

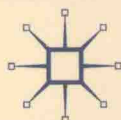
# The Palgrave Literary Dictionary of Shelley



Martin Garrett

PALGRAVE LITERARY DICTIONARIES

Series Editors: Brian G. Caraher and Estelle Sheehan

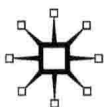


# The Palgrave Literary Dictionary of Shelley

Martin Garrett



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***To Helen***

# Series Editors' Foreword

The purpose of the *Palgrave Literary Dictionaries* is to provide the reader with immediate access to reliable information on some of the major authors of literature written in the English language. These books are intended for a readership including students, graduate students, teachers, scholars and advanced general readers. Each volume will be dedicated either to an individual author or to a group of authors. It will offer a concise reference guide, consisting mainly of entries presented under headwords arranged in alphabetical order. The entries will vary in length from about 10 to about 3,000 words, depending on the significance of the particular topic. The topics will include the literary works, individuals, fictional characters, genres, traditions, events, places, institutions, editors and scholars most relevant to a full and sophisticated understanding and appreciation of the author (or authors) in question. The more substantial entries will include suggestions for further reading, full particulars of which will be supplied in a selective bibliography. Access to information will be facilitated by extensive cross-referencing.

We trust that volumes in this series will be judged by their effectiveness in providing quick, clear and convenient access to reliable and scholarly information.

BRIAN G. CARAHER & ESTELLE SHEEHAN  
Series Editors  
Queen's University Belfast

# Preface and Acknowledgements

Percy Bysshe Shelley produced work as extraordinarily ambitious as *Prometheus Unbound*, as clear and wide-ranging as *A Defence of Poetry*, as enduringly topical as *The Mask of Anarchy*, as often recited, quoted and anthologized as 'Ode to the West Wind'. These achievements emerged from a complicated, restless twenty-nine-year life, from wide and attentive reading and from many other writings: letters, drafts, translations from several languages, pamphlets, drama, jottings, potential opening lines. Biographers, editors and other scholars have now succeeded in imposing some order on the life and work. Mary Shelley was first in the field, gathering, deciphering and arranging 'so confused a mass, interlined and broken into fragments' (1839 iv.226) and setting them in the contexts she saw or wanted to persuade others to see. Her labours have been notably continued in such later publications as the *Bodleian Shelley Manuscripts* and *Manuscripts of the Younger Romantics* series, *Shelley and His Circle*, and the on-going Longman and Johns Hopkins editions. Their extensive work makes a Shelley Dictionary both possible and necessary; if the desire to produce a comprehensive book about Shelley is like that of 'the moth for the star' ('To –' ['One word is too often profaned']), a one-volume work can at least attempt a manageable survey at ground level.

Professor Jeffrey C. Robinson gave enthusiastic encouragement and kindly showed me a draft of his essay on Shelley's influence on recent poetry. I have also gained much from reading the work of such other notable critics and scholars of Shelley as Nora Crook, Stuart Curran, Francesco Rognoni, Timothy Webb, Ann Wroe and, above all, the ceaselessly engaged and adventurous Michael O'Neill.

As usual I would like to thank my family and friends for their help and attention. Informed listeners have included Dr Christine Corton, Dr Jennifer M. Fellows and Dr Robert Inglesfield.

# List of Abbreviations

## 1. Works by Shelley

1816	<i>Alastor; or, the Spirit of Solitude, and Other Poems</i>
1820	<i>Prometheus Unbound: a Lyrical Drama in Four Acts, with Other Poems</i>
1824	<i>Posthumous Poems of Percy Bysshe Shelley</i> , ed. Mary Shelley
1829	<i>Poetical Works of Coleridge, Shelley, and Keats</i> (Paris: Galignani)
1839	<i>The Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley</i> , ed. Mary Shelley (4 vols)
1840	<i>The Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley</i> , ed. Mary Shelley (1 vol.)
1840 (Essays)	<i>Essays, Letters from Abroad, Translations and Fragments by Percy Bysshe Shelley</i> , ed. Mary Shelley (2 vols)
Address	<i>An Address to the Irish People</i>
Adonais	<i>Adonais. An Elegy on the Death of John Keats, Author of 'Endymion', 'Hyperion' etc.</i>
Alastor	<i>Alastor; or, The Spirit of Solitude</i>
Cenci	<i>The Cenci. A Tragedy in Five Acts</i>
DP	<i>A Defence of Poetry</i>
Epipsychidion	<i>Epipsychidion. Verses Addressed to the Noble and Unfortunate Lady Emilia V –</i>
Esdaile	<i>The Esdaile Notebook</i>
Hellas	<i>Hellas. A Lyrical Drama</i>
J&M	<i>Julian and Maddalo: a Conversation</i>
L&C	<i>Laon and Cythna: Or, the Revolution of the Golden City: a Vision of the Nineteenth Century</i>
LMG	<i>Letter to Maria Gisborne</i>
MA	<i>The Mask of Anarchy</i>
Necessity	<i>The Necessity of Atheism</i>
'OL'	'Ode to Liberty'
'ON'	'Ode to Naples'
OT	<i>Oedipus Tyrannus; or, Swellfoot the Tyrant. A Tragedy, in Two Acts</i>
'OWW'	'Ode to the West Wind'

