# The Transmission and Reception of P. B. Shelley in Owenite and Chartist Newspapers and Periodicals

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## List of Abbreviations

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| *Poems* | P. B. Shelley, *The Poems of Shelley*, ed. by Geoffrey Matthews and others, 4 vols (London: Longman, 1989–). |
| *CP* | P. B. Shelley, *The Complete Poetry of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, ed. by Donald H. Reiman, Neil Fraistat, and Nora Crook, 3 vols (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1999—). |
| *Norton* | *Shelley's Poetry and Prose: Authoritative Texts, Criticism*, ed. by Donald H. Reiman and Neil Fraistat (New York: Norton, 2002). |
| *Poetical Works* | P. B. Shelley, *The Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, ed. by Mrs Shelley, 4 vols (London: Edward Moxon, 1839). |
| *Posthumous Poems* | P. B. Shelley, *Posthumous Poems of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, ed. by Mary Shelley (London: John and Henry L. Hunt, 1824). |
| *Letters* | *The Letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, ed. F. L. Jones, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), II, 190–92. |
| *Mask* | *The Mask of Anarchy* |
| *Revolt* | *The Revolt of Islam* |

## A Note on the Texts Used

Where possible, references to Shelley's poetry are from *Poems*. As I give references in the main text and appendix to lines but not to volumes from *Poems*, the following list gives the volume that poems referenced appeared in: *Queen Mab* in volume one; *Laon and Cythna* (*The Revolt of Islam*), *Prometheus Unbound*, *Rosalind and Helen*, *Athanase*, and *Julian and Maddalo* in volume two; *Mask*, 'Song: To the Men of England', 'Liberty', 'The Sensitive-Plant', and 'To a Sky-Lark' in volume three. At the time of writing, the edition's fourth volume of a projected five has lately been published; I have been unable to consult this volume for *Epipsychidion* or *Adonais*. *Hellas*, given the edition's editorial principle of arranging poems in chronological order of composition, would presumably appear in the as yet unpublished fifth volume. My source for those three poems and Shelley's essay *A Defence of Poetry*, therefore, was *Norton*.

I consulted *CP* for the publication history of editions of Shelley's poetry, and for textual variants, since that edition offers more detail than *Poems*. Similarly, however, *CP* has yet to be published in its entirety, which meant that I could not consult it for the poems Shelley composed in 1819: *Mask* and 'Song: To the Men of England'. My source for the publication history of those poems was *Poems*.

## Abstract

This thesis examines the nature of the relationship between Shelley and the thought, politics, and discursive practices of Owenism and Chartism. Its objects of analysis are Owenite periodicals and Chartist newspapers, which I theorise as active in the process of transmission and reception. This thesis locates the reception and transmission of Shelley's poetry and politics within the broader context of the movements' political and social commitments. It makes an original contribution to knowledge by demonstrating that the movements used Shelley's poetry critically and with discrimination. It also argues that Owenite and Chartist approaches to Shelley changed as the movements developed over time in response to historical pressures.

I argue that a cultural materialist approach enables us to reconsider the nature of Shelley's influence and popularity within these movements, something that has become a critical commonplace. It also allows us to distinguish between Owenite and Chartist 'Shelleys'. I argue that the Owenite periodicals the *Crisis* and the *New Moral World* produced a qualitatively different Shelley from the one that emerged in Chartist newspapers such as the *Northern Star*. Although there was a degree of overlap between the two movements in terms of social commitments and personnel, the parameters set by the formal qualities and discursive strategies of the movements' print cultures allowed different Shelleys to emerge within them.

In terms of content, the Owenites quoted Shelley's poetry to support their social theories and the most frequently quoted poems were *Queen Mab* and *The Revolt of Islam*. The Chartists also used *Queen Mab*, but were less interested in a feminist poem like *Revolt* and more interested in poems that allowed them to articulate class conflict. I account for such differences within my broader argument: that the two movements had qualitatively different conceptions of the possibilities of language and aesthetics, and different approaches to social conflict.

# Introduction

Percy Shelley's poem *The Mask of Anarchy* appeared in numerous newspaper articles about the wave of popular protest in the autumn and winter of 2010. Tariq Ali asked 'Why Can't We Protest against Cuts like the French?' in an article for the *Guardian* on recent protests in France against the raising of the state pension age.[1] It ended with a plea for 'the convocation of regional and national assemblies with a social charter that can be fought for and defended just as Shelley advised just under two centuries ago'. Ali concluded his article with the most famous stanza from Shelley's poem:

> Rise like lions after slumber
> In unvanquishable number —
> Shake your chains to earth like dew
> Which in sleep had fallen on you —
> Ye are many — they are few. (372–76)

John Pilger's article for the *New Statesman*, 'The Party Game is Over. Stand and Fight', took the stanza for its epigraph.[2] He argued that social democracy had failed and that Shelley's lines resonated with people in 2010 because 'only one political course is left to those who are disenfranchised and whose ruin is announced on a government spreadsheet'. His closing instruction was to engage in 'Direct action. Civil disobedience. Unerring. Read Shelley and do it'. Mark Serwotka, General Secretary of the Public and Commercial Services Union, incorporated Shelley's lines into his own prose in an article for the *Guardian* on the British government's plans to cut public services.[3] He argued that 'If we want a future with fair pay, decent jobs, security in retirement and a welfare state, now is the moment for trade union members and everyone to shake off their chains and rise like lions'.

These writers mobilised Shelley's lines in support of specific political agendas. They presented Shelley as having prescribed a particular course of action (Shelley had 'advised' the convocation of assemblies, as in Ali's article), and his poetry as able to prepare people for action (as in Pilger's). Ali and Pilger invoked Shelley explicitly, quoting his lines as an epigraph indicating the thrust of the argument to follow

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[1] Tariq Ali, 'Why Can't We Protest Against Cuts Like the French?' , *Guardian*, 19 October 2010 <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2010/oct/19/protest-against-cuts-french> [accessed 4 January 2011]

[2] John Pilger, 'The Party Game is Over. Stand and Fight', *New Statesman*, 4 November 2010 <http://www.newstatesman.com/uk-politics/2010/11/pilger-britain-british> [accessed 4 January 2011]

[3] Mark Serwotka, 'United We Must Stand', *Guardian*, 30 December 2010 <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2010/dec/30/unions-cuts-protest> [accessed 4 January 2011]

(Pilger) or as a stirring conclusion to one (Ali). Serwotka's reference, on the other hand, was implicit and intimate in folding Shelley's lines into his own rhetoric, identifying Shelley's 'lions' with 'trade union members and everyone' who were to 'shake off their chains'. Serwotka perhaps assumed that he would not need to tell his readers who had created this image, or that it didn't matter since the phrase 'rise like lions' belonged to the left's lexicon.

It was no accident that Shelley was the poet of choice for activists in the first year of the coalition government. Ali, Pilger, and Serwotka were participating in a radical tradition of Shelley appearing in print that the nineteenth-century social and political movements Owenite socialism and Chartism established and consolidated. It is not now, as it was in that period, a common journalistic practice to give poetry a prominent place in newspapers. The aim of this thesis is to trace the use of Shelley in these movements as they developed over time and under the pressure of historical events. Just as the context of usage in 2010 would make such use intelligible for future readers it also matters for comparable use in the print cultures of Owenism and Chartism. Shelley's poetry contributed to the movements' literary culture, appearing in the poetry columns of key publications like the Owenite *New Moral World* and the Chartist *Northern Star*. I argue that it is also necessary to excavate the practice of Shelley's lines appearing in political editorials, in speeches at meetings, and in readers' contributions not immediately recognised as literary if we are to think about the extent of Shelley's influence on the movements in general. I locate their use of Shelley in terms of their respective 'structures of feeling' in Raymond Williams's sense: as 'social experience' that developed over time and in an oppositional relation to other contemporary structures of feeling.[4]

I distinguish further between Owenite and Chartist use of Shelley in terms of the distinct characteristics of their own structures of feeling, arguing that there was a clear difference in the 'Shelleys' that they presented and in the uses they found for his poetry. While it is true that there was a degree of fluidity between the movements, that people could be both committed to the Charter while holding Owenite social views, I argue that the parameters set by the movements' print culture make this distinction visible. For example, the rising lion as described above was prominent in Chartist newspapers but did not make an appearance in the Owenite *New Moral World*. I attribute this to differences in opinion between Robert Owen committed to

[4] Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 128–35 (p. 132).

non-violent social change and a much more flexible position within Chartism, in which use of threatening language was a cornerstone of the movement's political strategy. Despite the conventional division of the movement into 'advocates' of 'moral' and 'physical' force, this was true even for those Chartists who would hesitate to argue for offensive political violence. I argue that these differences were produced dialectically at critical points, when the Owenite 'Shelley' was so defined, in part, because it was not the Chartist 'Shelley'.

Newspapers and periodicals, then, are not only key sources for evidence of specific usage but must also be theorised as actively shaping the respective 'Shelleys' produced by Owenites and Chartists. I also argue that newspapers and periodicals were instrumental in the dissemination of Shelley's poetry within these circles, and that their relative habits of quoting certain poems from Shelley's oeuvre but not others, and certain sections from poems but not others, contributed to the production of their 'Shelleys'. The rest of this introduction establishes the key concerns and theoretical commitments of the thesis before summarising the contents of its chapters. I examine the terms of what has become a critical commonplace: the fact that Shelley, especially *Queen Mab*, was popular in the movements. I then adopt a position regarding the reception and transmission of Shelley's poetry in Owenite and Chartist culture that understands this cultural work as an active rather than a passive process. I establish the theoretical basis for this procedure in secondary literature on radical and periodical culture, as well as in Williams's critical work. I then outline the broad differences between Owenite and Chartist 'Shelleys', before discussing the relevant secondary literature on the movements and Shelley.

## Was Shelley's *Queen Mab* the Gospel of the Owenites and the Bible of the Chartists?

Two claims made in the nineteenth century about the status of Shelley's poem *Queen Mab* in Owenism and Chartism still have currency. In his account of meeting Robert Owen and some of his followers, Thomas Medwin described the poem as 'the gospel of the sect'.[5] According to Medwin, Owen described Shelley's assertion in *Queen Mab* that marriage ought not to outlast affection as 'the basis of [Owen's] chief tenets' (p. 98). Later in the century, George Bernard Shaw gave an account of 'an old Chartist' remembering that Shelley's poetry had given him 'the ideas that led him to join the

[5] Thomas Medwin, *The Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1913), p. 100.

Chartists'.[6] The Chartist's memory was stimulated by a lecture in which 'a little further inquiry elicited that *Queen Mab* was known as The Chartists' Bible'. By this point in the century, Karl Marx's circle endorsed the idea that Shelley's poetry was very popular among the working class. The 'old Chartist' was responding to the lecturer, Henry S. Salt, quoting Eleanor Marx on her father's opinion that Shelley 'had inspired a good deal of that huge but badly managed popular effort called the Chartist Movement' (Shaw, p. 244). In Shaw's source, Eleanor Marx also reported Friedrich Engels and the Chartist George Julian Harney's opinions regarding Shelley's popularity among Chartists:

> Only a very few months ago, I heard Harney and Engels talking of the Chartist times, and of the Byron and especially Shelley-worship of the Chartists; and on Sunday last Engels said: 'Oh, we all knew Shelley by heart then'.[7]

Late twentieth-century work focused on the relationship between Shelley and the two movements suggested that his poetry was doctrinally valuable for Owenites and Chartists because it stimulated emotion. Bouthaina Shaaban's article 'Shelley in the Chartist Press' is the most frequently cited of her works on Shelley and the Chartists.[8] Its arguments on the value of Shelly for the Chartists originated in doctoral work in which she sought to provide 'specific evidence to support [the] truth' of Medwin and Shaw's claims.[9] While her work began to establish the extent of Shelley's presence in Chartist newspapers and periodicals, it also sought to explain their '"worshipping" Shelley more than any other Romantic poet' rather than questioning this characterisation of the relationship ('Chartist Press', p. 42). She argued that the obvious political content of Shelley's poetry earned it 'pride of place over the work of his equally loved and admired Romantic compeer, Lord Byron' ('Chartist Press', p. 46). Shelley was 'loved and honoured by the Chartists', and this love and honour 'resulted, not surprisingly, in the Chartists echoing Shelley's arguments and ideas in their own writings' ('Chartist Press', p. 52, 56). This argument suggests that the Chartists' emotional attachment to Shelley's poetry resulted in a

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[6] George Bernard Shaw, 'Shaming the Devil about Shelley', in George Bernard Shaw, *Pen Portraits and Reviews* (London: Constable and Company, 1949), pp. 236–46 (p. 244).

[7] Henry S. Salt, *Company I Have Kept* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1930), p. 51.

[8] Bouthaina Shaaban, 'Shelley in the Chartist Press', *Keats-Shelley Memorial Bulletin*, 34 (1983), 41–60. The citations this article has attracted include works important and influential in the field, such as Paul Thomas Murphy, *Toward a Working-Class Canon: Literary Criticism in British Working-Class Periodicals, 1816–1858* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1994), p. 12; William St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 336; and James Bieri, *Percy Bysshe Shelley: A Biography* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2008), p. 673.

[9] Bouthaina Shaaban, 'Shelley's Influence on the Chartist Poets with Particular Emphasis on Ernest Charles Jones and Thomas Cooper' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Warwick, 1981), p. viii.

faithful yet weaker replication of his ideas in Chartist productions, both poetic and journalistic. M. Siddiq Kalim's *The Social Orpheus: Shelley and the Owenites* suggested that Shelley's poetry was valuable for Owenism because emotionally stimulating poetry sugared the theoretical pill for Owen's followers.[10] Shelley 'alone was in perfect accord' with Owenism and strategic use of his poetry in Owenite propaganda enabled Owenite truths to 'go deep down into the heart' of the 'ignorant worker [who] may not be able to grasp the real meaning of the verse even when explained to him'.[11] The Owenites 'loved, adored, and idolized him as a poet, thinker and man' (p. 121).

An orthodoxy emerged: Shelley exerted a strong influence on the movements, an influence characterised by strong affection reaching its zenith in 'idolization'. This orthodoxy has been referenced frequently in more recent scholarship that often wishes only to note Shelley's popularity among these audiences, but David Duff articulated it more explicitly in stating that: '*as* a didactic poem, history had judged *Queen Mab* to have been a remarkable success, ultimately achieving positively *dogmatic* status as the "gospel" of the Owenites, and later the "Chartists' Bible"'.[12]

It is this perception of a 'dogmatic' authority endowed on Shelley by Owenism and Chartism that I want to question. This critical commonplace — *Queen Mab* as a 'gospel' or 'bible', and the characterisation of working-class responses to Shelley as a form of 'worship' grounded in affection — suggests that Owenites and Chartists accepted his politics, via his poetry, wholesale and uncritically. Even if the Owenites and Chartists themselves had accepted descriptions of *Queen Mab* as their gospel or bible, we need not assume that a text functioning as a 'Bible' or 'gospel' for a social or

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[10] M. Siddiq Kalim, *The Social Orpheus: Shelley and the Owenites* (Lahore: Government College, 1973).

[11] Kalim, p. i, 54. Kalim's source for this supposed 'perfect accordance' is likely to have been Charles S. Middleton's assertion that 'As [*Queen Mab*] stands in the original, its doctrines exactly accord with their tenets, and it is to a considerable extent the gospel of the Owenites': *Shelley and His Writings*, 2 vols (London: Thomas Cautley Newby, 1858), I, 257.

[12] David Duff, *Romance and Revolution: Shelley and the Politics of a Genre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 70–71 (original emphasis). Besides those listed in note eight, above, citations to Shaaban and Kalim's work in secondary literature can be found in Annette Wheeler Cafarelli, 'The Transgressive Double Standard: Shelleyan Utopianism and Feminist Social History' in *Shelley: Poet and Legislator of the World*, ed. by Betty T. Bennett and Stuart Curran (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1996), pp. 88–104; Julie M. Dugger, 'A Political Poetics: Percy Shelley's Utopian Activism', in *A Brighter Morn: The Shelley Circle's Utopian Project*, ed. by Darby Lewes (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2003), p. 19; Ariane Schnepf, *Our Original Rights as a People: Representations of the Chartist Encyclopaedic Network and Political, Social and Cultural Change in Early Nineteenth Century Britain* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2006), p. 68; Kim Wheatley, *Shelley and His Readers: Beyond Paranoid Politics* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1999), p. 233. The major critical editions *Poems* and *CP* both cite Shaaban's work.

political movement has a positively dogmatic influence. We have learned from studies of religious non-conformism and working-class literacy that the Holy Bible was not only (or even necessarily) a source of gospel truth for autodidacts, it was also an intellectual resource and a starting point for discussion rather than an end. David Vincent, for instance, showed in *Bread, Knowledge and Freedom* how 'tiny libraries [...] largely composed of works connected with the Protestant religion', 'constituted an essential foundation for the pursuit of knowledge'.[13] If the Bible enabled working-class people to acquire literacy, and thus a greater stock of knowledge from other sources, then this process could also undermine the Bible's own status as a source. While a shift from faith to free thought was not guaranteed — Vincent notes the existence of 'layers of secularization which the pursuit of knowledge engendered' — what was fundamental to that Protestant, and especially dissenting, tradition was a commitment to an active rather than a passive relationship with the Bible.[14] In other words, even those who did not renounce Christianity retained the right to read and interpret their Bible without deference to authority.

In this thesis, I approach the transmission and reception of Shelley's poetry within Owenism and Chartism in terms of active hermeneutics rather than passive acceptance of his poetics, politics, or both. If we think in terms of active reception in which faith can be compatible with critical inquiry then characterisations of these movements as engaging in 'Shelley-worship' may no longer convince. In this view, knowing Shelley 'by heart' does not necessarily result in an unreflexive loyalty to his poetry and politics. I suggest that while we now accept the poem as Shelley's first major work, we have seldom taken seriously the working-class people who were among its first serious readers: as readers who selected, rejected, or altered Shelley's poems and images according to their needs.[15] It is the argument of all my chapters that Owenites and Chartists were creative in their uses of Shelley's poetry, uses that entailed the emphasis of various aspects and the de-emphasis of others. My last chapter argues that in his Chartist novel, *Sunshine and Shadow*, Thomas Martin Wheeler established a more sceptical relation to Shelley as a literary and political

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[13] David Vincent, *Bread, Knowledge and Freedom: A Study of Nineteenth-Century Working Class Autobiography* (London: Europa, 1981), pp. 110–11. See also Jonathan Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 9.

[14] Vincent, *Bread*, p. 178. For an account of dissenting religion as an intellectual tradition informing the development of political radicalism, see E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968), pp. 28–58.

[15] A notable example of work that does recognise this process is Anne Janowitz, *Lyric and Labour in the Romantic Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). Janowitz noted that Chartist poets sometimes took Shelley's lines as a model but also changed them where necessary, supplementing them with content appropriate to mid-nineteenth century politics (p. 139).

influence.

**Feeling and futurity**

Another important reason to reconsider the manner in which we have characterised the movements' reception of Shelley is that Kalim and Shaaban understood Shelley as central to the movements' historical development or to their sense of history. Other poets were also quoted frequently, such as Thomas Gray in Owenite periodicals and Lord Byron in Chartist newspapers, but Kalim and Shaaban considered Shelley especially important because he gave the movements resources that helped them to further their aims as well as to imagine the consequences of achieving them.

For Kalim, 'in the Owenite view, Shelley was the prophet-poet' (p. 54). This judgment appeared in his discussion of 'A Review of Modern Poets, Illustrations of the Philosophy of Modern Poetry', a series of articles in the *New Moral World* that covered only Shelley. 'Review' presented Shelley as a proto-Owen figure: 'In Shelley, of all modern men, we witness the greatest *approach* in benevolence and disinterestedness of purpose, to the venerable father of the social system'.[16] Shelley's qualities prefigured those of Owen, who realised more fully in his social system what was only promised in Shelley. For Kalim, Shelley 'had manifested, at least vaguely, the principles of the socialist system. Robert Owen had given them a concrete formulation' (p. 122). As noted above, Kalim also viewed the chief worth of Shelley's poetry as its capacity to propagandistically inculcate Owenite values by stimulating readers' emotions. Owenism, therefore, enlisted Shelley to help bring about an end that Owen had defined with greater theoretical rigour.

According to Shaaban, Shelley earned the admiration of Chartists not only because he was a skilled poet who wrote explicitly political poetry but also because Shelley's politics were grounded in sympathetic 'feelings for the poor and the oppressed' ('Chartist Press', p. 46). A key argument of Shaaban's in the same article was that of all the Romantic poets, Shelley was especially important to the Chartists because his poetry gave them hope for the future: 'Byron saw things as they were, while Shelley saw things as they might be, thus instilling in his readers a better hope and a faith in the future' (p. 47). For her, this was not just a matter of Shelley engendering or facilitating hopeful feeling as a resource necessary for sustaining a movement, but that Shelley's poetry had anticipated a particular route to a more

[16] 'A Review of Modern Poets, and Illustrations of the Philosophy of Modern Poetry. Article I.—Shelley', *New Moral World*, 1 December 1838, pp. 83–85 (p. 83, my emphasis).

equitable social life: 'The Chartists saw themselves acting out what Shelley had written as prophecy and this is chiefly why they became haunted by his faith in the future and his prophetic vision of a triumphant revolution' ('Shelley's Influence', p. 252). Shaaban had Chartism as more indebted to Shelley for his utopian visions than Owenism was for Kalim, since he thought that Owen superseded Shelley in offering a more rational version of the poet's proto-socialism.

I would argue that there is a real and important difference between Shelley providing inspiration and impetus for Chartists, and providing them with a blueprint for a specific form of politics. Hope and faith in Shelley's vision of the future was the same as self-confidence in the Chartist project, if Chartists did indeed see themselves as 'acting out what Shelley had written as prophecy'. Chartists may well have felt 'haunted' by Shelley's faith in the future and visions of 'triumphant revolution' when it became apparent that they were not materialising in the Chartist present. This view, however, limits the Chartist project to formulations of the Romantic period, and has its analogue in Gareth Stedman Jones's argument that Chartism was limited by the ideas and discourse it inherited from radicalism, which prevented it from coming to terms with the specificities of mid-nineteenth century capitalism.[17] As such, Shaaban's conception of Chartism owing so much to Shelley's poetry while failing to materialise its promise has implications for the way we conceptualise their class identity and agency. We might recall Shelley's own clarification of his claim in *A Defence of Poetry* that poets were both 'legislators and prophets':

> Not that I assert poets to be the prophets in the gross sense of the word, or that they can foretell the form as surely as they foreknow the spirit of events: such is the pretence of superstition which would make poetry an attribute of prophecy, rather than prophecy an attribute of poetry. (p. 513)

To describe Shelley as having 'written as prophecy' a future that the Chartists were 'acing out' would have, in this view, both overstated and underestimated the political capacity of poetry. Poetry did not offer an image of the desired end so much as embody the 'spirit of events', grounded in the poet's appreciation of the difficulties and contradictions inherent in contemporary society. The terms of such a 'prophecy' were determined by society rather than the poet, and the prophecy could not create that future alone but required the action of people for its fulfilment.

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[17] Gareth Stedman Jones, 'Rethinking Chartism', in *Languages of Class: Studies in English Working Class History, 1832–1982* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 90–178. I use this version of the essay rather than the earlier version, 'The Language of Chartism', which appeared in *The Chartist Experience: Studies in Working-Class Radicalism and Culture, 1830–60*, ed. by James Epstein and Dorothy Thompson (London: Macmillan, 1982), pp. 3–58.

While I think that Shaaban's treatment of Chartism's relationship with Shelley is problematic due to the limited degree of agency she allows the movement, the intersection of emotion and politics she described is important and should be reconceptualised rather than abandoned. What is required is a theory and methodology that affords emotion and aesthetics political agency, and is able to take into account the historical difference between the concerns and context of Shelley's era and that of the Owenites and the Chartists. I suggest that Raymond Williams's concept of the 'structure of feeling' provides the basis for such an approach. The next section of the introduction details the terms of this theory and its relevance for a study of Shelley and these movements.

**Raymond Williams's 'structure of feeling'**

The term 'structure of feeling' appeared in Williams' early works, in *Preface to Film* (1954), *Culture and Society* (1960), *The Long Revolution* (1961), and in *Drama from Ibsen to Brecht* (1968).[18] In *Drama from Ibsen to Brecht*, for example, Williams warned against the critical procedure of treating 'particular aspects of life' in the past 'as if they were self-contained' rather than '[examining] each element as a precipitate [...] in solution, an inseparable part of a complex whole' (pp. 17–18). Williams intends 'structure of feeling' to denote this 'whole': a dramatist creates not as an atomised individual but as a person belonging to 'a general period or style' which is structured socially, an audience member responds to 'embodied, related feelings' rather than to 'propositions or techniques' (p. 17, 18).

In his theoretical work of 1977, *Marxism and Literature*, Williams offers a new iteration of the concept which engages with Marxist theories of culture.[19] What is at stake for him here is the rejection of Marxist approaches viewing art and culture more broadly as 'superstructural' reflections of the more important material 'base', as well as the value of 'structure of feeling' at a time when a close relative in Antonio Gramsci's theory of 'hegemony' was being read and taken seriously in Anglophone academic circles.[20] Hegemony as a concept was, for Williams, superior to other Marxist notions of 'ideology' because it did not in theory and should not in practice facilitate identification of a fixed 'system of meanings, values, and beliefs' as 'the

[18] The concept's appearance in the latter work was one of the changes Williams made to the study's previous manifestation as *Drama from Ibsen to Eliot* (1952).

[19] Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977).

[20] *Marxism and Literature*'s second section on 'Cultural Theory' was, in this respect, an extension of the concerns of Williams' earlier article 'Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory' (1973). See *Culture and Materialism* (London: Verso, 2005), pp. 31–49.

expression or projection of a particular class interest', but instead recognised a social process that was related 'to specific distributions of power and influence' (p. 109, 108). This phenomenon saturated 'the whole process of living [...] to such a depth that the pressures and limits of what can ultimately be seen as a specific economic, political, and cultural system seem to most of us the pressures and limits of simple experience and common sense' (p. 110).

For Williams, however, even Gramsci's hegemony was susceptible to being used as a synonym for 'superstructure' and as if it was not continually recreated in reaction to resistance. Williams argued that hegemony could fall victim to a tendency to fixate and reify a whole social process as a result of its misuse by theorists (p. 112). This tendency to view the whole process of 'human cultural activity' not as active but as a product of past action had the unfortunate effect of severing the link between formations we can recognise as having been made socially and the capacity to intervene in one's own present. In other words, it is a relatively simple matter to recognise agency as having once operated in a past political and culture conjuncture compared with grasping it in one's own conjuncture.

Such criticism is another instance of Williams' perennial distrust of thinking in terms of 'masses'. 'Ideology', to borrow a famous formulation from *Culture and Society*, is a way of 'seeing people as masses': the 'dominant class "has" this ideology' and the 'subordinate class' has either 'nothing but this ideology as its consciousness' or is subject to an ideological form which bears no relation to its own 'different consciousness' (*Culture and Society*, p. 319; *Marxism and Literature*, p. 109). Similarly, the individual observer and critic of ideology in others — both the 'dead' and 'living third persons' — finds it difficult to identify their own experience and its 'known complexities, the experienced tensions, shifts, and uncertainties, the intricate forms of unevenness and confusion', with a social process constituted by a 'specific [distribution] of power and influence' (*Marxism and Literature*, p. 129, 108). If the concept is to be a Marxist one then it cannot be satisfied with recognising and describing the hegemonic but must enable the development of a counter-hegemonic project that can challenge the terms of the dominant formation successfully. As such, one of the biggest dangers faced by those with an interest in challenging prevailing hegemonic practices was an inability to make connections between present experience identified as personal and subjective and the social formation on which that experience depended.

