied to any sympathy with, or interest in, the French Revolution, be it liberal or radical, which was construed as being opposed to the political status quo represented by the King and patriotism for Great Britain. "Jacobin" continued to function as a term of opprobrium in England until well after the French Revolution and became a blanket term applied to any dissenting views against the British government; or to

# I
# The Decentralized Periodical and the Transformation of the Public Sphere

## Habermas and Klancher: Decentralized Periodicals and the Public Sphere

The full details of Jürgen Habermas' argument in *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* need not be recounted here. What I would like to emphasize in Habermas' study is the role of "narrow-band" networks, such as letters and personal correspondence, and "broadcast" networks, such as the decentralized periodical, in regard to his concept of the public sphere. Rational-critical debate facilitated the individual to express his (and also in the case of the *salon* in France, her) subjectivity in the public sphere through the formulation of an informed and intellectually reasoned argument. Habermas cites the coffeehouse culture of eighteenth-century England as the ideal milieu for private people to publicly engage in rational-critical debate.[4] From the beginning, coffeehouse culture was closely tied to the periodical.

> When Addison and Steele published the first issue of the *Tatler* in 1709, the coffeehouses were already so numerous and the circle of their frequenters already so wide, that contact among these thousandfold circles could only be maintained through a journal. At the same time the new periodical was so intimately interwoven with the life of the coffeehouses that the individual issues were indeed sufficient basis for its reconstruction. The periodical articles were not only made the object of discussion by the public of the coffeehouses but were viewed as integral parts of this discussion; this was demonstrated by the flood of letters from which the editor each week published a selection. (42)

---

views which were foreign and non-English. In fact, it became a common belief, if not a myth, that many revolutionary ideas had their origin in Germany—the Illuminati conspiracy being an obvious example. In short, foreign ideas and concepts, especially of German origin, were branded as "Jacobin" and considered a serious threat to the status quo of England. Periodicals such as *The Anti-Jacobin Review; Or Weekly Examiner*, aimed to undermine the "Jacobin" threat in the public sphere through criticism and ridicule.

[4] "...the coffeehouses in their golden age between 1680 and 1730 and the *salons* in the period between regency and revolution. In both countries [Great Britain and France] they were centers of criticism—literary at first, then also political—in which began to emerge, between aristocratic society and bourgeois intellectuals, a certain parity of the educated" (Habermas. 32). "Thus critical debate ignited by works of literature and art was soon extended to include economic and political disputes, without any guarantee....that such discussions would be inconsequential, at least in the immediate context....The coffeehouses not merely made access to the relevant circles less formal and easier; it embraced the wider strata of the middle class, including craftsmen and shopkeepers. Ned Ward reports that the "wealthy shopkeeper" visited the coffeehouse several times a day, this held true for the poor one as well" (Habermas, 33).

In the coffeehouses, periodicals and journals were read, discussed, and debated. The individual, therefore, was an active participant in the public sphere because viewpoints were also disseminated into the public sphere, either via rational-critical debate at the coffeehouses, or specifically through the epistolary network of letters and correspondences to the editor published in periodicals. Every reader, then, was potentially also a writer and thereby a participant and a potential producer in print-media. This epistolary network transmitted participation in the public sphere via the "inter-network" of periodicals and coffeehouses which provided the forum for discussion of these letters and fostered new responses and transmissions via the epistolary network.

While Habermas locates the golden age of the coffeehouses in England from 1680 to 1730, the height of the public sphere runs parallel to the development of the decentralized periodical, which became the primary mediator of rational-critical debate in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Klancher states that

> First formed in the second half of the seventeenth century, the periodical was the cultural contemporary of the English postal service and the London coffeehouse....Like the coffeehouse, the periodical assembled men from disparate social "ranks," writers with their patrons and potential readers, publishers with their suppliers, politicians with their critics. Social practices of gathering, reading, and writing as "discoursing subjects" allowed these subjects to pursue the rational consensus called the Enlightenment. (19)

Contemporary with the communication networks of the English postal service and the coffeehouse, the periodicals of the late-eighteenth century and early-nineteenth century had developed into a decentralized print-media communication "inter-network." Indeed, according to Klancher, during the period from 1790 to 1832 "over four thousand journals were published in Britain, some in many dozens of volumes" (ix). The content of these periodicals was not centralized and therefore these periodicals functioned as a decentralized "inter-network" of communication disseminating a multifarious array of information. Klancher states that "[s]uch writings...constantly surprise one; they range much further, in every conceivable cultural direction, than the limited canon of "Romantic" prose would lead one to expect" (ix).

The textual production of the decentralized periodical was comprised of a wide array of inter-linking networks of provincial, regional, and cosmopolitan interchange. This diversity of text-making via multifarious "inter-networks" of transmission and reception embodied a "many to many" transmission of information. Klancher argues that

> the productive disarray of early-nineteenth-century relations among writers, ideologies, discourses, and social audiences has a more immediate parallel to our

> own efforts to forge new, sometimes disruptive cultural connections. Those writers—among them Shelley, Wordsworth, Coleridge...Paine—struggled to forge readerships in what now appears to have been a *transitory, personal world of reading and writing far removed from mass audiences and institutionalised discourses of the modern "consciousness industry" and its ideologies.* (172; Emphasis mine)

In this "transitory...world" before the "one to many" transmission of mass communication, every reader was potentially a writer who could resort to epistolary networks, correspondences to the editor, and public discussion, to voice rational-critical debate in the public sphere. Thus, the print-media "inter-networks" linked the private individual into a collective assembly of individuals who formed a public sphere of rational-critical debate.

The state of flux and instability of the public sphere at first allowed the decentred periodical to be largely unregulated, unorganized, and for the most part provided the unmediated free expression of ideas and opinions. In "Cyberdemocracy: Internet and the Public Sphere" (1997), Mark Poster's argues that it is advisable to "abandon" Habermas' concepts of the public sphere in "assessing the Internet as a political domain" because the era of face-to-face rational-critical debate is surely come to an end (210). While Poster's point certainly applies to Habermas' public sphere as embodied in the face-to-face rational-critical debate facilitated by coffeehouse culture, Poster's argument is not applicable to the non-face-to-face rational-critical debate mediated by decentralized "inter-networks" of communication, such as the role of the late eighteenth-century and early-nineteenth century periodical in the public sphere. In fact, Poster argues that "the issue now [i.e., 1997] is that the machines enable new forms of decentralized dialogue and create new combinations of human-machine assemblages, new individual and collective 'voices'" (210). Poster foregrounds decentralization as a key component. However, the decentralized periodical during the 1790s and 1810s is an important historical example in print culture of text-making which mediated non-face-to-face rational critical debate of "new individual and collective voices" in the public sphere.

What I would like to foreground here is the fact that the "inter-network" of the decentralized periodical also enabled "forms of decentralized dialogue," as well as fostering "new combinations" of human print-media "assemblages." It is not the technological determinism of machinery that mediates the "decentralized dialogue [of] new individual and collective 'voices'" (although I am not suggesting the exclusion of technology as an influence), but rather, the forging of decentralized "inter-networks" in either print or electronic culture. In other words, contemporary inter-networking applications of new electronic technology are often constructed as liberating because they are positioned only against the "one to many" "broadcast" models of mass communication. What I am arguing here is that such rhetoric is historically inaccurate

because it obscures the cultural transformation of the public sphere between Klancher's "transitory...world of reading and writing far removed from mass audiences and institutionalized discourses" during the Romantic period to the instutionalized mass communication of the nineteenth century (172). An examination of the decentralized periodical, a print-media communication "inter-network" facilitating non-face-to-face rational-critical debate, historicizes the cultural struggle for the public sphere in print culture as well as electronic culture.

In fact, as the inheritor of the function of the coffeehouse and primary mediator of rational-critical debate in the public sphere, the decentralized periodical quickly became the focal point of the cultural struggle for control of, as well as access to, the public sphere. Klancher argues that

> Eighteenth-century journals had organized English audiences by forming the "reading-habit," but after 1790 that habit became the scene of a cultural struggle demanding a new mental map of the complex public and its textual desires, a new way to organize audiences according to their ideological dispositions, their social distances, and the paradoxically intense pressure of their proximity as audiences. But it is also important to see that earlier-eighteenth-century relations of reading and writing were not—as theorists of the "public sphere" require—stable or fixed. They had to be worked out strategically according to the cultural dynamics they formed. (20)

While the "narrow-band" and "broadcast" networks operating in the public sphere were neither "stable or fixed" in the transmission of "reading and writing," what developed in the 1790s was a struggle for control of the communication "inter-network" of the decentralized periodical. It was precisely because the decentralized periodicals were so numerous and effective in their dissemination of a multifarious disarray of print-media that the non-face-to-face rational-critical debate of the decentralized periodicals posed a threat to the domestic political status quo.

The early years of the French Revolution had developed the phenomenon of rapid public debate about government and revolution in the English public sphere. For example, Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790) "sold 30,000 copies in the first two years of publication" (Wu, 4). Written to "rally English sentiment and partriotism in support of the existing aristocratic system of government," Burke's *Reflections* sparked numerous radical responses "among whom Paine and Godwin...[provide] the most powerful...critiques of monarchy and aristocracy, and...alternative proposals which include republicanism" (Butler, 1). In fact, "[w]hereas Burke's *Reflections* sold 19,000 copies in the six months after publication, a startling number for a work of its kind, Paine's reply [*The Rights of Man*] sold 250,000 in the two

years after the full text appeared" (Bromwich, 120). The controversy about the principles of government caused by the publication of Burke's *Reflections* became the locus for decentralized radical responses. These responses were published in a wide variety of print-media, such as periodicals, letters, books, and most notably, pamphlets. In fact, Bromwich argues that "Burke did what all the revolution societies could never have done alone. He created the French Revolution for the English mind as a world-historical event" (120).

Against this backdrop of the French Revolution, dissent and critique of the government disseminated via such decentralized print-media as pamphlets and radical periodicals, threatened the stability of the government.[5] The dissemination of dissenting, marginal, and foreign ideas, provided an alternative framework to the ideology disseminated by the schools of print-media funded to voice the views of the government.[6] This alternative decentralized dialogue disseminated via the publications of translations, periodical reviews of foreign texts, self-publications of articles and books, challenged the homogenised society and audience that the government intended to cultivate and control. Therefore, it is significant to understand this period as a shortened and unique window of information interchange in the English public sphere via decentralized print-media communication "inter-networks" before the standardization of reading audiences into mass audiences.

As a result of the potential threat of dissenting dialogue disseminated by the decentralized communication "inter-networks," the government responded with the taxation of newspapers and the "Gagging Acts" of 1795. These acts and taxation were an attempt to centralize access to, and limit the participation in, the public sphere. The "Gagging Acts" were comprised of the Seditious Meetings Bill and the Treasonable Practices Bill, legally prohibited criticism of the government in print, as well as the assembly of public meetings which were prohibited without proper authorization. Individual participation, made possible via a decentred communication "inter-network," accommodated the *dissemination* of "many to many" non-face-to-face rational-critical debate.[7] However, individual participation did not *regulate* or *organize* either the network of rational-critical debate, nor did individuals attempt to control the public sphere. In order to silence decentralized dialogue of individual opposition, the government aimed to control the public sphere by regulating and organizing rational-critical debate into a "one to many"

---

[5] The Treason Trials (October 28, 1794, to December 1794) and the trial and imprisonment of Joseph Johnson (1798-99), founder and proprietor of *The Analytical Review*, are only a few examples of how the government attempted to curb the influence of individual "radicals" in the public sphere.

[6] *The Anti-Jacobin Review; Or Weekly Examiner* (discussed below) is a prominent example of this practice.

[7] Section I in Chapter Three, "Coleridge's Pre-German Networks Cambridge University and *The Watchman*," examines the "inter-network" of Coleridge's miscellany, *The Watchman* (1796), published immediately after the passing of these acts.

communication network. In short, through these acts the government aimed to centralize communication networks and thereby limit participation in, and curb access to, the public sphere.

Both Klancher and Habermas argue that rational-critical debate circulating in the public sphere during the Romantic period is effectively transformed by the centralization of existing print-media communication "inter-networks" into mass communication networks. Habermas argues that with the advent of mass media the world of "rational-critical debate had a tendency to be replaced by consumption, and the web of public communication unraveled into acts of individuated reception, however uniform the mode" (161). For Habermas, the development of standardized mass media communication networks precluded the individual from participating in rational-critical debate in a public forum—the "inter-network" of "the web of public communication"—comprised of other individuals.

Henceforth, "broadcast" networks of mass communication became increasingly regulated by the government and inaccessible to the private individual. This regulation effectively curbed the "many to many" transmission of information via the "inter-network" disarray of letters, articles, pamphlets, self-publishing, and the publication of such in the decentralized periodical. Therefore, in England the development of mass communication networks was not just determined by technology, but directly cultivated by government policies to control the public sphere by forging a centralized communication network under government authority.[8] The first successful example of such a government attempt to develop a centralized communication network to cultivate a mass audience and discredit decentralized inter-networks was *The Anti-Jacobin Review; or Weekly Examiner*. I will discuss the centralizing role of *The Anti-Jacobin Review* in more detail below, but first I want to complete the contextualization of the transformation of the public sphere and the cultural struggle between centralized and decentralized networks.

Prior to the control of the public sphere by mass communication networks, rational-critical debate could be mediated via the self-publishing of pamphlets by the individual, and through private correspondence published via independent networks of decentralized periodicals. Mass media communication, however, centralizes rational-critical debate for a pre-defined public, precluding the participation of the individual that collectively *forms* a public. Habermas states that

---

[8] The government also employed a network of spies. For example, Government agents spied on mass meetings led by John Thelwall (1764-1834) who by 1794 "was under constant surveilance by government spies, who reported that, when quenching his thirst after the five-hour meeting, he had removed the froth from his tankard with a knife, remarking, 'So should all tyrants be served!'" (Wu, 158). In order to prosecute Thelwall, Thomas Hardy and Horne Tooke in the Treason Trials of 1794, government agents also seized private print-media correspondence and documents of these "radicals" under the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus Act*.

> Whereas formerly the press was able to limit itself to the transmission and amplification of the rational-critical debate of private people assembled into a public, now conversely this debate gets shaped by mass media to begin with. In the course of the shift from a journalism of private men of letters to the public services of the mass media, the sphere of the public was altered by the influx of private interests that received privileged exposure in it. (188-189)

Within the public sphere of mass communication the individual reader was no longer able to position him/herself to receive transmissions and respond with his own transmission. Rather than eliciting a response from the individual, mass media communication networks centralized the non-face-to-face rational-critical debate and response of the individual. This transformation of the public sphere is a shift in the application of communication networks. Mass media communication networks already shape the public sphere it addresses ("one to many" transmission) rather than allowing the network to foster "the amplification of...rational-critical debate of private people assembled into a public" ("many to many" transmission).

In other words, centralized mass communication networks precluded individual participation within the public sphere because the participatory role of the reader as a potential writer had shifted to the role of the reader as a consumer. Habermas states that

> The mass press was based on commercialization of the participation in the public sphere on the part of the broad strata designed predominantly to give the masses in general access to the public sphere. This expanded the public sphere, however, it lost its political character to the extent that the means of "psychological facilitation" could become an end in itself for a commercially fostered consumer attitude. (169)

Therefore, for Habermas, the transmission of print-media information became centralized and transformed participation in the public sphere into a pre-determined reception by an audience, rather than eliciting an individual response of non-face-to-face rational-critical debate. Specificially, centralized mass communication becomes *the print-media network* stigmatizing the alternative print-media "inter-networks" because of its decentralization and individuality.

Similarly, from a position emphasizing class structure in the public sphere, Klancher argues that the cultural transformation of readers into specific mass audiences along class lines "degraded" the function of the press "into a mere trade like all other trades to police instructions and prohibitions" (184). In short, print-media communication networks—especially the periodical—became centralized as reading audiences became forged along class lines. Writers were developing "interpretive and ideological frameworks of

audiences" and in addressing readers along these interpretative frameworks writers created and targetted class-specific audiences. In turn, these audiences were then essentially addressed along class lines and forged into a mass audience specifically defined by class (Klancher, 3). The individual reader was no longer addressed as an individual, but rather became addressed as, an individual member of a larger mass audience categorized by class.[9] The role of the individual reader in the public sphere became solely defined as the "receiver" of "one to many" transmission.

More importantly, with the "one to many" transmission of centralized mass communication the roles of reader and writer become polarized into specific ideological frameworks of transmission and reception. The reader could only receive information, but was no longer able to function as a writer and transmit communication into the public sphere. As a result the individual reader no longer participated as an audience, but only as an addressed member of a pre-defined class audience. The individual reader became trapped as a "type" or "class-identity" in the public sphere within a prescribed ideological framework of class. The development of standardized mass communication was forged at the cost of the individual reader/writer who no longer had access to networks of communication linked to the public sphere. In ceasing to be a potential producer of print-media the individual reader/writer was also no longer an active participant in the public sphere.[10]

The transformation of the "many to many" transmission facilitated via decentralized communication "inter-networks" into the "one to many" transmission of centralized communication networks marks a shift in communication protocols from "inter-networks" of "narrow-band" and "broadcast" networks to a communication network comprised mainly of "broadcast" networks. A direct result of this centralization is that "broadcast" networks, such as major newspapers and journals, no longer function as an "inter-network" of other

---

[9] "However, this organization of readers as audiences and the shaping of an "ideological awareness" did not occur without tension. Class and audience were not immediately equated in the texts during this period. In a reciprocal process, as readers became aware of belonging to a specific audience, they also came to identify themselves as belonging to a specific class; or alternatively, because of their class-identity, aware of not belonging to an addressed audience. In turn, periodical writers came to identify, and address, the interests of their audience as class interests, and in this process "shaped" an audience along class lines by providing the audience with a prescribed class-interpretative framework of their writings" (Klancher).

[10] "Moreover, as audiences developed into a mass audience representative of class, the mass-writer developed specific writing strategies to address the mass audience. Motivated by profit as well as politics, writers attempted to carve out an audience by developing a style that would generally address the individual member of a mass audience, but would not address the individual outside the consensus parameters of his/her class. The individual becomes obscured as a representative belonging to an audience of his/her class through the development of 'types'" (Klancher, 16). Klancher further argues that "mass writers transform it [the crowd] into a human spectacle, mirroring all social and psychological types, a powerfully suggestive image of their own audience" (Klancher, 16). In addressing the crowd in general, the writer can generalize "suggestive images" of individual types who nevertheless remain representative of their class, but not their individuality.

networks in the public sphere, but rather as a self-contained one-directional network for the purposes of its owners and the government. In short, the accessibility of networks becomes stratified along control of the modes of production. "Inter-networks" of networks which previously facilitated access to non-face-to-face rational-critical debate in the public sphere, such as the disarray of letters, pamphlets, and self-publishing, are no longer incorporated in the networks of mass communication. As noted above, such a disarray of networks, continually in flux, was moderated into a centralized network because it posed a political threat to the status quo. Clearly, Klancher's argument about class-ideology also applies to the control of the modes of production.

The reasons for this "communication transformation" were not solely ideological and political, however. Technological developments facilitated mass communication and made it an economically viable enterprise.[11] Moreover, the enormous population growth in Britain (a growth of 102% from 1801 to 1851 to eighteen million people) fostered a mass audience to consume mass communication. Politically, the increased censoring and monitoring of the decentralized periodical also facilitated the centralization of mass communication. The ideological framework of rational-critical debate of collective individuals via decentralized periodicals could no longer be mediated via decentralized periodicals according to the more efficient communication protocols of mass communication. This is not to imply, however, that technological determinism fostered the transformation of the public sphere. While the centralization of communication networks was certainly aided by technological developments and commercialization, it was the loss of other alternative "inter-networks" to challenge the hegemony of the "broadcast" communication networks that was the most influential. The transformation of the role of "inter-networks" in the public sphere was a direct result of the political struggle forging a centralized network of communication which excluded the effectiveness of "inter-networks." Specifically, the political policies implemented by the government regulated the application of communication networks. In other words, it is this "regulation of application" of communication networks during the early 1800s that effectively forged a centralized communication network, rather than the historical and technological determinism of print culture.[12]

---

[11] See, for example: Thompson, John B. *The Media and Modernity: A Social Theory of Media.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995. "The transformation of media institutions into large-scale commercial concerns is a process that began in the early nineteenth century. Of course, the commercialization of media products was not a new phenomenon....But in the course of the nineteenth century the scale of commercialization increased...due...to a series of technical innovations in the printing industry, and partly to a gradual transformation in the financial basis of the media industries and their methods of economic valorization....[Koenig's steam press and the rotary printing press] enabled the production of newspapers and other printed materials to be subjected to a set of processes—including the use of power machinery the ramified division of labour within a factory system, etc. – which were revolutionizing other spheres of commodity production" (Thompson, 76).

[12] There are individual exceptions to this general historical development. For example, William Hone's *The Political House that Jack Built* (1819), "became a kind of satirical mosaic that, during an especially tense historical moment, proved to be an extremely effective instrument in the contemporary movements for the

By the 1820s class-audiences had been solidified and journals had carved out a proportionate readership.[13] This in turn allowed the centralized periodicals to benefit in the form of profit and political influence. After all, mass communication could influence, indeed potentially direct, the opinion of its mass audience. Klancher argues that by this time the periodical had become an institution:

> No longer a society of readers and writers, the journal represented itself as an institution blending writer, editor, and publisher in what could only appear to be an essentially authorless text. Knowing readers might infer the identity of the writer by his "style," but playing this game of authorship meant that what is at stake is not the author of the discourse, but the position it occupies on a diverse discursive landscape. (51)

As an "institutionalized" communication network, the centralized journals were legitimitized and became the accepted and authentic standard in the public sphere.[14] For example, Francis Jeffrey's condemning phrase "This will never do" in his *Review of William Wordsworth, 'The Excursion'* documents the weight of the *Edinburgh Review* (1814: 24., 1-30) in the public sphere. With a circulation of around 9000 copies "every quarter....Wordsworth had good reason to be irked by the bad reviews of his work that regularly appeared there: they were read by everyone" (Wu, 555). Similarly, as argued by Rosemary Ashton, Jeffrey's criticism of Coleridge's interest in German intellectualism and literature was responsible for the reputation of Coleridge's "German mania" in the public sphere. Because of its wide circulation and influence, the *Edinburgh Review* functioned as a critical institution determining the reception, or lack thereof, of literary productions in the public sphere.
Alternative communication networks, and/or "inter-networks," were forced underground and the information disseminated via them was construed as unauthorized, if not illegitimate, due to the non-institutionalized status of the media source. Unable to compete economically and ideologically, decentralized publishing could no longer be sustained on a mass communication scale in the public sphere. As a result, the eighteenth-century public sphere of non-face-to-face rational-critical debate of collective individuals via "inter-

---

protection of a free press and for a more general political reform. Some measure of the pamphlet's impact can be seen in the sales figures—probably about 100,000 copies sold between late 1819 and mid-1821." See Grimes, Kyle. Ed. "The Political House that Jack Built: A Romantic Circles Electronic Edition." <http://www.rc.umd.edu/editions/contemps/hone/intro.htm> (accessed February 08, 2002).

[13] In shaping their audiences, Klancher notes: "Nineteenth-century periodicals often deliberately smudged social differences among their readers. It became important...to make one's intended reader potential, not already well-defined, prior to the journal's own discourse. The intended audience must be defined by its ethos, its framework of educational capacity, ideological stance, economic ability, and cultural dispositions. But the readership must not be assigned a specific rank, nor be localized in a social order that it will become compelled to 'read' as though it did not belong to that order" (Klancher, 50).

[14] Indeed, government licenses and financial backing regulated and institutionalized communication. Alternative communication networks are marginalized, if not prohibited, due to the institutionalization process. The issues are as much political, ideological and legal as "technological determined."

networks" of communication was transformed into the nineteenth-century public opinion of the mass audiences mediated by "broadcast" communication networks. This period of cultural transformation was an era in which our current standardized relationship as a mass audience to a centralized "broadcast" communication network was forged.

Interestingly, as briefly argued in Chapter One, it is against this nineteenth-century conception of a centralized network that hypertext critics usually position their revolutionary rhetoric about the liberalizing and supersession function of the Internet as a decentralized network of networks which facilitates decentralized dialogue. Clearly, such arguments obscure the significance of print-media communication "inter-networks" during the Romantic period. I will now turn to an examination of *The Analytical Review* and the *Anti-Jacobin Review* as representative of two case histories documenting the struggle between decentralized and centralized periodicals.

## II
## Print-Media Communication "Inter-Networks" and the Cross-Cultural Exchange between England and Germany

### Introduction

The decentralized print-media communication "inter-networks" of the 1790s were complex and organized along individual, not (at least not yet) along institutional, political, or economic and mass-production protocols which would regulate mass media communication. In this section I examine how the domestic struggle to maintain decentralized communication "inter-networks" was mapped against the cross-cultural exchange between Germany and England. I argue that it was specifically the "inter-network" of the decentralized periodical that mediated a cross-cultural exchange between England and Germany during the 1790s.

Contemporary critics often approach the reception history of German texts popularized in England during the 1790s as a dissemination of a national literature and culture. However, late-eighteenth century Germany was anything but a political unity, being comprised of over several hundred regionally independent principalities and states. Previous research and approaches to the reception history of German literature in England have focused only on *which texts* were disseminated, and their possible influence on English literary productions, but not on the communication network processes facilitating *how these texts* travelled to England. Historicizing the cross-cultural interchange between England and Germany foregrounds the hitherto largely ignored communication "inter-networks" of the decentred periodical which facilitated

such a cosmopolitan interchange of information. This interchange of information is decidedly cosmopolitan because it is an "inter-network" of independent and regional—as opposed to national and institutional—English and German "narrow-band" and "broadcast" networks that are linked together by a collective group of individuals. Therefore, the reception of German literature in England should not be analyzed within the sphere of a nationalistic interchange, which would suggest centralization, but rather needs to be historicized as an assembled "inter-network" of cosmopolitan interchange and decentralized dialogue disseminated into the English public sphere via the "inter-networks" of the decentralized periodical.

The following discussion of the cross-cultural communication "inter-networks" between Germany and England during the period from the 1790s to the 1810s historicizes the German literary productions disseminated into the English public sphere as a cosmopolitan interchange. First, I will briefly outline the transformation of German literature into one of the intellectual forces of Europe and contextualize the German regional, not national, circles of literary production and publishing that were linked to England.

Second, against the backdrop of the reception history of German literature in England I examine how this cross-cultural exchange embodied the cultural struggle for the public sphere between the decentralized communication "inter-network" of *The Analytical Review* and the centralized communication network of *The Anti-Jacobin Review*. Decentralized periodicals such as *The Analytical Review* were primarily responsible for cultivating an alternative and cosmopolitan frame of reference through their dissemination of information about foreign print-media. *The Analytical Review* documents how a decentralized communication "inter-network" of networks, which continually added new networks of information from domestic and foreign networks in Europe, stimulated the cosmopolitan awareness of the individual. In contrast, *The Anti-Jacobin Review* documents the attempt to centralize communication networks through weekly publication in order to legitimize the domestic (English) political status quo through the cultivation of a nationalistic mass audience.

## A Brief History: The Transformation of Germany Literature and its Reception in England

During the eighteenth century Germany was undergoing a cultural transformation. After centuries of the predominance of French literature, German literature had started to draw on elements of English literature and developed a literature unique to German culture. Stockley comments that

> We hardly realise even now, [1929] perhaps, the nature of the task that Germany accomplished; in less than two centuries it has changed from the likeness of a stammering boor to one of the leading intellectual forces in Europe; it has produced literature of the highest type in such abundance that we forget how short the period of effective literary activity has been; (3)

Clearly, the intellectual force of German literature is a recent phenomenon. The influence of French literature had dominated German literature until the early eighteenth century. Indeed, in Prussia, Frederick the Great spoke and wrote in the French language, viewing his native German as barbaric. During the eighteenth century, however, a transformation occurred and German literature written and published in its native language not only became more widespread, but also a literary model throughout the European continent.

What is significant about the development of German literature is that it was fostered by both the decentralized political state of Germany and the decentralized cross-cultural interchange with France and England. In order to escape the dominating influence of French literature, Germany turned to England for its literary models and muses. Specifically Shakespeare; Ossian; novels such as Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* and Richardson's *Pamela*; periodicals such as the *Tatler*; and the philosophies of Hume, to name but a few, became the models which were initially imitated and provided sources for inspiration and influence. By the mid-eighteenth century, however, German literature had come into its own and had not only freed itself from the shackles of French literature, but had also transformed and incorporated the English models and influences into its own literature.

After 1750 the adaptation of such English models cited above developed into a cross-cultural interchange as German literature in turn exerted a reciprocal influence on British culture. Klopstock's *Messiah* (1748-73) and Goethe's *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* (1774; first translated into English in 1779) were among the earliest and most popular received works in the English public sphere in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Indeed, Goethe's *Werther* enjoyed a tremendous popularity in England (as it did throughout Europe) and had been published in several editions by 1800 (Stockley, 138). Another example is Kotzebue. A minor and somewhat forgotten playwright in contemporary Germany, Kotzebue's success and popularity in eighteenth-century Germany was cross-cultural as his plays briefly became the rage of the English stage. More than thirty of his plays were produced for the English stage during the late 1790s. In short, from 1780 to 1800, there was a steady rise in the production and dissemination of German literature in England which became increasingly more popularly received.

However, the German literature so popularly received in England was not representative of a national literature or literary movement. The reception of German literature in England, therefore, was often outside of its historical, cultural, regional, and linguistic moment of production. In fact, an understanding of the decentralized political disunity of the geographical area known today as Germany historicizes the significance of the regional context in assessing the influence and reception of German literary works in England. Moreover, such an understanding also foregrounds the significance of decentred communication networks in mediating the exchange of developing literary productions.

Politically the German state was decentred and divided into over three hundred independent states and free cities with their own governments. Surprisingly, the most influential political centres in the German speaking region, Vienna and Berlin, as well as München in Southern Germany, did not develop any significant and lasting literary coteries or movements during the eighteenth century. Werner Kohlschmidt, in his *A History of German Literature 1760-1805* (1975), states that it was in fact the middle of Germany—specifically the area that spoke High German—that fostered a communication network among literary authors and literary circles. Since Vienna and Berlin did not actively engage in an attempt to cultivate a national German literature and theatre, it was the literary coteries at Weimar, the university of Göttingen, and the establishment of Leipzig as a dominant publishing centre—all within close geographic proximity of each other—that operated as the main networks that cultivated German literature.

The small principality of Sachsen-Weimar, with its nearby university at Jena, played a dominant cultural role in fostering a literary community. Herzog Carl August attracted Goethe, the young author of *Werther*, from Frankfurt am Main. It was Goethe's literary fame as an accomplished author and statesman at Weimar that inspired other writers and playwrights, such as Wieland and Schiller (originally from Württemberg), to reside at Weimar. It was also at Weimar that a "National German Theatre" was founded. Clearly, in contrast to England, where London was the political, literary and cultural centre of the nation, the small principality of Sachsen-Weimar became a literary centre for geographically and culturally dislocated literary coteries, while politically it remained a small independent state.

Traditionally, the university at Göttingen had been a centre of literary activity. The so-called Göttinger Hainbund was a well-known literary coterie during the eighteenth century and increasingly rose in literary significance during the second half of the eighteenth century.[15] Its members included G. A. Bürger, author of the very popular *Lenore*, and also Klopstock, who was the initial inspiration for the coterie. As one of the

[15] See G.A. Robertson, "Chapter III: Klopstock and the Göttinger Dichterbund," in *A History of German Literature* (1970), 235-248.

most significant university institutions, Göttingen attracted many students from both inside and outside of Germany. In addition, the city of Leipzig functioned as the dominant publishing centre during the eighteenth century and was therefore also an active place of literary activity and textual production.

It was to these regional cities in the linguistic High German and geographic middle part of Germany,[16] to which many authors flocked, bringing with them their own regional, political, cultural, linguistic, and religious diversity. Therefore, it was Weimar, a politically insignificant principality, Göttingen a university city, and Leipzig the publishing centre, that developed and functioned as significant communication networks of German literature. This is significant because these regionalities are directly linked to the dissemination and reception of German literature in England, and thus, present a cross-cultural exchange that is distinctly cosmopolitan in nature, and not nationally representative of all of Germany.

Second, in addition to the link of regional communication networks facilitating cross-cultural exchange, is the cultural dislocation of German literature from its regional origins and literary movements upon reception in England. Naturally, there is the problem with translation. Most of the German texts translated into English were secondary translations from a French translation of the German original. The text and content of the German original was often distorted during the translation process. As such, these texts literally travelled through two or three different cultural and linguistic translations. Often the selection of German texts translated into English was limited to what was available in French translations of the German original. This reliance on French translations actually aided the translation process because the knowledge of the German language remained an esoteric skill for English translators. Moreover, relying on French translations proved the popularity of the text on the market. Indeed, even English publishers who could resort to German translators would only contract the translation of literary productions that had already proved to have been popular in Germany.

Translations directly translated into English from the German original were rarely contemporary to the publication of the text in Germany. Unlike Coleridge's largely ignored (in England) translation of Schiller's *Wallenstein* (which appeared in 1800 within a year of Schiller completing the work) most translations were not contemporary to its English audience. This is a significant historical fact, because the eighteenth-century audience and critics, as well as some literary scholars today, have often erroneously interpreted the reception of translations as representative of the contemporary state of German literature. This is problematic because the characteristics of the dominant literary movements in German literature during the latter decades of the late-eighteenth

[16] Geographically located in the modern federal states of Lower Saxony (Göttingen), Thuringia (Weimar), and Saxony (Leipzig).

and early-nineteenth centuries are decidedly different. Due to the temporal delays in translation the productions of these literary movements are often published much later in the English public sphere and then as contemporary publications under the umbrella of German literature.

In fact, the three main literary categories that classify German literature of the late-eighteenth century and early-nineteenth century are as follows: the *Sturm und Drang* Period (1767-1785); the Classical Period (1786-1805); and the Romantic Period (1798 ff).[17] Obviously, the classification of these literary movements did not exist until Schlegel differentiated between Classicism and Romanticism around 1800. However, what I want to foreground here is that since translations were sporadic, the reception in England of Coleridge's translation of Schiller's *Wallenstein* (1799; trans 1800) for example, is contemporaneous with the publication in English of Herder's *Outlines of the Philosophy of the History of Man* (1784-91; trans 1800); and another translation of Schiller's *The Armenian, or Ghost-Seer* (1787; trans 1795). Therefore, a wide range of German literary works aesthetically, intellectually, and temporally dislocated, were published in any given year and were clearly not representative of contemporary German literary movements.[18]

For obvious reasons, a publisher would only print texts that had proven to be popular in Germany and that were sure to make a profit. Therefore, the range of German texts available in England was limited and presents an inaccurate representation of the intellectual and literary context of German literary movements and culture.[19] Clearly, the cross-cultural reception and publication of German literature in England obscured its cultural moment of production; and unfortunately, German literature became valued not for its literary merits, but rather for its sensationalism.

During the 1790s this perceived sensationalism of German literature, especially the works of the *Sturm und Drang* and Kotzebue's plays, became extremely popular in English society. In fact, in his *Preface to Lyrical Ballads* Wordsworth comments on this oversaturation of German sensationalism: "[t]he invaluable works of our elder writers, I had almost said the works of Shakspeare [sic] and Milton, are driven into neglect by

---

[17] I do not include the Schauerromantik here (comparable to Gothic literature in England) as this does not fall currently in my area of research. It is not to be ignored, however, as it plays a very interesting and significant role.

[18] This is still the case today. Habermas' *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit* was published in Germany in 1962, but was not translated into English until 1989. In short, Habermas' concept of the public sphere was already 27 years old before it started to make a "contemporary" impact in English speaking academic culture and coteries.

[19] As argued in chapter three and four, it is obviously for these reasons that Coleridge felt the need to travel to Germany himself and research German literature first hand; and why he remained one of the main experts on German literature and culture in England for twenty-odd years.

frantic novels, sickly and stupid German Tragedies" (1800, 128, 130).[20] Clearly, the emphasis on sensationalism dislocated the works of the *Sturm und Drang* from their political and aesthetic contexts, and fostered a popular reception based on ignorance, superficiality, and misinterpretation.

The most obvious example of misinterpretation of German literature is by the English domestic press which during the latter 1790s quite suddenly condemns all German literature as "Jacobinist." Here the emotional intensity of the *Sturm und Drang* is taken out of its political and literary context for propaganda purposes. The characteristics of the main works of the *Sturm und Drang*, Schiller's *Die Räuber*, Goethe's *Werther* and his *Götz von Berlichingen*, are deliberately interpreted as representative of all German literature. Since the cultural understanding of these texts on their own merits is virtually non-existent in England the "Jacobin" classification of German literature becomes widespread in England and lasts until 1813.[21] Ironically, in its application to the literary productions of the *Sturm und Drang* the "Jacobin" label is anachronistic and inaccurate as this German literary movement predates the French Revolution.

The sudden shift in the popular reception of German literature and culture occurred abruptly around 1800. Periodicals which had hitherto enthusiastically reviewed and disseminated German literature now either criticised or ignored it; or in the case of *The Analytical Review* had ceased to operate due to political censorship. This shift was orchestrated by the government who feared and equated the motifs of rebellion against authority in German literature (such as the works of the *Sturm und Drang* period which were often misunderstood out of its creative context) as a potentially radical and revolutionary opposition to the English government. In part, this campaign was successfully started by the *Anti-Jacobin Review* to directly curb the circulation and spread of reform and radicalism within England and to protect and promote England's national interests in its war with France.

Rosemary Ashton states that

> Whether as a direct result of the *Anti-Jacobin* ridicule of 'German drama' or not, English interest in German dramas ceased abruptly around 1800. Periodicals like the *Monthly Review* and *Monthly Magazine* had published regular notices of translations and productions of German plays in the 1790s, but by 1800 the

[20] Wordsworth, William. *The Prose Works of William Wordsworth.* Edited by W.J.B. Owen and Jane Worthington Smyser. V. I. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974. 111-189.

[21] As stated above, there is a strong political element at work here initiated by the *Anti-Jacobin Review*, and discussed in more detail below. By 1800 in Germany the *Sturm und Drang* period had long since ceased to function as a literary movement. Indeed, the classicism of Schiller and Goethe was coming to a close as well, and it was Romanticism that was emerging as the new dominant literary movement. In other words, German literature was evaluated out of context, and frequently misunderstood.

> reviewers were complaining of the 'trash' they had been 'obliged to swallow' in the form of more plays by Kotzebue. In October 1800, after a year of increasingly unfavourable reviews of plays by Kotzebue, Schiller, and Iffland, Coleridge's translation of Schiller's *Wallenstein* was reviewed negatively by the *Monthly Review*. The combination of Schiller and Coleridge, both known as 'Jacobins', was not one to be encouraged in 1800. The periodicals largely lost interest in German works, and Francis Jeffrey made the first of many sweeping statements against German literature in a review of Goethe's 'Hermann and Dorothea', translated by Thomas Holcroft, in the *Monthly Review* in 1802....In the matter of chastising English enthusiasts for German literature, too, Jeffrey took over from the Anti-Jacobins.... (Ashton, 8-9)

It was the propaganda disseminated by centralized periodicals, initiated by *The Anti-Jacobin Review* and afterwards led by Jeffrey's *Edinburgh Review*, that influenced and shaped the public reception of German literature. More specifically, the centralized periodical purposely dismissed German literature as "Jacobin," in order to discredit foreign print-media and ideas which were construed as revolutionary and a threat to the status quo.

German literature and intellectualism was often misunderstood and misrepresented as the origin of revolutionary ideas and actions. The function of labelling German print-media as "Jacobin" was a rhetorical strategy to shape the opinion of the English public through generalizations and mis-representation instead of fostering rational-critical debate through the dissemination of foreign information which may threaten the political status quo in England. Branding all German literature as "Jacobin," therefore, obviously negated and ignored the complex cultural and literary movements that fostered the individual works of literature, such as Schiller's *Die Räuber*, which was often attacked. In short, such dissemination successfully accomplished the purposes of the centralized periodical: to shape the opinions and responses of the public sphere and; to preclude the assembly of "rational-critical debate" of an informed audience in the public sphere.

It was not until 1813 with the translation of Madame de Staël's *De L'Allemagne*, and the military alliance between numerous German states and Britain against France, that the value of German literature was (re-)introduced.[22] During the 1810s German literature started to make a slow, but certain, reintegration into the English public sphere. Stockely states that it was

---

[22] In *The German Idea: Four English Writers and the Reception of German Thought 1800-1860.* Rosemary Ashton comments that by the 1810s "the time had come for a fresh look at German intellectual activities. The many reviewers of *De L'Allemagne* were now able to look back at the early rage for certain kinds of German works and see them in their cultural and political context...." (12-13). See also: Emma G. Jaeck, *Madame de Staël and the Spread of German Literature*, New York, 1915 (Ashton, 182).

> not till the publication of de Stäel's *De L'Allemagne* in 1813 that a fairer estimate of the aims of these developments of these writers and of German literature generally came to be held among the cultured. Before that time the position of German literature in England was insecure. Among the reading public there was an attitude of expectancy towards it, indeed, but the expectancy was directed to certain aspects to the exclusion of others....The charnel horror of *Lenore*, the sublime extravagance of *Werther*, the subversive fury of *Die Räuber*—these stimulated palates weary of the insipid pabulum of rationalistic writers; and the appetite was catered for by a swarm of translators, who knew their public well enough to choose their originals not for literary merit, but of the lengths to which they carried the pursuit of the ghostly, the sentimental, the revolutionary. (Stockley, 17)

This is precisely why Madame de Staël's *De L'Allemagne* in 1813 was such a successful and useful text in both England as well as France. It provided a much-needed framework for the interpretation of German literary productions within a cultural-specific understanding of the literary movements that fostered them. Previously in England, the interpretation or understanding of German literary productions on their own terms had been limited to a few experts (of which Coleridge is the most notable example) or expatriates of German culture.

Clearly, the communication processes via print-media which facilitated the "influence" and "reception" of German literature in England has received virtually none, or at best minimal, examination by literary scholars. The more comprehensive studies by literary critics of the cross-cultural interchange between Germany and England during the Romantic period date back to the 1920s and 1930s. However, even these studies, although still very useful, do not focus on the communication "inter-networks" of decentralized periodicals. Stockely comments that the periodical reviews of German literature during the 1790s only served to disseminate mis-information.

> At the end of the eighteenth century, the reviews represented a body of opinion but little better educated than that of the general reading public. The day of the great literary periodicals does not open till the founding of the *Edinburgh Review* in 1802;....In general, the reviewers who deal with German literature in the earlier days of its influx are scarcely more discriminating with regard to it than their readers; their general ignorance of the subject is hardly less complete. (17)[23]

[23] Interestingly, *The Analytical Review* comments on this deficiency in the prospectus to its first issue: "The accounts of foreign Literature in our Journals [i.e. British] have been censured, we think with some reason, as being often defective; and both foreign books, and those published at home, have been unaccountably delayed on many occasions. Whilst in some cases an expedition has appeared that was only to be explained by supporting a particular connection to subsist between the author and reviewer. It occurs

While certainly true, Stockley's generalization is problematic when examined from a network approach to the decentralized and centralized periodical. While the general ignorance of German literature in England cannot be contested, an analysis of *The Analytical Review* documents a cosmopolitan coterie of reviewers who discriminatingly present information about German texts to an English public. I will now turn to an analysis of *The Analytical Review* as a print-media communication "inter-network" of cross-cultural exchange.

### *The Analytical Review* (1788-1799) as an "Inter-Network" of Cross-Cultural Exchange

One decentralized periodical that functioned as an "inter-network" linking German regional networks to the English public sphere was *The Analytical Review*. The journal was published by Joseph Johnson (1738-1809), a radical publisher, who was charged with sedition and sentenced to six months in prison in December of 1798—from which *The Analytical Review* never recovered. Indeed, the journal folded upon Johnson's imprisonment, and an attempt at a second run upon Johnson's release from jail in 1799 was unsuccessful.

*The Analytical Review* was unique in its purpose to print and review domestic, regional, provincial, and foreign print-media. Clearly, as outlined in its lengthy subtitle, the journal aimed to function as an "inter-network" linking other existing networks directly to its readers.[24]

> *The Analytical Review*, or History of Literature Domestic and Foreign, on an enlarged plan. Containing Scientific Abstracts of Important and Interesting Works, Published in English;....Notices, or Reviews of valuable foreign Books; Criticisms on New Pieces of Music and Works of Art; and the Literary Intelligence of Europe, &c.

*The Analytical Review* was a cosmopolitan journal dedicated to publishing coherent information about a variety of topics circulating throughout Europe. It translated and printed reviews of books, and notices of books published in a wide range of European languages outside of England, in English for a domestic audience.

---

to us, that something might be done to remedy these defects by the publication of a New Work" (May 1788. Vol. I, iii, "To The Public").

[24] It would be interesting to compare the "inter-network" function of reviews published in *The Analytical Review* to the file-sharing function of such software programs as Napster and Morpheus. Similarly to Napster, *The Analytical Review* was also targetted and effectively shut-down by the government; albeit for political, rather than financial, motives.

The prospectus of *The Analytical Review* published in its first issue of May 1788, entitled "To The Public," outlined the "inter-network" function and principles of the journal:

> At a time when Literary Journals are more numerous than useful, it seems necessary to state to the public, the reasons that have induced us to undertake the publication of a new one.
>
> The true design of a Literary Journal is, in our opinion, to give such an account of new publications, as may enable the reader to judge of them for himself. Whether the Writers ought to add to this their own judgement, is with us a doubtful point. If their account be sufficiently accurate and full, it seems to supersede the necessity of any addition of their own. (May 1788. Vol. I, ii)

The "inter-network" function outlined here is of a decentralized periodical. The journal does not aim to influence or shape the opinion or judgment of its readers, but intends to have its readers exercise his/her rational-critical mind in evaluating the texts themselves. Particularly, the aim of the journal is to provide a network that lists an "account...accurate and full" about newly published texts to which the reader may not be aware due to the numerous networks of textual publication and dissemination. This is not to be a network of "centralization," but rather, a decentralized "inter-network" of other/foreign networks—networks which the reader may not be aware of, or have access to—and present these to the reader to "enable the reader to judge for himself." In other words, the "inter-network" proposed for the journal aims to link its readers to publications that may be of interest to them, but to which their access or awareness may have been limited.

Specifically, this "inter-network" function of *The Analytical Review* will facilitate reviews on "all new publications" in England and on the European continent. The "To The Public" prospectus further outlines that

> A full list of the titles of all new publications will be given. The literary news will be revived, and as early information as can be procured, will be given of foreign literature.
>
> COMMUNICATIONS of literary intelligence, are earnestly solicited, and will be properly attend to: letters from foreign correspondents may be written either in Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, or German.
>
> In this work, which we hope to render deserving of the countenance of the Public, we are promised the support of some of the most respectable and learned characters. We shall only add, that it will be our highest ambition to give to the world a respectable Journal, one that shall tend to diffuse knowledge, and to advance the interests of science, of virtue and morality. We shall therefore hope

> for the encouragement of every friend to the best interests of mankind. (May 1788. Vol. I, v)

There are several significant points outlined in this section of the prospectus. First, the purpose of the journal was clearly to provide its readers with a knowledge and awareness of foreign print-media and publications. In doing so *The Analytical Review* went beyond domestic information and existing English print-media networks. The interest in foreign texts published on the European continent foregrounds both the cosmopolitan interests and content of the journal, as well as its function as an "inter-network" with cosmopolitan links forged to foreign networks and print-media on the continent.

Secondly, *The Analytical Review* invites "narrow-band" epistolary correspondence in five languages besides English—"Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, or German"—from foreign correspondence. This invitation attempts to link an inter-continental "narrow-band" network to supply information, perhaps even non-face-to-face "foreign" rational-critical debate, to a "broadcast" network for dissemination into the English public sphere. Habermas' concept of the public sphere is extended here in its application to the continent. The invitation potentially establishes a cosmopolitan "public" sphere that links information for rational-critical debate in different languages, and from various regions, to England.

Thirdly, in claiming "the support of some of the most respectable and learned characters" *The Analytical Review* was unique in organizing a cosmopolitan coterie to translate and evaluate the journal's foreign networks and textual links to the continent. This coterie, whose members included Mary Wollstonecraft and Henri Fuseli, functioned as a "narrow-band" network providing synopsis, reviews, evaluations, and most importantly translations of foreign texts, for "broadcast" dissemination. The "inter-network" function of this cosmopolitan coterie is discussed in more detail below.

Lastly, these three points all embody the "highest ambition" of *The Analytical Review* to "diffuse knowledge." Clearly, the journal is a decentralized "inter-network" because it aims to "diffuse knowledge" and information to new networks in the aim to make information accessible to all for their own judgement. In short, the "inter-network" functions as a network of other networks to spread information to a wider sphere and web of new networks.[25] The aim is not to centralize or concentrate the dissemination of

---

[25] Castells definition of information is useful here: "As for *information*, some established authors in the field, such as Machlup, simply define information as the communication of knowledge (see Machlup 1962: 15). However, this is because Machlup's definition of knowledge seems to be excessively broad, as Bell argues. Thus, I would rejoin the operational definition of information proposed by Porat in his classic work (1977: 2): 'Information is data that have been organized and communicated'" (17).
See Castells, Manuel. *The Rise of Network Society*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 1996.

information, but rather to "diffuse" it to collective networks of readers. Therefore, in aim and function, *The Analytical Review* was a decentralized network that facilitated the non-face-to-face rational-critical debate of individuals and assembled these individuals into an informed public.

In regard to Habermas' argument that during the transformation of the public sphere "rational-critical debate had a tendency to be replaced by consumption," the preface of *The Analytical Review* criticizes the increasing consumption of texts. One of the standard practices of eighteenth-century periodicals was to write favourable reviews of texts published by the proprietor of the periodical. The preface criticizes the "consumer" marketing strategies of "puffing" because of the position of superiority the reviewer wields over the author; especially in shaping the opinion of the public in the reception of the work.

The journal argues that the reviewer/periodical has an "unfair advantage" over the author because of its greater circulation. Moreover, the reviewer/periodical may mis-represent the author's text:

> They [the reviewers] may mistake his [the author's] meaning, or shamefully pervert it, and though he may make a complete defence against these attacks, yet his labour is in vain: the whole world reads the objections, while his answer scarcely extends beyond the narrow circle of his own friends....In many cases they have entirely lost sight of that modesty, which ought always to accompany him, who being a private individual, presumes to speak to the public of large, and have set themselves up as a kind of oracles, and distributed from their thrones, decisions to regulate the ideas and sentiments of the literary world. (ii)

Interestingly, the classification of the "narrow-band" defence of the author as a "labour in vain" because it "scarcely extends beyond the narrow circle of his own friends" contrasts with the "broadcast" circulation of the journal and identifies a struggle for access to the public sphere. The well-meaning purposes of *The Analytical Review* to remedy this struggle nevertheless suggests the increasing significance of the decentralized network.

The preface continues to develop the argument that "puffing" practices benefit the periodical not the reader. The advertising of texts results in longer reviews of a smaller number of texts and diminishes the dissemination of knowledge; and thereby, the "rational-critical" debate in the public sphere. In addition, "puffing" constructs the value of the author along the lines of production, rather than his/her ideas and knowledge. In other words, the reader is positioned as a consumer. *The Analytical Review* specifically intends to counter the contemporary periodical practice of "puffing" which "tell" their

readers what to think, by presenting the issues and texts open to the interpretation and judgment of the reader.

In short, the ambition of the journal is to curb the consumption of texts and foster rational-critical debate about the knowledge of texts and information that is worth debating. In other words, the enterprise entertained by *The Analytical Review* aims to cultivate the public sphere of Habermas summarized above. The "inter-network" function of the journal is crucial in facilitating such a mandate. I will now turn to a closer analysis of the practices of *The Analytical Review*, specifically the significance of the network of its international coterie and its "inter-network" to German networks on the continent.

### *The Analytical Review* and its Coterie Network: The Joseph Johnson Circle

In addition to being the publisher of *The Analytical Review*, Joseph Johnson was an independent publisher of a wide variety of texts and was acquainted with many of the contemporary radical writers of the day. In his *Joseph Johnson: A Liberal Publisher* (1979) Tyson states that by 1791 "Johnson's bookshop had become a meeting place for radicals" which included such people as William Frend, William Godwin, Thomas Holcroft, Thomas Paine, Joseph Priestley, and such later visitors as William Wordsworth and Humphrey Davy (Tyson, 121). In regard to *The Analytical Review* and his radical publishing, Johnson interacted steadily with two specific circles. The first of these was somewhat more provincial as the members were geographically dispersed outside of London and included Joseph Priestley and Mrs. Barbauld. Johnson established a correspondence network to the provinces as these members would either send information, or visit Johnson directly in London. The material was then re-formated for dissemination via *The Analytical Review* or in texts published by Johnson's bookshop.

The second circle, centred directly in London, included such members as Henry Fuseli, Mary Wollstonecraft, John Horne Tooke, and sporadically William Godwin, Thomas Paine and Priestley. This coterie was decidedly more radical,[26] and it is specifically from this circle that Johnson amalgamated and solicited contributors for *The Analytical Review*. This coterie was distinctly cosmopolitan. Specifically Mary Wollstonecraft and Henry Fuseli were regular contributors. Both were capable of reading several European languages. For example, Fuseli, a Swiss expatriate, was well-travelled and had a

[26] Given the radical nature of the London circle, it is also not surprising that Johnson was engaged in publishing works discussing the main political issues of the period. Paul Zall comments on Johnson's timidity in publishing revolutionary texts and material (Zall, 27). "In an ironic twist, Johnson was persecuted in November 1798 for selling a "seditious book" and sentenced to nine months in prison" (Zall, 29). These events marked the end of *The Analytical Review* despite a brief attempt to continue the periodical in 1799. See: Zall, Paul M. "Joseph Johnson, or the Perils of Publishing." *The Wordsworth Circle*. III (Winter, 1972): 25-30.

"thorough understanding of German and English" and offered Johnson his manuscript translation of Johann Kaspar Lavater's *Aphorisms on Man* in 1788 (Tyson, 62). It is therefore not surprising that one of the functions of *The Analytical Review* was the regular reviewing of German and French texts published abroad.

The ambitious plan of reviewing texts and listing "all new publications...and as early information as can be procured, will be given of foreign literature" could not have been accomplished without the linguistic and cultural expertise of the journal's reviewers. The texts of foreign print-media reviewed were not limited to literature and in fact covered a wide range of subjects and topics such as: history, science, medicine, theology, anatomy, botany, political oeconomy etc. Tyson remarks that

> one reviewer [was] responsible for each "department" within the magazine. Books for review were assigned a category according to their content: theology and morality, philosophy, mathematics, medicine and related subjects, natural history, and agriculture, trade and politics, law, history and topography, biography, poetry and criticism, drama and romances, and miscellaneous items. For each major category a chief reviewer was responsible, though he could delegate some of the items to others if he chose. (101-102)

The coterie of reviewers embodied a cosmopolitan range of knowledge and expertise. However, in regard to foreign print-media this expertise should be qualified as culturally and linguistically specific. The cosmopolitanism of the coterie not only facilitated the translation of foreign print-media, but also the evaluation of foreign print-media within the context of its cultural and literary moment of production.

Particularly, the publications of foreign texts by Johnson's bookshop, the reviews for his periodical, and the interaction with the members of his circle, influenced the selection of German translations. Tyson states that

> Johnson's publications of German authors during the 1790s was largely due to the urging of Henry Fuseli, who had maintained close ties with Lavater, Boedmer [sic], and others [authors in Fuseli's native Switzerland]. In fact, Fuseli never fully abandoned his early interest in literature....in addition to Fuseli, other authors connected with Johnson became admirers and translators of German literature. In 1793 William Taylor of Norwich translated Goethe's *Iphigenia in Tauris*....The following year, owing perhaps to his connections with James Remnant, the Hamburg bookseller, and probably in response to a growing English taste for German works, Johnson began publishing a number of translations from the canon of popular German authors. (Tyson, 140)

It is significant to note that these links to the continent were networks of personal correspondence forged between individuals via postal networks and travel. The information mediated via correspondence networks was then reformatted for dissemination in the English public sphere. Fuseli's contacts to Europe keep him informed about the publishing networks on the continent. In turn, Fuseli's expertise about literature written in German and links to German authors advises Johnson on which foreign texts to publish. In addition, Johnson's professional connection as publisher to certain authors allowed him to recruit them as translators for foreign works.

The most significant link for the cross-cultural dissemination of German print-media in England is probably the correspondence and trading networks linked to James Remnant, a bookseller in Hamburg. While there are no extant documents about this network it is clear that Remnant and Johnson corresponded actively as Johnson supplied Coleridge with an introductory letter to Remnant when the poet went to Germany in September 1799. Indeed, the "Literary Intelligence" section in the second-running of *The Analytical Review* in 1799 cites that "Foreign Publications [are] imported by J. Remnant" (June, 1799). Remnant presents the best and most probable cross-cultural link to Johnson during the 1790. It was presumably through this network that original German literary productions, texts, and newspapers were forwarded to Johnson; especially considering that Hamburg and London were both significant trading ports and with good weather only 48 hours sailing apart. Clearly, Joseph Johnson presents an example of a publisher who actively pursued, through cosmopolitan business relationships and networks, the publishing of German texts. I will now turn to an analysis of the German links and "inter-network" paths to the monthly "Literary Intelligence" section in *The Analytical Review*.

**An "Inter-Network": The "Literary Intelligence" of *The Analytical Review* and the *Jenaische Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung***

The "Literary Intelligence" section in *The Analytical Review* was a regular monthly feature which printed summaries and reviews of foreign print-media. Each entry—entitled an "Article" and referenced and numbered, for example, as "Art. I;" "Art. II" etc—presents a detailed account of the foreign text listing:

a) the place of publication
b) the title of the text
c) the title of the text translated into English
d) the author
e) format and page length of the text
f) date of publication
g) a summary/synopsis/review of the text

h) the print-media source from which the textual account was cited

A sample entry listing all these classifications from the "Literary Intelligence" published for May 1796 is as follows:

> Art. I. Leipsic. *Einleitung in die Apokryphischen Schriften des Alten Testaments, &c.* An Introduction to the Apocryphal Books of the Old Testament, by J. G. Eichhorn, &c. 8vo. 560 p. 1795.
> Eichhorn's Introduction to the Old Testament [published before the commencement of our review] is sufficiently known to the learned, and this continuation will no doubt be received with as much pleasure, as it has been expected with eagerness.
>
> *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.*

The reviews published in the "Literary Intelligence" section printed such detailed accounts of foreign print-media on a wide variety of topics, including: Theology, Medicine, Anatomy, Botany, History, Mythology, Classical Literature, Philosophy and Political Oeconomy. *The Analytical Review* fulfills its purpose in disseminating an awareness of foreign publications and print-media in the English public sphere, even though most of these texts would not be available in England and would need to be procured via individual networks and links to the continent.

Interestingly, most of these reviews are of German print-media and cite the *Jenaische Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* (*Jenaische ALZ)* as the source. The *Jenaische ALZ* was an influential miscellany publishing short articles and reviews on recently published print-media. The periodical was published daily, with the exception of Sundays, and usually numbered four sheets divided into several sections. These sections were usually given headers appropriate to the content of the article or review. For example, a review of a book on history would be entitled "Geschichte." Moreover, there were several standard sections: "Vermischte Schriften" and "Kleine Schriften" ("Shorter Works:" presumably so-named as the synopsis and reviews were of works shorter in length than other print material). Interestingly, articles and reviews in the *Jenaische ALZ* detailed information in a manner strikingly similar to, and presumably adopted by, *The Analytical Review.*
For example, the above-cited "Art. I." of the Eichhorn text in the May 1796 issue of the "Literary Intelligence" was published on Friday, April 29, 1796, in the *Jenaische ALZ* as follows:

> Leipzig, in der Weidmannischen Buchh.: *Einleitung in die apokryphischen Schriften des alten Testaments*, von Joh. Gottfried Eichhorn etc. 1795. Anderthalb Alphabet gr. 8.
> (*Jenaische ALZ.* Numero 131. Freytags, den 29. April 1796, 209-213)

The entry is followed by a lengthy four-page review of Eichhorn's text. What is of interest is the cross-cultural transmission of the citation in the *Jenaische ALZ* and the translation and similar entry listing published in *The Analytical Review*. Clearly, the *Jenaische ALZ* presents not only information about foreign media, but also a format for the presentation of this foreign information. Most notably, however, is the speed of transmission via print-media communication networks. The Eichhorn entry is published on April 29, 1796, in the *Jenaische ALZ* and appears a few weeks later in the May 1796 issue of *The Analytical Review*. Johnson's "inter-network" links to Germany facilitated not only cross-cultural exchange, but also at a speed of cross-cultural exchange not commonly attributed to print-culture in the eighteenth-century.

In fact, the "inter-network" linked between *The Analytical Review* and the regional print-media network of the German *Jenaische ALZ*, document a cross-cultural network path from Germany to England. Presumably it was Johnson's correspondence and trading network to Remnant in Hamburg that facilitated the transportation of copies of the *Jenaische ALZ* to London. The cross-cultural path of the communication networks from the articles published in the *Jenaische ALZ* to the reviews in the "Literary Intelligence" section of *The Analytical Review* is forged via an amalgamation of "narrow-band" and "broadcast" networks which travel geographically, culturally and linguistically from the German public sphere to the English public sphere. Specifically, we can schematize the path of this cross-cultural print-media "inter-network" as follows:

1) "narrow-band" assembling of new publications in Germany, and German speaking regions, for printing in the *Jenaische ALZ*
2) "broadcast" network publication of articles and reviews in the *Jenaische ALZ*
3) "narrow-band" transmission from Germany (Remnant) to England (Johnson) presumably via the postal and/or shipping networks linking Hamburg and London
4) "narrow-band" linguistic translation into English and editing of the articles in the *Jenaische ALZ* into a review by the members of Johnson's cosmopolitan coterie network
5) "broadcast" network publication of the "Literary Intelligence" section in *The Analytical Review*
6) "narrow-band" reception in the English public sphere and forging of new networks as a result of this foreign information exchange

Interestingly, this "inter-network," comprised of other foreign and domestic networks, and a "many to many" transmission from "broadcast" to "narrow-band" to broadcast" networks, facilitates a cross-cultural exchange linking the German public sphere to the English public sphere. In other words, the dissemination of foreign print-media into the English public sphere is cosmopolitan in content as well as in its "inter-network" path.

Moreover, the speed of this print-media "inter-network" in the cross-cultural exchange of information published in the *Jenaische ALZ* on April 29, 1796, and published a few weeks later in the May 1796 issue of *The Analytical Review*, becomes even more remarkable when taking into account the travel time between Hamburg and London (48 hours with good weather) and the time needed to translate specific articles in time for publication. Naturally, the above-cited example was not always the norm. Indeed, the June 1797 issue of *The Analytical Review* apologizes for the exclusion of a "Literary Intelligence" section altogether. Presumably the on-going war with the French on the continent obstructed the expediency of cross-cultural exchange.

Another limitation was Johnson's reliance on the *Jenaische ALZ* as his only source for foreign publications on the continent. While the *Jenaische ALZ* was an excellent and well-used resource by Johnson, as well as on the continent and in Germany, it mainly printed articles and reviews about German print-media. Even the source for information about French and other foreign print-media printed in the "Literary Intelligence" was German, and the reviews of non-German texts were all filtered through the *Jenaische ALZ* network. Despite these limitations the expediency of the "inter-network" forged to the *Jenaische ALZ* on the continent provided an essential cross-cultural resource which fostered the dissemination of foreign print-media in the English public sphere. The following table documents the predominant influence of the *Jenaische ALZ* on the "Literary Intelligence" in *The Analytical Review*, as well as the expediency in the cross-cultural transmission of information.

**Table 2-1: *The Analytical Review* and the *Jenaische Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*** [27]

| *The Analytical Review* Issue | Total number of Articles | Total Cited from the Jenaische ALZ | Total Identified Citations *Jenaische ALZ* | Earliest Issue *Jenaische ALZ* Cited in *The Analytical Review* | Latest Issue *Jenaische ALZ* Cited in *The Analytical Review* | All *Jenaische ALZ* Issues Cited in *The Analytical Review* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **May. 1796** | 9 | 9 | 8 | 14. Jan. 1796 Issue: 121 | 29. April 1796 Issue: 131 | Jan. -1; Mar.-2; Apr.-5 |
| **Jun. 1796** | 10 | 10 | 9 | 30. Mar. 1796 Issue: 103 | 23. May. 1796 Issue: 158 | Mar. –2; May.-8 |
| **Oct. 1796** | 14 | 11 | 8 | 15. Jul. 1796 Issue: 219 | 24. Sep. 1796 Issue: 301 | Jul.-1; Aug.-2; Sep.-5 |
| **Nov. 1796** | 31 | 25 | 24 | 15. Sep. 1796 Issue: 290 | 09. Nov. 1796 Issue: 353 | Sep.- 7; Oct.-16;Nov.-1 |
| **May. 1797** | 7 | 7 | 6 | 24. Mar. 1797 Issue: 94 | 07. April 1797 Issue: 110 | Mar.-2; Apr.-4 |
| **Jun. 1797** | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **Jul. 1797** | 12 | 12 | 11 | 06. May. 1797 Issue: 143 | 30. May. 1797 Issue: 170 | May.-11 |
| **Sep. 1797** | 16 | 16 | 15 | 10. Apr. 1797 Issue: 113 | 15. Aug. 1797 Issue: 258 | Apr.-4; May.-4; Jun.-2; Jul.-3;Aug.-2 |
| **Nov. 1797** | 13 | 10 | 12 | 28. Jul. 1797 Issue: ? | 25. Oct. 1797 Issue: 339 | Jul. -1; Aug.-1; Sep.-5; Oct.-5 |
| **May. 1798** | 15 | 12 | 11 | 16. Jan. 1798 Issue: 18 | 04 Apr. 1798 Issue: 108 | Jan.-2; Feb.-5; Mar.-3; Apr.-1 |
| **Jun. 1798** | 15 | 13 | 11 | 05. Mar. 1798 Issue: 73 | 15. May. 1798 Issue: 154 | Mar.-3; Apr.-3 May.-5 |
| **Oct. 1798** | 10 | 9 | 8 | 13. Aug. 1798 Issue: 242 | 12. Sep. 1798 Issue: 273 | Aug.-3; Sep.-5 |
| **Nov. 1798** | 26 | 20 | 16 | 05. Sep. 1798 Issue: 266 | 10. Oct. 1798 Issue: 303 | Sep.-13; Oct.-3 |

[27] See Appendix A for the data sources for this table.