PB3	<i>Peter Bell the Third</i>
PFMN	<i>Posthumous Fragments of Margaret Nicholson</i>
PU	<i>Prometheus Unbound: A Lyrical Drama in Four Acts</i>
PVR	<i>A Philosophical View of Reform</i>
QM	<i>Queen Mab</i>
R&H	<i>Rosalind and Helen, a Modern Eclogue</i>
Refutation	<i>A Refutation of Deism: in a Dialogue</i>
SP	<i>The Sensitive-Plant</i>
St Irvyne	<i>St. Irvyne; or, The Rosicrucian: a Romance</i>
TL	<i>The Triumph of Life</i>
V&C	<i>Original Poetry by Victor and Cazire</i>
WA	<i>The Witch of Atlas</i>
WJ	<i>The Wandering Jew; or the Victim of the Eternal Avenger</i>

## 2. Later collections, editions and biographies

1870	<i>The Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley</i> , ed. William Michael Rossetti, 2 vols (London: Moxon)
Behrendt	<i>Zastrozzi and St. Irvyne</i> , ed. Stephen C. Behrendt (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 2002)
Bieri	James Bieri, <i>Percy Bysshe Shelley: A Biography</i> (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008)
BSM	<i>The Bodleian Shelley Notebooks</i> , ed. Donald H. Reiman et al., 23 vols (New York: Garland, 1986–99)
Clark	<i>Shelley's Prose or the Trumpet of a Prophecy</i> , ed. David Lee Clark (London: Fourth Estate, 1988 [1954])
CPPBS	<i>The Complete Poems of Percy Bysshe Shelley</i> , ed. Donald H. Reiman and Neil Fraistat, 2 vols so far (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000–)
EN	<i>The Esdaile Notebook: A Volume of Early Poems by Percy Bysshe Shelley</i> , ed. Kenneth Neill Cameron (New York: Knopf, 1964)
Hogg	Thomas Jefferson Hogg, <i>The Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley</i> , in <i>The Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley</i> , ed. Humbert Wolfe, 2 vols (London: Dent, 1933)
Holmes	Richard Holmes, <i>Shelley: The Pursuit</i> (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1974)
HSWT	<i>History of a Six Weeks' Tour</i>
L	<i>The Letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley</i> , ed. Frederick L. Jones, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964)



Leader and O'Neill	<i>Percy Bysshe Shelley: The Major Works</i> , ed. Zachary Leader and Michael O'Neill (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003)
Medwin	Thomas Medwin, <i>The Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley ... A New Edition</i> , ed. H. Buxton Forman (London: Oxford University Press, 1913)
MYRS	<i>The Manuscripts of the Younger Romantics: Percy Bysshe Shelley</i> , ed. Donald H. Reiman et. al., 9 vols (New York: Garland, 1985–97)
Norton	<i>Shelley's Poetry and Prose: A Norton Critical Edition</i> , 2nd edn, ed. Donald H. Reiman and Neil Fraistat (New York: Norton, 2002)
Peacock	Thomas Love Peacock, <i>Memoirs of Shelley and Other Essays and Reviews</i> , ed. Howard Mills (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1970)
Prose	<i>The Prose Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley</i> , ed. E. B. Murray, 1 vol. completed (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993)
PS	<i>The Poems of Shelley</i> , 3 vols so far: vols 1–2, ed. Geoffrey Matthews and Kelvin Everest; vol. 3, ed. Jack Donovan, Cian Duffy, Kelvin Everest and Michael Rossington (Harlow: Longman, 1989–2011)
Rognoni	Shelley, <i>Opere</i> , ed. and trans. Francesco Rognoni (Torino: Einaudi-Gallimard, 1995)
White	Newman Ivey White, <i>Shelley</i> , 2 vols (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1940)