The concept 'structure of feeling', therefore, was necessary in order to recognise lived experience as personally subjective and also thoroughly social:

> The term is difficult, but 'feeling' is chosen to emphasize a distinction from more formal concepts of 'world-view' or 'ideology'. It is not only that we must go beyond formally held and systematic beliefs, though of course we have always to include them. It is that we are concerned with meanings and values as they are actively lived and felt. (p. 132)

The importance of stressing 'feeling' was that it allowed the 'affective elements of consciousness and relationships' to be recognised and have critical value (p. 132). The concept did not oppose emotion and thought but understood cognition as 'not feeling against thought, but thought as felt and feeling as thought: practical consciousness of a present kind, in a living and interrelating continuity' (p. 132). Williams acknowledged that an alternative term might be 'structures of *experience*', but rejected it in favour of the gerundial 'feeling' because 'experience' 'has that past tense which is the most important obstacle to recognition of the area of social experience which is being defined' (p. 132, original emphasis).

A related problem of reductive deployments of hegemony, for Williams, was the tendency to view social change in terms of the succession of epochs rather than as occurring within particular historical conjunctures (p. 112). Identifying the hegemonic as feudal or bourgeois in character, for example, conceives the process of hegemony in terms of a 'system or structure' which is 'more uniform, more static, and more abstract than in practice, if it is really understood, it can ever actually be' (p. 112). While Williams sees totalization as 'crucial' this was a totality of field rather than of effect. In other words, while it was correct to claim that all aspects of life were affected by the processes of hegemony it was incorrect to think that they all conformed to type. In the current hegemonic formation neo-liberalism, for example, attitudes, practices, and institutions exist which do not conform to its logic. Hegemony, by definition, never '*includes or exhausts all human practice, human energy, and human intention*' since class rule does not satisfy all the requirements of the subordinated (p. 125, original emphasis). To stress process rather than structure, Williams proposes that we use the adjective 'hegemonic' instead of the noun 'the hegemony' and identifies 'hegemonic' with his own preferred term of 'dominant' (p. 113). The 'dominant' is then linked to the two other terms the 'residual' and the 'emergent'; as a triad, these categories could name changes in the ongoing process of hegemonic self-reproduction, as well as opposition to hegemony, with greater historical precision.

The residual 'has been effectively formed in the past' but was 'still active in the cultural process' (p. 122). Via the residual, 'experiences, meanings, and values' which the dominant does not find immediately crucial for its own purposes 'are nevertheless lived and practised on the basis of the residue — cultural as well as social — of some previous social and cultural institution or formation' (p. 122). This use of the residual could be alternative or oppositional to the dominant; where the former's ambition might stretch only so far as living values not endorsed by the hegemonic the latter wished to actively challenge the dominant and was, in that sense, counter-hegemonic. The dominant also laid claim to the residual in order to ratify its own rule or in providing a fantasy escape from itself (p. 122). Williams' examples for these differing manifestations of the residual were the Christian religious values of 'absolute brotherhood, service to others without reward' opposed to the dominant 'official morality' (p. 122). The dominant also attempted to incorporate the 'actively residual' in order to neutralise the threat to its own power that these differences represented. The 'selective tradition', including the 'literary tradition', was an example of this process: a continual reworking of the range of meanings, values, and forms available to the dominant, motivated by the desire to consolidate its rule (p. 123, 116).

The emergent — 'new meanings and values, new practices, new relationships' — similarly had its dominant, alternative, and oppositional manifestations (p. 123). The dominant emergent could come about (potentially accompanied by resistance from agents of the dominant satisfied with existing forms) as 'a new phase of the dominant culture' (p. 123). An example of this from Williams' own writing is his essay 'The Bloomsbury Fraction', which sees the Bloomsbury group as creating new forms and relationships while remaining 'a true *fraction* of the existing English upper class. They were at once against its dominant ideas and values and still willingly, in all immediate ways, part of it'.[21] Alternative and oppositional emergent practices, on the other hand, challenged class rule by virtue of their existence. Williams gives an account of the development of working-class practices in the nineteenth century as an 'uneven' cultural formation: 'the making of new social values and institutions', such as trade unions, 'far outpaced the making of strictly cultural institutions' (*Marxism and Literature*, p. 124). Incorporation of the oppositional emergent by the dominant occurred for the same reasons it attempted to incorporate the oppositional residual: examples given here are the incorporation of the 'radical popular press [...] trade

[21] Raymond Williams, 'The Bloomsbury Fraction', *Culture and Materialism*, pp. 148–69 (p. 156, original emphasis).

unions, working-class political parties, working-class life styles' (p. 124). Williams notes that this process represents a problem for oppositional class politics in that 'much incorporation looks like recognition, acknowledgement, and thus a form of *acceptance*' (p. 125, original emphasis). If the hegemonic was to be challenged successfully in a revolutionary rather than a reformist fashion that suited the interests of the dominant, then it was imperative that emergent class formations were able to find and defend 'new forms or adaptations of form' (p. 126).

I will now indicate the ways in which these concepts — structures of feeling; the selective tradition; and residual, dominant, and emergent elements in cultural development — will help me to explain Owenism and Chartism's relationship to Shelley and his writing. I would argue that the Chartists were operating with a similar sense of the importance of 'subjective' feeling in motivating 'objective' political programmes that Williams intended 'structure of feeling' to recognise. A characteristically Chartist expression of the political value the movement placed on emotion and poetry occurred in a lecture on poetry delivered to the Lambeth Mutual Instruction Society and reported in the Chartist newspaper the *Charter*.[22] For the lecturer, Mr Spencer, the 'Value of Poetry' lay in its ability to 'regenerate mankind. Poets [...] were the representatives of the undeveloped parts of human nature, as leaders in the career of progression. This view was illustrated by references to the poetry of Shakspeare [*sic*], Byron, and Shelley'. Poetry's remit went beyond the aesthetic narrowly conceived: 'poetry, to fulfil its end, must pursue the perfect in all things — in the regions of philosophy it must seek unadulterated truth; in politics, justice; in religion, charity'. In its link to the social and political, poetry is not conceived by Spencer as a world apart but as a source of inspiration depending on human action to achieve its ends:

> Surely among the millions who groan and sweat and toil, there are some less overcome than others who will seize the harp of prophecy, and sing the great truths that time has wrought out to be a joy and deliverance to the people. We need to be touched to be awakened; the trammels of custom must be broken, the net-work of conventionalism destroyed.

In this definition of poetry's social role, Spencer presents it as having the capacity to articulate hopes for the future and to inspire people to reach for them. He stresses the importance of feeling for political movements — 'we need to be touched to be awakened' — and that the feeling subject both came from 'the millions' and spoke to them. The agents of this change will be the subordinated (those who 'sweat and groan

[22] 'Lambeth Mutual Instruction Society', *Charter*, 8 March 1840, p. 11.

and toil'), and the change will be qualitative — customary restrictions will be 'broken' and conventional values 'destroyed'. I suggest that the example above evidences a conscious attempt by Chartists to grasp the potential of the aesthetic and political in order to challenge the hegemonic.

If there was a hegemonic selective tradition, whereby the hegemonic social formation constructed a literary tradition in order to ratify its rule, a counter-hegemonic selective tradition in Chartism is evident. This process was a working-class version of the selective tradition as Williams described it in *The Long Revolution*: 'a continual selection and reselection of ancestors'.[23] Williams claimed in that work that 'we tend to underestimate the extent to which the cultural tradition is not only a selection but also an interpretation' , and that 'what analysis can do is [...] to make the interpretation conscious, by showing historical alternatives; to relate the interpretation to the particular contemporary values on which it rests' (p. 74). This thesis seeks to restore the active process of selection from Shelley's oeuvre by the Owenites and Chartists as a form of interpretation, where his formulations were changed by association with their new historical moments. Examining Owenite and Chartist use of Shelley in context shows that not only did they find it necessary to alter Shelley's lines and formulations but that they did so creatively and confidently. Timothy Randall claimed that 'literary classics bore considerable cultural, moral and political authority for Chartists who often enlisted them for their own movement'; I focus on the active process of 'enlisting' rather than on the weight of 'authority'.[24]

For this process was by no means a sign that the working class accepted the values of the dominant formation when they approved of and found value in cultural forms created or claimed by the upper and middle classes. If the aim of the hegemonic selective tradition was to ratify the dominant formation's values, then the aim of the counter-hegemonic tradition in Owenism and Chartism was to oppose those values in their different ways. Counter-hegemonic selective traditions would have to challenge the dominant version where it was strongest: it would have to be 'an actively shaping force' offering 'a version of the past which is intended to connect with and ratify the present' (*Marxism and Literature*, p. 115, 116). Shelley occupied an important role in this tradition; as I will argue later in the thesis, William James Linton's anthology *The National: A Library for the People* achieved its aim, at least with regards to Shelley, in 'presenting [to the People], at a price within the reach of

[23] Raymond Williams, *The Long Revolution* (Cardigan: Parthian, 2011), p. 73.
[24] Timothy Randall, 'Chartist Poetry and Song', in *The Chartist Legacy* , ed. by Owen R. Ashton and others (Rendlesham: Merlin Press, 1999), pp. 171–95 (p. 172).

all, choicest gems from the treasure-houses of *our* best authors'.[25] Other scholars have examined Chartist use of Shakespeare, a use that entailed their 'wresting back the ownership of Shakespeare from its high cultural context', a process in which he was 'reclaimed from the mouths of politicians, statesmen, and society's leaders to be returned to his natural home with the people'.[26] This involved 'complex processes of negotiation — acts not only of celebration but of re-reading and even part rejection'.[27] Chartists refused to cede such cultural riches to the dominant, and they did not feel bound by aspects of favourite works which they found unpropitious. Instead, they used these resources to represent the past in a manner that suited their own interests in the present.

Shelley's writing can also be shown to have contributed semantic figures for Chartists constructing their own structure of feeling. In chapter four, for example, I show how Chartists used images from 'Song: To the Men of England' to articulate their opposition to the state's rejection of their claims in 1839. In terms of straightforward chronological progression, Shelley's poem of 1819 is obviously prior to Chartism's strategy of 1839 and can therefore be considered in terms of the residual as an 'element of [the] past' (*Marxism and Literature*, p. 122). It is evident, however, that the specificities of Chartist use of 'Song: To the Men of England' in 1839 means that their own versions of the poem should be thought of in terms of the emergent: as an 'adaptation of form' if not as a significant new form in itself (p. 126). As Mike Sanders argues in *The Poetry of Chartism: Aesthetics, Politics, History*, drawing on the concept of 'structure of feeling', while Williams 'privileges those artworks most closely connected with "emergent" formations', Chartist poetry shows how 'the residual facilitates working-class resistance in this period'.[28] I argue that this insight can also be applied to Chartist use of Shelley, and that his poetry was useful and inspiring for Chartists but required adjustment if it was to be relevant for their movement. Shelley's poem on exploitation of the working class at the point of production is used in 1839 in support of a concept elaborated after Shelley's death, the general strike, which the Chartists threatened if their political demands were not

[25] W. J. Linton, 'Introduction', *National*, 5 January 1839, p. 3 (my emphasis).
[26] Antony Taylor, 'Shakespeare and Radicalism: The Uses and Abuses of Shakespeare in Nineteenth-Century Popular Politics', *Historical Journal*, 45 (2002), 357–79 (p. 366).
[27] Peter Holbrook, 'Shakespeare, "The Cause of the People", and the *Chartist Circular* 1839–1842', *Textual Practice*, 20 (2006), 203–29 (p. 205).
[28] Mike Sanders, *The Poetry of Chartism: Aesthetics, Politics, History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 25.

met.[29] I will show in chapter four how versions of images from 'Song: To the Men of England' in Chartist rhetoric of 1839 were qualitatively different from Shelley's own.

While use of Shelley's poetry by the working class has been celebrated by some as a laudable affective response to a Romantic genius, a critic like Williams, committed to working-class agency, viewed their use of Shelley as more problematic than admirable. The only comments to my knowledge that Williams made on the subject appear in *Politics and Letters*, a record of interviews conducted by members of the *New Left Review*'s editorial committee.[30] In those interviews, Williams suggested that the ways in which Shelley appeared in working-class culture of the 1830s was evidence that their structure of feeling was only partially articulated:

> a dominant set of forms or conventions — and in that sense structures of feeling — can represent a profound blockage for subordinated groups in a society, above all an oppressed class. [...] For example, it seems probable that the English working class was struggling to express an experience in the 1790s and 1830s which in a sense, because of the subordination of the class, its lack of access to means of cultural production, but also the dominance of certain modes, conventions of expression, was never fully articulated. If you look at their actual affiliations, what is striking is a great grasping at other writings. Working people used Shelley; they used Byron, of all people; they responded very strongly to Mrs Gaskell. Should they or should they not have? These works could only have been approximations or substitutes for their own structure of feeling. (pp. 164–65)

For Williams, the existence of an identifiably working-class experience with at least the potential for articulation in the 1830s (and even the 1790s) was not in doubt. What was in question was the adequacy of existing linguistic formulations and registers to articulate that experience. While Williams posits use of Shelley by working people as an open question worth considering, he also stated that working-class people 'struggled' to express their experience because 'certain modes, conventions of expression' were hegemonic, and that these were drawn from 'other writings'.

By this point in his development of the 'structure of feeling' as a concept, Williams '[wanted] to use the concept much more differentially between classes' (*Politics*, p. 158). This comment appears in *Politics and Letters* shortly before the ones on working-class use of Shelley. The implication here, given Williams' desire to make the subject of the latest iteration of the 'structure of feeling' a class subject rather than a generational one, as in previous works, was that a working-class culture

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[29] On William Benbow's definition of the general strike, see Iorwerth Prothero, 'William Benbow and the Concept of the "General Strike"', *Past & Present*, 63 (1974), 132–71.

[30] Raymond Williams, *Politics and Letters: Interviews with New Left Review* (London: Verso, 1979).

worthy of the name had to break links with the cultural products of other classes. The works of Shelley, Byron, and Gaskell, then, were inadequate as resources for the expression of a working-class structure of feeling because of their non-working-class origins. This view is obviously unfruitful for my study as it means, if correct, that establishing Chartists' use of Shelley disqualified them as working-class subjects. The terms 'approximation' and 'substitution' are not, however, synonyms. An approximation can be very close to the original, but its difference from the source can be productive in the sense of the emergent defined as 'adaptation of forms', as detailed above. What is useful in the original can be retained and augmented with what is necessary in the new historical context. Approximations can also change further over time, if necessary. A substitution, on the other hand, could only be the replacement of one thing for another.

I argue that one of the reasons that Williams made these comments was the lack of available research showing the complexity of working-class culture and its relations to 'other' cultural forms. We now know that the Chartists, for example, did not lack 'access to means of cultural production' but had a serviceable outlet for political poetry in the *Northern Star* (Sanders, *Poetry*, pp. 69–86). I would also argue that Williams appears to have mistaken Shelley in the 1830s as an example of work encoding 'a dominant set of forms or conventions' whereas he did not actually belong to the dominant literary tradition in this period. As St Clair and others have since shown Shelley's reputation was very far from secure in respectable circles, which did not see him as articulating their values.[31] While a member of the aristocracy by birth, Shelley's writing was identified with pirates, pornographers, and the socially marginal who actually constituted his audience in this period.[32] I will argue in chapters one and five that the claiming of Shelley for respectable audiences was a rear-guard action, fought in response to an already existing relationship between Shelley and a working class which claimed him as a writer in sympathy with their own concerns. Williams' statement above betrays a conceptual slippage between class origins and the 'dominant tradition'. There is nothing to prevent a hegemonic formation incorporating facets of working-class culture into its own version of the selective tradition; indeed, this might be desirable in order to 'recognise' it and thus to

[31] St Clair, *The Reading Nation*; Neil Fraistat, 'Illegitimate Shelley: Radical Piracy and the Textual Edition as Cultural Performance', *PMLA*, 109 (1994), 409–23; and Stephen C. Behrendt, 'Shelley and his Publishers', in *The Oxford Handbook of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, ed. by Michael O'Neill and Anthony Howe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 83–97.

[32] Iain McCalman, *Radical Underworld: Prophets, Revolutionaries and Pornographers in London, 1795–1840* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

neutralise any threat it might pose (*Marxism and Literature*, pp. 124–25). Similarly, there is nothing to prevent working-class cultural expropriation of middle or upper-class culture in an oppositional manner; this partly what the Chartist claiming of Shakespeare is about in Holbrook and Taylor's work.[33]

Besides the lack of work proving the above at the time of the *Politics and Letters* interviews, I would also argue that Williams conceded too much to his interviewers' searching questions on the validity of 'structure of feeling' as a concept (*Politics*, pp. 133–74). As Christopher Norris noted, the interviewers placed a great deal of pressure on Williams to defend his theories from the perspective of the structuralist Marxist positions he had disavowed.[34] On his own terms, Williams could not reasonably require 'full articulation' of working-class experience in order to recognise a working-class consciousness. According to his account in *Marxism and Literature*, it was Williams' dissatisfaction with the concept of ideology, in which 'it is the fully articulate and systematic forms which are recognizable as ideology', that led him to propose structure of feeling as better able to register 'tensions, shifts, and uncertainties' at the same time as recognising resistance to class rule (p. 109, 129). I suggest that the reference to 'full articulation' is incompatible with the potential that his concepts of the structure of feeling and the dominant, residual and emergent offer for research such as mine.

## Periodical studies and print culture

Although Owenite and Chartist periodicals and newspapers offer a wealth of evidence regarding the usage of Shelley by these movements, their content should not be considered separate from their form. Mark Turner defined 'mining' the press as 'the smash-and-grab approach to using the material', noting that 'periodical scholars had long argued against' the practice, 'pointing out the intellectual limitations of going to a title, pulling out a specific contribution from it, and using it in isolation from any discussion about its periodical source'.[35] As a body of literature, Owenite and Chartist periodicals and newspapers are invaluable sources for investigations into the

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[33] Analysis of this phenomenon was a concern of classic early texts in cultural studies: Tony Jefferson, 'Cultural Responses of the Teds', in *Resistance Through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-War Britain*, ed by Stuart Hall and Tony Jefferson (London: Hutchinson, 1976), pp. 81–86, and Dick Hebdige, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (1979; London: Routledge, 2005).

[34] Christopher Norris, '*Keywords*, Ideology and Critical Theory', *Raymond Williams Now: Knowledge, Limits, and the Future*, ed. by Jeff Wallace and others (London: Macmillan, 1997), pp. 22–39 (p. 28).

[35] Mark W. Turner, 'Time, Periodicals, and Literary Studies', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 39 (2006), 309–16 (p. 310).

deployment of cultural resources in the movements. They must also, however, be theorised as actively shaping the respective 'Shelleys' produced by Owenites and Chartists. While it is true that people in this period could be both Chartists and hold Owenite views, it is not possible to claim that the Chartist *Northern Star* and the Owenite *New Moral World* had the same discursive strategies. Print culture makes visible the differing ideological commitments of Owenism and Chartism since formulations could be either welcome or unwelcome and, therefore, published or not published.

It is important to recognise this, since the histories of Owenism, Chartism, and Shelley publication share personnel. James Watson, for example, worked in the 1820s for the radical publisher Richard Carlile, who produced one of the early piracies of *Queen Mab* in 1822. Watson subsequently adopted Owenism and was the Co-operative Trading Association's storekeeper in 1828, before sitting on the committee that drew up the People's Charter ten years later. With Henry Hetherington, another Owenite in the 1820s who later became a Chartist, Watson produced the 'Chartist edition' of *Queen Mab* in 1839.[36] If we consider the conduct of the owners of the *New Moral World* and *Northern Star*, however, we can see that journalistic practices of each publication did not necessarily, or simply, reflect the views of their readers. Whereas the *Northern Star*'s owner, Feargus O'Connor 'allowed his editors and other staff considerable freedom', Robert Owen claimed in the last issue of his periodical the *Crisis* that it had 'become a compound paper, containing heterogeneous opinions, some in unison with, and others opposed to, my principles'.[37] This came after a prolonged disagreement in print between Owen and his editor James Elishama Smith on the latter's coverage of the government's treatment of the Tolpuddle martyrs.[38] Owen was not prepared to tolerate Smith's robust commentary on the affair, and the result was the end of the *Crisis* and the establishment of the *New Moral World*. While O'Connor also disagreed with his editors, Dorothy Thompson argued that the *Northern Star* was successful 'because it was considered by its readers to be the paper of the Chartist movement, not simply the voice of Feargus O'Connor'.[39]

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[36] Thomas Seccombe, 'Watson, James (1799–1874)', rev. Matthew Lee, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28842> [accessed 4 May 2014]

[37] Robert Owen, 'The Crisis', *Crisis*, 23 August 1834, p. 154.

[38] See Smith's editorials in the *Crisis* on 19 April 1834, p. 12; and 19 July 1834, pp. 116–18. Robert Owen's criticisms were quoted in the latter editorial and in the report of a public lecture by Owen: 'Institution, Charlotte-Street', *Crisis*, 19 April 1834, pp. 13–15.

[39] Dorothy Thompson, *The Chartists* (London: Temple Smith, 1984), p. 47.

By tracing the repeated appearance of sections of Shelley's poems or mistranscriptions of his lines across publications it is possible to establish the fact that Owenite and Chartist newspapers and periodicals were key agents in the transmission and reception of Shelley's poetry. Although cheap pirated volumes of *Queen Mab* had been produced by radicals and were circulating in radical circles from the early 1820s, not all of Shelley's poetry was as readily available for working-class readers. Chapter four, for example, argues that although *Mask* had been available since 1832, it was Linton's anthology the *National* that made passages from the poem available for the majority of Chartists. Two discrete versions of the poem emerged in Chartist culture, as the sections that Linton offered with new titles subsequently appeared in various Chartist newspapers. By establishing that these routes of transmission were important in the creation of Owenite and Chartist 'Shelleys', I argue for periodical culture's privileged role. St Clair's history of book culture indicates the importance of single volumes in the making of Shelley's audiences; I argue that the agency of periodical culture should also be recognised. Periodical culture is not only a rich source of evidence for the development of various 'Shelleys' in Owenite and Chartist culture, it effectively helped to constitute these Shelleys. Newspapers and periodicals with organic links to movements such as Chartism and Owenism make visible the various, sometimes conflicting, values and opinions of their respective audiences. While recognising the agency of editors as mediators between readers and contributors, the extent to which a semantic figure such as Shelley's 'rising lion' is generally used and accepted, as in Chartism, can speak volumes as to the vitality of a particular version of Shelley in the movement as a whole. A newspaper or periodical published on a weekly basis can also show how repeated use of such a semantic figure on a regular basis changes in response to events. Likewise, as I will show in the struggle over a feminist Shelley in the Owenite periodical the *Crisis*, one reader's contribution using Shelley's poetry in a particular way could elicit criticism from another reader designed to quash such usage. Such examples reveal moments of conflict and contradictions in the movement.

Williams, besides his contemporaries R. K. Webb and Richard D. Altick, was also one of the first scholars to approach the popular press sociologically.[40] He sought to counter reductive narratives of 'mass media' in which communication was seen only as a matter of 'transmission' and the audience as a 'mob: gullible, fickle,

[40] R. K. Webb, *The British Working Class Reader, 1790–1848: Literacy and Social Tension* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1955); and Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800–1900* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957).

herdlike, low in taste and habit'.[41] In the conclusion of *Culture and Society*, Williams described the local newspaper as 'like the older journalism of minority reading' because it was 'produced for a known community on the basis of common interest and common knowledge', and was therefore 'not governed by a "mass" interpretation' (p. 331). 'Communication' in this medium 'was not only transmission; it is also reception and response' (p. 332).

Since those pioneering studies by Webb, Altick, and Williams, secondary literature on various aspects of radicalism, print culture, working-class reading practices, and the history of the book has mined and developed our understanding of the intersection between those fields of study. At an empirical level, studies focused on one have necessarily contributed to the stock of knowledge on the others. David Vincent's *Bread, Knowledge and Freedom* uncovered, among other things, the interrelations between working-class politics and autodidact culture. His subsequent work *Literacy and Popular Culture: England, 1750–1914* included chapters on 'Work', 'Imagination', and 'Politics'.[42] Iain McCalman used his study of London's 'radical underworld' between 1795 and 1840 to explore 'a range of other issues pertinent to nineteenth-century radicalism and English popular culture'; one aspect of this history was the role this underworld played in the early dissemination of Shelley's poetry (*Radical Underworld*, p. 2). More recently, William St Clair's *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* took a panoptic view of reading and book culture in the period that, for example, was able to consider the effects of intellectual copyright law on the production of literary canons for audiences with limited spending power (pp. 122–39).

At a political and theoretical level, what has frequently been at stake for work in this field is class agency: whether print culture allowed or facilitated the articulation or generation of working-class consciousness, and the role print culture had or could play in political struggles. E. P. Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class*, an influential Marxist account of working-class subjectification grounded in political, social, and industrial history, was contested by Stedman Jones in his analysis of Chartism's political discourse. Stedman Jones insisted that 'the ideology of Chartism cannot be constructed in abstraction from its linguistic form', but also argued that Chartism's linguistic form could not be taken as evidence that Chartists thought of themselves as working-class subjects (p. 94). As a movement,

[41] Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society, 1780–1950* (New York: Anchor Books, 1960), p. 322.
[42] David Vincent, *Literacy and Popular Culture: England, 1750–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

Chartism was of the working class because of its social base but Chartist expressions of working-class grievances 'cannot be understood in terms of the consciousness of a particular social class, since the form pre-existed any independent action by such a class and did not significantly change in response to it' (p. 95). For Stedman Jones, Chartism's use of discursive forms created earlier in the nineteenth-century to describe political disenfranchisement could not be used to articulate capitalism's economic exploitation of the working class (p. 104). Chartism's decline could be explained in terms of radicalism's critique declining in plausibility, as reforms such as the Ten Hours Bill occurred despite the lack of universal male suffrage (p. 106).

This argument posed a challenge to subsequent work on radical politics and its discursive formations. In *Print Politics: The Press and Radical Opposition in Early Nineteenth-Century England*, for instance, Kevin Gilmartin used 'terms like "popular" and "plebeian" to elide the problem of class'.[43] Other scholars retained a sense of class that went beyond sociological categories defining subjects in terms of their belonging to a particular social formation. Its title consciously referencing Thompson, Jon P. Klancher's *The Making of English Reading Audiences, 1790–1832* stressed the self-making of audiences, proposing a class model of nineteenth-century audiences in which they were produced dialectically, in relation and opposition to one another.[44] St Clair's *Reading Nation*, by contrast, is materialist study of a 'book-reading nation [stratified] into socio-economic constituencies' rather than classes (p. 416). St Clair appears to have understood divisions within the 'reading nation' in terms of differentials of buying power rather than class (p. 267). Paul Thomas Murphy's *Toward a Working-Class Canon: Literary Criticism in British Working-Class Periodicals, 1816–1858* also referenced Thompson in his account of working-class 'literary values' which were 'clearly distinct from those of other classes' (p. 2). Ian Haywood's *The Revolution in Popular Literature: Print, Politics and the People, 1790–1860* built on previous work in the field, while examining the relation between radicalism and popular literary forms.[45] In this work, Haywood drew on the insights of social history's linguistic turn, while '[making] no apology for utilising a metanarrative, the ongoing campaign for the radical political transformation of Britain' (p. 4). Paul Pickering's article 'Class without Words: Symbolic

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[43] Kevin Gilmartin, *Print Politics: The Press and Radical Opposition in Early Nineteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 8.