The cross-cultural "inter-network" of *The Analytical Review* cultivates foreign networks for the dissemination of cosmopolitan information in the English public sphere. The purpose of the journal to provide a "full list of the titles of all new publications...and as early information as can be procured, will be given of foreign literature" is facilitated via a cross-cultural "inter-network" of a decentralized periodical. It is precisely because *The Analytical Review* is a decentralized periodical that it can re-format foreign networks into its own "inter-network" of dissemination. The "inter-network" and decentralized periodical are not mutually exclusive elements, therefore, but one and the same. And the success of the "inter-network" of a decentralized periodical such as *The Analytical Review* in "diffus[ing] knowledge" in order "to give such an account of new publications, as may enable the reader to judge of them for himself" forged new networks of decentralized dialogue. These new networks threatened the political domestic status quo of the English public sphere. It is therefore not surprising that Johnson was continually under surveillance and eventually convicted of selling a radical publication. In order to counter the influence of the decentralized periodical, the government financed the development of a centralized periodical.

**The Centralized Periodical: *The Anti-Jacobin Review* (1797-1798)**

Although *The Anti-Jacobin Review; or Weekly Examiner* was published only for nine months (November 20, 1797 - July 9, 1798; Nos: 1-36) its influence was wide-spread and long lasting. In "Romantic Anti-Jacobins or Anti-Jacobin Romantics?" (1999) Kenneth Johnston states that *The Anti-Jacobin Review* was

> a government attack-dog against the media-Pitt's pit bull, so to speak. Each of its substantial weekly issues (30 pages or more) divided the previous week's news coverage into 'Lies, Misrepresentations, and Mistakes.' Given the relative anonymity of its authors, this was a brilliant fail-safe device, especially the "Lies of the Week" section... providing each week a new set of reasons demonstrating that Pitt's opponents in the liberal press were stupid, foolish charlatans....On the few occasions when the *Morning Courier* or *Post* or *Chronicle* tried to answer it...they found themselves...helplessly ensnared in the net of their own distorted language....Answering the *Anti-Jacobin* was a no-win proposition...

The purpose of *The Anti-Jacobin Review* was to influence public opinion, disseminate the government perspective, and discredit the print-media opposition to the government through the rhetorical strategies of satire and ridicule. Funded by the government, the periodical had several advantages over other periodicals. The weekly frequency of the periodical established it as a centralized publication, especially considering that most other weekly publications without a government budget could not afford the taxation imposed on weekly publications. The weekly publication of the journal allowed it to

foster and shape public opinion, because it continually disseminated a centralized dialogue in the public sphere. This centralized dialogue embodies Klancher's definition of the mass media whose nameless authors "shape debate" and preclude the individual reader from responding to their transmissions. *The Anti-Jacobin Review* disseminates a "one to many" transmission because its centralization negates the individual reader, or other networks, to respond to the information disseminated by the centralized network. This strategy precludes the participation of the reader as a writer in print-media. In short, the reader within the mass audience is only addressed as a binary type: either a patriot or a "Jacobin."

Specifically, the struggle between centralized and decentralized periodical networks for control of the public sphere is mapped against the backdrop of the cross-cultural exchange of German print-media during the 1790s. Where *The Analytical Review* intends to increase the cultural awareness of German print-media and culture, the *Anti-Jacobin* aims to discredit German print-media, and other foreign print-media networks, through the application of the label "Jacobinist." Explicit in its name, through the dialogue of parody and satire, the journal ridicules all opposition to the status quo as "Jacobin"—a potential threat to England and liberty.

Interestingly, this labelling and centralization is accomplished through re-formatting similar network methods employed by *The Analytical Review*. For example, similar to the "Literary Intelligence" of foreign print-media in *The Analytical Review*, the *Anti-Jacobin* contains a "Foreign Intelligence" section which disseminates the latest news from the continent. The following entry is representative of *The Anti-Jacobin Review*'s aim to centralize communication networks.

> Hamburgh, May 22.—It is calculated here, that France has drawn from Foreign Countries since 1794, Seven Hundred and Fifty Millions of Livres, about Thirty Millions Sterling, in money or plate....Notwithstanding this, however, the penury of the Republic is so great, that the French Consul at Amsterdam could not raise a sum of about Eight Hundred Pounds Sterling....Not being able to get it from the Minister of Marine at Paris, to whom he applied on the occasion, he was obliged to ask the assistance of the Directory of the Batavian Republic who advanced it to him.
> (*The Anti-Jacobin Review*. No. 30. June 04, 1798. 430-431)

Obviously, the content is of interest to any English patriot. Contrary to the elements of the decentralized periodical which cites its sources, authors, and networks, *The Anti-Jacobin Review* deliberately obscures these elements to force the centralization of its information which cannot be verified nor traced. The citation of "Hamburgh" as the place of origin of this information has no immediate relevance to verify the information disseminated. Indeed, Hamburgh problematizes the information about "the French

Consul at Amsterdam" as the connection between the Batavian Republic and the Hansa city of Hamburg is unclear.

The "Letters from *Holland*, [which] arrived to-day, [and] contain the most shocking details of new atrocities committed by the *French* in *Switzerland*" also obscures information and correspondence networks (No 31. June 11, 1798. 461). An epistolary network is invoked here to supply credence to the account, but neither the network source of the foreign correspondence, nor great detail about the atrocities, nor the network path from Holland to *The Anti-Jacobin Review*, is supplied. In fact, the citation of these letters could, and probably was, invented. Nonetheless, the "Foreign Intelligence" provides a vehicle for a propaganda statement against government opposition: the "Jacobins."

> We have exposed their Principles, detected their Motives, weakened their Authority, and overthrown their Credit. We have shewn them in every instance, ignorant, and designing, and false....and anarchical...With this impression on the Minds of our Readers, We take our leave of them. Their welfare is in their own hands; if they suffer the Jacobins to regain any influence of which We have deprived them, they will compromise their own Safety; but We shall be blameless...—We have done our DUTY.
> (*The Anti-Jacobin Review*. No. 36. July 09, 1798. 622-623)

Again, the network sources are deliberately obscured to centralize a dialogue, rather than invite and stimulate a decentralized dialogue. The reader cannot verify the truth of these accounts and is rather *told* what has occurred. Moreover, to question the truth of the information would be to question one's patriotism, and comes with the threat of the reader's own safety as the editors have "done their duty" and are not "blameless" for those "Jacobins" who question the published information. As such, *The Anti-Jacobin Review* functions as a centralized communication network through the negation of sources and responsive communication networks to the journal.

"The Rovers; or, The Double Arrangement" in the *Anti-Jacobin* is deliberately published to mis-represent cross-cultural exchange between Germany and England in order to centralize a communication network. *The Rovers* is a satire of several *Sturm und Drang* works; especially Schiller's *Die Räuber*. In fact, the play amalgamates generalizations of German literature discussed above for the propaganda purposes of the periodical. In the process *The Anti-Jacobin Review* labels all "German literature," as well as those persons with an interest therein, as "Jacobinist."

Rosemary Ashton argues that

> The method adopted...to encourage patriotism and conservatism was to parody and satirise all those political poems and plays which seemed to support revolution. *Joan of Arc*...and Schiller's *Räuber*, known to be popular though as yet unstaged...provided most of the stimulus for the successful satirical drama of the Anti-Jacobins, *The Rovers* (04 and 11 June 1798). (Ashton, 6)

Specifically, the play draws on popular conceptions of Germany and the contemporary popularity of German drama on the English stage. *The Rovers* deliberately exploits the cultural ignorance of the English audience about German culture and literary movements by drawing on the popular sensationalist elements.

Indeed, the Prologue mocks English interest in the sensationalism for the German drama: "Nor let succeeding Generations say/—A British Audience *damn'd* a German Play!" (*The Anti-Jacobin Review*. No. 30. June 04, 1798., 422). Drawing on the limited knowledge fostered by the sensationalism of the German drama presented on the English stage, *The Rovers* deliberately cultivates common stereotypes and generalizations. For example, *The Rovers* is set in Weimar; contains a parodic song by the character Rogero about the University of Göttingen; and contextualizes the literary movement of the *Sturm und Drang* as representative of all German literature and culture. The Prologue reads

> To-night our Bard, who scorns pedantic rules,
> His Plot has borrow'd from the German Schools;
> —The German schools—where not dull maxims bind
> The bold expansion of th' electric mind
> Fix'd to no period, circled by no space,
> He leaps the flaming bounds of time and place.... (8-12)
> Tells how prime Ministers are shocking things,
> And *reigning Dukes* as bad as tyrant Kings... (15-16)
> (*The Anti-Jacobin Review*. No. 30. June 04, 1798., 421)

The parodic and satirical presentation of the German Schools are presented here outside of their cultural, regional and historical contexts. They are not fixed by "period...or space" and politically all of the principalities of Germany are reigned over by "*Dukes* as bad as tyrant Kings." German literary movements and culture, Schiller's *Die Räuber* etc., are all deliberately presented outside of their historical and cultural contexts in order to purposely misdirect its audience and provide a centralized vehicle for the propaganda purposes of the *Anti-Jacobin Review*.

Rosemary Ashton comments that

> They [Canning and Frere, the editors of the *Anti-Jacobin*] could best attack the 'Jacobin' sentiments of the play by exaggerating its already heightened language and setting....*Die Räuber* stood conveniently for the whole of German dramatic movement of the 'Sturm und Drang'...which celebrated not only democratic opinions but also formal freedoms, a revolt against dramatic unities and, in its wider context, against the domination of German taste by French classical literature. It was not in the interests of the Anti-Jacobins to investigate the cultural conditions in which German theoreticians and dramatists like Lessing, Herder, Goethe, and Schiller sought to establish a truly German drama with Shakespeare, valued primarily for his ignoring of the 'rules', as its model. The satirists were intent on drawing national lessons from foreign political and literary excesses. (Ashton, 7)

The centralized dialogue of the *Anti-Jacobin* is fostered by a strategy of negation of decentralized "inter-networks" and links to the periodical. In short, decentralized dialogues and networks are deliberately centralized and in the process generalized and misrepresented. For example, the decentralized nature of German principalities and literary movements are centralized via general definitions of Germany and German literature and an appeal to the public sensationalism of the German drama; mostly forged by the popularity of Kotzebue during the late 1790s. By drawing on popular and general (mis)conceptions of German literature *The Anti-Jacobin Review* shapes the ignorance of the public about German literature and culture into a centralized dialogue.

Moreover, potential criticism of the ignorance of German culture in the parodic presentation of *The Rovers* is deferred because the German schools and sources are never identified. Indeed, the translators are held accountable for notable dissimilarities between the original German production and the publication of *The Rovers*.

> In the first place, we are to observe, that Mr. Higgins professes to have taken his notion of German plays wholly from the *Translations* which have appeared in our language.—If *they* are totally dissimilar from the Originals, Mr. H. may undoubtedly have been led into error; but the fault is in the Translators, not in him.
> (*The Anti-Jacobin Review*. No. 31. June 11, 1798., 447)

In contrast to *The Analytical Review* which aims to translate foreign print-media in order to link a cross-cultural exchange of information to the English public sphere, *The Anti-Jacobin Review* deliberately defers accountability for mis-translations for the purpose of the dissemination of mis-information in the public sphere. Clearly, in order to establish a centralized dissemination of information *The Anti-Jacobin Review* adopts a strategy of reversing the "inter-network" applications of the decentralized periodical. In doing so it successfully establishes a centralized network of "one to many" dissemination through the elimination and discrediting of other linked networks.

*The Anti-Jacobin Review* was an attempt by the government to establish a centralized communication network and foster a mass audience in order to combat the contemporary over-production of print-media facilitated by decentralized communication "inter-networks" which fostered rational-critical debate among a fragmented audience. Unlike *The Analytical Review* which aimed to "diffuse knowledge," *The Anti-Jacobin Review* aims to curb the diffusion of knowledge. Johnston argues that

> The *Anti-Jacobin* decries the contemporary over-production of media..."Whatever may be the habits of inquiry and anxiety for information upon subjects of public concern diffused among all ranks of people, the vehicles of intelligence are already multiplied in a proportion nearly equal to this increased demand" (["Prospectus,"] 1).... "of the utility of such a purpose [the centralized network of *The Anti-Jacobin*], if even tolerably executed, there can be little doubt, among those persons . . . who must have found themselves, during the course of the last few years, perplexed by the multiplicity of contradictory accounts of almost every material event that has occurred in the eventful and tremendous period." (["Prospectus,"] 3)

*The Anti-Jacobin Review* intends to establish a centralized network that will judge *for* the reader, rather than have the reader judge for him/herself. Canning and Frere argue for a strong and centralized mode of communication. For the editors of *The Anti-Jacobin Review* a centralized communication network would enable the censorship, as well as a monitoring, of the content of information disseminated. Naturally, a centralized communication system would facilitate *The Anti-Jacobin Review*'s purpose to mediate and shape public opinion and neutralize the threat of decentralized dialogues facilitated via the print-media communication "inter-networks" of decentralized periodicals.

The *Anti-Jacobin* was very successful in equating German literature with "Jacobinism." Indeed, it cultivated a mass audience that, as noted above, around 1800 led to a complete loss of interest in, if not rejection of, German literature in England. Followed by such publications as Francis Jeffrey's *The Edinburgh Review*, it was not until 1813 that the *erosion* of the stigmatization of German literature as "Jacobinist" started. However, by the 1820s the institutionalization of communication networks had already forged a mass audience for a standardized mass media communication network.

**Conclusion**

The transformation of the English public sphere was embodied in the struggle between the print-media communication "inter-networks" of the decentralized periodical, such as *The Analytical Review*, and the mass media communication networks of the centralized periodical, such as *The Anti-Jacobin Review*, which deliberately aimed to obscure and

discredit the links to other networks. The transformation of the public sphere, however, should not be contextualized as a direct result of technological and/or historical determinism. Rather, from the perspective of communication history, it was the re-formatting of communication networks by individuals and governments that facilitated either a decentralized "inter-network" or institutionalized a centralized network. The dual role of the individual as a reader and a writer who participates in print-media is precluded in the struggle for control of communication networks. In short, government political policies were instrumental in policing print-media network applications employed by the individual, and as a result transformed access to, and participation in, the public sphere. The cultural transformation of the public sphere is therefore not unique to print-culture, but directly a result of the re-formatting and application of communication networks. I will now turn to an analysis of Coleridge's re-formatting of print-media networks during the 1790s to forge his own specific Coleridgean print-media "inter-network."

Works Cited and Consulted

*The Analytical Review; or, History of literature, domestic and foreign.* London: Joseph Johnson. V. 1-28, May 1788-Dec. 1798; new ser., V. 1, Jan.-June 1799. Microfilm Edition. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms, 1951. 8 reels.

*The Anti-Jacobin Review; Or, Weekly Examiner.* London, J. Wright, 1799. No. 1, Nov. 20, 1797, to no. 36, July 09, 1798. 4th ed., rev. and corrected. Microfilm Edition. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms, 1972. 1 reel.

Ashton, Rosemary. *The German Idea: Four English Writers and the Reception of German Thought 1800-1860.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.

Bromwich, David. "Burke, Reflections on the Revolution in France" in *A Companion to Romanticism.* Edited by Duncan Wu. Oxford: Blackwell, 1998. 113-121.

Butler, Marilyn. Ed. *Burke, Paine, Godwin, and the Revolution Controversy.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Castells, Manuel. *The Rise of Network Society.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 1996.

Grimes, Kyle. Ed. " The Political House that Jack Built: A Romantic Circles Electronic Edition." <http://www.rc.umd.edu/editions/contemps/hone/intro.htm>. (accessed February 08, 2002).

Habermas, Jürgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere.* Translated by Thomas Burger. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1989.

Johnston, Kenneth R. "Romantic Anti-Jacobins or Anti-Jacobin Romantics?" *Romanticism on the Net.* 15 (August 1999). <http://users.ox.ac.uk/~scat0385/ antijacobin. html > (accessed March 03, 2000).

Klancher, Jon P. *The Making of the English Reading Audiences: 1790-1832.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987.

Kohlschmidt, Werner. *A History of German Literature 1760-1805.* Trans. Ian Hilton. London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1975.

Poster, Mark. "Cyberdemocracy: Internet and the Public Sphere." In *Internet Culture.* Ed. David Porter. New York and London: Routledge, 1997. 201-217.

Robertson, J. G. and Dorothy Reich. *A History of German Literature*. Sixth Edition. London: William Blackwood, 1970.

Stockley, V. *German Literature as Known in England 1750-1830*. London: George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 1929.

Stokoe, F. W. *German Influence in the English Romantic Period 1788-1818. With Special References to Scott, Coleridge, Shelley and Byron*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1926.

Thompson, John B. *The Media and Modernity: A Social Theory of Media*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995.

Tyson, Gerald P. *Joseph Johnson: A Liberal Publisher* (1979). Iowa City : University of Iowa Press, 1979.

Wordsworth, William. *The Prose Works of William Wordsworth*. Edited by: W.J.B. Owen and Jane Worthington Smyser. V. I. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974. 111-189.

Wu, Duncan. Ed. *Romanticism: An Anthology*. 2nd Edition. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1998.

Zall, Paul M. "Joseph Johnson, or the Perils of Publishing." *The Wordsworth Circle*. III (Winter, 1972): 25-30.

# Chapter Three:
# Networking Germany Part One

## Coleridgean Communication Networks and the Link(s) to the University of Göttingen

*Network:* • **2d.** *An interconnected chain or system of immaterial things...Also, a representation of interconnected events, processes, etc., used in the study of work efficiency....* **2h.** *An interconnected group of people; an organization.* OED

***The only organization capable of unprejudiced growth, or unguided learning, is a network.*** *All other topologies limit what can happen. A network swarm is all edges and therefore open-ended any way you come at it. Indeed, the network is the least structured organization that can be said to have any structure at all. It is capable of infinite rearrangements, and of growing in any direction without altering the basic shape of the thing, which is really no outward shape at all...In fact, a plurality of truly divergent components can only remain coherent in a network. No other arrangement—chain, pyramid, tree, circle, hub—can contain true diversity working as a whole.*

Kevin Kelly. *Out of Control: The Rise of Neo-Biological Civilization*[1]

### Introduction

Much has been written about the significance of Samuel Taylor Coleridge's ten-month travels in Germany from September 16, 1798 to July 1799. As early as 1824 Thomas Medwin's *Conversations with Lord Byron* records Byron as having commented that

> If he [Coleridge] had never gone to Germany, nor spoilt his fine genius by... transcendental philosophy and German metaphysics. . . . he would have made the greatest poet of the day. (266)

---

[1] Kelly, Kevin. *Out of Control: The Rise of Neo-Biological Civilization.* Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1994. 26-27; Emphasis mine.
In my discussion of networks in this chapter I will be drawing on some of William Warner's ideas, although I do not apply his concept of "flat networks," nor do I think that this concept relates directly to the Coleridge case-history. See: Warner, William. "Declaring Independence as Unlicensed Circulation; or, How the Continental Congress Rewired the British Empire Network and Invented a Flat Network Design." (Unpublished paper, 2001).

Byron's comments not only voice the common nineteenth-century consensus about Coleridge's German travels as the "spoiler" of Coleridge the poet, but also provide a general interpretative paradigm for twentieth-century literary criticism about Coleridge's German tour.[2] Literary critics often foreground the German tour—especially Coleridge's second university career at the University of Göttingen—as the seed for Coleridge's intellectual pre-occupation with German philosophy and thought during the early 1800s and 1820s. According to this so-called "poet-spoiler" interpretative paradigm, Coleridge foregoes his career as a poet during this period and turns to prose to disseminate his pre-occupations with German intellectualism and metaphysics.

Closely intertwined with the "poet-spoiler" paradigm is the infamous issue of Coleridge's alleged plagiarism from German sources. In *Coleridge, The Damaged Archangel* (1972), for example, Norman Fruman presents an analysis of Coleridge's "unacknowledged borrowing" from German sources. Indeed, the interpretative paradigms of Coleridge's alleged plagiarism, as well as German influence upon his life and career, present the main critical approaches to Coleridge's 1799 German travels.

Other literary critics, such as Basil Willey, dismiss the value of the German trip altogether.

> Coleridge himself learnt little during his ten month's absence [in Germany] which he could not have learnt at home. . . . the Göttingen lectures, the collecting of materials for a notional life of Lessing, served mainly. . . to perpetuate the illusion of work-in-progress. . . . [blinding Coleridge] to the reality of wasted time and dissipated energies. (74)

Willey is simply mistaken that "Coleridge...learnt little [in Germany] ...which he could not have learnt at home." The historical fact is that Coleridge's studies of German literature and language could only have been facilitated in Germany, and not at all in England. As we have already seen in Chapter Two, the cross-cultural exchange of print media between England and Germany was limited as well as distorted. Willey and other critics such as Molly Lefebure, who construes the non-writing of Coleridge's projected *Life of Lessing* as the direct result of his opium addiction, generally attribute the failure of Coleridge's German studies to a slothfulness of character. In short, the German tour is representative of Coleridge's propensity to plan projects and his failure to complete them,

---

[2] According to James Gillman, in *The Life of Samuel Taylor Coleridge* (1838), Coleridge disavows himself as a poet while in Germany: "....by a gracious providence...for which I can never be sufficiently grateful, the generous and munificent patronage of Mr. Josiah and Mr. Thomas Wedgewood [sic] enabled me to finish my education in Germany. Instead of troubling others with my own crude notions, and juvenile compositions, I was thenceforward better employed in attempting to store my own head with the wisdom of others. I made the best use of my time and means; and there is therefore no period of my life on which I can look back with such unmingled satisfaction" (Gillman, 115).

and as a result, therefore, Coleridge's studies in Germany were deficient in their accomplishment.[3]

For most literary critics, then, Coleridge's German travels in 1799 exemplify the rather sudden and influential shift from Coleridge the poet to Coleridge the metaphysician.[4] For biographers the German tour embodies the misguided attempt, or in Willey's phrase "wasted time," of Coleridge's failure to produce several projects, such as his projected *Life of Lessing*. In this chapter I would like to suggest another interpretative paradigm for Coleridge's German tour. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines a network as an "interconnected chain or system of immaterial things...a representation of interconnected events, processes, etc., used in the study of work efficiency." Coleridge's German tour is centred around print-media communication networks forged in England and Germany. Against the backdrop of the "interconnected events...[and] processes" of Coleridge's communication networks, the dominant role of Coleridge's German travels fostering the shift from poet to metaphysician is exposed as a myth.

First, Coleridge continues to write poetry after his return from Germany. More importantly, Coleridge's studies of natural history and metaphysics in Germany are falsely over-emphasized by literary critics. At Göttingen Coleridge specifically studied German language and literature—especially German poetry.[5] Second, a close analysis of Coleridge's communication networks reveals a steadiness of purpose not often attributed to Coleridge by his biographers and literary critics alike. Coleridge's second university career and German tour in 1798-1799 were the result of neither an accidental or a frivolous interest. Rather, the German travels were the direct result of Coleridge's concentrated "networking" of "narrow-band" and "broadcast" eighteenth-century communications networks. Coleridge deliberately cultivates a cross-cultural "inter-network" from other networks, first in England and then in Germany, to accomplish the objectives of his German travels. Within this context of a Coleridgean communication and information "inter-network," it becomes clear that despite his failure to produce his

---

[3] See Lefebure, Molly. *Samuel Taylor Coleridge: A Bondage of Opium*. London, 1974.

[4] Coleridge himself contributed to this myth. See, for example, his "Dejection: An Ode," and his "Satyrane's Letters" and *Biographia Literaria* describing his education in Germany; all of which, however, were not published until 1817. During the years following his return from Germany Coleridge does become product and context sensitive of his literary productions—specifically his poetry—defining Wordsworth as "a great, a true Poet" and himself as "only a kind of a Metaphysician" (*CL* 371. December 23, 1800. Coleridge to Francis Wrangham, 658). Nonetheless, such sensitivity to his dual roles as poet and metaphysician is expressed in verse (see l. 86-93 in "Dejection: An Ode"). The period of Coleridge's German intellectualism and metaphysics as the "spoiler" of his poetic imagination is not re-written by Coleridge until 1817. See also the conclusion to Chapter Four.

[5] Chapter Four examines how Coleridge deliberately forges a private print-information network to facilitate his literary studies of German literature and language.

projected *Life of Lessing*, Coleridge's literary studies at Göttingen were nonetheless successfully accomplished through his effective linking of communication networks.

Before I turn to my discussion of Coleridge's networking of Germany—specifically his second university career at Göttingen—I will briefly illustrate how the concept of a Coleridgean "inter-network" was not unique to Coleridge's German travels alone, but deployed by the poet in England throughout the 1790s.

## I
## Coleridge's Pre-German Networks: Cambridge University and *The Watchman*

### Cambridge University

The term Internet refers to a communication network linking independent networks to enable the interchange of information.[6] Kevin Kelly theorizes an "inter-network" of communication networks as open-ended:

> A network swarm is all edges and therefore open-ended anyway you come at it. Indeed, the network is the least structured organization that can be said to have any structure at all.... In fact, plurality of truly divergent components can only remain coherent in a network. No other arrangement—chain, pyramid, tree, circle, and hub—can contain true diversity working as a whole. (Kelly, 25-27)

It is through the process of interchange—transmission and reception of "plurality of...divergent components"—that the communication network becomes visible and that one can identify it and link to it. Drawing on Kelly's concept of open-endedness, the key to an "inter-network" of communication networks is one's active participation in interchanging information via the network. In other words, personal participation—both in transmission and reception—are significant components in linking individual communication networks.

Interestingly, the metaphor of linking to a network, embodied in the image of the Eolian Harp, surfaces as a theme in several of Coleridge's conversational poems. Humphry

---

[6] "Internet *n.* a communications network enabling the linking of computers worldwide for data interchange." The current technological developments have made the term "internet" specific to computer/electronic media. In my invocation of the term here I refer to Warner's definition of the Internet as "a word that derives from inter-network" (see Chapter One) and conceptualize an "inter-network" as a network of communication networks enabling the exchange of information.

House has argued that the conversational poems, such as *The Eolian Harp* (1797),[7] express

> the attunement of the human spirit to nature. . . .The image of the Eolian Harp with the wind making music on its strings occurs in "The Nightingale" and by implication in "Fears in Solitude" where in the young man (as on its strings) "many feelings, many thoughts" are unified into a *harmony* of "meditative joy." (74-75)[8]

The image of the wind playing on the Eolian Harp operates as the medium of attunement merging "the human spirit" with nature, and in the process unifying the speaker into "a *harmony* of 'meditative joy'." Indeed, Coleridge's famous "metaphysical" lines in *The Eolian Harp* suggest a pantheistic spirituality that merges nature with humanity as independent parts of a simultaneous whole:

> And what if all of animated nature
> Be but organic harps diversely framed,
> That tremble into thought, as o'er them sweeps,
> Plastic and vast, one intellectual breeze,
> At once the soul of each, and God of all? (l. 36-40)

The insight of the speaker is that the whole is simultaneously separate, independent, and individual entities in constant communication with each other, blurring the boundaries between components and the whole, yet preserving diversity and plurality. Specifically, the interchange between the poet's spirituality with nature is linked via his sensory experiences stimulated by nature. The communication between nature and spirituality is mediated via the interchange of the independent network ("the soul of each") within a communication "inter-network" of these individual networks ("God of all"); or in Kelly's words only the "plurality of truly divergent components" ("[a]t once the soul of each") operating in an "inter-network" "can contain true diversity working as a whole" ("and God of all").

Duncan Wu comments that lines thirty-six to forty are a

> major pantheist declaration: 'And what if all natural things are like Aeolian Harps, each unique and individual in itself ("diversely framed"), receiving, just as the harps receive the breeze, the spiritual ("intellectual") apprehension of one God?' (452)[9]

---

[7] Composed August 20, 1795.
[8] House, Humphry. *Coleridge: The Clark Lectures 1951-52*. London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1967.
[9] Wu, Duncan. Ed. *Romanticism: An Anthology*. 2nd Edition. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1998.

What the speaker's pantheistic declaration contains is the recognition of a communication "inter-network," a larger whole, which communicates via "the breeze" to individual networks. This "inter-communication-network" is open-ended and becomes active for the speaker due to the stimulation of links (i.e. sensory perceptions) that are forged, or received, by the speaker's mind and experiences.

The network metaphor in *The Eolian Harp* is not as significant as the insight of the speaker's declaration: that through a process of interaction with nature—of defamiliarization—the poet can communicate with, or receive communication from, a spiritual entity in a manner not normally seen or experienced. The insight of the speaker in this passage is of linking to nature in a manner that *has* always existed, but of which the speaker himself has *only* just become aware that he is also a part. The process of defamiliarization foregrounds the active participatory role of the speaker in the transmission and reception of his communication with nature.

In other words, by having become aware of the "inter-network" of the "intellectual breeze" that simultaneously is "the soul of each" and "God of all," the speaker also discovers his participation as an essential component linking him to the interchange between the various networks of the "intellectual breeze." This philosophy of active participation is an empowering aspect of Romanticism, and can be found in Coleridge's other conversational poems, such as *The Nightingale* and *This Lime-Tree Bower My Prison.* Moreover, Coleridge's friendships and his interaction with intellectual coteries also embodies such participation with(in) an "inter-network" of an "intellectual breeze." What I would like to foreground, here, is that as early as his Cambridge University days, Coleridge actively practised such a philosophy of participation in regard to the interchange of information, ideas, philosophy, books, correspondence, etc., via a linking of a wide variety of networks.

In *Wordsworth and Coleridge: The Radical Years* (1988), Nicholas Roe convincingly argues the significance of Cambridge University in fostering Coleridge's introduction to, and interaction with, radical and dissenting circles in London. Roe argues that during the radical years preceding the first meeting of Coleridge and Wordsworth, Cambridge University was the source for both the poets travelling in similar (radical) circles (Roe, 12).[10]

[10] "That Coleridge and Wordsworth should both have been among the same company within weeks during the winter of 1794-5 was due in part to Godwin's contemporary notoriety. Their near coincidence was also a result of the dominant Cambridge presence in metropolitan radical circles that had developed over the previous decades, such that they had mutual friends and contacts long before they met each other" (Roe, 93). This also illustrates the open-ended structure of the radical coterie network.

It was via Jesus College at Cambridge University that Coleridge first became exposed to a network of radical and dissenting circles. Moreover, Coleridge's travelling in these networks developed his radical reputation in the public sphere. Roe states that

> ...it is sufficient to indicate the swiftness with which Coleridge had developed from a distracted undergraduate early in 1794 to take a prominent and active role in contemporary radical affairs. By the end of 1795 and the debate about Pitt's and Grenville's repressive 'Gagging Acts', Coleridge's stature was comparable to—and certainly not less than—that of the leading figures of metropolitan radicalism such as Godwin and Holcroft, Thelwall, Dyer, and Coleridge's former hero at Jesus College, William Frend. It was Coleridge's considerable reputation in these London circles that also proved to be one factor in attracting Wordsworth to Bristol in August 1795. (Roe, 117)[11]

Although Coleridge was never a member of the London Corresponding Society, his association with the "very considerable Cambridge element among the leadership of the Corresponding Society," contributed significantly to his radical reputation and identity in the public sphere (Roe, 93).

It is the open-ended membership structure of these radical coterie networks that allowed Coleridge to periodically intensify his communication and interaction with these networks. What is unique about Coleridge in this regard is that he interacted with a wide variety of coterie networks, not just those of the London Corresponding Society and Jesus College at Cambridge. In fact, Coleridge was able to travel individually within a wide variety of intellectual circles, captivate an audience, and establish independent individual friendships, without committing to these circles at the expense of his own ideas and interests. From this perspective, Coleridge simultaneously participates in, yet is not fully a member of, the coteries and coterie networks he interchanges information with. In doing so, he creates a new and distinctly Coleridgean communication "inter-network" from the interaction with(in) such networks.

Indeed, the open-ended structure of these radical coterie networks allows Coleridge to reconfigure these networks into a Coleridgean "inter-network" to accommodate his own purposes and interests. These Coleridgean information networks are of interest precisely due to Coleridge's uncommitted, yet actively participating role within the radical coterie networks. Coleridge operates as the catalyst, or the filter, whose personal "genius" links the wide variety of print-media information interchanged via his interaction with these

[11] By the end of 1795 Coleridge had only just turned 23. All these contemporaries of Coleridge are at least a decade Coleridge's senior. This testifies to Coleridge's keen intellect and ambition, as well as his success in networking with established "radicals." William Godwin (1756-1836); George Dyer (1755-1841); Thomas Holcroft (1745-1809); John Thelwall (1764-1834); and William Frend (1757-1841).

coterie networks—the books, political and religious discussions, and correspondence circulating amongst the members of these coteries—into something distinctly Coleridgean. Above all, Coleridge remained motivated by his own individual perspectives facilitated by the interchange with these coterie networks, rather than using the networks to promote or further the views and aims of the coteries themselves. In short, as Kelly as argued, the "only organization capable of unprejudiced growth, or unguided learning, is a network" (26). In order to guide his own learning and intellectual growth, Coleridge designs and forges his own intellectual and social networks from the political networks of the radical coteries.

During the 1790s, the most notable coterie networks that Coleridge interacted with are the Cambridge circle, the Bristol circle, and the Göttingen circle. All of these circles had a significant influence on Coleridge and played a significant role in his "unguided" intellectual development because these circles fostered access to a wide variety of print-media and ideas. However, it is significant to understand that Coleridge's "coterie travels" were not isolated incidents. The period of association with the network of one circle did not end with Coleridge's interchange with the network of another circle. Since these networks were open-ended they remained active, overlapped, and presented a plurality and diversity of components.

The degree of Coleridge's involvement with one network may intensify periodically, yet earlier networks often remain a foundation from which Coleridge amalgamates, or incorporates new networks. For example, the exposure to dissent at Jesus College Cambridge leads Coleridge to become a Unitarian. In turn, his affiliation with Jesus College resulted in the development of his "radical" identity which culminated into, or more accurately coincided with, the Pantisocracy scheme with Southey, which initiated his involvement with the Bristol circle. Among the members of the Bristol circle were Dr. Beddoes, and later Wordsworth. These affiliations in turn resulted in Coleridge's second university career at Göttingen. Coleridge's coterie networks are complex amalgamations of a wide variety of intellectual, philosophical, political, literary and religious influences, which he actively cultivated during the 1790s. Overall, the overlapping, plurality, and diversity of these networks testifies to an intricate Coleridgean communication and information "inter-network."

Literary critics have often ignored Coleridge's participation in, and simultaneous influence of, these coterie networks. Instead of disentangling the complex Coleridgean communication "inter-network" of interchange between coteries, Coleridge's participation with(in) networks and coteries is often categorized into distinctive periods or identities, such as: Coleridge the Unitarian, Coleridge the radical, or in regard to the German tour, Coleridge the poet and Coleridge the metaphysician. While these identities certainly help to facilitate discussion about specific issues, the labelling of these identities limits the

influence or interaction of one coterie network to a specific period of time, which, due to the plurality and diversity of these networks, is problematic. In fact, this is historically inaccurate because throughout his interaction with these coteries, Coleridge continually explores previous and present networks most conducive to his interests. I will refer to this process as a Coleridgean "inter-network," which is composed, as I will discuss now, from an amalgamation of eighteenth-century social, intellectual, political, institutional, and foreign print-media networks.

### *The Watchman*: A Coleridgean "Inter-Network" of Print-Media

The ten issues of *The Watchman* present a good example of a Coleridgean communication "inter-network" comprised of an amalgamation of other networks. What I argue in this particular section is that with *The Watchman* Coleridge re-routes the existing print-media communication networks, such as newspapers and the postal service that support the government status quo, into a "new" Coleridgean communication network that challenges the government status quo. While most critics have foregrounded the political content of the journal, I would like to emphasize the communication process and print-media implications of *The Watchman* communication network as an attempt at forging an "inter-network" of miscellany dissemination comprised of individual communication networks.

Coleridge conceived *The Watchman* miscellany to counter the passing of the "Gagging Acts" by Parliament on December 18, 1795. These two bills, the Seditious Meetings Bill and the Treasonable Practices Bill, were tailored to silence the radical and dissenting influence of the London Corresponding Society and such figures as John Thelwall and William Frend. In 1795 Coleridge was already lecturing in Bristol,[12] and according to Roe

> the Two Bills prompted a further exchange between Bristol and London that led to Coleridge's and Thelwall's personal acquaintance and growing friendship during the next two years....For Coleridge and Thelwall the winter of 1795-6 was to prove the last moment when a concerted effort for reform seemed practicable. (Roe, 148, 156)

---

[12] Richard Holmes comments that "[m]uch of the material" for these lectures, "in true undergraduate fashion, was in fact cannibalised more or less from commentaries borrowed (usually the day before) from the Bristol library" (*Coleridge: Early Visions*. London: 1989, 96). This suggests, perhaps, that Coleridge builds his lecture network through his Bristol library borrowings. However, such an analysis is beyond the scope of the present study. For a complete list of Coleridge's Bristol library borrowings see: Whalley, George. "The Bristol Library Borrowings of Southey and Colerige, 1793-8." *The Library* IV (Sept 1949): 114-31.

Coleridge's interaction with Thelwall and the London Corresponding Society network, as well as his growing public reputation as a "radical" in the public sphere, obviously presented the political impetus for *The Watchman* to challenge the government authority embodied in the "Gagging Acts."

From March 01, 1796, to May 13, 1796, Coleridge published *The Watchman* "miscellany...at eight-day intervals....Each number consisting of thirty-two pages" (Patton, xxvii).[13] Although the journal folded within months, Coleridge ambitiously intended his periodical to challenge the dominant dissemination of governmental and metropolitan views published in the provincial newspapers. Lewis Patton states that Coleridge specifically

> had in mind for his miscellany...to remedy the dearth of good provincial journals, for most of the newspapers outside London were, he said, dependent on the Treasury, which sent them papers with particular paragraphs marked for reprinting; thus only the government point of view was disseminated. It was certainly true that the opposition point of view found few spokesmen in the provinces....Coleridge evidently saw the opportunity of operating from Bristol and drawing support from the wealthy Midland towns, where Dissenters and liberals were most numerous and powerful. Such persons were the intended, and became in fact the principal, readers of *The Watchman.* (xxxii – xxxiii)

As noted above, from a literary criticism perspective, *The Watchman* has mainly been of interest for its political content. However, the miscellany is a significant example of a Coleridgean "inter-network" that re-formats information from a variety of institutional networks to disseminate a non-partisan viewpoint to a provincial audience.

First, as Patton clearly states above, *The Watchman* aims to establish an independent publishing network in the provinces that challenges the hegemony of the institutional dissemination of the government viewpoint in the provinces via the regional newspapers. As only one man with a limited budget it is obvious that Coleridge's ambitious enterprise was doomed to failure from the start. Nonetheless, *The Watchman* venture illustrates a good indication of Coleridge's "inter-network" abilities and practices.

The print-media network of "material" printed in *The Watchman* is categorized by Patton into four specific areas:

> (1) original matter written by Coleridge especially for *The Watchman*; (2) matter by Coleridge already on hand; (3) matter written by contributors; (4) excerpts (not

[13] Coburn, Kathleen. General Editor. *Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge.* Vol. 2. *The Watchman.* Lewis Patton. Ed. Routledge & Kegan Paul. Princeton University Press, 1970.

> by Coleridge) taken from matter printed elsewhere and reprinted without change or with slight changes. (liii)

These four categories assume a wide range of responsibilities and duties for Coleridge, ranging from proprietor; writer; editor; correspondence with contributors; to dealing with Cottle, his publisher. Interestingly, Coleridge resorts to a variety of print-media networks, such as letters of correspondence, the writing of original material, and the re-formatting of printed material, to successfully fulfill these duties.

In the very first issue Coleridge aims to establish a published network of individual contributors in order to voice the decentralized dialogue of individual citizens. The Prospectus invites "Men of Letters to prefer this Miscellany to more perishable publications, as the vehicle of their effusions" (Patton, 5). In the Introductory Essay of the first issue Coleridge repeats his invitation for individual contributions: "If any condescend to favor [sic] this work by their communications, they will be pleased to direct them (post paid) to S. T. Coleridge, Bristol" (Patton, 15. *The Watchman.* No. 1. Tuesday, March 1, 1796). Using the established postal network, Coleridge's aims to develop a decentralized and free network of information and dialogue exchange into the public sphere via his journal. For contributors the journal functions as a vehicle to voice a non-government financed viewpoint; as well as an alternative to the censorship of the "Gagging Acts" which had effectively curbed the dissemination of decentralized dialogue and individual viewpoints via pamphlets and public meetings. In other words, the decentred correspondence of the individual contributor is re-formatted for miscellany dissemination allowing for the participation of the individual within the public sphere. Clearly, Coleridge's invitation for individual contributions embodies Habermas' concept of the decentralized periodical facilitating non-face-to-face rational-critical debate in the public sphere. However, Coleridge's "appeal for contributions, to be sent post-paid, was repeated in the first issue[14] and unfortunately met with only moderate response" (Patton, l). Patton notes that only a "few strangers sent in contributions" (li).

In order to fill the gap exposed by this moderate response Coleridge turned to friends and acquaintances comprising out of a variety of former, but mostly current intellectual and friendship coteries. Patton speculates that Charles Lamb, Coleridge's classmate from Christ's Hospital "sent in nothing of his own but may have sent *The Braes of Yarrow*, by John Logan" (l). John Edwards (1768-1808) appears to have been especially helpful. Patton only identifies two contributors from Bristol: William Gilbert and Dr. Thomas

[14] Coleridge had also made such a request on his *The Watchman* subscription tour discussed in more detail below.

Beddoes.[15] Since Coleridge was living in Bristol at this time these networks were probably forged via personal correspondence.[16]

Coleridge turned to other print media sources—Patton's "matter printed elsewhere" category—most notably the London newspapers:

> Lacking an adequate flow of contributions, Coleridge had to go foraging. He gathered materials from newspapers so extensively that one anonymous correspondent....wrote: 'Coleridge...the Newsmonger, Newspaper-paragraph-thief'. (Patton, li-lii)

Patton is not alone in contextualizing Coleridge's summarization of newspaper articles as "foraging" due to lack of effort, time, or original material. However, I would like to propose that such "foraging" is in fact forging a new "inter-network," specifically, one which not only disseminates the London metropolitan news in the provinces, but in essence, this news information, as will be illustrated momentarily below, is also distinctly cosmopolitan. Moreover, the method of dissemination is strikingly similar to the method used in disseminating the government point of view. As Patton notes above, Coleridge realized that "most of the newspapers outside London were... dependent on the Treasury, which sent them papers with particular paragraphs marked for reprinting" (xxxii). Likewise, Coleridge's reprints his own selected paragraphs in his miscellany. The significance is the nature of the link. The metropolitan information itself does not necessarily change, but now targets a regional audience in offering an alternative context to the government disseminated viewpoint. Information is disseminated which previously was not accessible in the provinces.

Patton states that

> Coleridge drew nearly all the news for *The Watchman* from the London newspapers, which apparently arrived in Bristol on the day after publication. He relied most heavily upon the *Morning Chronicle* [xlii] and the *Star* because he found their politics congenial and admired their parliamentary reporting.... (xli-xlii)

Coleridge's method was to edit "domestic and foreign events" from these newspapers into a detailed summary. Patton states that such

> Summarisation was no great disadvantage since he was in competition primarily with provincial weeklies, not metropolitan dailies. In general news reporting *The*

[15] The influence of Beddoes is discussed in more detail below.
[16] For a complete account of the few contributors see Patton, l-li.

> *Watchman* considerably exceeds most provincial papers, but in its coverage of local matters falls behind them. (xliii)

Obviously Coleridge could not provide the local news to each individual community from Bristol. Nonetheless, Coleridge was successful in disseminating an awareness of significant events in a summarized format not available to provincial audiences otherwise because the government funded provincial publications did not reprint this information. As such, *The Watchman* functions as a Coleridgean "inter-network." The miscellany edits selective paragraphs from the institutional networks of the metropolitan dailies and reprints these in a new format, context, and thus functions as new "inter-network": *The Watchman.*

Moreover, these summaries of metropolitan dailies disseminate cosmopolitan information. The summaries of the foreign intelligence[17] section of *The Watchman* report European news from a variety of cities, such as: Constantinople; Florence; The Hague; Manheim [sic]; Petersburgh and Warsaw. This cosmopolitan perspective is furthered by the inclusion of parliamentary reporting about the war with France, as well as such articles as: "Historical Sketch of the Manners and Religion of the Ancient Germans" (No. III. Thursday, March 17, 1796)[18] and "Review of Count Rumford's *Essay*" (No. V. Saturday, April 02, 1796).[19] The re-formatting of the London newspapers was essential in networking a cosmopolitan perspective to the provinces.

In fact, *The Watchman* "was unusual in the quality of its digest of London news. Most provincial weeklies were government papers, many actually in the pay of the Treasury" (Patton, xliii). In other words, Coleridge's news reporting was the result of the establishment of a new decentred "inter-network" that bypassed the existing dominance of the government network of dissemination. This was partly due to the geographical location of Bristol in regard to London; as well as Bristol being England's largest port. Bristol's efficient communication lines with London allowed Coleridge to summarize the London papers and disseminate his miscellany within an eight-day period. The implications are significant here, as Coleridge successfully re-directs metropolitan information to a provincial audience through his own newly applied print-media "inter-network."

---

[17] Coleridge's method of summarizing "foreign news" from other newspapers was also a method employed in the "Foreign Intelligence" section of *The Analytical Review* which frequently cites the *Jenaische Allgemeine-Literatur Zeitung* as a source for foreign information. See Chapter Two.

[18] Jointly authored by Coleridge and Southey.

[19] Although Count von Rumford, Benjamin Thompson (1753-1814), was an Englishman, he "engaged himself in the service of the Elector Palatine, reigning Duke of Bavaria....to introduce 'a new system of order, discipline, and economy' among troops of his Electoral Highness" (Patton, 176). It is this model applied in Bavaria (i.e. Germany) that Coleridge proposes to adopt in England. See Section II below.

Lastly, I briefly want to address the reading audience of this dissemination. The reading audience of *The Watchman* had to be "networked" in advance via Coleridge's subscription tour of the Midlands from January 09, 1796 to February 13, 1796. During this tour, Coleridge's efforts to create a subscription network for his journal was aided by his radical reputation in the public sphere as a public speaker. Richard Holmes states that Coleridge "sprang up into pulpits in Birmingham, Sheffield, Nottingham, and Manchester, to deliver brilliantly extempore sermons '*precociously peppered with Politics*.' These sermons gave *The Watchman* immense and unexpected publicity...." (Holmes, 108. Emphasis Holmes; from: *Letters* I, p. 176). The reading audience of *The Watchman* is established via a subscription network that is in part successful due to Coleridge's reputation as a public speaker from his previous participation with "radical" metropolitan coteries such as The London Corresponding Society. In application, Coleridge is able to re-route his reputation from such networks to cultivate a provincial reception network for his journal. As we will see below, Coleridge's ability to forge print-media networks via his personal reputation, or via his personal contact with people arising out of his participation in, or with, social networks, is a key element of his travels in Germany.

In short, then, Coleridge was very active in using a wide variety of social, intellectual, and institutional networks at his disposal to create new and specifically Coleridgean networks. The implications in regard to print culture are that these Coleridgean networks function as an "inter-network" employing the same print-media communication networks that supported government interests, but re-formats these networks in order to resist the government status quo.[20] In other words, the example of *The Watchman* as an "inter-network" of print-media illustrates the re-routing of metropolitan information to a regional audience via the same communication networks that aimed to censor the dissemination of metropolitan information in the provinces.

*The Watchman* was short-lived, however, and Coleridge soon moved on to other projects and networks. While the content of information interchanged via these networks often changes, it is worthy of note that Coleridge's interest in German literature and language evolves consistently from 1794 onwards—especially after Coleridge moves to Bristol. Coleridge's interest in German culture and literature co-incides with, but could not be facilitated by, the Cambridge and radical coterie information networks during the early 1790s. Moreover, networks of cross-cultural exchange between England and Germany during the 1790s were severely limited. Coleridge had no other choice, but to forge his own distinctly Coleridgean network to Germany. In the next section, I will specifically

[20] Idea developed from Warner: "But the same general communications infrastructure—the post and print media—that supported the circulation of the King's speeches or the laws of Parliament could be used to resist Imperial authority" (Warner, 3).

look at Coleridge's efforts in forging a cross-cultural communication network to Germany.

## II
## Networking Germany from England (1794-1798)

### The Evolution of Coleridge's German Interests and Networks

The first extant record of Coleridge's interest in German literature is probably the often-cited enthusiastic letter to Southey on November 03, 1794, about Schiller's "The Robbers" (1781).

> 'Tis past one o clock in the morning—I sate down at twelve o'clock to read the 'Robbers' of Schiller—I had read chill and trembling until I came to the part where Moor fires a pistol over the Robbers who are asleep—I could read no more—My God! Southey! Who is this Schiller! This Convulser of the Heart? Did he write this Tragedy amid the yelling of Fiends?—I should not like to [be] able to describe such Characters—I tremble like an Aspen Leaf—Upon my Soul, I write to you because I am frightened—I had better go to Bed. Why have we ever called Milton sublime? That Count de Moor—horrible Wielder of heart-writhing Virtues—! Satan is scarcely qualified to attend his Execution as Gallows Chaplain—— (*CL* 68, 122)

The translation of Schiller's "The Robbers" that Coleridge refers to in this letter is probably the first published translation of the play in England by Tytler in 1792. However, many pirated translations circulated such as the 1793 edition by John Archer. Regardless of the edition Coleridge may have read, we can ascertain that Coleridge was reading "The Robbers" in English within two years of it having become available in England.

Perhaps the second most-cited quotation about Coleridge and Germany is Coleridge's intention to study at a German university. In a letter to Thomas Poole, on May 05, 1796, Coleridge writes:

> I am studying German, & in about six weeks shall be able to read that language with tolerable fluency. Now I have some thoughts of making a proposal to Robinson, the great London Bookseller, of translating all the works [of] Schiller, which would make a portly Quarto, on the conditions that he would pay my Journey & wife's to & from Jena, a cheap German University where Schiller

> resides—& allow me two guineas each Quarto Sheet—which would maintain me—. If I could realize this scheme, I should there study Chemistry & Anatomy, [and] bring over with me all the works of Semler & Michaelis, the German Theologians, & of Kant, the great german Metaphysician. On my return I would commence a School for 8 young men at 100 guineas each—proposing to *perfect* them in the following studies in order as follows.... [Coleridge outlines three categories; Man as Animal; Man as Intellectual Being; and Man as Religious Being;].... Gracious Heaven! that a scheme so big with advantage to this Kingdom, therefore to Europe, therefore to the World should be demolishable by one monosyllable from a Bookseller's Mouth! No!——Genii &c— .... (*CL* 124, 209-210)

The juxtaposition of Letters 68 and 124, written over an eighteen-month period, reveals Coleridge's developed and informed interest in German language and literature. Coleridge outlines the objectives of his studies to facilitate the future cross-cultural dissemination of all of Schiller's works and the instruction of a school based on the European model. Clearly, Coleridge's aim is to forge a cross-cultural link between England and Germany that will benefit "this Kingdom." Moreover, Letter 124 voices Coleridge's awareness of the current limitations in England in forging such a cross-cultural network between England and Germany. Only a stay in Germany would allow Coleridge access to the German sources to execute such a plan.

For example, Coleridge cites Michaelis as one of the German theologians whose works he would import on his German travels. Coleridge's Bristol library borrowings indicate his attempts at educating himself about German thought in England. He had borrowed volume one of Michaelis' *Introduction to the New Testament*, translated by Herbert Marsh in 1793, from the Bristol library from June 01-11, 1795. In fact, during this eighteen month-period Coleridge borrows, records notes on, or mentions titles by German authors, or texts about Germany, by Johann Lorenz Mosheim,[21] Böhme, J.C. Lavater and Count von Rumford.[22]

Interestingly, Coleridge reviews Count von Rumford's *Essays* about the development of a system of "discipline...and economy" in education and social milieu in Bavaria, in the fifth issue of *The Watchman* (See: No. V. Saturday, April 02, 1796., Patton, 175-179). In letters to Poole on March 03, 1796 and April 11, 1796, to Benjamin Fowler[23] on April

---

[21] Both Michaelis and Mosheim were faculty members at the University of Göttingen. Also, Semler, mentioned in the May 05 letter to Poole, has a Göttingen connection. Johann Gottfried Eichhorn, Coleridge's future professor at Göttingen, had published a book about Semler, entitled *Johann Salomo Semler : einige Bemerkungen ueber seinen litterarischen Character*, in 1793.

[22] Count von Rumford was actually English, not German. See above.

[23] Benjamin Fowler was the editor of the *Cambridge Intelligencer*.

01, 1796, and to his publisher Cottle on April 30, 1796, Coleridge writes enthusiastically about Count Rumford's essays.[24] Indeed, from March to May 1796 Coleridge's admiration for the system expoused by von Rumford in his *Essays*, apparently knows no bounds. Coleridge sends a copy of *Essays* to Poole as thanks "for your kind permission with respects to Books" (*CL* 119, 201). To Cottle he proposes a plan to publish a pamphlet about the adoption of Rumford's system in various cities in England starting with Bristol.[25] Moreover, the May 05 letter to Poole concludes with Coleridge's informed awareness that "Count Rumford is being reprinted——" (*CL* 124, 210).

Clearly, during this eighteen-month period Coleridge's admiration for German literature, language, and culture strongly evolves from an enthusiastic reading of Schiller to his expressed desires to study in Germany at the University of Jena and the cross-cultural dissemination of German thought in England. Coleridge explores domestic print-media networks, such as the Bristol library, to access German texts. His aim is also to disseminate an awareness about German texts via networks at his disposal. Again, we see Coleridge communicating his interests via an epistolary network of letters to members of current and previous networks such as Cottle and Poole and the network of the decentralized periodical in his *The Watchman* review and; his recommendation of Rumford to Fowler the editor of the *Cambridge Intelligencer*. Specifically, one can identify several of Coleridge's plans as attempts to forge a cross-cultural network between Germany and England: a) the application of the von Rumford's system in England and; b) his intention to study in Germany in order to set up a school in England based on the German model.

In fact, between Coleridge's first reading of Schiller in November 1794 and his departure for Germany on September 16, 1798, there are twenty-one extant documented references in his correspondence and *Notebooks* alone about German literature, language, and culture.[26] While these comments and references vary in length and detail, they present the continued development of Coleridge's interest in German culture.

References to Schiller, for example, illustrate Coleridge's analytical comparison of this German author's work to English literature. In a letter to Sheridan on February 06, 1797,

---

[24] See: *CL* 114; *CL* 116; *CL* 119; *CL* 123.

[25] See: *CL* 123. April 30, 1796, 201. "Since I last conversed with you on the subject, I have been thinking over again the plan I suggested to you concerning the application of Count Rumford's Plan to the City of Bristol——I have arranged in my mind the manner & matter of the Pamphlet, which would be three Sheets, & might be priced at one Shilling—the title....[Considerations addressed to the Inhabitants of Bristol on a subject of importance unconnected with Politics.—]....Now I have by me the History of Birmingham, & the History of Manchester——....Now will you undertake this—either to print it & divide the profits with me—or (which indeed I should prefer) would you give me three guineas for the Copy-right...."

[26] This figure does not include the reviews and articles in *The Watchman* stated above, as well as other sources.

Coleridge comments that "the impression from Schiller's 'Fiesco' is weak compared to that produced by his 'Robbers'" (*CL* 175, 304).[27] A few months later on June 08, 1797, Coleridge again refers to Schiller in his evaluation of Wordsworth's drama, *The Borderers*, in a letter to Cottle:

> His [Wordsworth's] Drama is absolutely wonderful. You know, I do not commonly speak in such abrupt & unmingled phrases....There are in the piece those *profound* touches of the human heart, which I find three or four times in 'The Robbers' of Schiller, & often in Shakespere [sic]—but in Wordsworth there are no *inequalities*. (*CL* 190, 321; Emphasis Coleridge's)

Coleridge's praise for Wordsworth here is measured against the canon of Shakespeare, and a German author.[28] This reflects Coleridge's high esteem for Wordsworth as well as his admiration for Schiller during this period. Moreover, it also demonstrates a critical sensitivity to literature beyond the confines of what is available and published in England. Clearly, Coleridge is moving towards a cosmopolitan appreciation of English literature. What specifically develops is Coleridge's growing awareness of the limitations of the cross-cultural communication networks in England. Coleridge realizes that such limitations present the opportunity, if not need, to forge a communication network between the two countries that supports the transference of print media for the educational and intellectual advantages beneficial to the Kingdom.

Such a realization is evident in the evolution over several years of Coleridge's plan(s) to learn German, study in Germany, and profit financially by translating German texts for an English audience. Coleridge first mentions that he is studying German and hopes to matriculate at the University of Jena in the above-cited letter to Poole on May 05, 1796. Eighteen months later, in a letter to Cottle circa November 20, 1797, Coleridge's ambition to translate German texts is frustrated by his lack of proficiency in the German language, as well as a lack of resources. Coleridge writes:

> ——I am translating the Oberon of Wieland—it [German] is a difficult Language, and I can translate at least as fast as I can construe.—I pray you, as soon as possible, procure for me a German-English Grammar—I believe, there is but one—*Widderburne's*, I think—but I am not certain.—I have written a ballad of

---

[27] "Schiller's *Fiesco* was translated and published by Joseph Johnson in 1796. Reviewed in *The Analytical Review* Vol. XXIV, 380-382."

[28] In reference to his own drama, *Osorio*, Coleridge writes to William Lisle Bowles on October 16, 1797, that he intends to "strike out the character of Warville, the Englishman; and to substitute some interesting one—but in vain!—So I have altered his name, made him a German, and a nothing at all" (*CL* 211, 355-356).

> about 300 lines[29]—& Sketch of a Plan of General Study:—and I have made a very considerable Proficiency in the French Language, and study it daily—and daily study the German—so that I am not, & have not been, idle.—— (*CL* 212, 357)

It is clear from this correspondence that Coleridge was ambitious about developing his proficiency in German literature and language; albeit a very limited knowledge and understanding frustrated by a lack of resources and proficiency in the language. The learning of the German language a year prior to his departure for Germany suggests Coleridge's strong sense of purpose—especially when considering the limited resources to aid his development.

It is therefore not surprising that with the financial backing of the Wedgwood annuity, Coleridge's next correspondence outlines his plans to study in Germany itself, rather than requesting German dictionaries and texts. Coleridge writes again to Cottle five months later in early April, 1798:

> I write to you now merely as a bookseller, and intreat you, in your answer, to consider yourself only; as to us, although money is necessary to our plan, [that of visiting Germany] yet the plan is not necessary to our happiness; and if it were, W. would sell his Poems for that sum to some one else, or we could procure the money without selling the poems.[30] So I entreat you again and again, in your answer, which must be immediate, consider yourself only. (*CL* 242, 402-403)

The plan now includes the Wordsworths as well as Coleridge's family.[31] In other words, during the four-year period from 1794 and 1798 Coleridge's interests in German language and culture evolve steadily. Ironically, this period of German interest coincides with some of his best poetry, clearly exposing the "poet-spoiler" paradigm of the German tour as a myth. Moreover, Coleridge's plans to study in Germany are fostered by his desire for German print-media he wishes to study, translate, and disseminate in England—texts which clearly cannot be found in England. The motivation to study German language, literature, and culture becomes even more evident in the extant letters from the

---

[29] Griggs' footnote reads: "Apparently *The Ancient Mariner*, see Letters 218 and 233, and E. K. Chambers, 'Some Dates in Coleridge's *Annus Mirabilis*', *A Sheaf of Studies*, 1942, pp. 42-59" (Griggs, 357).

[30] These poems are what is to become *The Lyrical Ballads*. It certainly is of interest that this volume is considered here to finance the German tour. Moreover, Wordsworth and Coleridge leave for Germany on September 16, 1798. *The Lyrical Ballads* are published on September 18, 1798.

[31] Coleridge did not voice his intention to go without his family until August 03, 1798, in a letter to Poole. *CL* 252: "I arrived safely, &c.—With regard to Germany, these are my intentions, if not contravened by superior arguments.—I still think the realization of the scheme of high importance to my intellectual utility; and of course to my moral happiness. But if I go with Mrs C. & little ones, I must *borrow*—an imprudent, perhaps an immoral thing—" (Griggs, 414). Note: this is Coleridge's last correspondence about Germany prior to his departure.

Wordsworths. An interesting composite of the intended goals for the tour can be sketched from a juxtaposition of Coleridge's and the Wordsworths's letters.

Unfortunately, the correspondence of Dorothy and William Wordsworth has not often, if at all, been considered critically in regard to the details about Coleridge's German tour. From Wordsworth's letter to James Losh on March 11, 1798, we learn that the original plan was to study natural science at a university for two years:

> We have come to a resolution, Coleridge, Mrs. Coleridge, my Sister and myself of going into Germany, where we purpose to pass the two years in *order to acquire the German language, and to furnish ourselves with a tolerable stock of information in natural science*. Our plan is to settle if possible in a village near a university...it will be desirable that this place should be as near as may be to Hamburg on account of the expense of travelling. (*EWL* 85, 213; Emphasis mine)

Dorothy's letter to Richard Wordsworth on April 30, 1798, again foregrounds the two-year study period at a university, as well as the financial profit of translating German into English upon returning to England.[32] In two letters to her aunt on June 13, 1798 and July 03, 1798, Dorothy perhaps presents the most detailed extant outline about the logistics of implementing the German tour. Dorothy writes:

> We have long wished to go into that country [Germany] for the purpose of learning the language, and for the common advantages to be acquired by seeing different people and different manners. Coleridge has had the same wish; and we have so arranged our plans that I hope we shall sail in two or three months. Our first intention was to have gone *immediately* to the neighbourhood of one of the universities; but as we find that the price of lodgings &c. is much greater in the towns where there are universities we have resolved to go into some small town or village, till we have acquired the language, which we imagine we shall have a good knowledge of in about twelve months, and afterward, to draw near a university, when William and Coleridge will then be better able to profit by the instructions they may have an opportunity of receiving....
> We are advised to go into Saxony....We hope to make some addition to our resources by translating from the German, the most profitable species of literary labour, and of which I can do as much as my Brother....

[32] See: *EWL* 88. April 30, 1798. Dorothy Wordsworth to Richard Wordsworth, 216. "Our present plan is to go into Germany for a couple of years. William thinks it will be a great advantage to him to be acquainted with the German language; besides that translation is the most profitable of all works....we have reason to think we can live cheaper in Germany than in England. Our design is to board in a family..." (216).

> Perhaps I shall be able to get letters sent by means of the Wedgwoods who are to give us letters of introduction to some Hamburgh merchants. (*EWL* 93, 223-224)

Clearly, the value of the Wordsworth letters is that they *flesh* out Coleridge's initial scheme—probably in consultation with Coleridge—but do not alter or transform the cross-cultural ethos of the original proposal outlined by Coleridge in 1796. From a juxtaposition of Coleridge's letters and the respective letters from William Wordsworth to James Losh and from Dorothy to her aunt, we can categorize the objectives of the proposed two-year German trip as follows:

1) To become proficient in the German language in order to translate German into English and vice versa.
2) To translate for financial profit both in Germany and England upon return.
3) To lodge in a town near a university and upon proficiency in the German language to study a) natural sciences; b) "Chemistry & Anatomy, [and] bring over with...[them] works of Semler & Michaelis, ....& of Kant"; c) other "instructions they may have the opportunity of receiving."
4) To stay in Germany for two years. Objectives 1 and 2 are to be accomplished in the first year; Objective 3 in the second year.
5) To use the Wedgwood letters of introduction to establish lodgings and contacts in Hamburg from which to arrange these objectives.

All these objectives point to the creation of a cross-cultural communication network between England and Germany. The work, study, and research of the poets performs the function of an "inter-network" in its amalgamation of foreign networks, in the form of private study, as well as institutional networks, embodied in their aims to study at a German university and disseminate translations from German print-media into English. All proposed goals for the German tour outlined above—translation, university instruction, the study of natural science—were completed by Coleridge in ten months instead of two years—and not at all attempted by the Wordsworths.