### 3. Miscellaneous

BLJ	<i>Byron's Letters and Journals</i> , ed. Leslie A. Marchand, 12 vols (London: John Murray, 1973–82)
CC	<i>The Clairmont Correspondence: Letters of Claire Clairmont, Charles Clairmont, and Fanny Imlay Godwin</i> , ed. Marion Kingston Stocking, 2 vols (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995)
CCJ	<i>The Journals of Claire Clairmont</i> , ed. Marion Kingston Stocking (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1968)
CH	<i>Percy Bysshe Shelley: The Critical Heritage</i> , ed. James E. Barcus (London: Routledge, 1975)
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>

- MWSJ *The Journals of Mary Shelley 1814–1844*, ed. Paula R. Feldman and Diana Scott-Kilvert, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987)
- MWSL *The Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, ed. Betty T. Bennett, 3 vols (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980–8)
- RRC *The Romantics Reviewed. Contemporary Reviews of British Romantic Writers. Part C: Shelley, Keats, and London Radical Writers*, ed. Donald H. Reiman, 2 vols (New York: Garland, 1972)
- SC *Shelley and His Circle*, ed. Kenneth Neill Cameron, Donald H. Reiman, Doucet Devin Fischer and Others, 10 vols (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1961–2002)

References to Shelley's poems are to *PS* when possible, or to Leader and O'Neill; the few poems which are not in either of these editions are cited from *Shelley: Poetical Works*, ed. Thomas Hutchinson, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970). Similarly, *Prose* is used when possible, and otherwise Clark but with these exceptions: 'On Life', 'On Love', *DP* and *PVR* are cited from Leader and O'Neill, and *Zastrozzi* and *St Irvyne* from Behrendt. Classical references are to the Loeb Library editions unless otherwise stated.

MARTIN GARRETT  
Cambridge 2012

# Chronology

- 1792 4 August Birth of Percy Bysshe Shelley.
- 1798–1802 Taught by Rev. Evan ‘Taffy’ Edwards.
- 1802–4 Syon House Academy.
- 1804–10 Eton College.
- c.1808–10 In love with Harriet Grove.
- 1810 Publication of *Zastrozzi*, *Original Poetry by Victor and Cazire*, *Posthumous Fragments of Margaret Nicholson* and (dated 1811) *St. Irvyne*.
- 1810–11 Shelley studies at University College, Oxford. Thomas Jefferson Hogg becomes his closest friend.
- 1811 Shelley and Hogg are expelled for refusing to deny authorship of *The Necessity of Atheism* (March). Shelley marries Harriet Westbrook (August).
- 1811–12 In Keswick, where Shelley meets Robert Southey.
- 1811–13 Works on most of the poems in the Esdaile Notebook.
- 1812 First expedition to Ireland. Shelley distributes *An Address to the Irish People*. He meets William Godwin in London.
- 1812–13 In Wales, involved in William Madocks’s embankment project.
- 1813 Tanyrallt incident, in which Shelley claims to have been attacked by a human or diabolical intruder. Second brief trip to Ireland. *Queen Mab* privately distributed. Birth of Eliza Ianthe Shelley. Marital problems.
- 1814 Shelley raises £1,120 for Godwin (the first of a number of generous gifts) by the sale of a post-obit – a loan to be repaid with heavy interest on the death of his father. Shelley and Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin elope, accompanied by Jane (later Claire) Clairmont. They travel in Europe for six weeks. Harriet Shelley gives birth to Charles Shelley.
- 1815 Death of Shelley’s grandfather, Sir Bysshe Shelley; the resulting settlement improves Shelley’s financial circumstances. He takes out further post-obits. Mary Godwin gives birth to a baby girl who lives for only two weeks.
- 1815–16 Shelley and Mary Godwin live at Bishopsgate, near Windsor. His friendship with Thomas Love Peacock develops.