[44] Jon P. Klancher, *The Making of English Reading Audiences, 1790–1832* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), pp. 11–13.

[45] Ian Haywood, *The Revolution in Popular Literature: Print, Politics and the People, 1790–1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Communication in the Chartist Movement' argued that a study of Chartist language, understood more broadly as 'social action performed in a variety of contexts', provided evidence for rather than disproved the existence of the movement's class character.[46] As in these studies, my thesis retains class as a critical concept, arguing that one of the values of comparing Owenite and Chartist use of Shelley in their print cultures is that doing so illustrates differences between the two movements' approaches to class politics and class conflict.

**Research methodology in print and digital archives**

Mark Turner also noted that the production of digital resources which provide scholars with access to digital facsimiles of newspapers and periodicals had 'the potential to provide a watershed moment which could transform our field of study by providing far greater access to many more titles, in various searchable, online facsimile forms' ('Time', p. 310). The *19th Century British Library Newspapers Database* provides access to a number of digitised Chartist newspapers, which has allowed me to ask different questions of the material than were possible for Shaaban: such as the extent of Shelley's presence in Chartist discourse beyond the poetry column and more easily recognisable articles on the arts.[47] The search function allowed me to search for phrases from Shelley's poetry that I knew from Shaaban's 'The Romantics in the Chartist Press' and my own inquiries appeared frequently in the Chartist press, such as 'Rise like lions after slumber'. A search for 'rouse' and 'lion' yielded this example from an editorial in the *Northern Star*, to be discussed in greater detail in chapter five: 'Let the British lion arouse from his slumbers, up, and shake the dew drops from his mane, and ask for his restoration with a lion's voice'.[48] While this method has the virtue of identifying Shelley's images incorporated into journalists' prose, it risks obscuring similar usage of poems less obviously present than *Mask*. I searched for images that were in poems that I already knew to be the most frequently cited of Shelley's in the Chartist press, such as *Queen Mab* and *Mask*. I did not also search for lines from Shelley's elegy for John Keats, *Adonais*. This method can be justified on the grounds of my argument that the press was a key agent in the transmission of Shelley's poetry, and that the Chartist press reprinted

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[46] Paul A. Pickering, 'Class without Words: Symbolic Communication in the Chartist Movement', *Past & Present* (1986), 144–62 (p. 144).

[47] *19th Century British Library Newspapers Database* <http://gale.cengage.co.uk/product-highlights/history/19th-century-british-library-newspapers.aspx> [accessed 29 April 2014].

[48] 'Patting on the Belly. Last and Most Glorious of All the Glorious Victories of the Glorious Chartists', *Northern Star*, 20 March 1841, p. 4.

lines from *Queen Mab* and *Mask* but not from *Adonais*.[49] I acknowledge, however, that this method may have failed to recognise the presence of other, less immediately political or social, Shelleyan phrases in Chartist discourse.

The *19th Century British Library Newspapers Database* gave me access to the following newspapers either established as Chartist publications, or those linked to the movement: the *Brighton Patriot* (1835–39); the *Champion* (1836–40); the *Northern Liberator* (1837–40); the *Operative* (1838–39); the *Northern Star* (1838–52); the *Chartist* (1839); the *Charter* (1839–40); the *Odd Fellow* (1839–40); the *Chartist Circular* (1839–41); and the *Southern Star* (1840). I also consulted Linton's anthology the *National: A Library for the People* (1839) and the *Western Vindicator* (1839) in hard copies. According to the *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism*, there were, besides the *Northern Star*, 'at least 125 other papers and periodicals designated themselves Chartist for some or all of their publishing history'.[50] Besides the fact that most of the publications listed above are digitised and searchable, their range covers not only the main newspaper the *Northern Star*, but representatives from Scotland (the *Chartist Circular*); Wales and the West of England (the *Western Vindicator*); Brighton (the *Brighton Patriot*); and Tyneside (the *Northern Liberator*). According to the *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism*, the *Chartist Circular* 'outsold all other Chartist newspapers (excepting *Northern Star*)' in Scotland, and the *Western Vindicator* was 'the paper of choice' in Wales (pp. 108–09). The rest were published from London, with the *Northern Star* beginning publication in Leeds before being relocated to London in 1844. These publications gave me a representative sample for chapters four and five. Chapter six discusses Thomas Martin Wheeler's Chartist novel *Sunshine and Shadow* published serially in the *Northern Star* between 1849 and 1850. As I will show in that chapter, Wheeler's novel provided the only references to Shelley in the *Northern Star* during its publication between 31 March 1849 and 5 January 1850.

The Owenites were similarly prolific in print; according to the historian of Owenism, J. F. C. Harrison, 'over a hundred journals were published which were either avowedly Owenite or in which substantial space was devoted to Owenism'.[51] Owenite publications have not been digitised in the way Chartist newspapers have by

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[49] A rare example was as an epigraph to a poem in the *Promethean*: Salvador St Just, 'The Living Shadow', *Promethean*, February 1842, p. 32.

[50] *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. by Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor (London: British Library, 2009), p. 108.

[51] J. F. C. Harrison, *Robert Owen and the Owenites in Britain and America: The Quest for the New Moral World* (London: Routledge, 1969), p. 259.

the *19th Century British Library Newspapers Database*, for example. The *Hathi Trust Digital Library* allows searching in individual volumes of the *Crisis* (1832–34) and most volumes of the *New Moral World* (1835–45), but not across the entire print run.[52] As *Hathi Trust Digital Library* cannot be used in the same manner as the digitised newspapers of Chartism, I chose to consult the *Crisis* and the *New Moral World* in hard copy, scanning the pages for Shelley's poetry, references to Shelley, or lines of his poetry incorporated into articles. For this reason, discussion in the two chapters on British Owenism (chapters two and three) is mainly limited to Owen's publications: the *Crisis* and the *New Moral World*. They also consider periodicals related to the movement, such as the Builders' Union publication the *Pioneer* (1833–34) and Smith's the *Shepherd* (1834–35, 1837–38), which he produced after leaving the *Crisis*.

Chapter one focuses on the American Owenite newspaper the *Free Enquirer* (1828–35), which was first edited by Robert Dale Owen (Robert Owen's son) and Frances Wright, another British Owenite. This began life as the *New Harmony Gazette* (1825–28), the publication of the Owenite settlement at New Harmony in Indiana. The *Gazette* became the *New Harmony and Nashoba Gazette, or the Free Enquirer* between 1828 and 1829. In this period two editions were produced, one in Indiana and one in New York, with the New York edition continuing publication as the *Free Enquirer* in 1829 when the settlement collapsed in that year. Besides versions of the *Free Enquirer* on *Proquest American Periodicals* series and the Greenwood Reprint edition of 1969, I also consulted the online database *America's Historical Newspapers*. The Library of Congress made these resources available to me while I undertook a fellowship at the library in 2012–13.

Although I make claims about the use and presence of Shelley in Owenism and Chartism, I am aware that my research has not taken in the entirety of the movements' print culture. The study may have benefitted from my consulting a wider range of newspapers and periodicals. For Chartism, an obvious omission is consideration of the late Chartist periodicals such as *McDouall's Chartist and Republican Journal* (1841); *Democratic Review* (1849–50); *Cooper's Journal* (1850); *Red Republican* (1850), or *Friend of the People* (1850–52*)*; and *Notes to the People* (1851–52). I chose not to explore this avenue of research because time constraints would have made it impossible to study my existing corpus as well these additions

[52] *Hathi Trust Digital Library* <http://www.hathitrust.org/> [accessed 17 December 2013]. The Hathi Trust has digitised the Greenwood Reprint editions of the *Crisis* and the *New Moral World*, of 1968 and 1969, respectively.

with the attention that is required to draw strong conclusions about the changing nature of Chartism's use of Shelley. As such, I deemed my existing corpus satisfactory in size and scope for reasons detailed above. For Owenism, it might have been useful to consider the treatment of Robert Owen's the *Crisis* and the *New Moral World* in relation to independent Owenite periodicals such as *Herald of the Future* (1839–40), the *Investigator* (1843), and *Herald of Progress* (1845–46). George Jacob Holyoake's the *Reasoner* (1846–61) is also likely to be of interest, as he was associated with both late Chartism and Owenism. Chapter three, however, does consider the conjunction of the two movements in Catherine ('Kate') and John Goodwyn Barmby's the *Promethean; or Communitarian Apostle* (1842), a periodical that took its title and much of its impetus from Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*.

The scale of the print archive made it possible to find much more material than could reasonably be discussed in this context; the number of references to Shelley in the Chartist press contradicts Schnepf's description of Shaaban's article 'Shelley in the Chartist Press' as an exhaustive bibliography of references.[53] What I have tried to do is advance an argument about the differences between Owenite and Chartist approaches to Shelley rather than list examples, or analyse them all exhaustively. Where appropriate, additional references will appear in footnotes and a full list of all definite references (rather than possible allusions) to Shelley in my corpus can be found in the appendix.

**The differences between Owenite and Chartist 'Shelleys'**

I bring together Williams's concept of the structure of feeling and the methodological procedures of periodical studies as detailed above in order to distinguish between Owenite and Chartist 'Shelleys'. I argue that ideological and discursive differences between the *New Moral World* and the *Northern Star*, for example, set parameters that enable such identifications despite the facts that Shelley was relevant to both Owenism and Chartism and that there was a degree of fluidity between the movements in personnel. I argue that Owenism and Chartism produced different 'Shelleys' because they had different relationships to Shelley at the levels of both content and of form.

At the level of content, the choices Owenites and Chartists made within Shelley's oeuvre as it was available to them illustrates differences between them in

[53] Schnepf, *Our Original Rights*, p. 68; Bouthaina Shaaban, 'The Romantics in the Chartist Press', *Keats-Shelley Journal*, 38 (1989), 25–46.

their political and social commitments. The two movements' use of different poems in print, or different sections of the same poem, illustrate Owenism's commitment to secularism and women's liberation, and Chartism's greater attraction for a more robust and physical form of popular politics as well as his recognition of class inequality. The third chapter on Owenism discusses feminist use of Shelley, and this is also related to the issues of social conflict and the importance of feeling. Owenism's use of Shelley stresses his writings on love and the need to reject political violence; this was linked to the prominent role Owenism granted women, however problematically, as key agents in the production of social harmony. While I see Chartist discourse as being more open than its Owenite counterpart in terms of its preparedness to countenance political violence, it had its own shortcomings in terms of its willingness to admit the justice of liberty for women as well as men. Conciliation for Owenism and aggression for Chartism, therefore, represent quite different modes of emotional and political engagement, modes in which Shelley was a key resource. It is in this respect that I argue his writing was important for their respective structures of feeling.

Another key difference between the two movements was on Shelley and religion. For Owenites, Shelley was a fellow martyr to religious persecution. Chartism as a movement, although supported by free thinkers, was not ideologically committed to atheism or free-thought. For them, Shelley's conduct proved that he was a 'better Christian' than pious 'respectable villains' and clergy who benefitted from social inequality.[54] The *Northern Star*'s review of the Chartist edition of *Mask*, for example, noted that if Christianity was 'to be measured by "brotherly love", then would it be well if the intolerant priest of the Tabernacle could lay his hand on his heart, and declare "I am as good a *Christian* as Shelley!'.[55] This presentation of Shelley accords with Williams' example of Christian religious values deployed as an oppositional residual criticising dominant 'official morality'; I continue this line of argument in chapter four.

Owenism and Chartism also had different relationships to Shelley at the level of form. Shelley's poetry was useful to both movements at the level of content; each could find images within his writing that were useful for illustrating rhetorical points. Kate's article on 'Female Improvement' for example, ended with 'In the elegant language of Shelley —', before quoting lines from *Queen Mab* describing the

[54] Thomas Martin Wheeler, 'Sunshine and Shadow, Chapter XXXIII', 1 December 1849, p. 3.
[55] 'The Masque of Anarchy. By Percy Bysshe Shelley', *Northern Star*, 19 February 1848, p. 3 (original emphasis).

sweetness of a harmonious earth.[56] Formally, however, poetry presented a problem for orthodox Owenism because its polysemic qualities were thought to hinder the clear exposition of Owenite truths. Owen was keen to avoid both class conflict and ambiguity in language. Language had the potential to create inadvertent confusion between parties and cause discord between them where it need not exist, or to exacerbate ill-feeling where it did. Poetry was even more susceptible to this than prose, as a form more given to a proliferation of signification that had no necessary relation to what Owen saw as 'truth'. In his suspicion of a link between figurative language and meaning, Owen can be viewed as an unlikely precursor to postmodern critical work on Shelley: three essays in *Deconstruction and Criticism* by Paul de Man, Jacques Derrida, and J. Hillis Miller focussed on Shelley and his last, unfinished, poem 'The Triumph of Life'.[57]

Chartists, on the other hand, not only revelled in baroque insults directed at political opponents but also made ambiguity in language part of their political strategy. Engels wrote approvingly to Marx of an article by O'Connor in the *Northern Star*: 'It is a masterpiece of the genial art of making insults. It is even often better than Cobbett, and recalls Shakespeare'.[58] Instead of attempting to identify a 'moral force' and a 'physical force' approach to Shelley within the Chartist press, I consider Shelley's relationship to Chartism in terms of 'the language of menace' used by advocates of both positions.[59] I will show that Shelley's poetry was used in the Chartist strategy of threatening violence to secure their demands, while employing devices such as the dream vision as a pre-emptive defence against charges of treason. Suggestive images could perform both functions at once. The consequence of a general acceptance of aggressive language is that a physically aggressive version of Shelley's poetry could emerge within Chartist publications, while this would have been most unwelcome in Robert Owen's view. The difference between Owenism and Chartism in attitudes towards language and conflict both enabled and set limits to the kinds of Shelley that could emerge within their discursive fields. Whereas images from *Mask*, for example, could be used in Chartist newspapers to suggest that

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[56] Kate, 'Female Improvement', *New Moral World*, 13 June 1835, pp. 263–64 (p. 264). (VI. 39–41)

[57] Paul de Man, 'Shelley Disfigured'; Jacques Derrida, 'Living On'; J. Hillis Miller, 'The Critic as Host', in *Deconstruction and Criticism*, ed. by Harold Bloom (New York, The Seabury Press, 1979). As William Keach noted, all of the essays in the volume 'were originally to have focused on Shelley': William Keach, *Shelley's Style* (London: Methuen, 1984), p. xii.

[58] Quoted in John Saville, *1848: The British State and the Chartist Movement* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 212.

[59] Thomas Milton Kemnitz, 'Approaches to the Chartist Movement: Feargus O'Connor and Chartist Strategy', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 5 (1973), 67–73 (p. 69).

Chartists would respond to violence in kind this kind of usage did not occur in the *New Moral World* and the poem did not even appear in that publication until its tenth volume in 1842.[60] I argue that Owenism and Chartism's different attitudes towards language and conflict, and their different policies regarding social change, were equally important factors determining the emergence of the Owenite and the Chartist 'Shelleys'.

Owenism and Chartism's differing attitudes towards poetry were articulated in and consolidated by periodical culture. The importance of poetry in Chartism was established by the rank and file, as their submissions of original poetry to the *Northern Star* 'literally forced the poetry column from the margins to the centre of the paper' (Sanders, *Poetry*, p. 71). Poetry, as Sanders showed, subsequently became strategically important for Chartism. Poetry's status was doubtful in Owen's the *Crisis*, only, I argue, becoming (temporarily) secure in the *New Moral World* as it responded to Chartist print culture.

**Owenism and Chartism**

Of the secondary literature on Owenism and Chartism, this study draws in particular on that which addresses their discursive practices or the intersection between their politics and their aesthetic practices. The key historical study of Owenism remains J. F. C. Harrison's *Robert Owen and the Owenites in Britain and America*. Barbara Taylor made a necessary scholarly and political invention with her *Eve and the New Jerusalem: Socialism and Feminism in the Nineteenth Century*, a study that recognised Owenism's failure to live up to its own principles regarding gender equality; my third chapter draws on her arguments.[61] Eileen Yeo's essay 'Robert Owen and Radical Culture', with its analysis of the class aspects of Owenite sociability and culture in relation to that of Chartism, was valuable.[62] Regarding Owenism's literary culture, there has been little in the way of sustained analysis. Kalim dedicated a chapter of *The Social Orpheus* to 'The Owenite View of Literature'; I will return to his arguments later in the thesis. Harrison suggested in his contribution to *Robert Owen: Prophet of the Poor* that further contributions to the field might include studies of Owen as a poet, given the recent discovery of three poems in Owen's

[60] 'Home Colonization', *New Moral World*, 11 June 1842, pp. 405–08 (p. 406).
[61] Barbara Taylor, *Eve and the New Jerusalem: Socialism and Feminism in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Virago, 1983).
[62] Eileen Yeo, 'Robert Owen and Radical Culture', in *Robert Owen: Prophet of the Poor. Essays in Honour of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of His Birth*, ed. by Sidney Pollard, and John Salt (London: Macmillan, 1971), pp. 84–114.

hand.[63] I suspect that this represents a critical dead end, given Owen's suspicion of poetic metaphor. Gregory Claeys's *Citizens and Saints: Politics and Anti-Politics in Early British Socialism* usefully compares Owenism and Chartism.[64] His concern in analysing 'the language of socialism', I argue, was on parsing Owenite vocabulary — defining terms such as 'socialism' or 'social system' — rather than the agency it allowed poetry (pp. 58–62). For Janowitz, in her study of Romanticism's communitarian strand, Shelley was 'an overarching figure of the link between high romanticism and Chartism' and Owen's journals forged that link.[65] According to Janowitz, 'The Chartist poetic was indebted to Robert Owen and the Owenite interest in Shelley's poetic intentions, which Owen read as an early version of his own communitarian model of identity and sociality' and the *New Moral World* 'abounded in articles which assert the importance of Shelley to a "community" poetry, and numerous poems attesting to the values of the communitive life' (p. 28, 127). I concur with Janowitz's suggestions in these passages on the relation between the movements that Chartism, rather than Owenism, endowed the aesthetic in and of itself with political agency (pp. 118–19). I also argue, however, that a more dialectical relationship developed between Owenism and Chartism in their valuations of Shelley on the historical appearance of Chartism as an alternative emancipatory project. It was not simply a matter of Chartism's 'Shelley' succeeding Owenism's; the *New Moral World* published the articles on Shelley referenced by Janowitz and Kalim at the beginning of the period of overlap (1837–45, if we set the parameters as the beginning of the *Northern Star* and the end of the *New Moral World*). Chapters three and four contain analysis of this relationship.

Chartism has attracted more critical attention than Owenism. Of the histories, I relied more on accounts of the movement as a national one, rather than on regional studies; Malcolm Chase's *Chartism: A New History* was my mainstay.[66] Chapter four relies on Epstein's study of O'Connor and its detailed analysis of the relation between Chartist threats and the strategy pursued in the movement's early years.[67] My chapters on Shelley and Chartism consider the movement's gender politics from a

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[63] J. F. C. Harrison, 'A New View of Mr Owen' in *Robert Owen: Prophet of the Poor*, pp. 1–12 (p. 5).
[64] Gregory Claeys, *Citizens and Saints: Politics and Anti-Politics in Early British Socialism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
[65] *Lyric*, p. 115. For a more recent exploration of the relationship between Shelley and Chartist poetry, see Nichola L. McCawley, 'Re-sounding Radicalism: Echo in William Blake and the Chartist Poets Ernest Jones and Gerald Massey' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Manchester, 2012), pp. 90–142.
[66] Malcolm Chase, *Chartism: A New History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).
[67] James Epstein, *The Lion of Freedom: Feargus O'Connor and the Chartist Movement, 1832–1842* (London: Croom Helm, 1982).

negative point of view, because it was necessary to explain why, unlike Owenism, Chartism did not use Shelley as a feminist resource. Secondary literature on Chartism and feminism includes Dorothy Thompson's *The Chartists*, followed by the more sustained analysis in Jutta Schwarzkopf's *Women in the Chartist Movement*.[68] More recently, Michelle de Larrabeiti and Helen Rogers have studied Chartism and women.[69] The role of newspapers in Chartism was the focus of an edited collection of essays: *Papers for the People: A Study of the Chartist Press*.[70]

Regarding Chartism's culture and literature, the most relevant recent work for this thesis is Sanders's *The Poetry of Chartism*. His argument that 'for the Chartist movement, the political and the aesthetic are not just closely related concepts but are thoroughly imbricated practices' is foundational for this study (p. 3). As is his suggestion that, contra the impression given by Martha Vicinus's *The Industrial Muse* and work that followed, 'the Shelleyan legacy (particularly his pacifism) might constitute an obstacle to be negotiated rather than a model to be embraced'.[71] This thesis focuses on Shelley in Chartist newspapers more broadly, rather than his influence on Chartist poetry.[72] The last chapter does, however, discuss prose fiction in Wheeler's novel *Sunshine and Shadow*. Arguing against readings that saw in *Sunshine and Shadow* a failure to represent or instantiate what they would recognise as an authentic working-class consciousness, I contribute to recent work on Chartist prose fiction.[73]

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[68] Thompson, *The Chartists*; Jutta Schwarzkopf, *Women in the Chartist Movement* (London: Macmillan, 1991).

[69] Michelle de Larrabeiti, 'Conspicuous Before the World: The Political Rhetoric of the Chartist Women', in *Radical Femininity: Women's Self-Representation in the Public Sphere*, ed. by Eileen Yeo (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), pp. 106–26; and Helen Rogers, *Women and the People: Authority, Authorship and the Radical Tradition in Nineteenth-Century England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).

[70] *Papers for the People: A Study of the Chartist Press*, ed. by Joan Allen and Owen R. Ashton, (London: Merlin Press, 2005).

[71] *Poetry*, p. 111. Martha Vicinus, *The Industrial Muse: A Study of Nineteenth Century British Working-Class Literature* (London: Croom Helm, 1974).

[72] Besides Sanders and Janowitz, as discussed above, another key work on Chartist poetry is Isobel Armstrong, *Victorian Poetry: Poetry, Poetics and Politics* (London: Routledge, 1993).

[73] For the former, see Jack Mitchell, 'Aesthetic Problems of the Development of the Proletarian-Revolutionary Novel in Nineteenth-Century Britain', in *Marxists on Literature: An Anthology*, ed. by David Craig (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1975), pp. 245–66; and Steve Devereux, 'Chartism and Popular Fiction', in *Writing and Radicalism*, ed. by John Lucas (London: Longman, 1996), pp. 128–49. For the latter, Ian Haywood, *The Literature of Struggle: An Anthology of Chartist Fiction* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995); Ian Haywood, *Chartist Fiction: Thomas Doubleday,* The Political Pilgrim's Progress*; Thomas Martin Wheeler, Sunshine and Shadow* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999); Ian Haywood, *Working-Class Fiction: From Chartism to Trainspotting* (Plymouth: Northcote House, 1997); Sally Ledger, 'Chartist Aesthetics in the Mid Nineteenth Century: Ernest Jones, a Novelist of the People', *Nineteenth-Century Literature*, 57 (2002), 31–63; Rob Breton, 'Ghosts in the Machina: Plotting in Chartist and Working-Class Fiction', *Victorian Studies*, 47 (2005), 557–75; Gregory Vargo, 'Social Protest and the Novel: Chartism, the Radical Press, and Early Victorian Fiction' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Columbia

**Shelley**

By the end of the century, Shaw could reflect on the different versions of Shelley promoted by the two lectures that he used to frame his essay 'Shaming the Devil About Shelley' — the 'bogus Shelleyism' of the Shelley Library and Museum's founders, for whom Shelley was 'nothing more than a word-jeweller', and the 'proletarian celebration of Shelley in the easterly parish of St Luke's' by people 'much more conscious of his opinions and of his spirit' (pp. 243–45). Even beyond this division between a narrowly formalist appreciation of Shelley and an appreciation of his work's political content, interpretations of the latter have been manifold. Critics, especially since the late twentieth-century, have defined Shelley's politics variously as forms of socialism, reformism, agrarian reactionism, agrarian radicalism, philosophical anarchism, and revolutionary socialism.[74] Shelley's political afterlife was not confined to Britain, as studies on his reception in the rest of the world have shown. Shelley was important for those engaged in struggles against colonial rule: in *Shelley: Poet and Legislator of the World*, Meena Alexander gave an account of Ghandi's use of Shelley, and Alan Weinberg claimed Shelley for opposition to apartheid in South Africa.[75] The same volume had two analyses of the German tradition: Stephen E. Jones examined the relation of Bertolt Brecht's satiric ballad *Der anachronistische Zug oder Freiheit und Democracy* to Shelley's *Mask*, and Horst Höhne noted the German working-class's use of Engels's translation of a line from *Revolt*: 'Can man be free if woman be a slave?'.[76] More recently, the edited collection *The Reception of P.B. Shelley in Europe* covered the reception of Shelley in not only central European countries but also in Catalonia, Romania, and Bulgaria.[77]

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University, 2010); Gregory Vargo, '"Outworks of the Citadel of Corruption": The Chartist Press Reports the Empire', *Victorian Studies*, 54 (2012), 227–53.

[74] Respectively, Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx Aveling, *Shelley's Socialism. Two Lectures* (London: Printed for Private Circulation, 1888); P. M. S. Dawson, *The Unacknowledged Legislator: Shelley and Politics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980); Donald H. Reiman, 'Shelley as Agrarian Reactionary', *Keats-Shelley Memorial Bulletin*, 30 (1979), 5–15; Michael Demson, 'Percy Shelley's Radical Agrarian Politics', *Romanticism*, 16 (2010), 279–92; Michael Henry Scrivener, *Radical Shelley: The Philosophical Anarchism and Utopian Thought of Percy Bysshe Shelley* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1982); Robert Sayre and Michael Löwy, 'Figures of Romantic Anti-Capitalism', *New German Critique*, 32 (1984), 42–92; Paul Foot, *Red Shelley* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1980); William Keach, 'Rise Like Lions? Shelley and the Revolutionary Left', *International Socialism*, 2 (1997), 91–103.

[75] Meena Alexander, 'Shelley's India: Territory and Text, Some Problems of Decolonization', pp. 169–78; and Alan Weinberg, 'Shelley's Humane Concern and the Demise of Apartheid', pp. 179–92 in *Shelley: Poet and Legislator*.

[76] Steven E. Jones, 'Shelley's Satire of Succession and Brecht's Anatomy of Regression: "The Mask of Anarchy" and *Der anachronistische Zug oder Freiheit und Democracy*', pp. 193–200; and Horst Höhne, 'Shelley's "Socialism" Revisited', pp. 201–12 (p. 203) in *Shelley: Poet and Legislator*.

[77] *The Reception of P. B. Shelley in Europe*, ed. by. Susanne Schmid and Michael Rossington (London: Continuum, 2008).