Indeed the Wordsworths abandon all intention of following the outlined objectives within weeks of arriving in Germany. In contrast, Coleridge first learns the German language while lodging with Pastor Unruh in Ratzeburg (September 30, 1798, to February 06, 1799) in preparation for his university studies at Göttingen (February 12, 1799, to June 24, 1799). The fact that Coleridge continues to follow the proposed objectives of the original plan is significant. It testifies to Coleridge's diligence, discipline and leadership. After all, Coleridge had been planning, preparing, and organizing, the German tour for four years. His accomplishment of the original goals in only ten months instead of the scheduled two years is a feat that could not have been facilitated without the print-media information network Coleridge had developed. Before I discuss Coleridge's print-media

network to Göttingen, I want to briefly address why Coleridge pre-empted his initial plans to study at Jena—"a cheap University where Schiller resides"—in favour of the University of Göttingen.

**Why Göttingen? A Brief Word About the Coleridge-Beddoes-Göttingen Network**

A full discussion of the Beddoes-Göttingen network is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Much more research needs to be done in order to ascertain the specificity of the Göttingen links to Beddoes, as well as the reputation and impact of Beddoes' work in Germany. However, despite our limited knowledge of Beddoes' contacts to, and with, Göttingen, what I would like to briefly acknowledge here is the undoubtedly strong influence of Beddoes' German networks on Coleridge's decision to study at the University of Göttingen.

Coleridge and Beddoes first met in Bristol probably on November 17, 1795, at a meeting in the Bristol Guildhall called in order "to send a message to George III...." about the "Gagging Acts. Coleridge and other Democrats...including Dr. Thomas Beddoes...rose to vote for an amendment to the message" (Ashton, 1997., 78). Coleridge quickly became part of Beddoes' Bristol circle. In her biography, *Thomas Beddoes M.D., 1760-1808. Chemist, Physician, Democrat* (1984), Dorothy Stansfield states that

> Beddoes gather[ed] round him a number of men, mostly rather younger than himself, who responded to his enthusiasm and were excited by his scientific ideas. The talk must have ranged from politics to philosophy; from educational to medical schemes and from science to poetry....For some six years, from 1795 to 1800/1, these friendships flourished. (123)

Interestingly, Coleridge's participation with the Beddoes coterie network closely coincides with his developing interests in German literature, education, and culture, outlined above.

Stansfield defines the discussion topics and interests of the coterie as centring on politics, education, philosophy and medicine. The political content of Coleridge's Bristol lectures had forged a link with Beddoes, which most immediately culminated in Beddoes' support of *The Watchman*.[33] Stansfield states that

---

[33] "They [Coleridge and Beddoes] shared, metaphorically and literally, the same platform on public affairs and there are verbal echoes and details of style which suggest not so much formal collaboration as the enjoyment of exchanging ideas" (Stansfield, 127). And on Beddoes' support of *The Watchman*, Stansfield writes: "Beddoes found he could wholeheartedly collaborate in this venture. Here was, in fact, an opportunity to fulfil an old ambition. On an earlier occasion inaccurate and alarmist rumours about events in France had brought home to Beddoes the need for a free press, in particular a free provincial press, where the truth could be published....Beddoes not only sympathised but gave invaluable practical help with

> Details which suggest help from Beddoes or topics which might well have resulted from discussions with him, appear in every one of the ten numbers of *The Watchman* but the over-all tone of Coleridge's paper, rather than such details, shows how close he and Beddoes were. (133)

Clearly, this closeness also featured in the discussions and interests of the coterie about education, philosophical, and medicine, which probably drew widely on Beddoes' extensive knowledge of German culture and his engagement with German print-media.

Despite the close interaction between Coleridge and Beddoes only a limited correspondence appears to have survived. None of these extant letters are of interest in regard to the German tour, German education systems, or Göttingen. However, a brief analysis of Beddoes' links to Germany and the University of Göttingen suggests that much of the discussion on education, philosophy, medicine and literature, would find its origins in German print-media sources and networks. Indeed, Beddoes himself, as well as his library of foreign texts, functioned as an "inter-network" for Coleridge to Göttingen and German print-media.

Beddoes' familiarity with German culture, his fluency in the language, and his correspondence with German intellectuals about German print-media, dates back to his student days at Edinburgh. As "President of both the Natural History Society and the Royal Medical Society" in 1779, Beddoes enjoyed "meeting foreign students and...took the opportunity this offered to borrow manuscript lectures of Continental professors — his letters to Trye show that there was an exchange among the students of notes on lectures and of new books" (Stansfield, 27). More specifically, Stansfield directly links Beddoes' studies of continental professors to the University of Göttingen.

> He [Beddoes] was particularly pleased to have the notes of Professor Richter of Göttingen. These could well have been lent to Beddoes by a fellow member of the Royal Medical Society, a member of Göttingen University, Christoph Girtanner....with whom he corresponded for many years...This personal link with the University of Göttingen led to a valuable exchange of ideas; it was Girtanner who sent Beddoes Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* and it was largely through him that Beddoes' own ideas were tried out in Germany. (27, 30)

The network path outlined here from the Natural History and Royal Medical societies, to foreign students, to student notes taken at the University of Göttingen, to the exchange of foreign print-media, document Beddoes' participation in an "inter-network." Like Coleridge, Beddoes forges his own print-media information "inter-network." His cross-

---

each of the ten issues — all that Coleridge was able to publish in spite of great efforts to muster subscribers" (Stansfield, 131, 132).

cultural correspondence with Girtanner links Beddoes to continental networks of foreign print-media, such as university lectures and Kant's *Critique*; print-media which otherwise was not available to Beddoes in England. This "inter-network" of cross-cultural exchange not only familiarized Beddoes with the work of continental intellectuals—specifically of those at Göttingen—but also facilitated a network of interchange as Beddoes' own work travelled to, and was disseminated by, such intellectuals in Germany.

In addition, this "inter-network" path fostered Beddoes' collection of foreign print-media. The sending of Kant's *Critique* by a continental correspondent was not an isolated incident. Beddoes was well aware of the intellectual value of foreign print-media, "stressing the need for up-to-date issues of foreign journals, especially from Germany which he considered the best" (Stansfield, 50). His extensive knowledge of the German language and the work of German intellectuals is reflected in the significance of Beddoes' personal library as a resource of foreign print-media.

An amusing anecdote, often retold, that documents the extensive collection of foreign print-media in Beddoes' library, is recorded by Beddoes' first biographer John Edmonds Stock, in his *Memoirs of the Life of Thomas Beddoes, M. D* (1811). Upon a visit to England, Dr. Joseph Frank of Vienna wished to meet Dr. Beddoes. Frank relates how after introducing his letters of introduction he waited fifteen minutes before[34]

> Doctor Beddoes appeared with several books under his arm. The first words that he addressed to me were, "Which Doctor Frank are you? for there are a great many of you." Before I could answer him, he laid before me, in a row, several books, all written by Franks, constantly asking as he turned them over, "Is that you? Is that you?" The first that met my eye, was a Materia Medica, by Solomon Frank. I protested against this being mine. Then followed some of the works which I had written in elucidation of the Brunonian system. Having now recognized me, Brown became the first topic of our conversation.....The conversation shortly after turned upon foreign medical literature ; when I soon found that Doctor Beddoes reads German as well as he does English ; and is intimately acquainted with all our best authors. (299-300)

This amusing episode in the later life of the Beddoes testifies to the international reputation of Beddoes, his fluency in German, and most importantly, his extensive library collection of medical texts and foreign print-media.

---

[34] Apparently this is Frank's own account. Stock credits M. King with the translation from the German: "For the translation of the passage I am indebted to my friend Mr. King" (Stock, 300). At the time of printing I had not been able to find a reference to Frank's text.

At the time of Frank's visit Beddoes had already been collecting foreign print-media for decades. Stansfield suggests that Beddoes' personal library was already a valuable and extensive resource of foreign print-media during the early 1790s when Coleridge befriended him. Stansfield infers that via Beddoes' Göttingen links Coleridge may have been first exposed to the works and ideas of Kant.

> Beddoes referred to the Göttingen journals as the source of his information about Kant's reputation; he was...still in correspondence with his Edinburgh friend, Dr. Girtanner. Beddoes was already knowledgeable about Kant before he and Coleridge met in Bristol; it is reasonable to assume that at least some of Kant's works which were in his library at the end of his life were bought in the years following 1793 and that Coleridge could have known them.... Beddoes' writing on works by German scientists and doctors must have brought into his library new books where Coleridge would have found an introduction to current philosophical ideas... (94, 139)

The cross-cultural correspondence network between Beddoes and Girtanner certainly appears to have solidified a link between Beddoes and the print-media productions of, and mediated from, the University of Göttingen. Beddoes was continually acquiring foreign texts about the most recent contemporary debates and productions—such as Kant's *Critique*—for his private library collection. Certainly, as Stansfield suggests, Beddoes' collection of foreign print-media could not have been without influence on Coleridge after meeting Beddoes in November 1795.[35] And considering that the University of Göttingen occupied a pivotal role both in the acquisition of these texts via Girtanner, as well as intellectual content, the significance of the intellectual milieu of

---

[35] See also Stansfield: "Education can hardly have escaped taking place alongside politics in the many discussions between Beddoes and Coleridge" (139 ff). Coleridge's interest in Count von Rumford's system of education was also shared by Dr. Beddoes. Stocks relates that Beddoes had a high regard for the Count's experiments and similar to Coleridge was prone to recommend the text to his friends.

> You will see Count Rumford's experiments in the volume of the philosophical transactions just published ; and a new correspondent [Davy] who, by the way, He forwarded to Mr. Davy, Count Rumford's experiments, together with a prospectus of a publication which he was then meditating, designed to collect miscellaneous information on physical and medical subjects, from the West of England ; and at the same time solicited his permission to enrich his volume with his valuable essay. (Stock, 155-156)

Whether Beddoes had originally brought Rumford to Coleridge's attention in 1796 or vice versa is impossible to determine. What is of interest, however, is that upon his return, Coleridge meets Davy and participates in the famous nitrous oxide experiment. The mutual interest for von Rumford shared by Beddoes, Coleridge and Davy, functions as a common foundation out of which emerge other intellectual and social networks, such as Coleridge's friendship with Davy and his interest in Chemistry.

Göttingen could not have been lost upon Coleridge as he borrowed and read foreign print-media from Beddoes' personal library.

It is specifically the reputation of the circulating library at Göttingen as among the best in the world that Beddoes, better than any other of Coleridge's friends, acquaintances, or network links, would have been able to inform the poet about. One of the few works that has researched the Beddoes-Göttingen network in some detail is Carl August Weber's *Bristols Bedeutung für die englische Romantik und die deutsch-englischen Beziehungen* (1935). In this volume Weber traces the connection between German scholarship and Beddoes. Weber cites Beddoes' discussion of Göttingen faculty members in his *A Memorial Concerning the State of the Bodleian Library, and the Conduct of the Principal Librarian. Addressed to the Curators of that Library, by the Chemical Reader* (1787) as an example of Beddoes' wish for the integration and acceptance of German thought for the development of English scholarship—which, as I have argued above, was a consuming interest of Coleridge during this period (Weber, 104).

In his address Beddoes cites several scholars from the University of Göttingen illustrating both his awareness and admiration of their work. Beddoes states:

> We cannot surely be afraid lest the labour of acquiring the language should be thrown away, unless we cannot suppose that the powers of Haller, Heine [sic: Heyne],[36] Meiners and Michaelis desert them, when they write in their mother-tongue . . . But how can such writers as Jerusalem, Doederlein, Michaelis, Reimarus, Mendelssohn, or Lessing be searched for new arguments on either side, while our highpriests of learning take no care to introduce their offerings into her temples. (Quoted in Weber, 104)

Beddoes argues for the cross-cultural transmission and dissemination of foreign, specifically German, print-media to benefit university education and scholarship in England. This was also a special concern of Coleridge during the 1794-1798 period prior to his German tour. Interestingly, Beddoes exclusively refers to German authors in his list. His citation of Haller, Heyne, Meiners and Michaelis is significant because all four were, or had been, faculty members at the Georgia Augusta University in Göttingen. In fact, Heyne and Meiners were direct contemporaries of Coleridge in 1799.[37] Clearly, Beddoes was well-informed about the scholarship at Göttingen.

---

[36] Spelling error in the original. Beddoes is referring to Christian Gottlob Heyne (1729-1812) here, not the poet Heinrich Heine (1797-1856).

[37] Coffman lists that Coleridge owned and/or read two of Haller's works and three of Michaelis. See: Coffman, Ralph J. *Coleridge's Library: A Bibliography of Books Owned or Read by Samuel Taylor Coleridge* (1987).

Moreover, in juxtaposing Göttingen with Oxford in his *A Memorial*, Beddoes argues that the acquisition of foreign texts is essential to the intellectual development of English scholars. Beddoes criticizes specific examples of incompetence by the Bodleian librarian in its purchase of foreign print-media.

> Haller's Elementa Physiologiae were purchased in 1784 ; but an imperfect copy was mistaken for perfect: and as it will be difficult, if not impossible, to procure the three remaining volumes, the mistake will probably cost the University the price of the imperfect copy, as no library ought to be without the work.
>
> This mistake is so gross, that I would not, for the sake of my own credit, mention it to a foreigner, since it must appear incredible to him that we should not know of how many volumes the most useful and popular work of this great author consists. (10)

Beddoes' cross-cultural awareness, both of the currency of foreign texts and the reception abroad of the Bodleian mistake in acquiring an imperfect copy, testifies to his expertise and knowledge about foreign medical journals and publications, as well as their cultural and academic currency.

This cross-cultural awareness would certainly have been applied by Beddoes in his acquisition of foreign print-media for his own private library. It is known that Coleridge borrowed foreign texts from Beddoes and although the titles of these borrowings cannot be determined such borrowing fostered Coleridge's awareness about German scholarship—specifically the scholarship and circulating library at Göttingen.

In fact, Beddoes' *A Memorial* not only records his awareness of the research and scholarship at Göttingen, but also of the holdings and directorship of the Göttingen library.

> The Advocates library at Edinburgh, the most useful in Great Britain, has an annual income of £. 700 ; that at Gottingen [sic], of £. 1100. Now, as these sums are not found too large for the purchase of books, by what kind of arithmetic can it be made to appear, that a smaller sum, employed to the greatest advantage, will not only keep pace with a larger, in providing books to be published hereafter from time to time, but also such as are already to be found in those libraries?
>
> I can discover no reason why an English should be inferior to a Scotch or an Hanoverian University, in any respect ; nor why the nation should be without as ample a repository of all kinds of human knowledge. If it happens, it must happen through our own neglect. (18-19)

Certainly, Beddoes would have informed Coleridge about the wealth of the library holdings and Heyne's directorship of the Göttingen library before his departure for Germany; especially considering that the Göttingen library presents itself as the ideal resource for Coleridge's literary studies. Moreover, Coleridge is not only fulfilling Beddoes' request in *A Memorial* regarding the integration of German thought into the English system by studying at Göttingen, but Coleridge would no doubt be drawn to the Göttingen library by its reputation of superior resources. Clearly, Coleridge was the ideal candidate to disseminate and interfuse German thought into English scholarship.

In short, the "inter-network" of Beddoes' work and interaction with continental scholarship and institutions, specifically the famous Göttingen library, undoubtingly familarized Coleridge with the library at the University of Göttingen more than any other university in Germany before his German tour. However, while Beddoes' "inter-network" had a profound influence on Coleridge's choice of institution to facilitate his second university career, Coleridge had to forge a network to the university, and its library, himself. I will now turn to an analysis of Coleridge's networking in order to matriculate at the University of Göttingen and gain access to the holdings of its famous circulating library.

## III
## Networking Göttingen:
## Epistolary Networks and Coleridge's Literary Studies

### Introductory Letters and the Network to Göttingen

The matriculation of Coleridge's second university career at Göttingen—one of the most famous and well-respected universities in Europe during the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries—was forged via an "inter-network" of networks originating in England. The letters of introductions from the Wedgwoods, mentioned by Dorothy in the letters cited above, provided Coleridge and Wordsworth with contacts to find affordable lodgings, information about the cultural habits of Germany, and indirectly, a meeting with Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, regarded at the time as "the father of German poetry." The details of the early days of the poets in Hamburg are well-known and need not be re-counted in full here.[38]

[38] The party included Coleridge, William and Dorothy Wordsworth and John Chester. The best sources for the Hamburg period are Coleridge's *Notebooks*, especially Kathleen Coburn's notes, Coleridge's letters, and Dorothy Wordsworth's *Journal of Visit to Hamburg and of Journey from Hamburg to Goslar* (1798).

What specifically becomes obvious in the remaining sections of this chapter as well as the next chapter is that Coleridge still very much identified himself as a poet in Germany. Indeed, the Coleridgean networks forged in Germany are developed to facilitate Coleridge's continued interest in German poetry and literature. In this section I will examine how via an epistolary network of introductory letters other social, intellectual, and institutional networks are created fostering Coleridge's matriculation and access to the circulating library network at Göttingen. In fact, I argue that after the Hamburg period, Coleridge deliberately cultivated a German epistolary network of introductory letters to facilitate his literary studies at Göttingen.

After a voyage of forty-eight hours, the party arrived in Hamburg on September 19, 1798. Coleridge immediately delivered his letters of recommendation.

> I dashed into town to deliver my letters of recommendation—von Axen embarrassed me by his high & solemn politeness as well as by his difficulty he found in understanding me. I left him abruptly/called on Remnant—not at home! —Called on Mr. Chatterley/an odd beast!....The Emigrant's Servant came & guided me to Der Wilder Man [*Der Wilde Mann*]—where after much difficulty lodgings had been procured.... (*CN* I., 336 3.2. September 19, 2001)

Kathleen Coburn's excellent editorial notes on the texts of Coleridge's *Notebooks* illustrate the dependence of Coleridge and the Wordsworths during the Hamburg period on introductory letters from England. Coburn identifies Von Axen as one "of the Messrs....Von Axen, the Hamburg agents of the Wedgwoods." Remnant was "an English bookseller, on whom Joseph Johnson...had given Coleridge an order for £25." "Apparently," Chatterley was "a business man in partnership with Viktor Klopstock." Out of these three contacts it is only via Chatterley—specifically his partner Viktor Klopstock—that a German network is successfully created.[39]

---

[39] Remnant offers advice on lodging and travel rates to Weimar, but Coleridge does not seem to have trusted this information: "we were in a state of doubt...whether we should proceed to Weimar or fix ourselves in some village near Hamburg—We were frightened at the expences of travelling to Weimar....Baldwin told us it probably *would* cost 60 and *must* cost forty guineas—Remnant & the Germans affirmed this to be a prodigious hyperbole, & Remnant assured us that it was impossible that the Journey...should cost us all four...more than 15£—What a difference!—But Wordsworth says he can believe no Man...." (*CL* 262. To Mrs. S. T. Coleridge, November 26, 1798, 446.) Perhaps Viktor Klopstock's suggestions are taken as a plan of action because he was German.
Interestingly, however, Remnant does provide a network to England for Wordsworth. In a letter to his brother Richard, Dorothy suggests Remnant as their English contact in Hamburg: "You had best address to us at Hamburgh, as if we should prolong our stay in Saxony your letter can be forwarded to us; if not, we shall find it there when we go. Direct to me to the care of Mr Remnant at the English library in Hamburgh" (*EWL* 106, 246). The footnote by Ernest De Selincourt to this letter indicates a network was formed: "William Remnant, an English bookseller, probably related to James Remnant, whose shop at 239 High Holborn, London, specialized in German publications. By 'library' D. W. means 'bookshop' (*librairie*). It

Coleridge is introduced to Viktor Klopstock, the younger brother of the poet, by Chatterley the following day on September 20. It is via Viktor, that Coleridge secures lodgings in Ratzeburg. He writes to his wife on 26 November, 1798, that on September 22 "Young Klopstock recommended Ratzeburg to us, & offered a letter of introduction...we accepted it, and I was appointed the Missioner" (*CL* 262, 446). The following day Coleridge travels to Ratzeburg and on September 26 he secures lodgings there at the home of Pastor Unruh. He settles permanently in Ratzeburg on September 30, after having briefly returned to Hamburg to collect his possessions.[40]

Given Coleridge's limited knowledge of the German language it appears probable that it was not just financial, but also practical reasons that allowed for the acceptance of Klopstock's German letter of introduction to Ratzeburg instead of travelling to Weimar by themselves as had been originally considered. On September 28, 1798, "Wordsworth & [his] Sister determined to...seek, lower down, obscurer & cheaper Lodgings without boarding" (*CN* 346 3.12). Coleridge, however, wisely decided to devote himself to mastering the German language as soon as possible. A trip to Weimar, or "lower down," would not only have been difficult to execute, but also exclude boarding and postpone the immediate learning of the German language from German native speakers. Boarding with Germans was significant to Coleridge because this was the best and fastest way to learn the language. Moreover, as we will see momentarily, not only does Coleridge learn the German language from his Ratzeburg experience, but also implements an epistolary "inter-network" of introductory letters via the social and coterie networks at Ratzeburg.

---

stood in Dammtorstrasse near the Jungfernstieg and, said S. T. C., there were 'delightful young men in it— | fine heads of Jacobi, Wieland, Schiller, and Goethe.' He called there on 19 Sept. 1798 with a letter from Joseph Johnson, W. W.'s publisher, establishing a credit for himself of £30, and again on 22 and 28 Sept. to buy books. Some time between 23 and 27 Sept. W. W. borrowed from Remnant a copy of *The Analytical Review* which he wished to show Klopstock because it contained some specimens of a blank verse translation of his *Messiah.* On 1 Oct. D. W. and W. W. sat in the shop for an hour and purchased copies of Bürger's poems and Percy's *Reliques of Ancient Poetry.*"

However, it is uncertain if Coleridge purchased his German literary texts (see below) at Remnant's shop as his notebook entry identifies only *a shop* in the Jungfernstieg: "In the evening bought Burger...[etc] The shop near the Jungfern stieg" (*CN* 340 3.6).

[40] Coleridge's humerous account in Ratzeburg illustrates his difficulty with the German language and the Fraktur font. "I had never asked Kloptock the Name of the Gentleman, but only took the letter—Accordingly when I arrived in Ratzeburgh, I consulted the direction—but lo! it was in German Characters—which, (the written) I cannot even now read. However there was one word which I made out, & which from it's situation I took for the name—this was Wohlgebohrne.[sic. Coleridge's spelling error. In German Wohlgeborne]—So I began to enquire where Mr Wohlgebohrne lived—No body knew such a Person—I was a little frightened and shewed my letter—A Grin!—The address was to the Amtman Braunes—An Amtman is a sort of perpetual Mayor....and Wohlgeborne or 'Well born' is one of the common titles of Civility, & means no more than our Esqr—Well I delivered my letter to the Amtman, who spoke English very well & received me kindly..." (*CL* 262, 448). Coleridge returns to Hamburg on September 27 to collect his possesions and on September 30 returns to Ratzeburg.

The second network initiated via Klopstock the younger, albeit indirectly, is Coleridge's study of German literature. While never mentioned directly in Coleridge's epistolary outlines of the German tour, his extant notebooks and letters record his determination to study German literature in the context of German culture. It is at Viktor Klopstock's that Coleridge observes a "fine picture of Lessing—No comprehensiveness in the Forehead; but large eyes & fine mouth...His eyes apparently not unlike mine—" (*CN* 337 3.3). Young Klopstock also introduces Wordsworth and Coleridge to Friedrich Klopstock the poet. Coleridge is disappointed that Klopstock is ignorant about German literature. In his notebook he records that Klopstock "thought Glover's blank verse superior to Milton's—& knew nothing of the older German Poets, & talked a great deal of nonsense about the superior power of concentering[41] meaning in the German language" (*CN* 339 3.5).

Although Wordsworth conversed with Klopstock in French, a language Coleridge did not know, it appears that Wordsworth acted as translator for Coleridge's literary queries to Klopstock. Coleridge writes to Poole about this meeting:

> Wordsworth had a long [&] various Conversation on literature with Klopstock—but it [was] (& Wordsworth agrees with me) all very *commonplace*! He [s]poke in high terms of Wieland, as the greatest Master of the German Language; but when prest on the subject of his immorality, he confessed that *he* would not have written the Oberon.—He spoke with the keenest *contempt* of Schiller's Productions; & said, they would not retain their fame many years....Of our poets he knew very little....(*CL* 261, 444).

Clearly, one can identify the content of the discussion as Coleridge's. It was Coleridge who had attempted to translate Wieland's *Oberon*, and who constantly cited Schiller's plays. It appears, therefore, that more than a surface discussion about German literature took place, but that the questions that interested Coleridge were not answered satisfactorily by Klopstock. Not only does this note Coleridge's ambition about German literature and language, but also his need to develop a literary network himself to satiate his ambition.

During this meeting Klopstock also shows "his works new printing [sic]—two Volumes, containing his Odes printed" (CN 339 3.5). The following day Coleridge records in his

---

[41] See Coburn's notes to entry 339 3.5: "*power or concentering meaning in the German language:* cf "Satyrane's Letters" (*BL* II 171) where Coleridge uses the more ordinary *concentrating*, found also in *BL* (1817) and *BL* (1847). I have not seen the MS of the *BL*, if it exists. The rest of the § in "Satyrane's Letters" glosses over this phrase. Loewenfeld (op cit General Note 3) n56, says it was a favourite ideas of Klopstock's, reported by many of his visitors.
See also *CL* 261., November 20, 1798. 442: "Klopstock talked what appeared to me great nonsense about the superior power which the German Language possessed, of *concentering meaning*."

notebook the purchasing of both *Klopstock's Odes*[42] and *Lessing's Fables* in addition to five other literary works including ballads by Gottfried August Bürger, and poems by Friedrich Leopold, Graf of Stolberg.[43] The ignorance of Klopstock, the "Father of German Literature" about the origins of the German language and literature seems to have initiated Coleridge to research the older poets on his own. A week later Coleridge records buying "a Luther's Bible...and Herder's Popular Songs" (*CN* 346 3.12). Out of the nine texts purchased by Coleridge in the first two weeks, eight are literary texts by German authors. However, most of these texts are by contemporary authors and do not provide Coleridge with a thorough and critical study of the origins of German language and literature.[44] Clearly, Coleridge would require access to a circulating library to facilitate such a study of German literature. Such a private print-information network to German media would need to be forged.

---

[42] Coleridge writes to Poole on November 20, 1798: "Perhaps, you will ask, Have you read any of Klopstock's Poetry?—But a little, & that little was *sad Stuff*!—They call him the German Milton—a very *German* Milton indeed!—A sensible young man here assures me that Kl.'s poetical Fame is going down Hill.——" (See: *CL* 261, 445).

[43] See Coburn's notes to entry 340 3.6. Coburn identifies the purchased texts as follows:
*Klopstock's Odes*: "the first two volumes of his *Sämmtliche Schriften* ed Karl Reinhard (Göttingen, 1796), which appeared separately as G. A. Bürger *Gedichte* ed Karl Reinhard Pts I and II.... " *Klopstock's Odes*: "Coleridge must...be referring to the first two volumes of his *Werke* (Leipzig 1798-1809 in 7 vols) or *Werke* (Leipzig 1798-1817 in 12 vols); the first volumes of the latter were frequently printed separately...."
*Matthieson*: Friedrich von Matthisson. *Gedichte* (Mannheim 1787, Zürich 1791, 4th 1797). Coleridge bought the edition of 1797, and translated the first seventeen lines of the poem *Milesisches Märchen*...."
*Müller*: Possibly Maler Müller, i.e. Friedrich, 1749-1825, poet, dramatist, and painter....A volume of his ballads had appeared, *Balladen von Mahler Müller* (Mannheim, 1776). On the other hand, Müller may be Johannes Friedrich Müller, and the work his *Zweifel gegen Wolffens vernünftige Gedancken von den Kräften des menschlichen Verstandes, &c* (Giessen 1731). Coleridge's copy of this work was sold in Green's Library (*Green SC* 494)...."
*Stolberg*: Friedrich Leopold, Graf zu Stolberg. *Gedichte der Brüder Christian und Friedrich Leopold Grafen zu Stolberg* ed Heinrich Christian Boie (Leipzig, 1779, various reprints: 1781, 1783, 1795). Coleridge imitated four of the Stolberg poems. See *PW* I 308, 309, 317, 327, and II 1126, 1129, 1130-1.
*Lessing's Fables*: The *Fabeln* were first published Berlin, 1759, 3 vols; 2nd edition 1777, and 3rd 1801. There was also a Munich edition 1792. They had already been done into English by John Richardson, 1773. Coleridge translated Lessing's little poem *Die Namen* and sent it to the *M Post* 27 Aug 1799. *PW* I 318 and II 1130. [I.e. Coburn's *PW* refers to: *The Complete Poetical Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*. Ed. E. H. Coleridge. 2 Vols. Oxford: 1926.]
*Jacobi*: There were two brothers, Johann Georg Jacobi (1740-1814) and Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi (1743-1819), the former more of a poet, the latter more of a religious philosopher, though he wrote novels, e.g. his *Woldemar* was well known.

[44] With the departure of the Wordsworths, another epistolary network develops between Ratzeburg and Goslar; often on the subject of German poetry. From the surviving letters we learn that Coleridge often wrote and informed Wordsworth about German poetry, although Wordsworth, in Coleridge's words "Works hard, but not very much at the German.'—This is strange—I work at nothing else, from morning to night—" (*CL* 261, 445). See below: Correspondence with Wordsworth about German Literature. See also: *CL* 262; 265; 266; and *EWL* 104.

In fact, I suggest that while still at Ratzeburg Coleridge deliberately decided to cultivate an epistolary "inter-network" of introductory letters from Ratzeburg coterie networks to facilitate his literary studies at Göttingen. Armed with these "*not ordinary* letters of recommendation" from the Herr von Döring, a nobleman he befriended in Ratzeburg, Coleridge leaves Ratzeburg for Hanover. There Coleridge meets von Döring's brother-in-law on February 09, 1799. In a letter to his wife on March 10, 1799, Coleridge playfully describes how von Döring's brother-in-law

> ...introduced me. . . to Baron Steinberg, the Minister of State, & von Brandes, the Secretary of the State & Governor of the Gottingen [sic] University...[Baron Steinberg]...gave me letters to Heyne, the Head-Librarian at Gottingen, & in truth, the real *Governor* of Gottingen.—Brandes gave me letters likewise to Heyne & Blumenbach who are his Brothers in law. [Emphasis Coleridge] (*CL* 272, 471-472)

Although Coleridge does not personally meet Heyne, "the real *Governor* of Göttingen," until February 13, he certainly was no stranger to Heyne referring to Heyne's edition of Virgil in a Gutch notebook entry as early as 1796 (*CNB* Notes: 278 G.275).[45] The introductory letters from Steinberg and von Brandes to Heyne not only secured Coleridge's matriculation to the University of Göttingen on February 16, 1799,[46] but Heyne also immediately granted Coleridge library borrowing privileges normally reserved for university Professors. Coleridge informs his wife that "Heyne has honoured me...giv[ing] me the Right...which properly only the Professors have, of sending to the Library for an indefinite number of Books, in *my own* name" [Emphasis is Coleridge's] (*CL* 272, 475).

This extraordinary epistolary "inter-network" of introductory letters, originating in Ratzeburg and culminating with borrowing privileges at the "very first [library] in the World," certainly cannot be mere coincidence. Within a few hours of arriving, the introductory letter from Herr von Döring introduces Coleridge to the brother-in-law of von Döring, who introduces him to the Hanoverian Minister of State and the Governor of the Göttingen University, who in turn write letters of introduction to the Director of the University Library. The immediacy of prominent introductions suggest that Coleridge forged a private "inter-network" of introductory letters to facilitate his literary studies via the institutional print-media network of the circulating library at Göttingen.

In fact, sometime in January in Ratzeburg Coleridge had contacted von Döring and asked

---

[45] Heyne served as the Director of the Library at Göttingen from 1763 to 1812.

[46] While most critics and biographers cite Coleridge matriculating on February 14, 1799,—the day he meets Heyne—the university register lists February 16, 1799, as the official date. Perhaps there was a two-day window before such information was properly administered. See Chapter Four.

him for letters of introduction. Neither Coleridge's request nor these "*not ordinary* letters of recommendation" have survived. However, von Döring's response to Coleridge's request has. The original German letter reads as follows:

Ratzeburg den 31sten Jan.
1799.

Ich bezeuge Ihnen meinen aufrichtigen Dank für das Vergnügen welches mir Ihr Osorio gewärt hat. Wen auch bei ~~meiner~~ wenigen Kenntniß Ihrer Sprache, manche feinere Wendung und schöne Darstellung mir entgangen ist, so habe ich dennoch mit großen Interesse den unterhaltenden Gang der Begebenheiten bemerkt, und mit wahren Vergnügen die Kühne und edle Vollendung der Caractere beobachtet.

Morgen werde ich die Ehre haben Ihnen die Briefe nach Zelle und Hannover zu senden.

Ihrem gütigen Andenken empfehle ich mich

Gehorsamst.
Gtt. v. Döring[47]

Ratzeburg, January 31st
1799.

I attest you my sincere thanks for the pleasure which your *Osorio* has given me. Although, because of my limited knowledge of your language, many a fine expression and beautiful depiction at times escaped me, I nevertheless have with great interest noticed the entertaining development of the events, and I observed with real pleasure the bold and noble completion of the characterization.

Tomorrow I will have the honour to send you the letters to Celle and Hannover.

With your kind remembrance I recommend myself

Your obedient,
Gtt. v. Döring

[47] See: SMS P 8.32 in the Coleridge Collection at the Victoria University Library in Toronto. All translations from the German into English are my own and aim to communicate idiom rather than a literal translation. I am indebted to Dr. Marianne Henn for her efforts in proof-reading and correcting these translations; especially in regard to eighteenth-century conventions. It is also of interest to note that von Döring's handwritting is not in Fraktur font. Given the difficulty Coleridge had in reading Fraktur handwritting (see footnote 40 above) von Döring's letter displays a cultural sensitivity in accommodating Coleridge's Fraktur reading level.

Von Döring's letter has not been previously consulted by biographers and literary critics of Coleridge's German travels. Yet it is a crucial document in understanding Coleridge's literary pursuits and the epistolary "inter-network" to Göttingen, as well as his self-defined identification as a poet during the German period.

The letter clearly attests to Coleridge's careful planning of his matriculation at Göttingen. At Ratzeburg Coleridge actively socialized with the local nobility. He writes to Poole on October 26, 1798:

> I have attended some Conversations at the Houses of the Nobility—stupid things enough.—It was quite a new thing to me to have Counts & Land-dr[osten] bowing & scraping to me—& Countesses, old & young, complimenting & amusing me. . . . (*CL* 258, 435)

In a letter to his wife a week or two later on November 08, 1798, Coleridge states that he has "now dined at all the Gentlemen's & Noblemen's Houses w[ithin] two or three miles of Ra[tzebur]gh" (*CL* 259, 434). In a letter to Richard Wordsworth, William construes Coleridge as living "in a very different world from what we stir in, he is all in high life, among Barons counts and countesses. He could not be better placed than he is at Ratzeberg [sic] for attaining the object of his journey" (*EWL* 106, 245). For the objectives of learning the German language and study at a German university such socializing would be essential. However, it also becomes clear that after having become acquainted with "all" of the nobility at Ratzeburg Coleridge carefully selected von Döring to write him letters of recommendation that best suited his purpose.

First, it is of interest to note that Coleridge still identifies himself as a poet. He obviously sends von Döring a copy of his *Osorio* to allow him to write a favourable letter about his literary and intellectual abilities. *Osorio* certainly makes an interesting choice as representative of Coleridge's work and indicates, how similar to forging the "inter-network" of *The Watchman* out of previously written material, Coleridge aims to establish credibility beyond his notoriety of being an Englishman in Germany.[48] And similarly to *The Watchman* subscription network based on his radical reputation in the public sphere, Coleridge uses his reputation as a published poet to secure the necessary documents to Göttingen.

Secondly, in conversing with the local nobility Coleridge certainly would have become aware during his four month residency in Ratzeburg of the coterie links from von Döring's brother-in-law to von Brandes and Baron Steinberg's and their links to

[48] Coleridge often remarks in his letters and notebooks that Englishmen in Germany are treated very well, at times even admired. This is because of the fact that England and most principalities in Germany were allies in the war against France.

Göttingen. Von Brandes' relationship to Heyne was extremely well-known, both being significant public figures in the state of Hanover; if not known in their respective capacities throughout Europe. This certainly would make von Döring an obvious choice for Coleridge's letters of introduction. Moreover, there is enough evidence to suggest that Coleridge was not only aware of the network between von Döring and Göttingen, but also of the urgency of meeting Baron Steinberg, the Minister of State, & von Brandes specifically on February 09, 1799. Von Döring promises to "send...[Coleridge] the letters to Celle and Hanover" the following day: February 01, 1799. Coleridge departs from Ratzeburg for Göttingen on February 06, 1799. Celle and Hanover outline the exact route of over-nighting places on February 08 and 09; consequentially, illustrating Coleridge's careful planning of details.

Furthermore, Coleridge arrives in Hanover in the evening and without delay immediately submits his introductory letters to von Döring's brother-in-law in order to meet von Brandes and Baron Steinberg. This timing and urgency is supported by Coleridge travelling through the coldest night of the century on record Thursday February 07, 1799, instead of postponing his voyage a day or two due to the extreme cold. Moreover, after having accomplished his goal of introductory letters to Heyne and Blumenbach from Baron Steinberg and von Brandes, Coleridge is no longer interested in Hanover or Hanoverian society and immediately presses on for Göttingen.

> [von Döring's brother-in-law] pressed me exceedingly to stay a week in Hanover, but I refused—& left it Monday noon [February 11]—in the mean time however he had introduced me to all the great People...Brandes gave me letters....I had likewise other letters given me. Baron Steinberg offered to present me to the Prince (*Adolphus*) who is now in Hanover; but I deferred the honor till my return.... (*CL* 272, 471-472)

Much criticism has been voiced about Coleridge enjoying himself in Göttingen while his wife was grieving over Berkley back in England. However, on the eve of his son's death the aim of Coleridge's socializing is not for amusement, but rather to forge a link to the institutional network of the University of Göttingen and its circulating library in order to accomplish the outlined objectives of his tour. The playful, and at times dismissive, tone of Coleridge's letters downplays this professionalization. The resulting letters of recommendation certainly testify otherwise and illustrate Coleridge's active participation in forging an epistolary "inter-network" from social networks to secure his objectives—in this case matriculation at the University of Göttingen.

Indeed, the next chapter will illustrate that Coleridge's library privileges forged a private print-media information network from the circulating library network at Göttingen. The success with which the introductory letters allowed Coleridge to forge a private media

network, resulted in the employment of a similar network of letters to continue research initiated at the Göttingen library at other libraries. Coleridge continues his research of Lessing and Hans Sachs after leaving Göttingen in June 1799 and again obtains library access via introductory letters. On June 29, 1799, Coleridge writes Professor Langer, who succeeded Lessing as the librarian at Wolfenbüttel, to access the library. Although Coleridge was able to visit the library he did not meet Professor Langer personally, perhaps due to the fact that the introductory letter was written by Coleridge himself.

When he delivers his letter to Helmstedt four days later[49] to Hofrath Bruns, he is more cordially received and with Bruns visits the Helmstedt library.[50] Here Coleridge transcribes the title page of the 1589 edition of Hans Sachs' *Sehr herzliche schöne Gedichte*, the 1758-59 edition he had borrowed at Göttingen.[51] At the Landesbibliothek in Wolfenbüttel Coleridge takes notes on the Lessing monument and the famous Andreas Herneisen (1538-1610) painting of Hans Sachs (1574). These visits to the Wolfenbüttel and Helmstedt libraries illustrate a consistency of purpose not often attributed to Coleridge. Again, access to these libraries is obtained via an epistolary network of introductory letters. Therefore, it is clear that one network begets another network—a print-media "inter-network" of information—but in the case of Coleridge, an Englishman in Germany, the implication is that this is specifically a cross-cultural print-media "inter-network."

---

[49] Coleridge had visited Brunswick on June 30, 1799, where, according to Carlyon's account, the "English party conversed with 'several learned Germans': Professor Roose; Professor Zimmermann, who pleased by his 'great erudition & gentlemanly manners', talked against Kant, and said most German literati were Spinozists; Professor Wiedemann, anatomist, chemist, mineralogist, who showed them his museum; Professor Eschenburg." See: Carlyon I 182-6, and *CN* 452 3.34 Notes.

[50] See *CL* 285: "I drest myself (i.e. undrest myself & put on the same cloaths [sic] again) and delivered my letter to Hofrath Bruns--I saw his wife, a pretty affable Woman; but the Hofrath was at the Library. I left my letter & Card; but had scarcely arrived at my Inn, when Bruns came after me—welcomed me with great Kindness, took me in his arms to the Library, where we rummaged old Manuscripts, & looked at some Libri Rarissimi for about an Hour—(N.B. The library resembles strikingly the Libraries of some of the little Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge.) After this he took me to his House, spoke to me of a little translation which Lowth had made in his Presence of an Ode to Ramley [?]—talked of England, & Oxford, where he had resided some years, & I found, that he had been intimate with many of my Father's Friends—" (521).

[51] See *CN* 453 3½.38 Notes: "For a full discussion of his reading of Hans Sachs, see *RX* [J. L. Lowes' *The Road to Xanadu*, 1930] 604n-r; 542-4. This entry shows that sometime—possibly at Helmstedt 3-4 July, where as Lowes suggests he might have seen the MSS and where he "looked at some Libri Rarissimi for about an Hour" (*CL* 285)—he had access to an edition other than the one he borrowed at Göttingen. Both editions contain *Die ungleichen Kinder Eve*. He was on his way home, and collecting material for his projected German writings, including the history of German poetry in which Hans Sachs was to have a place."

**Correspondence with Wordsworth about German Literature**

Another network illustrating Coleridge's interest in German literature and identification as a poet are his letters to Wordsworth during this period. Many of the German letters between the Wordsworths and Coleridge have been lost. Only five letters written by Coleridge to Wordsworth have survived and none of these dates from the Göttingen period. From both William's and Dorothy's responses and correspondence to Coleridge during this period only four letters have survived (one from February 27, sent to Göttingen) as well as a few letters that mention Coleridge. What I would like to emphasize here is the discussion about German literature in these letters.

Clearly, Coleridge is most interested in initiating a discussion about German literature and reports to Wordsworth about his studies and progress. His notebook entries include comments about German texts as well as attempts at the German hexameter. His correspondence with Wordsworth draws upon these interests and Coleridge even includes an exercise in writing hexametres. In early December Coleridge writes to Wordsworth about the "grievious defects" of the "German Hexametres" and outlines a three point analysis as well as some "English hexameters" (*CL* 266, 450-451. See *CL* 265 as well).[52]

Wordsworth's letters illustrate that Coleridge had been writing frequently about German poetry. On November 08, 1798, he writes to his wife about his admiration for Bürger's *Lenore*. "Bürger of all the German Poets pleases me the most, as yet. The Lenore is greatly superior to any of the Translations" (*CL* 259, 438). From Wordsworth's response to a letter by Coleridge, it is clear that Coleridge had recommended the German original *Lenore* to Wordsworth. Wordsworth's replies are positioned to Coleridge's critical admiration expressed in their previous correspondence.

> We [William and Dorothy] have read "Leonora" and a few things of Bürger; but upon the whole we were disappointed, particularly in "Leonora," which we thought in several passages inferior to the English translation. "*Wie donnerten die Brücken,*" how inferior to
>
> "The bridges thunder as they pass,
> But earthly sound was none, &c., &c."

[52] Wordsworth responds favourably to Coleridge's hexameters. However, as noted below, Wordsworth is more interested in the technical devices of this poetry than in its content: "As to your hexa-meters — I need not say how much the sentiment affected me. I have not been sufficiently accustomed to the metre to give any opinion which can be depended upon. One thing strikes me in common with the German ladies that the two last feet are what principally give the character of verse to the Hexameters—the sum of my feeling is that the two last are more than verse, and all the rest not so much. . . .You do not say how you liked the poem of Wieland which you had read. Let me know what you think of Wieland. You make no mention of Klopstock; and what is the merit of Goethe's new poem?" (*EWL* 105, 235-236).

....

As to Bürger, I am yet far from that admiration of him which he has excited in you; but I am by nature slow to admire; and I am not yet sufficiently master of the language to understand him perfectly. In one point I entirely coincide with you, in your feeling concerning his versification. . . .the concluding double rhymes of the stanza have both a delicious and *pathetic* effect—

"Ach! aber für Lenoren
War Gruss und Kuss verloren."

I accede too to your opinion that Bürger is always the poet; he is never the mobbist, one of those dim drivellers with which our island has teemed for so many years. . . . .
I do not perceive the presence of character in his personages. I see everywhere the character of Bürger himself; and even in this, I agree with you, is no mean merit. But yet I wish him sometimes at least to make me forget himself in his creations. (*EWL* 104, late November/early December 1798, 234)

From this letter, one of the few detailed extant documents of the Coleridge-Wordsworth criticism about German literature, it is clear that Coleridge was the more knowledgeable and widely read in German poetry. Wordsworth's apologetic tone, "I am by nature slow to admire" and insufficiency in the German language, clearly defers to Coleridge's criticism.

In this letter Wordsworth also refers to two other letters written by Coleridge specifically about the German poets. This reference testifies to Coleridge's growth of knowledge and depth of reading about German literature.

In short sorry am I to say it I do not consider myself as knowing *any* thing of the German language. . . .I cannot sufficiently thank you for your two valuable letters particularly upon the German Poets. Of the excell[ence] of Lessing I can form no distinct idea. My internal prejudg[ments con]cerning Wieland and Goethe (of Voss I knew nothing) were, as your letter has convinced me, the result of no *negligent* perusal of the different fragments which I had seen in England. (*EWL* 104, late November/early December 1798, 235; Emphasis Wordsworth's)

Coleridge is studying such contemporary German poets as Goethe, Voss and Wieland. What is interesting is Wordsworth's comment that it was Coleridge's letter that presented the argument that "internal prejudgments" fostered in England were "the result of no *negligent* perusal of the different fragments...seen in England." Clearly, Coleridge is analyzing his reading of German original texts in context of the cross-cultural

representation of German print-media in England. In doing so, Coleridge becomes aware not only of the limitations of the Anglo-German network in England, but also of the "internal...prejudgments" against the reception history of German print-media.[53]

This realization of the "internal English prejudgments" refers perhaps to Coleridge's reading of Voss. De Selincourt notes that Voss'

> chief poem, *Luise, ein ländliches Gedicht in drei Idyllen,* was published in 1795. S. T. C. translated a passage from it into prose in 1796 and in 1802 planned to render all of it in English hexameters. W. W. may have seen an account of it in the *Monthly Review* in 1798. (255)

The primary differences between Coleridge and Wordsworth's approaches to German poetry is between content and technical style. Whereas Coleridge observes content and technical style, as well as criticism, Wordsworth's comments illustrate a superficial awareness of German poetry and an interest solely in technical formats of the German poem in regard to writing poetry in English. Wordsworth evaluates German poetry outside of the context of German culture. Coleridge, on the other hand, analyzes German literature and culture on several levels. For example, he attempts to understand the significance of reading the German original source in its cultural context of origin—outside of the internal prejudices formed in England. Coleridge's interest in cross-cultural dissemination of German thought in England has already been noted above. And as we will see in the next chapter, such an inter-textual dialogue of referencing German sources is an essential method of Coleridge's private print-media networks.

Despite this critical correspondence about German literature it is curious that Coleridge does not appear to have informed the Wordsworths about his decision to study at Göttingen, or his projected *Life of Lessing*, until after his matriculation—even though obviously their correspondence seems to have been frequent and efficient. As early as January 04 Coleridge outlines his plan to research Lessing at Göttingen to Poole.[54] However, a month later on February 03, 1799, Dorothy notes that "Coleridge is very happily situated at Ratzeburg for learning the language" (*EWL* 107, 274).[55] On February

---

[53] Ironically, Coleridge is to experience such internal prejudgements against his German interests first-hand upon his return to England.

[54] Poole had received this letter and replied on January 24, 1799: "'I am highly pleased with your intended removal to Göttingen. Being a university it must possess advantages which your present situation does not—to say nothing of the economy of the plan. . . " (Sanford, 285). It is unclear when Coleridge would have received this letter as it was "re-addressed at Ratzeburg to Göttingen" (Sanford, 287).

[55] De Selincourt footnotes the dating of this letter: "This letter, printed in *EL* as the second paragraph of Letter 102, was no doubt a separate and later communication. Because the sentiments, and at times the phraseology, are similar to those of letter 106, it was probably written about the same date [February 03, 1799]" (*EWL* 107, 247).

27, 1799, Dorothy appears to address the first letter to Coleridge at the university, to "den Herrn Coleridge bei ihm [dem] Rademacher M[ei]ster Göring in der burgstrasse | Göttingen." In this letter, almost two months after Coleridge outlines his plan to Poole, she acknowledges that "Gottingen seems to be the best possible place for your purpose" (*EWL* 110, 254). Perhaps Coleridge refrained from informing the Wordsworths about his intention to study at Göttingen until he had successfully matriculated at the university. Coleridge disseminates information as well as withholds information.

Perhaps Wordsworth's lack of interest in the German language had already fostered a self-censorship in Coleridge about his German interests as early as the Göttingen period. Rosemary Ashton has argued in *The German Idea* (1980), that Coleridge felt intellectually isolated in England during the 1800's due to the lack of interest in, and at times open resistance to, his knowledge of German culture and literature. While this seems an unlikely scenario during the Göttingen period, given the epistolary support from the Wordsworths to continue his studies of German literature and language, it remains of interest that Coleridge is selective in what information he disseminates via different epistolary networks.

**Conclusion**

The "poet-spoiler" paradigm has often been applied to Coleridge's German travels characterizing Coleridge's second university career as the genesis of Coleridge the metaphysician. However, Coleridge's verse productions during the late 1790s coincided with his developing interests in German intellectualism and literature. The "poet-spoiler" paradigm is a myth that often gets applied retro-actively. In fact, in the 1817 version of "Dejection: An Ode," Coleridge himself contributes to the making of this myth through the inclusion of lines 87-93 which were "not included in any earlier version of *Dejection*...[and] derive from the 1802 *Letter to Sara Hutchinson*" (Wu, 546).

These lines voice Coleridge's private conflict between his poetic identity and an increasing self-definition as an "abstruse" metaphysician.

> My shaping spirit of imagination!
> For not to think of what I needs must feel,
> But to be still and patient all I can,
> And haply by abstruse research to steal
> From my own nature all the natural man —
> This was my sole resource, my only plan;
> Till that which suits a part infects the whole,
> And now is almost grown the habit of my soul. (86-93)

The speaker here muses over the dilemma that his imagination has been replaced—"infected" if you will—by a habit of metaphysical thought. Holmes conceptualizes this internal conflict of identities as follows:

> After 1801 Coleridge mourned the loss of one kind of creative power when he should have been celebrating the gain of another. Hence the paradox that so often in the letters and poems of the 1801-4 period—and most memorable in "Dejection"—he describes this apparent loss of creativity in the most brilliant and imaginative new ways. He opposed the poet and the metaphysician, when he himself was now both. (290)

While Holmes is certainly correct in characterizing Coleridge as both a poet and the metaphysician, the mutual exclusion of these identities was not defined until after 1801. Moreover, in 1801 Coleridge still versifies this conflict in his poetry, not metaphysical prose. In fact, as I have argued in this chapter, Coleridge the metaphysician interested in German intellectualism, and Coleridge the poet interested in German literature, were not mutually exclusive identities throughout the 1790s and his second university career at Göttingen. It is not until much later—perhaps until Coleridge's contribution to the myth in the 1817 version of "Dejection," and his description of his German education in *Biographia Literaria* which excludes, for the most part, his study of German literature—that the German tour becomes identified as the spoiler of Coleridge the poet and the triumph of Coleridge the metaphysician.

In concluding this chapter I would like to re-quote Willey's dismissal of the German tour as "the reality of wasted time and dissipated energies" because of Coleridge's failure to produce the projected *Life of Lessing*. Clearly, Willey and supporters of the "poet-spoiler" interpretative paradigm only evaluate the "productions," or lack thereof, of the German tour. However, these literary critics fail to analyze the *interconnected events and processes* of production. Critics such as Willey and Lefebure, who foreground the *lack of production* from the German tour clearly fail to understand the *process* of Coleridge's cross-cultural print-media "inter-networks" which facilitate his second university career at the University of Göttingen as a production in itself.

Coleridge's research of Lessing, German literature, and networking of German sources, is dismissed by these critics as insignificant because such research and networks failed to produce a new text. However, in recent years literary critics have come to understand Coleridge's *Notebooks* and *Letters* as invaluable texts documenting his thought processes, research, and I would like to add, Coleridge's propensity to cultivate social, intellectual, and institutional networks. What I have argued in this chapter is that the *process* of linking networks in order to forge an "inter-network" is, as some hypertext critics have argued, a production in itself. Coleridgean print-media information "inter-networks" are

significant in approaching Coleridge's German travels—especially because Coleridge consistently aims toward a cross-cultural dissemination of his German interests in England. This chapter has argued that Coleridge successfully designs an epistolary "inter-network" to gain access to the institutional print-media network of the university library at Göttingen. In the next chapter I examine Coleridge's private print-media information networks during his second university career at Göttingen.

Works Cited and Consulted

Ashton, Rosemary. *The German Idea: Four English Writers and the Reception of German Thought 1800-1860*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.

Ashton, Rosemary. *The Life of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*. Malden, Mass: Blackwell Publishers Inc., 1996, 1997.

Beddoes, Thomas. *A Memorial Concerning the State of the Bodleian Library, and the Conduct of the Principal Librarian. Addressed to the Curators of that Library, by the Chemical Reader*. Pembroke College, May 31, 1787. Oxford, 1787.

*The Notebooks of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, 3 double vols, vol 1. Text and Notes. Edited by Kathleen Coburn, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1957-73.

Coffman, Ralph J. *Coleridge's Library: A Bibliography of Books Owned or Read by Samuel Taylor Coleridge*. Boston: G. K. Hall, 1987.

Cornwell, John. *Coleridge: Poet and Revolutionary 1772-1804. A Critical Biography*. London: Allen Lane, 1973.

Gillman, James. *The Life of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*. London: W. Pickering, 1838.

Griggs, Earl Leslie Ed. *Collected Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*. Vol I (1785-1800). Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956.

Hohlfeld, A. R. and Bayard Quincy Morgan. Eds. *German Literature in British Magazines 1750-1860*. Madison, Wisconsin, University of Wisconsin Press, 1949.

Holmes, Richard. *Coleridge: Early Visions*. London: Viking Penguin, 1989.

Kelly, Kevin. *Out of Control: The Rise of Neo-Biological Civilization*. Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1994

Lefebure, Molly. *Samuel Taylor Coleridge: A Bondage of Opium*. London: Gollancz, 1974.

Patton, Lewis. Ed. *Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*. Kathleen Coburn, General Editor. Vol. 2. *The Watchman*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970.

Roe, Nicholas. *Wordsworth and Coleridge: The Radical Years*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988.

Sanford, Henry Mrs. *Thomas Poole and His Friends. In Two Volumes*. Vol 1. London: Macmillan and Co. 1888.

Snyder, A. D. "Books Borrowed by Coleridge from the Library of the University of Göttingen, 1799." *Modern Philology* XXV (1928): 377-80.

Stansfield, Dorothy A. *Thomas Beddoes M.D., 1760-1808. Chemist, Physician, Democrat*. Dortrecht & Lancaster: Riedel, 1984.

Stock, John Edmonds. *Memoirs of the Life of Thomas Beddoes, M. D.* London: John Murray, 1811.

Warner, William. "Declaring Independence as Unlicensed Circulation; or, How the Continental Congress Rewired the British Empire Network and Invented a Flat Network Design." Unpublished paper presented at Sheffield-Hallam University on July 20, 2001, at the *Print Culture in the Age of the Circulating Library, 1750-1850, Conference*.

Whalley, George. "The Bristol Library Borrowings of Southey and Colerige, 1793-8." *The Library* IV (Sept 1949): 114-31.

Weber, Carl August. *Bristols Bedeutung für die englische Romantik und die deutsch-englischen Beziehungen*. Halle: Niemeyer, 1935.

Wilkinson, E. M. "Coleridge's Knowledge of German as Seen in the Early Notebooks." In *The Notebooks of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*. Ed. Kathleen Coburn. V.1., Part 2. London, 1957. Notes, Appendix A. pp. 451-454.

Willey, Basil. *Samuel Taylor Coleridge*. New York: Norton, 1972.

*The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth: The Early Years 1787-1805*. Ed. Ernest De Selincourt. Revised by Chester L. Shaver. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967.

Wu, Duncan. Ed. *Romanticism: An Anthology*. 2nd Edition. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1998.

# Chapter Four:
# Networking Germany Part Two

## Forging Private Print-Information Networks: Coleridge's Second University Career at the University of Göttingen, 1799

### Introduction

In the previous chapter we have seen how Coleridge employs epistolary networks to gain access to institutional networks such as the Georgia Augusta Universität at Göttingen and its circulating library.[1] However, it is not only the access to these institutional networks that is significant, but also how these networks facilitate the transferrence of information; more specifically, how Coleridge forges his own (and new) cross-cultural "inter-network" from these foreign networks. This chapter will examine Coleridge's private print-media information "inter-network" during his second university career at Göttingen. What print-media networks were available to Coleridge at Göttingen and what print-media information was he looking for? In order to address these significant questions about Coleridge's selected library borrowings and university studies it is necessary to first historicize the Göttingen library and the university milieu of the Georgia Augusta Universität in 1799.

First, the circulating library at Göttingen should be understood as a cosmopolitan "inter-network" of print-media. The library is an intricate collection of individual texts composed of a wide range of foreign print-media formats such as periodicals, scholarly texts, and anthologies, in a variety of languages. Against this backdrop, Coleridge's library borrowings emerge as a methodological and systematic study of German literature and language facilitated by his carefully selected borrowing of specific texts. Interestingly, Coleridge's private print-media information network converges with other print-media networks as Coleridge develops a systematic and inter-textual dialogue with, and to, selected German sources.

---

[1] The twentieth-century name for the University at Göttingen is the Georg August Universität. I will refer to the university at Göttingen by its contemporary late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries' name, Georgia Augusta Universität, to differentiate it from its modern counterpart.

Secondly, the contemporary milieu of the Georgia Augusta Universität in 1799—the second largest German university[2]—was decidedly cosmopolitan. It is against this backdrop that Coleridge's second university career, as well as the subsequent influence of the University of Göttingen upon his intellectual development often cited by literary critics, must be examined. Indeed, the Göttingen milieu had a wide-ranging and lasting influence on the "later" Coleridge.

However, despite this influence the Göttingen milieu has not often been historicized by literary critics. For example, Richard Holmes argues that

> The intensive period at Göttingen also gave him [Coleridge] a sense of sharing in the intellectual life of Europe, of being part of a broad community of world-renowned scholars, which shaped much of his subsequent writing, and distinguished him sharply from the purely provincial aspect of English thought. His whole notion of "criticism" - of the application of philosophical principles to imaginative literature - was to be European rather than English; and the fundamental importance which he gave to religious and metaphysical ideas, in later controversies over both literature and politics, profoundly reflects the atmosphere of Romantic reaction and mysticism which was then spreading throughout the universities of Germany - at Göttingen, at Jena, at Leipzig. (Holmes, 221)

I would qualify Holmes' point here by stating that it was *specifically*—and perhaps *only*—the milieu of Göttingen, more than Jena and Leipzig, which fostered this European thought in Coleridge. It is important to recognize that at Göttingen Coleridge was not just visiting another German university. Rather, Coleridge was attending an institution that was considered at the time to be one of the most famous and most innovative contemporary universities in Europe. It was generally acknowledged that Göttingen's professors, students, and its library, set the standards for universities and libraries throughout Europe.

In the last chapter we have seen how via an elaborate epistolary "inter-network" Coleridge was introduced to von Brandes and Heyne. Von Brandes as "Commerzrath zu Hannover,"[3] and Heyne as Director of the library, were primarily responsible for the cosmopolitan milieu of the university and its library. Therefore, an examination of their careers is useful in order to historicize Coleridge's interaction with the contemporary

---

[2] "Zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts steht Göttingen mit über 600 Studierenden hinter Halle mit 700 an zweiter Stelle der deutschen Universitäten; gefolgt von Leipzig, Würzburg und Jena mit mehr als 400, Ingolstadt und Königsberg mit über 300 Studierenden, während die Hälfte der Universitäten noch nicht einmal 100 Besucher erreicht" (von Märcker, 146).

[3] Hanoverian Minister of State.

milieu of the Georgia Augusta Universität at Göttingen. First, however, I will turn my attention to Coleridge's library borrowings from one of the most renowned library institutions in all of Europe.

# I
# The Göttingen Library

## Heyne and the Göttingen Library

Christian Gottlob Heyne (1729-1812) was director of the Göttingen library from 1763-1812. The innovations during Heyne's directorship included the implementation of a new catalogue system, and an increase in the library holdings to facilitate disciplinary research. At the time of granting Coleridge borrowing privileges to the library, Heyne had managed the library into one of the best libraries in Europe. Indeed, from the middle of the eighteenth-century until well into the early nineteenth-century, the Göttingen library was, in Coleridge's own words, considered "...without doubt...the very first in the World both in itself, & in the management of it."[4] At the end of the eighteenth-century the library at Göttingen fully lived up to its reputation as the best library in Europe numbering more than 200.000 volumes.[5]

While the holdings of the library were extensive, it was not just the sheer volume of texts, but also the selected acquisition of specific foreign texts that customized the library

---

[4] See *CL* 272. 10 March, 1799 to Mrs. Coleridge, 475. Coleridge writes: "I went with them [three Englishmen] & visisted the Library....It consists of two *immense* large Rooms, ornamented with busts & Statüs—Some Antiques, some Copies of Antiques—there are very fine Copies of all the best ancient Statüs—but of the Library more hereafter.—". Unfortunately, Coleridge's additional letters about the Library were either never written or have not survived.

[5] Around the middle of the Eighteenth Century the Göttingen library numbered around 60.000 volumes; Cambridge around 30.000 volumes, and Harvard 5.000 volumes. (paraphrased from page 115 in Fabian, Bernhard. "Die Göttinger Universitätsbibliothek im achtzehnten Jahrhundert." In *Göttinger Jahrbuch 1980.* V. 28. (1980): 109-123." Fabian compiles this data from: "Predeek, A. *A History of Libraries in Great Britain and North America*, Chicago 1947, S.18; and Shores, Louis. *Origins of the American College Library, 1638-1800.* New York, 1935, 51). In 1778 the Göttingen library numbered 113.900 volumes. Fabian attributes this rise largely to Heyne's tenure as director: "Dies deutet die Spannweite an, was Heyne für die Bibliothek leistete. Als er nach einem knappen halben Jahrhundert von seinem Amte zurücktrat, war Göttingen die erste der europäischen Bibliotheken. Jeremias David Reuß, sein Unterbibliothekar, zählte bereits 1778 113.900 Bände, und am Ende des Jahrhunderts dürften es weit mehr als 200.000 gewesen sein. (Bibliotheksarchiv A 31.e.5.)" (Fabian, 119). By 1832 the number of volumes is estimated at 400.000. (See Fabian page 109. "Zitiert nach W. Ebel (ed.) *Briefe über Göttingen: Aus den ersten 150 Jahren der Georgia Augusta*, Göttingen 1975, 84.)

especially for research purposes. Indeed, von Brandes states that the very purpose of the library was to be the best in the world.

> We want to satisfy ourselves with the honour that our library is the most beneficial and the most used library in the world. Not only educators or students can use it with great ease, and it is really used so that a daily notice of over 200 books are loaned and returned, but as well a very considerable number of foreigners find themselves not alone in the use of the Library at Göttingen. (von Brandes, 198)[6]

Clearly, Beddoes's praise in his *A Memorial* of the Göttingen library as one of the best in the world was not misplaced.

The Göttingen library was unique, both in principle and management system. Bernhard Fabian, in "Die Göttinger Universitätsbibliothek im achtzehnten Jahrhundert" (1980), argues that the development of the library was not founded upon a library concept, but rather upon a research concept.[7] Fabian states that this research concept was implemented during Heyne's tenure as director of the library.

> What was recognized in Göttingen (or perhaps was first of all grasped intuitively) was the process of research. It was the simple, but for the library politics ever so important, far-reaching concept that research is not a one-time act of truth-finding, but a continued collection of efforts. And it was then understood as a task of the library to implement this process in the obtaining of literature.

---

[6] See Brandes, von. E. *Über den gegenwärtigen Zustand der Universität Göttingen.* Göttingen: Johann Friedrich Röwer. 1802. "Seit 1783, (die Nachricht verdanke ich der gefälligen Mittheilung des Herrn Professors Reuß) beträgt der jährliche Zuwachs im Durchschnitt 2200 Bände. Wir wollen uns mit der Ehre begnügen, daß unsere Bibliothek die gemeinnützigste und am meisten benutzte Bibliothek auf der Welt sey. Nicht allein Lehrer und Studirende können sie mit der größten Leichtigkeit benutzen und benutzen sie wirklich so, da nach einem Anschlage täglich über 200 Bücher abgehen und zurückgeliefert werden, sondern auch eine sehr beträchtliche Zahl von Fremden findet sich nicht selten allein zur Benutzung der Bibliothek in Göttingen ein" (von Brandes, 198).
Füchsel and Hartmann state a similar estimate that around 200 books were borrowed/returned daily by 1802. "Dabei steigerte sich die Benutzung von Jahr zu Jahr. Zwar ist die Behauptung aus dem Jahre 1802 übertrieben, daß täglich mehr als 200 Bücher abgingen oder zurückgeliefert wurden. Jedenfalls betrug die Zahl der Entlehnungen nach einer genauen Berechnung von Ostern 1806 bis Ostern 1807 fast 14 000" (Füchsel and Hartmann, 154).