- 1816 Birth of William Shelley. Publication of *Alastor*. Summer in Switzerland, where Shelley meets George Gordon, Lord Byron, and participates in the conversations which play some part in the genesis of Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*. The suicide of Harriet Shelley (November) enables Shelley and Mary Godwin to marry on 30 December. Shelley's friendship with Leigh Hunt flourishes. Through Hunt he meets John Keats.
- 1817 The Shelleys live at Marlow. The Lord Chancellor decides against allowing Shelley custody of the children of his first marriage. Works on *Laon and Cythna*, published in December but soon withdrawn. Clara Shelley born (September).
- 1818 The revised *Laon and Cythna* appears as *The Revolt of Islam*. 'Ozymandias' published. The Shelleys move to Italy. Death of Clara Shelley (September). In Venice, Shelley meets Byron again. Translates Plato's *Symposium*, writes 'Lines Written among the Euganean Hills', completes *Rosalind and Helen* and begins *Julian and Maddalo* and *Prometheus Unbound*. Birth in Naples (December) of Elena Adelaide Shelley, possibly Shelley's daughter.
- 1819 Shelley visits Pompeii and Paestum before leaving Naples for Rome. Death of William Shelley (June). At Villa Valsovano, near Livorno, Shelley works on *The Cenci* and *The Mask of Anarchy*. In Florence, where Percy Florence Shelley is born (November), he writes 'Ode to the West Wind', *Peter Bell the Third* and poems for Sophia Stacey. Also in late 1819 he writes 'On Life'.
- 1820 The Shelleys come to Pisa (January), where they will live for much of the period between now and April 1822. Shelley writes *Letter to Maria Gisborne* and *The Witch of Atlas*, and begins *A Philosophical View of Reform*. Publication of *Prometheus Unbound*. Meets 'Emilia' Viviani and begins *Epipsychidion*.
- 1821 Shelley writes *A Defence of Poetry*, *Adonais* and *Hellas*. *Epipsychidion* published. Edward and Jane Williams are his closest friends. The Shelleys' marriage is under strain, as often since William Shelley's death. Byron arrives in Pisa (November).
- 1822 Meets Edward John Trelawny. The Shelleys and the Williamses move to Casa Magni, near Lerici. Shelley writes, in Pisa and at Casa Magni, poems to Jane Williams. He works on *The Triumph of Life* (May and June). Shelley and Edward Williams, sailing home from Livorno, are drowned on 8 July. Shelley is cremated on 16 August.

- 1823 Shelley's ashes are buried in Rome.
- 1824 Publication of *Posthumous Poems of Percy Bysshe Shelley*.
- 1839 Publication of *The Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley* and (dated 1840) *Essays, Letters from Abroad, Translations and Fragments by Percy Bysshe Shelley*.

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# A

## **'A golden-wingèd Angel stood'**

Fragment written possibly in 1819 (*PS* iii.157) and first published in 1870. It presents 'a comic vignette' (*PS* iii.157) inspired by the scene of Abdiel before God in \*Milton's *Paradise Lost* VI.25–55.

## **'A Summer-Evening Churchyard, Lechlade, Gloucestershire'**

Poem published in 1816. It was written during or soon after Shelley's stay at Lechlade in early September 1815. In a still, silent twilight the speaker contemplates the tall-spired church and the graveyard. The idea of immortality is hinted at (27–30) but it remains clear that it is as much a product of the scene as any likely reality. 'A Summer-Evening' is in the tradition, as *PS* i.452 notes, of eighteenth-century 'graveyard' poetry including \*Gray's 'Elegy'.

## **'Address to the Human Mind'**

Fragmentary poem on the power of human thought, written probably in early 1818.

## ***Address to the Irish People, An***

Pamphlet composed between December 1811 and February 1812. Fifteen hundred copies were printed in Dublin in mid-February but only 400 were distributed (*Prose* 328). It intends, as the Advertisement puts it, 'to awaken in the minds of the Irish poor, a knowledge of their real state ... suggesting rational means of remedy. – Catholic Emancipation, and a Repeal of the Union Act' (*Prose* 8). Scrivener (1982), pp. 59–60, argues that emancipation and repeal are 'a pretext to discuss the more universal, philosophical issues of human emancipation' – religious intolerance, for instance, rather than the oppression of Catholics only. In making his hostility to his audience's Catholicism too evident, however, Shelley probably undermined his own purpose: 'the grass-roots organization he needed ... was already in place as the Catholic clergy' (*Prose* 329).

The content of the pamphlet, with its emphasis on peaceful self-reform (*Prose* 25), is essentially in line with \*Godwin's philosophy. Godwin told Shelley, however, that he was worried by the 'associations' proposed here and in *Proposals for an Association of Philanthropists*, and feared that *Address* might 'light again the flames of rebellion and war' in Ireland (*L* i.260n.); Shelley wrote the pamphlet, as Godwin would not have risked doing, so as 'to be intelligible to the most uneducated minds' (*Prose* 37; cp. *L* i.243, 258). In response Shelley told Godwin on 18 March 1812 that he had 'withdrawn from circulation the publications wherein I erred' (*L* i.276).