Besides co-editing that work, Susanne Schmid wrote a book length study on the various 'Shelleys' that emerged in Germany from the Romantic period onwards.[78] Shelley for working-class Americans in the twentieth century is the subject of Michael Demson's article '"Let a Great Assembly Be": Percy Shelley's "The Mask of Anarchy" and the Organization of Labor in New York City, 1910–30', as well as his recent collaboration with the artist Summer McClinton in producing the graphic novel *Masks of Anarchy: The Story of a Radical Poem, from Percy Shelley to the Triangle Factory Fire*.[79]

Although I offer some readings of the social and political content of Shelley's poems as I understand them, this thesis prioritises the specifics of use of his poetry by Owenites and Chartists in their print culture. I argued earlier in this introduction that the most frequently cited secondary literature on the phenomenon of working-class appreciation of Shelley viewed it in terms of the affection of inferiors. I have, therefore, approached Shelley's poetry deliberately in terms of its actual manifestation in Owenite and Chartist discourse and how that might be explained by the movements' wider concerns, rather than prioritising Shelley's own poetry or politics. Although this is a study of Shelley in Owenism and Chartism, I acknowledge where necessary the fact that Shelley was not the only poet or thinker on which these movements drew; neither Owenism nor Chartism could be described as just forms of 'Shelleyism'. In *Radical Culture: Discourse, Resistance, Surveillance, 1790–1820*, David Worrall defended the study of radical discourse against the marginalisation of it enacted by Romantic ideology in favour of 'the traditional canon of literary Romanticism (six male poets plus Jane Austen)'.[80] Where Shelley appeared, Worrall situated him in terms of the radical milieu to which he (partly) belonged, one in which Shelley was no more worthy a subject of government surveillance than the artisan poet Allen Davenport (p. 5). The contribution to Shelley studies that this thesis seeks to make is in offering an account of his afterlife in the two movements rather than a sustained analysis of his poetry or politics.

Instead of reading Owenite or Chartist uses of Shelley's poetry in terms of a

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[78] Susanne Schmid, *Shelley's German Afterlives,1814–2000* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

[79] Michael Demson, '"Let a Great Assembly Be": Percy Shelley's "The Mask of Anarchy" and the Organization of Labor in New York City, 1910–30', *European Romantic Review*, 22 (2011), 641–665; Michael Demson and Summer McClinton, *Masks of Anarchy: The History of a Radical Poem, from Percy Shelley to the Triangle Factory Fire* (London: Verso, 2013).

[80] David Worrall, *Radical Culture: Discourse, Resistance and Surveillance, 1789–1820* (Hertfordshire: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992), p. 4. As Gilmartin argued in his study of London radicalism in print culture, 'the radical movement has long figured as a background to romanticism, particularly in studies of Blake, Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Shelley', p. 1.

particular interpretation of Shelley's politics, I have found it more useful to think of the movements as responding to what Cian Duffy has described a 'persistent — one might go so far as to say a *defining* — tension at the heart of Shelley's political writing between gradualism and revolutionism, quietism and violence'.[81] What the differences between the Owenite and the Chartist 'Shelleys' reveal most strongly, I argue, is the fault line between the movements on this issue, one that remains politically vital. I will argue that the *New Moral World*'s promotion of Shelley as 'a philanthropist in fullest sense of the word, who warred not against men, but false principles' depended on the suppression of more aggressive images in poems like *Mask* and 'Song: To the Men of England'.[82] It is necessary to retain and acknowledge the contradictions in Shelley's political poetry in order to compare Owenism and Chartism's differing uses of that poetry. As William Keach recognised in his article on the strategic ambiguities of Shelley's political poetry: 'There is something to be gained, [...] politically as well as critically, from slowing down and staying with the hard points' ('Rise', p. 92). The movements' resolution of these contradictions in one direction or another can then be recognised as choices made consciously in the face of alternatives.

Duffy's insight also allows us to avoid concluding that the reason Shelley's poetry could be made to illustrate different political positions is because it had no coherent policy. In this view, Shelley's poetry could be the 'gospel' or 'Bible' of Owenism and Chartism because they were faithful in their own ways to different aspects of his oeuvre. If Owenites and Chartists did abstract either quietist or aggressive aspects from a whole that existed in tension, however, then what their use of his poetry confronts us with are truly creative responses to Shelley. These responses have characters different to that of the original source, as well as to one another.

**Overview of the chapters**

Chapter one gives an overview of the publication history of Shelley's poems used by the Owenites and Chartists. The publication history of *Queen Mab* has received much

[81] Cian Duffy, *Shelley and the Revolutionary Sublime* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 10 (original emphasis). William Keach perceived a 'deflection of a clear political agency' in Shelley's reluctance to 'show oppressed citizens doing the grinding' of oppressors in *Mask*, but claimed that 'Ode to Liberty' expresses an unequivocal 'call for repression': William Keach, *Arbitrary Power: Romanticism, Language, Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), p. 147, 154.

[82] 'A Review of Modern Poets', 1 December 1838, pp. 83–85 (p. 84).

critical attention due to its importance as a text in radicalism.[83] This chapter also gives an account of the poem's Owenite edition, produced by Robert Dale Owen and Frances Wright in America in 1830. It discusses this publication in terms of his Owenite periodical, the *Free Enquirer*, through which Dale Owen solicited subscribers for the volume. It goes on to situate the *Enquirer*'s subsequent presentation of Shelley in relation to competing versions of Shelley produced by evangelist and conservative American periodicals. This context also provides a useful counterpoint to the British context, in which the publication of Shelley's poetry could result in prosecution. American intellectual copyright law and commitment to freedom of religious belief removed the political charge that characterised Shelley publication in Britain.

Chapter two examines the presence of Shelley in the Owenite periodical the *Crisis*. One example of his presence was the addition of lines from *Queen Mab* to an Owenite tract when it was reprinted in the *Crisis — A Fable for the Times: Addressed to the Working Classes*. I argue that the changes were made in order to stress an important concern of Owenism at that time: the recently established Labour Exchange, which was the reason for Robert Dale Owen taking over editorship of the *Crisis* from Owen. These changes associate Shelley's poem with the radical and co-operative strands in the movement during this period, rather than the orthodox Owenite positions that preceded and survived the movement's engagement with trade union politics.

I also argue that the relative lack of Shelley in the *Crisis* is due to the prevailing Owenite attitude towards poetry established in this periodical: distrust of poetic metaphor. I attribute this to what I define as the orthodox Owenite attitude towards language and conflict, a consequence of which was poetry's lack of a high status or secure position in the *Crisis*. The chapter discusses the public disagreement in the pages in the *Crisis* between Owen and his editor Smith on the latter's coverage of the Tolpuddle Martyrs' persecution. This episode is important because it exposes the convergence between language and social conflict as a contentious issue in Owenism, one that had consequences for its print culture. The result of Smith's indulgence in a mode prohibited by Owen was the latter's decision to close the *Crisis*. The episode also serves to distinguish Owenite from Chartism's usage of Shelley and its ambiguous linguistic constructions.

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[83] St Clair, *The Reading Nation*; McCalman, *Radical Underworld*; David Worrall, '*Mab* and Mob: The Radical Press Community in Regency England', in *Romanticism, Radicalism, and the Press*, ed. by Stephen C. Behrendt (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1997), pp. 137–56.

Chapter three discusses feminist use of Shelley's poetry in both the *Crisis* and the *New Moral World*. The unknown contributor 'Concordia' was innovative in her use of Shelley to argue for women's liberation in the fables and parables she wrote for the *Crisis*. Feminists like Catherine Watkins (later Catherine Barmby) continued this practice in articles printed in the *New Moral World* under the name 'Kate'. These parables had a pedagogic function in that they were intended to illustrate Owenite maxims, and both women used Shelley's poetry in their explicitly feminist stories. This is complicated by the fact that, as Taylor noted in her history of Owenite feminism, Owenites' understanding of 'women's moral mission' was highly problematic (*Eve*, pp. 30–31). Owenism was conflicted in its celebration of 'feminine' qualities that made women the 'natural' proponents of Owenite doctrine (especially in the education of the next generation), but it had a concurrent desire to generalise these properties across both sexes and society as a whole. The prominence given to Cythna from *The Revolt of Islam* and lines from *Queen Mab* on the 'purity' of a redeemed future meant that reception of Shelley's poetry was also affected by this facet of Owenite discourse.

Fiction, on the other hand, was also a means by which feminists could register their dissatisfaction with the actual position of women within Owenism. I argue that on one occasion Concordia used Shelley's poetry in a coded protestation at attempts to control her aesthetic practice. The chapter concludes with a discussion of John Goodwyn Barmby's use of Shelley in the *New Moral World* and his own periodical the *Promethean*. Barmby attempted to resolve the problem of essentialism in Owenite feminism, by using Shelley and his poetry to illustrate a theory about 'woman-man-power'.[84] This theory had Shelley and Mary Wollstonecraft as examples of fully 'equilibriated beings' in which neither 'masculine' nor 'feminine' qualities predominated (p. 269). Barmby also gave Shelley a prominent role in his celebration of drama and singing as a model for Owenite sociability.[85] While this was faithful to Owenite philosophy as defined by Owen, since it described the harmonisation of discordant elements in society, Barmby's articles also show how much progress had been made by 1841 in terms of Owenite attitudes towards poetry. I attribute this to two causes: the need for the *New Moral World* to appeal to readers for both propaganda and commercial reasons, given its habit of losing money on issues, and

[84] John Goodwyn Barmby, 'The Man-Power, the Woman-Power, and the Woman-Man-Power', *New Moral World*, 1 May 1841, pp. 268–69.
[85] John Goodwyn Barmby, 'The Past, Present, and Future of the Stage.— Art. VI', *New Moral World*, 13 March 1841, pp. 157–59.

also to the competition of Chartism as a contemporary movement.

Chapter four examines the conjunction of events in the publication history of Shelley's poetry and Chartism. Both Linton's anthology the *National* and Mary Shelley's edited collection of Shelley's poetry, *Poetical Works*, were published in the early months of 1839. The year ended with the Newport Uprising and its aftermath. This chapter reconsiders Shaaban's claim that Shelley gave the Chartists 'hope for the future', arguing that Shelley's poetry complemented but did not cause the optimism of those early months. I trace the appearance of Shelley in Chartist newspapers in terms of the year's major events in Chartism: the policing of the Convention in Birmingham, the presentation of the National Petition, the preparation for the 'sacred month' or General Strike in the summer, and the Newport Uprising in November. I argue that while Chartists used phrases from Shelley's poems to articulate anticipated conflict with authority his poetry did not provide clear instructions regarding tactics and strategy. This was especially apparent on the vexed question of the movement's preparedness to avoid martyrdom by responding to anticipated state violence in kind.

The chapter concludes by considering the use of Shelley in the context of one Chartist newspaper in particular: the *Western Vindicator*. I show how the *Vindicator*'s editor, Henry Vincent, responded to his imprisonment for seditious speech by using lines from *Queen Mab* as epigraphs to the series of letters he wrote from prison. I argue that Vincent's use of Shelley's poem deploys its reputation as a suppressed text in objecting to his own status as political prisoner. It also, however, has implications for *Queen Mab*'s critique of religion, as the poem becomes associated with Vincent's critique of established Christianity and so brought within a Chartist position of radical Christianity.

Chapter five examines a key trope of Chartism's rhetoric: that of the lion rising from slumber and shaking the dew from his mane. Chartists combined Shelley's lion image with a more martial image from Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*. The rising lion image proved useful in discussion of issues like Chartist agency; the relation between O'Connor and Chartism's vitality, for example, was described by Chartists in terms of the 'caged lion' becoming the 'lion of freedom' on his release from prison, an event they hoped would 'rouse' Chartism from its slumber in the early 1840s. I trace the attachment of the rising lion image to O'Connor, as well as a working-class political agency and physical aggression from 1838. Chartists also used the lion image, I argue, to rebut charges made by Thomas Carlyle in his essay

*Chartism*.[86] This latter example revolved around the issue of vocal agency: the Chartist lion roars meaningfully, where Carlyle only allowed the working class an 'inarticulate uproar' that was to be translated by qualified political commentators like Carlyle himself. I also argue that Shelley's poem would itself have represented a problem for Chartists in this respect, given the limited modes of articulation *Mask* allowed the working class.

Chapter six discusses the fiction of Thomas Martin Wheeler in the context of late Chartism. I argue that 'Sunshine and Shadow', published in the *Northern Star*, was heavily indebted to Shelley's *Queen Mab* but that Wheeler's use of Shelley's narrative structure and images of historical process in writing a history of Chartism were creative. The novel was supposed to encourage the regeneration of Chartism, and Wheeler used its central visual tropes of the kaleidoscope and the phantasmagoria, combined with the image of the shipwreck, to imagine a reconfiguration of broken and scattered elements. I show how these images were derived from Shelley's poem, but also suggest that the novel reconsidered the potential of poetry and the imagination, and that Wheeler established a trajectory from poetry and immaturity to prose and maturity.

[86] Thomas Carlyle, *Chartism* in *Thomas Carlyle: Selected Writings*, ed by Alan Shelston (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1980), pp. 151–232.

# Chapter One: Shelley in the American Owenite periodical the *Free Enquirer*

## Introduction

My arguments regarding the reception and transmission of Shelley's poetry in Owenite journals and Chartist newspapers are grounded in the publication histories of both Shelley's poetry and of the journals and newspapers examined. I argue that it is necessary to understand the material conditions determining the transmission and reception of Shelley's writing in general in order to understand its transmission and reception in Owenite and Chartist print culture. As Rossington and Schmid noted in their introduction to *The Reception of P. B. Shelley in Europe*, 'readers rely on books' (p. 6). I suggest that the reception and transmission of Shelley in Owenism and Chartism depended on periodicals. The choices that members of these movements made between poems, or sections of poems, to serve particular ends depended on the possibilities that print culture created or closed off. This includes the price and availability of volumes of poetry, other means of dissemination such as newspapers and periodicals, and the political and legal context in which dissemination occurred.

The first section of this chapter, therefore, gives a publication history of Shelley's poetry used by the Owenites. It is organised by poems, noting the publication of major poems such as *Queen Mab*, as well as poems that were less present in the movement's print culture but which were also available for use. In the case of *Queen Mab*, the publication history includes an American imprint produced in 1830 by Robert Dale Owen, Robert Owen's son. The circumstances surrounding the production of this edition serve as a valuable counterpoint to those of the various British piracies produced in the decade before Robert Dale Owen's appeared. The second section of the chapter gives a more detailed account of how and why this edition was produced, showing how Robert Dale Owen's American Owenite periodical the *Free Enquirer* facilitated this production.

The *Free Enquirer* was not only instrumental in generating interest in the edition among potential subscribers, it also sought to present American readers with an Owenite version of Shelley. The paper's first editor, Robert Dale Owen, offered a reading of *Queen Mab* that stressed the importance of the poem's prose notes over its poetic images. I then situate his representation of Shelley's analysis of social discord in terms of the Owenites' involvement with the recently deradicalised Working Men's movement, arguing that Robert Dale Owen's version of Shelley was related to his own

view of class politics. The chapter concludes with analysis of the series of articles 'Sketches of the Lives, and Authentic Accounts of the Deaths of Modern Philosophers', which the atheist Henry D. Robinson revived during his editorship; the series only discussed Shelley.

**The publication history of Shelley's poetry for Owenism and Chartism**

As has been recognised by scholars who reported Medwin and Shaw's claims about the poem, *Queen Mab* was an important text for both Owenites and Chartists. The publication history of this poem has received sustained critical attention and is recounted in considerable detail by major critical editions of Shelley's poetry.[1] *Revolt*, *Prometheus Unbound*, and 'The Sensitive-Plant', however, appeared much more frequently in the *Crisis* and the *New Moral World* than in the Chartist press. I give the publication histories of these poems as well as *Queen Mab* in order to establish the influence of radicals and periodical culture in the dissemination of Shelley's poetry.

*Queen Mab* was the first of Shelley's poems to be pirated by working-class radicals. Shelley's own 1813 imprint of the poem was followed by two piracies in 1821: one by William Clark, and another by William Benbow in collaboration with George Cannon (also known as Erasmus Perkins).[2] According to Reiman and Fraistat, Benbow's edition 'not only stands as the first piracy to announce openly its use of *Queen Mab* for ideological warfare but also remains the most radical of the early piracies' (*CP*, II, 515). This was because the foreign language prose notes had been translated into English, as well as the volume's relative cheapness which made it available to people with little money.

Periodical culture played a key role in this early dissemination of *Queen Mab* within radicalism. Six years before the 1821 editions, the first issue of the *Theological Inquirer; or, Polemical Magazine* in March 1815 printed passages from the poem and commentary on it by 'F', or Robert C. Fair (McCalman, pp. 80–81). According to Michael Scrivener, Fair was 'the most Shelleyan of artisan poets before the

[1] For accounts of the poem's publication within radical circles, see McCalman, *Radical Underworld* and St Clair, *Reading Nation*. The editors of *CP* give extensive notes on the publication histories of individual poems; for *Queen Mab* this is *CP*, II, 507–19.

[2] See William St Clair, *The Godwins and the Shelleys: The Biography of a Family* (London: Faber and Faber, 1990), pp. 512–18, and *CP*, II, 513–14. St Clair has Benbow's edition preceding Clark's; Reiman and Fraistat think the opposite, agreeing with 'received opinion' (*CP*, II, 513). My account of this history is mainly based on that given in *CP*.

Chartists'.[3] The radical Richard Carlile also ensured that readers of his journal the *Republican* were frequently exposed to *Queen Mab* via excerptions and commentary on the poem, and he produced important piracies of the poem from 1822 onwards.[4]

During Carlile's imprisonment for seditious libel his wife, Jane Carlile, published her own edition in 1832 (St Clair, *Reading*, p. 681). According to Harry Buxton Forman, Jane Carlile's edition of the poem was 'largely consumed by the Owenites', and that the volume 'facilitated the studies of both the special sect of Owenites and of the general body of radicals to whom *Queen Mab* was now appealing in all seriousness' because it relocated the poem's prose notes from the end of the volume 'to the position of foot-notes'.[5] For Neil Fraistat, Jane's edition '[altered] the balance that Shelley had tried to create between the poem and the Notes', 'for both strategic and aesthetic reasons'.[6] This formal rearrangement of the material text would have facilitated the study of not only Shelley's poem and prose writings, but also the passages of scientific writing, materialist philosophy, and classical literature that he excerpted in support of his poetry.[7] As I suggested in the introduction, *Queen Mab*'s importance can be considered in terms of the ways in which it facilitated working-class autodidacticism in the period.

These editions predated the publication of Owenite periodicals and Chartist newspapers of the 1830s and 1840s, and were part of the radical canon on which those movements drew (*CP*, II, 521). The radical practice of publishing *Queen Mab* did, however, continue during this period as members of the movements produced their own editions. As noted in the introduction, James Watson produced the 'Chartist' edition of *Queen Mab* in 1839 with Henry Hetherington (St Clair, *Reading*, p. 681). We can trace a lineage from Clark's early edition of 1821 to those produced by the Chartists. Carlile produced his edition from Clark's unsold sheets, acquired when Clark was convicted of seditious libel for publishing the poem (*CP*, II, 509–10). The stock and stereotyped plates of Jane Carlile's 1832 edition were acquired in 1833 by

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[3] Michael Scrivener, 'Shelley and Radical Artisan Poetry', *Keats-Shelley Journal*, 42 (1993), 22–36 (p. 30).

[4] For Carlile's attitude towards Shelley, see Murphy, *Toward a Working-Class Canon*, pp. 98–100. Joel H. Wiener also notes Carlile's edition of *Queen Mab* in *Radicalism and Freethought in Nineteenth-Century Britain: The Life of Richard Carlile* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1983), p. 68, 123.

[5] Harry Buxton Forman, *The Vicissitudes of Shelley's Queen Mab: A Chapter in the History of Reform* (London: Privately Printed, 1887), p. 20.

[6] Neil Fraistat, 'The Material Shelley: Who Gets the Finger in Queen Mab?', *The Wordsworth Circle*, 33 (2002), 33–36 (p. 34).

[7] These included 'Light' in William Nicholson's *The British Encyclopedia, or Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* (1809); Holbach's *Système de la Nature* (1781); and Homer's *Iliad*. (*CP*, II, 595–615)

the publisher John Brooks, who produced his own edition that same year. From Brooks, the plates passed to Hetherington and Watson (*CP*, II, 515–16).

If Forman thought Jane Carlile's edition of the poem was 'largely consumed by the Owenites', there is also another candidate for an Owenite edition of the text belonging to a different lineage.[8] According to Medwin, the copy of *Queen Mab* that Owen picked up during their meeting in which he described the poem as 'the basis of one of his chief tenets' was published by Brooks, 'the publisher if not the printer of the Owenites' (p. 98, 100). In his account of this episode in *Shelley and His Circle, 1773–1822*, Kenneth Neill Cameron traces this lineage: John Brooks had acquired from Shelley's landlord, Robert Madocks, a copy of the 1813 edition containing Shelley's revisions to the text.[9] Brooks published the work in 1829, which predates the edition he produced from Jane Carlile's plates in 1833. Owenites, therefore, could choose between two editions of *Queen Mab* by Brooks as their finances allowed: the 'very handsome'1829 edition for nine shillings, or the reprint of the 1832 Carlile edition for one shilling and six pence.[10] Eileen Yeo noted that 'Owenite culture was intended to inculcate brotherly communal feeling' across classes, but also that the cost of participation for Owenites at Owen's Institutions in London 'had been fairly high [...] far beyond the means of any of the lower-paid workers in the sweated or dishonourable branches' of the sweated trades.[11] Kalim noted that Shelley was the only poet mentioned in an advertisement in the *Crisis* of 9 March 1833 for books that should be read by 'all persons, particularly those of reflective mind' (p. 11). In view of these arguments, it made sense to have copies of reading material important to Owenite culture, such as *Queen Mab*, at various prices that made it accessible to all.

Another reason for examining the 1829 Brooks edition (which has attracted less critical attention than the editions that participated in the other lineage of the

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[8] According to Charles H. Taylor, textual variants 'which survived in Ascham (and subsequently) are traceable only to Brooks': Charles H. Taylor, *The Early Collected Editions of Shelley's Poems: A Study in the History and Transmission of the Printed Text* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958), p. 28. John Ascham was another publisher of *Queen Mab*, to be discussed later.

[9] *Shelley and His Circle, 1773–1822*, ed. by Kenneth Neill Cameron and others, 6 vols (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1961), IV (1970), 489–93. The copy described by Medwin was in The Carl H. Pforzheimer Library, where it was consulted by Cameron for *Shelley and His Circle*. Cameron's account is somewhat misleading in introducing Medwin's anecdote regarding the copy of *Queen Mab* that he picked up at the Owenite Chapel on Charlotte Street, suggesting that it is the same copy Medwin saw 'revised in Shelley's hand' (p. 489). The revised copy, however, was the subject of another anecdote, in which Medwin paid 'more than one visit' to Brooks and saw Shelley's amendments to the text (Medwin, p. 99). Reiman and Fraistat have Madocks as Shelley's 'handyman and the agent for his landlord in Marlow' rather than his landlord (*CP*, II, 515).

[10] See Harry Buxton Forman, *The Shelley Library: An Essay in Bibliography* (London: Reeves and Turner, 1886), pp, 54–55. Forman quoted the prices from Brooks's advertisement on the verso wrapper of an 1833 Brooks edition in his possession.

[11] Yeo, 'Robert Owen', p. 96, 94. Yeo's source was an article in the *Crisis* from 1833.

poem) is that its production gives us an opportunity to re-examine Medwin's description of *Queen Mab* as the Owenites' 'gospel'. As noted by Reiman and Fraistat, 'Brooks's edition follows *1813* closely but not uncritically: rarely emending the text of the poem proper, it is somewhat freer with the notes' (*CP*, II, 515). The original volume of *Queen Mab* that Brooks based his edition on, however, had been revised by Shelley 'and enriched with many additions and corrections' (*Shelley and His Circle*, IV, 490). Despite this, Brooks did not accept Shelley's revisions thereby neglecting to offer the world an alternative text to other piracies and the 1813 edition.[12] Medwin's explanation was as follows:

> That Mr Brooks (he was the publisher if not the printer of the Owenites) did not make use of the *refacciamenti* [*sic*] or *pentimente* [*sic*] in his numerous reprints of *Queen Mab* may easily be conceived, for these very alterations were the only objectionable parts to him, and *he would have thought it a sacrilege to have struck out a word of the original text, much less the notes*. *Queen Mab* is indeed the gospel of the sect.[13]

This passage is worth quoting at greater length than usual, because it shows that Medwin saw textual fidelity as the sign of Owenites' reverence for Shelley. As I will argue throughout the thesis, Owenites and Chartists did not place this much stock in Shelley's images as he phrased them. Owenites, as noted in the introduction, typically viewed Shelley's merit as making the 'greatest approach in benevolence' to Owen, who gave greater clarity to Shelley's principles in his own theories.[14] For their part, Chartists appeared to have been more given to creatively altering Shelley's images than Owenites, as I will show in later chapters. Neither the Owenites nor the Chartists bore a Hebraic attitude towards Shelley's poetry as the literal word of God.

Though less present in radical circles in volume form, *Revolt* followed a similar trajectory in its publication history. As Reiman and Fraistat noted, the *Republican* printed the Spencean radical and poet Allen Davenport's opinion that there was 'no reason why *The Revolt of Islam* should not follow *Queen Mab* into the hands of the mechanic and the labourer' (*CP*, III, 594). It did so via Brooks's edition of 1829, and periodicals such as the *Crisis* and *New Moral World*.

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[12] Shelley's revisions of the text (images of pages as well as transcripts) can be found in *Shelley and His Circle*, IV, 514–68. The text of *Queen Mab* in *CP* is accompanied by footnotes detailing (besides those of other publishers) the alterations Brooks made to the poem, showing that these were very minor alterations to spelling, punctuation, and some line breaks.

[13] Medwin, p. 100 (my emphasis). According to the *OED*, 'rifacimenti' means 'reworkings', and 'pentimenti' means 'alterations'.

[14] 'A Review of Modern Poets, and Illustrations of the Philosophy of Modern Poetry. Article I.—Shelley', *New Moral World*, 1 December 1838, pp. 83–85 (p. 83).

*Revolt* was first published in December 1817, under its original title *Laon and Cythna*. Under pressure from the poem's printer and publisher, Shelley revised the text to soften its criticisms of Christianity and to change the nature of the relationship between its eponymous figures from incestuous to one more conventionally romantic (*Poems*, II, 15–17). The poem was then published by Charles and James Ollier in January 1818 as *The Revolt of Islam*. The authorized edition did not sell well, and it was initially thought by contemporaries that *Revolt* was 'doomed to languish forever underappreciated because of its complexity and obscurity' (*CP*, III, 592). Owenism confounded this prediction, as the poem became a key text for the movement.