[7] "Nirgendwo sonst zeigt sich mit gleicher Deutlichkeit, daß die Göttinger Bibliothek ihren Ausbau nicht einem Bibliotheksconcept, sondern einem Forschungskonzept verdankt" (Fabian, 122).

> It was Christian Gottlob Heyne, who formulated this recognition for the Göttingen library into a valid construction principle throughout the eighteenth century. (114)[8]

The Göttingen library constructed a bibliographical "inter-network" that best facilitated the *process* of research. Heyne was instrumental in designing this library "inter-network" based on the research concept both in his acquisition of texts as well as in the cataloguing of them. Moreover, the research concept forged a network of print-media that was distinctively cosmopolitan in content, acquisition, as well as readership. I will briefly discuss the international acquisition of foreign texts before illustrating the catalogues and conditions of use applicable to Coleridge's library borrowings.

Contrary to the limited foreign print-media resources in Britain—especially foreign scholarly texts—the library at Göttingen actively acquired foreign texts from all over Europe. In the process of acquisition the library operated as a public sphere of cross-cultural interchange for students and professors alike. Fabian outlines how in 1810 Heyne defines his principle of acquiring foreign texts: "So Heyne required in the *Göttingischen Gelehrten Anzeigen* the management for the

> 'un-interrupted methodological acquisition of those [texts.] [In] the ever progressing academic culture...[and] the daily appearing and newly increasing domestic and foreign literature, [what] is needed for is a Library, which has an academic plan, not after the preferences of individual subjects, not after the "Prachtliebe", not after pretence of surface [knowledge], but directed after the perfect example and comprehensive of the most important texts of all time and people in all academia of domestic and foreign literature.... Therefore, in principle only such books are searched for and chosen in which human knowledge, academic, technical, practical, is developed and progressed, or make only an individual step forward; but excellent books are [those] which contain in object and form the sources of systems, improvements...[and] corrections, but not what exists in repetition, summary and compilation or what is already known or trivial.' (114)[9]

---

[8] "Was man in Göttingen erkannte (oder vielleicht auch zunächst nur intuitiv erfaßte), war der Prozeßcharakter der Forschung. Es war der einfache, aber für eine Bibliothekspolitik ebenso wichtige wie weitreichende Gedanke, daß Forschung nicht als ein einmaliger Akt der Wahrheitsfindung anzusehen sei, sondern als ein Kontinuum von Bemühungen. Und es wurde demgemäß als Aufgabe der Bibliothek verstanden, diesen Prozeß in der Literaturbeschaffung mit- und nachzuvollziehen.

Christian Gottlob Heyne ist es gewesen, der diese Erkenntnis als das für die Göttinger Bibliothek durch das ganze achtzehnte Jahrhundert gültige Aufbauprinzip formulierte" (Fabian, 114).

[9] See *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, V. 2. 1810., 852ff. Quoted in Fabian, Bernhard. "Die Göttinger Universitätsbibliothek im achtzehnten Jahrhundert." In *Göttinger Jahrbuch 1980*. V. 28. (1980), 114.

The management of the library aimed to acquire the most contemporary and disciplinary specific print-media sources from all over Europe. From Heyne's principles of acquisition of domestic and foreign texts outlined here we can understand Beddoes' lament and criticisms in his *A Memorial* of the Bodleian system in failing to acquire such disciplinary-specific foreign print-media. These library principles were actively practised during Coleridge's borrowings from the library. Clearly, the library holdings at Göttingen present themselves as an excellent resource of foreign print-media for Coleridge's literary studies that could not have been accommodated anywhere in England.

Heyne was instrumental in managing a research library that numbered 200.000 volumes in 1800. Interestingly, such a collection of print-media was "networked" out of an amalgamation of other networks. Helmut Vogt, in his article "Heyne als Bibliothekar," written to commemorate the 250th birthday of Heyne,[10] argues that like Beddoes, one particular method by which Heyne acquired piecemeal a wide variety of foreign print-media were via his personal networks scattered throughout the world.

> To acquire foreign texts Heyne used with secure feeling and great skill all the offered aids and personal relationships. So in London the "legationsrat" Best is active for the library; the Baron von Asch sends from Russia slavic and oriental works, the tireless Ebeling delivers books from abroad, especially from America, so that this piecemeal collecting in the end becomes more comprehensive than the great English libraries of the time. (Vogt, 43)[11]

---

"So führte Heyne in den *Göttingischen Gelehrten Anzeigen* jenes Jahres aus, erforderte 'ununterbrochene planmäßige Anschaffung desjenigen, was, bey der immer fortschreitenden wissenschaftlichen Cultur, aus dem täglich erscheinenden neuen Anwachse der einheimischen und ausländischen Litteratur nöthig ist für eine Bibliothek, welche für einen wissenschaftlichen Plan, nicht nach Liebhaberey einzelner Fächer, nicht nach Prachtliebe, nicht nach dem Schein des Aeußerlichen, sondern nach Inbegriff und Umfassung der wichtigsten Schriften aller Zeiten und Völker in allen Wissenschaften, in einheimischer und ausländischer Litteratur, eingerichtet ist ... Also werden in der Regel nur solche Bücher gesucht und gewählt, worin die menschlichen Kenntnisse, wissenschaftliche, technische, practische, ein Fortrücken, Fortgang, oder auch nur einen einzelnen Schritt vorwärts, gemacht haben; vorzüglich aber Bücher, welche Quellen von Systemen, Verbesserungen, Erweiterungen, Berichtigungen, in Sache und Form, enthalten, aber nicht bloß im Wiederhohlen [sic], Nachbeten und Compiliren des bereits bekannten, oder gar Trivialen, bestehen'" (Fabian, 114).

[10] See Vogt, Helmut. "Heyne als Bibliothekar." In Der Vormann der Georgia Augusta: Christian Gottlob Heyne zum 250. Gerburtstag. Sechs akademische Reden. In Göttinger Universitätsreden. Vol. 67. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980. Interestingly, Vogt served as Director of the library at Göttingen during the 1970s.

[11] A lot more research needs to be done tracing the networks of acquisition of texts that travel to the university library at Göttingen. Obviously such a project is beyond the scope of the present study.

"Um ausländische Bücher zu beschaffen, nutzt Heyne mit sicherem Gespür und großem Geschick alle sich bietenden Hilfsmittel und persönlichen Beziehungen. So ist in London Legationsrat Best für die Bibliothek tätig; der Baron von Asch sendet aus Rußland slawische und orientalische Werke, der unermüdliche

Heyne constructs an "inter-network" of foreign print-media from the networks of his personal correspondence into the circulating network of the Göttingen library. In turn, the library at Göttingen functions as an "inter-network" of print-media in creating a unique cosmopolitan public sphere which re-circulates the acquired collection of foreign print-media via private networks to borrowers and readers that travel to the library.[12]

The acquisition of foreign texts via individual networks fosters a new cross-cultural "inter-network" of interchange for all of Europe. For example, Fabian states that the Göttingen library had the most extensive collection of early-printed English texts on the continent.[13] These English texts form only a part of the foreign print-media collection, which also includes French, Italian, Spanish, Russian and Scandinavian texts, as well as texts in Oriental languages.[14]

During the period of Heyne's directorship and management the Göttingen library had acquired an international collection of volumes for a wide variety of academic disciplines and scholarship. Clearly the library was one of the best print-media resources in Europe. Indeed, Fabian goes as far to argue that the fame of the university inside and outside of Germany was based upon the research concepts embodied in the library because this concept facilitated access to a wide variety of international holdings.[15] What I would like to suggest here is that as a cosmopolitan "inter-network" of print-media the circulating library at Göttingen functions as a public sphere of cross-cultural interchange for its borrowers and readers. The library presents itself as a public forum where borrowers and readers converge with topics and texts from all over Europe and participate in rational-critical debate. And in the case of Coleridge and many others, such a network of texts

---

Ebeling besorgt Bücher aus Übersee , insbesondere aus Amerika, so daß diese Teilsammlung schließlich umfassender wird als die der größten englischen Bibliotheken jener Zeit" (Vogt, 43).

[12] Interestingly, Fabian's synopsis of Heyne's method for acquiring texts presents itself as a macrocosm of Coleridge's *The Watchman* network also forged via a network of personal correspondence. However, unlike a miscellany, which is disseminated *to the reader*, in regard to the circulating library the *reader travels to* the dissemination.

[13] "...das die Göttinger Bibliothek nicht nur zu der wahrscheinlich größten und wichtigsten Sammlung englischer Frühdrucke auf dem Kontinent macht, sondern zugleich auch zu einer bibliotheks- und buchhandelsgeschichtlichen Quelle (vor allem für den internationalen Buchhandel der Epoche), wie wir sie nirgendwo sonst haben" (Fabian, 118).

[14] "Über die französischen, italienischen, spanischen, russischen und skandinavischen Bestände steht mir ebensowenig ein Urteil zu wie über die Bestände in orientalischen Sprachen, doch ich vermute, daß den meisten dieser Gebiete "die immer fortschreitende wissenschaftliche Cultur" mit gleicher Mühe und ähnlichem Erfolg dokumentiert wurde" [footnote 33 in text: Über die Beschaffungspolitik geben die entsprechenden Abteilungen des Archivs Auskunft"] (Fabian, 118).

[15] "...und der Ruhm der Bibliothek dürfte zu einem nicht geringen Teil darin bestehen, daß sie diesem, in Europa im späten siebzehnten Jahrhundert neu aufkommenden und bis heute noch gültigen Konzept im achtzehnten Jahrhundert in einer Institution Leben und Wirksamkeit verliehen und es damit ins neunzehnte Jahrhundert weitergegeben hat" (Fabian, 114).

was not available for consultation and reading elsewhere, thereby creating a cosmopolitan and cross-cultural public sphere of interchange unique to Göttingen.

Lastly, Fabian argues that the library collections are an institutional vehicle which fostered the academic reputations of many professors precisely because of the scholarship and research resources available to them via the Göttingen library.[16] Fabian cites a contemporary letter by Friedrich Gedike which directly states that the fame of the professors at Göttingen is indebted to the library.[17]

> When Göttingen in future times educates a larger number of actual scholars as any other university, so is it less a credit to the professors there, as an effect of this splendid library that nowhere facilitates the use of its sources as much as here. Many professors owe their literary fame only to the library, which supplies all the desired resources for their scholarly works. (Gedike, 32. Quoted in Fabian, 120).[18]

One may include the Göttingen professors as a component of the research concept upon which the library is developed and sustained. A reciprocal network seems to operate in

---

[16] Von Brandes argues that the reputation and glory of the University can be directly attributed to the research published by its professors: "Ein sehr großer Theil des Ruhms einer Universität und ihrer Professoren in Deutschland, und fast aller Ruhm, den eine Universität und ihre Glieder außerhalb Deutschland genießt, hängt von den schriftstellerischen Arbeiten der Professoren ab. Wie viel in Göttingen von jeher von dieser Seite geleistet, wie viel besonders dort in den letzten Zeiten geleistet worden, ist zu bekannt, als daß es einer weitern Erwähnung bedürfte. Von allen unsern Landesanstalten ist die Universität diejenige, die am meisten und vorzugsweise außerhalb Deutschlands bekannt ist. Das verdanken wir den gelehrten schriftstellerischen Arbeiten der Professoren. Dieser Ruhm ist für die Frequenz der Akademie nichts weniger wie gleichgültig gewesen, sondern hat ihr stets eine angesehene Zahl von Jünglingen hergeführt. Es war in allen Beziehungen für die Universität nichts weniger wie gleichgültig, daß in den neusten Zeiten der zu der Entdeckung des innern Afrika's bestimmte Reisende, Hornemann, in Göttingen zu seiner Bestimmung ausersehen, und dort auf Anweisung der Londoner afrikanischen Gesellschaft sich unter der Anleitung von fünf berühmten Lehrern zu seiner künftigen Bestimmung ausbilden mußte" (von Brandes, 190).

[17] See also Fabian: "Daß die Göttinger Bibliothek nicht eine bloße Ansammlung von Büchern blieb, sondern vom wissenschaftlichen Standpunkt aus eine beispiellos produktive Institution wurde, scheint nicht in erster Linie auf die unvergleichliche und bis heute gerühmte Liberalität zurückzugehen, mit der ihre Benutzung seit den ersten Anfängen ermöglicht worden ist. Es scheint vielmehr darauf zurückzuführen zu sein, daß der Gelehrte einen Zugriff auf die Göttinger Bestände hatte, die ihn dem auf andere Bibliotheken angewiesenen Gelehrten überlegen machte. Die Göttinger Professoren, die ihren Ruhm nur der Bibliothek verdankten, sind immer wieder Gegenstand der Bewunderung oder des Witzes gewesen" (Fabian, 120).

[18] "Wenn Göttingen in neuern Zeiten eine größere Anzahl von eigentlichen Gelehrten gebildet hat, als irgendeine andre Universität, so ist dies weniger ein Verdienst der dortigen Professoren, als eine Würkung dieser vortrefflichen Bibliothek und des nirgends so sehr als hier erleichterten Gebrauchs derselben. Viele Professoren haben ihren literarischen Ruhm bloß der Bibliothek, die sie mit allen nur zu wünschenden Hülfsmitteln zu ihren gelehrten Arbeiten versorgte, zu danken." (from Briefe (anm. 1), s. 32., Quoted in Fabian, 120).

which the library resources facilitate the research of professors, who in turn develop the international reputation and recognition of the university by publishing their research which, in turn, allows the library to acquire more print-media resources.

Coleridge voices an awareness of the significance of the library within this cyclical network of research, reputation, and financial rewards, in a letter to Thomas Poole on May 06, 1799.

> For I find being learned is a mighty easy thing, compared with [any study] else. My God! a miserable Poet must he be, & a dispicable Metaphysician [whose] acquirements have not cost more trouble & reflection than all the lea[rning of] Tooke, Porson, & Parr united. With the advantage of a great Lib[rary] Learning is nothing, methinks—merely a sort of excuse for being [idle—Yet a] man gets reputation by it; and reputation gets money—...Money I must get, in all honest [ways—therefore] at the end of two or three years...see me come out with some horribly learned book, full manuscript quotations from Laplandish and Patagonian Authors—...N.B. Whether a sort of Parchment might not be made of old Shoes; & whether Apples should not be engrafted on Oak Saplings; as then the Fruit would be the same as now, but the wood far more valuable? (*CL* 277, 494)

This is an interesting passage as it testifies to Coleridge's critical acumen in evaluating the library and university system at Göttingen. Moreover, the temporal restrictions of Coleridge's visit limits his access to the library resources. On April 23, 1799 he writes to his wife that

> my only amusement is—to labour!—. But it is in the strictest sense of the word impossible that I can collect what I have to collect, in less than six weeks...yet I read & transcribe from 8 to 10 hours every day....not to add that so large a work with so great a variety of information from sources so scattered, & so little known even in Germany, will, of course, establish my character—for industry & erudition, certainly; & I would fain hope, for reflection & genius. (*CL* 276, 484)

Coleridge repeats such laments to Poole—"I read & transcribe from morning to night/ & never in my life have I worked so hard as this last month—as well as to Wedgwood: "this endless Transcription is such a body-and-soul-wearying Purgatory!" (*CL* 277, 490; *CL* 283, 519). Appreciative of the invaluable print-media resources of the library, Coleridge also feels the pressure of time in the inability to complete his research using all the resources at his disposal. His efforts at transcription are to preserve his access to these print-media resources which he fears he may not encounter as easily, if at all, again.

Having historicized[19] the Göttingen library here, it becomes clear that Coleridge's laments do not testify, as literary critics argue, to his inactivity or opium addiction, but to the fact that Coleridge is fully aware that only the library collections at Göttingen can facilitate his research.[20] Working against time Coleridge aims to collect and transcribe as much print-media information from the Göttingen library knowing that he will not have the opportunity to procure and peruse such a wealthy collection of print-media in England or elsewhere. Indeed, Coleridge realizes that in transcribing information "so little known even in Germany" his efforts will "establish his character" as it had done for many other scholars who had access to the print-media holdings of the Göttingen library.

**A Brief Word about Coleridge's Access to Library Resources and Catalogues**

Heyne's management of the library and its resources set a standard for libraries in Europe. The continental library system was distinct from the library methods and administration employed in Great Britain. Albert Predeek, in his *A History of Libraries in Great Britain and North America* (1947), states that

> The organization, the methods of administration, and even some librarians [of Great Britain] must have seemed unusual to the German observer; but it must not be forgotten that methods of instruction and research and the arts and sciences that have developed in Great Britain under conditions quite distinct from Continental Europe and Germany in particular. (Predeek, 3)[21]

Unlike Heyne's management of the library which was directly supported by von Brandes and the Hanovarian state, in Great Britain the libraries and universities were dependent upon "the generosity of wealthy gentlemen....the regulatory, patronizing, and guiding hand of the state has been absent almost up until present day" (Predeek, 3). Hence, the Göttingen library in 1787 had a budget larger by £400 over Edinburgh, the "most useful library in Great Britain" (Beddoes, 18-19). The following discussion of Coleridge's access to the library resources and catalogues is historicized against the backdrop of the

---

[19] My use of the term "historicized" is the contextualization of the historical background details of the Göttingen library. In short, the term "historicized" can be defined as an act of presenting the historical background detail of a subject/object to explain its historical and contemporary cultural context.

[20] As noted in Chapter Three, Molly Lefebure's 1974 biography, for example, construes the non-writing of the projected *Life of Lessing* as the direct result of Coleridge's opium addiction: "In view of evidence of opium during this Göttingen period it is doubtful there was much truth in the pious assurance to Poole: 'I read and transcribe from morning to night . . . never in my life have I worked so hard.' [*CL* 277] ....This labour was connected with the study of Lessing . . . ." (289). And in reference to Coleridge's avowal of his hard work in *CL* 283 to Wedgwood: "Such avowals of hard-work are themselves suspicious. . . . It is worth noting here that the much-heralded book on Lessing was never written" (291). See Lefebure, Molly. *Samuel Taylor Coleridge: A Bondage of Opium*. London, 1974.

[21] Predeek, Albert. *A History of Libraries in Great Britain and North America*. Translated by Lawrense S. Thompson. Chicago: American Library Association, 1947.

continental library methods and administration methods employed at Göttingen and implemented under the management of Heyne. In short, I draw mainly upon German sources in historicizing the continental library system which was developed at Göttingen in the later eighteenth century.

Vogt lauds Heyne as the "most significant librarian in the eighteenth century" because his reforms influenced library development on an international scale.[22] Vogt states that:

> Heyne's enduring merit is, first the idea of a realization of the public circulating library for scholars and researchers and with this development the modern library in Germany and in foreign countries was introduced. (Vogt, 45)[23]

One of the reforms under Heyne that developed the "modern library" system was the updating and re-organization of the library catalogues for more efficient borrowing of the print-media collections in regard to disciplinary-specific research. These catalogues were a network in themselves. I will briefly sketch an outline of those catalogues in use during the period of Coleridge's borrowings.

There were two main catalogues operating at Göttingen in 1799. The first was the 147 volume alphabetical catalogue which was finally completed after four years in 1789.[24] The old catalogue had become filled and so the new one "reserved for each author one or more pages" in order to register additional acquisitions to the collection.[25] This catalogue would have been used by Coleridge to locate specific texts in the library collection.[26]

---

[22] "...bedeutendsten Bibliothekar des 18. Jahrhunderts" (Vogt, 45).

[23] "Heynes bleibendes Verdienst ist es, erstmals die Idee einer öffentlichen Gebrauchsbibliothek für die Gelehrten und Forscher realisiert und damit die moderne Bibliotheksentwicklung in Deutschland und im Ausland eingeleitet zu haben" (Vogt, 45). Heyne's influence also extended to England. "Noch Panizzi, der große Reformer des Britischen Museums, hat wesentliche Teile der Göttinger Katalogisierungspraxis auf die dortige Bibliothek übertragen" (Vogt, 43).

[24] See Füchsel, Hans und Karl Julius Hartmann. Geschichte der Göttinger Universitäts- Bibliothek. Verfaßt von Göttinger Bibliothekaren. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1937.
"Herbst 1789 war die Arbeit fertiggestellt. Der neue Katalog zählte damals 147 Bände" (Füchsel and Hartmann, 138).

[25] "Um für alle Zukunft zu verhindern, daß der Katalog wieder überfüllt würde, reservierte er für jeden Autor eine oder mehrere Blätter" (Füchsel and Hartmann, 137).

[26] This 147 volume catalogue would have been more efficient than the catalogue system of the Bodleian library, which allegedly was the best in Britain. Predeek states that "Oxford had been the chief seat of cataloguing technique throughout the eighteenth century. Hyde's catalogue of 1694 soon showed the need of revision. The revision was based on thorough-going comparisons with the books themselves and corrected numerous errors in the older edition. It appeared in 1738 in two folio volumes and was used until the fifth catalogue of printed books appeared in 1843-1851. After 1780 the library published annual lists of accessions which absorbed in 1796 the list of donors begun by Bodley in 1600. Neither Cambridge nor the Scottish university libraries could show anything comparable to Oxford's accomplishment" (Predeek, 26).

Second, the *Realkatalog* was also developed under Heyne's direction and his colleague Reuß. The *Realkatalog* was an especially useful resource tool for the eighteenth-century researcher. Fabian states that the

> first Göttinger *Realkatalog*, which since the middle of the eighteenth-century was the subject bibliography for each field providing the generations of researchers not only with a systematic access to the "stockroom" [i.e. library stacks] of available knowledge, but presumably as well stimulated new systematic starting-points [of investigation] (120-121).[27]....It may be sufficient to mention that this *Realkatalog* provided the researcher of the eighteenth century in practically every area/subject/field a synopsis of the "progress of scholarly culture"....At the beginning of each major section in the *Realkatalog* was a historical-encyclopedia section, which provided the user on one page the available literature [in the library]....(120, 121)[28]

Clearly, the *Realkatalog* was not only superior to the catalogue system at Oxford, but also an innovative resource tool essential for the researcher of the Göttingen library holdings. It listed not only the holdings regarding the subject area within the library, but also the scholarly developments and publications related to the subject; in effect listing the "research-path" from the subject sources in the library.

Moreover, Füchsel and Hartmann state that in 1790 a revision of the whole library was initiated in order to "inter-link" all catalogues by 1796.[29] In fact, "during the revision he [Reuß] registered the corresponding page of each book in the *Realkatalog* besides the academic subject, and made the *Realkatalog* really a 'location catalogue'" (Füchsel and

---

[27] There is a footnote reference here to: Fabian, B. "Göttingen als Forschungsbibliothek im achtzehnten Jahrhundert." In *Wolfenbüttler Forschungen*, 2. 1977: 209-239," not recorded here.

[28] "....ersten Göttinger Realkatalog, der seit der Mitte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts die Sachbibliographie für jedes Gebiet bereitstellte und der Generationen von Forschern nicht nur einen systematischen Zugang zur "Vorrathskammer" vorhandener Erkenntnisse erleichtert, sondern vermutlich auch manchen neuen systematischen Ansatz angeregt hat....Es muß der Hinweis genügen, daß dieser Realkatalog für den Forscher des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts auf praktisch jedem Gebiet eine Synopse des "Fortgangs der wissenschaftlichen Cultur" bot.....Zu Beginn jeder großen Abteilung bot der Realkatalog eine historisch-enzyklopädische Abteilung, die dem Benutzer auf der einen Seite die vorliegende Literatur erschloß....und die es ihm auf der anderen Seite ermöglichte, die eigene Forschung als Fortführung früherer Arbeiten von anderen Gelehrten zu sehen und zu betreiben" (Fabian, 120, 121).

[29] "Nachdem der neue alphabetische Katalog vollendet und die Nachtragungen in den Realkatalog beendigt waren, schritt Reuß 1790 mit seinem Beamtenstab zur genauen Revision der ganzen Bibliothek. Dieselbe geschah an Hand des Realkatalogs und dauerte sechs Jahre. Was fehlte, wurde in systematisch geordnete Hefte eingetragen, außerdem im alphabetischen und im Realkatalog vermerkt. Die Zahl vermißten [sic] Bücher war sehr erheblich. Bei dieser Arbeit erfolgte zugleich die Verzahnung des gesamten Katalogsystems.....Heyne stellte von vornherein den Grundsatz auf, daß alle Kataloge zueinander in Beziehung zu setzen seien. Doch erst durch Reuß wurde das Prinzip vollständig durchgeführt" (Füchsel and Hartmann, 139-140).

Hartmann, 140).[30] Therefore, each catalogue is systematically referenced to another catalogue in the library system. Against the backdrop of a library administrative "inter-network" of inter-linked catalogues, Coleridge's library borrowings are especially significant as his borrowings were obviously not random borrowings, but carefully selected borrowings.[31]

Therefore, Coleridge's borrowings embody the concious exercise of Coleridge's library privileges. As cited earlier, Coleridge writes to his wife that Heyne honours him with "the Right...which properly only the Professors have, of sending to the Library for an indefinite number of Books, in *my own* name."[32] I'll briefly contextualize Coleridge's borrowing privileges in regard to the borrowing procedures in use during the period of Coleridge's visit.

Perhaps the most often-quoted statement about the borrowing privileges at the Göttingen library enjoyed by professors was made by Pütter in 1765: "[t]he professors are permitted not only to read books in the library, but also to borrow them to their homes. The same applies for the students..."(Vogt, 44).[33] Presumably Coleridge was permitted to borrow texts from fourteen days to four weeks.[34] Thus even with professorial borrowing privileges Coleridge would only be able to borrow texts for a limited period of time. However, by 1799 professorial borrowing privileges were not subject to a two-to-four week borrowing period. In fact, professors could keep borrowed texts at their home for a maximum of six months under the stipulation that texts must be renewed once every six months. It is therefore impossible to determine the borrowing length that applied to Coleridge's borrowings because our only documented source is the letter to his wife.

---

[30] " Reuß konnte sich auch rühmen, Katalog und Aufstellung fest miteinander verbunden zu haben. Indem er [Reuß] während der Revision in jedes Buch die entsprechende Seite des Realkatalogs nebst dem Wissenschaftsfach eintragen ließ, machte er den Realkatalog wirklich zum Standortskatalog. [footnote 25: "schon 1784 war Reuß für Eintragung der Realkatalogseite, 1789 erklärte er dies Verfahren für praktischer als äußere Numerierung.]" (Füchsel and Hartmann, 140).

[31] Some of the process of re-cataloguing was still operating during Coleridge's visit. See Füchsel and Hartmann, 144.

[32] Emphasis Coleridge's. (*CL* 272, 475).

[33] "Die Professoren durften Bücher nicht nur in der Bibliothek lesen, sondern auch nach Hause entleihen. Gleiches gilt für die Studenten, deren Arbeitsmöglichkeiten als so ganz ungewöhnlich angesehen wurden...." (Vogt, 44).

[34] In their definitive scholarship on the history of the Göttingen library entitled *Geschichte der Göttinger Universitäts-Bibliothek. Verfaßt von Göttinger Bibliothekaren* (1937), Füchsel and Hartmann state that "Die Leihfrist beträgt 14 Tage bis 4 Wochen. Nur für solche, die an einer Inaugural-Disputation arbeiten, kann nach Mitteilung an den Dekan die Frist verlängert werden....Bisher war die Dauer der Bürgschaft unbegrenzt gewesen. So wurden bei der allgemeinen Büchereinforderung von Ende April 1761 Professoren für Entleihungen verantwortlich gemacht, die bis 1747 zurückgingen. Nach den neuen Gesetzen haftet der Professor nicht länger als ein Vierteljahr" (Füchsel and Hartmann, 151).

However, a record of twenty-three texts borrowed by Coleridge does remain. In tracing the research history of Coleridge's library borrowings the library records of Göttingen are also unique. Fabian states that

> Göttingen, and only Göttingen, is the place where the detail of research in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century in its limitations and developments through the literature-reservoir can be analyzed. The borrowing documents of the library are preserved, and it is therefore possible to reconstruct the research process, provided that their results were published, in their development and in their context. (Fabian, 121)[35]

Although the published end product of Coleridge's research cannot be directly verified—because the projected *Life of Lessing* was never written and the other influence of sources are scattered and obscured—from the Göttingen borrowing registers we can reconstruct the research process during the period of Colerige's borrowings.[36] This research process documents Coleridge's print-media information "inter-network" to facilitate his study of German literature.

The Göttingen library maintained two registers, A and B respectively, which recorded all the borrowings from the library. Register A recorded the borrowings by Göttingen professors. Register B recorded the borrowings by students.[37] Coleridge's borrowings are

---

[35] "Über den ‚Nutzen', den die Göttingen Bibliothek mit dieser Breite und Zugänglichkeit ihrer Bestände gestiftet hat, haben wir bislang keine auch nur annähernde Übersicht. Aber Göttingen, und nur Göttingen, ist der Ort, an dem sich im Detail die Forschung des achtzehnten und frühen neunzehnten Jahrhunderts in ihrer Bedingtheit und Förderung durch Literaturreservoire analysieren läßt. Die Ausleihunterlagen der Bibliothek sind erhalten, und es ist daher möglich, Forschungsprozesse, sofern ihre Ergebnisse veröffentlicht wurden, in ihrem Ablauf und ihrem Duktus zu rekonstruieren" (Fabian, 121).

[36] Twenty-one of these borrowings are discussed in Snyder, A. D. "Books Borrowed by Coleridge from the Library of the University of Göttingen, 1799." *Modern Philology* XXV (1928): 377-80. I will discuss Coleridge's twenty-three borrowings in detail in section two below.

[37] "Die Kustoden haben zwei Registranden zu führen, eine für die Professoren, eine andre für die Studierenden, letztere zweimal wöchentlich durchzusehen, um die Bücher einzufordern. Erfolgt die Rückgabe nicht, so geht die Mahnung an den Professor im Notfall wird der Name des Studenten dem Prorektor gemeldet....Die für alle geltende Bücherrückgabe findet halbjährlich in einer Ferienwoche statt. Die Professoren können ihre Bücher auf Wunsch, gegen einen neuen Empfangsschein, sogleich zurückerhalten. Nur darf kein Zettel älter als ein halbes Jahr sein" (Füchsel and Hartmann, 152).
"Von 1764 ab besitzen wir die ziemlich vollständige Reihe der Registranden. Es sind jetzt ordentliche Foliofaszikel, die entsprechend der zunehmenden Zahl der Bibliotheksbenutzer immer mehr zu Bänden anschwellen, entweder ein Jahr oder ein Semester umfassend. Bei den Eintragungen werden vorläufig Professoren und Studierende noch nicht geschieden. Das alte Ordnungsprinzip — alphabetisch nach den Buchtiteln — ist beibehalten. Nun gibt es für jedes Halbjahr immer einen Band, enthaltend die Namen der Professoren, und einen andern, für die Studenten. Dazu kommt noch ein Register der letzteren mit Angabe ihrer Wohnung." [Footnote 7: "Die Bibliothek erhielt immer eine Abschrift des Logisverzeichnisses."] (Füchsel and Hartmann, 153-154).

listed in Register B: the student register. Professors were able to order books and would receive a reception-note upon the borrowing of the book. Students were required to bring a note signed by their professor to authorize their borrowing.[38] Since Coleridge writes to his wife that he can send for texts in his own name, he presumably would be assigned a reception-note for the requested borrowing—as Göttingen faculty were—and since he was not a professor his borrowings were therefore recorded in the student register.[39] Borrowings in these registers are recorded according to the title of the text; followed by the name of the borrower which is crossed out after the return of the text and the reception-note (Füchsel and Hartmann, 150).[40]

Through his borrowing privileges Coleridge had an advantage over other students. It remains impossible, unfortunately, to determine what books Coleridge read and consulted in the actual library because no documentation exists. In her editorial work to Coleridge's *Notebooks*, Kathleen Coburn identifies numerous excerpts Coleridge transcribed from a wide variety of print-media while in Göttingen. These notes range from reviews on the "Brunonian system of medicine" from the "[Jenaische] *Allgemeine Literatur Zeitung*...11-20 Feb 1799" and notes on a newspaper article about recent suicides in Germany to notes on Lessing from various biographies (see notes to: *CN* 388 3½ .14 and *CN* 389 3½ .29). These notes are scattered and it is therefore difficult to analyze and contextualize their sources.

Therefore, against the backdrop of a cosmopolitan library network of over 200,000 volumes, efficiently managed by a network of catalogue and borrowing privileges, the extant library registers documenting the texts actually borrowed by Coleridge from the library become especially significant. Clearly, Coleridge did not borrow whimsically or randomly. Coleridge borrowed selectively with a distinct purpose: to forge a private

---

"Bei den Leihscheinen verfuhr man folgendermaßen: ‚Auf dem Tisch des Sekretairs hat jeder Professor seine Mappe mit einem doppelten Behältniß; das eine für die Zettel, die er für sich selber, das andere für die, welche er für andere, besonders Studierende, ausstellt. Bey jedem ausgegebenen Buche wird der darauf lautende Zettel von einem der Aufseher signirt [sic], d. i. Zahl der Bände und Format der Bücher ... darauf notiert, und von jetzt an ist er gültig. ... Bey Zurückgabe werden die Zettel eingerissen zurückgegeben." [Footnote 8: Heeren S. 299.] (Füchsel and Hartmann, 154).

[38] "Die Ausleihe erfolgte bei Professoren gegen einfachen Empfangschein, bei Studierenden gegen einen Zettel, der von einem Professor mit unterschrieben war" (Füchsel and Hartmann, 149).

[39] It appears that the student borrowing privileges differ slightly from time to time. Füchsel and Hartmann also note that "Studierende, ausgenommen Grafen, bedürfen des Cavet eines Professors. Auf dem Empfangschein hat der Buchtitel, die Unterschrift des Studenten und darunter die des Professors zu stehen; und zwar soll der Studiosus stets denselben Dozenten um Bürgschaft angehen" (Füchsel and Hartmann, 151). It is somewhat unclear which regulations for students were in effect during Coleridge's matriculation. Regardless, Coleridge would have been able to follow the professor privileges outlined above.

[40] "Es ist ein schmales Faszikel, in dem die Bücher, grob alphabetisch nach Titeln geordnet, eingetragen sind. Daneben steht der Name des Entleihers, der nach Zurückgabe des Buches und des Empfangsscheins durchgestrichen wurde" (Füchsel and Hartmann, 150).

print-media information network out of a wide variety of print-media; including foreign texts in different languages. I will now turn to an analysis of Coleridge's twenty-three library borrowings at the university of Göttingen.

## II
## Coleridge's Library Borrowings

### Researching Lessing and German Literature

It is well-known that during the 130-days of his second university career at the university of Göttingen in 1799, Coleridge attended the natural history lectures of Professor J. F. Blumenbach—the founder of modern anthropology—as well as the theology lectures of Professor Eichhorn. Lesser known, but of equal significance, are Coleridge's systematic literary studies at Göttingen. Coleridge outlines his proposed literary studies in his letter from Ratzeburg to Thomas Poole on January 04, 1799:

> ...by three month's residence at Gottingen [sic] I shall have *on paper* at least *all* the materials...of a work....I have planned...a Life of Lessing—& interweaved with it a true state of German Literature, in it's rise & present state.——I have already written a little life...& at Gottingen [sic] I will read his works regularly, according to the years in which they were written, & the controversies, religious & literary, which they occasioned. (*CL* 269, 454-455; Emphasis Coleridge's)[41]

Literary critics often emphasize Coleridge's failure to produce his projected *Life of Lessing* ignoring the success of Coleridge in forging a print-media network to facilitate the research process of Lessing and his literary studies. However, this standard interpretative paradigm of Coleridge's second university career completely disregards the significance of Coleridge's private print-media information networks. What I argue here echoes the conclusion to Chapter Three, that these networks, successfully forged by Coleridge, embody a production in itself.[42] The historical fact is that Coleridge's

---

[41] Interestingly, Füchsel and Hartmann note that Heyne had lent Lessing books from the Göttingen library while the latter was librarian at Wolfenbüttel. Lessing "stand zu Heyne und Dieze schon vor der Wolfenbütteler Zeit in Beziehung. Dort Bibliothekar geworden, entlieh er mancherlei aus Göttingen. Bei seinem Tode (1781) war noch nicht alles zurückgegeben. Aus der Korrespondenz Heynes mit Lessings Nachfolger Langer erfahren wir, daß die letzten Sachen erst 1787 wieder in den Besitz der Bibliothek gelangten" (Füchsel and Hartmann, 157).

[42] In fact, as I argue in section four of this chapter, the failure to disseminate the information acquired via these private print-media networks, is not due to Coleridge's personal short-comings, but a matter that needs to be historicized in regard to the problems of cross-cultural dissemination via domestic print-media networks in Britain.

successful studies of German literature and language at Göttingen, specifically his projected study of Lessing, could not have been facilitated in England.

As argued in Chapter Two, in late-eighteenth century England the knowledge of German literature, language, and culture was limited to the transmission of periodical reviews about German texts; and distorted English translations of French translations of the German original. Moreover, the works that enjoyed particular popularity in England, such as Kotzebue's plays and selective works by Schiller, to name a few, were received in England outside of their cultural context, indeed, in ignorance of, the cultural production and literary movements behind these works.[43] It was precisely this cultural distortion that Coleridge first became aware of in England, and then later in Germany, as stated in his correspondence with Wordsworth in Chapter Three. As a result, Coleridge became more and more interested in locating the German source of information disseminated in England and to evaluate sources against the backdrop of German culture and literary history.

This interest is closely tied to the figure of Lessing. Coleridge favourably compares his own physiognomy to a portrait of Lessing at young Klopstock's.[44] And in recording notes from Schink's biography on Lessing, Coleridge playfully compares his own biographical background to Lessing's: "He was intended for a Clergyman by his Parents—but a Lessing will seldom be what his Parents intend him to be" (*CN* 377 3½.13). However, Coleridge's admiration for Lessing extends beyond these comparisons to the role of Lessing as a cross-cultural mediator of English literature in Germany. As we have seen

---

[43] See Hohlfeld, A. R. and Bayard Quincy Morgan. Eds. *German Literature in British Magazines 1750-1860*. Madison, Wisconsin, University of Wisconsin Press, 1949. "...tremendous obstacles stood in the way of a broad and true understanding of the essence of German literature in the second half of the eighteenth century. To begin with, progress in grappling the language itself was slow....The reviews reveal hack-work based on superficial reading, and editorial supervision lacks care and accuracy....The political and social conditions proved especially unfortunate for the cause of the best in German literature at the very time when the preliminary ground was broken and good results might have been expected. If there had been in England, toward the end of the century, no serious political apprehensions, such bitter and venomous invectives would either not have appeared or they would have had but little effect.... " (Hohlfeld and Morgan, 49-50).

[44] See *CL* 259 on November 08, 1798, to Mrs. S. T. Coleridge: "I saw likewise there a very, very fine picture of Lessing. His eyes uncommonly like mine—if any thing, rather larger & more prominent—But the lower part of his face & his nose—O what an exquisite expression of elegance and sensibility!—There appeared no depth, weight, or comprehensiveness in the Forehead.—The whole Face Seemed to say, that Lessing was a man—of quick & voluptuous Feelings; of an active but light Fancy; acute; yet acute not in the observation of actual Life, but in the arrangements & management of the Ideal World—(i.e.) in taste, and in metaphysics.—" (437).
Coleridge's notebook entry reads: "Saw a fine picture there [young Klopstock's] of Lessing—No comprehensiveness in the Forehead; but large eyes & fine mouth/A man of light fancy, acute not in observation of actual life; but in management of the ideal world.—His eyes apparently not unlike mine—" (*CN* 337 3.3).

in Chapter Three, Coleridge was eager to disseminate the best of German thought and culture in England, and in this regard he shared a common interest with Lessing's accomplishments in Germany.

In *German Literature in British Magazines 1750-1860* (1949), Hohlfeld and Morgan argue that the cross-cultural exchange of German literature on its own cultural terms was non-existent in England during the 1790s.

> There was evidently no cultural center capable of fostering, clarifying, or defending what was most valuable in the foreign [German] field ....What was needed [in England] and not forthcoming was a great mediator to do what Lessing and Herder had done for English culture in Germany; there was as yet no Carlyle. (49-50)

Within this context of the reception history of German literature in England, Coleridge's literary studies at Göttingen are especially significant because Coleridge studies German literature within the cultural context of its production. In this regard Coleridge's 1799 proposed *Life of Lessing* and accompanying study of "German Literature, in it's rise & present state" potentially position Coleridge in Lessing's footsteps as a cross-cultural mediator and interpreter of German literature and culture in the English public sphere. The stated aims of Coleridge in letters to Poole and Cottle regarding the translation of German texts and German education models were of a cross-cultural dissemination of German culture in England. The career of Lessing certainly presented itself as a model for such a unique project—unprecedented in England.

The *Life of Lessing* and "true state of German Literature, in it's rise & present state" was intended to foster an informed reception of German literature in England based on a cultural understanding of German literary productions. Hohlfeld and Morgan argue that this is exactly what had been lacking in England:

> The most striking "sin of omission" in the case of Lessing is the fact that his function as interpreter of English literature in Germany either quite escaped attention, or was ignored by English critics [during the late-eighteenth century].... With very few exceptions, all reviews are concerned with merits or demerits of a particular author, or of one or more of his works, irrespective of his relation to his time or to general tendencies in German or in English literature. (41-42)

Coleridge's firmness of purpose is illustrated in forging a private print-media information network of access to foreign media to facilitate his study of Lessing within the context of

German literature. Moreover, although the *Life of Lessing* is first documented in a letter to Poole on January 04, 1799, this project was not a sudden interest.[45]

The first extant documentation by Coleridge which mentions Lessing is a letter from *The Watchman* period to Benjamin Flower, editor of the Cambridge produced *Intelligencer*, on April 01, 1796. From the detailed references it appears that Coleridge is already familiar with Lessing's reputation, as well as some of his works.

> The most formidable infidel is Lessing, the author of 'Emilia Galotti.' [1772; translated 1868] I ought to have written, *was*, for he is dead. His book is not yet translated, and is entitled in German, 'Fragment of an Anonymous Author.' It unites the wit of Voltaire with the subtlety of Hume, and the profound erudition of *our* Lardner. I had some thoughts of translating it with an answer, but gave it up, lest men, whose tempers and hearts incline them to disbelief, should get hold of it; and, though the answers are satisfactory to my own mind, they may not be equally so to the minds of others. (*CL* 116, 197)

Coleridge already appears to voice an awareness here of his intellectual isolation because of his interest in Lessing and therefore dismisses his plans for a translation. Thus, by the time of his arrival in Germany Coleridge had already been interested in Lessing for over two years.

Similar to his German interests described in the previous chapter, Coleridge's interest in Lessing steadily evolves—perhaps becoming even a bit of an obsession. It has been noted previously how he purchased Lessing's *Fables* while in Hamburg. In Ratzeburg Coleridge studies Lessing in more depth, reading several biographies. Coburn identifies several of these biographical notes on Lessing in Coleridge's *Notebooks*: "these notes on Lessing, are from the Johann Friedrich Schink" biography.[46]

---

[45] As argued in Chapter Three such a project could not be initiated in England. Coleridge's notebooks and letters between 1794 and 1798 testify to the difficulty in England of satiating his growing interest in German literature.

[46] Coburn's note to 377 3½.13 reads: "Coleridge is following closely a brief, 40-page life of Lessing by Johann Friedrich Schink appended to his *Charackteristik Gotthold Ephraim Lessings*, first published in *Pantheon der Deutschen* (Chemnitz 1795; Pt reprinted separately 1817). Only one or two minor details are incorporated from the substantial 400-page life of Lessing by his brother K. G. Lessing (Berlin 1793), which Coleridge possessed and annotated, now in BM. (Many of Coleridge's inaccuracies derive from Schink, e.g. *Königsberg* for *Köningbrück*. . . .) Schink's short account was based on this latter, but he was able to make use also of Christoph Friederich Nicolai's annotated edition of Lessing's correspondence in Vols 27 and 28 (1794) of the *Sämmtliche Schriften* (Berlin and Stettin 1771-1825). . . . . In his letter to Poole, 4 jan 1799 (*CL* 269), Coleridge says that he had "already written a little life, from three different biographies . . .". We are at a loss to identify the third. C. G. Schütz *Über Lessings Genie und Schriften* (Halle 1782) offers no biographical information, nor are there more than two pages about his life in the

It appears, therefore, that Lessing emerges as the more dominant literary figure in Coleridge's research of the German poets. This illustrates his keen critical acumen in identifying the catalytic significance of Lessing in regard to German literature, as noted above by Hohlfeld and Morgan, as well as his continued interest in disseminating German thought in England. What becomes especially of significance, therefore, is how Coleridge "networked" his research for this project in anticipation of a domestic network of dissemination in the English public sphere upon his return to England.

Coleridge's twenty-three library borrowings at Göttingen provide the best extant documentation of this foreign print-media information network to research "a Life of Lessing...interweaved with...a true state of German literature, in it's [sic] rise & present state." I will examine the twenty-one borrowings listed in A. D. Snyder's 1928-article "Books Borrowed by Coleridge from the Library of the University of Göttingen," as well as two additional borrowings not identified by Snyder, against the backdrop of Coleridge's methodological and chronological study of German literature and language.[47]

What emerges from this analysis is an "inter-network" of inter-textual dialogue between Coleridge's Göttingen borrowings ranging from reference and linguistic texts in Latin and German to the subsequent borrowings of sources cited in footnotes. The subject matter and content of this inter-textual dialogue illustrates Coleridge's systematic study of literary periods prior to Lessing, such as the Minnesinger and Meistersinger periods, as well as contemporaries of Lessing such as Christian Klotz; and scholarly texts about Lessing such as Schütz's *About Lessing's Genius and Writings* (1782). Specifically, I present the argument that the inter-textual dialogue and systematic nature of Coleridge's library borrowings testify to his success in forging a private print-media information network via his library privileges at Göttingen.

Between February 21, 1799, and June 16, 1799, Coleridge borrowed twenty-three texts from the university library. Twenty-one of these borrowings are listed chronologically in A. D. Snyder's 1928 article, compiled from the Göttingen "library registers for the year 1798-99" (377). An additional borrowing was identified in 1935 by Carl August Weber in his *Bristols Bedeutung für die englische Romantik und die deutsch-englischen Beziehungen.*[48] Another borrowing entry was identified in 2001.

These twenty-three borrowings comprise a wide array of print media, including periodicals, reference texts, glossaries, scholarly texts, and anthologies. Sixteen of these texts are in the German language, four are written in Latin, one in French, and one in

---

article on Lessing in either Christoph H. Schmidt's *Nekrolog* (Berlin 1785) or L. Meister's *Characteristik deutscher Dichter* (St Gallen and Leipzig 1789)."

[47] See Appendix B for a complete list of the twenty-three borrowings.

[48] *The Significance of Bristol for the English Romantics and German-Anglo Relations.*

English. The subject matter and chronology of these borrowings, however, predominantly concentrate on German literature and language from the Gothic period to the eighteenth century.

Snyder chronologically lists Coleridge's library borrowings in two registers. Register one lists five borrowings from February 21 to February 28, 1799. The remaining eighteen borrowings commence after the March semester hiatus from April 04 to June 16.[49] There are no existing records for borrowings during March, nor, as stated above, for books consulted in the library itself. I will now discuss each register in turn.

**Register I: Coleridge's Study of the Minnesinger Period**

Register I documents the start of Coleridge's literary studies with the Gothic period and the development of the German language. Coleridge's initial two borrowings are specific: a collection of Swabian Poetry up to the fourteenth century and a Collection of Minnesinger Poetry.[50] Why would Coleridge specifically select to start with texts about the Minnesingers and Swabian Poetry?

From the extant correspondence with the Wordsworths in Goslar[51] we know that Coleridge was already studying the older German poets while at Ratzeburg. In early December 1798 Wordsworth writes to Coleridge asking if he was "able to get any information concerning the earlier poets of Germany?" Wordsworth then forwards Coleridge a textual reference:

> I find in Monsieur Raimond's translation of Coxe's Travels in Switzerland, that Mr Bodmer a German poet of Zurich had presented him with a volume of amorous verses of the thirteenth century. This work is extracted from a

---

[49] Interestingly, the majority of these borrowings occur after Coleridge had relocated to lodgings in the Wende Straße he was only about a five-minute walk from the library. Coleridge's notebook entry (CNB 399 3½.6) dated "March 25th—being Easter Monday, 1799" reads: "Chester & S.T.C. in a damn'd dirty hole in the Burg Strasse at Göttingen...". Coleridge's letter to Mrs. Coleridge dated April 08, 1799, states: "Gottingen in der Wende Strasse" (*CL* 275, 481ff.). Thus, Coleridge moves to the Wende Strasse between March 25 and April 08, 1799. Coleridge's library borrowings on April 04 and 10 are not directly related to his literary studies. Coleridge's library borrowing for April 06 (Selchow's *Elementa* discussed below) is related. Coleridge starts a letter to Thomas Poole on April 06, 1799, and the concluding section to this letter is dated April 08 and sent from the Wende Strasse address. There are no identifying marks on this letter, but it is not unreasonable to deduce that Coleridge had already located to lodgings in the Wende Strasse by April 06, if not earlier. It is interesting that the majority of Coleridge's borrowings, as well as his lamentations in letters of running out of time to properly research his subject, occur after the relocation closer to the library.

[50] See entries 1 and 2 in Appendix B.

[51] See Chapter Three.

> manuscript which the King of France entrusted to the city of Zurich in the year 1752.[52]

Wordsworth's cited reference here is to the 1758 Bodmer and Breitinger text, *Collection of Minnesinger Poetry* (1758-59),[53]—the exact edition borrowed first by Coleridge from the Göttingen library, along with the 1748 Bodmer and Breitinger edition of Swabian Poetry. Thus Coleridge's initial borrowings are stimulated via the inter-textual dialogue of Wordsworth's reference to Bodmer in a 1781 French translation of Coxe's travels; mediated via Coleridge's epistolary network.

The Bodmer and Breitinger borrowings are significant not only for this example of inter-textual dialogue, but also for their scholarly content. The glossary of the 1748 text explains the "darker words in contemporary" use by the Minnesinger. The explanatory preface of the 1758 text updates the "History of the Hand-writing of the Minnesinger" appendix previously published in the 1748 text. Clearly, these borrowings function as a selected introduction to the beginnings of the German poetic tradition. The glossary allows for an understanding of the archaic language, while the preface provides Coleridge with a contemporary scholarly interpretation.

---

[52] See *EWL* 105: "Have you been able to get any information concerning the earlier poets of Germany? I find in Monsieur Raimond's translation of Coxe's Travels in Switzerland, [4] that Mr Bodmer a German poet of Zurich had presented him with a volume of amorous verses of the thirteenth century. [5] This work is extracted from a manuscript which the King of France entrusted to the city of Zurich in the year 1752. I will transcribe the sentence which follows "Il m'a encore donné (that is Mr Bodmer_ le receuil de ses tragedies historiques et politiques, ouvrage aussie savant qu'interessant.["] If it had been *son* receuil the meaning of the sentence would have been evident, but the word *savant* Seems to imply that it is a collection of which Mr Bodmer is only the editor; unless being original tragedies they are accompanied with notes. [6]" (235).

**De Selincourt Footnote 4:** *Lettres de M. William Coxe à M. W. Melmoth sur l'état politique, civil, et naturel de la Suisse; traduites de l' Anglois et augmentées des observations faites dan le même pays, par le traducteur* [Ramond de Carbonniéres], Paris, 1781. W. W.'s copy, a second edition in two vols. (Paris, 1782) was in the Rydal Mount sale of his library.

**De Selincourt Footnote 5:** Johann Jakob Bodmer (1698-1783). In 1758 he collaborated with J. J. Breitinger in editing and publishing *Sammlung von Minnesingern . . . Aus der Handschrift der Königlich-Französischen Bibliothek.*

**De Selincourt Footnote 6:** Ramond de Carbonniéres no doubt meant *Politische Schauspiele,* a collection of Bodmer's own plays published in three volumes in 1768-9.

[53] The Bodmer and Breitinger collection allowed "readers...a glimpse into the medieval literature of Germany." See J.G. Robertson, *A History of German Literature.* 223-225., for more information regarding the scholarly controversy between the Bodmer/Breitinger school and the Gottsched school in Leipzig.

Coleridge's next borrowings a week later on February 28 are three texts about the linguistics of the German language.[54] Two of these borrowings are reference sources in Latin: a book of Grammar Tables and a Latin Dictionary of German. In particular, the Latin dictionary, which alphabetically lists German words with a Latin definition, would have been a useful reference tool for Coleridge. Judging by Coleridge's notebook entries during this period, this method of employing his linguistic knowledge of Latin to cross-reference his understanding and learning of the German language was not uncommon.

Indeed, he had applied such a method of Latin cross-referencing in Ratzeburg. In his notebooks Coleridge references his study of German grammar to the Latin equivalent: "Choriambix Glyconian trimeter acatalectic—/. In Latin it consists of in the first line a Spondee, Choriambic, & a Pyrric or Iambic, in the second line, of a Spondee....etc" (*CN* 373 3.15). And Coburn has noted that in order to learn the German language, Coleridge read German works "he already knew well in English" (*CN* notes, 353 3½.121).[55] However, in the case of the Göttingen Latin borrowings, Coleridge was no longer *learning*, but rather *studying* the origins of the German language. Clearly, within the context of the Bodmer and Breitinger borrowing of Minnesinger poetry written in an archaic form of the German language, Coleridge is trying to familiarize himself with the linguistics of expression in use during the Minnesinger period to contextualize his reading of the poetry. This is further supported by the last borrowing before the March hiatus; a detailed and somewhat specialized study of the development of the German language. This German text presents comparative tables charting the linguistic evolution of German words over specific time-periods from the ninth to the fourteenth century.

Clearly, Coleridge's initial five library borrowings in February 1799 are not random, but systematic and testify to an "inter-network" of research being forged from a variety of print-media sources. In starting with the Minnesinger literary period from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, Coleridge begins his study with the roots of German literature. Methodologically, Coleridge cross-references his reading of Minnesinger poetry through a linguistic study of Latin and German reference texts. Lastly, the inter-textual dialogue of the epistolary correspondence with the Wordsworths stimulates and supports Coleridge's literary studies.

---

[54] See entries 3, 4, and 5 in Appendix B. Note that Michaeler's *Tabulae...*(1776) Wachter's *Glossarium Germanicum...* (1737) are both written in Latin. The third text, Willenbücher's *Praktische Anweisung...* (1789) is in German.

[55] See *CNB* 353 3½.121 and *CNB* 354 3½.5.

**Register II: From Meistersinger to the Eighteenth Century**

After the March hiatus Coleridge borrows three texts[56] between April 04 and April 10, but only one of these—von Selchow's *Elements of the German Language*[57]—continues the subject matter of Coleridge's linguistic studies begun in February. Coleridge's borrowing of the first volume of Thomas Warton's *The History of English Poetry from the close of the Eleventh to...Eighteenth Century* appears to contextualize the development of German poetry to English poetry. Volume one ends with the discussion of the poetry of Chaucer. Chronologically this time period is contemporary to Coleridge's previous study of the Minnesinger Period. The Warton borrowing is also the only borrowing at Göttingen in the English language, suggesting that Coleridge used the text for referencing purposes of German and English literature, rather than for linguistic purposes.

During the following eighteen days Coleridge does not borrow at all from the library. His letters to Poole on April 06 and 28 (both dates upon which Coleridge borrows texts) indicate that Coleridge is immersed in transcription. He writes that he is "very busy, very busy indeed!....[but] I stick to my Lessing but I am sorry to tell you, that I find that work as hard as I may I cannot collect all the vast quantity of Materials which I must collect, in less than six weeks" (*CL* 274, 480-481). On April 28 Coleridge states that he "read[s] and transcribe[s] from 8 to 10 hours every day" (*CL* 276, 484). Since not all of Coleridge's notes during this period have survived it is impossible to determine if Coleridge was transcribing solely from his library borrowings. Most likely, the sources of the referred to transcribed information were borrowed from the library or perhaps consulted only in the library. Coleridge's lament cited above about "a work with so great a variety of information from sources so scattered" suggest the thoroughness of his research in following scattered sources and references (*CL* 276, 484). Presumably, Coleridge did not borrow from the library until April 28 when he has completed his transcription of these other sources.

The second phase of Coleridge's literary studies, then, dates from April 28, 1799, to June 16 1799, and concentrates specifically on German literature from the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Coleridge's borrowings during this period become more specialized, focusing on academic and scholarly editions. Although the remaining fifteen borrowings follow Coleridge's chronological study of "an history of the Belles Letters in Germany before the time of Lessing"[58] for the purpose of clarity, I have categorized these borrowings according to area of study as follows:

---

[56] See entries 6, 7, and 8, in Appendix B.

[57] Von Selchow, J. H.C. *Elementa Juris Germanici privati hodierni.* Probably the 7th (1787) or 8th (1795) one-volume edition. Göttingen.

[58] See *CL* 283, to J. Wedgwood, 21 May, 1799, 518.

1. a study of individual German authors prior to Lessing
2. a study of anthologies and scholarly texts on German literature and
3. miscellaneous borrowings

Thematically, the four texts in the miscellaneous category stand out as random borrowings rather than systematic borrowings concerning Coleridge's literary studies. However, these texts remain of interest in regard to the convergence of networks.[59]

**1. The Meistersinger Period: Individual Authors and Inter-textuality**

Coleridge outlines his study of individual authors prior to Lessing in a May 21 letter to Josiah Wedgwood.

> [M]y main Business at Göttingen has been to read...the works of all those German Poets before the time of Lessing, which I *could not*, or could not *afford* to buy— (*CL* 283, 519; Emphasis Coleridge's)

Starting on May 24 Coleridge's selectively borrowed six texts considered either too costly, or not available on the market and therefore exclusive to the print-media holdings at Göttingen. These borrowings concentrate on individual authors and their works such as Hans Sachs (1494-1576), Daniel Caspar Lohenstein (1635-1683), Johann Christoph Wagenseil (1633-1705), and Balthasar Kindermann (1636-1706).[60] The study of these four authors can be categorized as a study of the Meistersinger period: the German guilds of poets during the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. Chronologically, then, these borrowings chart the natural progression from Coleridge's study of the Minnesinger. I will first turn to a discussion of the inter-textual dialogue of Coleridge's rather enthusiastic study of Hans Sachs.

**Hans Sachs**

Coleridge's interest in Hans Sachs during this period has been well-documented. His June, 1799, notebook entry records his visit to Wolfenbüttel in order to research the literary works of Hans Sachs. Some detailed endnotes by Kathleen Coburn are informative about Coleridge's consultation of a Sachs manuscript.[61] Lesser known, perhaps, is Weber's argument about Coleridge's "systematic reading" and inter-textual dialogue of his library borrowings. Coleridge's systematic reading "is indicated by the

---

[59] See entries 9, 10, and 17 in Appendix B.

[60] See entries 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, and 18 in Appendix B.

[61] See 453 3½.38 Notes. "For a full discussion of his reading of Hans Sachs, See *RX* 604n-r; 542-4" (Coburn, 453 3½.38). I.e. Coburn's *RX* refers to: Lowes, John Livingston. *The Road to Xanadu: A Study in the Ways of the Imagination.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1930.

works he [Coleridge] takes up and in his verification of the truthfulness of the content by checking the context of the cited authority" (Weber, 165).[62] Weber supports his argument by tracing several footnoted sources in Coleridge's borrowings to subsequent library borrowings.

For example, Coleridge signs out Solomon Ranish's *Critical Historical Biography of Hans Sachs* on May 24, 1799.[63] On the following day Coleridge borrows the first four volumes of Hans Sachs' *Sehr herrliche schöne Gedicht* edited by Georgia Weller—as well as an additional text in Latin, not listed by Snyder but cited by Weber—Wagenseil's *De Sacri Romani Imperii*.[64] Weber states that the footnotes on page 8 and pages 154 and 155 in the Ranish text respectively cite Wagenseil and Weller.

However, Weber does not develop the implications of this inter-textual dialogue in regard to Coleridge's literary studies. An analysis of the first chapter of Ranish's text, entitled "About the Sources of this Particular History,"[65] reveals that Ranish not only lists the Wagenseil text on page 8, but identifies Wagenseil as one of three *definitive authorities* on Hans Sachs. "Many authors of the previous century" writes Ranish

> have dealt with H. S. [Hans Sachs]. . . .All these books....with which I have become acquainted...[and] consulted....above-all [do] deserve **Wagenseil**....the famous Prof. in Altdorf [sic]...[and] the unmentioned collector of the **poetical masterpieces**...[and] **Herr Schöber**. . . .and...M. Hirsch...to be named with praise... (Ranish, 7-9; Emphasis in the original)[66]

Interestingly, Ranish footnotes the specific Wagenseil edition used in his study: "This particular book of the *Meistersingerkunst* can be found in the 1697 work printed in Altdorf [sic][67] *de civitate Noribergensi*" (Ranish, 8).[68] The immediate borrowing of the

---

[62] "Es ist leicht auf Grund der Entleihungen aus der Universitäts-Bibliothek darzulegen, wie systematisch er bei der Lektüre vorging, Hinweise des einen Werkes aufgriff und sie auf ihren Wahrheitsgehalt wie weiteren Zusammenhang bei der zitierten Autorität nachprüfte" (Weber, 165).

[63] See entry 12 in Appendix B.

[64] See entries 13 and 14 in Appendix B.

[65] "Von den Quellen dieser besondern Geschichte."

[66] "Sehr viele Schriftsteller des vorigen und jetzigen [?] Jahrhunderts haben von H. S. gehandelt....Alle diese Bücher, so viel mir ihrer bekannt geworden sind, habe ich zwar zu Rathe gezogen, um daraus das Wahre sowohl als das Falsche anzuführen; aber vornehmlich verdienen **Wagenseil** (a), der ehemals berühmte Prof. zu Altdorf, der ungenannte Sammler der **poetischen Meisterstücke** (b), Herr Schöber, (c) belobter Bürgermeister und Liebhaber alter Schriften zu Gera, und der bereits 1754 zu Nürnberg verstorbene **Diak. M. Hirsch** (d), mit Ruhme genennet zu werden, weil sie die Geschichte seines Lebens nich nur am wahrhaftesten zu erfahren die beste Gelegenheit, sondern auch am glaubwürdigsten zu beschreiben die lautere Absicht gehabt haben" (Ranish, 7-9).

[67] The correct name and spelling of the town is "Altendorf."

exact 1697 Wagenseil edition the following day suggests that Coleridge is cross-referencing the sources cited by Ranish both for research purposes and perhaps to contextualize Ranish's critical method. I will discuss the significance of the Wagenseil text in regard to Coleridge's study of the Meistersinger in detail momentarily.

Similarly, on page 155, Ranish identifies Weller's five-volume edition of Hans Sachs' poetry, *Sehr herrliche schöne Gedicht*, as "the first attempt [to print] a complete collection. . . of Hans Sachs'" poetry (Ranish, 154-155).[69] Coleridge borrows the first four volumes on May 25 and the fifth volume on May 27. Again, the immediacy of these borrowings on the following day documents Coleridge's seriousness about a thorough study of Hans Sachs which includes a fundamental study of Sachs scholarship.

The inter-textual dialogue of these borrowings credits Coleridge's laments that he lacks time to transcribe "information from sources so scattered" (*CL* 276, 484). Coleridge's systematic cross-referencing of inter-textual dialogues testifies to a thorough and systematic methodology of research. The study of Sachs initiates a network in itself, not only via the inter-textual dialogue, but also of Coleridge's library visit to Wolfenbüttel.

**Lohenstein, Kindermann, and Wagenseil**

Besides Hans Sachs, Coleridge's study of the Meistersinger period also includes Daniel Caspar Lohenstein, Johann Christoph Wagenseil, and Balthasar Kindermann. Texts by these authors are borrowed between May 25, 1799 and June 07, 1799, after which Coleridge concludes his study of the Meistersinger. What is striking about these library borrowings is that they present a detailed and specialized study of primary and scholarly texts.

The Kinderman borrowing, *Der Teutsche Wolredner,* numbers more than 1200 pages with occasional illustrations. The text is divided into three books, which are subsequently divided into chapters. The classification of these books is thematic: *Das erste Buch: Von den Verlöbnissen und Hochzeiten* (Book One: About Engagements and Weddings); *Das zweyte Buch: Von Kindtauffen und Begräbnissen/ auch derselben Zubehör* (Book Two: About Baptisms and Funerals/ and similar accessories); *Das Dritte*

---

[68] "Dessen besonderes Buch von der **Meistersingerkunst** befindet sich in dem zu Altdorf 1697 gedrucktem Werke *de civitate Noribergensi*" (Ranish, 8).