Whether or not Godwin's fears were justified, Dawson (1980) observes that 'Popularizing is more difficult than Shelley seems to have realized ... and the pamphlet suffers from what may appear to be a rather condescending tone, and from an over-emphatic iteration of the main points' (p. 136).

*See also: Speech to the Aggregate Meeting of the Catholics of Ireland.*

### ***Address to the People on the Death of the Princess Charlotte, An***

Pamphlet written on 11–12 November 1817. The death of Princess \*Charlotte, on 6 November, is an occasion for grief, but no more than for other people distinguished, like her, only for 'private excellencies' (*Prose* 233). The execution on 7 November of Jeremiah \*Brandreth, Isaac Ludlam and William Turner, who were involved in the 'Pentridge uprising' of Midlands workers, is a more suitable subject for public mourning. Our rulers sanction conspiracy – it was widely believed that a government agent provocateur had inspired the actions of the three accused – and 'trample upon our rights and liberties' by maintaining a standing army and running up an undischageable national debt (*Prose* 238). We should mourn her 'who should have been the Queen of her beloved nation' – not the Princess, but Liberty (*Prose* 239). Because of the dangerous nature of the sentiments expressed \*Ollier published very few copies; the first to survive are from the reprint issued in 1843. The author's name was given as 'The Hermit of \*Marlow'.

The controlled rhetoric of this pamphlet is similar to that of *PVR*. Clark 163 takes a stand on *Address* as 'vigorous in style, forthright in approach, dignified in thought, eloquent, if not poetic in phrasing, and powerful in its simple-hearted pleading for just treatment of the oppressed'.

### ***Adonais. An Elegy on the Death of John Keats, Author of 'Endymion', 'Hyperion' etc***

Elegy for \*Keats, written between April and June 1821 and published at \*Pisa in July and in the *Literary Chronicle* in December. Pastoral elegy in the



tradition of \*Spenser's *Astrophel* (the poem is in \*Spenserian stanzas) and \*Milton's *Lycidas* is combined with censure of the reviewers whose prejudice allegedly caused Keats's death. (Shelley believed that \*Southey was principally involved, but the hostile piece on Keats's *Endymion* in the \**Quarterly Review* for April 1818 was in fact by John Wilson Croker.) Graceful artifice is used 'to counter the reviewers' dismissal of Keats as an illiterate Cockney' (Matthews [1998], p. 1301). Knerr, in Shelley (1984), sums up the poem as 'an elegy which is concerned with the fate of the poet in society and the ways in which the eternal forms of beauty and truth are reflected in the phenomenal world' (p. 6). Other important themes are the nature of immortality, memory and the effect of calumny on both perpetrator and victim.

Commentators have most often divided *Adonais* into three parts. As Scrivener (1982), pp. 273, 280, has it, 1–153 are 'a lamentation', 154–342 offer 'several consolations to the mourners' and 343–495 celebrate 'Adonais's spirit immortally reborn in the living imagination'. The transition to the final phase involves recognition that the death of the poet is preferable to the life of the shamed critic (325–42); in death the poet is 'made one with Nature' (370), 'He is a portion of the loveliness / Which once he made more lovely' (379–80). With an emphatic 'Rose' (398, 400, 409; 'Arose' in 404) the 'inheritors of unfulfilled renown' – \*Chatterton, \*Sidney, \*Lucan and others – welcome Adonais to immortality. The established poets \*Byron and \*Moore have already (264–70) led in the mourners. It is perhaps implied that their achievement is more solid than that of these younger figures and \*Keats, but in contrast there is no return, among the triumphant 'inheritors', of the uncertainties attending the 'one frail Form' (271) usually regarded as Shelley himself. For Scrivener (1982), p. 278, the point of this figure is that 'the poet calls into existence his own destruction', creating beauty for others but pain for himself; 'inspiration and creativity lead to death because remembering Paradise while still in the historical world is to create hell'. Cox (1998) also sees the Form as far from purely personal in reference: 'a composite Wordsworthian-Keatsian-Shelleyan poet of the self in what has often been regarded as an embarrassing self-portrait of Shelley as poet-mourner ... The purpose of this "self-portrait" is not self-pity but an analysis of the principle of self in modern poetry' (p. 213).

The presence of the 'Form' encourages, nevertheless, the critical truism – for Mary \*Shelley's version see 1839 iv.150 – that *Adonais* is an elegy for Shelley as much as Keats. Clearly Shelley's identification with Keats is fuelled by anger and frustration at his own lack of sales and recognition and at his hostile treatment by reviewers – Southey again among them, he believed. In