The Owenites also produced a volume of rational and secular hymns which included passages from both *Revolt* and *Queen Mab*.[15] Another source of *Revolt* for Owenites is likely to have been their own periodicals. Owenites did not only have Brooks's edition of the poem to read but also their periodicals, in which passages from the poem appeared. The passage in *Revolt* that appeared most frequently in the *New Moral World* comprised four lines from Cythna's speech to the inhabitants of the Golden City, in which she predicts the benefits of rational and imaginative endeavours (V. 2253–56). These lines account for nearly a third of all quotations from the poem in the *New Moral World*, at least six references over the periodical's print run.[16]

I suggest that rather than thinking about appearances of Shelley's poetry in periodicals in terms of a linear source of transmission — from authorised or unauthorised editions to the periodical — we consider the process of transmission in terms of multiple sources coexisting in practice. It is likely that producers of and contributors to the periodical took both volumes of poetry and periodicals as sources. In the case of the passage noted above, it seems likely that it became a tradition in Owenite discourse (both oral and print) to reference those lines. The range of quotations from *Revolt* in the *New Moral World* over its print run, however, shows

[15] *Social Hymns for the Use of the Friends of the Rational System of Society. Published by the 'Association of All Classes of All Nations', at the office, Great George Street, Salford* (1838). The page before the Preface carries lines from *Queen Mab* (V. 251–59). Hymn 61 gives lines from *Revolt* (V. 2182–211). Hymn 62 gives lines from *Revolt* (V. 2212–41).

[16] 'Association of All Classes of All Nations', *New Moral World*, 28 November 1835, pp. 34–35; W. W. Pratt, 'On the Necessity and Pleasures of Agricultural Employment', *New Moral World*, 16 June 1838, pp. 265–66; W. W. P., 'Woman as She is, and as She Ought to Be', *New Moral World*, 26 January 1839, pp. 210–11; 'The Pleasures and Advantages of Knowledge', *New Moral World*, 12 September 1840, pp. 166–68; 'Partial Remedies', *New Moral World*, 30 December 1843, pp. 212–14; and 'Torrington Hall', *New Moral World*, 19 July 1845, pp. 453–54.

that contributors did not limit their use of the poem to passages they encountered in the *New Moral World*; they must also have consulted the poem as a whole.[17]

Besides the long poems discussed above, the *Crisis* and *New Moral World* also featured some of Shelley's shorter poems, such as 'The Sensitive-Plant'. Those poems would have been available to Owenites via collected editions in various forms. *Prometheus Unbound* was first published in 1820, and included 'The Sensitive-Plant'. According to Kelvin Everest, Benbow produced two piracies of the text as a single volume in July 1826 (*Poems*, II, 463). I have been unable to consult a copy of Benbow's edition to verify whether or not it included the shorter poems that were published with *Prometheus Unbound* in 1820.[18] Both *Prometheus Unbound* (in part or in whole) and the shorter poems of that volume, however, appeared in unauthorised collected works.

Mary Shelley edited the first authorised collected works *Posthumous Poems of Percy Bysshe Shelley* (1824). This volume brought together shorter poems that had been published previously in the *Alastor* (1816), *Rosalind and Helen* (1819), and *Prometheus Unbound* (1820) volumes. As with *Queen Mab*, an edition produced by Shelley or his circle was subsequently pirated by radicals. Benbow effectively pirated *Posthumous Poems* in 1826 in the volumes *Miscellaneous and Posthumous Poems of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, and the 'shorter one on inferior paper' *Miscellaneous Poems by Percy Bysshe Shelley*.[19]

*Posthumous Poems* was followed from 1829 by various collections which brought these shorter poems together with longer poems such as *Queen Mab*, *Revolt*, *Epipsychidion*, and *Prometheus Unbound*.[20] These collections can be divided into two camps: the 'unobjectionable' versions, and those that did not bowdlerize Shelley's poetry on the grounds of decency. Several publishers produced volumes with the title *The Beauties of Shelley*, which combined the shorter poems with versions of *Queen Mab* '*free from the objectionable passages*' (original emphasis).[21] Others, like the pornographer John Ascham, offered readers *The Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley* with

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[17] See the appendix for a full list of references.

[18] These poems were 'The Sensitive-Plant', 'A Vision of the Sea', 'Ode to Heaven', 'An Exhortation', 'Ode to the West Wind', 'An Ode, written October, 1819, before the Spaniards had recovered their Liberty', 'The Cloud', 'To a Sky-Lark', and 'Ode to Liberty'.

[19] Stephen C. Behrendt, 'The History of Shelley Editions in English', in *The Reception of P. B. Shelley in Europe* (pp. 9–25), p. 16.

[20] Taylor gave a detailed account of the form, content, and provenance of these piracies in *The Early Collected Editions*, pp. 11–33.

[21] For a recent examination of the Beauties anthologies, see Daniel Cook, 'The Beauties of Byron and Shelley', in *Romantic Adaptations: Essays in Mediation and Remediation*, ed. by Cian Duffy and others (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 87–100.

the 'objectionable passages' present. Another notable edition of this period was the French pirate Galignani's collected works *The Poetical Works of Coleridge, Shelley, and Keats* (1829), which brought together Shelley's longer poems, such as *Queen Mab*, *Revolt*, and *Prometheus Unbound*, and the shorter poems in *Posthumous Poems* (St Clair, *Reading Nation*, p. 302).

When 'Concordia' used lines from the 'The Sensitive-Plant' in her contributions to the *Crisis* in July 1833 she may have encountered the poem in one of these piracies.[22] Volumes of Shelley's poetry whether authorised or unauthorised, however, were not the only sources of Shelley's poetry for these audiences. Periodicals were other sources for at least excerpts from Shelley's poems. Karsten Klejs Engelberg noted in his annotated bibliography of Shelley criticism that Thomas Medwin's series 'Memoir of Shelley' in the *Athenaeum* between 21 July and 25 August 1832 quoted lines from a range of Shelley's poems, and 'The Sensitive-Plant' appeared in full in the *Penny Novelist: A Weekly Magazine of Tales, Fictions, Poetry, and Romance* on 17 September 1832.[23]

Periodical culture must be recognised as playing an important role in the dissemination of Shelley's poetry, even when the sheer scale of the archive makes it impossible to determine definite routes of transmission. It is possible that more readers encountered poems such as 'The Sensitive-Plant' in the pages of a periodical than via authorised or unauthorised editions. Neil Fraistat pointed out that 'the lyrics of [*Posthumous Poems*] took on a cultural life of their own' in forms such as periodicals, though the volumes were not widely available ('Illegitimate Shelley', p. 412). Fraistat explained that Sir Timothy Shelley, the poet's father, had suppressed the dissemination of *Posthumous Poems* by threatening to withdraw Mary Shelley's allowance, and that Benbow's piracy was a commercial failure (p. 412, 415).

This history demonstrates the lack of a clear division between the authorised and unauthorised texts. In his own lifetime, Shelley had 'actively collaborated with Cannon and Fair on the selections from his work in *Theological Inquirer*'.[24] Brooks had used remaindered sheets from the suppressed *Laon and Cythna* in his edition of *Revolt*, thereby putting back into circulation the version that Shelley (though not his

[22] Concordia, 'For the Crisis', *Crisis*, 6 July 1833, pp. 205–06.
[23] Karsten Klejs Engelberg, *The Making of the Shelley Myth: An Annotated Bibliography of Criticism of Percy Bysshe Shelley, 1822–1860* (London: Mansell, 1988), pp. 200–01, 204.
[24] *CP*, II, 508. For an account of the personal relationships between Shelley and such radicals during this period, see McCalman, *Radical Underworld*, pp. 79–85.

publishers) was happy to see in print.[25] When Mary Shelley edited *The Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley* in 1839 she was dependent on Brooks and Ascham's piracies for the text of *Queen Mab*, since she did not have her own copy of the 1813 edition (*CP*, II, 509, 515–17). According to Taylor, some of the variants Brooks introduced to the text passed through Ascham's editions to the version in *Poetical Works* (*Early*, p. 51). Mary Shelley also relied on Galignani and Ascham's editions of Shelley's poetry when editing *Revolt* for the same edition (*CP*, III, 584).

The history of Shelley publication in this period also exposes the fluidity between the unrespectable Shelley (consolidated by association with publishers such as Ascham) and the respectable Shelley that Mary Shelley attempted to establish after the poet's death. According to Reiman and Fraistat, *Queen Mab* was the poem 'most responsible for keeping his reputation alive — however notoriously — between 1824 and 1839, when Sir Timothy Shelley prevented Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley from publishing any of his poetry' (*CP*, II, 161). It was not, however, to the poem's credit that Shelley's reputation remained vital after his death, but to that of the radicals who risked and incurred prison sentences by publishing it.

Mary Shelley's intention for *Posthumous Poems*, as she wrote to Leigh Hunt, was for the volume to show how Shelley 'could write without shocking anyone' (Fraistat, 'Illegitimate', p. 410). Mary Shelley's efforts to rehabilitate Shelley's reputation and Sir Timothy's attempt to quash it altogether, however, came to nothing. By 1832, Ascham's edition of *Queen Mab* had established the popularity and profitability of the poem among at least radical audiences, and limiting public exposure of Shelley's work was no longer tenable. In 1838, Sir Timothy's lawyers gave Mary Shelley 'permission to prepare a proper edition provided there was only a minimum of biographical information' (St Clair, *The Godwins*, p. 491). Her aim in editing the *Poetical Works* was to establish Shelley's mainstream reputation as a great poet, which, given the opprobrium already heaped on him by his contemporary reviewers and the association of his work with the pornographers and advocates of birth-control who had pirated it, led her to excise atheistic passages from *Queen Mab*.[26] Mary Shelley, therefore, 'brought Shelley into the mainstream of the national

[25] The account given in *CP* agrees with Forman's conclusion, on comparing various copies of Brooks's edition with both *Laon and Cythna* and *Revolt*, that 'copies of the 1829 issue of *The Revolt of Islam* not infrequently occur with *Laon and Cythna* text'. (Forman, *Shelley Library*, pp. 71–87 (p. 73); *CP*, III, 577)

[26] James Edgar Barcus, *Shelley: The Critical Heritage* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975). Wheatley offers an analysis of this contemporary reaction in *Shelley and His Readers*.

culture', making him 'acceptable by diluting the message' (St Clair, *The Godwins*, p. 492).

Edward Moxon published editions of *Poetical Works* from 1839. There were two versions of this work published in that year: a four volume edition costing twenty shillings of which 2,000 copies were printed, and a single volume for twelve shillings. Moxon sold many copies of the four volume edition 'shortly after publication at a trade sale at the unusually low price of 10.5 shillings, equivalent to an almost immediate remaindering' (St Clair, *Reading Nation*, p. 682). The text of *Queen Mab* in the four volume edition was not whole: 'Some passages of *Queen Mab* were blocked out with asterisks, and the notes cut back, partly because this was what Mary Shelley said Shelley would have wanted, but also in order to protect Moxon's copyright' (St Clair, *Reading Nation*, p. 682). According to law, 'a work of "injurious nature" was not entitled to legal protection, and could be published with impunity under copyright law', and the expurgated version of *Queen Mab* was intended to prevent piracy of this 'official' edition of Shelley's works.[27] Criticism of these alterations to the text resulted in the restoration of deleted passages in the single volume edition, for which Moxon was tried and found guilty of blasphemous libel in 1841. The case was brought by Henry Hetherington in order to 'derail his own trial by bringing another publisher into the conflict', probably in collaboration with 'a group of authors and booksellers' intending to prove that 'the law had always been enforced only against cheaper books'.[28] Even this 'respectable' edition of Shelley's poetry did not escape the orbit of radical publishers and audiences.

I draw three conclusions from the account above. One is that the transmission and reception of Shelley's poetry in Owenism and Chartism depended on both book volumes and periodical culture. Another is that there was a dialectical relationship between authorised and unauthorised editions, with unauthorised editions often driving the development of early Shelley readerships as well as aiding Mary Shelley in her production of authorised editions. Finally, the battle over Shelley's reputation waged by Shelley's circle, not entirely successfully in this period, was related to this relationship between authorised and unauthorised editions. Though the existence of conservative editions of Shelley's *Beauties* shows that the sanitisation of Shelley's oeuvre was in process by the 1830s, it would not be possible in this period to claim

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[27] Paul M. Zall, 'Lord Eldon's Censorship', *PMLA*, 68 (1953), 436–43 (p. 438).

[28] Joel H. Wiener, 'Hetherington, Henry (1792–1849)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13136> [accessed 20 Jan 2014]; St Clair, *Reading Nation*, p. 682.

Shelley as 'a beautiful *and ineffectual* angel'.[29] Attempts by Mary Shelley to establish Shelley as a respectable poet via her edited collections actually gave more ammunition to radicals in their ongoing conflict with the authorities over freedom of expression. She also gave them new poems, such as 'Song: To the Men of England' and 'A New National Anthem' in the two editions of *Poetical Works* in 1839; the former poem became a fixture in Chartist discourse as soon as it was available. I continue this line of argument in chapter four, with more emphasis on Chartist use of Shelley's *Mask* and 'Song: To the Men of England'.

**The first American edition of *Queen Mab***

The publication history of *Queen Mab* in America serves as an instructive comparison with its British counterpart. British Owenites in America produced the first American piracy of the poem a decade after their British counterparts. I give its publication history below and account for its differing context. As St Clair noted, Benbow's 1821 edition claimed to have been published in New York, but this was an act of subterfuge as its producers attempted to avoid the prosecution for sedition that befell Clark (*Reading Nation*, p. 315). Forman had doubted that Benbow's edition was the first American one as early as 1886, and George T. Goodspeed identified Benbow as the printer in his 1939 article 'The "First American" *Queen Mab*'.[30] Julia Power's book length study of 1964, however, took Benbow's to be the first American edition.[31] Owenism's role in disseminating Shelley's poem, therefore, was not recognised in her account. It is probable that Wright and Owen's edition of 1831 was the first edition of *Queen Mab*, published as a single volume, to be sold in America.

I searched for copies in the advertising columns of newspapers in the 'Early American Newspapers Series (1690–1877)' on the *America's Historical Newspapers* database, and found no advertisement before one in the *Rhode-Island Republican* on 25 June 1834.[32] Neither the *Bibliography of American Imprints to 1901* nor the *National Union Catalog pre-1956 Imprints* record an edition of the poem published in the U.S. before a Wright and Owen edition of 1831, which the *Catalog* notes was

[29] Matthew Arnold, 'Byron' in *Essays in Criticism: Second Series* (London: Macmillan, 1902), pp. 163–204 (pp. 203–04, original emphasis). See Cook (pp. 96–97) and Wheatley (pp. 74–75) for more detail on the moral import of 'beauty' in Shelley for reactionary readers.

[30] From the *Colophon*, New Graphic Series 1 (*CP*, II, 512). I have been unable to locate the article, so have constructed my own account of the true 'first American' *Queen Mab* without its help.

[31] Julia Power, *Shelley in America in the Nineteenth Century: His Relation to American Critical Thought and His Influence* (New York: Haskell House, 1964), p. 196.

[32] 'G. W. & A. J. Matsell', *Rhode-Island Republican*, 25 June 1834, p. 3.

the 'second edition'.[33] The Owenite edition of *Queen Mab* was available for purchase around two months after Galignani's *Poetical Works* was available in America.[34]

The source texts for Wright and Owen's *Queen Mab* appear to have been both the original of 1813 and a piracy from the Clark lineage, not the Brooks one of 1829 more closely associated with Owenite publishing. The title page of the Wright and Owen edition carries the same quotations from Voltaire, Lucretius, and Archimedes as the 1813 edition and notes below them that it was 'From the Original London Edition'.[35] Neither Clark's piracy, nor Brooks's of 1829, carried those quotations (*CP*, II, 164). In the few copies of Clark's edition that carry the dedication to Harriet, line 11 is rendered 'winding' rather than the original 'wilding' (*CP*, II, 523–24).[36] Wright and Owen's edition agrees with the original in this respect.

The main text of the poem and the prose notes, however, appear to have been based on Clark's piracy. Apart from occasional examples where Wright and Owen's *Queen Mab* follows the 1813 edition, it agrees in the main with Clark's alterations to the text identified in the notes to *CP*.[37] In the poem's prose notes, Wright and Owen's edition uses the translations of foreign language passages that appeared in Clark's edition rather than independent translations in Benbow's, often relocating them from the position of footnotes to replace the original text.[38] Forman noted that Wright and Owen's edition followed 'the pirates of England in substituting translations for Greek &c. in the Notes, and stick bravely to Clark's rendering of *cœteris paribus*' in note seven, but did not distinguish between Clark and Benbow's editions for other prose notes (*Shelley Library*, p. 54).

A similarity with the British context is the role that periodical culture played in the piracy of *Queen Mab*. Just as the British *Theological Inquirer* established enthusiasm for the poem by reprinting passages, leading to the first piracy of the poem in volume form, so too did the *Free Enquirer* in America. The *Free Enquirer* as the periodical of the Owenite movement in New York is discussed in greater detail

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[33] *National Union Catalog Pre-1956 Imprints*. vol 542, p. 688.

[34] "Galignani's edition" reported as 'just received' by Pishey Thompson in 'New Books', *Daily National Journal*, 2 October 1830, p. 1.

[35] Wright and Owen's title page also replicates the error in line 3 of the epigram from Lucretius's *De reum natura* (*Of the Nature of Things*), copying Shelley's error of 'juratque' for 'juvatque' (*CP*, II, 522).

[36] Reiman and Fraistat suggest that this error came from a copy of the 1813 edition of *Queen Mab* 'caught early in the print run', which Clark had consulted (*CP*, II, 524).

[37] For example, Wright and Owen's edition follows that of 1813 in the following lines: I. 190 ('brake'); IV. 38 ('deaf'ning'); and IV. 54 ('storm's').

[38] For note five, for example, Wright and Owen's edition follows Clark's in preferring Pope's translation of Homer's *Iliad* to Cowper's (as used by Benbow). Wright and Owen's edition replaces the original passage from Holbach's *Système de la Nature* with Clark's translation, where Clark had the translation as a footnote.

below. Here, I give an account of its role in the production of the first American edition of the poem as a single volume.

The *Free Enquirer* of 16 October 1830 began the process of production, when its editor in this period, Robert Dale Owen, included a notice requesting the return of his copy of the poem:

> I have lent to some one of my friends, and I cannot recollect to whom, the only copy I have of Shelley's 'QUEEN MAB'. Should this meet his eye, he would greatly oblige me by returning it, as I have some intentions of re-publishing the work.[39]

This alone suggests that British copies of the poem were hard to obtain in America, as does the inclusion of 'Liberty', 'To ——', and 'Good Night' in the *Free Enquirer* on 25 December 1830, since Robert Dale Owen 'did not obtain [his] copy of Queen Mab from the printer in time to give, this week, the extracts [he] intended'.[40] Just above the notice requesting the return of his copy of *Queen Mab* is an admission that Robert Dale Owen had 'been requested to publish' the poem by an unnamed person, and that production of this edition would depend on demand: 'If I can obtain subscribers for 200 copies, I will. I have not made an accurate calculation regarding the price; but it will be from 25 to 37 cents'.[41] This request may have been provoked by lines from *Queen Mab* appearing in the *Free Enquirer* early in 1829.[42]

On 13 November, the *Free Enquirer* noted that *Queen Mab* would soon be published, at the same time as Robert Dale Owen's *Moral Physiology* and Frances Wright's *A Few Days in Athens*; all three volumes could be bought together at the cost of one dollar.[43] *Queen Mab* was sold as part of a 'flourishing liberal book business'; from the date of its publication to July of 1831, 'over one thousand dollars was collected at the office of the *Free Enquirer* in the Hall of Science'.[44] According to *The New Encyclopedia of Unbelief*, Wright and Owen's reprints of works such as *Queen Mab* were 'arguably the first products of a dedicated US freethought press'.[45] Wright and Owen's two editions of *Queen Mab* were followed by at least three others by fellow freethinkers associated with free-thought periodicals: one in 1842 which

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[39] [Untitled], *Free Enquirer*, 16 October 1830, p. 408.
[40] 'Shelley's Poetry', *Free Enquirer*, 25 December 1830, p. 72.
[41] 'Proposals', *Free Enquirer*, 16 October 1830, p. 408.
[42] 'Extracts from "Queen Mab". By Percy Bysshe Shelley', *Free Enquirer*, 21 January 1829, p. 101; and 'Power', *Free Enquirer*, 25 February 1829, p. 144.
[43] 'Hall of Science', *Free Enquirer*, 13 November 1830, p. 24.
[44] Albert Post, *Popular Freethought in America, 1825–1850* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), pp. 41–42.
[45] Tom Flynn, '*Free Enquirer*, The', in *The New Encyclopedia of Unbelief*, ed. by Tom Flynn (Amherst, N.Y.: Prometheus Books, 2007), pp. 341–42 (p. 342).

was published at '"The Beacon" office', a free-thought paper; one in 1852 which was published at '"The Citizen of the World" Office'; and another associated with the *Boston Investigator*.[46]

The absence of a single volume edition of *Queen Mab* before 1830 should not be attributed to the difficulty in importing volumes from Europe or Britain. St Clair noted that American copyright law after Independence explicitly excluded non-American editions from protection (*Reading Nation*, p. 382). This act not only encouraged the legal 'pirating' of British works, but also produced an explosion in the number of printers, with the number in Philadelphia doubling between 1790 and 1805 (*Reading Nation*, pp. 382–83). Wright and Dale Owen's own imprint was issued from New York, as we might expect given the fact that the *Free Enquirer* was based there, but American editions of Galignani's *The Poetical Works of Coleridge, Shelley, and Keats* were also published in several cities on the East coast: New York, Boston, and Philadelphia.

Since the American reprints of Romantic works were cheaper than American works to which copyright law applied (around half the cost of those in Britain), 'Americans of the romantic period had easier access to the literature being written in Great Britain than most of their contemporaries across the ocean' (*Reading Nation*, p. 386). The American editions of Galignani's *The Poetical Works of Coleridge, Shelley, and Keats* 'were available to mainstream readerships in the United States a generation before they reached such audiences in Britain' (*Reading Nation*, p. 387). Galignani's volume was the model for an American imprint, first appearing in Philadelphia in 1831. The edition stereotyped by J. Howe and published in 1831 appears to have been reset, but reproduces the order of poems in the Galignani edition exactly, even copying the publisher's note after the list of poems without acknowledging the change in publisher. The Library of Congress has a copy in its John Davis Batchelder Collection, for which many items were acquired due to 'their connection with famous people'.[47] That copy's title page bears the name of John Cleves Short, a lawyer and judge who was the nephew and son-in-law of the ninth president, William Henry Harrison. This edition took *Queen Mab* into the heart of

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[46] Percey [*sic*] Bysshe Shelley, *Queen Mab; With Notes. Third Edition* (New York: Published at "The Beacon" Office, 1842); Percey [*sic*] Bysshe Shelley, *Queen Mab; With Notes. Fourth Edition* (New York: Published at "The Citizen of the World" Office, 1852); and Percy Shelley, *Queen Mab: With Notes* (Boston: J. P. Mendum, at the office of "Boston Investigator", 18—).

[47] 'Selected Special Collections. Rare Book and Special Collections Reading Room: John Davis Batchelder Collection', *Library of Congress* <http://www.loc.gov/rr/rarebook/coll/024.html> [accessed 2 January 2014]

the American establishment, at a time when the poem was associated with radical or working-class readers in Britain.

As a volume, then, *Queen Mab* occupied different positions and played different roles in Britain and America in the first half of the nineteenth century. American law encouraged the publication of British Romantic poetry via its intellectual copyright law, whereas the British state tried actively to suppress works that were politically dangerous and attractive to radicals. Since the French Revolution, and especially after the Peterloo Massacre, print culture was the site of conflict between radicals and the British authorities, who prosecuted sellers and publishers of 'seditious' works.[48] The raft of legislation in the wake of the Peterloo Massacre was intended to police not only mass meetings and demonstrations, but also the press.[49] British piracies of *Queen Mab* not only emerged in this context, but the importance that the poem accrued was constituted by that context.

By contrast, the First Amendment to the United States Constitution protected Americans' rights to the free exercise of religion and the freedom of the press. This had its roots in Thomas Jefferson's successful effort to change the law of Virginia, which determined that 'anyone who fell away from Christian beliefs would [...] lose custody of children'.[50] Such a law may have afforded Shelley himself with some protection in the chancery suit brought by his father-in-law which deprived him of custody of his children by Harriet Westbrook, a suit in which *Queen Mab* was adduced as evidence against him.[51]

### Robert Dale Owen's use of Shelley in the *Free Enquirer*

Although Robert Dale Owen described the British Owenite and feminist Frances Wright as 'my sister editor' in the *Free Enquirer*, Wright's editorial involvement in the publication was minimal.[52] Robert Dale Owen's biographer, Richard William Leopold, noted that the decision to move the paper from the Owenite community Nashoba in Tennessee to New York from October 1828 was Wright's, following her

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[48] Besides Gilmartin, *Print Politics*; Behrendt, *Romanticism, Radicalism, and the Press*; and Haywood, *The Revolution in Popular Literature*; see Paul Keen, *The Crisis of Literature in the 1790s: Print Culture and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

[49] William H. Wickwar, *The Struggle for the Freedom of the Press, 1819–1832* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1928), pp. 136–41.

[50] Kathleen de Grave and Earl Lee, 'American Literature, Unbelief In', in *The New Encyclopedia of Unbelief*, pp. 46–51 (p. 46).

[51] James Bieri, *Percy Bysshe Shelley: A Biography: Exile of Unfulfilled Renown, 1816–1822* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005), pp. 27–31.

[52] [Untitled], *Free Enquirer*, 23 October 1830, p. 409.

successful lecturing tour in the East.[53] Since Wright's 'lecture tours and personal affairs kept her constantly out of New York', the responsibility of editing the *Free Enquirer* fell to Robert Dale Owen (Leopold, p. 66).

As soon as the first American edition of *Queen Mab* was available for purchase, the *Free Enquirer* published a précis of its plot with extracts from the poem.[54] Robert Dale Owen began by noting that in Shelley's 'poetical fable [...] the poet describes, with a glowing pencil, the evils and miseries which kingcraft and priestcraft, have, from the remotest ages till now, scattered over the earth' (p. 73). While the evils of 'kingcraft' would appear to have little relevance for an audience in the American republic, Robert Dale Owen made the machinations of 'priestcraft' the focus of his article. He presented the poem as illustrating four key issues: the force of custom on human behaviour; the effects of commerce on mankind; the effects of commerce on marriage; and 'the frightful influence of superstition' or organized religion (p. 74).

The article's first extensive quotation from *Queen Mab* illustrates a key Owenite tenet: the pernicious influence of customary thinking on social forms (III. 85–106). According to Shelley, all of society was thus affected: the 'tyrant',

> like the vulgar, thinks, feels, acts and lives
> Just as his father did; the unconquered powers
> Of precedent and custom interpose
> Between a *king* and virtue (III. 96–99, original emphasis.)

Given Owen's belief that 'character is universally formed *for* and not *by* the individual', this passage from Shelley's poem would have been philosophically agreeable to Owenites.[55] Owen's belief demanded a particular attitude from his followers: that of not blaming the privileged for their advantages or being angry with them for injustice that flowed from inequality. In lines just before those selected by Robert Dale Owen, Shelley described the King's inability to enjoy his luxuries (III. 44–64). Owen similarly lectured on the inability of the King or Prime Minister to '[possess] any other than the most paltry enjoyments', since they were 'incessantly counteracted by the annoyances created by those who are either dependent upon, or

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[53] Richard William Leopold, *Robert Dale Owen: A Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940), p. 62.

[54] 'Queen Mab', *Free Enquirer*, 1 January 1831, pp. 73–74. These passages were III. 85–106; IV. 89–120; V. 79–121; V. 177–96; part of the ninth prose note ('Even love is sold'), pp. 368–73; VII. 1–48; part of the thirteenth prose note ('There is no god!'), pp. 381–91; and IX. 57–92.