[69] "Der erste Versuch H. S. Gedichte in einer ganzen Sammlung heraus zu geben [sic], ward von **George Willern** (d), belobtem Buchhändler in Augsspurg [sic] in Heußlers (a) Druckeren [sic] unternommen. Mehrere Umstände entdeckt der Titel, unter welchem **das erste Buch**, oder wie wir ißt [sic] zu reden pflegen, **der erste Band** das Licht erblickte. **Sehr Herrlich Schöne und warhaffte Gedicht....**" See also the (d) footnote, regarding Willern and Weller: "Im allgem. Gel. Lex. steht unter dem Wellerischen Namen eine falsche Nachricht, welche, was sowohl den Namen als die Sache selbst betrift, **Hr. Dunkel S.** 541. verbessert hat...." (Ranish 154-155).

*Buch: Von Empfahungs- huldigungs Glückwünschungs und andern/ mehrernteils Statsreden* (Book Three: About Reception and Homage, well-wishings, and other Several State-talk/expressions). Apparently a conduct book, a study of the Kindermann borrowing provides the social context of Meistersinger poetry. Interestingly, the Lohenstein borrowing shifts the genre of Coleridge's literary studies to German drama during the Meistersinger period. The volume contains the tragedies *Agrippina* and *Epicharis* and the play *Ibrahim Sultan*, in addition to several poems. Coleridge's Meistersinger borrowings include some of the major poets as well as different genres.

The Wagenseil borrowing presents the most detailed study of the Meistersinger. While the title of the volume is listed in Latin in the borrowing register as *de Sacri romani Imperii Libera Civatie Noribergensi commentatio* the actual text about the Meistersinger is written in German.[70] Wagenseil was a professor at Altendorf and his volume historicizes the Meistersinger period in extreme detail. The history of the Meistersinger Art is recounted including specific poetic examples. Most interesting is the musical notation illustrating the four performance laws of Meistersinger verse. Clearly, Coleridge's study was detailed and thorough. Coinciding with Coleridge's borrowings about the Meistersinger period are three anthologies of German literature and two texts of scholarly criticism that contextualize the German scholarship of German literature and poetry.

## 2. Scholarly Borrowings and Anthologies

The four borrowings of three anthologies[71] are all of scholarly editions published between 1769 and 1799. These borrowings continue Coleridge's study of individual authors and their works within the eighteenth-century. Interestingly, these texts provide Coleridge with a contemporary scholarly overview of canonized authors and literary works over the previous thirty years.

For example, the John Gottfried Dyck borrowing entitled *Characteristics of the Most Distinguished Poets of All Nations; with Critical and Historical Discourses* (1792)[72] presents an historical overview of poetry from Roman verse to Ewald Christian von Kleist. This volume would have given Coleridge a good overview of the "canonized" poets from the German perspective, as the volume lists individual chapters on Pindar;

---

[70] *Johann Christof Wagenseils Buch von der Meister-Singer holdseligen Kunst. Anfang/Fortübung/ Nußbarkeiten/ und Lehr-sätzen.* English Translation: Johann Christof Wagenseil's Book of the Meistersinger's Golden Art. Origin/Continued Practices/Applications/ and Exercises.

[71] See entries 11, 19, 20 and 21 in Appendix B.

[72] *Charactere der vornehmsten Dichter aller Nationen; nebst kritischen und historischen Abhandlungen...*(1792). The borrowing register lists Coleridge as borrowing this text on May 08, 1799, not on May 03, 1799, as recorded by Snyder in her 1928 article.

Bernard de Fontenelle; Theokrit; Albrecht von Haller; Clement Marot; Catull; and von Kleist.[73]

Interestingly, the text is the supplement volume to Sulzer's *General Theory of the Beautiful Arts*.[74] It is not exactly clear if Coleridge would have consulted the Sulzer text, volume one of which contains an index of terms from A to J dating to 1771. Coleridge may well have consulted the Sulzer volume in the library itself to acquaint himself with the academic vocabulary and terminology used by German scholars in anticipation of his subsequent scholarly borrowings commencing with the afore-mentioned borrowing of Ranish's biography of Hans Sachs on May 24. Regardless, from the Dyck borrowing we can ascertain that Coleridge was studying the history of German poetry from the perspective of contemporary German scholarship.

The other two anthologies borrowed by Coleridge are Christian Heinrich Schmidt's *Biography of Poets* (1769) and Leonhard Meisters' *Characteristics of German Poets, Organized by Time-Period, with Portraits* (1789).[75] Both Schmidt and Meister were scholars; Schmidt a professor at the university in Erfurt and Meister a professor of history. However, as with the previously borrowed anthology about specific authors, it is not documented in Coleridge's notebooks, letters, or other extant documents, which authors were of primary interest to him. Kathleen Coburn hypothesizes that the Meister and Schmidt anthology borrowings could possibly relate to Coleridge's research on Lessing: "nor are there more than two pages about his life in the article on Lessing in either Christoph H. Schmidt's *Nekrolog* (Berlin 1785) or L. Meister's *Characteristik deutscher Dichter* (St Gallen and Leipzig 1789)" (see 377 3½.13 Notes).[76]

The Schmidt borrowing contains a chapter on Ewald von Kleist. Coleridge could possibly be researching the canonization of German poets by cross-referencing the poets listed in the Schmidt and Dyck texts—however, only Ewald von Kleist is mentioned in both volumes. A more likely theory is that a) Coleridge is researching Ewald von Kleist, a friend of Lessing's; b) Coleridge is reading about Lessing's contemporaries to contextualize his subject and; c) Coleridge is familiarizing himself with contemporary German scholarship about poetry.

Moreover, Coleridge borrows Meister's *Characteristik* twice. In her article, A. D. Snyder lists Coleridge as borrowing the Meister volume on June 16, 1799. However, Snyder's list fails to include a previously unidentified borrowing entry for June 10, 1799, which

---

[73] Ewald Christian von Kleist had been a friend of Lessing's at Leipzig.
[74] *Nachträge zu Sulzers allgemeiner Theorie der schönen Künste.*
[75] See entries 19, 20 and 22 in Appendix B.
[76] It is unclear at the time of printing where the reference to Schmidt's *Nekrolog* fits in.

can be positively identified from the borrowing register as " Meisters Charakteristik b2."[77] Since the Meister text is comprised of two volumes, it is most likely that after reading the first volume Coleridge borrows the second six days later.[78] The four anthologies borrowed by Coleridge all provide an overview of canonized poets from the perspective of German scholarship. Clearly, Coleridge was familiarizing himself with contemporary literary scholars active at other university institutions.

All of the borrowings examined so far either pre-date the literary period of Lessing's works, or fail to discuss or analyze Lessing's literary productions and, in Coleridge's own words, study the "controversies, religious & literary, which they [Lessing's works] occasioned." The last two scholarly borrowings, however, are two critical texts directly following Coleridge's proposal—ironically, borrowed a week before Coleridge's departure on June 15 and 16 respectively.[79]

The first borrowing directly related to the *Life of Lessing* is not identified as such in Snyder's article. Snyder lists the borrowing entry "Christian Adolph Klotz's *Leben von Hausen*" and in effect Snyder identifies Klotz as the author of a book entitled "Life of Hausen." However, an analysis traces the source of the borrowing entry to the author Hausen and the text as a life of Klotz. The full record for this borrowing reads as follows:

> Hausen, Carl Renatus. *Life and Character of Sir Christian Adolph Klotz, Royal-Prussian Privy Councillor and Full Professor of World Wisdom[?] and Eloquence [?] at the University of Halle etc. sketched by Sir Carl Renatus Hausen, Full Lecturer of History and Librarian at Frankfurt University etc.* Halle., 1772.[80]

Again, this borrowing is networked via an inter-textual dialogue probably in the Schink biography about Lessing which Coleridge read in Ratzeburg. In his notebook Coleridge records Lessing's conflict with Klotz:

---

[77] See entries 20 and 22 in Appendix B. The entry for June 10, 1799, reads: "Meisters Charakteristik b2." The entry for June 16, 1799, is abbreviated and reads: " Meisters Charact. deutsch. dicht. b2." I am very grateful to Dr. Marianne Henn for identifying the June 10, 1799, borrowing from the Fraktur handwriting in the borrowing register.

[78] However, both entries are recorded as "b2" suggesting the second volume.

[79] See entries 21 and 23 in Appendix B.

[80] Hausen, Carl Renatus. *Leben und Character Herrn Christian Adolph Klotzens, Königlich-Preußischen Geheimen-Raths und ordentlichen Professors der Weltweisheit und Beredsamkeit auf der Universität Halle u.s.w. entworfen von Herrn Carl Renatus Hausen, ordentlichem Lehrer der Geschichte und Bibliothekarius auf der Universität Frankfurt u.s.w.* Halle im Magdeburgischen, Carl Hermann Hemmerde, 1772.

> After these ~~idle~~ unsuccessful Plans came the Controversy with Klotz—& produced the Antiquarischen Briefe, und die Abhandlung—Wie haben die [sic] Alten den Tod gebildet? In the year 1770 Lessing was appointed Librarian at Wolfenbüttel. (*CN* 377 3½.13)

Obviously, Coleridge's interest in Klotz relates solely to this conflict with Lessing. In the late 1760s, Lessing became engaged in a conflict with Klotz, a professor at the University of Halle, about antiquarianism. This intellectual debate directly resulted in Lessing writing and publishing two works in 1769: his *Briefe antiquarischen Inhalts* (1768-69) and *Wie die Alten den Tod gebildet*.[81] With this borrowing Coleridge is researching Klotz's character and arguments to contextualize Lessing's responses as well as the "controversies, religious & literary, which...[Lessing's works] occasioned".[82] Clearly, Coleridge's research of Lessing follows an outline and is supported by the inter-textual dialogue of notes made in Ratzeburg.

Coleridge's very last borrowing was Christian Gottfried Schütz's *About Lessing's Genius and Writings*[83]—ironically the only scholarly borrowing that specifically discusses Lessing and his work. This 1782 text, published a year after Lessing's death, is a collection of three scholarly lectures about Lessing's poetry by Schütz, Professor of Poetry at Jena. This text marks the beginning of Coleridge's "official" study of Lessing, but ironically also the end of his literary studies and his library borrowings from the Göttingen library.

While the content of Coleridge's borrowings all concern a systematic and chronological study of German literature and language, the scholarly approaches of these borrowings testify to Coleridge's close analysis of methodology. His preference for scholarly texts written by both contemporary professors and early eighteenth-century professors illustrates his preference for academic method. Moreover, he contextualizes this method by cross-referencing footnotes, as well as his own notes, thereby establishing an inter-textual dialogue which forges an "inter-network" of other borrowings.

---

[81] See J.G. Robertson, *A History of German Literature*. "While in Hamburg, he [Lessing] had become involved in a conflict with a professor of the University of Halle, Christian Adolf Klotz (1738-71), who had a reputation as an authority on antiquarian questions. This resulted in two volumes of *Briefe antiquarischen Inhalts* (1768-69), which were followed in 1769 by the beautiful little study on *Wie die Alten den Tod gebildet*, in which he rejects the orthodox symbol of death as a dreadful skeleton, and replaces it by the beautiful brother of sleep envisaged by the Ancients; thus making man's end as dignified and beautiful as the Enlightenment dreamed his life could be" (Robertson, 262).

[82] See Coburn's notes to CNB 377 3½.13 regarding Coleridge's notebook entry about Johann Friedrich Schink's biography about Lessing. Other literary figures mentioned in addition to Klotz are: Nicolai & Mendelssohn and "Ramler, Meil, Premontval, Sulzer, König, and Süssmilch, increased the List of Lessing's acquaintance in Berlin."

[83] *Über Gotthold Ephraim Lessings Genie und Schriften.*

### 3. Miscellaneous Borrowings

Lastly, a brief word about Coleridge's miscellaneous borrowings—four texts which do not appear to directly relate to his systematic and methodological study of German language and literature.[84] Coleridge's interest in travel writing is well-known, and two of his borrowings are travel accounts. The borrowing entry for April 28, 1799, lists "Peregrinatio Thesis &c," which Snyder footnotes as the correct title of the text: "Careful work on the handwriting....convinces Dr. Buddecke that the foregoing reading is correct" (Snyder, 378). Dr. Buddecke further identifies the borrowing as "a travel account or a discourse about travel writing" (Snyder, 378).[85] However, a positive identification of the full title of this borrowed text remains unknown.

Similarly, Coleridge's borrowing on June 06, 1799, is another travel writing text: Friederich Dominicus Ring's *About the Journey of the Züricher [Breytopfes ?] to Strasburg in 1576* (1787).[86] Weber cites another example of inter-textual dialogue on page 68 of the Ring text linking it to the Meister borrowing on June 10, 1799. Interestingly, this page mentions Meister's *Characteristik* as a chronological study of the characters of the German poets, and clearly is a travel text interfused with discussions about literature.[87]

The two remaining miscellaneous borrowings consist of magazine-style collections of articles. On May 03, 1799, Coleridge borrows three volumes of the *Deutsches Museum*. Published at Leipzig at two volumes a year it is impossible to determine what volumes were consulted and/or read by Coleridge as these range from 1776-1788 (Snyder, 378). What is of interest upon a brief glance through these volumes is that Göttingen faculty members are well-represented in the articles published. The Göttingen link is evident as Heyne, Feder and Lichtenberg are listed in the table of contents.

Coleridge's borrowing of volume one of *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquités de Cassel* (1780) appears puzzling at first when one recalls that he did not know the French language. However, this magazine contains many articles in the German language. The subject matter of one article is of particular interest because it deals specifically with the history of the Bauern which is recorded in detail by Coleridge in his letter to Wedgwood. This article entitled "A Comparison of the Former and Contemporary State of the

---

[84] See entries 6, 9, 10 and 17 in Appendix B.

[85] "'Wohl eine Reisebeschreibung oder eine Abhandlung über Reisebeschreibungen.'" (Snyder, 378). Snyder further adds that "Under the heading 'Peregrinatio' in the Göttingen catalogue I found entries with cross-references to *Purchas: His Pilgrimage*, but none that served to identify the foregoing" (Snyder, 378).

[86] See entry 17 in Appendix B: *Über die Reise des Züricher Breytopfes nach Strasburg vom Jahr 1576.*

[87] Ring writes: "...und Meister in seiner erst in diesem Jahre zu Zürich herausgekommenen Charakteristik deutscher Dichter, nach der Zeitordnung gereihet, mit Bildnissen von Heinrich Pfenninger Th. I. S. 93 ff. die ich zum Glücke, so wie Bodmers Sammlung, vor mir liegen habe und daher noch eines und das andre ausheben kann" (Ring, 68).

German Peasants" (i.e.Bauern)[88] follows a similar history as Coleridge's letter about the Bauern to Wedgwood. Both letter and article begin with the historical context of the state of vassalage under Roman and Greek governments; focus on the issue of class; and the development of feudalism. Coleridge lists four main issues to the development of the "oppressive Vassalage universal" in Germany (*CL* 271, 467-468). Likewise, on pages 269-272, the article lists four main developments on the state of the Bauers in Germany. While it is clear that Coleridge has not transcribed the article verbatim, it is very possible that he may be working from memory. This would suggest that the *Mémoires* borrowing was part of his research on the Bauers, or perhaps that he had read the text already in Ratzeburg and borrowed it again to refresh his memory.

Clearly, the *Mémoires* borrowing presents itself as the possible, and previously unidentified, source for the "Bauer Letter" to Wedgwood. Coleridge borrows the text immediately after the March hiatus on April 04, 1799. The "Bauer Letter" to Wedgwood is usually dated circa February 1799, but Griggs supplies the following note:

> As early as 4 January 1799 Coleridge planned to send Josiah Wedgwood 'in a few days' a series of letters on the history of the Bauers (Letter 269); again on 21 May he wrote to Wedgwood that he had lying by his side 'six huge *Letters*', all but one having been written the three months previously. He had planned to send them by a Cambridge man, Hamilton, whom he had met at Göttingen on 16 February, but Hamilton's departure being delayed, Coleridge decided to carry them to England himself (Letters 272 and 283). The next we hear of these letters is on 1 November 1800, when Coleridge told Wedgwood that they would soon be published in a volume of his German tour. To save the labour of transcription he had sent them off to the printers as they were written, 'your name of course erased' (Letter 362). No such publication appeared, and the following letter, numbered I on the manuscript, is all that survives of Coleridge's history of the Bauers." (Note to: *CL* 271, 464).

It is unclear from Griggs' note when the surviving "Bauer Letter" was written or sent. Since Griggs's source of the letter is the manuscript prepared for publication in 1800, it appears that Griggs dates the letter to February 1799 because that is when Hamilton was to carry such letters with him to England. Therefore, it is quite possible that the "Bauer Letter" *was written after* the *Mémoires* borrowing on April 04, 1799. The significance of the possibility of the source for the "Bauer Letter" existing in a Göttingen library borrowing is that it presents the first and earliest example of Coleridge disseminating information acquired via his private print-media information network by forging a new network via a letter, which aims for later publication in a volume about the German tour.

---

[88] Runde, Friedrich Justus. "Vergleichung des ehemahligen und heutigen Zustandes der deutschen Bauern. In *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquités de Cassel*. Vol. I. Cassel, 1780. 255-272.

Therefore, from the discussion about the inter-textual dialogues of these Göttingen borrowings, it is clear that Coleridge forged his own private print-media information "inter-network" to accommodate his methodological study of German language and literature, as well as research for his projected *Life of Lessing*. Moreover, upon his return journey to England from Göttingen, Coleridge detours to the libraries at Wolfenbüttel and Helmstedt to further research Lessing and Sachs and extend his research network.[89]

Coleridge's library borrowings present an excellent example of forging a private print-media information "inter-network" via the library network at the university of Göttingen. What is significant is that the private print-media information "inter-network" of library borrowings is forged through a convergence of other networks. These consist of those created by Coleridge such as the his epistolary network of correspondence and the inter-textual dialogue between texts, as well as institutional and cosmopolitan networks such as the university library itself. Coleridge is able to manage these networks to suit his own purpose of systematic research of German literature and Lessing. Through the use of his library privileges, the library catalogues, the inter-textual dialogue of footnotes, letters and his own notes, Coleridge systematically and methodologically researches German language and literature and is able to contextualize Lessing's career against this backdrop. In other words, Coleridge's print-media "inter-network" successfully completes the research phase of his proposed plan on January 04, 1799, to research "a Life of Lessing...interweaved with...a true state of German Literature, in it's rise & present state."

Before I turn to a discussion of the implications of such a private print-media information network in the eighteenth century, I want to briefly discuss the influential network of the Göttingen milieu upon Coleridge, which like the library, was distinctively cosmopolitan. In fact, both the library and university at Göttingen operate as a unique cultural moment because the cosmopolitan milieu fosters and supports the cross-cultural elements of Coleridge's private print-media networks. Juxtaposed against the success of the research process of German language and literature facilitated by Coleridge's successful print-media "inter-network," the failure to produce the projected *Life of Lessing* becomes a separate issue from the 130 days of Coleridge's second university career. Rather, this failure is related not to Göttingen, but to the domestic problems of cross-cultural dissemination of the information Coleridge collected via his private print-media network upon his return to England. As we will see in section four to this chapter, a reception of cross-cultural dissemination was not to be forthcoming upon Coleridge's return to England.

---

[89] The "Lessing Haus" in Wolfenbüttel lists the famous visitors to the library. Coleridge is the last entry on this list dated 1799.

# III
# The Contemporary Milieu of the Göttingen Circa 1799

**Von Brandes and the Georgia Augusta Universtät Cosmopolitan Mileu**

Coleridge met Ernst von Brandes in Hanover on February 09, 1799, who writes him a "complimentary" letter of introduction. Indeed, Coleridge informs us that he "reasoned against the doctrine of Rights in the Presence of von Brandes, who is an Author & a vehement aristocrat, & so delighted him that he has written me a complimentary letter—" (*CL* 272, 471-472). While Coleridge is probably overstating his discussion with von Brandes somewhat to his own advantage, the result of the meeting was a complimentary letter which guaranteed Coleridge's matriculation at the Georgia Augusta Universtät in Göttingen. Not only was von Brandes the brother-in-law of Heyne, but as "the Secretary of State & Governor of the Göttingen University" von Brandes actively supported a cosmopolitan milieu at the university. Coleridge would certainly have been a welcome, if not an ideal, addition to von Brandes' cosmopolitan policies.

Under his direction, von Brandes lauds the cosmopolitan networks and milieu at the University of Göttingen welcoming both foreign students and influence. In issues 11 to 29 of the *Hannoverischen Magazin* in 1802 von Brandes published a synopsis about the present state of the University of Göttingen outlining the successes and policies of the university. Also published in book format under the title, *About the Contemporary State of the University of Göttingen* (1802),[90] von Brandes' discourse outlines the contemporary situation of the university during the period of Coleridge's visit. Specifically, the discussion aims to illustrate the educational advantages for students instructed at the university (10). I will briefly present the highlights of von Brandes' discussion in regard to the cosmopolitan milieu of the univerisity from which Coleridge certainly profited.

Naturally the volume praises the innovation, international reputation, and scholarly accomplishments of the university.[91] Von Brandes celebrates the high number of foreign and famous students (certainly Coleridge would fall into these categories) at the university.

---

[90] *Über den gegenwärtigen Zustand der Universität Göttingen.*

[91] "Wie Göttingen noch von keiner andern Universität übertroffen ist, so bleibt Göttingen auch der Ruhm, daß das Wichtigste und Gründlichste, was über Universitäten gesagt worden, von Göttingischen Gelehrten herrührt. Außer dem eben angeführten klassischen Werke und einzelnen scharfsichtigen Blicken und Winken, die gelegentlich in den Göttingischen gelehrten Anzeigen vorkommen, ist das aus vier Theilen bestehende Räsonnement über die protestantischen Universitäten in Deutschland des Geh. Justizraths Michaelis, das Hauptbuch über den Gegenstand" (von Brandes, 14).

> No German university in our times can count so many respected foreigners among its students as at Göttingen.....In Jena the university of a smaller area, the number of foreigners must be very considerable, if this university maintains a respected number of students. I have the lists of this university for Michaelis 1800 before me, and find, that under the total count of 536 students are 391 foreigners and 145 state-born....The Göttingen lists for 1801 state that among 701 students are found 456 foreigners. Göttingen then has the largest count of foreign students among the larger universities, a total that for a long while has made up two-thirds of its academic population. (85-85).... The number of foreign travellers passing through which stop in Göttingen has...increased extraordinarily over the past years. No other city in this local state can boast of the visit of so many travellers, because none have so many sights worth seeing. The amount of time these visits of travellers cause the scholars in Göttingen, is considerably more, as in the not too distant times. (213-214)[92]

Although boastful, this passage presents an informative contemporary perspective on the cosmopolitan milieu of the university during Coleridge's visit. First of all it should be clarified that von Brandes definition of foreign students (literally Ausländer) is not based on nationality—i.e. German or English—but rather upon regionality: Hanoverian or non-Hanoverian. The figure of 456 foreign students out of total of 701 translates into 65% of the students being from outside of the state of Hanover. However, English students were very well-represented in this number.

Secondly, the passage clearly presents the university of Göttingen as a cosmopolitan network of knowledge. Not only does the fame of its scholars and academics attract almost a pilgrimage of travellers, but the university also encourages foreign travellers to participate in the exchange with the university and its faculty members. Clearly, von

---

[92] "Keine deutsche Universität hat aber in unsern Zeiten so viele und so angesehene Ausländer unter den Studirenden aufzuzählen, als Göttingen.... In Jena, der Universität kleiner Gebiete, muß die Anzahl der Ausländer sehr beträchtlich seyn, wenn diese Universität irgend eine etwas ansehnliche Frequenz behauptet. Ich habe die Listen dieser Universität von Michaelis 1800 vor mir, und finde, daß unter der gesammten Zahl von 536 Studirenden sich 391 Ausländer und 145 Landeskinder befinden. Von Halle, die besuchteste unter den 5 Universitäten einer großen Monarchie, hat der Hr. Oberconsistorialrath Gedicke die Listen von Ostern 1799 mitgetheilt. Unter 720 Studirenden waren daselbst nur 76 Ausländer. Von Göttingen ergeben die Listen von 1801, daß unter 701 Studirenden sich 456 Ausländer antrafen. Göttingen [hat] also die größte Zahl studirender Ausländer unter den größern Universitäten, eine Zahl die seit lange zwei Drittel seiner akademischen Bevölkerung ausmachte" (von Brandes, 85-87).
"Die Zahl der Durchreisenden und Fremden, die sich in Göttingen aufhalten, hat sich seit der Erweiterung und Vervollkommnung dieser Anstalten in den letzten Jahren außerordentlich vermehrt. Keine andere Stadt in dem hiesigen Lande kann sich des Besuchs so vieler Reisenden rühmen, weil keine so viel Sehenswürdiges aufzuweisen hat. Der Zeitaufwand, den die Besuche der Reisenden jetzt den Gelehrten in Göttingen verursachen, ist ungemein viel beträchtlicher, als in noch nicht sehr entfernten vorigen Zeiten" (von Brandes, 213-214).

Brandes praises the cosmopolitan atmosphere at Göttingen as unique to the city and the university. Thirdly, Coleridge's travels perfectly fit von Brandes' profile. Coleridge is a respected foreign poet (the presentation of *Osorio* to von Döring would have secured this reputation) who is travelling to the university to study and interact with its famous professors. Moreover, Coleridge is a student who is travelling through Göttingen—his studies being part of a larger journey. In short, Coleridge's situation is not unlike that of many other foreign students at Göttingen, however, in application of knowledge his second university career is exemplary. Not many students, native or foreign, enjoyed the favour of Blumenbach or received complimentary letters from von Brandes. Coleridge took the opportunity and forged it to suit his own purposes.

As cited above, Richard Holmes has argued that Coleridge's identity was shaped by the cosmopolitan influence of the university. Interestingly, Coleridge's definition of himself upon enrollment is decidedly cosmopolitan. Coleridge matriculated to the university on February 16, 1799[93]—the end of the Michaelis 1798 - Ostern 1799 semester—one of 681 students. The figure rises slightly to 693 students for the Ostern 1799 to Michaelis 1799 period. The registers for these periods list: a) the names of enrolled students; b) date of registration; c) country of origin; d) name of lodger and street address in Göttingen; e) and area of study. The register for Ostern - Michaelis 1799 sub-divided the total number of students into individual faculties, as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| The available students exist of | | |
| 1. | Theology | 127 |
| 2. | Law | 340 |
| 3. | Medicine | 103 |
| 4. | Mathematic, Philosophy, Philology, History and Free Arts[94] | 123 |

Coleridge eschews all of these existing faculty categorizations and defines himself as a "humanist" upon matriculation. While the study areas for most enrolled students read either "theol," "med," "jur,"—for example Carlyon is listed as "phys" and Chester as

---

[93] Note that the Göttingen register dates Coleridge's matriculation on February 16, 1799. Coleridge's letters identify February 14, 1799, as the date of matriculation: "The next day I took out my Matricula & commenced Student of the University of Gottingen" (*CL* 272, 475). Presumably, Coleridge matriculated on February 14, but his matriculation was not officially recorded in the register until February 16.

[94] So hat sich die Anzahl ? um 12 Stud.
Die vorhandenen Studirenden bestehen aus
1. Theologen [Theology] 127
2. Juristen [Law] 340
3. Medicinern [Medicine] 103
4. Mathem., Philos., Philol. Decon., Histor., und freye Künste 123

"hist"—Coleridge's study area is clearly listed as "hum"—presumably for humanist.[95] The motivation for Coleridge's categorization specifically as a "humanist" instead of under one of the generic categories, or even the open category of "Free Art" (freye Künste) are not exactly clear. Perhaps Coleridge was not fully aware that the classification of "humanities" belonged under the faculty of "Philosophy." It is very likely, however, that this identification with humanism defines Coleridge's wide range of interests upon matriculation. Moreover, it further supports the argument presented in this chapter and Chapter Three that Coleridge still very much thought of himself as a poet with literary interests, instead of a philosopher, philologist, metaphysician, or other identities foregrounded by literary critics during this period of his intellectual development.

In fact, Coleridge's humanist identification perfectly suits von Brandes' argument about the "spirit of cosmopolitanism" that is fostered at the university of Göttingen. Von Brandes argues that the German universities are not intended to be national universities, such as they had become in England, but rather developed to promote the best of human knowledges from a wide-range of influences.[96] It should be noted that the educational reform of the university system by Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835) upon humanist and nationalistic principles was not implemented until 1810 with the founding of the University of Berlin. While von Humboldt's university system has functioned somewhat as a mythological framework (commonly referred to as the *Mythos Humboldt*) for the interpretation and historicizing of the "modern German research university," this paradigm cannot be applied to the University of Göttingen in 1799.[97]

First, the University of Göttingen was subject to the authority of the state of Hanover, not Prussia, where von Humboldt was Minister of Education. Second, as noted by von

---

[95] See MS *Verzeichniß der Studierenden von Michaelis 1795 bis Ostern 1801.* 4° COD. MS Hist. Litt. 106 VII, in the Handschriften Abteilung at the Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek in Göttingen.

[96] "Die deutschen Universitäten sind nicht darauf angelegt, nur National-Universitäten des Staats, zu dem sie gehören, zu seyn, wie es die englischen Universitäten allmählich geworden sind. Diese Betrachtung ist sehr wichtig, wegen der Folgen, die aus ihr hervorgehen" (von Brandes, 87).

[97] See Ash, Mitchell G. Ed. *German Universities: Past Present and Future: Crisis or Renewal?* Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1997. This collection of essays discusses "...whether the ideal of the modern German research university, formulated in the early nineteenth century and later summarized evocatively in the slogans...'unity of teaching and research," was actually the sole creation of its reputed author, Wilhelm von Humboldt" (Ash, ix). Moreover, Coleridge's definition as a "humanist" is also a declaration of independence from church and state. Ash notes that "According to Kant, [his "late work of 1798 on the 'Dispute of the Faculties'] because church and state norms dominated the free faculties (theology, law, and medicine), it was necessary that 'to ensure a general learned education there should exist a further faculty that, with respect to its teachings, was independent of government, a faculty that had not orders to give but that was free to judge everything relevant to the interest of science, i.e., relevant to truth'" (Ash, 9). Clearly, Göttingen's Philosophy/Free Arts Faculty categorization fulfilled such an independent function.

Brandes, the University of Göttingen implemented research principles on a cosmopolitan, not nationalistic, scale. This distinction is crucial:

> The spirit of cosmopolitanism must also visit, so to speak, its own German universities, because not only do different constitutions exist in the common German state, but in the states live non-Germans who visit our universities which is above-all frequently the particular case in Göttingen. That the "citizen of the world"-spirit among the Scholars/Academics, in regard to the sharing of discoveries and knowledge, produces a very charitable effect for academia, needs no proof. Academia belongs not to one individual state, nor one nation, but belongs to the entire humanity. (87-88)[98]

As Richard Holmes notes above, Coleridge's "whole notion of 'criticism'...was to be European rather than English." However, this extends deeper than a continental conception of criticism and philosophy. Coleridge's second university career was European because international networks converged at Göttingen and fostered a cosmopolitan milieu decidedly different from his first university days at Cambridge. The English system favoured national universities such as Oxford and Cambridge which were decidedly English, rather than cosmopolitan, or European. Beddoes's criticism of the lack of European and foreign texts at Oxford testifies to this development. Therefore, it is not surprising that Coleridge openly defined himself as a humanist in such a "humanistic" environment.

In contrast to the English universities, the university of Göttingen aimed to be an European network of education and scholarship for the development of a cross-cultural humanism, rather than a nationalistic knowledge or education. It is therefore no wonder that Coleridge's critical faculties are "European rather than English." Coleridge's interest in Count von Rumford's educational reforms would certainly acquiesce with von Brandes'

---

[98] "Ein Geist des Cosmopolitismus muß also gewissermaßen den deutschen Universitäten eigen seyn, da nicht allein das gemeinsame deutsche Vaterland Staaten von den unterschiedensten Verfassungen in sich begreift, sondern auch nicht Deutsche, wie dieses namentlich in Göttingen so äußerst häufig der Fall ist, unsere Universitäten besuchen. Daß der Weltbürgergeist unter den Gelehrten, in Rücksicht der Mittheilung der gemachten Entdeckungen und Kenntnisse, sehr wohltätige Wirkungen für die Wissenschaften äußert, bedarf keines Beweises. Die Wissenschaften gehören nicht einem einzelnen Staate, einer Nation, sie gehören der gesammten Menschheit an" (von Brandes, 87-88).
See also: "Was der menschliche Geist bei der weit größern Zahl, die hernach gar keine Gelegenheit haben, Menschen aus andern Ländern zu sehen, durch die allein in den Universitätsjahren gemachten Bekanntschaften mit Jünglingen von andern Nationen oder aus andern Staaten gewinnt, ist wirklich weit mehr, als man gewöhnlich berechnet; aber vollends ganz unschätzbar ist der Vortheil für die Ausbreitung und Cultur der Wissenschaften, der daraus entsteht, daß auf unsern deutschen Universitäten, so wenig Lehrer als Lernende, aus einer Provinz sind, sondern, vorzüglich in Göttingen, was die ersten betrifft, fast aus allen Staaten Deutschlands, und was die zweiten anlangt, fast aus allen gebildeten Nationen sich Menschen finden" (von Brandes, 91-92).

policy that "a university should be an institution for the scholarly development of all nations (117-118).[99] Indeed as we have seen, at Göttingen the "spirit of cosmopolitanism" and "international humanism" was incorporated on numerous levels including lectures, professors, students, the faculty/disciplines themselves, and the library holdings. Within this environment Coleridge was clearly exposed not only to German texts and education, but to a knowledge and education with a wide variety of origins; which remained, nonetheless, primarily accessible through the German culture and language.

Moreover, being a foreign student would have aided Coleridge in understanding a German critical method fostered by an amalgamation of European knowledge. Clearly, Coleridge was a perfect fit for the cosmopolitan milieu and policies of international instruction at the university of Göttingen at the turn of the century. We have seen how Coleridge forged a private print-media information network via the cosmopolitan holdings of the library. A similar network is indirectly cultivated via the faculty of the university.

**Göttingen's Professorial (Textual) Networks and Coleridge**

Lastly, a brief word about Coleridge's interaction with the Göttingen faculty. Many critics have argued about the influence of specific professors upon Coleridge's intellectual development—specifically his pre-occupation with German philosophy in later life. Moreover, it is well-known that Coleridge attended the lectures of professors Eichhorn and Blumenbach.

In his chapter on the German influence upon Coleridge's thought, "The Legacy of Göttingen: Coleridge's Response to German Philology" (1986), James McKusick acknowledges Coleridge's attraction to "the prospect of personal acquaintance with scholars of the calibre of Heyne, Benecke, Eichhorn, and Blumenbach" (54). McKusick states that through "Heyne, Coleridge is likely to have been exposed to the thought of Herder" (55). Benecke "instructed Coleridge in the history of the German language" (55). Coleridge himself cites Tychsen in *Biographia Literaria* as an influence in his study of "the transitional state of the Teutonic language from the Gothic to the old

---

[99] That a university should be an institution for the scholarly development of all nations, is just for those for whom this purpose is most attainable, in Göttingen, where already over two-thirds of the students are foreigners, at least it is exactly this performance of the educated state-schools that is adopted, and with success this is accomplished (von Brandes, 117-118).
See: "Da eine Universität eine Anstalt zur gelehrten Bildung für alle Nationen seyn soll, so ist es gerade bei derjenigen, die diesen Zweck am meisten erreicht, in Göttingen, wo stets über zwei Drittel der Studirenden Ausländer sind, am wenigsten genau dem Vortrage auf den gelehrten Landesschulen angepaßt, in einer Folge mit diesen gesetzt werde" (von Brandes, 117-118).

German of the Swabian period. [*BL*, I: 207-209]" (McKusick, 55). McKusick particularly focuses on the influence of Michaelis—an author whom, as stated in Chapter Three, Coleridge was already interested in as early as 1796—upon Coleridge's development of the concept of philology. However, such an analysis of the Göttingen period as a developing influence upon Coleridge's later-day work, such as *Biographia Literaria* is not the aim of this present section because this has already been done elsewhere; most notably by McKusick and other literary critics;[100] and perhaps most ignominiously by Fruman who traces Coleridge's "unacknowledged borrowings." To trace the influence or origins of Coleridge's later-day thought to the Göttingen faculty is a study beyond the scope of this dissertation.

However, what I do think is worthy of note is Coleridge's interaction with professorial networks of the faculty members at Göttingen in 1799. Specifically, I will foreground the faculty members contemporary to Coleridge's second university career whose books Coleridge is known to have read or owned. Walter Jackson Bate in *Coleridge* (1970) comments that until Göttingen Coleridge

> had not known before that men with this range of competence existed in these numbers-at least a dozen of them at each of the major German universities. What psychologist would now call his "body-image"—*his sense of identity*, of himself—was to incorporate some of these ideals more firmly in the years after his return. (Bate, 93; Emphasis mine)

Certainly, Coleridge could hold his own amongst the professors and scholarship he encountered at Göttingen. A more accurate term to define Bate's point of "body-image" would be Coleridge's heightened sense of confidence in his abilities due to the support of his interests in a cosmopolitan environment of scholarship. Coleridge interacted more frequently with specific professors than others. Particularly of interest is Coleridge's textual cultivation of a scholarly network of exchange via the texts he acquires published by these faculty members.

In his introduction to *Coleridge's Library: A Bibliography of Books Owned or Read by Samuel Taylor Coleridge* (1987), Ralph J. Coffmann briefly re-constructs the books owned and/or read by Coleridge with the publications of professors at the Georgia Augusta University at Göttingen. Coffman states that his

---

[100] See Kathleen Coburn's notes. Willoughby's "Coleridge as a Philologist." A.C. Dunstan, "The German Influence on Coleridge," *MLR* 18 (1923): 194-96. And Ashton, Rosemary. *The German Idea: Four English Writers and the Reception of German Thought 1800-1860.*
McKusick's note: "On Coleridge's decision to study at Göttingen instead of Jena, See Shaffer, '*Kubla Khan' and the Fall of Jerusalem*, p. 29. Colerige's annotations to the works of Blumenbach and Eichhorn are printed in *Marginalia*. I: 535-41, and II: 369-520." (McKusick, 158).

> reconstruction of Coleridge's familiarity with the variety of Göttingen professors' research and teaching enhances our appreciation of Coleridge's intellectual indebtedness to the university. Coleridge's stay at Göttingen from October 1798 to August 1799,[101] although brief, had a lasting impact on his intellectual development and established him as one of the most knowledgeable Englishmen of German contributions to learning. (xviii)

However, Coffman fails to fully reconstruct Coleridge's familiarity with the contemporary milieu at Göttingen. While scholars in both the English and the German language have individually discussed Coleridge's Göttingen studies in part, a collective approach to Coleridge's documented interaction with the faculty network at Göttingen has been lacking. I will briefly sketch the extent of this network.

As noted above, the Georgia Augusta University was comprised of the following four faculties: The Faculty of Theology; Faculty of Law; Faculty of Medicine; and the Faculty of Philosophy.[102] With the exception of the classification of Teaching Assistants (Lektoren) in foreign languages, the membership of each faculty was divided into three main categories: Full Professor (Ordentlicher Professor); Associate Professor (Außerordentlicher Professor) and Instructors, or outside lecturers, (Privatdozenten).

The contemporary faculties during the period of Coleridge's studies can be categorized as follows:

---

[101] Note that Coffmann's dates are incorrect. After a stay of four months in Ratzeburg (Sept. 30, 1798 - Feb. 06, 1799) Coleridge arrived in Göttingen on February, 12, 1799. On February, 14, 1799, Coleridge enrolled himself to the Georgia Augusta University in Göttingen. On Monday, June, 24, 1799, Coleridge departed from Göttingen and begins his journey back to England.

[102] "Der wirklichen Stellen in die akademischen Würden ertheilenden Fakultäten giebt es in Göttingen folgende: 1) drei in der theologischen Fakultät, 2) vier in der juristischen, 3) drei in der medicinischen und 4) acht in der philosophischen Fakultät. Diese Stellen werden sämmtlich von dem Curatorio vergeben. Zuweilen theilt das Curatorium eine wirkliche Stelle unter mehrere Beisitzer, oder ernennt außerordentliche Mitglieder in diesen Fakultäten. Gegenwärtig beträgt die Zahl sämmtlicher Mitglider 19. Diese 19 formiren den akademischen Senat oder das Concilium *) [Footnote: In dem Hannoverischen Staatskalender sind seit einigen Jahren die Mitglieder namentlich aufgeführt, eine sehr gute Einrichtung für die Führung der Geschäfte], welches allein die Universität repräsentirt, über die Angelegenheiten der Universität berathschlägt, und über alle schwere Strafen, Relegationen, Leib- und Lebensstrafen erkennt" (von Brandes, 60-61).

**Table 4-1**[103]

| Faculty | Full Professor | Associate Professor | Outside Lecturer | Total Faculty Members |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Theology | 3 | 0 | 3 | 6 |
| Law | 8 | 2 | 9 | 19 |
| Medicine | 8 | 1 | 5 | 14 |
| Philosophy | 15 | 8 | 12 | 35 |
| **Total:** | **34** | **11** | **29** | **74** |

In addition to Blumenbach (1752-1840; Full Professor, Medicine) and Eichhorn (1752-1827; Full Professor, Philosophy), Coleridge owned or read books by five other Georgia Augusta faculty members. These include: Christian Gottlob Heyne (1729-1812; Full Professor, Philosophy); Georg Christoph Lichtenberg (1742-1799; Full Professor, Philosophy); Christian Meiners (1747-1810; Full Professor, Philosophy); Gottlieb Jakob Planck (1751-1833; Full Professor, Theology); and Friedrich Wilken (1777-1840; outside lecturer, Theology). All these seven faculty members were direct contemporaries of Coleridge during his tenure at the university.[104]

Coffmann lists a total of twenty texts by these seven faculty members that Coleridge either owned or read. Interestingly, fifteen texts were either a) published before or in 1799; b) re-published editions of pre-1799 texts; c) or a text published immediately after Coleridge's departure (i.e. 1800)—suggesting that these were in the process of being

---

[103] This data was compiled from: Arnim, Max. *Corpus Academicum Gottingense (1737-1928)*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1930. The faculty members whose tenure started and/or ended in 1799 were included in compiling this data. Please note that this does not exclude the possibility that some of the faculty may have been absent from campus during the period of Coleridge's studies. With the exception of Georg Lichtenberg—who died on February 24, 1799, ten days after Coleridge's enrollment—the records only specify the year and not the month of a Faculty Members inclusion.

[104] 1) **Johan Friedrich Blumenbach. (1752-1840).** Associate Professor Arzneiwissenschaft and Medicine; Full Professor, Faculty of Medicine, 1778-1840.

2) **Johann Gottfried Eichhorn. (1752-1827).** Full Professor Oriental Languages, Faculty of Philosophy, 1788-1827.

3) **Christian Gottlob Heyne. (1729-1812).** Full Professor of classical philology, Faculty of Philosophy 1763-1812; and Director of the University Library (1763-1812).

4) **Georg Christoph Lichtenberg. (1742-1799).** Associate Professor of Mathematics and Experimental Physics 1770-1775; Full Professor 1775-1799, Faculty of Philosophy. Died on February 24, 1799, ten days after Coleridge's arrival.

5) **Christian Meiners. (1747-1810).** Associate Professor of Philosophy (history of civilization) 1772-1775; Full Professor 1775-1810, Faculty of Philosophy.

6) **Gottlieb Jakob Planck. (1751-1833).** Professor of Theology. 1784-1833, Faculty of Theology.

7) **Friedrich Wilken. (1777-1840).** Instructor. Theology. 1800-1803, Faculty of Theology.

published during Coleridge's stay in Göttingen[105] and that during this period Coleridge had become familiar with these texts. Out of the five post-1799 texts, three texts are works by Blumenbach and two texts are by Eichhorn. This suggests that Coleridge continued his study of their research after his departure from Göttingen, but not of the other faculty members whose work he had become acquainted with.

Such emphasis on Coleridge's continued study misleadingly overstates the influence of Blumenbach and Eichhorn, and overshadows the immediate and collective influence of the Göttingen faculty in 1799. Three of the six Blumenbach texts Coleridge owned or read are different editions of the same volume. Coleridge owned Blumenbach's *D. Jo. Frid. Blvmenbachii institvtiones physiologicae* (1798), written in Latin, as well as two English translations of this text: *The Institutions of Physiology, Fred. Blumenbach....translated from the Latin and third edition*, printed by Bensley in 1815 and 1817. Clearly, Coleridge's interest in Blumenbach's research is centred around the exposure of his initial studies at Göttingen in 1799. Similarly, Coleridge acquires only two post-1799 Eichhorn texts. Out of the total of twenty texts then, only three texts actually date from the post-Göttingen (published after 1801) period.

**Table 4-2**

| **Faculty Member** | **Books owned/read by Coleridge** | **Publication date** |
|---|---|---|
| Blumenbach | 6 | 1798; 1798*; 1799; 1815*; 1817*; 1827; |
| Eichhorn | 7 | 1787, 3 vols; 1787-1800, 10 vols; 1791, 2 vols †; 1791†; 1795; 1804-12, 3 vols; 1804; |
| Heyne | 1 | 1784, 4 vols. |
| Lichtenberg | 2 | 1794-1816, 14 vols; 1800-1806, 9 vols. |
| Meiners | 2 | 1793-94, 3 vols; 1795-97,3 vols. |
| Planck | 1 | 1781-1800, 6 vols. |
| Wilken | 1 | 1798 |
| **Total books:** | **20** | **Pre-1799: 15 texts.**<br>**Post-1800: 5 texts (of which 2 are translation editions of an existing pre-1799 texts).** |

* Duplicate texts. The 1798 text is written in Latin. The 1815 and 1817 editions are in English.
† Duplicate texts. The second 1799 entry is missing the second volume of the two volume set.

[105] This is the case with the nine volume posthumous publishing of Ludwig Christian Lichtenberg's *Vermischte schriften nach dessen Tode aus den hinterlassenen Papieren gesammelt und herausgegeben von Ludwig Christian Lichtenberg und Friedrich Kries* (1800-1806).

What I am suggesting here is that the reading and acquisition of seventeen texts by Göttingen faculty members was directly influenced by Coleridge's tenure at the university. This is of interest because while McKusick and other literary critics are certainly correct in tracing the influence of later-day literary productions to Göttingen, the emphasis should clearly be on later-day: i.e. that these influences developed in *England* over a longer period. This influence was not immediate during Coleridge's second university career at Göttingen and his return to England.

The relation of the acquisition of these texts in regard to the Göttingen influence is (perhaps) further supported by Coffmann. Coffmann argues that "at Göttingen it was customary for students to purchase the works of faculty, past and present, or to borrow them from professors' personal libraries" (xviii). While this argument is logical and presents a very probable scenario, Coffmann cites A.D. Snyder's article as his source. However, nowhere in her article does Snyder mention or refer to this practice. What certainly is obvious is that Coleridge's interest in the research of these faculty members was also fostered by his personal acquaintance with them.

Collectively the seven faculty members comprise a Göttingen circle and professorial network. It is worthy to note that out of the 74 faculty members active during his university days at Göttingen Coleridge specifically interacted with these seven members—all of whom were leading participants in the administration and scholarly milieu of Göttingen University. I am suggesting here that this is no accident. Coleridge actively and systematically organized this circle into a network to facilitate his studies in a similar manner to his forging of an epistolary network in order to facilitate his matriculation at the University of Göttingen. He selected and attended the lectures of Blumenbach and Eichhorn—two of the most-famous scholars at the university—fulfilling his objectives to study natural sciences.

Coleridge successfully cultivated and forged print-media networks via the Göttingen library and faculty that best facilitated his research interests and aim to cross-culturally disseminate these interests, via translations and publications, upon this return to England. The cosmopolitan milieu at Göttingen fostered and stimulated the successful accomplishment of his research networks and Coleridge returned to England full of optimism and a chest filled with textual material and notes. Unfortunately, and unknown to Coleridge during his stay in Germany, the centralized periodical networks in England were becoming increasingly resistant to German culture and literature; in fact cross-cultural dissemination in general. The success of Coleridge's research networks, his failure to produce his *Life of Lessing*, and the delay in writing about the knowledge and research acquired during his second university career, needs to be briefly contextualized as a missed historical opportunity against the backdrop of English domestic politics.

# IV
# Failed Networks of Cross-Cultural Dissemination in England

In *The German Idea* (1980), Rosemary Ashton has argued that Coleridge became "intellectual[ly] isolated" during the early 1800s because of his interest in German literature and culture. Upon his return to England in July 1799, Coleridge found that the previously popular, albeit misinformed, reception of German literature had given way to a condemnation of German culture and literature. During 1797 and 98, "Coleridge and Southey" had been the "chief victims of the satire of Canning...[and] Frere" in "the influential *Anti-Jacobin*" which successfully constructed the poets' interest in German literature as Jacobinist (Ashton, 6). During the early 1800s Francis "Jeffrey took over from the Anti-Jacobins...." and in his attacks on Coleridge in the *Edinburgh Review* "particularly....contributed to... [Coleridge's] feeling that he was unlucky with the press, and that this had much to do with his being known for his German mania" (Ashton, 8-9). Even the Wordsworths, who, as we have seen, had stimulated Coleridge's interest in German literature, withdrew their interest and support during the 1800s.

Coleridge's failure to produce his *Life of Lessing*, then, needs to be re-examined not as a personal short-coming, but, as Ashton suggests about Coleridge's German interests, as a result of Coleridge's "intellectual isolation." Upon his return to England, Coleridge first needed to address his finances as the costs of the German tour and growing domestic expenses had overdrawn the Wedgwood annuity. Hence the Lessing biography was postponed as he "reckoned to pay off the £150 overdrawn on the Wedgwood annuity by April 1800, when he could 'return' to the Lessing biography" (Holmes, 256). From December 1799 to May 1800 Coleridge wrote "seventy-six articles or 'leading paragraphs' for Stuart," the editor of the *Morning Post*, "largely on foreign affairs and constitution matters" (Holmes, 254). Moreover, Coleridge had been contracted for the verse translation of "Schiller's *Wallenstein* [pub. 1799 in Germany] for Longman...[and] some form of German travel book with Longman" (Homes, 261). Most immediately upon his return Coleridge was forced to postpone the projected production of his *Life of Lessing* and the "state of German literature" from his cross-cultural print-media research network in order to publish specifically for the purpose of a financial income.

Second, and more importantly, Colerigde's German travels and postponement of literary productions coincides with a severe shift in the reception of German literature in England. Stockley states that

> There followed during the first fifteen years of the nineteenth century a period of comparative apathy towards German literature. It was fostered by the hampering of intercourse with the Continent resulting from the Napoleonic wars....The

> notices of German works in English periodicals grow rarer and rarer during those fifteen years. There are also much fewer translations than in the preceding decade. (9-10)

Because of this shift in the reception towards German literature the publication of Coleridge's translation of *Wallenstein* in 1800 was poorly received. Ashton argues that "[u]nfortunately for Coleridge, both his own and Schiller's names betokened 'Jacobinism', and the translation apparently lost its publisher, Longman, £250" (33).

In fact, Coleridge felt he had to publically defend himself against criticism in the *Monthly Review*.[106] The review in this miscellany of his translation of Schiller's play labelled Coleridge as a "Partizan of the German theatre" which was now out of vogue in England and synonymous with Jacobinism. Coleridge writes to the editor of the *Monthly Review* on November 18, 1800:

> Sir,
>
> In the review of my Translation of Schiller's *Wallenstein* (*Rev.* for October) I am numbered among the Partizans of the German Theatre. As I am confident that there is no passage in my Preface or Notes from which such an opinion can be legitimately formed; and as the truth would not have been exceeded, if the direct contrary had been affirmed, I claim it of your justice that in your answers to Correspondents you would remove this *misrepresentation.* The mere circumstance of translating a manuscript play is not even evidence that I admired that one play, much less that I am a general admirer of the plays in that language. (*CL* 364, 648; Emphasis mine)

Coleridge's first attempt at cross-cultural dissemination of his research network of German literature and language via the translation of *Wallenstein* is criticized in the public sphere. Indeed, Coleridge is publically "misrepresented" as a "Partizan of the German Theatre"—hence a Jacobin—and the poor reception of the translation in the public sphere resulted in financial loses for its publisher Longman.

Ashton argues that in his state of "extreme sensitivity" Coleridge "came to believe that he had not really wanted to translate *Wallenstein*, but had done so only at Longman's request..." (33).[107] Indeed, given Coleridge's enthusiasm for Schiller's work from 1794 onwards, the reduction of his contribution to the translation of *Wallenstein* to the "Preface or Notes" suggests Coleridge wanted to distance himself from Schiller and German literature in the public sphere. The criticism of German literature and culture in the

---

[106] See *Monthly Review*, XXXIII (November 1800), p. 336.

[107] It would not be until the 1810s and 1820s that the merits of Coleridge's translation of *Wallenstein* were proclaimed. See Ashton, 33-35.

public sphere develop doubts in Coleridge about his motivation for translating German works. This is ironic, especially considering that Coleridge had worked for the past six years in forging a print-media "inter-network" for the cross-cultural dissemination of information about, and on, German literature, language, and educational systems.

The failure of Coleridge to disseminate his cross-cultural awareness via domestic print-media networks in England documents how the dissemination of mis-information, or misrepresentation of information, via public print-media networks, most notably Francis Jeffrey's *The Edinburgh Review* (Editor 1802-1829) in Coleridge's case, effectively shaped public opinion and isolates the reception of information disseminated by the informed cosmopolitan individual. Where the cosmopolitan milieu of Göttingen and its library had stimulated Coleridge's research, the domestic political sphere in England effectively censored the dissemination of information acquired via such individual and private "inter-networks." The projected *Life of Lessing* was initially postponed to pursue financial ventures. However, given the reception, or rather rejection, in the public sphere of the translation of Schiller's *Wallenstein*, Coleridge realized the futility of publishing his research on German literature and Lessing because of the hostility towards German literature in the public sphere fostered by centralized periodical networks.

Clearly, in the late-eighteenth-century a tension develops between the informed private print-media information network of the cosmopolitan individual—such as Coleridge forged via cross-cultural access to print-media—and the increasing censorship of the public sphere inhibiting the dissemination of such acquired private information in order to maintain the political domestic status quo. The implication is that cross-cultural networks forged via "inter-networks" of travel, epistolary networks of correspondence, foreign print-media networks, and institutional networks such as the University of Göttingen, simultaneously empowered and isolated the individual. While Coleridge's cross-cultural "inter-network" effectively provided the interchange of information it did not guarantee the cross-cultural dissemination of this information.

Therefore, Coleridge's failure to produce the projected *Life of Lessing* should not be interpreted as a personal failure, but placed within the context of reception history as a missed historical opportunity. Although Coleridge never produced his *Life of Lessing*, his interest in German literature remained constant throughout his life; often surfacing in conversation, and occasionally in print. During the 1800s, Coleridge's German interests go underground and are decreasingly voiced in public until the 1810s.

In September 1816, Coleridge identifies himself as one of the ideal candidates to promote an interest in German literature in England. "There may be, or...*are*, *many*" he writes,

> who have a much more extensive knowledge of German Literature than myself; but that is only one of the Requisites....Not therefore in Learning or Talent do I claim the least superiority; but in the united knowledge of German and English Literature, without over or under valuing either.[108]

With the publication of *Sibylline Leaves* and *Biographia Literaria* (1817), Coleridge publicly acknowledges in print the significant impact of German literature on his intellectual development. Certainly, his library borrowings at Göttingen were an influential and promising beginning. Coleridge's cross-cultural research network is a production that enables Coleridge to utilize the information collected via this print-media "inter-network" more than fifteen years later.

Therefore, it is not only of significance to examine Coleridge's point of entry and active participation within such a cosmopolitan network of interchange in regard to his selected and systematic library borrowings to facilitate his study of Lessing, but also within the scope of cross-cultural exchange in England. Contrary to the international reputation and fame of researchers at Göttingen alluded to above, Coleridge's fame is recognized only regionally, by a specific coterie of friends, and temporarily by the cosmopolitan Göttingen milieu of professors during his second university career. In England Coleridge's attempts at cross-cultural exchange of his research and knowledge acquired at Göttingen directly resulted in infamy and is thwarted by the censorship enforced by centralized print-media networks such as government publications and Jeffrey's *Edinburgh Review*. Rosemary Ashton has aptly argued that this resulted in Coleridge's "intellectual isolation" within the English domestic sphere. Holmes' comments about the "intensive period at Göttingen" fostering a "European...notion of 'criticism'," therefore, is equally as significant as the limitations in disseminating such views in England.

**Conclusion**

The "networking" process is a labour-intensive one, testifying to Coleridge's sense of purpose and diligence; characteristics unacknowledged by literary critics and biographers alike. Most importantly, however, Coleridgean networks and "inter-networks" illustrate the Romantic ethos of the individual mind in action. Coleridge forges private print-media information networks to facilitate his interests in the hope of disseminating these interests to a larger and receptive English audience. The impetus of these private print-media networks is to beget new networks for the education of an audience in the English public sphere. Clearly both in the cross-cultural dissemination of Anglo-German intellectualism and his network ideology Coleridge was ahead of his contemporaries. Unfortunately, Coleridge neither had control of, nor access to, a centralized print-media network of

---

[108] From: *Collected Letters*, I, 455, 518-19. 4 September, 1816. Quoted in Ashton, Rosemary. *The German Idea*. 27-28.

dissemination into the public sphere. Coleridge's literary productions were therefore subject to the domestic policies of censorship and prejudiced reception in the public sphere. However, what I would like to suggest is that the critical paradigm of "inter-networks" and networks offer an alternative approach to Coleridge's second-university career and provide fresh impetus for understanding Coleridge's literary studies, as well as his literary, and non-literary, productions.

Works Cited and Consulted

Arnim, Max. *Corpus Academicum Gottingense (1737-1928).* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1930.

Ash, Mitchell G. Ed. *German Universities: Past Present and Future: Crisis or Renewal?* Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1997.

Ashton, Rosemary. *The German Idea: Four English Writers and the Reception of German Thought 1800-1860.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.

Ashton, Rosemary. *The Life of Samuel Taylor Coleridge.* Malden, Mass: Blackwell Publishers Inc., 1996, 1997.

Bate, Walter Jackson. *Coleridge.* New York. 1968. Reprinted 1970.

Beddoes, Thomas. *A Memorial Concerning the State of the Bodleian Library, and the Conduct of the Principal Librarian. Addressed to the Curators of that Library, by the Chemical Reader.* Pembroke College, May 31st, 1787. Oxford, 1787.

Brandes, von. E. *Über den gegenwärtigen Zustand der Universität Göttingen.* Göttingen: Johann Friedrich Röwer, 1802.

Brandes, von. E. "Über den gegenwärtigen Zustand der Universität Göttingen." In *Neues Hannoverisches Magazin.* 11tes Stück - 29tes Stück: Freitag, 5ten Februar 1802 bis Freitag, 9ten April 1802. 161-450.

*Christian Gottlob Heyne (1729-1812): Ausstellung anlässlich seines 250. Geburtstages.* Göttingen, 1979.

*The Notebooks of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, 3 double vols, vol 1. Text and Notes. Edited by Kathleen Coburn, Bollingen Series and Routledge, 1957-73.

Fabian, Bernhard. "Die Göttinger Universitätsbibliothek im achtzehnten Jahrhundert." In *Göttinger Jahrbuch 1980.* V. 28. (1980): 109-123.

Füchsel, Hans und Karl Julius Hartmann. *Geschichte der Göttinger Universitäts-Bibliothek. Verfaßt von Göttinger Bibliothekaren.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1937.

Griggs, Earl Leslie Ed. *Collected Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*. Vol I (1785-1800). Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956.

Heeren, Arn. Herm. Lud. *Christian Gottlob Heyne. Biographisch dargestellt von Arn. Herm. Lud. Heeren*. Göttingen: Johann Friedrich Röwer (or Römer), 1813.

Hohlfeld, A. R. and Bayard Quincy Morgan. Eds. *German Literature in British Magazines 1750-1860*. Madison, Wisconsin, University of Wisconsin Press, 1949.

Holmes, Richard. *Coleridge: Early Visions*. London: Viking Penguin, 1989.

Lefebure, Molly. *Samuel Taylor Coleridge: A Bondage of Opium*. London: Gollancz, 1974.

Märcker, von. Dietrich. "Die Zahlen der Studierenden an der Georg-August-Universität in Göttingen von 1734/37 bis 1978." *Göttinger Jahrbuch 1979*. Göttingen: Heinz Reise-Verlag. (1979): 141-153.

McKusick, James C. "The Legacy of Göttingen: Coleridge's Response to German Philology." *Coleridge's Philosophy of Language*. London: Yale University Press, 1986. 53-85.

Predeek, Albert. *A History of Libraries in Great Britain and North America*. Translated by Lawrense S. Thompson. Chicago: American Library Association, 1947.

Ranisch, Salomon. *Historisch kritische Lebensbeschreibung Hans Sachsens ehemals berühmten Meistersängers zu Nürnberg welche zur Erläuterung der Geschichte der Reformation und deutschen Dichtkunst ans Licht gestellet hat M. Salomon Ranisch erster Prof. des Friedrichsgymnas. zu Altenburg. Der deutschen Gesellschaften zu Königsberg, Jena und Altdorf, wie auch der Gesellschaft der freyen Künste zu Leipzig Mitglied*. Altenburg, in der Richterischen Buchhandlung, 1765.

Robertson, J. G. and Dorothy Reich. *A History of German Literature*. Sixth Edition. London: William Blackwood, 1970.

Runde, Justus Friedrich. "Vergleichung des ehemahligen und heutigen Zustandes der deutschen Bauern und Untersuchung der Mittel, wodurch die erfolgten Veränderungen in dem deutschen Bauerstande bewürkt worden sind. Abgelesen den 23sten Januar 1779." In *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquités de Cassel*, Vol. I. Cassel, 1780. 255-272.

Selle, von. Götz. *Die Georg-August-Universität zu Göttingen 1737-1937.* Göttingen. Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, 1937.

Snyder, A. D. "Books Borrowed by Coleridge from the Library of the University of Göttingen, 1799." *Modern Philology* XXV (1928): 377-80.

Stoll, Adolf. *Der Geschichtschreiber Friedrich Wilken.* Kassel: Verlag von Th. G. Fisher & Co. Druck von L. Döll. 1896.

Vogt, Helmut. "Heyne als Bibliothekar." In Der Vormann der Georgia Augusta: Christian Gottlob Heyne zum 250. Gerburtstag. Sechs akademische Reden. In Göttinger Universitätsreden. Vol. 67. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980.

Weber, Carl August. *Bristols Bedeutung für die englische Romantik und die deutsch-englischen Beziehungen.* Halle: Niemeyer, 1935.

Wilkinson, E. M. "Coleridge's Knowledge of German as Seen in the Early Notebooks." In *The Notebooks of Samuel Taylor Coleridge.* Ed. Kathleen Coburn. V.1., Part 2. London, 1957. Notes, Appendix A. pp. 451-454.

Willey, Basil. *Samuel Taylor Coleridge.* New York: Norton, 1972.

*The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth: The Early Years 1787-1805.* Ed. Ernest De Selincourt. Revised by Chester L. Shaver. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967.

# Chapter Five

## *Manfred*: An "Inter-Network" of Romantic Travel and Travelling Texts

*Cosmopolitan:* • *adj.* **1.** *Belonging to all parts of the world; not restricted to any one country or its inhabitants.* **2.** *Having the characteristics which arise from, or are suited to, a range over many different countries; free from national limitations or attachments.* OED

*Cosmopolitanism:* • **1. a.** *Cosmopolitan character; adherence to cosmopolitan principles.* OED

*Cosmopolite:* • **1.** *A 'citizen of the world'; one who regards or treats the whole of the world as his country; one who has no national attachments or prejudices.* OED

### Introduction

In contrast to Coleridge's private print-media information networks, Byron's private print-media information networks in 1816 could not appear more different. Where Coleridge deliberately travelled to Göttingen to actively forge print-media "inter-networks" via his library borrowings and the intellectual coteries at the university, Byron's print-media "inter-network" is literally comprised of networks that geographically and culturally travelled to him. The content of Coleridgean networks is mostly scholarly and specifically selected by Coleridge himself. The informational content of Byronic networks is rather arbitrary. The content ranges from metaphysics to the Schauerromantik of early-nineteenth century popular culture and is determined more by the process of networks linked to Byron, rather than Byron's active participation in selecting information from print-media networks forged by him.

The most radical difference between the respective print-media networks of the two poets regards the dissemination in the English public sphere of information acquired via their print-media networks. In the previous chapter I argued that Coleridge's industrious scheme for cross-cultural dissemination of German thought and intellectualism to benefit English culture was effectively censored through the stigma of "Jacobinism" applied to Coleridge by the networks of the centralized periodical. In post-Waterloo England in 1816, the "Jacobin" label was no longer applied to cross-cultural print-media. In contrast to Coleridge, Byron is successful in disseminating cross-cultural information in the English public sphere. His dramatic poem *Manfred* (1817), published by the successful

John Murray, is an "inter-network" of multifarious networks encountered by Byron during his European travels in 1816.

Unlike Coleridge in the 1790s and early 1800s, Byron had access to a centralized publishing network in the 1810s and 1820s via his publisher, John Murray. In *Lord Byron's Strength: Romantic Writing and Commercial Society* (1993) Jerome Christensen argues that

> In the teens and twenties, when relations among poetry, the essay, and the novel were extraordinarily fluid, the imprint of a prestigious publisher served as a kind of canonical legitimation—which was quite different from the kind of political inflection given by a liberal publisher like Joseph Johnson... (144)

Clearly, Byron's connection to the publishing house of Murray facilitated the dissemination of his literary productions in the English public sphere. Despite these crucial differences in dissemination, however, there are some important similar "inter-network" characteristics between Coleridge and Byron. Albeit seventeen years apart, Coleridge and Byron both forge a cosmopolitan "inter-network" of cross-cultural exchange linking print-media networks on the European continent to print-media networks in England.