[55] Robert Owen, *An Address Delivered to the Inhabitants of New Lanark, on the First of January, 1816, at the Opening of the Institution Established for the Formation of Character* (London: Longman, 1817), p. 33 (original emphasis).

envious of, such supposed advantages. They are entitled to our sympathy; not blame; we should have acted the same, under similar circumstances'.[56] Finally, an article in the *New Moral World* upheld Shelley himself as proof that poor democrats did not have a monopoly on 'exalted aspiration for the good of their species': 'Let us not forget that Shelley and Byron were of the aristocracy'.[57] The lesson to be drawn from such statements was that since everyone was affected negatively by social conflict then all were redeemable and could play a part in its regeneration. Antipathy and blame had no place in a movement dedicated to bringing about the new moral world.

Robert Dale Owen's précis of *Queen Mab* argued that: 'A review of the wretched condition of man leads to the enquiry whether such a state of things is necessary and irremediable, or incidental, and to be reformed by increasing knowledge' (p. 73). Such was the Owenite diagnosis of the problem, but if all were miseducated and damaged by custom then where would the cure come from? How could it even be recognised by those suffering from social delusions? The next extract from the poem presents the solution by opposing this subversion enacted by poisonous social habits with Nature, who did not discriminate against mankind in endowing her riches:

> Hath Nature's soul,
> That formed this world so beautiful, that spread
> Earth's lap with plenty
> [...]
> on man alone,
> Partial in causeless malice, wantonly
> Heaped ruin, vice, and slavery. (IV. 89–91, 97–99)

For Shelley, this was instead the fault of 'Kings, priests, and statesmen', whose rule corrupted humans from infancy as children were educated into violence (IV. 104). Religious education in this formative period excused such behavior:

> [...] specious names,
> Learnt in soft childhood's unsuspecting hour,
> Serve as the sophisms with which manhood dims
> Bright reason's ray, and sanctifies the sword
> Upraised to shed a brother's innocent blood.
> Let priest-led slaves cease to proclaim that man
> Inherits vice and misery, when force
> And falsehood hang even o'er the cradled babe,
> Stifling with rudest grasp all natural good. (IV. 112–20)

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[56] 'Robert Owen's Lecture', *Crisis*, 25 May 1833, pp. 154–55 (p. 155).
[57] D., 'The Aristocracy', *New Moral World*, 9 February 1839, pp. 241–42 (p. 242).

Shelley rejects the doctrine of original sin as an explanation for human wrong doing: 'Let priest-led slaves cease to proclaim that man/ Inherits vice and misery'. Eating from the tree of knowledge would not cause harm but would counter this vice and misery. The natural world is associated instead with enlightenment rationality: 'bright reason's ray' is 'dimmed' and made less visible by the lies of priestcraft. This is the reason that Robert Dale Owen could present the passage as evidence that society was 'to be reformed by increasing knowledge', in opposition to the clerisy's specious 'knowledge'.

The lines Robert Dale Owen chose to reprint associated the two realms with different sensory phenomena by which they could be identified: corrupted society could be identified by discordant or misleading sounds and positive nature by clear visions. Subsequent passages selected by Robert Dale Owen consolidate this association of misleading words and names with error and suffering. In the penultimate extract Ianthe details a childhood memory of seeing an atheist burned to death, and Mab explains the event's meaning (VII. 1–48). Where the witnessing 'multitude was gazing silently', the atheist himself has a meaningful gaze: 'tempered disdain in his unaltering eye,/ Mixed with a quiet smile, shone calmly forth' (VII. 4, 6–7). His 'death-groan' is the first association of religion, suffering, and vocalization in the passage, succeeded by the crowd's 'cry of triumph'; the Brahmins' 'sacred hymn' that '[mingled] with the groans' of the Juggernaut's victims; the 'cries of female helplessness'; and Earth's 'groans beneath religion's iron age' while 'priests babble of a God of peace' (VII. 11–44). In her speech Mab describes the effects of organised religion: 'The name of God/ Has fenced about all crimes with holiness'. These names were legion ('Seeva, Buddh, Foh, Jehova, God, or Lord') and served as 'desolation's watch-word', initiating their users into suffering (VII. 26–33).

The only statement regarding religion worth making, according to this passage, is Mab's simple statement 'there is no God' (VII. 13). The atheist does not speak; his gaze, borrowing the imagery of rational light, 'shone' meaningfully. Mab points at the proof in Nature which 'confirms the faith [the atheist's] death-groan sealed' (VII. 14). The chain of cause and effect disproves the existence of God as the first cause:

> Let every part depending on the chain
> That links it to the whole, point to the hand
> That grasps its term! let every seed that falls
> In silent eloquence unfold its store
> Of argument. (VII. 17–21)

Prose note thirteen offers material in support of this passage. Most of the thirteenth prose note reproduces the text of Shelley's early pamphlet *The Necessity of Atheism* (1811), which is followed by quotations from and discussion of Sir Isaac Newton's *Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica*, Holbach's *Système de la Nature*, Bacon's *Moral Essays*, Pliny's *Naturalis Historia*, Sir William Drummond's *Academical Questions*, and Spinosa's *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*.

In the prose note, Shelley quotes Newton's warning on the dangers of hypotheses unsupported by evidence in support of his own contention that 'God is an hypothesis, and, as such, stands in need of proof: the *onus probandi* rests on the theist' (*Poems*, I, 384). The 'seed that falls/ In silent eloquence' might refer to the apple in the story that Newton discovered the existence of gravity by observing its effect on a falling apple. *Queen Mab* the poem gives an image of a natural phenomenon that shows rather than tells the truth, and so is silently eloquent. Before this, *Queen Mab*'s fifth canto had established a connection between Newton and vision, wondering 'How many a Newton, to whose passive ken/ Those mighty spheres that gem infinity/ Were only specks of tinsel' as a result of the wastage of human potential (V. 143–45).

For Duffy, *Queen Mab* and this note in particular evidence Shelley's engagement with the British discourse on the sublime which offered 'the defeat of the understanding by natural grandeur' as 'evidence of the immanent presence of God in creation' (p. 13). For philosophers such as Thomas Reid and Archibald Alison, experience of the natural sublime confounded rational thought and it was imagination that enabled a person confronted with the unknowable to intuit or 'read the landscape of the natural sublime as the "signs" and "expressions" of Deity' (p. 17). For Duffy, this presented Shelley with a problem. On the one hand he was attracted to the radical implications of a materialist critique of this discourse, which rejected the idea of a creator-God as an anthropomorphic illusion. On the other, he regretted the implications that this position had for the imagination, where it is 'repeatedly denigrated as a dangerous source of error' (p. 20).

For Duffy, Shelley began to move in *Queen Mab* beyond an 'apparent tension in [his] early thought between the demands of a rationalist, empirical epistemology on the one hand, and the pleasures of the imagination on the other' (p. 21). The poem's second prose note suggests that error results from the 'failure to "*rightly* feel" the "mystery" of natural grandeur', implying that 'a *correct* affective response to the natural sublime has "no danger" of leading to a belief in God' (p. 25, original

emphasis). The poem's penultimate canto describes a utopian future in which 'reason and passion cease to combat' (Duffy, p. 26; VIII. 231). Duffy goes on to argue that this resolution did not, however, correlate to a gradualist and peaceful politics, but rather suggested an inhuman revolutionary logic to historical change. The utopian future Shelley describes was built on the ruins of oppression and secured by retributory violence (pp. 34–37).

This suggestion of violence is perhaps one reason for Robert Dale Owen's apparent lack of interest in Shelley's solution, for he did not quote Shelley on the need to '*rightly* feel', nor was he convinced by Shelley's vision of the future. Another likely reason is the legitimacy of poetic visions, *per se*. While Shelley '[exhibited] the scenes of the past and the present' in lines that Robert Dale Owen quoted in his article, he cast doubt on the value of Shelley's speculative utopian vision: 'from the dark pictures of the past and the present, Shelley passes to the contemplation of a glorious future. His coloring perhaps is too brilliant for truth; but poets and painters permit themselves such license' (p. 74). While Shelley's vision might yet materialize — 'who shall say whither the onward march of improvement [...] may not conduct us at last?' — the fact that it was speculative identified it with poetic license rather than truth as Robert Dale Owen understood it (p. 74). For Robert Dale Owen, therefore, Shelley's writings were resources of 'vivid sketches' illustrating current inequalities and oppression but also included speculative passages that he was reluctant to accept uncritically. Shelley's vision might be borne out by subsequent events but Robert Dale Owen did not see those events as being even partially dependent on Shelley articulating them in advance.

In his précis of *Queen Mab*, Robert Dale Owen used the poem to set up an opposition that would persist in Owenite discourse: between rationality that is characterized by vision ('bright reason's ray') and is more perfect the closer it is to silence, and confusion and suffering that is vocal. He could reasonably point to parts of Shelley's early poem in justifying this position, but not the whole if we accept Duffy's argument regarding the trajectory of *Queen Mab*. Robert Dale Owen uses *Queen Mab* to offer humans miseducated by custom a secular hermeneutics, a way of distinguishing between corrupted society and positive nature. Truth is self-evident while those who benefit from confusion deploy 'wordiness' to secure their rule: statesmen possess 'wordy eloquence', priests 'babble of a god of peace' and perpetuate their dominance with the lie of a creator-God. While the poet Shelley finds

a way to press imagination and poetry in the service of truth, the rationalist Robert Dale Owen remains suspicious of them.

He concluded the précis of *Queen Mab* by stating that 'the notes appended to the poem, *and which constitute perhaps its chief value*, occupy more than half the volume' (p. 74, my emphasis). The following week's edition of the *Enquirer* advertised the two new works, along with Frances Wright's *A Few Days in Athens*, and Robert Dale Owen repeated his praise of the notes:

> 'Queen Mab' is usually regarded as the finest and boldest of Shelley's works. The notes, comprehending as they do, some of the most powerful passages from the *System of Nature* and other *terrible* productions, have been much and I think justly admired.[58]

When Wright and Owen produced the second edition of their *Queen Mab*, they amended the 'Notice of Shelley' prefacing the text to note that: 'The little poem, now re-published, is especially valuable on account of the notes affixed to it'.[59]

Robert Dale Owen also expressed a view of poets as reflecting current events, rather than having any significant prophesying relation to them, in the article 'Of Divorces, Domestic and Governmental'.[60] The article, which appeared in the *Free Enquirer* after Robert Dale Owen had effectively stopped editing the paper, justified divorce and women's autonomy with reference to the logic of the American republic.[61] If 'George Washington and his brethren' had been justified in disobeying George the Third, then women in tyrannical marriages were justified in seeking divorces. Women suffering the 'capricious demands' of a domineering husband had a model for rebellion in the War of Independence: 'George Washington's example will justify domestic disobedience'. Americans who object to legislation acknowledging women's right to dissolve abusive marriages, are, therefore not only behind the times but unpatriotic and hypocritical: 'if all the divorced are to go to Hell, they will find those instigators of the Great National Divorce General Washington and his brave soldiers, there before them'.

Robert Dale Owen used quotations from the works of Shakespeare, St Paul, and Shelley to illustrate societal shifts in a way that saw writing as reflecting rather than constituting change. The article argued against the two passages used as epigraphs: Shakespeare's lines in *The Taming of the Shrew* on the duty 'a woman oweth to her husband' as 'the subject owes to the prince', and St Paul's advice in

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[58] 'The Three New Works', *Free Enquirer*, 8 January 1831, p. 88 (original emphasis).
[59] Percy Bysshe Shelley, *Queen Mab: With Notes* (New York: Wright & Owen, 1831), p. viii.
[60] R. D. O., 'Of Divorces. Domestic and Governmental', *Free Enquirer*, 25 February 1832, p. 141.
[61] For the editorial history of the *Free Enquirer*, see Post, pp. 41–44.

*Epistle to the Romans* that Christians submit to secular authorities since 'There is no power but of God'. According to Robert Dale Owen,

> Bards and hierophants have always written as it was the fashion to write [...] they have shaped their course, not by the compass of reason or the polar star of truth (pity the metaphor is so trite! 'tis a good one;) but to suit the capricious breeze that chanced to blow at the moment.

Robert Dale Owen not only denied verse any dialogic capacity in taking Shakespeare's lines at face value, he allowed it only a reflective capacity. Poets and the clerisy, dependent on the whims of public opinion and tythes, respectively, only voiced what is acceptable to their benefactors. They were not qualified to determine a course of action governed by objective scientific principles, as indicated by the use of 'compass' or 'polar star' to describe the route to truth. Shelley's writing, unlike Shakespeare or St Paul's, suited the values of the Republic because 'winds and fashions change; and sometimes for the better':

> So far as men are concerned then, we, in this republic, are pretty much disposed to adopt Shelley's powerful language:
>
> > The man
> > Of virtuous soul commands not, nor obeys.
> > Power, like a desolating pestilence,
> > Pollutes whate'er it touches; and obedience,
> > Bane of all genius, virtue, freedom, truth,
> > Makes slaves of men, and, of the human frame,
> > A mechanized automaton. (III. 174–80)

If Robert Dale Owen felt able to use Shelley's poetry as an illustration of a situation more to his liking, then Shelley deserved no more credit than to have articulated Enlightenment philosophy to which both men owed their insights. Since the American Republic was older than Shelley's lines, those lines paid tribute to its values. [62]

Robert Dale Owen used 'hierophant' in the older sense, as an authority figure of established religion. For Shelley in *A Defence of Poetry*, however, poets were 'the hierophants of an unapprehended inspiration [...] the unacknowledged legislators of the World' (*Norton*, p. 535). The *OED* lists Shelley's use of hierophant as the first to designate 'the minister of any "revelation"'. For Shelley, poets had both a prophetic capacity to imagine a better future and also acted to help bring that future about. The

[62] Power also claimed Shelley for America, as it was not only 'a land where he is appreciated not by "the few" but by the many', but also the birthplace of his grandfather, Bysshe Shelley (p. 1, 2–3).

*Defence* objected to the valorization of 'the accumulation of facts and calculating processes' over the imaginative faculty that Shelley thought stimulated action:

> There is no want of knowledge respecting what is wisest and best in morals, government, and political œconomy [...] We want the creative faculty to imagine that which we know; we want the generous impulse to act that which we imagine. (p. 530)

The two men had quite different conceptions of the agency of poets and poetry, and there is no sense here in which Robert Dale Owen would have submitted to Shelley's authority if he had been able to read the essay in the 1830s.[63]

**Robert Dale Owen, property, and class**

Robert Dale Owen's précis of *Queen Mab* also included a passage describing statesmen's 'wordy eloquence', as they 'boast/ Of wealth!' (v. 79–121). In this passage, the 'man of ease [...] is duped by their cold sophistry' (v. 103–08), which is a consequence of the comfortable man's life being limited to the 'bare fulfilment of the common laws/ Of decency and prejudice' (v. 105–06). The man of ease observes the customary yet inadequate demands of justice, and this limits his field of vision and experience to his own 'warm fire-side' (v. 103). This offers no protection from the 'wreck/ Of earthly peace' which drives the 'frightful waves' to his door: 'when his son/ Is murdered by the tyrant, or religion/ Drives his wife raving mad' (v. 109–13). The 'poor man', by contrast, 'little heeds/ The rhetoric of tyranny' (v. 113–21). He is confronted continuously by the sounds of suffering ('his famished offspring's scream') and the sights of oppression ('the proud rich man's eye/ Flashing command') (v. 116, 118–19). Different life experiences yield different interpretations of contemporary society; the poor man's experience, in this account, makes visible to him the disparity between the statesmen's claim and his own existence.

Robert Dale Owen, significantly, broke line 121 and so omitted Shelley's description of the poor man's response:

> [...] he little heeds
> The rhetoric of tyranny; his hate
> Is quenchless as his wrongs; he laughs to scorn
> The vain and bitter mockery of words,

[63] The *Defence* was not published in the year it was written, 1821, but in 1840 when Moxon published the Mary Shelley edited collection *Essays, Letters from Abroad, Translations and Fragments*. A possible alternative source for the word was in the writings of Thomas Jefferson, whom Owenite journals quoted favourably — '"We have given," as Jefferson expressed it "to the hierophants of our particular superstition slated and privileged days to collect and catechise us"': 'The Crisis', *Crisis*, 26 May 1832, pp. 34–35 (p. 35). See also B., 'President Jefferson, Thoughts on Religion', *Crisis*, 7 July 1832, p. 68.

> Feeling the horror of the tyrant's deeds,
> And unrestrained but by arm of power,
> That knows and dreads his enmity. (v. 120–26)

In the longer extract, the poor man is not just aware of injustice but hates it actively. His response is not dispassionate; if the statesmen 'boast of wealth', the poor scorn the lies that they experience as mockery. The oppressed and oppressors are locked in a relation of mutual enmity, as the 'arm of power' alone restrains the oppressed from opposing authority. Whereas Shelley recognised the awareness of the rich that they oppressed the poor, the true Owenite Robert Dale Owen does not acknowledge class conflict. Robert Dale Owen wished to present 'man' in the abstract, as in his introduction to the passage: 'the present system of commerce, which absorbs, as it were, the whole faculties of man, converting him into a mere money-making machine, and then cursing him with the extremes of luxury and penury' (p. 74). For Robert Dale Owen, mankind as a whole experiences 'the extremes of luxury and penury', rather than individual men belonging to different classes. The Owenite analysis of social relations and proposals for its regeneration depend on the suppression of negative feeling and the concept of ruling class force.

While Wright and Owen's edition of 1831 may have been the first time *Queen Mab* was published as a volume in America, Shelley and his poem were already known to freethinkers in New York. The *Free Enquirer* discussed issues affecting the working class, as well as free-thought philosophy and feminism (Post, pp. 38–39). The Owenites' attitude towards the politics of working-class Americans, however, was not wholly accepting of their analyses and strategies. The Wright and Owen edition of *Queen Mab*, and the précis in the *Free Enquirer*, appeared after a particularly fractious political period in New York City. This section of the chapter draws on Sean Wilentz's arguments in *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788–1850*, arguing that Robert Dale Owen's presentation of Shelley in the *Free Enquirer* in 1830 should be read in relation to New York local politics of 1829.[64]

Several studies of free-thought and radicalism in New York in the early nineteenth century note the key roles played by role of printers and publishers, and by radical English émigrés in particular.[65] According to Post, Englishmen were largely

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[64] Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788–1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

[65] Besides Wilentz, see Post, *Popular Freethought*; Walter Hugins, *Jacksonian Democracy and the Working Class: A Study of the New York Workingmen's Movement, 1829–1837* (Stanford,

responsible for the celebration of Thomas Paine's birthday from 1825, and that these occasions saw toasts to both Godwin and Shelley (pp. 155–66). He noted that Shelley was among the poets read most frequently by freethinkers (p. 128). One such figure was George Houston, who emigrated to America after he had served a two-year sentence for publishing a translation of d'Holbach's *Histoire de Jésus Christ* as *Ecce Homo* (Post, p. 45). Inspired by Robert Owen, he set up a short-lived community in Rockland County, New York with others in 1826, before returning to the city and establishing the infidel paper the *Correspondent* (Wilentz, pp. 163–64).

The *Correspondent* featured reports of the celebrations of Paine's birthday, noted above, and was printed by another British exile: George Henry Evans. Evans subsequently printed the *Free Enquirer*, before establishing and editing the *Working Man's Advocate* under the encouragement and direction of Robert Dale Owen. Evans was possibly the friend to whom Robert Dale Owen had lent *Queen Mab*; the *Working Man's Advocate* printed lines from the poem in August 1830, a couple of months before Robert Dale Owen requested the return of the volume.[66] Gilbert Vale was another British exile, who came to New York in 1829 and published the weekly free-thought journal the *Beacon* between 1836 and 1846.[67] As noted above, the third edition of Wright and Owen's edition of *Queen Mab* was published from the *Beacon*'s office.

Robert Dale Owen and Evans, and their papers the *Free Enquirer* and the *Working Man's Advocate*, linked New York's community of free-thinkers with the Working Men's movement. Wilentz's account describes the political movement growing in the spring of 1829 out of an industrial dispute between radical journeymen and employers over wages. Voting reform in 1827, when tax-paying and property qualifications for white adult males were abolished, meant that the movement could intervene legitimately in party politics. The Working Men's movement drew on a critique of existing social relations that was partly inspired by Owen but that Robert Dale Owen found troubling as the movement developed: a critique of property rooted in radical agrarianism (Wilentz, p. 196). Thomas Skidmore's *The Rights of Man to Property* (1829) was the key theoretical work for this movement, as he was a key figure in the movement itself. The desired end of

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California: Stanford University Press, 1960); and Jamie L. Bronstein, *Land Reform and Working-Class Experience in Britain and the United States, 1800–1862* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1999).

[66] 'Extract', *Working Man's Advocate*, 21 August 1830, p. 3. (III. 150–80)

[67] Marshall G. Brown and Gordon Stein, *Freethought in the United States: A Descriptive Bibliography* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1978), p. 33.

social justice required the expropriation of private property, and a means to that end was the radicals' involvement in democratic politics (Wilentz, pp. 182–87).

Robert Dale Owen, prioritizing education reform and concerned that critique of property relations would lose the movement public support, took measures to divert the movement in a direction more to his liking.[68] He intended the *Working Man's Advocate*, established in October 1829 to effect this. Ostensibly the movement's organ, the paper espoused Robert Dale Owen's ideas with Evans, its editor, claiming that 'equal education was the Working Men's true interest' and that 'he had never heard anyone support the "wild scheme" of equalizing property' (Wilentz, p. 201). Such interventions suited elements within the movement opposed to critiques of property, which de-radicalised the movement when they took it over and turned the Working Men's movement into the Working Men's Party. Wilentz dates the death of the former and birth of the latter as December 1829 (pp. 212–13).

The Wright and Owen edition of *Queen Mab* appeared a year after these events. With 'the major figures in the events of 1829 scattered in their various pursuits', Robert Dale Owen was free to present the poem in terms of orthodox Owenite concerns (Wilentz, p. 210). As noted above, Robert Dale Owen's account of the poem in the *Free Enquirer* of 1 January 1831 presented financial inequality as impacting differently on the privileged and the poor, and in such a way that described both as suffering but that did not recognise the use of force to maintain these property relations. Custom and superstition were the main culprits, and Owenism intended to rectify these problems by educating society in the broadest sense.

The British *New Moral World* did quote the passage from *Queen Mab* on the 'poor man's hate' in the context of the General Strike in 1842.[69] Its leading article used the lines to describe a social system 'founded not upon the rock of justice, but the active volcano of desperate wrong doing and discontent'. The only solution for this state of affairs was 'an entire abandonment of the principles upon which society as a whole is based', principles that had given rise to this feeling of enmity. The lines appeared in the Owenite press at a moment of crisis, when Owenites saw the extremes of social conflict manifested. The danger had to be acknowledged in this circumstance, whereas it had already passed when Wright and Owen's *Queen Mab* appeared.

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[68] For Robert Owen's disagreement with Godwin regarding the equalisation of private property, see Kenneth Neill Cameron, *Shelley: The Golden Years* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1974), p. 118.

[69] 'The Crisis.— Modern Feudalism.— Duty of Socialists', *New Moral World*, 10 September 1842, pp. 85–86 (p. 85). (v. 113–26)

The *Working Man's Advocate* ceased publication in 1836. When Evans returned to radical publishing in 1841 with the *Radical; In Continuation of the Working Man's Advocate*, he stressed the importance of land reform above other issues (Wilentz, p. 336). By this point, Evans had 'turned his back on educational reform, to wonder whether Skidmore had not been correct after all' (Wilentz, p. 240). Evans approached the Irish Chartist Thomas Devyr, who had worked on the British *Northern Liberator*, in his 'printing office and enlisted him in the National Reform movement' (Bronstein, pp. 123–24). Devyr had emigrated to America in 1840 when he skipped bail for a speech made in July 1839. When the *Working Man's Advocate* reappeared under that title on 16 March 1844, its mast head carried the stanza on rising lions from *Mask* as a motto, though with the first line changed to '*Rouse*, like lions after slumber' (372–76, my emphasis). The lines remained in the paper's masthead, even when the *Working Man's Advocate* changed title: to the *People's Rights* between 24 July and 27 July 1844, and the *Subterranean, United with the Working Man's Advocate* between 12 October 1844 and 21 December 1844. The presence of these lines in the *Working Man's Advocate* was possibly due to Devyr's involvement in the paper. Before he emigrated they had appeared in the *Northern Liberator* in August 1839 under the title 'To the People', as well as other Chartist newspapers.[70] The *Subterranean* also printed lines from *Queen Mab* in the article 'The Drones and the Working Class', acknowledging that lines had been changed 'to give it application in the condition of the hives of our drone-afflicted nation'.[71] These substitutions included 'monopoly' for 'court' and 'bankers' for 'kings', turning aristocratic images into republican ones (III. 7, 118).

The presence of Devyr provided a physical link between land reform movements in both countries. According to Bronstein, American radicals returned to the issue of land reform at the same time that Chartism had, leading to both movements claiming credit for the other's programme (p. 150–51). She also identifies Devyr as the link between the *Northern Star* and the *Working Man's Advocate*, which became *Young America* from 1845 to 1848 (p. 152). The *Working Man's Advocate*, for example, commented on Chartism in 'Progress towards Revolution in England'.[72] The *Northern Star* likewise reprinted an article from the *People's Rights*

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[70] 'To the People', *Northern Liberator*, 31 August 1839, p. 6. (147–54, 156–92, 266–86, 295–306, 372–76)

[71] 'The Drones and the Working Class', *Subterranean*, 20 September 1845, p. 1. (III. 106–38) The *Subterranean* acknowledged the 'U. S. Journal' as its source.

[72] 'Progress Towards Revolution in England', *Working Man's Advocate*, 20 July 1844, p. 3

in August 1844 which concluded with the rising lions stanza from *Mask*, with the first line as 'Rouse like lions after slumber'.[73]

The only example I found of these lines from *Mask* appearing in the British *New Moral World* was in the conclusion to an article it reprinted by the American journalist Edward Gould Buffum on the manufacturing system in New England.[74] The lines contained the alteration 'Rouse like lions after slumber', and Buffum's instruction to the operatives that they must destroy the system, '[beat it] down with the strong arm of truth', belonged within a pacifist Owenite reading of Shelley. He introduced the lines with the injunction that readers 'Free [themselves] from thralldom, by peaceful, loving, mental might'. As I will argue in the fifth chapter, the Chartists' use of Shelley's *Mask* was far removed from the Owenites. Despite its geographical proximity to Chartist newspapers, the *New Moral World* ignored Chartist use of the poem — well established by 1844, and with the original 'Rise like lions' — in favour of this American usage. I will pursue this relationship between Owenite and Chartist use of Shelley's poetry in my third and fourth chapters.

It is interesting to speculate on the possible uses Skidmore and his supporters may have found for Shelley's *Mask* if it had been available to them in 1829; the poem was published for the first time in 1832.[75] As Janowitz argued, Shelley's poem was linked to the Spencean radicalism to which Skidmore was also indebted (Wilentz, p. 335). For *Mask*, Janowitz argued, Shelley adopted the 'discourse of agrarian radicalism' (p. 101). The Working Men's movement may well have deployed Shelley's poem in ways similar to, or instructively different from, the Chartists' use a decade before the latter movement emerged in Britain. Availability, however, would not have been the only obstacle given the efforts of the Owenites (who controlled the movement's *Working Man's Advocate*) to dissuade working-class New Yorkers from pursuing a radical critique of existing property relations. Despite the links between the Owenites and the Working Men's movement, they had different structures of feeling regarding political change. Robert Dale Owen's use of Shelley to downplay class conflict in the *Free Enquirer* did not accord with working-class New Yorkers' analysis of social experience.

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[73] 'Movement of the Trades. March of Agrarianism, &c. (From the New York People's Rights, of July 24th, 1844)', *Northern Star*, 24 August 1844, p. 7. The last two paragraphs of this article also appeared in the *Working Man's Advocate* article 'For the People's Rights. Men of Rhode Island!' on 13 July 1844, p. 3.

[74] E. Gould Buffum, 'The Factory System', *New Moral World*, 1 June 1844, pp. 399–400.

[75] Demson uncovered use of *Mask* by New York garment workers in their industrial struggles of the early twentieth century in 'Let a Great Assembly Be'.

**Shelley in the *Free Enquirer* under subsequent editors**

Robert Dale Owen left America in 1832 to join his father in editing the British Owenite journal the *Crisis*, leaving the *Free Enquirer* under the editorship of other people. Both the presence and presentation of Shelley in the paper appears to reflect the religious views of those editors.

In May 1832, Robert Dale Owen left the *Free Enquirer* under the editorship of Amos Gilbert, a radical Quaker who disliked criticism of religion (Flynn, *Encyclopedia*, p. 342; Post, p. 41). During Gilbert's editorship, which lasted till October 1832, Shelley did not appear in the paper at all. Gilbert had, however, been a member of the editorial staff from July 1831 onwards. During this period, Shelley's writing was a source of contention between Gilbert and the man who would become the last editor of the *Free Enquirer*: Henry D. Robinson. In the *Free Enquirer* of 17 December 1831, Gilbert and Robinson continued an argument that had begun two weeks earlier. Robinson had written an article on Christianity's persecution of free-thinkers, and Gilbert inserted a note into the same edition of the *Free Enquirer* distancing himself from Robinson's intemperate language.[76] Robinson responded with a collection of quotations from the works of 'a few celebrated authors, in order to show, that their views of *Christianity* [...] coincide with my own views, as given in the *Free Enquirer*, vol. 4, No. 6'.[77] These sources include John Adams, Holbach, Shelley, and Frances Wright, as well as the *Enquirer* itself. Set beside criticism of established religions in prose are lines from *Queen Mab*, without commentary: lines such as 'War is the statesman's game, the priest's delight', and 'Twin-sister of religion, selfishness!'.[78] Robinson adduced Shelley's poetry, therefore, as documentary evidence in support of his own views.

Gilbert objected in the note that he published with Robinson's response that an appeal to authority would not automatically legitimize Robinson's abuse of religion. It also betrayed a lack of confidence in the *Free Enquirer*'s readers. Not only were they capable of weighing evidence themselves, but they might also be expected to already be aware of 'the opinions of D. Holbach, P. B. Shelly [*sic*], and F. Wright'. Nor did Robinson's marshalling of support from such authorities provide a defence against Gilbert's original criticism of Robinson's article, that he used intemperate

[76] H. D. R., 'Christianity and Knowledge: Witchcraft and the Holy Inquisition', *Free Enquirer*, 3 December 1831, p. 44; A. G., 'A Word to Our Correspondents and Readers', *Free Enquirer*, 3 December 1831, p. 48.

[77] 'H.D.R., 'To Amos Gilbert', *Free Enquirer*, 17 December 1831, p. 58.

[78] The full list of lines quoted from *Queen Mab* is as follows: IV. 168; IV. 203–220; V. 22–37; VI. 48–49; VI. 54–72; and 'A Dialogue Between Falsehood and Vice', 49–62, from the third prose note ('These are the hired bravos who defend').

language: 'his declamation does not sufficiently discriminate — his denunciations are too sweeping for me to subscribe' ('A Word', p. 48). Between Robinson and his sources there is 'no phraseological correspondence. There is no "baneful and malignant shade, tainted effluvia, or poisoned juices" in those extracts' (p. 58). It is difficult to reconcile this with the lines from *Queen Mab* selected by Robinson; however florid we might find his denunciations of religion in the original article, he did not exceed Shelley's description of religion as a 'prolific fiend!/ Who peoplest earth with demons, hell with men,/ And heaven with slaves!' (VI. 69–71)

Robinson became editor of the *Free Enquirer* in December 1832, gaining the freedom to discuss Shelley and religion in the manner of his choosing. As Post noted, Robinson warned readers in his first editorial on 22 December 1832 that 'Much has been said on the subject of moderation. If it be a virtue, we certainly do not possess it' (p. 42). On 16 March 1833 the series 'Sketches of the Lives, and Authentic Accounts of the Deaths of Modern Philosophers' continued after a gap of over a year.[79] The series began in the *Free Enquirer* on 29 October 1831 with an introduction, and the two subsequent weeks discussed Voltaire and David Hume, respectively. On the return of the series Shelley was the only subject, with six parts dedicated to his life, death, and philosophy. The series covered the question of Shelley's atheism in the first of these instalments, his poetics in the second, his character and the social consequences of his iconoclasm in the third and fourth, with the fifth and sixth parts detailing his death and posthumous reputation.[80] The writer of the series drew on a range of sources: Shelley's own poetry and prose, biographical writings, and reviews.[81] The series had one main aim: to rescue Shelley's reputation from charges of atheism, which had led people to dismiss his poetry. The focus, however, was on the former as the writer proved to be more concerned with the legitimacy of free-thought in America than with poetry. This section of the chapter covers the series' recuperation

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[79] 'Sketches of the Lives, and Authentic Accounts of the Deaths of Modern Philosophers. No. III. Percy Bysshe Shelley', *Free Enquirer*, 16 March 1833, pp. 161–62.

[80] 'Sketches of the Lives, and Authentic Accounts of the Deaths of Modern Philosophers. No. IV. Percy Bysshe Shelley', *Free Enquirer*, 23 March 1833, p. 169.

'Sketches of the Lives, and Authentic Accounts of the Deaths of Modern Philosophers. No. V. Percy Bysshe Shelley', *Free Enquirer*, 30 March 1833, pp. 177–78.

Sketches of the Lives, and Authentic Accounts of the Deaths of Modern Philosophers. No. VI. Percy Bysshe Shelley', *Free Enquirer*, 6 April 1833, pp. 185–86.

'Sketches of the Lives, and Authentic Accounts of the Deaths of Modern Philosophers. No. VI. Percy Bysshe Shelley', *Free Enquirer*, 13 April 1833, pp. 193–94. (This instalment was misnumbered.)

Sketches of the Lives, and Authentic Accounts of the Deaths of Modern Philosophers. No. VII. Percy Bysshe Shelley', *Free Enquirer*, 20 April1833, pp. 201–02.

[81] The biographical material will be discussed below: 'Sketches' of 20 April 1833 used William Hazlitt, 'Posthumous Poems of Percy Bysshe Shelley', *Edinburgh Review*, July 1824, pp. 494–514.

of Shelley's character against the charges of atheism, before discussing the difficulties his poetry posed for Owenites.

The first instalment described Shelley as an Enlightenment figure, in the company of Voltaire, Diderot, and Holbach, giving 'an impulse to that great movement which is bearing onward the whole world — a movement by which we too must be swept along' (p. 161). Yet he is not recognized as such because 'the world has been taught to think that his character was vitiated by one fundamental errour [...] an errour which proved him to be both a fool and a villain, — the want of belief in a God' (p. 161). Combating the other barrier to a true appreciation of Shelley's poetry, the supposed immorality of which his atheism was only one sign, was the rationale behind the rest of the series. The promise in the title of 'Sketches of the Lives, and Authentic Deaths of Modern Philosophers', then, is fulfilled by the series, as the writer draws on biographical writing on Shelley's life and death by his intimates in order to counter rumour and, perhaps willful, misinformation. These sources were: Mary Shelley's Preface to *Posthumous Poems*; 'The Biographical Memoir of Mr Shelley' included in the unauthorized anthology *The Beauties of Percy Bysshe Shelley* published by Stephen Hunt in 1830; and Edward John Trelawney's account of Shelley's death in Leigh Hunt's *Lord Byron and Some of His Contemporaries*.

Knowledge of the biographical details of Shelley's life does not appear to have been general or particularly accurate in American newspapers and periodicals in the 1830s. A writer for the *Southern Literary Messenger* stated in June 1840 in a review of *Essays* that they were 'not familiar with the writings of Shelley, or with the details of his life', four years after the *Eastern Magazine* noted that 'the name of the writer is but seldom heard, — his personal history but little known — many of his beauties have been erroneously ascribed to others'.[82] The *Eastern Magazine* article offered a fanciful tableau of Shelley's funeral:

> His body was washed on shore; and here was enacted a scene, which was a disgrace to civilized beings. The body was burnt on a funeral pile, attended with all the solemnities of the ancients; while his friends Lord Byron, Leigh Hunt and others, danced by the burning funeral pile, shouting with the frenzy of maniacs, till the rocks, and hills, and caverns re-echoed with the sound of unholy revelry! (p. 254)

This depiction would have borne out the claim of the 'Sketches' that Shelley's enemies 'did not disdain to circulate the gossip of the scandalous as far as other countries (p.

[82] 'Shelley's Essays, &c', *Southern Literary Messenger*, June 1840, p. 470; and 'Shelley and his Writings', *Eastern Magazine*, 15 February 1836, p. 247.

186). Months after the *Enquirer*'s account of Shelley's life was published, scurrilous rumours about Shelley's personal life still appeared in the American press. 'Poetical Portraits' from the *North American Magazine* was republished in the *Literary Journal, and Weekly Register of Science and the Arts*. It offered an account of Harriet's suicide in which the 'boarding-school beauty' eloped with Shelley, committing suicide during that elopement and a temporary absence of Shelley while he attempted to reconcile with his father: 'the partner of his guilt, actuated by the horror of her situation, threw herself into a deep river, and was brought forth a corpse'.[83]

In contrast, the writer of the 'Sketches' gave a more accurate and sympathetic account of Shelley's first marriage that borrowed heavily from the biography offered in *Beauties*. It asserted that they 'separated by mutual consent', that Harriet was 'not of a nature to appreciate his understanding', and that there were 'falsehoods' circulating about her suicide, an event that was 'the greatest pang of Shelley's life' (p. 186). The series inserted into this account material written especially for an American audience; regarding the circumstances of the custody suit brought against Shelley, it noted that:

> The reader perhaps is not aware, that in England where the domestic institutions are boasted of as so perfect [...] that in this extraordinary country, any man's children may be taken away from him to-morrow, who holds a different opinion from the Lord Chancellor in faith and morals. (p. 193)

The final part of series concluded: 'We do not think the world so unhappy as Shelley did [...] But we think it quite unhappy enough to require that we should all set our shoulders to the task of reformation' (pp. 201–02).

Owenite socialism, however, was not the only ideology available to Americans with ambitions to reform society. As Harrison, pointed out, 'Owenism originated and flourished entirely within the grand era of evangelical ascendency, c. 1800–60', and that evangelical doctrines 'carried definite social implications and frequently committed their adherents to sympathy for various aspects of social reform' (*Robert Owen*, pp. 93–94). An obvious point of difference between the Owenite socialists and their evangelical rivals is the formers' religious infidelity, and as Harrison points out, this difference also impacted on the status of Enlightenment ideas in America during this period. According to Harrison, 'the Owenite search for a science of society was thus an outgrowth from the ideas and values of the Enlightenment', but 'by the 1820s

[83] 'From the North American Magazine. Poetical Portraits', *Literary Journal, and Weekly Register of Science and the Arts*, 14 September 1833, p. 114

[this tradition] was distinctly *démodé*'[…] when contemporaries charged Owenites with infidelity the condemnation implied that they were not only godless but also out of date' (*Robert Owen*, p. 87).

Harrison did not discuss Shelley in his history, but this aspect of American intellectual history in the early- to mid-nineteenth century would also have had an impact on the reception of Shelley's poetry, especially *Queen Mab*. The poem was heavily indebted to Enlightenment philosophy, and Shelley quoted liberally from Enlightenment figures in his prose notes. Commentary on Shelley and his poetry in religious and liberal American newspapers in the 1830s and 1840s often noted the debt Shelley owed to 'the more extravagant notions of Godwin and Mary Wollstonecraft'.[84] By 1835, however, the *Enquirer* had ceased publication and, according to Post, went into a decline in terms of quality, importance, and circulation after the departure in 1832 of Robert Dale Owen as editor (pp. 43–44). This means that at the time the series 'Sketches of the Lives, and Authentic Accounts of the Deaths of Modern Philosophers' appeared in the *Enquirer*, the potential impact of a sympathetic portrayal of Shelley's life and religious opinions in the American media was lessened.

The 1830s and 40s were a period of reassessment of Shelley's poetry and ideas in American newspapers and periodicals, with Shelley recast as an idealist who, though influenced by Godwin, was too much of a poet and not rational enough to have imbibed his philosophy accurately. This was a failing, however, that made the recuperation of Shelley's poetry from his politics possible. In 1836 the *Eastern Magazine* acknowledged that, 'like many a weaker intellect', Shelley was influenced by Godwin, described his imagination as 'diseased, every thing was ideal', and described his bent as poetical rather than philosophical: 'Shelley looked on mankind rather with the poet's eye than with the calm and sober reflection of the philosopher'.[85] To this erring thought was attributed his infidelity, with Shelley mistakenly adopting Enlightenment principles rather than the light of religious truth: 'above all, he neglected to obtain light from that source, where we are informed what we originally were, — what we are, — and what we are destined to become'.

This division of Shelley's poetic and philosophic capacities, with his strength located in the former, allowed for a recuperation of his poetry. Although for the *Dial*,

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[84] 'Shelley', *Dial: A Magazine for Literature, Philosophy, and Religion*, April 1841, p. 470. See also 'Modern English Poetry. — Byron, Shelley, Wordsworth', *American Biblical Repository, Devoted to Biblical and General Literature, Theological Discussion, the History of Theological Opinions, etc.* 1 January 1839, p. 206; and 'Editor's Table', *Journal of Belles Lettres*, 7 May 1839, [n. pag.].

[85] 'Shelley and his Writings', *Eastern Magazine*, 15 February 1836, p. 247.

a transcendentalist publication, Shelley 'possessed hardly judgment enough for the well-ordering of his own life', this lack of sense was complemented by his being 'a complete master of all poetic measures'.[86] The *American Quarterly Review* described Shelley as being 'purely a creature of imagination', and defended him against an atheism that was 'a moral and intellectual excrescence' because his 'atheism was of an ideal nature'.[87] *Hesperian; A Monthly Miscellany of General Literature, Original and Select* saw Shelley as endorsing a practical Christianity, though drawing 'absurd conclusions' as a result of being 'a very defective thinker'.[88] For the *Southern Literary Messenger*, Shelley was a better Christian than the Christians:

> If an intense attachment to truth, and an habitual spirit of disinterestedness constitute any part of Religion, Shelley was eminently religious. For the Divine character portrayed in the Gospels, he probably, in his latter years, had a truer reverence than the majority of Christians.[89]

The *Messenger* conceived this as a reading possible in 1840 which was impossible at the time of Shelley's death, when 'this fine specimen of humanity was sadly misunderstood and his immediate influence perverted'. *American Eclectic* had Shelley as a Christian missionary, leading readers 'to the goal of religion'.[90]

For Robinson in 1833, to insist on Shelley as an important figure of Enlightenment thought is at the same time to defend his poetry, since Shelley's infidelity had been reason enough for Robinson's contemporaries to 'decide at once that Shelley [had] no claims to be judged, even in other respects, by ordinary rules or submitted to an impartial analysis' ('Sketches', p. 161). As in Robert Dale Owen's stress on prose and ideas over poetry and imagination, however, Robinson's emphasis lay on the message rather than the medium. Despite his status as an Enlightenment figure, Shelley was not rationalist enough to be understood clearly. His desire to make his poetry 'the instrument of moral good' was sabotaged by his want of 'the clear-sighted steadiness which would be necessary for the purpose of representing [nature] in all its sincerity' ('Sketches', p. 169). He can only be comprehended by the initiated, as 'it is not […] to all men that he writes', and so the didactic capacity of his poetry was limited by his expression (p. 169). Shelley's character of mind was 'more fundamentally and uniformly poetical, than that of any

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[86] 'Shelley', *Dial: a Magazine for Literature, Philosophy, and Religion*, April 1841, p. 485, 492.
[87] 'The Shelley Papers', *American Quarterly Review*, 1 June 1836, p. 277.
[88] 'Percy Bysshe Shelley', *Hesperian; A Monthly Miscellany of General Literature, Original and Select*, 1839, p. 442.
[89] 'Shelley', *Southern Literary Messenger*, June 1840, pp. 393–97 (p. 394).
[90] 'Hegel's Aesthetics: — The Philosophy of Art, Particularly in its Application to Poetry. From the British and Foreign Review, Feb 1842', *American Eclectic*, July 1842, p. 58.

other poet [...] his whole being seems to have been absorbed and transfigured into poetry' (p. 161). Shelley's writing, therefore, was effortlessly poetical and formed an organic whole with his opinions and inner being: his poems were 'but a homogeneous fragment of the permanent substance of his mind' (p. 162). The second instalment, however, saw as a 'flaw in the lamp of crystal and ruby which holds the flame of his genius' that he was too apt to be carried away with his passions (p. 169). Here, the writer apologised for his description of Shelley's poetical nature: 'it is impossible without language overswollen by passion, and a crowded array of imagery, to be the limner of a mind in which the imagination was one magnificent hyperbole' (p. 169).

For both Owenite socialist and mainstream print culture, then, Shelley's poetry signified the irrationalism and idealism in his character. For the free-thinkers, committed to rationalist exposition of their ideas, this represented a problem. Shelley's poetry contained valuable gems that they used to illustrate their doctrines, but his style indicated irrationalism and could lead to readers misunderstanding the ideas it embodied. Given this separation of form and content, the Owenites could offer no defence of Shelley's poetry that valued both his politics and his poetry. The next chapter discusses the ways in which Shelley's poetry was used by British Owenites who viewed poetry with suspicion.

**Conclusion**

This chapter discussed the publication history of Shelley's poetry used by Owenites, arguing that newspapers and periodicals were an important means of transmission. Tracing the reception and transmission of Shelley in the United States provides an instructive counterpoint to the British context, a context that not only made Shelley intelligible, but also constituted that version of Shelley. In America, Shelley's presence in the Owenite socialist periodical the *Free Enquirer* predated that of his presence in British Owenite socialist and Chartist newspapers. The particularities, however, of the American context — its intellectual copyright law, its attitude towards religious freedom, its links with the British book trade, and the lack of the political charge that print culture had acquired in Britain — meant that this use of Shelley cannot be seen as the vanguard of a usage that later occurred in Britain. Rather, this context produced qualitatively different versions of Shelley (both radical and conservative), a fact that throws into relief the 'Shelleys' that emerged throughout the nineteenth century in Britain and emphasises the importance of the material context for the reception history of Shelley.

Robert Dale Owen's presentation of *Queen Mab* in the *Free Enquirer* stressed the importance of the poem's prose notes rather than the poem itself. *Queen Mab* was more important for its message rather than its medium, and Robert Dale Owen's emphasis on the rational over the imaginative resolved the ambiguity Duffy identified in early Shelley in favour of the former. Subsequent editors of the *Free Enquirer* perpetuated this preference for prosaic content over poetic form. Robinson attempted to defend Shelley from detractors in his series of articles on the poet, which valued him especially in his capacity as a philosopher in the Enlightenment tradition. In the same period, however, non-Owenites could claim Shelley for Christianity and characterize him as being 'purely a creature of imagination'. The *Free Enquirer* could offer little defence against such interpretations, given its decline in this period and its own preference for the rational over the imaginative in Shelley's work.

# Chapter Two: Truth without Mystery, Agitation without Violence in the *Crisis*

## Introduction

In chapter one I showed how Robert Owen and Henry D. Robinson's use of Shelley's poetry in the *Free Enquirer* valued its ideas above its form. A poetic imagination was a potential liability for Owenism, liable to imagine that which was not really true and to reflect the tastes of a public that was, in Owenite philosophy, corrupt. The first half of the current chapter grounds this attitude towards poetry in Owen's approach to language: specifically its propensity to confuse and prevent people from understanding Owenite truths. It focuses on the British Owenite periodical the *Crisis* as articulating this attitude but also recognizes the role that Owen intended the periodical to play in inculcating Owenite values. As his forum, Owen could control the transmission of his message via the *Crisis*. Another key forum was the Owenite meeting as a space where Owenite values could be lived in community but also, crucially, where members of different classes could meet and understand one another.

Owenites needed strategies for preventing unnecessary confusion and conflict in both the *Crisis*, and in public meetings. Clear exposition of ideas was crucial and confusion between parties was a lesser evil than conscious disagreement. Confusion was a regrettable outcome of ambiguous exposition but good will might be assumed and agreement held to be possible in cases where it was thwarted in a particular situation. Conscious disagreement was more troubling to the Owenite mindset, opposed as it was to the concept of class difference. Language could be used by politicians or by working-class demagogues to uphold the status quo or to encourage social conflict rather than to resolve it. As a consequence of this attitude, poetry's polysemic qualities were thought especially problematic. Where clarity of exposition was valued not only for itself but regarded as necessary for the success of the movement the deliberate play of language was unwelcome.

This attitude entailed several consequences for Shelley's presence in Owenite discourse. Shelley's poetry could be mined for images that illustrated Owenite philosophy, but it was clear that the message predominated, rather than its form. Poetry in the capacity of poetry was much less welcome in Owenite periodicals under Owen's control than it was for Chartists in the next phase of working-class agitation. I go on to situate the presence of Shelley in the *Crisis* in terms of Owen's relation to

working-class politics in this period. Shelley was far less present in the *Crisis* than he was in the *Free Enquirer*, or would later be in the *Crisis*'s successor, the *New Moral World*. I conclude this chapter by discussing the addition of lines from *Queen Mab* to the tract *A Fable for the Times, Addressed to the Working Classes* (1831) when it was reprinted in the *Crisis* in February 1833. I situate these alterations within the context of working-class co-operation and its relation to Owenism in this period, arguing that this use of Shelley is closer to working-class co-operation than to orthodox Owenism. The other key use of Shelley in the *Crisis* was by the feminist writer 'Concordia'. I discuss her contributions in the next chapter, where I argue that Owenite feminists were partly responsible for the movement's changing attitude towards poetry and that Shelley's poetry was a key resource for them.

**Truth without mystery, agitation without violence**

Robert Owen's theories on how society might be changed for the better can be summed up in the two phrases 'truth without mystery', and 'agitation without violence'. According to George Jacob Holyoake in his history of the co-operative movement: 'No man had a better right than [Owen] to invent the maxim he was fond of using, "Truth without mystery, mixture of error, or fear of man"'.[1] At one level, a commitment to 'truth without mystery' expressed confidence in the self-evident nature of that truth for those confronted by it. An article in the *Crisis*, for example, explained the reason a religious sect led by Edward Irving had been allowed to use the Owenite Institution on Grays Inn Road despite Owenism's secularism.[2] It was not only charitable to give sanctuary to those persecuted by the Church of Scotland but Owenism might find converts among their number. The Christians were welcome to try to convert the Owenites but the latter, believing in 'truth without mystery', feared 'no power of sect or party in opposition to this truth, expecting rather that the most intelligent among all sects and parties, will speedily perceive this truth, and perceiving will be constrained to adopt and acknowledge it'. Like Robert Dale Owen in the *Free Enquirer*, the article's writer opposed truth in nature to the linguistic inventions of man: 'we seek truth not in any mere name or sound, but as it exists in nature'. They also associated the inventions of man with sound, and the truth of nature with visual perception. Contact between the Owenites and believers was more dangerous to the faith of the latter than the principles of the former. This was not

[1] George Jacob Holyoake, *Sixty Years an Agitator's Life*, 2 vols (London: Thomas Unwin, 1892), I, 129.
[2] 'Mr Irving, His Disciples, and Followers', *Crisis*, 12 May 1832, p. 26. For details on Irving's relationship with Owenism, see Harrison, *Robert Owen*, pp. 96–97.

attributed to the superior debating skills of Owen, but to the self-evident nature of his arguments.

According to Harrison, 'It would be an easy matter, though tedious, to document the use by Owenites of the key concepts of Enlightenment rationalism'.[3] I discuss the matter here in order to explore the consequences of this debt for an orthodox Owenite approach to language and aesthetics. Owen's thought was indebted to the Enlightenment tradition and the materialist philosophers' commitment to reason, which was associated with the clarity of 'light' shone into the darkness (Harrison, *Robert Owen*, pp. 81–87). One correspondent to the *Crisis* predicted that the mystifications of religion were about to 'disappear before that blaze of light which truth, supported by science and experience, is about to unfold to the world'.[4] Never doubting the end, the problem for Owen was securing it via the appropriate means. This truth was self-evident but only for those with clarity of vision; Owenites could secure truth and peace by the means of education and by stating the facts clearly and calmly. In another lecture, Owen stated with confidence that:

> There is no commonly rational individual acquainted with the facts connected with human history, who will attempt to deny the positions advanced. They are, when clearly stated so glaring, that the well informed in every country in the world admit them at once. It but requires that they should be clearly stated, and stated again and again.[5]

This use of scopic images to figure truth, the 'glaring' facts denied by nobody exposed to them, was a commonplace in Owenite discourse. According to Robert Dale Owen there was 'nothing in this world so beneficial as to call things by their proper names. Half the abuses we endure are endured only because, in the fashionable dictionary, they are called by some soft misnomer'.[6] Language as it was commonly used obscured truth; the Owenites would counter this by seeking clarity of thought and expression.

Such an approach also had a class dimension and consequences for Owenism's relation to class politics. For Engels in his essay 'Socialism: Utopian and Scientific' this concept of truth had implications for the concepts of historical development and class conflict. The 'utopian' socialisms of the early nineteenth-century, as theorised by Owen, Charles Fourier, and Henri Saint-Simon, were ahistorical and undialectical compared with historical materialism. To these utopians:

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[3] *Robert Owen*, p. 83. For Owenism's debt to the Enlightenment, see Harrison, *Robert Owen*, pp. 83–87.
[4] 'An Adherent to Divine Revelation', 'To the Editor of the Crisis', *Crisis*, 28 July 1832, pp. 83–84.
[5] Robert Owen, 'Weekly Proceedings', *Crisis*, 16 February 1833, pp. 41–42 (p. 42).
[6] R. D. O., 'A Proposal', *Crisis*, 2 February 1833, pp. 29–30 (p. 29).

> Socialism is the expression of absolute truth, reason, and justice, and has only to be discovered to conquer all the world by virtue of its own power. And as absolute truth is independent of time, space, and of the historical development of man, it is a mere accident when and where it is discovered.[7]

This criticism applies to Owen, especially, since Engels noted that Fourier and Saint-Simon showed awareness of class interest and of 'the dialectic method', albeit in an idealist form (pp. 290–93). None of those figures, however, 'appears as a representative of the interests of the proletariat [...] they do not claim to emancipate a particular class to begin with, but all humanity at once' (p. 287). For Owen, this was a positive value in itself that should be cultivated.