First, a close analysis of the composition process of *Manfred* against the backdrop of Byron's travel experiences in the Swiss Alps during the Summer of 1816, reveals that Byron, like Coleridge, found himself in a unique milieu of cosmopolitan interchange facilitated by a convergence of networks. Unlike Coleridge, Byron does not attend a university institution. However, his continental travels did foster interaction with the social and intellectual network of Mme. de Staël's literary coterie (whose members included A. W. Schlegel),[1] as well as a variety of foreign print-media networks (such as *Fantasmagoriana*). Indeed, Byron's wanderings during his self-imposed exile in Switzerland in 1816 facilitated uninvited, yet far-reaching, communication networks. The composition of *Manfred* documents this convergence of Byron's travel experiences in the Swiss Alps and his exposure to a multifarious array of print-media that geographically and culturally travelled to him.

In this chapter I argue that Byron's access to a multifarious array of information via travelling networks demolished existing nineteenth-century "space-barriers" of

[1] August Wilhelm von Schlegel (1767-1845); not to be confused with his brother Friedrich von Schlegel (1772-1829). With the founding of the miscellany *Athenäum* (1798-1800) both brothers were instrumental in defining and sparking German Romanticism.

communication interchange between the continent and England.[2] This cross-cultural interchange forges an essentially new aesthetic "inter-network"—*Manfred* the text—from essentially cosmopolitan networks. Significantly, this new aesthetic "inter-network" of *Manfred* is successfully disseminated and received in the English public sphere because the foreign networks of its cross-cultural origins are effectively obscured. The foreign public sphere is "distortingly" linked to the English public sphere via the networks of Byron's private information "inter-network" and Murray's institutional publication network in England. I argue that the "inter-network" of travelling networks facilitates the composition and printing of *Manfred.* In addition, through the characterization of Manfred as a Byronic Hero, Byron also reconfigures the cultural content of these travelling networks as an inter-textual dialogue about contemporary communication processes.

## I
## *Manfred*: An "Inter-Network" of Travelling Print-Media Networks

### Byron: Cosmopolitan Travel Writer

Amid the social, political and philosophical developments of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, the literary productions of the Romantics indicate a significant paradigm shift in the perception of, and approach to, travel and communication. In the eighteenth-century the travel narrative was either informative or didactic. Explorers provided very detailed accounts of foreign lands primarily for the practical purposes of navigation, trade, history, and above-all, survival in foreign cultures and environments. Roger Cardinal's paper on "Romantic Travel" (1997) argues that the didactic narrative of travel in the eighteenth century "was frequently adapted for philosophical and moral debate" (134). Indeed, didactic and imaginative travel literature such as Voltaire's *Candide* and Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* purposely "exploit[ed] foreign otherness as a device to scrutinize social ills back home" (135). Cardinal goes on to state that

---

[2] The immediacy of the publication history of Byron's 1816 texts in regard to networks is of interest. There is only a very short interval between composition and publication.
*Childe Harold: Canto III* (1816) was composed in 70 days (April 25, 1816 - July 04, 1816) and published 137 days later on November 18, 1816.
*Manfred* (1817) was composed in several stages. The composition stage is divided between the writing of the first two acts in September and October 1816 and the composition of the third act in January and February 1817. The editing stage dates from February 15 to May 05, 1816; Byron's epistolary correspondence with Murray details the editing process (see below). The text is then finalized and published on June 16, 1817, 42 days later after the completion of the editing stage, and 121 days after the completion of the composition stage.

> Neither of these two approaches encouraged self-scrutiny on the part of the narrating subject, whose personal preferences, anxieties or yearnings remained largely unspoken. Hence, broadly speaking, the characteristic voice of the Enlightenment travel writer was disinterested, sober, analytical and philosophical....In effect, the adventurous ethos of the young Romantics of the new century led them to reject the values of their fathers, to privilege creative vision over good sense, to celebrate the agitations of personal perception as being ultimately a more meaningful guide to experience than sober, objective observations. (135-136)

The paradigm shift here is from the "objective" to the "subjective." This new approach to travel encouraged self-scrutiny. Individual perceptions of travel are organized by the writer and communicated to the reader through self-scrutiny. Rather than adhering to an external framework that exists outside the self, as was customary for the Enlightenment travel writer, the Romantic travel writer adheres to an internal framework, of—as Cardinal rightly suggests—personal perceptions: ie. the senses, emotions, feelings and personality of the writer. Travel experiences are interpreted through an internal framework of self-scrutiny, but conversely also invite self-scrutiny because of the foreignness and "otherness" of cultural encounters.

While Romantic travel writers are situated within this general paradigm shift of self-scrutiny towards travel experiences, each individual Romantic writer differs in how their perceptions of travel are organized and communicated to the reader. What Cardinal does not address is how the self-scrutiny of this paradigm shift regarding travel relates to communication history. What is specifically of interest to me here is what kinds of "foreign" cultural encounters were experienced during these travels and how were these mediated as well as distorted by the self-scrutiny of the Romantic travel writer? What print-media processes were involved in disseminating these cultural encounters to the traveller and how are these transformed and then (re-)disseminated in the travel writer's own literary productions? Against this backdrop it is especially print-media communication "inter-networks" that need to be foregrounded, both in dis-entangling cross-cultural encounters as well as the documentation and dissemination of these cross-cultural encounters. In short, the convergence of these cross-cultural encounters foster an "inter-network" of cosmopolitan interchange mediated by travel and print-media networks.

Arguably, it is Byron's travel experiences, and the poetry fostered by these travels, that are the most cosmopolitan of all the Romantic travel writers. Peter Graham states how Byron purposely (re-)adapted his sense of self in order to experience the stimuli of foreign cultures he encountered on their own terms.

> The proud artist Byron balks at attempting what is doomed to be pedestrian: he will not vie with the guidebook makers. This determination helps account for his

> willingness to make foreign sights the stuff of poetry but not prose. So does his self-proclaimed cosmopolitanism. Even in his first journey abroad, Byrons' [sic] propensity was for living among, not apart from, the natives whatever place he visited....Byron contrasted himself—open-minded and adaptable world citizen who can sleep soundly in a palace or a cow barn...with Hobhouse, the more conventional Englishman abroad who carries his standards along with him as a tortoise does its shell. (62)

Byron rejects the print-media frameworks of interpretations supplied by the "guidebook makers" and chooses to scrutinize his travels in his own print-media productions instead. It is well-known that Byron exercised a strong disinterest in standard monuments. He consciously aims to experience the cultures he encounters on their own standards.

However, Graham does not consider how Byron's "self-proclaimed cosmopolitanism" functions as an adopted mask that allows for a comparative framework of self-scrutinization between England and his encounters with other cultures.[3] In other words, Byron's "self-proclaimed cosmopolitanism" offers the means to escape the restrictions and limitations of English culture and allows for the re-contextualization of his own travel experiences and cultural encounters outside of an English framework. This is what is decidedly cosmopolitan about Byron and his work.

Byron's cosmopolitanism, whether self-proclaimed or directed by the immediacy of his travel experiences and cultural encounters on their own terms, is a significant element of the self-scrutiny in his verse, letters, and journals written during his exile from England in 1816. Byron's exile directly enforced the significance of print-media communication networks in the composition, publication, and dissemination of his poetry. The details of Byron's self-imposed exile are well-known and certainly need not be recounted in detail here. However, I will briefly sketch the most significant events in regard to Byron's increasing reliance on print-media communication networks. These networks are cosmopolitan networks of cross-cultural exchange because they mediate not only English, but especially foreign information and ideas.

On April 24, 1816, Lord Byron left England for the European continent. His departure was literally a forced exile. Heavily in debt, Byron was forced to covertly escape his creditors to avoid a confrontation with the bailiffs. Moreover, the recent separation from his wife Annabella had escalated into public scandal. Fearing the possibility that Byron would claim custody of their recently born daughter, Annabella had confided her suspicions of an incestuous relationship between Byron and his half-sister Augusta to her legal council. Byron, already the media-darling for scandal, was soon confronted by the public

---

[3] Graham footnotes his sources as: "Byron's letters of August 23, 1812, to Lady Melbourne (III, 97) and November 9, 1820, to John Murray (VII, 223-24)" (Graham, 70).

condemnation of this alleged incestuous relationship. Consequently, Byron was ignored privately in social circles, publicly prosecuted in the papers, and financially haunted by his creditors.

In light of this self-imposed exile from England and general banishment from participation within English society, Byron turned to cultivate cosmopolitan networks on the European continent.[4] Intending to settle in Venice, where he eventually arrived on November 10, 1816, Byron spent most of the Summer of 1816 in Switzerland. Settled at the Villa Diodati, Byron travels around Lake Geneva as well as to the Bernese Alps and to the Chamonix. These travels during the summer of 1816 were nomadic in nature as Byron wandered, physically and psychologically, without a specific purpose except to escape England and contextualize what had happened to him. Pre-1816 Byron had been an English travel writer who wrote about his exotic cross-cultural encounters specifically for an English audience—most notably in Cantos I-II of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (1812). The "Grand Tour," which was the source for this work of literature, was an English tradition that Byron had embarked upon before claiming his place in the House of Lords. The consequent commercial success of *Childe Harold* solidified his literary reputation and the audience he had cultivated.

However, in 1816 Byron was an exiled English expatriate opposed to the English society which had ostracized him. Byron's self and English identity were in disarray, if not crisis. Leaving family, friends and other commitments behind him, Byron had no permanent destination for either travel or his future. His sense of Englishness had become obscured against the backdrop of an English society that had first adored him and now condemned him. Indeed, Byron's immediate travels in the Spring and Summer of 1816 were therapeutic—providing a stimulus to think about his predicament and contextualize the things that had happened to him in the last few years. The nomadic existence of his travels and the foreign landscapes and intellectual networks he encountered upon his travels provided analogies for his mind.

The literary productions of 1816 are autobiographical as Byron intimately intertwines his reflections upon his recent domestic experiences and exile from England with his travels and encounters with foreign informational networks. Byron's verse during this period of intense travelling was prolific, producing some of his best poetry. The cross-cultural encounters of travel and informational networks during the Spring and Summer of 1816

[4] Although not discussed here, it should be noted that Byron continued to communicate with a select coterie of friends in England regarding his legal and financial concerns. He also communicated publicly at times via his poetry, which Murray was all too happy to publish knowing that this would involve substantial profits for himself.

provided the compositional synthesis for Byron's 1816 poems.[5] In other words, Byron's domestic experiences in England converge with his cross-cultural encounters of travel and travelling networks and facilitate a self-directed cosmopolitan perspective—an outlook that claims to be worldly beyond the confines of English society and culture. Against this backdrop of reflection Byron composes *Manfred* simultaneously incorporating an inter-textual commentary about the print-media and information that travels to him.

Byron's wanderings in Switzerland directly facilitated far-reaching communication and informational networks not immediately accessible to the non-travelling writer. Certainly, Byron's literary fame preceded him throughout Europe and his aristocratic status also facilitated his entry into various salons and literary circles. Access to travelling texts and the intellectual networks of literary circles demolished the existing eighteenth-century "space-barriers" of the interchange of thought between the continent and England. These travelling networks of foreign print-media are significant not only because they foster the composition of *Manfred*, but also because they offer an alternative to some of the lost English print-media networks following Byron's self-imposed exile from England. These foreign print-media networks may travel arbitrarily to Byron, but nevertheless these cross-cultural encounters were embraced as a replacement for his lost access to English print-media. In short, Byron is exposed to multifarious array of cosmopolitan information in a variety of print-media formats, which either had *never* been available in English, or would *not* be commercially available in any language in England for several years to come. In the process, the cross-cultural encounters with foreign media networks re-configures the poet's scrutinization of his experiences in England, thereby fostering a unique cosmopolitan, perhaps at times even a continental, outlook.

In the ensuing discussion I focus on the relationship between these travelling networks and the composition of *Manfred*. Specifically, this "inter-networks" of networks that travelled to Byron, consisted of a multifarious array of print-media, such as: periodical book reviews; letters; English translations from French, German or Greek texts; or French translations from English and German texts; metaphysical discussions with continental coteries; and in the case of the *Prisoner of Chillon*, local legend. We can categorize the cosmopolitan information disseminated via these travelling textual and coterie networks as follows:

1) Metaphysical discussions with P. B. Shelley on Idealism, Wordsworth and Greek drama, specifically Shelley's translation of Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* (May 27, 1816 - August 18, 1816)
2) Byron-Shelley circle read ghost stories from *Fantasmagoriana* (1811 or 1812 edition) borrowed from a Geneva library (June 14 - 18, 1816)

[5] The 1816 poems include: the Third Canto of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, "The Prisoner of Chillon," "A Fragment," "The Dream," "Churchill's Grave," "Darkness," the "Monody on Sheridan," "Prometheus," and *Manfred*.

3) Byron's interaction with Mme. de Staël's "continental" coterie at Coppet where he meets A. W. Schlegel (July 21, 1816 - late August, 1816); Mme. de Staël sends Byron a copy of *Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Literatur* (1809 –1811; translated in 1815) by A. W. Schlegel (August 25, 1816)
4) Verbal translation of Goethe's *Faust* (1808) by Matthew "Monk" Lewis (August 14, 1816)

Interestingly, these print-media sources all predate the composition of the first two acts of *Manfred* in September and October 1816, but all appear to be incorporated in the dramatic poem.

In fact, the period of composition of the dramatic poem is simultaneous with Byron's travels to the Bernese Alps.[6] Both Byron's travels and the information of these print-media networks converge into a "multifarious stimuli" fostering the process of composition of *Manfred* and provide Byron with different frameworks for interpreting Nature and travel, as well as metaphysics. In the early 1820s Byron recalls this collision of his states of mind:

> "I was half mad . . . between metaphysics, mountains, lakes, love unextinguishable, thoughts unutterable, and the nightmare of my own delinquencies."[7]

Clearly, the composition of *Manfred* functions as an "inter-network" of discussion, intellectual, social and print-media networks that travel directly to Byron over the Summer of 1816. I will now turn to a discussion of each of these print-media networks and trace their "travelling" to Byron and incorporation into the new print-media "inter-network" of *Manfred.*

**1. Shelley, Wordsworth, and Greek Drama: May 27, 1816 - August 18, 1816**

Byron first met Shelley on May 27, 1816, at Secheron in Switzerland. The details of the Byron-Shelley circle, and the poets' mutual influence on their respective literary productions, are well-known and need not be retold here. What I want to foreground is that the social and discussion network forged with Shelley during the younger poet's visit specifically directed Byron's metaphysical engagement with Wordsworthian aesthetics of Nature and re-acquainted the poet with Æschylus' *Prometheus Bound.*

---

[6] Byron starts for the Bernese Alps on September 17, 1816 and returns to Villa Diodati on September 29, 1816. Byron departs for Milan on October 05, 1816. It is possible, as John Clubbe suggests, that Act I and II of *Manfred* were for the most part written during this interlude of six days: September 29 and October 05, 1816. (See Clubbe, 31).

[7] Byron is specifically referring to the period when he was writing Canto III of *Childe Harolde* from early May until the end of June (27) 1816. Quoted in Lovell, 181; footnote 110. "*Letters and Journals*, II, 25. 111: IV, 65-66."

Byron's pre-occupation with a Wordsworthian participatory communion with Nature during the Summer of 1816 was initiated by frequent discussions about Wordsworth's poetry with Shelley. Reflecting on his discussions about Wordsworth with Shelley at the Villa Diodati, Byron retrospectively remarked to Medwin that: "'Shelley, when I was in Switzerland, used to dose me with Wordsworth physic even to nausea; and I do remember then reading some things of his with pleasure'" (quoted in Robertson, 18). Charles Robinson, in his book, *Shelley and Byr*on (1979), argues that

> Under the spell of Shelley's eloquence, Byron absorbed something of the Wordsworthian pantheistic feeling. No one made Wordsworth's philosophy more appealing to Byron than did Shelley; he [Byron] too longed to spurn "the clay-cold bounds which round our being cling." But Byron usually ended in a basis of tangible reality, however much he might let his fancy play.[8]

Shelley's enthusiastic discussions are influential in the composition of *Manfred.* In particular, the Shelleyean discussion network develops into an inter-textual commentary. Through the characterization of Manfred, Byron refutes a Wordsworthian participatory communion with Nature. The dramatic poem criticizes an outward aesthetic framework of participation or communion with natural surroundings and in its place foregrounds the independence of the mind. Clearly, it is the Shelleyean discussion network that stimulates Byron's preoccupation with the metaphysics of a Wordsworthean aesthetic. Byron had been aware of Wordsworth's poetry in England, but it is only via this travelling network that he takes notice and incorporates it into his literary productions.

The second major influence of Shelley on the composition of *Manfred* regards the Prometheus myth, which operates throughout the dramatic poem. Shelley's translation of Æschylus's *Prometheus Bound* rekindled Byron's enthusiasm for the play which he had admired since his schoolboy days at Harrow.

> A fine Greek scholar and a translator of genius, Shelley no doubt translated the play for Byron in 1816 as fluently as he was to translate it for Medwin in 1820. It may well have been the most important service he rendered the older poet that summer. (Clubbe, 21)

The translation of *Prometheus Bound* is significant as this discussion is re-visited again a few weeks later when Byron interacts with A. W. Schlegel, a member of Mme. de Staël's literary coterie at Coppet. I will discuss the inter-textual commentary on Schlegel's

---

[8] See also: "Of the two poets, Byron was the more noticeably affected by their first meeting in 1816, as Edward Williams later attested in a letter to Edward Trelawny: "I must tell you that the idea of the tragedy of 'Manfred,' and many of the philosophical, or rather metaphysical notions interwoven in the composition of the fourth Canto [error for the third canto] are of his [Shelley's] suggestions;... " (Robinson, 18).

concept of a Promethean individualism below. First, I will address the incorporation of the Shelleyean discussion network into the "inter-network" of *Manfred.*

### *Manfred*, Travel, and a Wordsworthian Participatory View of Nature

Byron's contemplation of Wordsworthian aesthetics finds its origin, as we have seen, in the network of metaphysical discussions with Shelley. At most times in his life Byron had been, and would be, scathingly critical of Wordsworth, Coleridge, and especially Southey. However, for a very brief period in the Summer of 1816, via an inter-textual commentary in *Manfred*, Byron fuses Wordsworthian aesthetics with his travel experiences in the Bernese Alps; only to ultimately reject Wordsworthian metaphysics in favour of the independence of Manfred's mind.

Through Manfred's characterization, Byron initially transforms his own travel experiences in the Bernese Alps from a Wordsworthian participatory view of Nature. For example, in his Alpine journal entry for September 23, 1816, Byron records his observations of the Staubbach Fall:

> "the sun upon [the waterfall] form[s] a *rainbow* of the lower part of all colours...the bow moving as you move—I never saw anything like this—it is only in the Sunshine" (Marchand V, 101)

This journal entry is embued with a Wordsworthian participatory view of Nature in the dramatic poem. In his soliloquy, Manfred observes the scene of the waterfall with a metaphysical eye:

> The sunbow's rays still arch
> The torrent with the many hues of heaven,... (II.ii. 1-2)
> No eyes
> But mine now drink this sight of loveliness;
> I should be sole in this sweet solitude,
> And with the spirit of the place divide
> The homage of these waters. (II.ii. 8-12)

The significance of the unique experience of the traveller recorded in the journal—"I never saw anything like this"—shifts to the implications of this experience as a vehicle for a participation with Nature. Manfred states that "No eyes/But mine" are able to "drink" the "loveliness" of the scene, thus fostering Manfred's desire for "soleness" with the spirit of Nature. Here Nature is aestheticized from the perspective of the Lake Poets.

A communion with Nature is the vehicle for the merging of Manfred's individual consciousness with his natural surroundings. In Act I Manfred desires to be a musical note of the "natural sound of the mountain reed:"

> Oh, that I were
> The viewless spirit of a lovely sound,
> A living voice, a breathing harmony,
> A bodiless enjoyment – born and dying
> With the blest tone which made me! (I, ii., 52-56)[9]

Manfred wishes to leave the corporeality of his bodily existence and have his spirit merge with a higher power. Individual agency would be absent here as both birth and death originate in the higher power of a natural sound: the longevity of the tone that created the "viewless spirit of a lovely sound" that Manfred wishes to become. Through the inter-textual dialogue with Wordsworthean aesthetics Manfred attempts to lose himself via a merger with Nature.

Likewise, in the "Witch of the Alps" scene in Act II, the landscape is purposely aestheticized from a Wordsworthian perspective. The Witch symbolizes the beauty of Nature and the potential means for Manfred's forgetfulness of knowledge through a communion with Nature. Manfred summons the Witch only

> To look upon thy beauty—nothing further.
> The face of the earth hath madden'd me, and I
> Take refuge in her mysteries, and pierce
> To the abodes of those who govern her—
> But they can nothing aid me. I have sought
> From them what they could not bestow, and now
> I search no further. (II.,ii. 38-44)

Manfred hopes to find "refuge" in Nature from the "earth" which has "madden'd" him. Specifically, knowledge of the "face of the earth" is traded for "refuge in her mysteries." Beauty is to be the sole and consuming stimulus absorbing Manfred's self—"nothing further" is requested. In this scene, cause and effect collide into experience which in itself is all. This experience is absorbing because it is experiential knowledge of the moment, not discursive knowledge interpreting the moment. Life is that which has to be experienced—not known—and these mysteries are not to be solved.

---

[9] Compare these lines to lines 43 – 46 in Wordsworth's "Tintern Abbey: " "Until the breath of this corporeal frame/ And even the motion of our human blood/ Almost suspended, we are laid asleep/ In body, and become a living soul."

The inter-textual dialogue incorporates Shelley's lectures on Wordsworth as experiential knowledge, but in this incorporation Byron applies the knowledge of Wordsworthian metaphysics as discursive knowledge, not experiential knowledge. Ultimately, then, Byron rejects the interpretative framework of Wordsworthian methaphyiscs. "[N]othing [can] aid" Manfred as he seeks from non-cosmopolitan metaphysics "what they could not bestow." In short, through Manfred's rejection of Nature, Byron transforms his inter-textual dialogue with Wordsworthean aesthetics into an inter-textual commentary which criticizes the interpretative frameworks of Wordsworthean metaphysics. Wordsworth's communion with Nature is a knowledge understood by Byron, but instead of alleviating his psychological turmoil, it continually reminds him of his deficiency in not being able to lose himself in, and fully experience, Nature.

Similarly to Manfred, the travel experiences of Byron in the Bernese Alps preclude a Wordsworthian participatory view of Nature. Byron's journal entry for September 28, 1816, states that

> I was disposed to be pleased—I am a lover of Nature—and an Admirer of Beauty—I can bear fatigue—& welcome privation—and have seen some of the noblest views in the world.—But in all this—the recollections of bitterness—& more especially of recent & more home desolation—which must accompany me through life—have preyed upon me here—and neither the music of the Shepherd—the crashing of the Avalanche—nor the torrent—the mountain—the Glacier—the Forest—nor the Cloud—have for one moment—lightened the weight upon my heart—nor enabled me to lose my own wretched identity in the majesty & the power and the Glory—around—above—& beneath me.—I am past reproaches—and there is time for all things—I am past the wish of vengeance—and I know of none like for what I have suffered— (Marchand V, 104-105)

Unlike Wordsworth, who was settled in the Lake district and was not a nomad, Byron's nomadic travel precludes the passionate, but studied, participation with ordinary Nature—such as Wordsworth's daffodils—precisely because Wordsworth's existence and poetry are rooted in local Nature—specifically the Lake District where he was born and raised—and the result of life-long reflections on Nature. In contrast, Byron the cosmopolitan traveller construes Nature conceptually: it is "the mountain—the Glacier—the Forest." Here aspects of Nature are cosmopolitan, not local.

Clubbe comments that despite being "overwhelmed as his senses were by the Alps...[Byron's] emotional turmoil remained unassuaged" (Clubbe). Furthermore, Robinson argues that in Geneva Byron

> had strengthened his conviction that man's mind provided the only refuge in a fallen world, a conviction that finds its fullest expression in his new major poems....By means of this powerfully self-sustained mind, Manfred...would deny the validity of Wordsworthian and Shelleyan metaphysics.... (30)

Indeed, what is at issue here for Byron is not that all men's aspirations are limited by the human condition, but that the interpretation of these aspirations are limited by the condition of the human mind to rely on knowledge to validate experience.[10] Byron's inter-textual commentary in *Manfred* denies the "validity of Wordsworthian and Shelleyan metaphysics" and through Manfred foregrounds the significance of the independence of the mind.

Having missed an opportunity to become acquainted with Byron in England, Shelley literally travels to Switzerland to meet the poet. Isolated from England, Byron's discussions with Shelley provided him with an intellectual equal. The immediate interaction with the intellectual-discussion network of the Shelley circle that travelled to Byron from England, sparked his pre-occupation with Wordsworthian metaphysics which in turn fostered an inter-textual commentary within the dramatic poem.[11] Moreover, this is not an isolated incident. What makes *Manfred* an "inter-network" is that other print-media and discussion networks are also encorporated in the dramatic poem. I will now turn to the monumental influence of the Byron-Shelley circle and the reading of *Fantasmagoriana.*

### *Fantasmagoriana*: June 14-18, 1816

One of the most famous episodes in literary history is the famous ghost-story telling night at the Villa Diodati. Between June 14-18 the Byron-Shelley circle read ghost stories from *Fantasmagoriana*, a text borrowed from a local library in Geneva. Byron suggested a ghost story writing contest between each member of the circle; a contest which produced Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818) and Polidori's *The Vampire* (1819). Literary critics often foreground these two texts as the literary productions of the reading of *Fantasmagoriana*, but the text also had an influence on Byron's composition of *Manfred.*

Such aspects about the *Fantasmagoriana* text present an interesting episode in communication history because it documents the cross-cultural encounters facilitated via

---

[10] Byron's investigation into the value of Wordsworthean aesthetics is an issue also confronted in the third canto of *Childe Harold.* "Byron acknowledged the futility of a Wordsworthian 'physic' or 'metaphysic,' for Harold could *not* keep 'his spirit to that flight.' All men's aspirations, Byron seems to be saying, are limited by the human condition: "but this clay will sink/Its spark immortal" (Robinson, 20).

[11] Another important networking function of the Shelley circle not discussed in this chapter is that its members courier Byron's compositions to Murray in London for dissemination in the English public sphere. Interestingly, all members of the circle, including Claire Clairmont who transcribes Byron's manuscripts, participate in this network.

travelling print-media networks. Macdonald and Scherf identify the text read by the Byron-Shelley circle as a French translation of the German text of Schulze's and Apel's *Gespensterbuch* (1811-1815).

> *Fantasmagoriana, ou recueil d'histoires d'apparitions de spectres, revenans, fantômes, etc.* (1812), translated anonymously by Jean-Baptiste-Benoît Eyriès (1767-1846), from the first two volumes of the five-volume *Gespensterbuch* (1811-1815) edited by Friedrich Schulze and Johann Apel. Eyriès's translation had been translated into English, as *Tales of the Dead* (1813), by Sarah Elizabeth Brown Utterson (1782?-1851). (48)[12]

The immediate translation path from German into French into English indicates that *Fantasmagoriana* was a popularly received text in contemporary nineteenth-century culture. Clearly, this text travelled between cultures, and can be defined as a cross-cultural and cosmopolitan text.[13] However, little is actually known about the translation and cultural history, as well as the content, of the individual ghost-stories included in the *Fantasmagoriana* text.

First, the stories in *Fantasmagoriana* are part of the *Schauerromantik* tradition in German literature, similar to Gothic literature in England. Patricia Duncker defines "Schauerliteratur" (horror-literature) as revealing

> a world where good and evil cannot be simply defined or recognised....Fear, terror and suspense, the apprehension of evil perpetrated by human or supernatural agents is a theme that is essential to the Gothic Romances, the *Schauerromane* ....The attraction of the Gothic Romances and *Schauerromane* is based on that elusive but gripping *delight*, which is the basis of their aesthetic terror which is defined by Burke....The reader could contemplate that which was, evil, threatening, even satanic, so long as the pain or terror depicted was not so immediate as to cause him to feel a sense of personal danger.....This sensation of fear and of elevation beyond levels of mundane and daily experience was often the object, and in many cases the achievement, of the Gothic Romances and *Schauerromane*....The worlds depicted in the Gothic romances and in the *Schauerromane* were worlds of fantasy, far removed from the recognisable

---

[12] See: Shelley, Mary. *Frankenstein.* 1818. Eds. D.L. Macdonald & Kathleen Scherf. Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2000.
Friedrich Schulze (1770-1849); Johann Apel (1771-1816). Manfred Eimer states that the actual title page would read "*Gespensterbuch, hg. von A. Apel und F. Laun.*" Laun was the pseudonym for Schulze. (See: Eimer, 239). I will henceforth refer to this author as Laun.

[13] This is exemplified by the irony that the *English* Byron-Shelley circle read a *French* translation of the *German* original *Gespensterbuch* borrowed from a *Swiss* library which in turn is the genesis for some of the most enduring and famous productions in English literature (i.e. *Frankenstein* and *Manfred*).

> everyday reality of cause and effect, uncertain, unstable and morally ambivalent. (Duncker, 3-4; Emphasis Duncker's)[14]

*Fantasmagoriana* was a low-brow and popular culture production of stories incorporating the "Schauerliteratur" conventions of horror to entertain its readers. The supernatural element in the stories also provides an ambiguous dimension as it often remains unexplained, adding to the suspense and mystery of the stories. Clearly, it is these elements of ambiguity, mystery, suspense, and horror that are most valued by the Byron-Shelley circle in their ghost-story reading and the literary productions it fostered.

However, the *Fantasmagoriana* edition read by the Byron-Shelley circle differs from the German original in its translation of material. Manfred Eimer, in his article "Einflüsse deutscher Räuber- und Schauerromantik auf Shelley, Mrs. Shelley und Byron,"[15] (1914-15) traces the publication history of the *Fantasmagoriana* text. Eimer states that until 1914, no literary critic had previously researched which stories were actually read by the Byron-Shelley circle.[16] The *Gespensterbuch* by Apel and Laun numbered 23 stories five of which were included in the two-volume *Fantasmagoria* text translated by Eyriès. As noted above by Macdonald and Scherf, the Eyriès edition includes translations presumably from the first two volumes of the *Gespensterbuch* published in 1811 and 1812. Polidori recalls the title of the borrowed volume as "*Fantasmagoriana*" and that this text was published in 1811 by "Lenormant et Schoell."[17] Eimer states that the second volume of *Fantasmagoriana* was published in 1812.

Volume one of *Fantasmagoriana* contains three stories, while volume two numbers five stories.[18] Of the three stories in *Fantasmagoriana* volume one, the source for the first two stories, *L'amour muet* and *Les portraits de famille*, remains unidentified. The German source for the last story, *La tête de morti,* is identified by Eimer as *Der Totenkopf* in Apel and Laun's *Gespensterbuch.* The five stories in the second volume—presumably the 1812 edition—are as follows:

---

[14] See: 3-4 Duncker, Patricia. "Images of Evil: A Comparative Study of Selected Works from the German *Schauerromantik* and the English Gothic Traditions." Dissertation 1979. Oxford University. PT 759 D92 1979.

[15] Literally in English: "Influences of German Robber and "Schauerromantik" on Shelley, Mrs. Shelley and Byron" in *Englische Studien*, XLVIII (1914-1915): 231-24.

[16] Wohl aber fehlte bisher ein versuch, darzutun, um welche deutschen geistergeschichten es sich handelte, und festzustellen, inwieweit sie die erwähnten erzählungen stofflich beeinflußt haben möchten.

Am ende ist es ja doch nicht uninteressant, zu wissen, welche deutschen schriftsteller aus der zeit der schauerromantik es waren, die den kreis von Cologny so sehr ergötzten. (Eimer, 238)

[17] See Eimer, 238. (Polidori reference can be traced to: *Extract of a Letter from Geneva*, in *The Works of*. . . Lord Byron, vol. IX. Zwickau, 1820. S. XV).

[18] "Es sind also offenbar mehrere ausgaben dieser *Fantasmagoriana* hintereinander erschienen.

Der I. band (XIV und 276 ss.) enthält drei, der 2. Band (303 ss.) fünf geschichten.

Es ist mir nicht gelungen, die beiden ersten zu identifizieren...." (Eimer, 238).

1. *La morte fiancée*: (*Die totenbraut*, by Laun)
2. *L'heure fatale*: (*Die verwandtschaft mit der geisterwelt*, by Laun)
3. *Le revenant*: (*Der geist des verstorbenen*, by Laun)
4. *La chambre grise*: (*Die graue stube*, von H. C. [unidentified author])
5. *La chambre noire*: (*Die schwarze kammer*, by Apel)[19]

With the exception of story four, *La chambre grise*, all stories in the second volume are taken from the *Gespensterbuch.* Eimer identifies the source for *La chambre grise* as "*Die graue stube*" a short story published by an unidentified author, with the initials H.C., on April 09 and 10, 1810, in numbers 71 and 72 of *Der freimüthige*, a Berlin entertainment paper.[20] Moreover, Eimer states that the published version in *Fantasmagoriana* acknowledges "a journal" as a source in the subtitle: "*Extrait du Journale intitulé: Le Sincére, Lundi, 9 Avril 1810*" (239).

The two-volume *Fantasmagoriana* text, therefore, borrowed by the Byron-Shelley circle, is itself a travelling "inter-network" of popular print-media comprised of translations from German ghost stories in Apel and Laun's *Gespensterbuch* and the centralized network of an entertainment journal. Moreover, in fostering the composition of *Frankenstein*, and as will be discussed momentarily, *Manfred*, this travelling "inter-network" of print-media is not only cross-cultural, but also crosses the borders between low-brow and popular culture and high art. It is of interest to note that the translation from *Fantasmagoriana* into English, *Tales of the Dead* (1813) by Sarah Elizabeth Brown Utterson, lists its contents as follows: 1. *The Family Portraits*; 2. *The Fated Hour*; 3. *The Death's Head*; 4. *The Death-Bride*; 5. *The Storm*; 6. *The Spectre Barber (A Tale of the*

---

[19] Das Apel-Launsche *Gespensterbuch* bringt 23 geschichten, von denen fünf in den *Fantasmagoriana* übersetzt worden sind.....Indem ich auf die identifizierung der beiden ersten erzählungen in den *Fantasmagoriana* verzichten muß, ergibt sich im übrigen folgendes bild:
Band I.
*L'amour muet* ==) . . . . . ?
*Les portraits de famille* == . . . . . ?
*La tête de mort* == . . . . . *Der totenkopf*, Laun (Gespensterbuch [Reclam] s. 229).
Band II.
*La morte fiancée* . . . . *Die totenbraut*, Laun (Gespensterbuch s. 154).
*L'heure fatale* == . . . . *Die verwandtschaft mit der geisterwelt*, Laun (Gespensterbuch s. 131).
*Le revenant* == . . . . *Der geist des verstorbenen*, Laun (Gespensterbuch s. 71).
*La chambre grise* == . . . *Die graue stube*, von H. C. (In *Der freimüthige*, aao.).*
*La chambre noire* == . . . *Die schwarze kammer*, von Apel (Gespensterbuch s. 249).
(Eimer, 239).
In English, the titles of these stories read as follows: 1. "The Death-Bride;" 2. "The Relationship with the Ghost World;" 3. "The Ghost of the Deceased;" 4. "The Grey Room/Parlour;" 5. "The Black Chamber."

[20] See: Eimer, 239. "Ferner ist die 7. Geschichte, *La Cambre grise*, identisch mit *Die graue stube*, von H. C. [Author remains hitherto unidentified], veröffentlicht in: *Der freimüthige* (einem berliner unterhaltungsblatt) vom 9. und 10. April 1810, nr. 71 und 72. In den *Fantasmagoriana* hat sie ausdrücklich den untertitel: *Extrait du Journal intitulé: Le Sincére, Lundi, 9 Avril 1810.*

*Sixteenth Century).*[21] In its cross-cultural translation by Utterson into English from Eyriès' French translation of the German text, the content and order of the collection of stories changes again, even adding a new story: *The Spectre Barber.* This cosmopolitan text literally travels, and transforms itself, between cultures.

The text also travels via its incorporation in Byron's dramatic poem. Eimer traces the influence of "The Fatal Hour" printed in *Fantasmagoriana* (*L'heure fatale* in Eyriès' French translation; *Die verwandtschaft mit der geisterwelt* in Laun's original) as playing a "not insignificant motif for the" Astarte scene in Byron's *Manfred.*[22] Both Laun's *L'heure fatale*[23] and *Manfred* deal with similar motifs: the prophecy of death at a stated hour and; the withholding of an answer.

In Act II, scene iv, the phantom of Astarte: a) prophecies Manfred's death and; b) withholds the answers to Manfred's questions:

> *Phantom of Astarte.* Manfred!
> *Man.* Say on, say on—
> I live but in the sound—it is thy voice!
> *Phan.* Manfred! To-morrow ends thine earthly ills.
> Farewell!
> *Man.* Yet one word more—am I forgiven?
> *Phan.* Farewell!
> *Man.* Say, shall we meet again?
> *Phan.* Farewell!
> *Man.* One word for mercy! Say thou lovest me.
> *Phan.* Manfred!

The "Astarte scene" is one of the most dramatic scenes in capturing Manfred's psychological turmoil embodied in the mystery of Astarte's death and her relationship with Manfred. While Byron's poetic genius has gone beyond, indeed transformed, the elements in Laun's story to suit his own aesthetic purposes, nonetheless, the supernatural elements of a fated hour and a phantom find their genesis in Laun's story.

---

[21] See: Utterson, Sarah Elizabeth Brown. *Tales of the Dead.* London: Printed for White, Cochrane, and Co., Fleet Street. 1813. BL#: 12547.D8.

[22] See Eimer: "Dagegen scheint es, als ob eine der Launschen geschichten, *Die verwandtschaft mit der geisterwelt*, ein nicht unwichtiges motiv zu der Astarte-szene in Byrons *Manfred* geliefert habe" (Eimer, 241).

[23] Although I'm referring to the German original here, I will henceforth refer to the text by the French title, *L'heure fatale*, since this was the actual story read by the Byron-Shelley circle.

Eimer notes that in Laun's *L'heure fatale*, Florentine, the protagonist of the story, encounters the phantom of her sister, Seraphine, who prophesizes her death and then, like Astarte, also disappears before answering Florentine's question:

> "What do you say," so she [Seraphine's phantome] says to me [Florentine], "for your own sake....to provide the consciousness of your approaching death and to reveal the fate of your house?
>
> The appearance then disclosed to me herewith what would occur, and when after I had pondered deeply about the prophetic voice and wanted to position a question to the prophet myself, the room was dark and everything disappeared supernaturally. (Quoted in Eimer, 243).[24]

It is prophecized that Florentine will die three days before her wedding at the fated hour of nine o'clock (hence the title *L'heure fatale*) and "Florentine chooses for marriage and dies at the previously named hour at nine o'clock in the evening."[25]

Just as Florentine's marriage is precluded by her death, Byron also precludes the union of Manfred and Astarte as the "Farewell" appears final. Manfred's death also embues this finality, rather than a pending union:

> *Spirit.* Mortal! thine hour is come—Away! I say.
> *Man.* I knew, and know my hour is come, but not
> To render up my soul to such as thee:
> Away! I'll die as I have lived—alone. (III, iv)

The supernatural elements of a prophesized fated hour in *Manfred* and *L'heure fatale* illustrate the influence of Laun's text, and the ghost-story reading of *Fantasmagoriana* at the Villa Diodati, on the composition of *Manfred.* Eimer comments on these common elements as follows:

> In *L'heure fatale* and *Manfred*, is something, totally hidden and the knowledge of which is a deep spiritual wish of the questioner, that is withheld by the appeared ghost, due to its evil — or in *Manfred* — because of punishment or revenge. (244)[26]

---

[24] ">>'Was zagst du', so redet es [Seraphine] mich [Florentine] an, 'vor deinem eigenen wesen, das nur zu dir tritt, um dir das bewußtsein deines nahen todes zu verschaffen und die schicksale deines hauses zu offenbaren?'

Die erscheinung entdeckte mir hierauf, was geschehen soll, und wie ich nach tiefem sinnen über die prophetische stimme an die prophetin selbst eine frage, *deinetwegen* eine frage richten will, ist das zimmer dunkel und alles übernatürliche verschwunden.<<" (Quoted in Eimer, 243).

[25] "Florentine wählt den ehestand und stirbt zu der vorhergesagten zeit um neun uhr abends" (Quoted in Eimer, 243).

[26] See Eimer: "In *L'heure fatale* und *Manfred* ist die sache anders [compared to *Macbeth*]. Hier wird etwas, was ganz im verborgenen liegt und was zu wissen ein tief seelisches bedürfnis des fragenden ist, von dem

Clearly, these similarities are directly taken from the *Fantasmagoriana* text and incorporated in Byron's dramatic poem.

What I would like to foreground here is that Byron's *Manfred* functions as an "inter-network" where low-brow and high brow literary productions converge. First, the supernatural and horror elements of Laun's low-brow "Schauerliteratur" are re-configured in the characterization of Manfred to develop the psychological suffering of Manfred—the Byronic Hero. The withheld answer denies Manfred what he desires most; forgiveness through which he may obtain forgetfulness from knowledge. In short, the suspense and horror conventions in Laun's stories provide Byron with a framework from which he develops his own composition.

Secondly, the dramatic poem functions as a travelling "inter-network" of cross-cultural and foreign print-media networks. *Fantasmagoriana* is Eyriès' French translation of the German original, Laun and Apel's *Gespensterbuch.* In addition to the linguistic translation, the order and presentation of the stories differs in Eyriès' edition from the German original—what McGann would refer to as the cultural factors that direct the production of a text. Therefore, Byron's appropriation of "Schauerliteratur" conventions, mediated to him via the "inter-network" of a French translation, is at best second-hand. Consequently, his re-configuration of these conventions in *Manfred,* and the subsequent dissemination of the Byron text in the English public sphere, presents a cross-cultural dissemination of German culture in England.

While this dissemination mediates specific German "Schauerliteratur" conventions in English, the German origins of the text are effectively obscured. Therefore, in obscuring the origin and influence of foreign print-media networks, the cross-cultural print-media "inter-network" of *Manfred* demolishes existing eighteenth-century "space-barriers" of the interchange of thought between the continent and England. In reading *Manfred,* English readers are reading a cosmopolitan text and are unwittingly exposed to foreign influences to which they otherwise would not have had access except perhaps for Utterson's *Tales of the Dead.* As such, the dramatic poem is a literary production that functions as an "inter-network" of print-media in linking, albeit distortedly, German low-brow culture to the English public sphere before a cultural and interpretative framework of German "Schauerliteratur" exists in England.

### 3. Mme. de Staël's Coterie and A. W. Schlegel: July 21, 1816 - late August, 1816

The influence of A.W. Schlegel's (1767-1845) *Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Literatur* (1809-1811; translated 1815) on Byron's 1816 verse links the awareness of Schlegel's lectures, disseminated via an English periodical network of journal reviews, to

---

erschienenen geiste sozusagen boshaft oder— im *Manfred* — strafend oder rächend verschwiegen" (Eimer, 244).

Byron's personal acquaintance with the author and his text at Coppet. The social and intellectual networks of correspondence with Schlegel and his work foster Byron's new "inter-network" of verse productions which conveniently obscures the sources for his incorporation of Schlegelean concepts of Romantic individualsm. Interestingly, these concepts travel to Byron and are then (re-)disseminated in the English public sphere in Byron's own literary productions via Murray's publication of *Manfred*.[27]

Byron's re-discovered dialogue with Æschylus' *Prometheus Bound* through his discussions with Shelley, as noted above, most immediately found expression in his poem *Prometheus* (1816).[28] John Clubbe argues that

> while Prometheus' fate was symbolic of the general human lot, it was still a fate ennobled by suffering and by a tremendous effort to maintain his mind's independence. Furthermore, the paradox of his existence—extra-ordinary mental energy driven by enforced physical passivity—could only draw Byron to him. (17)

Byron embodies the "extra-ordinary mental energy" and "a fate ennobled by suffering....to maintain...[the] mind's independence" in the characterization of Manfred.

In Act I, scene i, for example, the Seven Spirits mockingly refer to Manfred as a "Child of Clay," yet Byron's intention is to portray the individual as heroically independent from a morality dictated by social conventions and supernatural powers. Manfred defiantly retorts to the supernatural spirits:

> Ye mock me — but the power which brought ye here
> Hath made you mine. Slaves, scoff not at my will!
> The mind, the spirit, the Promethean spark,
> The lightening of my being, is as bright,
> Pervading, and far darting as your own,
> And shall not yield to yours, though coop'd in clay!
> (I, i., 152-157)

"Though coop'd in clay," the individual cannot be controlled by outside forces—even supernatural forces. Manfred's speech reasserts the power of the will, "mind" and "spirit" in the face of alienation from a higher sphere. The metaphysical power of the mind evoked here distinctly echoes some critical paragraphs written by A. W. Schlegel on *Prometheus*

---

[27] Goslee defends Byron against charges of plagiarism: "One would ironically choose such grounds on which to defend the close verbal resemblances of Byron's poem [*Prometheus*] to Schlegel's text [Lectures], though I think the transformation from prose to powerful verse clearly removes him [Byron] from charges of plagiarism" (Goslee, 21).

[28] Duncan Wu dates the poem as "composed July or Early August 1816" (Wu, 708).

*Bound.* Clearly, Byron had been aware of Schlegel's literary criticism and his concept of Romantic Individualism. The questions raised, however, are what were the sources of Byron's awareness, and how did they travel to him?

During his visits to Mme. de Staël's literary salon in Coppet starting on July 21, 1816,[29] and continuing until late August, Byron had been introduced to Schlegel.[30] Byron preferred the company of a continental literary circle over the English tourists in the drawing rooms of Geneva. Eisler writes that

> Several times a week, setting out in midafternoon, he sailed directly across the lake to arrive in time for dinner at Coppet....Byron found a welcoming circle of genial spirits...He was...both awed and irritated by the children's ex-tutor and resident scholar, the German critic, philologist, and poet A. W. Schlegel" (529-530).[31]

While Byron's personal acquaintance with Schlegel may have provided the source for his reflections on Prometheus and Romantic Individualism, in her article "Pure Stream from a Troubled Source: Byron, Schlegel and Prometheus" (1982), Nancy Goslee argues that "Byron had read at least the Prometheus paragraphs of Schlegel's lectures in 1816" (21). Goslee presents three possible "prose versions of Schlegel's discussions of Prometheus" that directly influenced Byron's *Prometheus*, as well as *Manfred.*

> The brief analysis of Æschylus' *Prometheus Bound* in A. W. Schlegel's *Vorlesungen über Dramatische Kunst und Literatur* (*Course of Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature*) as translated into French by A. A. Necker de Saussure in 1814 and into English by John Black in 1815 corresponds strikingly to Byron's poem [*Prometheus*]....[which] as a whole follows an order very similar to Schlegel's development....also William Hazlitt's 1816 review of Black's translation, in which he quotes or paraphrases Schlegel with gusto...may have shaped Byron's poem. (20-21)

---

[29] The Shelleys departed for a tour of Switzerland on July 21, 1816. They return on July 27.

[30] Interestingly, these visits are simultaneous to the composition of *Prometheus.*

[31] See also Byron's letter to Samuel Rogers written at "Diodati—nr. Geneva July 29th 1816" which documents the Salon at Coppet. Leslie Marchand footnotes Byron's mention of "Schlegel is in high force" and that Schlegel's "egoism caused Byron to dislike him" (V, 86). It is clear from this letter that Byron encountered other literary personages such as "Charles Victor Bonstetten (1745-1832), a Swiss man of letters, [who] met Thomas Gray in ...1769, and had an extended correspondence with him" (Marchand V, 86). Byron himself notes that "Mathison—Muller the historian...is a good deal at Copet—where I have met him a few times."
Marchand notes: "Friedrich von Matthisson (1761-1831), a German poet" (V, 85). "Johann von Müller (1752-1809), author of a *History of the Helvetic Confederation*, was a lifelong friend and correspondent of Bonstetten" (Marchand V, 86).

Disentangling these prose sources retraces the complex process of travelling print-media networks to Byron.

According to Goslee, the three critical paragraphs cited in William Hazlitt's review of John Black's translation of Schlegel's lectures in the February 1816 edition of the *Edinburgh Review*, are the most likely source for Byron's perusal of Schlegel's lectures. Byron was a very astute reader of the *Edinburgh Review*, Goslee argues, because amid his personal turmoil Byron tells Thomas Moore that a poem by Leigh Hunt ought to have been reviewed in the *Edinburgh* (Goslee, 21). Byron writes to Moore on February 28, 1816:

> Leigh Hunt's poem is a devilish good one....I do not say this because he has inscribed it to me, which I am sorry for, as I should otherwise have begged you to review it in the Edinburgh. It is really deserving of much praise, and a favourable critique in the E[dinburgh] R[eview] would but do it justice, and set it up before the public eye where it ought to be. (Marchand V, 35)

While it is clear that Byron was closely reading the *Edinburgh Review*, and as argued by Goslee that this "surely suggests that...[Byron] knew what had been reviewed," it nonetheless remains impossible to verify Byron's awareness of Schlegel's critical paragraphs solely to this particular source.[32]

Nonetheless, Hazlitt's review itself presents an "inter-network" of foreign print media and cross-cultural exchange. Hazlitt's review of John Black's English translation of Schlegel removes the review from the original German source. Hazlitt directly quotes two translated sentences by Black from Schlegel's German original:

> 'Prometheus,' says our author, 'is an image of human nature itself; endowed with a miserable foresight, and bound down to a narrow existence, without an ally, and with nothing to oppose to the combined and inexorable powers of Nature, but an unshaken will, and the consciousness of elevated claims. The other poems of the Greek tragedians are single tragedies, but this may be called tragedy itself; its purest spirit is revealed with all the overpowering influence of its first unmitigated austerity.'
>
> [End Schlegel paragraph]

---

[32] Goslee also notes that "Mary Shelley's journal for the summer of 1816 lists the newer issues [*Edinburgh Review*] of June and September in their reading, but her journal from May through July 20, 1816 is missing" (Goslee, 21). "Mary does not include the February issue in her lists of books reading in 1816....it appears that these lists, even for the years earlier, were begun in July 1816" (35).

> We agree with M. Schlegel, when he says, that 'there is little external action in this piece: Prometheus merely suffers and resolves from the beginning to the end.' But we cannot assent to his assertion, that 'the poet has contrived, in a masterly manner, to introduce variety into that which was in itself determinate.' All that is fine in it, is the abstract conception of the characters: The story is as uninteresting, as it is inartificial and improbable. (*Edinburgh Review*, February 1816, 81-82)

Hazlitt's general synopsis of Schlegel's comments on Prometheus's suffering, and the lack of external action, could just as easily apply to *Manfred*. Clearly, Byron's characterization of Manfred's alienation, his suffering and his "unshaken will," embody Promethean characteristics very similar to those espoused by Schlegel.

However, Hazlitt's review numbers thirty-nine pages. If this section of Schlegel's criticism on *Prometheus Bound* and Romantic Individualism (only a half page long) is the source for Byron's knowledge of Schlegel, as Goslee argues, it would suggest that Byron was a very careful reader who either took extensive notes or had an extremely good memory. After all, one could easily miss the impact of these two paragraphs in regard to the thirty-nine pages of the full review, let alone recall them six months later when composing *Prometheus* and *Manfred*.

Therefore, Goslee speculates that Hazlitt's review "and probably also his [Byron's] direct, though stilted, conversations with Schlegel had led Byron to the full text of the lectures" (Goslee, 21-22).[33] It is very probably that Byron was more than casually acquainted with Schlegel's text and may have read either Saussure's or Black's translation. In 1814 Necker de Saussure translates A. W. Schlegel's *Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Literatur* into French. It was reviewed in the October 1814 issue of the *Quarterly Review*, which presents itself as another, and more likely source for Byron's awareness because preceding this review on Saussure are reviews of Byron's own *Giaour, and Bride of Abydos*. Moreover, the *Quarterly Review* was a publication owned by John Murray. It seems highly probable, therefore, Byron would have been aware of Schlegelean concepts of Romantic Individualism prior to Hazlitt's review and before re-visiting these ideas in Geneva in 1816.

Indeed, Byron appears to have received a copy of Schlegel's text while in Switzerland. On August 25, 1816, Byron writes to Mme. de Staël to thank her for sending a text which Nancy M. Goslee convincingly speculates "was probably either the 1814 French translation by A. A. de Saussure, Mme. de Staël's cousin, or Black's 1815 English translation" (31-

[33] "A comparison of Byron's text to the [Hazlitt's] review shows many close resemblances, though further comparison to the full text of Schlegel's paragraphs on Prometheus suggests that the review and probably also his direct, though stilted, conversations with Schlegel had led Byron to the full text of the lectures" (Goslee, 21-22).

32).[34] While Byron's awareness may have been stimulated by the exposure to, or remembrance of, Hazlitt's review, it was the literary Salon at Coppet that facilitated his interaction, both with text and author of *Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Literatur*.

Moreover, it appears that it was not uncommon for Byron to be sent literary material from members of the Coppet literary circle. In a letter addressed to an unknown correspondent, dated "Diodati.—July 30th 1816," Byron writes:

> Dear Sir—I feel truly obliged by the details with regard to Bonnivard which you have been good enough to send me—and have only to regret that I did not possess them before....On Sunday I sent a servant over to Coppet with the M.S.S.—which the Baroness had expressed a wish to read—and I hope that she received them in safety. (Marchand V, 87)

This letter suggests a network of interchange of foreign (non-English) print-media. Byron not only received texts (although we are to speculate regarding the number and the content of these texts) from Coppet, but also forwarded his own manuscripts. Such interchange via epistolary networks suggest Byron's active participation in the literary circle at Coppet while composing his poems. And one may only speculate to what extent the texts sent to him were in response to the familiarity with his manuscripts at Coppet, as well as to his literary discussions with the members of the literary circle. In short, an inter-textual dialogue seems to have been fostered between Byron's literary compositions and texts that travelled to Byron from the literary coterie at Coppet.

Byron's incorporation of Schlegelean concepts of Romantic Individualism is another example of an inter-textual dialogue with travelling texts that is linked to the "inter-network" of Byron's 1816 literary productions. Goslee's article presents a detailed analysis of the source texts—Black's and Saussure's translations—and the incorporation of these texts in Byron's *Prometheus*. While I focus more specifically on the direct incorporation of Schlegelean Romantic Individualism in Byron's *Manfred* below, my point here regards the cross-cultural and cosmopolitan interchange mediated via travelling print-media networks. Clearly, Byron had been aware of Schlegel's lectures, probably via the review published in

---

[34] Goslee states that it "seems unlikely, though, that Byron used the German text directly: instead the text Mme. de Stael [sic] sent him was probably either the 1814 French translation by A. A. Necker de Saussure...or Black's 1815 English translation....In several phrases [in *Prometheus*], Byron...seems closer to the French than to either the German or the English....In another case, at the beginning of Schlegel's third paragraph, Byron again seems to follow the French translation instead of the English one as a model for his phrasing of lines 15-16....I am still drawn to Black's English text as a full source, however, by its puzzling translation, almost a mistranslation, of a sentence early in the second paragraph...." (Goslee, 31-32). A study of such mistranslations, beyond the scope of this dissertation, would make an interesting study in understanding the (mis)information of cross-cultural exchange.

the Murray-owned *Quarterly Review* in October 1814. His travels to Geneva, as well as his literary fame and aristocratic status, gain Byron access to one of the most renowned literary coteries on the continent. Via Mme. de Staël Byron directly meets Schlegel, and is sent a copy of the latter's lectures translated (most probably) by John Black which in turn is incoporated into his literary productions.

Thus a new "inter-network" is forged from existing social, print-media, and intellectual networks. However, this new "inter-network" obscures its foreign networks of influence when published and disseminated into the English public sphere. Goslee states that in regard to the poem *Prometheus*, Byron was reluctant in acknowledging Schlegel's concepts as an inspirational source.

> Given Byron's well-publicized irritation with what he felt was Schlegel's arrogance at Coppet, it would have been particularly galling for him to acknowledge Schlegel and his translators as the communal inspiration for one of his most powerful portraits of the solitary hero. Yet, finally, his skilful and powerful remoulding of these sources measures his own individuality. (Goslee, 34)

Byron's 1816 verse, including *Prometheus*, as well as *Manfred*, is successfully disseminated into the English public sphere and conveniently obscures the foreign networks of influence that had travelled to Byron. Again, *Prometheus* and *Manfred* function as an "inter-network" of print-media. It is Byron's physical travel to Switzerland, and his social status as an aristocrat, that facilitate his travels in the literary circle at Coppet. In turn, this invites texts to travel to him. Byron's *Manfred* is composed from travelling networks, but the content is also distinctly cosmopolitan. The incorporation of Schlegelean concepts amalgamates continental philosophy into a work written in the English language, and in doing so, Schlegelean concepts of Romantic Individualism travel, through cross-cultural dissemination, to the English public sphere. Clearly, it is the very nature of travel, that invites other travelling networks and allows Byron the travel writer to incorporate cosmopolitan elements into his literary productions.

**Schlegelean Promethean Individualism and Romantic Travel in *Manfred***

The travelling network of Schlegel's concepts are directly incorporated as an inter-textual commentary in Byron's *Manfred.* Drawing on Schlegelean concepts of Romantic Individualism, Byron develops the concept of the individual who wills the independence of his mind in light of his psychological suffering of too much knowledge and the failure of conventional codes in alleviating this suffering. Byron's pre-occupation with Schlegelean concepts of Romantic Individualism, and the landscape of the Bernese Alps forms the focus for the Chamois Hunter scene.

Most critics have correctly interpreted the Chamois Hunter scene as representative of an idealized pastoral society. The Chamois Hunter himself represents common humanity. Byron's metaphysical and geographical stimuli are characterized in Manfred's "Promethean" interaction with the "socialized" landscape. John Clubbe argues that

> while Prometheus' fate was symbolic of the general human lot, it was still a fate ennobled by suffering and by a tremendous effort to maintain his mind's independence. Furthermore, the paradox of his existence—extra-ordinary mental energy driven by enforced physical passivity—could only draw Byron to him. (17)

The strength of the will and individualism is projected against the backdrop of a socialized landscape. Representing common humanity, the Chamois Hunter functions as a foil for Manfred's individualism. The Chamois Hunter interprets the mists practically:

> Chamois Hunter: The mists begin to rise from up the valley;
> I'll warn him to descend, or he may chance
> To lose at once his way and life together. (I, ii., 82-84)

The Chamois Hunter reads the landscape with the practical knowledge of a local eye, interpreting the mists as a sign of the potential danger of the approaching storm. He cautiously approaches Manfred to warn him of impending danger. Representative of society, he symbolically reads within the framework of social conventions.

In contrast, Manfred's suicidal tendencies atop of the Jungfrau symbolize his social alienation. His inability to interpret the mist from a local geographic perspective represents his existence outside of the conventional values of society and culture. He reads the mists philosophically and through the prism of self-scrutiny:

> Manfred: The mists boil up around the glaciers; clouds
> Rise curling fast beneath me, white and sulphury,
> Like foam the roused ocean of deep Hell.... (I, i., 85-88)
> Mountains have fallen,
> Leaving a gap in the clouds, and with the shock
> Rocking their Alpine brethren; filling up
> The ripe green valleys with destruction's splinters;
> Damming the rivers with a sudden dash,
> Which crush'd the waters into mist....
> Thus, in its old age, did Mount Rosenberg—
> Why stood I not beneath it? (I, ii., 93-100)

Manfred does not interpret the mists locally, but his cosmopolitan view interprets the mists from a global perspective. The mists are compared to "ocean[s]" and universalized into the cycle of Life: mountains dam the rivers which crush the waters into mists again. Aware that his superior knowledge of Life beyond regionalism separates him from common humanity, and the simple faith in the pastoral life held by the Chamois Hunter, Manfred yearns for "forgetfulness" and "oblivion" from this knowledge. Manfred seeks annihilation from knowledge—"Earth take these atoms"—because it is his cosmopolitan knowledge which precludes him from naively sharing the Chamois Hunter's lot.

The amalgamation of Promethean tropes in this scene is two-fold. First, it illustrates Manfred's (as well as Byron's) external alienation from society because the individual is no longer able to participate in the conventional codes of society due to his cosmopolitan experiences. Second, this results in the internal psychological suffering that emerges out of the knowledge of the fallibility of socialized ideals—in this case symbolized by the Pastoral. Contrary to Prometheus, whose knowledge brings fire to man, Manfred's knowledge is potentially destructive to both humanity and himself. The nobility of Manfred's suffering lies in his awareness of the destructive power of this knowledge, but his refusal to inform others of it.

It is his innate sensitivity towards the potential suffering of others that ultimately precludes him from sharing in the simplistic rustic life of the Chamois Hunter.

| | |
|---|---|
| Chamois Hunter: | And would's thou then exchange thy lot for mine? |
| Manfred: | No, friend! I would not wrong thee, nor exchange |
| | My lot with living being: I can bear— |
| | However wretchedly, 'tis still to bear— |
| | In life what other could not brook to dream |
| | But perish in their slumber. (II, i., 74-78) |

Manfred's respect for the Chamois Hunter, indeed for humanity, illustrates his noble nature and selflessness in carrying the burden of his suffering by himself.

Manfred's solitary suffering in his refusal to burden the Chamois Hunter with the knowledge of the loss of idealism contextually reverses the Prometheus myth. It is not the positive knowledge of fire that is given to humanity, but the negative knowledge of something destructive that is *withheld* from humanity. Therefore, it is in impulse, not in form, that Manfred embodies the individual suffering of Prometheus "a being superior to those who surround him, living by his own vision of the right, is set against those who live within the bounds of conventional attitudes" (Clubbe, 21). However, it is the individual knowledge and vision which alienates the individual from the frameworks of knowledge

and values embraced by the masses. Manfred suffers precisely because he once craved to be a part of the Pastoral ideal, but realizes that this longing is precluded by knowledge.

Byron's rejection of Wordworthian aesthetics aims to move beyond the conventional codes of contemporary society. Through Schlegelean concepts of Romantic Individualism,[35] Byron aims to nobilize Manfred's psychological suffering and establish a stability of knowledge within the self. The Shakespearean epigraph at the beginning of the poem

> 'There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,
> than are dreamt of in your philosophy.'

suggests Byron's attempt to move beyond the limitations of adapting a philosophy as an external interpretative framework for experience and feeling. It is in the third act of the dramatic poem that Byron develops his original thoughts into a theory of his own metaphysics—the concept of the Byronic Hero—exemplified by the configuration of an internalized self dependent on his/her own mind. While the Prometheus myth and Schlegelean Romantic Individualism are still present, it is the implications of Goethe's *Faust* which are most significantly developed in the final act. Indeed, the third act of *Manfred* sets up a dialogue with the philosophical and spiritual implications of Goethe's play beyond the implications suggested by *Faust*. Again, it is via social and intellectual networks that an inter-textual dialogue with the print-media production of *Faust* is fostered.

### 4. Goethe's *Faust* (1808) by Matthew "Monk" Lewis: August 14, 1816

Matthew "Monk" Lewis' verbal translation of Goethe's *Faust* is perhaps the most famous example of influence in the series of the aforementioned travelling texts. Lewis arrived at the Villa Diodati on August 14, 1816, and sometime during his stay verbally translated Goethe's *Faust* for Byron.[36] This episode documents how a German text, widely disseminated and popular in German speaking countries, but virtually unknown in England, is transformed into a cross-cultural "inter-network" because the text could only have been accessible to Byron via such direct personal translation. Although a polyglot, Byron's knowledge of the German language was very limited. In fact, the "measure of Byron's direct knowledge of German literature was at all times defined by what he could read of it in English, French, or Italian translations" (Robertson, 2). Moreover, there was "no English or French translation of Goethe's drama in 1816, and Byron's knowledge of it [*Faust*], before

---

[35] We are reminded of the translated paragraphs in Hazlitt's review here: "'Prometheus...without an ally...but an unshaken will, and the consciousness of elevated claims." See above.

[36] Some critics note that Lewis translated only from memory. This is debatable as Benita Eisler states that "Lewis...reading aloud one evening from Goethe's *Faust*, translating freely as he went along" (Eisler, 530).

he had Lewis's help, could only have been based on Madame de Staël's chapter [in *De L'Allemagne*]" (Robertson, 10).[37]

Lewis' translation of Goethe's *Faust* literally travels to Byron—both in the geographical, cultural, and translation sense. Robertson states that

> no work of foreign literature ever left so strong an impression upon him [Byron]. It has been suggested that, as Lewis himself was mainly interested in stories of the supernatural kind, he regaled Byron only with such parts of *Faust* as appealed to his taste; and no doubt Byron was particularly fascinated by the opening scene...the conjuring of Mephistopheles, the Witches Kitchen and the Walpurgisnacht. (10-11)

It is therefore not surprising that Byron incorporated Faustian themes in his own work. Lewis rendered Byron a great service as clearly, other than his verbal translation, Byron would not have been exposed to Goethe's great drama. Moreover, Byron incorporates Faustian themes in *Manfred*, thus re-configuring the Faustian themes narrated by Lewis' translation into the inter-textual dialogue of his dramatic poem which is ultimately developed into the concept of the Byronic Hero.

The Faustian themes in *Manfred*, as well as the supernatural scenes with the spirits, hark back to the Witches Kitchen and Walpurgisnacht in *Faust*, and are certainly on Byron's mind when composing the dramatic poem. In *Byron and Goethe: Analysis of a Passion* (1956), E. M. Butler comments on the similarities between the characters of Manfred and Faust.

> Despair and passion, guilt and remorse assail both Faust and Manfred; they are more clamorous in Byron's poem, but there is a certain exhilaration in the spectacle of a hero who remains undefeated against all odds....But as far as similar *motifs* come into play, Byron's divergences are all in the direction of a nobler estimate of man and a more grandiose conception of the powers of evil. (34)

While Byron goes beyond *Faust* thematically, Butler notes that "the form" for *Manfred* "was suggested by *Faust*; and that Byron, ever quick to acknowledge debts of which he was conscious, was the first to inform Murray on that score" (35).

It is well-known that Goethe himself was fascinated with the influence of his play on *Manfred*.[38] In fact, Goethe falsely assumed that Byron had read *Faust* and had therefore intimately intertwined his play with *Manfred*. Goethe writes in 1817 that

---

[37] Robertson adds that this text was published by John Murray in 1813. An "English translation, also issued by him [Murray] appeared in the same year" (Robertson, 5).

> Byron's tragedy, *Manfred*, was to me a wonderful phenomenon, and one that closely touched me. This singular intellectual poet has taken my *Faustus* to himself, and extracted from it the strangest nourishment for his hypochondriac humour. He has made use of the impelling principles in his own way, for his own purposes, so that no one of them remains the same; and it is particularly on this account that I cannot enough admire his genius. The whole is so completely formed anew that it would be an interesting task for the critic to point out, not only the alterations he has made, but their degree of resemblance with, or dissimilarity to, the original; in the course of which I cannot deny that the gloomy heat of the unbounded and exuberant despair becomes at last oppressive to us. Yet is the dissatisfaction we feel always connected with esteem and admiration. (quoted in Rutherford., *Byron the Critical Heritage*, 119)[39]

Clearly, Byron's dramatic poem is an "inter-networked" cosmopolitan text. Not only was Goethe reading *Manfred* the same year it was published in England, but his critical analysis of how Faustian elements were re-configured in the dramatic poem documents how the cross-cultural dissemination of Byron's literary production travelled to, and circulated in, the cosmopolitan public sphere on the European continent—not just the English public sphere. Secondly, Goethe clearly admires the inter-textual dialogue in *Manfred* with the themes of his *Faust*. In stating that Byron "has made use of the impelling principles [of *Faust*] in his own way, for his own purposes, so that no one of them remains the same;" Goethe credits Byron's incorporation of his literary production in forging a new aesthetic production.

Byron's *Manfred* is an aesthetic "inter-network" composed from multifarious print-media networks that travel to Byron. These travelling print-media networks are foreign to the English public sphere and are in fact encountered by the poet only because of his continental travels and status as an aristocrat and literary celebrity. The incorporation of information inaccessible in the English public sphere, allows Byron's *Manfred* to function as a cross-cultural "inter-network" because it disseminates this foreign information from other networks in his literary productions. However, in the dissemination process the foreign networks of origin and influence are obscured. Therefore, the English public sphere enthusiastically reads *Manfred*, while the print-media networks linking to Schlegelean individualism, Goethe's *Faust* and *Fantasmagoriana* are obscured, and not even recognized today by some contemporary literary critics of Byron's 1816 literary productions.

---

[38] Byron himself wrote to Murray on June 07, 1820, that "I was naturally much struck with it [*Faust*]; but it was the *Staubach* and the *Jungfrau*, and something else, much more than *Faustus*, that made me write *Manfred*" (Quoted in Robertson, 20). Clearly, the composition of *Manfred* was the result of the effect of many multifarious stimuli, such as travel and print-media, on Byron's mind and senses.

[39] Goethe's comments were not published until 1820—and originally only in the German language.

This is not to infer, however, that Byron merely borrows from others in composing the 1816 poems. Rather, what I suggest is that these networks linked to the poet allow for the contemplation of other, at times foreign, information that would simply not have been available to the non-travelling writer who remained static in England. The uninvited and far-reaching communication networks that travel to Byron foster a cosmopolitan awareness that demolish the conventional print-media information exchange between England and the continent. The information travelling via these networks is incorporated via an inter-textual dialogue in Byron's own literary productions.

**The Inter-textual Dialogue with *Faust* and How the Third Act of *Manfred* became a Travelling Text**

In keeping within the tripartite structure of the dramatic poem (in which the Chamois Hunter represents common humanity and the Witch of the Alps the beauty of Nature) the Abbot of St. Maurice represents conventional spirituality. Clearly, this tripartite structure systematically engages with the metaphysics of Schlegel, Wordsworth and Goethe, which travelled to Byron via the travelling networks discussed above. It is therefore of interest to note that the third act of *Manfred* itself became a travelling text which was influential in Byron's re-thinking of the concept of the Byronic Hero embodied in the characterization of Manfred. In fact, Byron develops the Byronic Hero beyond the implications of the theme of the dissatisfaction with knowledge in Goethe's *Faust*.

Byron started to compose the dramatic poem in September and early October of 1816 during which he also visited the Bernese Alps. The first two acts were completed in the Fall of 1816 and interfused with the various travelling texts discussed previously. However, the actual composition of the third act did not occur until late January and early February 1817 when Byron was in Venice. What followed was an unique epistolarly network of correspondence between Byron, John Murray (Byron's Publisher) and William Gifford (Murray's aid in editing Byron's work) which directly influences Byron's inter-textual dialogue with *Faust*.[40]

Gifford strongly criticized the third act; writing to Murray that Byron should significantly revise the act:

---

[40] The procedure of this correspondence, Jerome Christensen argues, was an established practice within the publishing house of Murray. "The house of Murray was a literary circle, which from the start of Lord Byron's involvement described a consistent and efficient practice: first William Gifford, editor of the *Quarterly*, would read the manuscript and pronounce on its fitness to Murray, who would propose a price for the copyright...and return the manuscript to the poet, usually with recommendations for revisions. On receipt of the revised manuscript Murray would have it set in type, at which time the proof was often corrected by Gifford" (146). The uniqueness of this correspondence network, however, lies in its cross-cultural application between England and the Continent and its influence on the incorporation of an inter-textual dialogue with Goethe's *Faust*.

> There is nothing to bear it out but one speech. The Friar is despicable, & the servants uninteresting. The scene with the Friar ought to be imposing, & for that purpose the Friar should be a real [,] good man - not an idiot - More dignity should be lent to the catastrophe....Manfred should not end in this feeble way - after beginning with such magnificence & promise - & the demons should have something to do with the scene. (quoted in Cochran, 308)

Gifford appeals to Murray that the above internal note is not to be read by Byron. However, in the ensuing epistolary correspondence between this literary triangle this plea is ignored by Murray who sends the comments verbatim to Byron with a cautionary note asking for his discretion. Byron then revises the third act sensitive to Gifford's advice: the Abbot becomes a good man; the Demons reappear at the end; and the act evolves into the published version read today. Indeed, Byron's third act is transformed into a travelling text via the epistolary network of correspondence with Gifford and his publisher Murray.

William Gifford's criticism of the third act played an essential role in Byron's re-writing of the Abbot's role and developing the metaphysical implications of the dramatic poem. In the original manuscript, the Abbot is a corrupt prude, using threats of damnation to extort repentance from Manfred.

> Abbot: And give thee till to-morrow to repent,
> Then if thou dost not all devote thyself
> To penance, and with gift of all thy lands
> To the monastery——
> Manfred: I understand thee,—well!
> Abbot: Expect no mercy; I have warned thee.

In response, Manfred conjures up the Demon Ashtaroth who transposes the Abbot to the summit of the Jungfrau.

In the original writing of this scene, Byron is displacing his anger towards conventional society upon the Abbot. Clearly, such an adversary degrades Manfred whose reaction is basely motivated by vengeance. Moreover, Manfred's soliloquy at the end of the original manuscript is one of resignation and despair. The soliloquy does not engage with the issues of spirituality, the power of the mind, the negative implications of discursive knowledge, or establish an inter-textual dialogue with Goethe's *Faust*:

> My heart sickens,
> And weighs a fix'd foreboding on my soul:
> But it is calm—calm as a sullen sea
> After the hurricane; the winds are still,

But the cold waves swell high and heavily,
And there is no danger in them. Such a rest
Is no repose. My life has been a combat,
And every thought a wound, till I am scarr'd
In the immortal part of me.—What now?'

In fact, this soliloquy validates the medieval power structures inherent in *Faust*. Faust wagers his soul for knowledge to challenge the devil. Moreover, God and the devil wager on Faust's character. The play adheres to a medieval framework of spirituality. In short, had *Manfred* concluded in this manner it would have upheld, rather than challenged, the conventional codes of spirituality and knowledge that originate from without. The dramatic poem would not have networked the theme of a dissatisfaction with knowledge so strong in Goethe's *Faust* into the concept of the Byronic Hero if Manfred had remained a vengeful character.

In contrast, in the revised published version the character of Manfred has undergone significant growth. Manfred's knowledge of spirituality now arises from within, foregrounding the independence of his mind. The Abbot of St. Maurice is re-written as a good and noble man, a worthy foil for Manfred against which to juxtapose the mind's independence from conventional religion. The mutual respect the Abbot and Manfred confess for one another validates Manfred's viewpoint.

Manfred: Old man! I do respect
Thine order, and revere thy years; I deem
Thy purpose pious, but it is in vain:
Think me not churlish; I would spare thyself,
Far more than me, in shunning this time
All further colloquy—and so—farewell.
Abbot: This should have been a noble creature:
Hath all the energy which would have made
A goodly frame of glorious elements.... (III, i., 154-163)

Indeed, in the re-written version of the third act Manfred's framework of perception is misunderstood and misinterpreted by the Abbot, but the impulses of Manfred's nature are not criticized.

Manfred truly becomes a tragic hero in this scene. His refusal to conform to the Abbot's pleas for redemption is not out of spite or revenge, or due to lack of respect, but rather because his genuine spirituality does not resonate with the Abbot's institutional and conventional structures of spirituality. It is significant that the Abbot is Catholic and specifically cites Catholic doctrines:

For penance and pity: reconcile thee
With the true church, and through the church to heaven (III.i. 50-51)

Manfred's reply invokes Protestant concepts of the power of free will and individualism—sentiments which echo Schlegel's concepts of Romantic Individualism:

Manfred: I hear thee. This is my reply: whate'er
I may have been, or am, doth rest between
Heaven and myself.—I shall not choose a mortal
To be my mediator. Have I sinn'd
Against your ordinances? prove and punish! (III, i., 52-56)

Indeed, Manfred cannot "make my own the mind of other men" because he would not only betray his own beliefs, but also the beliefs of the Abbot:

Manfred: I could not tame my nature down; for he
Must serve who fain would sway—and soothe—and sue—
And watch all time—and pry into all place—
And be a living lie—who would become
A mighty thing amongst the mean, and such
The mass are; I disdain'd to mingle with
A herd, though to be leader—and of wolves.
The lion is alone, and so am I. (III, i., 117-123)

Therefore, Manfred does not succumb to a "living lie" by adopting a false spirituality purely for social reasons. Indeed, as the lion, the individual is society unto him or herself. Manfred lives and judges himself by his own standards and it is exactly these characteristics that come to define the concept of the Byronic Hero.

Manfred locates the source for knowledge, salvation, and spirituality, all within the independence of his mind. Here the inter-textual dialogue with Goethe goes beyond *Faust* and subverts the spiritual structures of good and evil in Goethe's play while maintaining to develop the play's spiritual impulses. Contrary to Faust who wagers with Mephistopheles for knowledge and power, it is forbidden knowledge from within with which Manfred controls the supernatural forces from without—yet, simultaneously, the powers of damnation and suffering also originate from within. The crucial factor is that Manfred dies of his own volition; defying the Spirit urging Manfred's soul to accompany him:

Manfred: I knew, and know my hour is come, but not
To render up my soul to such as thee:
Away! I'll die as I have lived—alone.... (III, iv., 88-90)

Manfred: I do not combat against death, but thee
And thy surrounding angels; my past power
Was purchased by no compact with thy crew
But by superior science, penance, daring
And length of watching, strength of mind, and skill
In knowledge of our fathers—when the earth
Saw men and spirits walking side by side,
And gave ye no supremacy: I stand
Upon my strength—I do defy—deny—
Spurn back, and scorn ye!— (III, iv., 112-121)

The state of resistance through knowledge is not a tenable one. It cannot be sustained for very long as the solitude and isolation required for establishing value solely within the self precludes the human condition.

Through Manfred, Byron is creating a framework of perception and interpretation of the world that is purely psychological. Knowledge has negative implications because it precludes the interaction with external stimuli by foregrounding the power of the will and the mind as the ultimate interpreter and director of the senses and emotions. Peter Thorsley remarks that the independence of Manfred's mind allows the Byronic Hero to operate outside of judgement, but also outside of comfort.

> If he has sinned—and of course he insists that he has—the moral code which he has transgressed is his own, and of his choosing, not a set of values imposed upon him outside by any force; consequently, if he is damned—and he admits that he is—it is because he is self-condemned. Likewise, he can accept none of the comforts or consolations which are offered....there is surely no clearer statement in romantic literature of the ultimate moral implications of a doctrine that the mind is its own place—it is not only its own witness, judge, and executioner, it is its own legislator as well, its "own origin of ill and end." (264, 266)

The mind's superiority separates it from the sensations—it is the mind which can create sufferance and joy "Born from the knowledge of its own desert."

Thou has no power upon me, *that* I feel;
Thou shalt never possess me, *that* I know:
What I have done is done; I bear within
A torture which could nothing gain from thine:
The mind which is immortal makes itself
Requital for its good or evil thoughts—
Is its own origin of ill and end—

> And its own place and time—its innate sense,
> When stripp'd of this morality, derives
> No colour from the fleeting things without;
> But is absorbed in sufferance or in joy,
> Born from the knowledge of its own desert.
> *Thou* didst not tempt me, and thou couldst not tempt me;
> I have not been thy dupe, nor am thy prey—
> But was my own destroyer, and will be
> My own hereafter.— (III, iv., 125-140)

The metaphysics of the inter-textual dialogue with Schlegelean concepts of Romantic Invidualism and the Faustian theme of dissatisfaction with knowledge converge in Byron's composition of the play and forge the characterization of the concept of the Byronic Hero.

Alienated from England and his friends and family, separated from his wife, and travelling through foreign landscapes and cultures, as well as being exposed to a multifarious array of travelling texts, stability in Byron's life could only be found in his own mind and beliefs. Contrary to Wordsworth, who is culturally and geographically rooted in a particular area for most of his life, and who uses this locality as a reference point, in 1816 Byron's referential frameworks had all betrayed themselves as either illusory or unstable. His nomadic wanderings forced him to depend solely on his own perceptions and create his own values in order to preserve his self intact and develop an independence of mind, which, along with psychological suffering, becomes a defining characteristic of the Byronic Hero.

Indeed, in *Manfred* Byron displays the psychological implications of being over-saturated with information that challenged conventional codes of knowledge and frameworks of interpretation. The multifarious array of travelling texts has a disruptive impact on Byron's already fragile psyche. Clearly, the characterization of Manfred—the prototype for the Byronic Hero—embodies a cosmopolitan view of maintaining the independence of the mind in light of encountering *too much* knowledge. In the first scene, Manfred states

> Sorrow is Knowledge: they who know the most
> Must mourn the deepest o'er the fatal truth,
> The Tree of Knowledge is not that of Life. (I.i. 10-12)

Certainly, Byron could identify with "they who know the most" as the link to travelling networks had demolished the space-barriers of exchange of information placing him in a unique, and perhaps most untenable, position of being exposed to a wide variety of knowledge and information not accessible to the non-traveller. Too much information travelled to Byron during the Summer of 1816. Perhaps the incorporation of these

travelling networks in the characterization of Manfred's quest for forgetfullness from knowledge is also Byron's commentary on the travelling networks that persistently disseminated more information and knowledge to him.

**Conclusion**

What I have argued in this chapter is that Byron's *Manfred* is an "inter-network" of cosmopolitan interchange facilitated by travelling networks. These travelling networks mediated a multifarious array of far-reaching and perhaps uninvited information to Byron as he travelled through Europe. The metaphysical information circulating via these travelling networks is transformed into an inter-textual commentary and dialogue in the dramatic poem which critically reflects on this information incorporating aspects from these travelling texts into the new aesthetic "inter-network" of *Manfred.* Through the characterization of Manfred, Byron develops the concept of the Byronic Hero which originates out of the psychological turmoil of his exile, as well as his experiences of being over-whelmed by a "multifarious stimuli" of cosmopolitan information that travels to him.

Indeed, Manfred the text becomes an "inter-network" of cross-cultural exchange itself during the nineteenth century. For example, James Buzard states that John Stuart Mill's had initially hoped to combat his nervous breakdown by reading Byron.

> On English soil, John Stuart Mill had turned initially to Byron for solace in the midst of the well-known 'crisis in [his] mental history', knowing Byron's 'peculiar department . . . to be that of the intenser feelings'; but Mill found that 'the poet's state of mind was too like [his] own [agitated one]' to afford relief. Wordsworth was a domestic tonic; Byron's domain, that of the intenser feelings, was felt to be *outside* England, stretching 'through Europe to the Aeolian shore'. Byron's impassioned persona added a deeply appealing value to the Continental tourist's physical separation from England.... (*The Beaten Track*, 116-117).

John Stuart Mill's nervous breakdown was caused by stress and an abundance of knowledge—in short, information overload. Clearly, Byron's work excited the "intenser feelings" of cosmopolitan interchange of too much knowledge—which was precisely the cause of Stuart Mill's breakdown. Byron's *Manfred* is decidedly modern in its presentation of a Byronic Hero who encapsulates the over-circulation of information that travels to the individual.

Moreover, in the years after Byron's death, *Manfred* and the Byronic Hero became a travelling network to posterity. James Buzard, in his article "The Uses of Romanticism: Byron and the Victorian Continental Tour" (1991), argues that Byron became the guiding spirit for the nineteenth-century continental tour. In the latter 1830s, Byron's poetry is

excerpted in Murray's travel handbooks (the very travel guides Byron chose to ignore on his own travels) to the continent in order to suit the

> brief and disconnected emotive-aesthetic responses which tourists sought to display. As the Murray guides grew in authority, their atmospheric Byron became the version of the poet most widely circulated. This Byron seemed to be everywhere on the tourist's map of Europe....Murray reinvents Byron, making the poet's stanzas read as though they were created for no other purpose than to guide the finer feelings of the tourist. Murray stalks Byron through the Alps with *Manfred*, but has no use for the perilous theological speculations...freely extracting stanzas from original contexts. (*The Beaten Track*, 127, 125)

The "inter-network" of *Manfred* becomes a travelling "inter-network" in itself in the nineteenth century. The inter-textual dialogue with metaphysical networks are dislocated as "Murray reinvents Byron" into a conventional interpretative framework for a domestic audience of tourists travelling through Europe. This reinvented "inter-network" is accomplished via the poet's fame as a literary celebrity in the public sphere, which in the case of Murray's travel guides, comes to take precedence over his literary productions.[41]

The significance of Byron the traveller is forgotten and ignored by both the Victorian and modern tourist because of the new commercial networks forged from *Manfred.* In his *Pictures from Italy* (1846), Dickens documents how the tourism "inter-network" of Byron's fame had travelled throughout Europe after the poet's death. Encountering a waiter in Bologne on his Italian travels, Dickens observes that the waiter had

> one idea in connection with the English; and the subject of his harmless monomania, was Lord Byron....Observing, at the same moment, that I took no milk, he exclaimed with enthusiasm, that Milor Beeron [i.e. My Lord Byron] had never touched it. At first, I took it for granted in my innocence, that he had been one of the Beeron servants; but no...he was in the habit of speaking about my Lord, to English gentlemen, that was all. He knew all about him, he said....a parting assurance that the road by which I was going, had been Milor Beeron's favourite ride...he ran briskly up the stairs again, I dare say to tell some other Englishman...that the guest who had just departed, was Lord Beeron's living image. (*Pictures from Italy*, 65-66; quoted in Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, 129).

Clearly, Murray's guidebooks had forged a network of tourism on the continent itself. Just as *Manfred* incorporates an inter-textual dialogue with the low brow and popular culture of

---

[41] Buzard states that similar to "such luminaries of the mass media as Elizabeth Taylor or Elvis Presley...in the Byron of Victorian tourism we can glimpse the same 'star quality' that distinguishes the *divi* of Hollywood and the recording industry" (Buzard, 122; Emphasis Buzard's).

*Fantasmagoriana*, Murray's reinvention of *Manfred* as a travel guide sparks a dialogue about Byron's fame that travels as far as the tourist industry in Italy.

Moreover, *Manfred* also forges intellectual "inter-networks" of cross-cultural exchange. Byron's ethos in such works as *Manfred* embodies the psychological challenges of modern life. It is certainly no coincidence that John Stuart Mill recognized the symptoms of his nervous breakdown in *Childe Harold* and *Manfred*—however, his mental illness was induced not by travel, but by life within the demolishing of "space-barriers" of Victorian society. It is Nietzsche, an admirer of *Manfred*, who attempts to transforms the negative implications of the power of knowledge into a positive force to combat modern society. For Nietzsche, the same power of the mind and will that destroys Manfred can be a positive factor for the preservation of the self amid the chaos of modern techno-capitalist society. Here the Byronic Hero establishes an inter-textual inspiration for Nietzsche's concept of the Übermensch.

Lastly, in the nineteenth century *Manfred* is not only a print-media "inter-network" of cross-cultural exchange, but also an "inter-network" of cross-media applications. On the continent the movement of Romanticism was not restricted to literary productions and Byron's dramatic poem was adapted to music. Robert Schumann (1810-1856) composed an *Overture to Manfred* (op. 115; 1848). Pyotr Ilyitch Chaikofsky (1840-1893) composed a complete *Manfred Symphony* (op. 58; 1885). Clearly, *Manfred* and the concept of the Byronic Hero function as an "inter-network" forging new networks of exchange which travel culturally, intellectually, and one may even say mythologically, in different media formats throughout nineteenth century Europe.

Works Cited and Consulted

Bate, Jonathan. "Living with the Weather." *Studies in Romanticism.* 35.3 (1996 Fall): 431-447.

Brinkley, Robert. "Documenting Revision: Shelley's Lake Geneva Dairy and the Dialogue with Byron in History of a Six Weeks' Tour. *Keats-Shelley Journal.* 39 (1990): 66-82.

Butler, E. M. *Byron and Goethe: Analysis of a Passion.* London: Bowes and Bowes, 1956.

Buzard, James. "The Uses of Romanticism: Byron and the Victorian Continental Tour." *Victorian Studies.* 35:1 (1991 Autumn): 29-49.

Buzard, James. *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800-1918.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.

Byron, Lord George Gordon. *Selected Poems.* ed. Susan J. Wolfson and Peter J. Manning. Toronto: Penguin Books, 1996.

Cardinal, Roger. "Romantic Travel." In *Rewriting the Self: Histories from the Renaissance to the Present.* London: Routledge, 1997. 135-155.

Christensen, Jerome. *Lord Byron's Strength: Romantic Writing and Commercial Society.* Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1993.

Clubbe, John. "'The New Prometheus of New Men': Byron's 1816 Poems and Manfred." in Ryals, Clyde de L. *Nineteenth-Century Literary Perspectives: Essays in Honor of Lionel Stevenson.* Durham, 1974, 17-47.

Cochran, Peter. "John Murray, William Gifford, and the Third Act of Manfred." *Notes and Queries.* 38:3 (1991 September): 308-10.

Cochran, Peter. "'Nobody has seen it': Byron's First Letter Announcing Manfred." *The Byron Journal.* 24 (1996): 68-76.

Dahnke, Hans-Dietrich. "Wandlungen der Faust-Problematik in den ersten Jahrzehnten des 19. Jahrhunderts." in Parallelen und Kontraste: Studien zu literarischen Wechselbeziehungen in Europa zwischen 1750-1850. Edited by: Hans-Dietrich Dahnke, Alexander S. Dmitrijew, Peter Müller and Tadeusz Namowicz. Berlin and Weimar: Aufbau-Verlag Berlin und Weimar, 1983.

Eimer, Manfred. "Einflüsse deutscher Räuber- und Schauerromantik auf Shelley, Mrs. Shelley und Byron." *Englische Studien*, XLVIII (1914-1915):231-245.

Eisler, Benita. *Byron: Child of Passion, Fool of Fame*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999.

Graham, Peter W. "Lord Byron on His Travels." *Wascana Review of Contemporary Poetry and Short Fiction*. Regina: 19:1 (1984 Spring) : 58-70.

Goldberg, Leonard, S. "Byron and the Place of Religion." in *Byron, the Bible and Religion: Essays from the Twelfth International Byron Seminar*. ed. Wolf Z. Hirst. Toronto: Associated University Press, 1991.

Goslee, Nancy M. "Pure Stream from a Troubled Source: Byron, Schlegel and Prometheus." *The Byron Journal*. 10 (1982): 20-36.

Hammond, Eleanor Prescott. *English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press., 1927.

Marchand, Leslie A. ed. *Byron's Letters and Journals: 'So late into the night'*. V 5 1816-1817. London: William Clowes & Sons., 1976.

Marchand, Leslie A. *Byron: A Portrait*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf., 1970.

Marchand, Leslie A. *Byron: A Biography*. V. II. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957.

McVeigh, Daniel. M. "Manfred's Curse." *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*. 22 (1982): 601-612.

McCormick, Luke. K. "Lord Byron's Manfred: A Study of Alienation from Within." *University of Toronto Quarterly*. 40 (1971): 15-26.

Mill, John Stuart. *Autobiography*. ed. Jack Stillinger. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company., 1969.

Mordden, Ethan. *A Guide to Orchestral Music*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.

Page, Norman., ed. *Byron: Interviews and Recollections*. London: MacMillan Press Ltd., 1985.

Pinion, F. B. "Byron and *Wuthering Heights*." *Bronte Society Transactions*. 21:5 (1995): 195-201.

Procházka, Martin. "'The Strangest Nourishment for his Hypochondriac Humour': The Expression of the subject in Byron's *Manfred* and Goethe's *Faust*." in *Philologica Pragenzia*. 25:3 (1982): 97-109.

Robinson, Charles, E. *Shelley and Byron: The Snake and Eagle Wreathed in Flight*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1976.

Robertson, J.G. (Ed.) *Goethe and Byron: Publications of the English Goethe Society*. II., London: Alexander Moring Ltd. 1925.

Rutherford, Andrew. ed., *Byron: The Critical Heritage*. New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1970.

Sperry, Stuart. M. "Byron and the Meaning of 'Manfred'." *Criticism: A Quarterly for Literature and the Arts*. 16 (1974): 189-202.

Stein, Atara. "'I Loved Her and Destroyed Her': Love and Narcissism in Byron's *Manfred*." *Philological Quarterly*. 69 (1990): 189-215.

Thorslev Jr., Peter. L. "The Romantic Mind Is Its Own Place." *Comparative Literature*. 15 (1963): 250-268.

# Chapter Six: Conclusion

## Decentralized Print-Media and Electronic "Inter-Networks" and the Romantic and Contemporary Public Spheres

*Networks, a leading symbol of progress, have made their incursion into utopian thinking. The communication network is an internal promise symbolizing a world that is better because it is united. From road and rail to information highways, that belief has been revived with each technological generation, yet networks have never ceased to be at the center of struggles for control of the world.*
Armand Mattelart. *Networking the World, 1794-2000*

### Introduction

In this dissertation I have historicized the concept of the "inter-network" against the backdrop of communication history. I argue that the concept of a decentralized communication "inter-network" is not a revolutionary component of the "new" electronic media, but rather an evolutionary development in both print-media and culture as well as electronic media and culture. The supersessionist and liberationist arguments of hypertext theorists, such as Landow, Barlow and Turkle, embody a technological determinism that dehistoricizes the function of the decentralized "inter-network" in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. This technological determinism of the Internet and hypertext needs to be positioned in regard to what Mattelart has termed the "the history of the imaginary of communication networks"—the illusion that technology can potentially return us to an ideal form of rational-critical debate in the public sphere.[1] It is neither print-media nor electronic media technology that "returns us to," or determines, rational-critical debate in the public sphere. Rather it is the application of technology and media in order to forge a decentralized communication "inter-network"

[1] "Exhibitions and technological inventions reinforced one another in the propagation of a rhetoric of peace and communication between peoples where "All men become brothers." Each technological generation provided a new opportunity to propagate the grand narratives of general concord and social reconciliation under the aegis of Western civilization....The dream of reestablishing the pre-Babel "great human family" is present throughout the history of the imaginary of communication networks" (Mattelart, 19-20).
See Mattelart, Armand. *Networking the World: 1794-2000.* Translated by Liz Carey-Libbrecht and James A. Cohen. Minneapolis. University of Minnesota Press, 2000.

that is essential in mediating rational-critical debate in either the public spheres of electronic or print culture.

Such media applications of decentralized "inter-networks," whether print or electronic, are culturally and historically specific. I have approached the argument in this dissertation not to trans-historicize print-media "inter-networks" as a concept beyond history, but rather as an evolutionary concept within history, culture, and modern ideology. I agree with William Warner's argument to

> accept Michael Warner's caution that we should not conceptualize terms from the history of media culture, like print (or I would add "network") as having a general trans-historical meaning or influence, or in his terms "an ontological status prior to culture." Neither "print" nor "the network" is, again in his words, a "hard technology outside of the political-symbolic order." Instead we need to understand them [print and network] within the specific meanings given them by a particular culture's practices, ideologies, and historical machinery. Here, a term like "network" ends up being as much social as it is infra-structural; as linked to styles of sociability as to the post and turnpike.[2]

I see the decentralized function of the "inter-network" as a modern ideological application subject to historical and cultural practices. It is exactly these cultural and historical practices that I argue need to be examined and researched to provide fresh impetus into our understanding of the decentralized "inter-network" in communication history. The chapters on the print-media informational networks of Coleridge and Byron examined the cultural practices of the individual poets against the historical backdrop of media applications in print culture.

First, I argued that the supersession from history blinds hypertext critics to the current technological moment rather than validating the alleged revolutionary promise of electronic media in the public sphere. As Duguid argues in his "Material matters: The past and futurology of the book" (1996), "we are...losing valuable cultural insights gained through old communicative technologies, just as we are trying to build new ones" (71). In locating the cultural struggle between decentralized communication "inter-networks" and centralized networks for mass audiences in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century, the cultural transformation of the public sphere is historicized as a struggle for control and regulation of communication networks. The promise of the Internet and hypertext as a "democratizing" decentralized communication "inter-network" is positioned by hypertext critics to the "one to many" dissemination of mass communication networks of print-media in the nineteenth-century and "one to many"

---

[2] Warner, William. "Declaring Independence as Unlicensed Circulation; or, How the Continental Congress Rewired the British Empire Network and Invented a Flat Network Design." Unpublished paper. 2001.

electronic media in the twentieth century. As a result, these critics fail to historicize the current hypertextual moment as subject to the struggle of institutionalization and regulation to centralize the function of electronic media in the public sphere.

Similar to the decentralized "inter-network" of the periodical in the 1790s, the current hypertextual moment operates as a "transitory" period of the decentralized "inter-network" in communication history. Klancher argues that before the centralization of mass audiences and mass media communication, the 1790s and early 1800s was a transitory" period for alternative and decentralized networks of communication.

> Those writers—among them Shelley, Wordsworth, Coleridge...Paine—struggled to forge readerships in what now appears to have been a transitory, personal world of reading and writing far removed from mass audiences and institutionalised discourses of the modern "consciousness industry" and its ideologies. (172)

It is significant to understand the Romantic period, then, as a shortened and unique window of interchange in the English public sphere via decentralized print-media communication "inter-networks." By dismissing history and positioning the liberalizing and democratizing function of the Internet as a decentralized "inter-network" only against the "broadcast" networks of centralized mass communication embodied in print and electronic media (such as books and television), the technological determinism of hypertext critics blinds the hypertextual moment to the possibility, and future threat, of institutionalization and centralization.

My method in this dissertation has been to return to this transitory period with our current insights about communication and "inter-networks" in order to position the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries' struggle for access to the public sphere in regard to the technological determinism of the current hypertextual moment. In contesting the technological determinism of the current hypertextual moment I draw on the methodology practiced by William Warner who argues that

> One way to counter these technodeterminist ideas about communications is to return [to] the 18$^{th}$ century, and use our 21$^{st}$ century insight into the centrality of networking to re-see a familiar political history as an episode in the history of networking. I hope this offers a way to see networking as a nuanced culturally dependent operation.

The implications of the application of this methodology of the "inter-network" paradigm to "re-see" culturally and historically-specific episodes and practices within the "networking" context of communication history is three-fold. First my examination of

Coleridgean print-media "inter-networks" foregrounds the process of Coleridge's cross-cultural interchange with Germany as a print-media production.

Second, an analysis of the decentralized periodical, a print-media communication "inter-network" facilitating non-face-to-face rational-critical debate, historicizes the cultural struggle for the public sphere as a facet of both print media and culture as well as electronic media and culture. The concepts of the "inter-network" and information overload are not "new" concepts unique to electronic culture. The travelling networks to Byron, the "inter-network" production of *Manfred*, and the concept of the Byronic hero, not only historicize information overload within the framework of modern ideology, but also presents a critical commentary about the dissemination of too much information. In fact, as I will argue momentarily, information overload has existed throughout the Romantic period and is a characteristic of the "many to many" transmission of information most effectively disseminated via decentralized communication networks.

Lastly, as Warner suggests, our understanding of the cultural struggle between decentralized and centralized networks allows us to "re-see a familiar political history as an episode in the history of networking." While this is clearly the case in applying the "inter-network" to the past, I will hypothesize how a "re-seeing" and re-visitation of the cultural struggle for the public sphere in communication history historicizes our insight into the cultural struggle for the public sphere in the current hypertextual moment. I will now briefly discuss each implication in turn.

**Coleridgean "Inter-networks" and Romantic Literary History**

First, the "inter-network" paradigm foregrounds the short-comings of biographers and literary critics alike in characterizing Coleridge's German tour and research of German literature. McGann has argued that a text is a cultural production subject to ideological and cultural practices such as the relationship between work and audience, as well as the modes of production in producing the text. Romantic scholarship has often applied this methodology to Wordsworth and Byron. The literary productions of Wordsworth are often examined against the backdrop of his fell-walking and the Nature and geography of the Lake District. Likewise, Byron's literary works are contextualized, especially by McGann himself, as literary productions that are directly forged out of Byron's travels, personal life, and his relationship with his publisher John Murray. Indeed, literary critics foreground that for Wordsworth and Byron, Nature and travel operate as the cultural processes behind their literary productions. In short, Nature for Wordsworth, and travel for Byron, have become synonymous not only with the poets' literary productions, but also with their literary personalities.

Ironically, this is not the approach often applied by literary critics to Coleridge whose literary output was more closely related to print-media than any other contemporary writer during the Romantic period. If as McGann argues, a text is culturally produced why is this cultural process commonly applied to the literary productions, fragments, and the aborted literary works, of Wordsworth and Byron, but not Coleridge? Whereas Wordsworth's fell-walking was a cultural process stimulating both his published and aborted literary productions, the cultural process of Coleridge's reading and interaction with print-media is usually not considered.

Recent work, most notably by Kathleen Coburn, on Coleridge's Notebooks, his *Marginalia*, and Coffman's attempt at a definitive reading list of texts read by Coleridge, has remedied some of the shortcomings regarding Coleridge's relationship to print-media. However, no interpretative framework of these so-called "lesser" literary productions of Coleridge exists. I suggest that the "inter-network" paradigm fosters an understanding of Coleridgean "inter-networks"—his reading, writing, note-taking, letters, and "networking" with other intellectuals—as a cultural process of literary production. Coleridge's library borrowings at Göttingen in 1799 successfully forged a private print-media information network to facilitate his literary studies of Lessing and German literature. Within the cosmopolitan milieu of the Göttingen library and university, Coleridge's private print-media network flourished. However, upon his return to England, resistance towards the dissemination of foreign (i.e. German) information via public print-media networks developed into a struggle for access to the public sphere. Coleridgean private print-media information networks were effectively censored by the centralized networks of such publications as *The Edinburgh Review*, isolating the public reception of the informed cosmopolitan individual.

In short, the failure to produce the *Life of Lessing* documents a missed historical opportunity due to the increasing institutionalization of the English public sphere which censored the cross-cultural dissemination by individual authors. Our understanding of Coleridgean "inter-networks" as print-media productions in themselves provides fresh impetus in our interpretation both of Coleridge's published literary productions, as well as the relationship of Coleridge's literary productions to the English public sphere.

**Information Overload and Information Technologies: Print and Electronic Media**

Second, I suggest that the cultural struggle for the public sphere between decentralized and centralized networks in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries is not culturally and historically specific to print-culture and media. In fact, in contextualizing our current insights into such concepts of information overload into the public sphere, I historicize the evolutionary processes of modes of communication as cultural practices separate from the media, print or electronic, technologies of dissemination.

In particular, I think that the concept of information overload should not be solely defined as an electronic or mass media communication phenomenon. Richard Holeton, in his *Composing Cyberspace: Identity, Community, and Knowledge in the Electronic Age* (1998), defines information overload specifically as a twenty-first century phenomenon:

> At the dawn of the 21st century, few people in the world's affluent countries are immune from information overload—the feeling of being overwhelmed by information from a variety of sources. TV and radio are ubiquitous, movies and videotapes are more popular than ever, and book publishing is still thriving. TV is probably more to blame than personal computers for a steady decline in the readership of daily newspapers—but computers are increasingly a major source of information overload as more and more people conduct business, do research, communicate, find entertainment, and even get their news online.... (3)[3]

While hypertext and literary critics often construe information overload as a cultural practice specific to the current hypertextual moment, I argue that information overload is a modern concept that can be historicized.[4]

Let me first define the significance of information overload in regard to the public sphere. There are two main characteristics of information overload that can be identified: the excessive transmission and reception of information and the processing of information. The first characteristic concerns the bombardment of an over-dissemination of information, in Holeton's words, "the feeling of being overwhelmed by information from a variety of sources" (3). The second characteristic concerns the effects upon the individual reception in processing an overload of information. Kenneth Gergen's definition is useful here, in stating that the effect of too much information forces the individual to

> exist in a state of continuous construction and reconstruction; it is a world where anything goes that can be negotiated. Each reality of self gives way to reflexive questioning, irony, and ultimately the playful probing of yet another reality. The center fails to hold. (6)[5]

---

[3] Holeton, Richard. *Composing Cyberspace: Identity, Community, and Knowledge in the Electronic Age.* Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1998.

[4] Obviously, considering population growth and the speed of transmission facilitated by electronic technology, more people are affected by information overload in contemporary culture than previously. However, these factors are proportional and do not necessarily suggest a transformation in the experiences and practices of information overload.

[5] Gergen, Kenneth. *The Saturated Self: Dilemmas of Identity in Contemporary Life.* New York: Basic Books, 1991.

Both Gergen and Holeton define information overload as a concept symptomatic of the current period of information, especially global, exchange. However, information overload is not media-specific to electronic media and can be historicized as a print culture phenomenon as well.

The travelling networks that foster *Manfred* embody Holeton's definition of information overload as a "feeling of being overwhelmed by information from a variety of sources" (3). Byron's psychological turmoil of exile converges with his reflections on the metaphysical information disseminated via these travelling networks, and in turn result in Byron existing "in a state of continuous construction and reconstruction" (Gergen, 6). These networks are decentred and comprised of discussion, pop culture, and intellectual networks that travel to Byron. As Gergen and Holeton suggest, the multifarious array of information circulating to Byron via these travelling networks result in the "center fail[ing] to hold." In response to this crisis, the inter-textual dialogue with the information overload of travelling networks is transformed into the concept of the Byronic Hero. I argue that through the independence of Manfred's mind, Byron is characterizing a coping strategy to locate an interpretative framework within the self, rather than subject the self to the "reflexive questioning" initiated by the overwhelming reception of uninvited information. Interpretative frameworks that originate from without are rejected in order to maintain a sense of self intact. *Manfred*, and the concept of the Byronic Hero, document a philosophical discussion in print-media about the psychological effects of too much information that travels to the individual.

However, Byron's *Manfred* was neither the first nor the only text to address information overload during the Romantic period. Specifically, information overload is a product of decentralized communication networks which disseminate an unregulated amount of "many to many" transmission of informational content into the public sphere. During the "transitory period' noted by Klancher above, authors "struggled to forge readerships" in a public sphere which lacked a centre in the transmission and reception of information. Readers are positioned within a continuous state of "construction and reconstruction," and in an attempt to address this fluctuating readership authors struggle to preserve, or re-establish, the "personal compact" between writer and audience.

Wordsworth's *Preface to Lyrical Ballads* was written to create the taste by which *Lyrical Ballads* was to be read.[6] Interestingly, like Holeton and Gergen after him, Wordsworth's

[6] Klancher argues that: "The special demands of the reading habit may be glimpsed in Wordsworth's struggle to define it in the *Preface* of 1800, where he locates two realms of the habitual—the rustic's natural habits uncorrupted by history, and the middle-class audience's habits formed by unprecedented historical change and debased by popular cultural production. That this audience 'craves' the 'stupid German tragedies' it consumes betrays its absorption in a particular habitus, which Wordsworth attributes to war, economic crisis, over-population in cities, and the degrading 'uniformity of their occupations'" (Klancher, 37).

rhetoric addresses the current state of information exchange as an unique moment of convergence of "multitude of causes, unknown to former times:"

> For a multitude of causes, unknown to former times, are now acting with a combined force to blunt the discriminating powers of the mind, and unfitting it for all voluntary exertion to reduce it to a state of almost savage torpor. The most effective of these causes are the great national events which are daily taking place, and the increasing accumulation of men in cities, where the uniformity of their occupations produces a craving for extraordinary incident, which the rapid communication of intelligence hourly gratifies. To this tendency of life and manners the literature and theatrical exhibitions of the country have conformed themselves. The invaluable works of our elder writers, I had almost said the works of Shakspeare [sic] and Milton, are driven into neglect by frantic novels, sickly and stupid German Tragedies, and deluges of idle and extravagant stories in verse.—When I think upon this degrading thirst after outrageous stimulation, I am almost ashamed to have spoken of the feeble effort with which I have endeavoured to counteract it; and reflecting upon the magnitude of the general evil, I should be oppressed with no dishonorable melancholy, had I not a deep impression of certain inherent and indestructible qualities of the human mind, and likewise of certain powers in the great and permanent objects that act upon it, which are equally inherent and indestructable; (1800, 128, 130)[7]

Wordsworth's criticism of his contemporary society is often misconstrued as primarily voicing disdain for urban environments and the literary productions of early-nineteenth century popular culture. While these are valid criticisms, the reading I propose here regards Wordsworth's criticism of contemporary decentralized print-media communication networks in subjecting the mind to a state of information overload.

The multifarious and rapid transmission and reception of information has blunted "the discriminating powers of the mind." Wordsworth characterizes this blunted state of mind as being reduced to a "state of...savage torpor." The mind becomes unfit for "voluntary exertion" because the (over)saturation to print-media precludes one to "think long and deeply." Therefore, the reader exists in a state of information overload defined by Gergen and Holeton as a "continuous construction and reconstruction." To Wordsworth, this state of information overload precludes critical thought. Hence, the reader comes to

---

[7] Wordsworth, William. *The Prose Works of William Wordsworth.* Edited by: W.J.B. Owen and Jane Worthington Smyser. V. I. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974. Pp.111-189.
See Chapter One, page two, for a comparison of Wordworth criticism here and Birkerts lament about the death of reading and print culture due to the "influx of electronic communication and information processing technologies." The suggested implications about reading are strikingly similar.

"crave...the rapid communication of intelligence" rather than developing the "inherent and indestructible qualities of the human mind."

My reading of Wordsworth here foregrounds the multifarious stimuli of "many to many" transmission of information into the public sphere. This reading differs from Klancher's interpretation that "Wordsworth imagines a popular public that "craves" but cannot truly "prefer" what it reads" (137). Klancher argues that in

> Displacing the reading of Milton, the brutal sphere of textual consumption overwhelms the gentler world of textual "reception." The cultural commodity shoulders aside the cultural gift, overpowering the symbolic acts of giving and receiving. (137)

However, Klancher locates the preference of the popular public in the sphere of production rather than the communication history of networks. The main issue here that precludes the "preference," or choice of what is read by the popular public, is not the issue of *textual consumption versus textual reception*, but the issue of *textual transmission versus textual reception.*

Within a public sphere of decentralized print-media communication networks a wide variety and diversity of information is transmitted, but not necessarily preferred. For Wordsworth it is the transmission of too much information that has fostered the popularity of "stupid German tragedies" and "frantic novels" because these provide a centre for the "rapid communication" of "outrageous stimulation." In short, this oversaturated transmission has blunted "the discriminating powers of the mind," but also dictates preferences by providing the popular public with sources of daily information. The popular public is overwhelmed with information and desensitized in exerting their preferences which would be an exercise of the discriminating powers of the mind. Specifically, then, Wordsworth criticizes decentralized print-media communication networks as facilitating a process of multifarious transmission and reception which causes information overload and the gravitation of the public to multifarious information sources such as the "frantic novels." It is not just the "outrageous stimulation" excited by "stupid German Tragedies," but the "outrageous stimulation" gratified by print-media transmissions in general.

The "rapid communication" of this "outrageous stimulation" of such content as "extravagant stories in verse" and the "frantic novels" gratifies the mind and simultaneously disables the mind from exercising its discriminating faculties because it cannot process the excess information. For Wordsworth, the reader has ceased to be selective of what he/she reads because of the immediacy—the "rapid communication"—of information. In "Fears in Solitude" (1798) Coleridge effectively muses on the

desensitization of the populace towards the horrors of war due to this oversaturation of information.

> We send our mandates for the certain death
> Of thousands and ten thousands! Boys and girls,
> And women that would groan to see a child
> Pull off an insect's leg, all read of war,
> The best amusement for our morning-meal! (103-106)

Indeed, the horrors of war have become entertainment precisely because of the daily familiarity with them. To "Pull off an insect's leg" is therefore more horrific because of the immediacy and defamiliarity of the experience. Similarly, Wordsworth fears that one reads no longer for the stimulation of the mind (defamiliarization), but purely for pleasure which is gratified daily and thus establishes the familiar.

The self-confessed "feeble effort" of *Lyrical Ballads* to "counteract...this degrading thirst after outrageous stimulation" attempts to establish an alternative discourse; but ironically a centralized discourse. In attempting to create the taste of its readership by which the *Lyrical Ballads* are to be judged, Wordsworth establishes a readership around a centre—an ideological framework of reading his poems in the volume. Clearly, Wordsworth's *Preface*, as well as the poems in *Lyrical Ballads*, aim to establish a literature evaluated by its own criteria. Such criteria constructs a frame of reference between reader and author that functions as a centre. While the theoretical implications of Wordsworth's *Preface* and *Lyrical Ballads* are still topics of scholarly discussion, I want to foreground that in his *Preface* Wordsworth expresses the need for a more centralized print-media network of transmission to forge a centralized readership, instead of the decentralized print-media communication "inter-networks" that operated during the early 1800s. A centralized print-media communication network, Wordsworth hoped, would guarantee the "personal compact" between reader and writer.

Like Wordsworth, the Byronic Hero in *Manfred* attempts to establish a criteria in response to the abundance of information that circulates via decentralized print-media networks. However, where Wordsworth argues for a frame of reference between reader and author that functions as a centre, Byron rejects any referential framework. Sixteen years after Wordsworth's *Preface*, through the independence of Manfred's mind Byron suggests that the individual isolate him/herself from all networks and centralize value solely within the self.

Interestingly, these criticisms of information overload are not unique to Wordsworth and Byron. As we have seen, these concerns are voiced in several periodicals of this period, such as *The Analytical Review*. However, the prospectus to *The Analytical Review*

defines its function as a decentralized "inter-network" to facilitate rational-critical debate in the public sphere by allowing its readership to "judge of them [the reviews of foreign texts] for himself"; in short, to exercise his/her rational-critical mind in evaluating the reviews of the text themselves. In slight contrast, Wordsworth's aim is not to have the reader judge for him/herself, but to provide a centralized forum in the public sphere to allow the reader to employ his/her "discriminating powers of mind." The ideological impetus of both periodical and poet are similar, but the modes of communication differ drastically. As a decentralized "inter-network" *The Analytical Review* aims to "diffuse knowledge" in order to forge new individual networks and "inter-networks" in the public sphere. Wordsworth argues for a centralized network to re-enforce the "personal compact" network between author and reader. The main difference being that Wordsworth and *The Analytical Review* intend to have the reader judge for him/herself, while *The Anti-Jacobin* intends to judge for the reader.

The prospectus to *The Analytical Review* predates Wordsworth's *Preface* by twelve years and Byron's *Manfred* by twenty-eight years. Our understanding of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries' world of text-making is enhanced by the fact that Byron's and Wordsworth's criticism of contemporary decentralized print-media "networks," specifically information overload, is not an isolated incident, but a general contemporary criticism over a period of almost three decades. More importantly, this criticism of decentralized communication networks was not ideologically specific. In fact, Kenneth Johnston argues that *The Anti-Jacobin; or Weekly Examiner* addresses the similar need for a centralized print-media communication network as Wordsworth and other radicals. *The Anti-Jacobin; or Weekly Examiner*

> decries the contemporary over-production of media in language similar to Wordsworth's. "Whatever may be the habits of inquiry and anxiety for information upon subjects of public concern diffused among all ranks of people, the vehicles of intelligence are already multiplied in a proportion nearly equal to this encreased [sic] demand"....Compare Wordsworth: "the great national events which are daily taking place, and encreasing [sic] accumulation of men in cities, where the uniformity of their occupations produces a craving for extraordinary incident which the rapid communication of intelligence hourly gratifies." And, back to *The Anti-Jacobin* "of the utility of such a purpose, if even tolerably executed, there can be little doubt, among those persons . . . who must have found themselves, during the course of the last few years, perplexed by the multiplicity of contradictory accounts of almost every material event that has occurred in the eventful and tremendous period."[8]

[8] Johnston, Kenneth R. "Romantic Anti-Jacobins or Anti-Jacobin Romantics?" *Romanticism on the Net.* 15 (August 1999). <http://users.ox.ac.uk/~scat0385/antijacobin.html> (accessed March 03, 2000).

Johnston argues that Wordsworth and *The Anti-Jacobin* "present their poetry as contributing to future melioration of a presently debased poetry, politics, and, ultimately, human mind and nature." Although on opposite sides of the political and ideological spectrum, Wordsworth and Canning and Frere, argue for a strong and centralized print-media communication network.

The consequences of information overload in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries was a cultural practice of the decentralized "inter-network" that concerned many of the intellectuals of the Romantic period—regardless of their ideologies. For Canning and Frere a centralized print-media communication network enabled the censorship of "radical" information into the public sphere. For Wordsworth a centralized print-media communication network would allow for the exercise of the discriminating powers of the individual mind. A centralized communication network would re-enforce the "personal compact" between reader and writer by limiting the circulation of inferior and sensationalist content publications. Regardless, the centralization of communication networks to counter the multifarious stimuli of information overload disseminated via decentralized print-media communication network became a dominant struggle during the 1790s and early 1800s—albeit for different ideological reasons.

**The Hypertextual Moment as a Cultural Struggle for the Public Sphere**

This cultural struggle for the public sphere between decentralized and centralized communication networks brings us back to Mark Poster's "Cyberdemocracy: Internet and the Public Sphere" (1997). Poster presents a historicized view of the current electronic media in which participants cannot necessarily be classified by ideology, but are rather categorized by their position to communication networks. Poster states that

> as an historian I find it fascinating that this unique structure [the Internet] should emerge from a confluence of cultural communities which appear to have so little in common: the Cold War Defense Department...counter-cultural ethos of computer programming engineers...the world of university research... (204)

From Poster's perspective, the current decentralized communication network of electronic media is extremely diverse and not representative (at least not yet) of one particular class or political group.

During the Romantic period, government political policies were instrumental in policing print-media network applications employed by the individual, and as a result transformed access to, and participation in, the public sphere. The cultural transformation of the public sphere is therefore not unique to print-culture, but a direct result of the re-formatting of applications and cultural practices of communication networks. Similarly, the decentralized

print-media communication "inter-networks" of the 1790s were complex and organized along individual, not institutional or political, protocols. The conflict in the 1790s to maintain decentralized communication networks became intensified in a struggle for the public sphere. *The Anti-Jacobin* represents the attempt to centralize communication networks through weekly publication in order to legitimize the domestic political status quo. In contrast, *The Analytical Review* represents the decentralized communication "inter-network" of networks, continually adding new networks of information from sources throughout Europe, to stimulate individual thought and knowledge.

Despite Wordsworth's noble intentions for a centralized print-media communication network to educate and exercise the "discriminating powers of the mind," the result was the institutionalization of a print-media communication network to centralize the public opinion of a mass audience. The sensationalism and "outrageous stimulation" that Wordsworth had hoped a centralized print-media communication network would counter, is in fact supported by a centralized print-media network. Likewise, Marshall McLuhan's concept of the "global village" and the application of television as an education medium were practiced temporarily before the centralization of television into an entertainment and marketing media network became an accepted cultural practice.

Clearly, as Mattelart's "imaginary of communication networks" suggests, the promise of technology and media to return us to an ideal form of rational-critical debate in the public sphere is illusory. In fact, Mattelart argues that the promise of communication networks is a myth that masks the contemporary struggle for control of electronic communication networks.

> Messianic discourses about the democratic virtues of technology, which mask what is at stake in the struggles for control of the structure and content of knowledge networks, are of use in geopolitcs. The champion of information superhighways, Albert Gore, adopts the same tone as the prophets who have preceded him since the end of the eighteenth century, when he presents to "great human family" his world project for a network of networks: the *global information infrastructure* (GII). Our goal is a kind of global conversation in which everyone who wants can have his or her say....History has come full circle. A little more than two centuries ago, the notion of communication entered into modernity via the development of roads. The advent of the postmodern age of immaterial networks and intangible flows is occurring under the sign of the metaphor of highway networks, echoing the collective memory of the great public work projects that favored a dynamic of economic growth in the United States in the 1950s. (92-93)

An understanding of the application of networks in the history of communication reveals that networks are continually at "the center of struggles for control of the world" (Mattelart, viii).

This dissertation has argued that in historicizing decentralized print-media communication networks our understanding of current electronic networks in a "rewired" public sphere is reconfigured as an evolutionary, rather than revolutionary, stage in communication history. Given the increasing corporate institutionalization of the Internet, the inevitable struggle for control of decentralized electronic "inter-networks" suggests the future centralization of electronic media which will curb, rather than facilitate, individual liberty and rational-critical debate.

Works Cited and Consulted

Duguid, Paul. "Material matters: The past and futurology of the book." In *The Future of the Book*. Edited by Geoffrey Nunberg. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996. 63-102.

Gergen, Kenneth. *The Saturated Self: Dilemmas of Identity in Contemporary Life*. New York: Basic Books, 1991.

Holeton, Richard. *Composing Cyberspace: Identity, Community, and Knowledge in the Electronic Age*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1998.

Johnston, Kenneth R. "Romantic Anti-Jacobins or Anti-Jacobin Romantics?" *Romanticism on the Net*. 15 (August 1999). <http://users.ox.ac.uk/~scat0385/antijacobin.html> (accessed March 03, 2000).

Klancher, Jon P. *The Making of the English Reading Audiences: 1790-1832*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987.

Mattelart, Armand. *Networking the World, 1794-2000*. Translated by Liz Carey-Libbrecht and James A. Cohen. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000. Originally published as *La mondialisation de la communication*, 1996.

Poster, Mark. "Cyberdemocracy: Internet and the Public Sphere." In *Internet Culture*. Ed. David Porter. New York and London: Routledge, 1997., pp. 201-217.

Warner, William. "Declaring Independence as Unlicensed Circulation; or, How the Continental Congress Rewired the British Empire Network and Invented a Flat Network Design." Unpublished paper presented at Sheffield-Hallam University on July 20, 2001, at the *Print Culture in the Age of the Circulating Library, 1750-1850, Conference*.

Wordsworth, William. *The Prose Works of William Wordsworth*. Edited by: W.J.B. Owen and Jane Worthington Smyser. V. I. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974. 111-189.

# Appendix A:
# The Cross-Cultural Exchange of the *Jenaische Allgemeine Literatur- Zeitung* and *The Analytical Review*

The *Jenaische Allgemeine Literatur- Zeitung* was the primary source for the "Literary Intelligence" section in *The Analytical Review*. Article entries from this German publication in the "Literary Intelligence" section in *The Analytical Review* cite the source as follows: "*Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.*" As a rule, article entries cited from other sources, such as foreign correspondences, list no source. At times, however, this may have been a simple oversight as I have occasionally traced entries with no source cited to the *Jenaische Allgemeine Literatur- Zeitung*. The "Source Cited" field below lists whether the source for the article entry was printed in *The Analytical Review*. The "Source Identified" field identifies the issue and pagination in the *Jenaische Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* for the article entry in *The Analytical Review*.

The article entries are cited directly from the "Literary Intelligence" section in *The Analytical Review*. In recording these entries I chose not to modernize or correct mis-spellings of the titles of German print-media, nor to correct grammatical and translation errors. In short, these errors reflect those made by the editors and reviewers of *The Analytical Review* and are significant in themselves in their function of the dissemination of (mis)information in the English public sphere.

# May 1796: Literary Intelligence

**Theology.**

Art. I. Leipsic. *Einleitung in die Apokryphischen Schriften des Alten Testaments*, &c. An Introduction to the Apocryphal Books of the Old Testament, by J. G. Eichhorn, &c. 8vo. 560 p. 1795.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 131: Freytags, den 29. April 1796. 209-213.**

**Medicine.**

Art. II. Vienna. *J. A. Scherer der A. D., über das Einathmen der Lebensluft, c.* On the inspiration of Oxygen Air in chronic Inflammation of the Lungs, by J. A. Scherer, M. D. 8vo. 77p. 1794.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 126. Montags, den 25. April 1796. 175-176. Kleine Schriften.**

**Anatomy.**

Art. III. *Gottingen.* Prof. Blumenbach has concluded his collection of skulls.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 108. Montags, den 4. April 1796. 28-30.**

**Botany.**

Art. IV. Upsal. *Icones Plantarum Japonicarum*, &c.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 104. Donnerstags, den 31. März 1796. 830-832.**

**Political Oeconomy.**

Art. V. Konigsberg. *Zum ewigen Frieden*, &c. To perpetual Peace. A Philosophical Essay by Im. Kant. 8vo. 104 pages. 1795.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 112? Freytags, den 8. April 1796. 57-60.**

**Coins and Medals.**

Art. VI. Lemgo, *Ernst August Althof's &c., Beschreibung seines Münzvorraths.* E. A. Althof's Description of his Collection of Coins...1796.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Cited Identified: Not found.**

**History.**

Art. VII. Konigsberg. *Geschichte Preussens*, &c. The History of Prussia, by Lewis von Backzo. Vols. I-IV. 8vo. 1800 p. 1792-5.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 124. Freytags, den 22. April 1796. 153-157.**

**Mythology.**

Art. VIII Berlin. *Historisch-kritische Abhandlung über die Lamaischen Religion*, &c. An historico-critical Essay on the Religion of the Lama, by K. D. Hullmann. 1795.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 69. Dienstags, den 1. März 1796. 551-552. Kleine Schriften.**

**Philology.**

Art. IX. Brunswick. *Beyträge zur Beforderung der fortschreitenden Aufbildung der Deutschen Sprache*, &c. Essays to promote the progressive improvement of the German Language, by a Society of Philologers....1795.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 121. Donnerstags, den 14. Januar 1796. 121-128.**

## June 1796: Literary Intelligence

**History of Academies**

Art. I. Paris. *Annuarie du Lycée des Arts*, &c. Year Book of the Lyceum of Arts...1795.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 140. Sonnabends, den 7. Mai 1796. 287-288. Kleine Schriften.**

Art. II. Stockholm. *Kongl. Vetenskaps Academiens nya Handlingar*, &c. New Transactions of the Royal Academy of Sciences, Vol. Xv, for the Year 1794. 319p. 10 plates.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 158. Montags, den 23. Mai 1796. 428-431; and also in Numero 166. Montags, den 30. Mai 1796. 492-496.**

**Ecclesiastical History.**

Art. III. Weimar. *Archiv für die neueste Kirchengeschichte*, &c, Records of modern Ecclesiastical History. Published by Dr. H. F. Conr. Henke for 1794. 8vo. 766p. Published quarterly.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***

**Source Identified: Numero 136: Mittwochs, den 4. Mai 1796. 249-256.**

**Astronomy.**

Art. IV. Paris. *Connoissance des Temps à l'Usage des Astronomes & des Navigateurs*, &c. The Astronomical and Nautical Almanac for the Year 4 of the French Republic, from Sept. 23, 1795, to Sept. 21, 1796. Published by Order of the Board of Longitude. 8vo. 224p. 1795.

**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***

**Source Identified: Numero 152. Mittwochs, den 18. Mai 1796. 377-383.**

**Political Oeconomy.**

Art. V. Vienna. *Staatsverfassung der österreichischen Monarchie in Grundrisse*, &c. Statistical Sketch of the Austrian Dominions. By Jos. Baron Lichtenstern. 8vo. 416p. 1791.

**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***

**Source Identified: Numero 147: Freytags, den 13. Mai 1796. 337-340.**

**Antiquities.**

Art. VI. *Paris.* Mr. Dolomieu is employed on a work of no small importance....[Mention of Mr. Dolomeiu being at work on a study entitled: *Lithologie ancienne.*]

**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***

**Source Identified: Not found.**

**History.**

Art. VII. Augsburg. *Tagebuch der Belagerung und Bombardirung der französischen Festung Valenciennes* &c. 1796.

**Source Cited: No source is cited.**

**Source Identified: Numero 151: Dienstags, den 17. Mai 1796. 369-372.**

**Romance.**

Art. VIII. Berlin. *Jacob und sein Herr*, &c. Jacob and his Master. From an unpublished Manuscript cf Diderot. 2 vols., 8vo. 669 p. 1792.

**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***

**Source Identified: Numero 140: Sonnabends, den 7. Mai 1796. 285-286.**

**Poetry.**

Art. IX. Berlin. *Die Kunst zu Lieben*, &c. The Art of Love, a didactic poem in three Books. 8vo. 240 p. 1794.

**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***

**Source Identified: Numero 157. Sonnabends, den 21. Mai 1796. 421-424.**

**Fine Arts.**

Art. X. Leipsic. *Darstellung und Geschichte des Geschmacks an Arabesken*, &c. Representation and History of Taste in Arabesques..by J. fr. Baron Racknitz. Large 4to. 20 pages on wove paper and hotpressed; with 2 large coloured plates, and 2 vignettes. Price 6r. 16gr. 1796.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 103. Mittwochs, den 30. März 1796. 821-824.**

## October 1796: Literary Intelligence

**History of Academies.**

Art. I. Paris, July 1. By a decree of the national convention, passed on the 9th, plubiose, 2 (jan. 29, 1794), the preparation of elementary works for the purpose of education was directed, and all patriotic and scientific men were requested to exert their abilities on the occasion. A Jury appointed to examine the works that might be sent in consequence of this degree, and aportion [sic] fit rewards to such as should merit them. The subjects were distributed into ten classes. 1. The physica land moral education of children, from the birth, to the time of their being fit for the national schools, that is, to the age of 6 or 8.....etc.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Not found.**

Art. II. The Royal Society of Sciences at Copenhagen. The prize for the historical question [see our Rev. Vol. Xx, p. 441, No. 1] was adjudged to aulic couns. Spittler, of Gottingen: that for the mathematical question ....etc.
**Source Cited: No source is cited.**
**Source Identified: Not found.**

**Theology.**

Art. III. Berlin. *Codicis manuscripti N. T. Graeci Rauiani*, &c. An examination of the Rauian Greek M. S. of the New Testament, preserved in the King's Library at Berlin: by Ge. Gottl. Pappelbaum. 8vo. 206p. 1796.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 274. Donnerstags, den 1. September 1796. 569-571.**

**Medicine.**

Art. IV. Gottingen. *Denkwürdigkeiten für die Heilkunde und Geburtshülfe*, &c. Memoirs of Physic and Midwifery, extracted from the journals of the Royal Practical Establishments for teaching these Sciences, by Dr. Fred. Benj. Osiander, Prof. at Gottingen. Vol. I. 8vo. 584 p. 3 plates. 1794. Vol. II. 523 p. 8 plates. 1795.

**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 294. Montags, den 19. September 1796. 729-734. & Numero 295. Dienstags, den 20. September 1796. 737-739.**

**Electricity.**

Art. V. Leipsic. *Revision des vorzüglichern Schwierigkeiten in der Lehre von der Elektricitaet*, &c. A Review of the principal Difficulties in the Theory of Electricity, particularly what relates to Two kinds of it; in Letters published by L. L. 149p. 1789.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 257. Mittwochs, den 17. August 1796. 437-440.**

**Topography.**

Art. VI. Salzburg. *Beschreibung der Stadt Salzburg*, &c. A Description of the Town of Salzburg, and surrounding District, with it's ancient History. By L. Huebner. Vol. I. Topography. 8vo. 594 p. 2 plates. 1792. Vol. II. Statistics. 620 p. 1 plate. 1793.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 276. Sonnabends, den 3. September 1796. 585-590.**

**Geography.**

Art. VII. Riga. *Materialien zur Kenntniss des russischen Reichs*, &c. Materials towards a knowledge of the Russian Empire, published by H. Storch. Vol. I. 8vo. 522 p. 1796.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: The index to the *Jenaische Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* lists the article in Vol. III, p. 417. This Identifies the source as : Numero 255. Dienstags, den 16. August 1796; however, no listing is found in this issue.**

**Political Oeconomy.**

Art. VIII. Zurich. *Politische Wahrheiten*, &c. Political Truths by Fred. Ch. Baron von Moser. 2 Vols. 8vo. 570 p. 1796.
**Source Cited: No source is cited.**
**Source: Identified: Numero 301. Sonnabends, den 24. September 1796. 785-791.**

Art. IX. Harington's works have lately been translated into French, and are now translating into german at Leipsic
**Source Cited: No source is cited.**
**Source Identified: Not found.**

**Moral Philosophy.**

Art. X. Leipsic. *Fordern grosse Tugenden oder grosse Verbrechen mehr Geisteskraft?* &c. Do great Virtues or great Vices require the greater Powers of Mind? A philosophical dialogue by G. Henrici. 8vo. 328 p. 1795.

**Source Cited:** ***Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 219. Freytags, den 15. Julius 1796. 129-132.**

**Antiquities.**

Art. XI. Rome. *Le Pittare di un antico Vaso fittile*, &c. Representation of an ancient earthen vase, found in Magna Graecia and belonging ot his Highness Prince Stanislaus Poniatowski, with an Explanation by Em. Qu. Visconti. Large Fol. 13 p. 4 plates, 1794.
**Source Cited:** ***Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identfied: Numero 276. Sonnabends, den 3. September 1796. 591-592. Kleine Schriften.**

**History.**

Art. XII. Riga. *Ueber den ersten Feldzug des Russischen Kriegsheers gegen die Preusssen*, &c. On the first Campaign of the Russian Army against the Prussians in the Year 1757. Published from the original Record of Gen. J. H. von Woymarn, by A. W. Hupel. 8vo. 240 p. 1794.
**Source Cited:** ***Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 291. Freytags, den 16. September 1796. 705-707.**

**Travels.**

Art. XIII. Paris. A new edition of Bourgoanne's Travels in Spain.... is shortly to be published, with very considerable additions by the author, which will probably extend the work to another volume.
**Source Cited: No source is cited.**
**Source Identified: Not found.**

**Miscellanies.**

Art. XIV. Paris. A complete edition of Greffet's works is publishing, which will contain many posthumous pieces, given by Mr. Dumesnil to the national institute; three of the members of which, Selis, Lebrun, and Fontanes, were appointed to superintend the edition.
**Source Cited: No source is cited.**
**Source Identified: Not found.**

## November 1796: Literary Intelligence

**History of Academies.**

Art. I. Prague. Neure Abhandlungen der Königlichen Böhmischen Gesellschaft &c. New Memoirs of the Royal Bohemian Society of Sciences. Vol. II. 4to. With plates. Price 4 r. 1795.

**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 332. Sonnabends, den 22. October 1796. 193-200.**

**Theology.**

Art. II. Leipsic. *Pragmatische Uebersicht der Theologie der spatern Juden*, &c. A Philosophical View of the Theology of the later Jews, by Pölitz, Second Prof. of Morals and History at the Equestrian Academy at Dresden. 8vo. 288 p. 1795.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 302. Montags, den 26. September 1796. 793-796.**

Art. III. *Predigten mit Hinsicht auf den Geist und die Bedürfnisse der Zeit und des Orts*, &c. Sermons adapted to the Spirit and Wants of the Times and Place, by C. G. Ribbeck. 8vo. 276 p. 1796.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 330. Donnerstags, den 20. October 1796. 184.**

Art. IV. A german translation of Locke on Toleration has just been published at this place, and the reviewer confesses the utility of such a work even in the present day; though he thinks it might have been presumed, that men's minds were not too enlightened to require any arguments to render them tolerant. The anonymous translator has added a few remarks, chiefly historical.
**Source Cited: No source is cited.**
**Source Identified: Numero 304. Freytags, den 30. September 1796. 838-839.**
**Vermischte Schriften.**

**Jurisprudence.**

Art. V. Stockholm. *Anmaerkningar til Sweriges Rikes Sjo-Lag*, &c. The Maritime Law of Sweden, with Remarks, containing the new Ordinances introduced into it, with an Account of the Duties of the Swedish Consuls at the several Foreign Ports, and the Perquisites due to them, by Jas. Alb. Flintberg. 4to. 651 p. 1794.
Gripswald. Schwedishes Seerecht mit Anmerkungen, &c. The above translated, with a Preface by Dr. E. F. Hagemeister. 457 p. 1796.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 290. Donnerstags, den 15. September 1796. 697-699.**

**Medicine.**

Art. VI. Weimar. *Anfangsgründe der Medicinischen Anthropologie*, &c. Elements of Medical Anthropology, and Medical Policy and Jurisprudence, sketched by Dr. Just Christian Loder, Prof. &c. 2nd edtion. Improved and enlarged. 8vo. 782 p. 1793.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 353. Mittwochs, den 9. November 1796. 361-368.**

Art. VII. Berlin and Leipsic. *Neue Bemerkungen und Erfahrungen*, &c. New Experiments and Observations in Physic and Surgery, by Dr. J. C. Ant. Theden, first Surgeon-general to the King of Prussia, &c. Vol. III. 8vo. 290 p. 1795.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 307. Freytags, den 30. September 1796. 833-836.**

Art. VIII. Halle. Prof. Reil continues his truly useful work, Select clinical Observations.... the fourth fasciculus of which was published last year.
**Source Cited: No source is cited.**
**Source Identified: Numero 313. Mittwochs, den 5. October 1796. 42-47.**

**Anatomy and Physiology.**

Art. IX. Altona. *Magazin für die pathologische Anatomie und Physiologie*, &c. Repository of pathological Anatomy and Physiology, published by A. F. Hecker. Part I. 8vo. 128 p. 3 plates.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 303. Dienstags, den 27. September 1796. 801-803.**

Art. X. Konigsberg. S. T. Sömmering über das Organ der Seele. S. T. Soemmering on the Organ of the Soul. 4to. 94 p. 2 plates. 1796.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 304. Mittwochs, den 28. September 1796. 809-816; and continued in next issue: Numero 305. Mittwochs, den 28. September 1796. 817-819.**

**Natural History.**

Art. XI. Amsterdam. *Verhandelingen en Waarneemingen over de Natuurlyke Historie*, &c. Essays and Observations in natural History, chiefly relating to our own country, By J. Florentius Martinet, Fellow of the Dutch Society of Sciences, &c. 8vo. 451 p. 1795.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 323. Freytags, den 14. October 1796. 181-125.**

**Entomology.**

Art. XII. Prague. *Monographia Bombyliorum Bohemia*, &c. Description of the Bombylii of Bohemia illustrated with Plates. By J. Christian Mikan, M. D. 8vo. 60 p. 4 coloured plates. 1796.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 329. Mittwochs, den 19. October 1796. 175-176. Kleine Schriften.**

Art. XIII. Hamburg. *Nomenclator Éntomologieus*, &c. The Entomological Nomenclator, drawn up according to the System of the celebrated Fabricius, with the

Addition of such Species as have been lately discovered, and the varieties, by Fred. Weber. Sm. 8vo. 172 p. 1795.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 323. Freytags, den 14. October 1796. 181.**

**Geography. Topography.**

Art. XIV. Lubec and Leipsic. *Betrachtungen über die Fruchtbarkeit, &c. der vornehmsten Länder in Asien*, &c. Reflections on the Fertility or Barrenness, ancient and present State, of the principal Countries in Asia, by C. Meiners, Aulic Councellor, &c. Vol. I. 8vo. 442 p. 1795.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 335. Dienstags, den 25. October 1796. 220-224.**

Art. XV. Gotha. *Gotha und die umliegende Gegend*, &c. Gotha and it's Environs, by A. Klebe. 435 p. Beside the prefaces of the author and prof. Galleti. .. 1796.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 318. Montags, den 10. October 1796. 81-84.**

**Agriculture.**

Art. XVI. Where printed not mentioned. *Vier wichtige Actenstücke zur Kulturgeschichte des Donaumooses*, &c. Four important Papers relative to the Cultivation of the Danube-morass in Bavaria. 8vo. 240 p. 1796.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source: Not found.**

**Political Oeconomy.**

Art. XVII. Erfurt. *Ueber die Rettung der Meublen*, &c. On Saving Moveables and Household Furniture in Cases of Fire: An Essay that obtained a Prize from the Society of Sciences at Gottingen: by J. Melchior Moeller. 8vo. 38 p. 1796.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 335. Dienstags, den 25. October 1796. 223-224. Kleine Schriften.**

**History of Arts.**

Art. XVIII. Prague. *Neue Beytraege zur alten Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst*, &c. New Memoirs of the ancient History of Printing in Bohemia, with a complete View of every Thing pertaining to it dated in the fifteenth Century, by C. Ungar, &c. 4to. 37 p. 1795.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 301. Sonnabends, den 24. September 1796. 791-792. Kleine Schriften.**

**Classical Literature.**

Art. XIX. Paris. *Oeuvres de Xenophon*, &c. The Works of Xenophon, translated into French, from the printed Editions and four Mss. In the national Library, by Citizen Gail, Prof. of Greek Literature at the French College Cambray Place.. Vol. 1. 374 p. A. R. 3 [1794, 5]
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Not found.**

Art. XX. *Leipsic. Quastionum philologicarum Specimen*, &c. Specimen of Philological Questions: By H. C. A. Eichstaedt, Phil. D. and Prof. 4to. 80 p. 1796.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 310. Montags, den 3. October 1796. 17-23.**

Art. XXI. Zeitz and Leipsic. *Codex manuscriptus Epistolarum Petri de Vineis*, &c. An Account of a Ms. of the Episles of Peter de Vineis, in the Episcopal Library at Zeitz, by M. Christ. Jef. Mueller. 4to. 12 p. 1794.
**Source Cited: No source is cited.**
**Source Identified: Numero 326. Montags, den 17. October 1796. 151-152. Kleine Schriften.**

Art. XXII. *De Corpore Insciptionum Gruteriano*, &c. On Gruter's Inscriptions, enriched with Notes and Observations by T. Reinesius, ib., by the Same. 4to. 16p. 1793.
**Source Cited: No source is cited.**
**Source Identified: Not found.**

Art. XXIII. *De Bernhardo Bertramo*, &c. On B. Bertram, a learned Philologer of the Seventeenth Century, by the Same. 8vo. 24 p. 1795.
**Source Cited: No source is cited.**
**Source Identified: Not found.**

Art. XXIV. *De Suida*, &c. On Suidas, enriched with the Observations of T. Reinesius, by the Same. 8vo. 16 p. 1796.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.* (Apparently here cited arbitrarily as source for XXI; XXII; and XXIII; as well).**
**Source Identified: Not found.**

**Ancient Literature.**

Art. XXV. Leipsic. *Braga und Hermode*, &c. Braga and Hermode (Apollo and Mercury), or a New Magazine of German Antiquities relative to Language, Arts, and Morals. Vol. I. Part I. 8vo. 224 p. 1796.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***

**Source Identified: Numero 324. Sonnabends, den 15. October 1796. 129-133.**

**History.**

Art. XXVI. Giessen. *Beytraege zur Geschichte des Mittelalters*, &c. Fragments of the History of the Middle Age, by J. Ern. Christian Schmidt. Vol. I. 8vo. 207 p. 1796.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 326. Montags, den 17. October 1796. 148-151.**

Art. XXVII. Berlin. *Darstellung des jetzigen Krieges*, &c. Picture of the present war between Germany and France, with a particular View of the Part taken in it by Prussia, to the Conclusion of the Treaty of Peace at Basle, by J. E. Küster. 8vo. 222 p. 1796.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Not found.**

Art. XXVIII. Konigsberg. *Versuche einer Geschichte Danzigs*, &c. Sketch of History of Dantzic, from authentic Documents and Manuscripts. By Dr. Dan Gralath. 3 Vols. 1769 p. 1789-91.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 341. Sonnabends, den 29. October 1796. 265-270.**

**Biography.**

Art. XXIX. Zurich. *Salomon Gessner*, &c. Solomon Gessner. By J. J. Hottinger. 8vo. 270 p. with a vignette title-page. 1796.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 308. Sonnabends, den 1. October 1796. 1-8.**

**Poetry.**

Art. XXX. Gottingen. *Christ. Aug. Tiedge'ns Schriften*, &c. The Works of C. A. Tiedge. Vol. I. Epistles. 8vo. 324 p. Price 1r. 1796.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 309. Sonnabends, den 1. October 1796 9-14.**

**Miscellanies.**

Art. XXXI. Some fragments of Montesquieu, on literary subjects, are about to be published. De Secondat, who is lately dead, the only son of Montesquieu, becoming obnoxious to the revolutionary committee Bourdeaux, threw into the flames all his family papers, among which were his father's mss. The loss of many of these is no doubt to be regretted, but fortunately his secretary preserved some of them, and they are now in the press.
**Source Cited: No source is cited.**
**Source Identified: Not found.**

# May 1797: Literary Intelligence

**Theology.**

Art. I. Frankfort and Leipsic. *Versuch über das negative Religionsprincip der Neufranken.* An inquiry into the Negative Religious Principle of the Modern French. 8vo. 191 p. 1796.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 97. Montags, den 27. März 1797. 770-772.**

Art. II. No imprint. *Das Christenthum enthält keine übernäturliche geoffenbarte zur Seligkeit des Menchen nothwendige Glaubenslehren*, &c. A Letter to Mr. David Friedlaender, showing that Christianity contains no supernatural revealed Doctrines necessary to Man's Salvation. 8vo. 158 p. 1794.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 94. Freytags, den 24. März 1797. 745-748.**

**Medicine.**

Art. III. Vienna. *Entwurf eines Werkes: Ueber das hohe Alter*, &c. Sketch of a Work, entitled, On Old Age. By Eusebius Valli, M. D. Translated from the Italian by S. Bonelli, practising Physician. 8vo. 31 p. 1796.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 109. Donnerstags, den 6. April 1797. 55-56. Kleine Schriften.**

**Anatomy.**

Art. IV. Frankfort. Prof. Soemmering is publishing, by subscription, a work on the human organs of sense. It is to consist of twelve finished plates.....
**Source Cited: No source is cited.**
**Source Identified: Not found.**

**Geography.**

Art. V. Gotha and Petersburg. *Dr. Jacob Reineggs allgemeine historisch-topographische Beschreibung des Kaukasus, &c.* Dr. J. Reinegg's general historical and topographical Description of Caucasus. Compiled from this posthumous Papers, by F. E. Schroeder. Vol. I. 8vo. 294 p. 3 plates. 1796.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 107. Mittwochs, den 5. April 1797. 33-37.**

**Biography.**

Art. VI. Lausanne. *Vie de Zimmermann*, &c. The Life of Zimmermann, by S. A. D. Tissot, D. M. 8vo. 122 p. 1797.

**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 110. Freytags, den 7. April 1797. 57-61.**

Art. VII. Leipsic. *Denkmal der Freundschaft und Liebe*, &c. A Memorial of Love and Friendship, erected to the late Marianne Ehrmann, and dedicated to all her female Patrons, Friends, and Readers, by Theoph. Fred. Ehrmann. 8vo. 204 p. 1796.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 108. Mittwochs, den 5. April 1797. 44-47.**

## June 1797: No Literary Intelligence Published

## July 1797: Literary Intelligence

**Medicine.**

Art. I. Jena. *Journal für die Chirurgie*, &c. Journal for Surgery, Midwifery, and forensic Medicine, published by J. C. Loder. Vol. I. No. I. 8vo. 176 p. 1797.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 159. Sonnabends, den 20. Mai 1797. 449-456.**

**Anatomy and Physiology.**

Art. II. Jena. *Historia Systematis Salivalis*, &c. A History of the Salival System, physiologically and pathologically considered, to which are added some Chirurgical Corollaries. By J. Bare. Siebold, m. et. C. D. 4to. 172 p. 2 plates. 1797.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 165. Donnerstags, den 25. Mai 1797. 500-502.**

Art. III. *Frankfort.* A latin translation of Soemmering's Anatomy...is published, with corrections and additions by the author. It is well executed, by prof. Clossins of Tubingen, and will no doubt be acceptable to foreigners.
**Source Cited: No source cited.**
**Source Identified: Numero 143. Sonnabends, den 6. Mai 1797. 323.** [Full title of text: "Frankfurt a. M., b. Varrentrapp u. Wenner: S. *Th. Sommerring de coporis humani fabrica, Latio donata ab ipso auctore aucta et emendata.* T. I. *De offibus*...mentioned of Prof. Clossins in tubingen. Small Column.]

**Entomology.**

Art. IV. Copenhagen. *Index Alphabeticus in J. C. Fabriccii Entomologiam*, &c. An alphabetical index to the corrected and enlarged Edition of Fabricius's System of Entomology, containing the Orders, Genera, and Species. 8vo. 176 p. 1796.

**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source: Not found;** Index to *Allgemeine Jenaische Literatur-Zeitung* lists source at Vol. I, p. 383., but not found there. If it was around this citation, the date would be around 11 February 1797.

**Botany.**

Art. V. Vienna. *Nic. Jos. Jacquin Collectaneorum Supplementum* &c. Supplement to Jacquin's Miscellanies. 4to. 160 p. 16 coloured plates. 1796.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 144. Sonnabends, den 6. Mai 1797. 329-331.**

**Mathematics.**

Art. VI. Berlin. *J. H. Lambert's Abhandlung*, &c. J. H. Lambert's Treatise on some acoustic Instruments. Translated from the French, with an Appendix, on the Horn of Alexander the Great as it is called, on Experiments with an elliptical Speaking-Trumpet, and on the application of Speaking Trumpets to Telegraphy. By Jef. Huth. Prof. of Math. and Nat. Phil. 8vo. 144 p. 2 plates. 1796.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 147. Mittwochs, den 10. Mai 1797. 358-359.**

**Astronomy.**

Art. VII. Paris. *Atlas céleste de Flamsteed*, &c. Flamstead's Celestial Atlas, reduced by M. J. Fortin. Ed. 3d, with Additions by Citizens Lalande and Mechanin. 4to. 1795.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 157. Donnerstags, den 18. Mai 1797. 438-440.**

**Political Economy.**

Art. VIII. Germany. *Kritik der Deutschen Reichsverfassung.* A Review of the Constitution of the German Empire. Part I. 8vo. 278 p. 1796.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 166. Freytags, den 26. Mai 1797. 505-508., 510.**

**Metaphysics.**

Art. IX. Konigsberg. *Metaphysische Anfangsgründe der Rechtslehre*, &c. Metaphysical Elements of Jurisprudence, by Eman. Kant. 8vo. 235 p. 1797.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 169. Montags, den 29. Mai 1797. 529-536; and continued in next issue: Numero 170. Dienstags, den. 30 Mai 1797. 537-544.**

**Classical Literature.**

Art. X. Leipsic. *Sirabonis Rerum geographicarum Libri XVII. Graca ad optimos Coaices manuscriptos recensuit, Varietate Lectionis Adnorationibusque illustravit, Xylandri Versionem emendavit Jo. Phil. Siebenkees, Prof Altorficuis. Tom. I.* 8vo. .470 p. 1796.

**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***

**Source Identified: Numero 152. Sonnabends, den 13. Mai 1797. 393-398.**

**History.**

Art. XI. No Imprint. *Der Landtag im Herzogthum Wirtemberg; im Jahr,* 1797. The diet of the Duchy of Wirtemberg, in 1797. Part I. 8vo. 107 p.

**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***

**Source Identified: Numero 160. Sonnabends, den 20. Mai 1797. 457-459.**

**Biography.**

Art. XII. Zurich. *Aloysius von Orelli,* &c. Aloysius von Orelli. A biographical Essay. With Fragments of Italian and Swiss History, and a Picture of the Domestic Manners of the Town of Zurich in the middle of the Sixteenth Century. By S. v. O. v. B. with a Preface by H. H. Fuessli. 8vo. 500 p.

**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***

**Source Identified: Numero 151. Sonnabends, den 13. Mai 1797. 385-391.**

## September 1797: Literary Intelligence

**Medicine.**

Art. I. Leipsic. *Beschreibung der physiologischen und pathologischen Praeparate,* &c. Description of the physiological and pathological Preparations in the Collection of Aulic Counsellor Loder at Jenaische, by J. Val. H. Koehler, M. B. &c. Division I. 8vo. 118 p. 1794.

**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***

**Source Identified: Numero. Mittwochs, den 12. Julius 1797. 108-110.**

Art. II. Stendal. *S. G. Vogels—Kranken-Examen,* &c. The Examination of the Sick, or general philosophico-medical Inquiries for the Investigation of the Diseases of the human body, by S. Theoph. Vogel, M. D. &c. 8vo. 355 pages. 1796.

**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***

**Source Identified: Numero. 258. Dienstags, den 15. August 1797. 414-415.**

**Anatomy.**

Art. III. Halle. *J. Chr. Reil, M. D. &c. Exercitationum anatomicarum Fasc. I.* &c. Anatomical Essays, No I, on the Structure of the Nerves, illustrated by three plates, by J. C. reil, M. D. &c. Fol. 34 pages.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 113. Montags, den 10. April. 1797. 81-88.** Author here is cited as Curts Eben.

**Manufactures.**

Art. IV. Hanover. *Uber die Bleyglasur unserer Töpfernwaare*, &c. On the Glazing of our Pottery with Lead, and it's Improvement, by J. F. Westrumb. 8vo. 189 pages. 1795.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 140. Mittwochs, den 3. Mai 1797. 297-299.**

**Moral Philosophy.**

Art. V. Leipsic. *Annalen der bürgerlichen Tugend*, &c. Annals of Virtue in common Life, or Facts for the Improvement of the Heart and Mind. 8vo. 240 pages. 1792. Collection the second. 259 pages. 1796.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 228. Mittwochs, den 19. Julius 1797. 176.**

**Classical Literature.**

Art. VI. Leipsic. *Αριςοφανομς Καμαιδιαι*, &c. The Comedies of Aristophanes, corrected on the Authority of a valuable Manuscript of the tenth Century, by Ph. Invernizi. To which are added critical Remarks, Greek Scholia, Indexes, and Notes of the Learned. 2vols. 8vo. 1246 pages. 1794.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 227. Mittwochs, den 19. Julius 1797. 161-168; and continued in next issue: Numero 228. Mittwochs, den 19. Julius 1797. 169-173.**

**Travels.**

Art. VII. Berlin. *Neue Reise durch Italien*, &c. New Travels through Italy, by Fred. Schulz. Vol. I. Part I. 8vo. 256 p. 1797.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 121. Montags, den 17. April 1797. 146-149.**

**Biography.**

Art. VIII. *Augsburg.* Mr. Veith, who we are informed died last year, has published six more alphabets of his Augsburg Bibliotheca...which conclude the work.
**Source Cited: No source is cited.**
**Source Identified: Numero 140. Mittwochs, den 3. Mai 1797. 299-302.**

Art. IX. Erlang. *Monument für meinen Vater*, &c. A Monument for my Father. The Life of J. Mich. Georg, late Director of the Royal Prussian Regency at Bayreuth, one of the most industrious Men of our Time, by Fred. Adam Georg, Ph. D. 4to. 160 pages. 1797.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source: Numero 203. Mittwochs, den 28. Junius 1797. 805-808. [Presumably source cited refers to Article VIII as well].**

**Novels.**

Art. X. Berlin. *Wilhelmine*, &c. Wilhelmina, A History in two Volumes, by J. F. Junger. 8vo. About 500 pages. 1796.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 198. Freytags, den 23. Junius 1797. 766-767. [Here only the second volume of 262 pages is cited]**

**Poetry.**

Art. XI. Breslaw. *Die Gesundbrunnen*, &c. Mineral Waters. A Poem in four Cantoes by Valerius Wm. Neubeck, M. D. 4to. 87 pages. 1795.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 243. Mittwochs, den 2. August 1797. 289-296.**

**Fine Arts.**

Art. XII. Dresden. *Briefe über die Kunst an eine Freundin*, &c. Letters to a Lady on the Arts, by Jos. Fred. Baron Racknitz. Parts I and II. 4to. 132 pages. 13 plates. 1796.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 129. Montags, den 24. April 1797. 211-213.**

Art. XIII. Breslaw. *Der Torso*, &c. The Torso. A periodical publication dedicated to ancient and modern Art by C. Bach and C. F. Benkowitz. Vol. I. 4to. 202 pages with plates. 1796-7.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 129. Montags, den 24. April 1797. 209-211.**

**Engraving.**

Art. XIV. Zurich. *Handbuch für Kunstliebhaber und Sammler über die vornehmsten Kupferstecher*, &c. The Amateur and Collector's Manuel of the principal Engravers and their Works, from the Commencement of the Art to the present Time, arranged Chronologically and in Schools, compiled from the French Manuscript of Mr. M. Huber by c. C. H. Rost. Vol I. 8vo. 359 pages. Vol. II. 399 pages. 1796.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 148. Mittwochs, den 10. Mai 1797. 361-364.**

**Education.**

Art. XV. Augsburg. *Le Monde corporel représenté en 360 Figures*, &c. The corporeal World displayed in 360 figures in Copperplate, with Explanations in French and German, calculated to teach Children the Names, Qualities, and Uses of such Things as come before their Eyes. By J. H. Meynier. Sm. 8vo. 174 p. 1796.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified:** There is only one entry for J.H. Meynier and it is not the one cited above. Searches in the index for the title did also not reveal anything.

Art. XVI. Copenhagen and Lubec. *Beytrage zur Veredlung der Menschheit*, &c. Essays for the ennobling of Mankind, published from the Institution for the Education of Youth at Copenhagen by O. J. R. Christiani, German Preacher to the Court. Vol I. nos. I-IV. 8vo. 516 pages. 1796.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 150. Freytags, den 12. Mai 1797. 379-382.**

## November 1797: Literary Intelligence

**Theology.**

Art. I. *Aarau. Auswahl einiger Predigten*, &c. Select Sermons by J. G. Fisch, second Preacher at Aarau. 8vo. 187 p. 1797.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 298. Dienstags, den 19. September 1797. 734-736.**

**Chemistry.**

Art. II. After a long interval, we have received another number of the *Journal de Physique*, which, notwithstanding the delay it has experienced, the proprietor professes himself resolved, if he possibly can, to continue, for the promotion of science....
**Source Cited: No source cited.**
**Source Identified: Not found**

**Botany.**

Art. III. Erlang. *Flora Indiae Occidentalis aucta*, &c. The West-Indian Flora enlarged and elucidated, or Descriptions of the Plants mentioned in the Prodomus, by Olvae Swartz, M. D. &c. Vol. I. 8vo. 640 pages. 1797.
**Source Cited: No source cited.**
**Source Identified: Numero 316. Mittwochs, den 4. October 1797. 30-32**

**Geography.**

Art. IV. Weimar. *Allgemeiner Blick auf Italien*, &c. A general View of Italy, with some geographico-statistical Essays respecting the southern Parts of this country, by E. A. W. von Zimmermann, Aulic Counsellor of the Duchy of Brunswic. 8vo. 190 pages. 1 plate. 1797.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 277. Donnerstags, den 31. August 1797. 566-568.**

Art. V. Konigsberg. *J. G. Georgi Geograpisch-Physicalisch und Naturhistorische Beschreibung des Russischen Reichs.* A Geographical and Physical Description of the Russian Empire, by J. G. Georgi, Vol. I. 8vo. 377 pages, 1797.
**Source Cited: No source cited.**
**Source Identified: Numero 296. Sonnabends, den 16. September 1797. 713-719.**

Art. VI. Riga. *Historisch-statistisches Gemählde des R. R.* &c. A historico-statistical Picture of the Russian Empire at the Close of the Eighteenth Century, by H. Storch. Vol. I. 8vo. 600 pages. Vol. II. 650 pages. 1797.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 296. Sonnabends, den 16. September 1797. 713-719.**

**Classical Literature.**

Art. VII. Basil. *Publi Terenti Afri Comoedia sex*, &c. The Six Comedies of Terence corrected according to the best Editions, Large 4to. 451 pages. Price 15 r. 1797.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 327. Sonnabends, den 14. October 1797. 113-117**

Art. VIII. Leipsic. *Animadversiones et Lectiones and Aristotelis Lib. Tres Rhetoricorum*, &c. Remarks on Aristotle's Rhetoric, with Corrections of the Text, by J. Severinus Vater, P. D. &c.: to which is added an Appendix by Fr. Aug. Wolf. 8vo. 234 pages. 1794.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 339. Mittwochs, den 25. October 1797. 211-215.**

**Voyages and Travels.**

Art. IX. Stockholm. *Bref om Maroco*, &c. Letters on Morocco, by Olave Agrell. 8vo. 601 pages. 1796.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 297. Montags, den 18. September 1797. 721-727.** [Article lists text length at 661 pages]

**Biography.**

Art. X. Nuremberg. *Nachrichten von den Begebenheiten und Schriften berühmter Gelehrten*, &c. Accounts of the Lives and Writings of celebrated Men of Letters, by Fran. von Paula Schrank. Vol. I. 8vo. 426 pages. 1797.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero ?. Freytags, den 28. Julius 1797. 254-256.**

**Miscellanies.**

Art. XI. Gotha. *Blicke in das Gebiet der Künste*, &c. A Peep into the Regions of Practical Philosophy and the Arts. 8vo. 251 pages. 1796.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 287. Sonnabends, den 9. September 1797. 641-644.**

Art. XII. Riga. *Texte zum Denken, &c. or Choix de Pensees melees*, &c. A Selection of miscellaneous Maxims, for the use of those who know the World, or who wish to know it, with a german Translation, by Fr. Schulz. Vol. I. 8vo. 277 pages. Price 1 r. 8 g. 1796.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 327. Sonnabends, den 14. October 1797. 117.**

**Education.**

Art. XIII. *Halle und Leipsic.* Prof. Mangelsdorf has published a fifth volume of his Ancient History...which comes down to the taking of Constantiniple by the turks, and is written with the same spirit as the former.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero. 331. Mittwochs, den 18. October 1797. 148-149.** [Title is listed as: *Hausbedarf der allgemeinen Geschichte der alten welt fuer seine Kinder und fuer andere zwoelf bis funfzehn Jahre, allenfalls auch etwas darueber.* Funfter Theil 1797. 226S.; this could be a separate text.]

## May 1798: Literary Intelligence

**History of Academies.**

Art. I. Royal Society of Sciences at Copenhagen.
The prize for the question on the mechanical advantages and dis-advantages of carts and waggons [see our Rev. Vol. Xxiv, p. 444] has been adjudged to prof. Nich. Fuss, of Petersburg....
**Source Cited: No source is cited**
**Source Identified: Not found.**

**Ecclesiastical History.**

Art. II. Budissin & Zittaw. *Briefe über Herrnhut*, &c. Letters on Herrnhut and the Evangelical Brotherhood; with an Appendix. By Christain Theoph. Frohberger. 8vo. 566 pages. 1797.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 19. Mittwochs, den 17. Januar 1798. 145-148.**

**Medicine.**

Art. III. Paris. *Observations sur la Nature & sur le Traitement du Rachitisme*, &c. Observations on the Nature and Treatment of the Rickets, or Curvatures of the Spine, and of the Superiour and inferiour Extremities. By Ant. Portal. Prof. Of Physic at the College of France. 8vo. 388 p. 1797.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Not found.** [V, 137 (french); IV, 55 (german notification) this is notification in october 1798 for the 1798 printed edition. Obviously, the AR May publication is referring to an earlier edition. Register for 1797 has an entry for Portal, but is a different text. Thus, this remains a bit of a mystery for now.]

**Natural Philosophy.**

Art. IV. Halle. *Von den Nebengefässen der Pflanzen*, &c. On the accessory Vessels of Plants, and their Uses. By Francis von Paula Schrank. 8vo. 94 p. 3 plates. 1794.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 18. Dienstags, den 16. Januar 1798. 141-144.**

**Geography.**

Art. V. Zurich. *Versuch eines Handbuchs der Schweizerischen Staatskunde*, &c. Sketch of a Manual of the Statistics of Switzerland, by J. Jasp. Fäli, Prof. Of Hist. And Geogr. 8vo. 329p. 1796.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 68. Mittwochs, den 28. Februar 1798. 537-541.**

Art. VI. Riga. *Statistische Uebersicht der Statthalterschaften des russischen Reichs*, &c. A Statistical View of the Governments of the Russian Empire, with respect to their most remarkable circumstances, in Tables, by H. Storch. Sm. Fol. 131 p. 1795.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 49. Montags, den 12. Februar 1798. 388-390.**

**Political Economy.**

Art. VII. Zurich. *Christian Ulrich Detlev von Eggers Archiv für Staatswissenschaft*, &c. C. U. D. von E.'s Archives of Political Economy and Legislation. Vol. I. 8vo. 574p. 1795. Vol. II. 388p. 1796.

**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 51. Mittwochs, den 14. Februar 1798. 401-406; and continued in next issue: Numero 52. Mittwochs, den 14. Februar 1798. 409-412.**

Art.VIII. *C. U. D. von E. Annalen der Staatswissenschaft*, &c. C. U. D. von E.'s Annals of Political Economy. Vol. I. For the Year 1795. 8vo. 393 p.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source: Numero 51. Mittwochs, den 14. Februar 1798. 401-406. [Continued:] Numero 52. Mittwochs, den 14. Februar 1798. 409-412.**

**Classical Literature.**

Art. IX. Paris. *Vie de Julius Agricola*, &c. The Life of J. Agricola by Tacitus. A new Translation by Des* ** . 12mo. 172 p. 1797.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source: Not found.**

**History.**

Art. X. Halle. Prof. Mangelsdorff has published an abridgment of his Ancient History . . . in one volume 8vo, 396 p. with 5 chronological tables.
**Source Cited: No source cited.**
**Source Identified: Numero 76. 7. März 1798. 605-606.**

Art. XI. Aurick. *Ostfriesische Geschichte*, &c. The History of East Friesland, by Tileman Dothias Wiarda, Secretary to the States of East Friesland. Vols. I-VII. 8vo. 3538 p. 1791-7.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 101. Donnerstags, den 29. März 1798. 801-807; and continued in next issue: Numero 102. Freytags, den 30. März 1798. 809-812.**

**Biography.**

Art. XII. Amsterdam. *Jan Hendrik van Swinden Lykrede op Pieter Nieuwland*, &c. An Eulogy on P. Nieuwland, read in the Society Felix Meritis at Amsterdam, Nov. 24, 1794, by J. H. van Swinden. 8vo. 172p. 1795.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 70. Sonnabends, den 3. März 1798. 561-568.**

**Drama.**

Art. XIII. Leipsic. *Grundlinien zu einer Theorie der Schauspielkunst*, &c. Elements of a Theory of the Art of Acting, with the Analysis of a comic and tragic Part, Shakespeare's Falstaff and Hamlet. 8vo. 134 p. 1797.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***

**Source Identified: Numero 46. Freytags, den 9. Februar 1798. 361-367.**

**Miscellanies.**

Art. XIV. Mardrid. Observaciones sobre la Historia natural, &c. Observations on the Natural History, Geography, Agriculture, Population, and Produce of the Kingdom of Valencia. By Don. Ant. Jos. Cavanilles. 2 Vols. Fol. 574 p. With maps and several plates. 1795-7.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 108. Mittwochs, den 4. April 1798. 30-31.**

**Dictionaries.**

Art. XV. [Dictionaries] Madrid. It gives us no unfavourable idea of the state of literature in Spain, to hear, that a translation of the great French Encyclopedia into Spanish has made some progress, and is greatly superiour to the original.....
**Source Cited: No source is cited.**
**Source Identified: Not found.**

## June 1798: Literary Intelligence

**History of Academies.**

Art. I. Sockholm [sic]. *Kongl. Vitterhets, &c. Academiens Handlingar*. Translations of the Royal Academy of Belles Lettres, History, and Antiquities. Vol. V. 8vo. 432 p. 2 plates. 1796.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 139. Dienstags, den 1. Mai 1798. 273-278.**

**Theology.**

Art. II. No Imprint. *Freymüthige Gedanken über die Priesterehe*, &c. Free Thoughts on the Marriage of Priests, as the Basis of a highly necessary Reform of the catholic Priesthood, in an Examination of.....against the Incontinency of the clergy of the Diosese of Ratisbon. By a Bavarian Professor of Theology. 8vo. 164p. 1796.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 126. Freytags, den 20. April 1798. 172-176; Vermischte Schriften.**

**Jurisprudence.**

Art. III. Giessen. *Grundsätze der Criminalrechtswissenschaft*, &c. The Principles of criminal Jurisprudence with a systematic Exposition of the criminal Law of Germany. by Dr. C. Grolman. 8vo. 500 p. 1798.
**Source Cited: No source is cited.**

**Source Identified: Numero 113. Montags, den 9. April 1798. 65-72; and continued in next issue: Numero 114. Dienstags, den 10. April 1798. 73-79.**

Art. IV. Herborn and Hadamar. *Bibliothek für die peinliche Rechtswissenschaft*, &c. Library of penal jurisprudence and Legislation. Vol. I. Part I. 8vo. 402 p. 1797.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Not found.**

**Natural History.**

Art. V. Paris. *Tableau élémentaire de l'Histoire Naturelle des Animaux*, &c. -- An elementary View of the Natural History of Animals, by G. Cuvier, of the National Institute of France, &c. 8vo. 726 p. 14 plates. 6 [1798]
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 145. Montags, den 7. Mai 1798. 323-326.**

Art. VI. Paris. *Dissertation sur les Animaux a Bourse*, &c. A Differentiation on the Genus Didelphis of Linné, by Cit. Geoffroy, of the National Institute, &c. 8vo. 28 p. 2 plates. 4to. 1797.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Not found.**

**Astronomy.**

Art. VII. *Berlin.* Mr. Bode's Astronomical Ephemeris for 1800 is not inferiour in valuable matter to it's predecessors.... [No Jenaische source cited/given]
**Source Cited: No source is cited.**
**Source Identified: Numero 75. Mittwochs, den 7. März 1798. 593-599.**

**Geography.**

Art. VIII. Zurich. *Fragmente über Entlebuch*, &c. Fragments on Entlebuch; with a Supplement, respecting Switzerland in general; by F. J. Stalder. 2vols. 8vo. 618 p. 1797, 8.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 142. Freytags, den 4. Mai 1798. 300-304.**

**Mechanics.**

Art. IX. Leipsic. Prof. Lempe has published the 2nd section of his treatise on machinery...which relates to machines moved by water, and displays equal ability with the first.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Not found**

**Political Economy.**

Art. X. Giessen. *Die veredelte Seidenkanincherey*, &c. The improved Management of the silky haired Rabbit in Germany, considered in all it's Parts, and collected for the Use of all those, who are actually engaged in it, or who intend to be so. By A. F. W. von Hillesheim. 8vo. 43 p. 1797.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 152. Sonnabends, den 12. Mai 1798. 383-384. Kleine Schriften.**

**Classical Literature.**

Art. XI. Nuremberg. *Commentar über zwey dunkle mathematische Stellen in Plato's Schriften*, &c. A Commentary on two obscure mathematical Passages in Plato's Works, one of which occurs in the Theates, the other in the Meno, by J. Wolfgang Müller. 8vo. 99 p. 1 plate. 1797.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 154. Dienstags, den 15. Mai 1798. 397-400.**

**History.**

Art. XII. Hanover. *Historisches Vergleichung der Sitten und Verfassungen*, &c. An historical Comparison of the Manners and Constitutions, Laws and Manufactures, Commerce and Religion, Sciences.....By C. Meiners, Aulic councellor to his Britannic Majesty, &c. 3 vols. 8vo. 2046 p. 1793-4.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 98. Dienstags, den 27. März 1798. 777-784; and continued in next issue: Numero 99. Mittwochs, den 28. März 1798. 785-792.**

Art. XIII. Berlin. *Geschichte der Europäischen Staaten*, &c. History of the States of Europe, by C. L. Woltmann. Vol. I. 484p. 1797.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Not found.**

**Miscellanies.**

Art. XIV. Cadiz. *La Tauromachia ò Arte de torear*, &c. Tauromachy, or the Art of Bull-fighting. By Jos. Delgado (alias Illo.). 8vo. 58 p. 1796.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 73. Montags, den 5. März 1798. 583-584.**

Art. XV. Frankfort. *Ueber Zeitungen*, &c. On Newspapers by J. von Schwarzkopf. 8vo. 127p. 1795.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 124. Mittwochs, den 18. April 1798. 158-160.**

# October 1798: Literary Intelligence

**History of Academies.**

Art. I. Amsterdam and the Hague. *Verhandeling van het Genootschap tot Verdediging van den Christelyken Godsdienst*, &c. Memoirs of the Society for Defending Christianity, at the Hague. For the Year 1795. 8vo. 306 p. 1798.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 267. Donnerstags, den 6. September 1798. 513-519; and continued in next issue: Numero 268. Freytags, den 7. September 1798. 521-523.**

**Botany.**

Art. II. *Hanover*. The 4th number of the *Sertum Hanoveranum*...is published by Mr. Wendland alone, without the assistance of Mr. Schrader, and he intends.... [No Jenaische reference cited/given]
**Source Cited: No source is cited.**
**Source Identified: Numero 266. Mittwochs, den 5. September 1798. 511-512.**

Art. III. *botanische Beobachtungen*, &c. Botanical Observations, with some new Genera and Species, by J. Christ. Wendland, Superintendant [sic] of the Royal Electoral Gardens at Herrenhausen, &c. Small fol. 64 p. 4pl. 1798.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 274. Mittwochs, den 12. September 1798. 569-570.**

**Geography.**

Art. IV. Weimar. *Allgemeine Geographische Ephemeriden*, &c. The universal Geographical Ephemeris, &c. Nos IV-VI. March - June. P. 275-744, with 4 portraits, 2 charts and a copious index. 1798.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Not found.**

Art. V. Pest. *Statistik des Königreichs Ungarn*, &c. Statistics of the Kingdom of Hungary. An Essay by Mart. Schwardiner, Prof. of Diplomatics, &c. 8vo. 606 p.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source: Numero 272. Dienstags, den 11. September 1798. 553-560; and continued in next issue: Numero 273. Mittwochs, den 12. September 1798. 561-566.**

**Political Economy.**

Art. VI. Dortmund and Leipsic. *Unterricht über die Cultur der Angorischen Kaninchen*, &c. Instructions for the Management of the Angora Rabbit, concerning it's [sic] Diseases, and the best Method of rendering the Animal profitable, by J. C. F. Baehrens, Ph. D. &c. 8vo. 48 p. 1796.

**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 242. Montags, den 13. August 1798. 319-320. Kleine Schriften.**

**Poetry.**

Art. VII. *Leipsic.* Goeschen is printing is a splendid edition of Klopstock's Works, with plates, similar to that of Wieland...in four volumes, two of which, containing his odes, are already published.
**Source Cited: No source is cited.**
**Source: Not found**

**Fine Arts.**

Art. VIII. Baron Racknitz has published three numbers of his "Representation and History of the Taste of the Most? Distinguished Countries" *Darstellung und Geschichte des Geschmack's der verzüglichsten Volker* [see our Rev. Vol. XXIII, p. 652]. Each contains six folio coloured plates....
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 249. Dienstags, den 21. August 1798. 369-376.**

Art. IX. Paris. *Mélanges extraits des Manuscrits de Mme. Necker.* Miscellanies extracted from the Manuscripts of Mme. Necker. Vol. I. 8vo. 383 p. [1798.]
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 267. Donnerstags, den 6. September 1798. 519-520.**

**Education.**

Art. X. Ratisbon. *Ueber den nächsten Zweck der Erziehung*, &c. On the immediate Object of Education according to the Principles of Kant. By K. Weiller, Prof. at Munich. 8vo. 216 p. 1798.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 259. Donnerstags, den 30. August 1798. 449-450.**

## November 1798: Literary Intelligence

**History of Academies.**

Art. I. Royal Academy of Sciences, at Berlin.
Aug. 9. The following questions were proposed at the meeting of the academy....
:--*I. As the labours of the ablest astronomers have left several points to be cleared up with respect to the change of the obliquity of the ecliptic, the academy invites the learned, to investigate the subject anew, and will adjudge the prize to that essay, which shall contain the most important inquiries concerning it.*

**Source Cited: No source is cited.**
**Source Identified: Not found.**

**Theology.**

Art. II. Leipsic. *De adornanda N. T. Versione vere latina*, &c. A grammatico-theological Essay on the Execution of a genuine Latin Version of the New Testament, to which are added some Specimens. By H. Jef. Reichard. A. M. &c. 8vo. 156 pages. 1796.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 269. Sonnabends, den 8. September 1798. 519-533.**

**Ecclesiastical History.**

Art. III. Leipsic. *Versuch einer pragmatischen Geschichte der kirchlichen Verfassungsformen*, &c. Sketch of a philosophical History of the Constitutions of the Church in the first six Centuries. By Dr. Werner C. L. Ziegler. 8vo. 416 pages. 1798.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: The index of *Jenaische Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* lists text in Vol. IV, page 113, but the text is not listed in that issue.**

**Medicine.**

Art. IV. Munich. *Was hat die heutige Arzneykunde von den Bemühungen einiger Naturforscher*, &c. What has modern Medicine gained from the Endeavours of some natural Philosophers and Physicians, with these fifty Years, with respect to the Application of Electricity to diseases on Solid Principles? Answered on the 28th of March, at a public Meeting of the Electoral Bavarian Academy of Sciences. By Maximus Imhof. 4to. 79 pages. 1796.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source: Not found.**

**Midwifery.**

Art. V. Jena. *Neues Archiv für die Geburtshülfe*, &c. New repository for Midwifery, and the Diseases of Women and Children, with respect to Physiology, Dietetics, and Surgery. By J. Christ. Starck, M. Prof. &c. Vol. I. No. I. 8vo. 192 pa. 2 plates. 1798.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 303. Mittwochs, den 10. October 1798. 68-69.**

**Pharmacy and Materia Medica.**

Art. VI. *Gottingen.* Prof. Arnemann has published a second edition of his practical Materia Medica...with considerable additions and corrections.
**Source Cited: No source is cited.**

**Source: Numero 279. Montags, den 17. September 1798. 609-613. This is also listed in: Numero 211. Mittwochs, den 11. Julius 1798, as follows:**

> **Goettingen, b. Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht: J. Arneman D. D. A. W. , Prof. ord. Zu Goettingen etc. *praktische Arzneymittellehre.* Erster Theil . Zweyte vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage, 1795. 590 S. gr. 8. (1 Rthlr. 16 gr.) 65-67.**

**Natural History.**

Art. VII. Paris. *Histoire Naturelle des Poissons*, &c. The Natural History of Fishes, by Cit. La Cépède. Vol. I. 4to. 679 pages. 25 plates. 6 [1798]
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 287. Montags, den 24. September 1798. 673-678; and continued in: Numero 288. Dienstags, den 25. September 1798. 681-685.**

Art. VIII. Paris. *Histoire Naturelle des Singes*, &c. The Natural History of Apes, delineated from Nature, by J. B. Audebert, Member of the Society of Natural History at Paris. Fol. Nos I. and II. Price of each 30 f. [£ 1 5s.] 6 [1798.]
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 284. Freytags, den 21. September 1798. 653-656.**

**Botany.**

Art. IX. Gotha, and Paris. *Muscologia recentiorum*, &c. Modern Muscology; or a methodical Analysis, History, and Description of all the more perfect Mosses hitherto known, according to the System of Hedwig, by S. E. Bridel. Vol. II. Part. I. 4to. 224 p. 6 plates. 1798.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 284. Freytags, den 21. September 1798. 649-652.**

**Commerce.**

Art. X. Hamburg. *J. G. Busch Zusätze zu seiner theoretisch-praktischen Darstellung der Handlung*, &c. J. G. Büsch's Additions to his Theoretico-practical view of Commerce in it's [sic] various Branches. Vol. I. 8vo. 310 pages. 1797.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 278. Sonnabends, den 15. September 1798. 601-604.**

**Agriculture.**

Art. XI. Frankfort on the Main. *Ueber die Anlegung einer Obstorangerie in Scherben*, &c. On the Formation of a Fruit Garden and Pots and the Vegetation of Plants by Aug. Fred. Adrian Diel, with 3 Plates, and a Catalogue of Fruit-Trees. 8vo. 492 p. 1798.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 298. Donnerstags, den 4. October 1798. 29-31.**

**Philosophy.**

Art. XII. Leipsic. *Philosophische Versuche über Gegenstande des Moral und Pädagogik*, &c. Philosophical Essays on Subjects of Education and Morals, by C. Jef. Bauer. 8vo. 382 p. 1797.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 266. Mittwochs, den 5. September 1798. 509-511.**

Art. XIII. Zullichau. *Populaere Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der praktischen Philosophie*, &c. Essays on Subjects of Practical Philosophy, written with a View to familiarize the Mind to the Ideas of Kant, by J. Christ. Greiling. 8vo. 207 p. 1797.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 266. Mittwochs, den 5. September 1798. 507-509.**

**Classical Literature.**

Art. XIV. Leipsic. *Antiquitatum botanicarum Specimen*, &c. The Botany of the Ancients: Essay the first: by Kurt Sprengel, M. D. Prof. of Physic and Botany at Hall. Small 4to. 120 p. 2 plates. 1798.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 286. Sonnabends, den 22. September 1798. 665-672.**

**Antiquities.**

Art. XV. Weimar. *Griechische Vasengemalde*, &c. Paintings on Greek Vases, with archeological and artistical Explanations of the Original Plates. By C. A. Boettiger. Vol. I. No. I. 8vo. 168 p. Price 18gr. 1797.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Not found.**

Art. XVI. Gottingen. *J. C. Gatterer's Abriss der Diplomatik, &c.* J. C. Gatterer's Sketch of Diplomatics. With 12 plates. 8vo. About 400 p. 1798.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Not found.**

**Coins and Medals.**

Art. XVII. Lund. *Inledning til närmare Kundscap om Swenske Mynt*, &c. Introduction to a more intimate acquaintance with Swedish Coins and Medals, from the earliest Times to the End of the Reign of King Haokan Magnusson. 8vo. 328p. 1796.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 290. Mittwochs, den 26. September 1798. 700-703**

**Travels.**

Art. XVIII. *Leipsic.* At easter next is to be published the first volume of Remarks on a Tour in the Southern Provinces of the Russian Empire, in the Years 1793 and 1794, by P. S. Pallas....
**Source Cited: No source is cited.**
**Source Identified: Not found.**

**Miscellanies.**

Art. XIX. Zurich. *Hypolite Clairon Betrachtungen über sich selbst*, &c. Reflections on herself, and on the Dramatic Art, by Hypolita Clairon. Translated from the french Manuscript. With a Portrait of the Authoress. 8vo. 320 p.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 288. Dienstags, den 25. September 1798. 685-688. Vermischte Schriften.**

Art. XX. Weimar. *London und Paris*, &c. London and Paris, a periodical Publication, with plain and coloured Caricatures, Delineations, Plans, and Songs set to Music. No 1-3. 304 p. 1798.
**Source Cited: No source is cited.**
**Source Identified: Not found.**

Art. XXI. New Strelitz. *Sittliche Gemalde*, &c. Moral Pictures, by Aug. Hennings. Vol. I. 8vo. 321 p. 1798.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 283. Donnerstags, den 20. September 1798. 645-648.**

Art. XXII. Berlin. *G. E. Lessings philologische, &c. Schriften.* G. E. Lessing's Works on Philology, Literature, Antiquities, and the Arts. From the Collection of his Works. Vol. I. 8vo. 346 p. 1797.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 303. Mittwochs, den 10. October 1798. 70-72.**

Art. XXIII. Hamburg. *Neue Beyträge zur Bereicherung der Menschenkunde*, &c. New Fragments for enriching the Science of Man in general, and the experimental Knowledge of Mind in Particular. A book for the learned and unlearned, by C. F. Pockels. 8vo. 230 p. 1798.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Numero 283. Donnerstags, den 20. September 1798. 644-645.**

Art. XXIV. *Copenhagen.* The first part of the 2d vol. Of the *Beyträge zur Veredlung der Menschen,* Essays for the enobling of Mankind....consists of an Essay.....

**Source Cited: No source is cited.**
**Source Identified: Not found.**

Art. XXV. Frankfort. *Vom Erfinden und Bilden.* On Invention and Composition. (By F. von Dalberg.) 8vo. 78 pages. 1791.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Not found.**

**Philology.**

Art. XXVI. *Leipsic.* Prof. Vater has published an abridgment of his Hebrew Grammar... under the title of *Kleinere hebräische Sprachlehre*, 8vo, 174 pages, which will be found an useful book to the learner. In this abridgment he has simplified and elucidated many parts of his larger work.
**Source Cited: *Jen. Allg. Lit. Zeit.***
**Source Identified: Not found.**

# Appendix B: Coleridge's 1799 Library Borrowings at the University of Göttingen: A Complete List

Since its publication in *Modern Philology* in 1928, A.D. Snyder's article "Books Borrowed by Coleridge from the Library of the University of Göttingen, 1799," has been an authoritative source for Coleridge scholars.[1] Indeed, the article is often cited as a reference source in Coburn's notes to Coleridge's notebooks, and more recently, in Ralph J. Coffmann's *Coleridge's Library: A Bibliography of Books Owned or Read by Samuel Taylor Coleridge*. However, research of the *Ausleihregister's* (library registers) in 2001 at the Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek in Göttingen identified an additional borrowed text by Coleridge—Meister's *Characteristik* was borrowed twice[2]—as well as correcting three borrowing dates listed erroneously in Snyder's article.

Contrary to Snyder's claim that the "Göttingen registers show twenty-one entries bearing Coleridge's name," an examination of the registers lists twenty-three borrowings by Coleridge between February 21, 1799, and June 16, 1799. A complete list of Coleridge's library borrowings at the University of Göttingen is reproduced below. I'll briefly outline some of the revisions and additions to this list.

First, two additional borrowings can be added to Snyder's list. In his, *Bristols Bedeutung für die englische Romantik und die deutsch-englischen Beziehungen* (1935), Carl August Weber identifies J. C. Wagenseils *De Sacri Romani...* as failing in Snyder's list (see entry 14 below).[3] An additional borrowing, cited neither by Weber nor Snyder, and previously unidentified, is Colerige's borrowing of Meister's *Characteristik* (see entries 20 and 22 below). The entry for June 10, 1799, reads: " Meisters Charakteristik b2." The entry for June 16, 1799, is abbreviated and reads: " Meisters Charact. deutsch. dicht. b2" I am very grateful to Dr. Marianne Henn for identifying the June 10, 1799, borrowing from the Fraktur handwriting in the borrowing register. Lastly, in cross-referencing Snyder's list

[1] Snyder, A. D. "Books Borrowed by Coleridge from the Library of the University of Göttingen, 1799." *Modern Philology*. XXV (1928): 377-380.

[2] Coleridge borrows this text on June 10, 1799 and June 16, 1799. It would appear that Snyder confused the two separate borrowings because she lists the title of the borrowing entry for June 16, 1799, as "Meisters Charakteristik" which is in fact the recorded title in the library register for June 10, 1799. The title in the library register for the borrowing entry on June 16, 1799, is abbreviated and reads: " Meisters Charact. deutsch. dicht."

[3] See pages 154-155 in Weber.

with the library register I came across two incorrect borrowing dates (see Snyder's entries for 6 and 10). I have corrected this chronology in the list below (see entries 8 and 11).

As stated by Snyder, the entries in the registers "were arranged alphabetically (according to the initial letter of author or title, not borrower) with a subclassification by months" (377). I have expanded Snyder's chronological presentation and representation of the entries in the library register by including the Folio number of the entry in the original register in parentheses for reference use by future researchers.[4] Note that these entries are arranged according to the first letter of the borrowed text, followed by an abbreviated title. Moreover, where appropriate, I list the full bibliographical information of the borrowed text as printed on the title page of the borrowed text.

## Register I: (Ausleihreister B: Michaelis 1798 - Ostern 1799)

1. **Thu. February 21, 1799.** Letter P. "Proben alten Schwäb Poetry bi." (35 left)
   **Full title:** Bodmer, Johann Jakob, and Johann Jakob Breitinger. *Proben der alten schwaebischen Poesie des Dreyzehnten Jahrhunderts. Aus der Manesischen Sammlung.* Zürich, Heidegger und Comp. 1748.

2. **Thu. February 21, 1799.** Letter S. "Sammlung v. Minnesinger. bi 2." (43 left)
   **Full title:** Bodmer, Johann Jakob, and Johann Jakob Breitinger. *Sammlung von Minnesingern aus dem schwaebischen Zeitpuncte. CXL Dichter enthaltend; durch Ruedger Manessen, Weiland des Rathes der Uralten, Zyrich. Aus der Handschrift der Koeniglich-Franzoesischen Bibliotheck herausgegeben.* Erster Theil. Zyrich, Conrad Orell und Comp, 1758.

3. **Thu. February 28, 1799.** Letter M. "Michaeler tabulae Ll. &c." (30 right)
   **Full title:** Michaeler, Karl Joseph. *Tabulae parallelae antiquissimarum Teutonica linguae dialectorum, Moese - Gothicae, Franco-Theotiscae, Anglo-Saxonicae, Rvnicae, et Islandicae, Aliarvmqve, non nisi Ex Priscis Monimentis collectae, et per octo sermonis partes ordine grammatico commode dispositae, ac Animadversionibvs, exemplisqve illvstratae, svbiectis etiam ad exercitationis copiam monimentis selectissimis opera Caroli Michaeler Prof. Caes. Reg.* Oeniponte, 1776.

---

[4] "In listing the Coleridge entries below I have followed chronological order, and have given: first, a reference to the location in the register (initial letter and date); second, the entry exactly as it appears in the register, usually in very abbreviated form; and third a fuller statement of author, title, and edition, as these have been finally identified" (377).

4. **Thu. February 28, 1799.** Letter W. "Wachter Glossar. Germanic." (47 right)
   **Full title:** Wachter, Johann Georg. *Glossarium Germanicum, continens origines et antiquitates totius linguae Germanicae, et omnium pene vocabulorum, vigentium et desitorum. Opus bipartitum et quinque indicibus instructum Johannis Georgii Wachteri.* Leipzig, Joh. Frid. Gleditschii B. Filium, 1737.

5. **Thu. February 28, 1799.** Letter W. "Willenbücher Hauptv. d. Deutschen Sprache." (47 right)
   **Full title:** Willenbücher, T. P. *Praktische Anweisung zur Kenntnis der Hauptveränderungen und Mundarten der Teutschen Sprache, von den ältesten Zeiten bis ins vierzehnte Jahrhundert in einer Folge von Probestuekken aus dem Gothischen, Alt-fraenkischen, oder Oberteutschen, Niederteutschen und Angelsaechsischen mit spracherlaeuternden Uebersezzungen und Anmerkungen.* Leipzig, Siegfried Lebrecht Crusius, 1789.

## Register II: (Ausleihregister B: Ostern 1799 - Michaelis 1799)

6. **Wed. April 04, 1799. Letter M.** "Mémoires de la Société de Cassel. b.i." (30 right)
   **Full title:** *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquités de Cassel.* Vol. I. Cassel, 1780.

7. **Fri. April 06, 1799.** Letter S. "Selchow Element. Juris Germ." (44 right)
   **Full title:** von Selchow, J.H.C. *Elementa Juris Germanici privati hodierni. Ex ipsis fontibvs dedvcta. Editio septima...* Göttingen, Vandenhoek, 1787.[5]

8. **Tue. April 10, 1799.** Letter W. "Wartons English Poetry bi." (53 right)
   **Full title:** Warton, Thomas. *The History of English Poetry from the close of the Eleventh to the commencement of the Eighteenth Century...Volume the First.* London, 1774-81.

9. **Sat. April 28, 1799.** Letter P. "Peregrinatio Thesis &c.." (37 right)
   **Full title:** Remains unidentified.

10. **Thu. May 03, 1799.** Letter M. "Museum deutsches. 3 voll." (31 left)
    **Full title:** Probably *Deutsches Museum.* ?

[5] Another edition was published in 1795.

11. **Tue. May 08, 1799.** Letter C. "Character der vorz. Dichter bi." (9 left)
**Full title:** Johann Gottfried Dyck ; Georg Schatz ; Johann Georg Sulzer. *Charactere der vornehmsten Dichter aller Nationen; nebst kritischen und historischen Abhandlungen über Gegenstände der schönen Künste und Wissenschaften von einer Gesellschaft von Gelehrten.* Vol. I, Leipzig, Dykischen Buchhandlung, 1792. (Nachtrage z. J. C. Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie der Sch*önen Künste, etc., 1771, 1774.)

12. **Thu. May 24, 1799.** Letter R. Ranish Lebenslauf v. Hans Sachs." (42 right)
**Full title:** Ranisch, Salomon. *Historischkritische Lebensbeschreibung Hanns Sachsens ehemals berühmten Meistersängers zu Nürnberg welche zur Erläuterung der Geschichte der Reformation und deutschen Dichtkunst ans Licht gestellet hat M. Salomon Ranisch erster Prof. des Friedrichsgymnas. zu Altenburg. Der deutschen Gesellschaften zu Königsberg, Jena und Altdorf, wie auch der Gesellschaft der freyen Künste zu Leipzig Mitglied.* Altenburg, in der Richterischen Buchhandlung, 1765.

13. **Fri. May 25, 1799. Letter S.** "Hans Sachs. ed Weller. 1-4." (46 left)
**Full title:** Sachs, Hans. *Sehr herrliche schöne . . . . Gedicht*, etc. Ed. Georg Weller. 5 vols. Nürnberg. 1558-79.

14. **Fri. May 25, 1799.** Letter W. "Wagenseil scip. Foreures???" (54 left)
**Full title:** Wagenseil, J. C. *de Sacri Romani Imperii Libera Civate Noribergensi commentatio* (Altdorf, 1696).

15. **Sun. May 27, 1799.** Letter S. "Sachsens Gedichte. b 5." (46 left)
**Full Title:** See entry 12 above.

16. **Wed. June 06, 1799.** Letter K. ""Kindermanns Deutsch. W. redner ed. 2da." (26left)
**Full title:** Kindermann, Balthasar. *Der Teutscher Wolredner. Verbesserte Ausgabe.* Leipzig, 1688.

17. **Wed. June 06, 1799.** Letter R. "Ring. Reise des Zyriches Breytopfes." (42 right)
**Full title:** Ring, Friederich Dominicus. *Ueber die Reise des Züricher Breytopfes nach Strasburg vom Jahr 1576.* Bayreuth, Johann Andreas Luebeck sel. Erben., 1787.

18. **Thu. June 07, 1799.** Letter L. "Lohensteins Gedichte &c." (28 right)
**Full title:** von Lohenstein, Daniel Caspar. "Probably" *Ibrahim Sultan, Schauspiel; Agrippina, Traurspiel* [sic]*; Epicharis, Traurspiel* [sic]*; und andere Poetische Gedichte, noch mit Bewilligung des S. Autoris nebenst desselben Lebens-Lauf und Epicediis.* Breslau, Fellgibel, 1689.

**19. Sun. June 10, 1799.** Letter S. Schmidts biograph. der Dichter, bi 2." (46 left)
**Full title:** Schmid, Christian Heinrich. *Biographie der Dichter, von Christian Heinrich Schmid, Doktor der Rechte und Professor zu Erfurt.* 2 vols. Leipzig, Dyckischen Buchhandlung, 1769.

**20. Sun. June 10, 1799.** Letter M. " Meisters Charakteristik b 2" (32 left)
**Full title:** Meister, Leonhart. *Characteristik deutscher Dichter, nach der Zeitordnung gereihet, mit Bildnissen.* 2 vols. St. Gallen u. Leipzig, 1789.

**21. Sat. June 15, 1799.** Letter K. "Klotz Leben von Hausen" (26 left)
**Full title:** Hausen, Carl Renatus. *Leben und Character Herrn Christian Adolph Klotzens, Koeniglich-Preußischen Geheimen-Raths und ordentlichen Professors der Weltweisheit und Beredsamkeit auf der Universitaet Halle u.s.w. entworfen von Herrn Carl Renatus Hausen, ordentlichem Lehrer der Geschichte und Bibliothekarius an der Universitaet Frankfurt u.s.w.* Halle im Magdeburgischen, Carl Hermann Hemmerde, 1772.

**22. Sun. June 16, 1799.** Letter M. " Meisters Charact. deutsch. dicht. b 2." (32 right)
**Full title:** Meister, Leonhart. *Characteristik deutsche Dichter, nach der Zeitordnung gereihet, mit Bildnissen.* 2 vols. St. Gallen u. Leipzig, 1789.

**23. Sun. June 16, 1799.** Letter S. "Schutz über Lessings Genie &c." (46 right)
**Full title:** Schütz, Christian Gottfried. *Ueber Gotthold Ephraim Lessings Genie und Schriften.* In *Drei Akademischen Vorlesungen von Christian Gottfried Schütz, Professor der Beredsamkeit und Dichtkunst zu Jena.* Halle, bei Johann Jacob Gebauer, 1782.