This belief underpinned the second phrase of this chapter's title, 'agitation without violence'. It did not appear in Owenite discourse in the way that 'truth without mystery' did but I formulate it from the passages discussed below in order to characterise this other defining attitude of Owenism. In the prospectus of the *Crisis*'s first issue, Owen presented contemporary politics as a decisive crisis: 'The time is immediately before us, when either reason, or physical violence of the worst character, must attain the mastery in the future direction of the governments which are now deemed the most civilized'.[8] Later in the print run, Owen said of violence that it 'does no good. Violence has brought us into the situation in which we stand to-day'.[9] Progress was to be made:

> by free conversation, by free publications, by free discussions; by — yes by — AGITATION. But agitation, not in the violent sense of the term; by an agitation of those stagnant pools which want cleansing, and have been too long left disturbed.[10]

Owen's experience in promoting his theories among the wealthy had resulted in some enthusiasm while they were generally philanthropic, but opposition or ridicule when he stressed the interests of the working class and discussed marriage reform (Harrison, *Robert Owen*, pp. 22–25, 216–18). Owen's ideas provoked resistance from those wedded to the values of the old immoral world but this was a regrettable outcome of the necessary agitation that would stir these stagnant pools. Education was disturbing by its nature, but the true Owenite would take care to ensure that exposure of error was not aggressive. Aggressive language lay on a spectrum of

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[7] Frederick Engels, 'Socialism: Utopian and Scientific', in *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: Collected Works. Volume 24: Marx and Engels: 1874–83*, trans. by Edward Aveling (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1989), pp. 285–325 (p. 297).
[8] Robert Owen, 'Prospectus', *Crisis*, 14 April 1832, p. 1.
[9] 'Weekly Proceedings', *Crisis*, 26 January 1833, pp. 17–18 (p. 17).
[10] 'Weekly Proceedings', *Crisis*, 23 March 1833, pp. 81–82 (p. 82).

violence had the potential to provoke its most extreme manifestation in physical violence.

Owen intended his periodical the *Crisis* to counter social crisis, preventing the supremacy of violence by inculcating reason. He conceived of rationality as an intellectual exercise that was necessarily accompanied by a particular mode of sociability: '"The Crisis" will upon all occasions *discourage religious animosities, political rancour, and individual contention: its fixed purpose being to promote real charity, kindness, and union among all classes, sects, and parties*'.[11] Social change would require reconciliation as well as elucidation. The two mottoes of the *Crisis* expressed this policy. The first articulated the central plank of Owen's theory of social inequalities: 'It is of all truths the most important, that the character of man is formed FOR — not BY himself'. Since environment formed character, the privileged were not to be blamed for their actions; the working class would act likewise had they been born and raised in that position. The second gave Owenite sociability short-term priority over education: 'If we cannot yet reconcile all opinions, let us endeavour to unite all hearts'. The re-education of society into agreement would take time and was a project that could only be jeopardised by allowing discord to characterise social relations. For Owen, mystification and class conflict perpetuated error, hindering the attainment of truth and happiness. The promotion of truth, and the inculcation of Owenite values via public opinion and social arrangements, were seen as means to the end of social harmony. This particular structure of feeling required clear exposition of Owenite doctrines in an unantagonistic manner for the benefit of the uninitiated.

The appropriate mode of face-to-face communication was, therefore, a concern for Owenites. If the *Crisis* espoused Owen's social theories then the Owenite meeting provided the opportunity to put these ideas into practice. Yeo's analysis of Owenite sociability describes the ideal for Owen: 'All the living arrangements and social activities of the community would be patterned to embody the basic ethical precepts of "love thy neighbour" and "do unto others"', and that 'Owen considered brotherliness and many of the London branch activities as the means of bringing about class conciliation' ('Robert Owen', p. 85, 88). According to a correspondent, this reconciliation was:

> to be done, and only to be done, by bringing the several parties in immediate contact with each other, and convincing all, that they are not severally so

[11] 'Prospectus', *Crisis*, 14 April 1832, p. 1 (original emphasis).

> estranged by nature, as the present arrangements of society would almost imply.[12]

The ruling and working class were to be reconciled by the dissemination of knowledge and the cultivation of harmonious feeling. According to Harrison, the Owenites could not simply ignore very obvious class differences but designed their social activities as if the difference were irrelevant: 'If members would charitably ignore shabby clothes and a working-class accent the bogey of class would be exorcized: treat all men as if they were equal and they will in fact become equal' (Harrison, *Robert Owen*, p. 224). It was suggested at a 'General Social Festival' that

> it is evident, that the government does not intend to inflict misery on the people, if it knew how to avoid such misery. The government is to be pitied; it does not know how to make any better use of the enormous powers at its control.[13]

The stress on the need for clear communication of an irrefutable truth made unnecessary within Owenite theory any analysis or acknowledgement of the state as a barrier to emancipation and the new moral world.

The harmony governing the Owenite meeting was contrasted with the disharmony created by sectarians. Henry O'Neill described in his letter to the editor the 'violent language' and 'maniacal fury' displayed by Protestants and Catholics in a recent public meeting.[14] He contrasted this with Owenite sociability: 'Thanks to the Rational System, we possess too much good feeling towards each other, as well as love of truth, to convert inquiry into dogmatism, and free expression of thought into abusive declamation'. One correspondent to the *Crisis* described the radical change worked on his consciousness by Owen's doctrine:

> I am a poor man, Mr. Owen, and hitherto have been a most *discontented* one. [...] I come now to speak of the change my whole being has undergone since I have heard you [...] hatred for more fortunate individuals than myself has died away, and all my angry murmurings and discontent, have given place to social feelings, and the hope of better times.[15]

Class difference, in this view, is a regrettable fact of society as it was then constituted but class identity was a form of sectarianism that had to be abolished. Both the ruling and working class needed to be educated out of the habit of thinking in terms of class

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[12] 'Social Festivals', *Crisis*, 14 April 1832, p. 2.
[13] 'General Social Festival', *Crisis*, 5 May 1832, pp. 17–18 (p. 17).
[14] Henry O'Neill, 'To the Editor', *Crisis*, 1 June 1833, p. 168. For a depiction of such meetings that presented 'an affecting spectacle to the philosopher', see 'Public Meetings', *Crisis*, 19 May 1832, p. 29.
[15] H. D., 'To the Editor of the Crisis', *Crisis*, 12 May 1832, pp. 25–26 (original emphasis).

difference which was only a sign of error, having no positive value. This was a spectrum of social conflict; its most extreme manifestation was political violence but aggressive language also lay on the spectrum and must be avoided.

Robert Dale Owen extolled the virtues of 'The Power of the Eloquence of Public Opinion and the Importance of Every Other Eloquence' in the article of the same name:

> He who wishes effectually to influence the House of Commons must do so by first influencing the people of Great Britain; by arousing the millions not to revolution but to activity; not to violence or indignation, but to enquiry and to free speech; to enquiry, serious, sustained, deliberate and dispassionate; to free speech such as befits a nation, claiming to be enlightened, — to an expression of sentiment on its rights and its wrongs so plain spoken, so universal, so resolute yet so chastened by reason and good feeling, that its representatives *must* listen and must be carried forward.[16]

Robert Dale Owen stresses the imperative force of reason, the impossibility that truth expressed clearly would not result in improvement, but it is clear that the eloquent subject is a man of Owen's stamp and public oratory was a necessary evil. Other speakers in public meetings criticising taxes, however, were rebuked in 'Speech Making at Public Meetings' for imagining that 'violence of manner [was] a substitute for vigour of mind'. 'Speech making' was an ill created by the 'present system of society'; when that is overthrown:

> there will be an end everlastingly put to the trade, since TRUTH alone, which will then be universally seen in its clearness, singleness, simplicity, and unchangeableness, would, if they were in existence, and dependent on speechifying, absolutely starve the whole oratorical profession to death.[17]

According to this position, eloquence in the ruling class was a facet of its dominance, as rule of open force had given way to rule of 'him whose purse is heaviest and whose tongue is smoothest'.[18] Eloquence in established religion and economics reproduced mystification and justified exploitation: 'Except church polemics, there is no class of men so given to verbosity [...] as the Political Economist'.[19]

When working-class radicals spoke for themselves, without adhering to Owen's philosophy, they were given to demagoguery and hostile modes of speech. A public discussion between 'our disciples and the radicals' was described as 'irregular,

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[16] R. D. O., 'The Power of the Eloquence of Public Opinion, and the Importance of Every Other Eloquence', *Crisis*, 16 February 1833, p. 46 (original emphasis).
[17] 'Speech Making at Public Meetings', *Crisis*, 21 July 1832, pp. 73–74 (p. 74).
[18] R. D. O., 'Revolutions', *Crisis*, 6 April 1833, p. 100–02 (p. 100).
[19] R. D. O., 'Editorial', *Crisis*, 13 April 1833, p. 107–08 (p. 107).

irrelevant, and stormy. A dust was created and the subject lost sight of in the cloud'.[20] Eloquence expressing party feeling and in the service of sectarian or class interest belonged to the old immoral world. In an Owenite meeting, the

> Great Leading principle, however, on which the social system is founded, served to check every feeling of violence or of unkindness, for when any member was becoming too warm in stating any thing of a personal kind, that could create an unpleasant feeling in any other member, it was quite sufficient to recal [sic] to the mind of the speaker the fundamental principle of the system, and like a charm it changed the current of his remarks into a new direction, with an altered tone and expression of kindness, instead of anger or any displeasure.[21]

Hostile feeling was to be diverted into harmony under the influence of Owenite principles. Feeling, passion even, was to be welcomed but also prevented from turning into a conflagration.

**The problem with language in general**

In theory, then, the causes of social injustice were perfectly clear and Owenite solutions needed only to be expressed with clarity and calmness to carry all before them. Communication in Owenite meetings modelled ideal forms of sociability as they encouraged gentleness. In practice, however, Owenites found language to be a less than ideal medium for the expression of Owenite truths they held to be self-evident. Language was required to popularise Owen's theories but it was corrupted; word choice and expression would have to be regulated. In 'Misnomers', E. N. regretted the accumulation of names for a single object or phenomenon:

> nothing tends so much to the development of truth, as to make use of precise terms, and to have their meanings fully recognized [...] As there can be but one meaning, nine hundred and ninety-nine out of the thousand must be wrong. What chance, then, is there for consistency of action in the different parts of the social machine?[22]

Smith argued in a lecture, that:

> Language is the vehicle by which our ideas are communicated to each other: and it is as full of corruption as the other arts and sciences which engage the attention of man. [...] many words also are so ill defined, and consequently so ill understood, that people contend for hours together; and at last discover that

[20] 'Public Transactions of the Week at Our Institution', *Crisis*, 6 October 1832, pp. 121–22 (p. 121).
[21] 'The Congress of Co-operative Delegates', *Crisis*, 5 May 1832, p. 18.
[22] E. N., 'Misonomers', *Crisis*, 21 April 1832, p. 8. For other commentary on 'misnomers' see 'On a Change of Society', *Crisis*, 30 June 1832, p. 58; and 'Civil War at Clitheroe, In Lancashire', *Crisis*, 11 August 1832, p. 89.

> their views are entirely the same, only they have followed different definitions of some abstract term.[23]

Smith was concerned, in the bulk of his lecture, with the communicative evils of religious and political sectarianism: 'Opprobrious names bestowed upon private individuals, can never propagate a principle of charity' (p. 2). The regrettable multiplicity of meaning led to unnecessary confusion and disagreement, introducing discord where there would otherwise be perfect agreement and harmony. Polysemy led to the two errors of mystification and conflict.

E. N. articulated a common Owenite attitude and solution; that polysemy was 'error' and that precision was important to regulate language's polysemic tendencies. As Robert Dale Owen put it, 'Words are of little importance, compared to things; yet it is important that we should use the best, most expressive, and most explicit words, and that we should all understand their definitions'.[24] Murphy's arguments regarding the creation of a working-class canon in periodical culture from the early radical journals to post-Chartist ones are important for this study. He traced the development of working-class attitudes towards literary writing, where Cobbett and Carlile's hostility towards fiction and poetry as 'untrue' and mystifying gave way to a non-instrumental appreciation of literary forms in Chartism (p. 62). I have chosen to explore the ways in which items understood as literary in the Owen's periodicals fits within an attitude towards language more generally. I suggest that placing such attitudes towards poetry within the larger frame of discourse allows me to identify the differences between Owenite and Chartists structures of feeling, and so to their approaches to Shelley. Poetry was just one form of communication, both within the movements and in relation to other formations.

Claeys took issue with Engels's analysis of Owenite philosophy: 'it is manifestly an exaggeration to argue that the Owenites, in common with all other early socialist schools, believed that socialism was "the expression of absolute truth, reason and justice", and had "only to be discovered to conquer the world by virtue of its own power"' (p. 8.). He went on to argue that 'there was a branch of Owenism far closer to traditional radicalism than is often assumed, and one which was concerned more clearly with the extension and fulfilment of democratic ideals than with their perfectionist transcendence' (pp. 14–15). I will build on this argument later in the

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[23] 'Institution, Charlotte Street', *Crisis*, 7 September 1833, pp. 1–2 (p. 2).
[24] R. D. O., 'O. P. Q's Definition of a Liberal', *Crisis*, 3 November 1832, p. 139. See also R. D. O., 'Legislators Beginning to Speak Plain English', *Crisis*, 8 December 1832, p. 159.

chapter, when I account for Shelley's relation to co-operation in the *Crisis*. Claeys dedicates a section of his book to 'The Language of Socialism'; his aim, however, is to parse the 'vocabulary of socialism', to account for the 'range of meanings' represented by such terms as 'socialism', and 'social science', rather than to explore the linguistic registers of Owenite Socialism in which tone and emotive expression was also key (p. 60).

Olivia Smith's *The Politics of Language: 1791–1819*, though it does not address the Owenite period, does outline the hegemonic and radical positions on language and literature that Owenites would inherit.[25] Smith argues that the battle over suffrage was at the same time a battle over language; that the ruling class used contemporary theories on language to justify repression, and that radicals like Paine, Cobbett, and Thomas Spence produced new theories of language and new grammars as part of their political practice. This was also, she argues, a battle over class:

> Between 1790 and 1819, the hegemony of language was severely challenged. Because ideas about language justified class division and even contributed to its formation by accentuating differences in language practice, they were sensitive to any political movement which threatened to disturb class boundaries. (p. 3)

My argument is that while both orthodox Owenism and the more radical branch of Owenism identified by Claeys inherited the intellectual resources and the gains of the battle over language bequeathed to them by Paine and his contemporaries, the difference lies in their acknowledgement of class conflict. While Owen would clearly have agreed with Cobbett that 'clarity is the essential virtue of language because it is the only democratic means of exchanging ideas', he would not have agreed with Cobbett's position (as phrased by Smith) that 'political conflict is the very essence of language' (pp. 246–47).

Owen had a utopian vision for language, too: the use of clear and peaceful language in the as yet unredeemed old immoral world would reach its apotheosis in the new moral world. An editorial in the *New Moral World* offered the Prime Minister policy advice:

> I would also institute measures to induce all nations to adopt a common language, in addition to their own, to facilitate the communication between the most distant parts of the world, and, by degrees, to make all men of one nation, with one language and one interest.[26]

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[25] Olivia Smith, *The Politics of Language: 1791–1819* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1984).

[26] Robert Owen, 'Mr Owen's View of What a Prime Minister of this Country Ought Now to Advise the Crown and the People to Do', *New Moral World*, 5 September 1835, pp. 356–59 (p. 356).

Owen, according to Claeys, 'in his final years [...] came to insist that only one language was to be taught to all from birth, "Anglo-Saxon"' (p. 126).

Claeys accounts for the 'relatively easy passage of Lovett, Cleave, Hetherington and others into Chartism in the mid and late 1830s' by their 'strategic consideration' in '[salvaging] from Owen's views what was more widely attractive, such as an emphasis upon education', adjusting 'these to the goals and language of radicalism' (p. 225). I suggest that a significant sticking point for working-class radicals who had routes to Paine and Cobbett independent of Owen and his writings may have been Owen's attempts to limit not only the scope but also the linguistic style of social criticism. Part of the following section discusses the conflict between Robert Owen and Smith towards the end of the *Crisis*'s life as an illustration of this problem.

**The problem with poetry in particular**

The attitude towards conflict and language outlined above had implications for the status of poetry in the *Crisis* and in Owenism generally. Owen launched the *Crisis* promising to explain to readers 'in plain simple language, the great principles of human nature, and the means of applying them, with equal simplicity, in practice, to all the affairs of domestic life, and to society in all its ramifications'.[27] He recommended that readers:

> should appreciate the difference between the value of pages written solely to develope [*sic*] the most important truths, to be speedily made applicable to the general amelioration of society in this and in every other country; and those works which are written chiefly to amuse and occupy time, which the parties know not how better to employ.[28]

Poetry appears to have been a casualty of this policy; it was rarely present in the first volume of the *Crisis* (14 April 1832 to 5 January 1833), which Owen edited with Robert Dale Owen's help from 3 November 1832. The Romantic poets of interest to Owen in this period were Byron and Coleridge, rather than Shelley.[29] This is especially interesting in that Byron's 'Lara' and 'Two Foscari' were adduced as evidence that the poet 'was a thorough necessitarian' and was, as one article's title had it, 'A Supporter and Advocate of Our Fundamental Principles'. If Owenism was

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[27] 'Prospectus', *Crisis*, 14 April 1832, p. 1.

[28] 'To Our Readers', *Crisis*, 21 April 1832, p. 6. In his autobiography, Linton recalled meeting Owen and described him as 'a most dry and unimaginative creature': W. J. Linton, *Threescore and Ten Years, 1820 to 1890: Recollections* (New York: Charles Scribner's, 1894), p. 123.

[29] For Byron, see 'Missionary Failures', *Crisis*, 19 May 1832, pp. 29–30; and 'Lord Byron A Supporter and Advocate of Our Fundamental Principles', *Crisis*, 1 September 1832, p. 103. For Coleridge, see R. D. O., 'Materials for Thinking', *Crisis*, 29 December 1832, pp. 170–71.

thoroughly indebted to Shelley's poetry at this stage, then passages from *Queen Mab* on necessity would surely have been a more obvious source of authority.[30] The only original poem to appear in volume one was by Concordia, 'The Voice of Truth', which will be discussed in the following chapter.[31]

Robert Dale Owen's brief tenure as co-editor of the *Crisis*, from 3 November 1832 to 13 April 1833, coincided with poetry being slightly more conspicuous in its pages. Burns's lines 'Charity' were recommended to readers, and Coleridge reappeared as the *Crisis* reprinted 'The Devil's Walk', a poem he wrote with Robert Southey.[32] Robert Dale Owen neglected the opportunity to quote Shelley on necessity in 'Free Will and Necessity', where he turned instead to Thomas Gray's 'A Long Story'.[33] An article entitled 'For the *Crisis*, Poetry' acknowledged that poetry had been valued for expressing 'the noblest and most elevated sentiments', while 'Others have considered it beneath the dignity of a rational being to employ himself in jingling final syllables'.[34] The writer observed that 'in a perfectly rational state of society, there would be little poetry; very certainly, there would be much less than there is now'. In this view, poetic metaphor was a feature of primitive language, and 'when the savage settles down into habits of steady industry, the romance of his language subsides into the plainer matter-of-fact phrases of ordinary life'.

Smith, the subsequent editor of the *Crisis*, made the opposite claim in rejecting the poetry of 'Plato': that he could 'give very little encouragement to the fine arts: we must be contented with dull prose in our little periodical, until we are seated under our vines and fig-trees, and then we shall chant divinely'.[35] Smith might also have noted the irony of a poet adopting the pseudonym 'Plato', given the philosopher's own antipathy towards poetry.[36] A few months earlier, the Spencean radical Allen Davenport's verse was rejected on the grounds that although his 'poetical effusion [was] agreeable to us in spirit' it was 'hardly precise enough in composition for these critical times'.[37] As a form of writing poetry was especially liable to the criticism that language was imprecise. For E. N. in 'Misnomers', as noted above, the fact that custom gave a word 'nine hundred and ninety-nine' meanings

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[30] VI. 197–238, and the twelfth prose note ('Necessity, thou mother of the world!') (*Poems*, I, 375–81).
[31] Concordia, 'The Voice of Truth', *Crisis*, 5 January 1833, p. 176.
[32] 'Charity', *Crisis*, 2 February 1833, p. 32; and R. D. O., 'Porson's Celebrated Verses, *Crisis*, 23 March 1833, pp. 85–86.
[33] R. D. O., 'Free Will and Necessity', *Crisis*, 2 March 1833, pp. 60–61.
[34] 'For the Crisis. Poetry', *Crisis*, 13 April 1833, p. 108.
[35] 'To Correspondents', *Crisis*, 2 November 1833, p. 76.
[36] 'It was not unreasonable for us to banish [poetry] from our city. Reason demanded it', in Plato's *The Republic*, trans. by Tom Griffith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 329.
[37] 'To Correspondents', *Crisis*, 1 June 1833, p. 164.

where only one could be accurate was antagonistic to the 'development of truth'. There was no room here for polysemy producing meaning, or for taking pleasure in the play of language. Owenism's normative position on language was a preference for prose over poetry, since it was apparently less subject to polysemy.

Poetry, therefore, was either relegated to a leisured future in which social problems had been solved, or would be abolished by the superior rationality of humans populating the new moral world. The point here is that Owenites did not typically think of poetry as important in the present, as relevant to social or political praxis. However the status of poetry in the new moral world was imagined, I do not think it is possible to claim for the Owenites, as it is for the Chartists, that 'poetry played an active, primary role within the movement' and that 'the political and the aesthetic are not just closely related concepts but are thoroughly imbricated practices' (Sanders, *Poetry*, p. 3).

It is possible, however, to claim that poetry and politics were brought closer together in the *Crisis* during Smith's editorship, and to show that this was not to Owen's liking. The *Crisis* had reported Smith's lectures at the Rotunda and Owenites' Charlotte Street Institute from May 1833, and John Saville thinks it likely that Smith had contributed to the periodical's editorial work from the summer of 1833.[38] Smith was editor from 7 September 1833 to its closure. From his first issue Smith introduced 'Poet's Corner' which, although it was short-lived and was a regular feature for only two months, secured a space for poetry in the periodical. Shortly after 'Poet's Corner' appeared in the *Crisis*, the *Pioneer*, journal of the Builders' Union which had close links with the *Crisis* during Smith's editorship, described this process in terms of a spatial settlement: 'Our poetical contributors are respectfully informed, that their corner in our little magazine has not yet been staked out'.[39] The *Crisis*'s 'Poet's Corner' featured a selection from Wordsworth's *The Prelude*, on the 'Wisdom and Spirit of the Universe', and the recently published 'Love of Liberty' by Charles Cole.[40]

Cole prefaced his collection *Political and Other Poems* (1833) with a rejection of the opinion that 'Poetry and Politics were never happily mated', stating that it was radical politics rather than politics as such that was denigrated, and that:

> it is only just, that the other party, who feel themselves enslaved, should indulge in a little rough music, and rattle their chains in the ears of their

[38] John Saville, 'J. E. Smith and the Owenite Movement, 1833–1834', in *Robert Owen: Prophet of the Poor*, pp. 115–44 (p. 126).
[39] 'Notice to Correspondents', *Pioneer*, 19 October 1833, p. 56.
[40] 'Poet's Corner', *Crisis*, 7 September 1833, p. 8.

> tyrants, till they make the very deafest of their oppressors own that Slavery is upon them.[41]

Cole situates his own poetry within the tradition of 'rough music', a form of moral protest described by E. P. Thompson as 'a ritualised expression of hostility' against what the community viewed as wrong doers: 'a rude cacophony [...] which usually directed mockery or hostility against individuals who offended against certain community norms'.[42] The *Crisis* reviewed Cole's volume in 'Poet's Corner' of 12 October and reprinted another of his poems, 'Diffusion of Knowledge under Difficulties'.[43] The review celebrated the literary efforts of mechanics and labourers on the basis that they were productive, in 'the beautiful art of poetry', design, as well as in science.[44] It also advised Cole 'to avoid personal subjects;

> poetry should be philosophical; that is, true to nature; but, in our view, to praise or blame individuals is quite opposed to truth, as it is to the pure spirit (so becoming in poets), the meek, the mild, the just spirit of charity.

The poem 'To Sir John Key, Bart. ex. M. P.', which did not appear in the *Crisis*, is a likely candidate for this gentle rebuke.[45] Before becoming the lord mayor of London in 1830 and a Whig politician in 1832, Key had been head of the Stationery Office which supplied the Houses of Parliament.[46] Since members of the House of Commons could not hold this office, Key passed administrative roles to family members secretly, including his son who was not old enough to hold the position legally. Key left his seat when rival stationers forced the House to set up a select committee. For Cole, the M. P., who had supported the abolition of slavery, reform of parliament, and the repeal of the Corn Laws, represented the corruption at the heart of a 'reformed parliament'.[47] Cole describes his subject as a 'Foul Recreant' and 'Mock Patriot', thereby sinning against the Owenite value of 'no blame' for wrong doing (2, 11). Behaviour that for Cole was rank hypocrisy was supposed to be understood by the

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[41] Charles Cole, *Political and Other Poems* (London: W. C. Mantz, 1833), p. 1.
[42] E. P. Thompson, *Customs in Common* (London: Merlin Press, 1991), p. 469, 467.
[43] A., 'Poet's Corner', *Crisis*, 12 October 1833, p. 48. See Murphy, *Toward a Working-Class Canon* for a discussion of Cole's poetry reviewed in periodicals (p. 52).
[44] For another statement to this effect, see 'Saint Monday', *Crisis*, 16 November 1833, p. 96: 'This is the production of a working man, and we are always glad to pay our tribute of congratulation to the literary exertions of those whose hands are busy in promoting the increase of national wealth'.
[45] Cole, 'To Sir John Key, Bart. ex. M. P.', in *Political and Other Poems*, pp. 7–8.
[46] Charles Welch, 'Key, Sir John, first baronet (1794–1858)', rev. H. C. G. Matthew, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15496> [accessed 24 February 2014]
[47] See William Cobbett's account of the affair, see 'Sir John Key and Son', *Cobbett's Weekly Register*, 31 August 1833, pp. 516–19.

true Owenite. 'Poetry Corner', therefore, applied Owenite philosophy to its selection of poems and declined to print this poem by Cole.

As historians of Owenism have noted, however, Smith was only a member of the mainstream Owenite movement in the early 1830s and 'not in any sense an orthodox Owenite' (Harrison, *Robert Owen*, p. 113). Before lecturing at the Institute and editing the *Crisis*, he had been a prominent figure in millennial sects (Harrison, *Robert Owen*, pp. 112–13). After Owen closed the *Crisis*, Smith returned to 'the combination of religious millennialism and social radicalism' with his own periodical the *Shepherd* (Harrison, *Robert Owen*, p. 114). He was also more inclined towards aesthetics than Owen. Saville described Smith's artistic tendencies; Smith had taught art and painting before his involvement in Owenism ('Saville, 'J. E. Smith', p. 115). Smith's lecture on the new society, delivered to audience at the Surrey Institution and the Rotunda early in 1833, predicted that 'in the new state of society to which we allude, every species of encouragement will be given to the fine arts and works of imagination'.[48]

Politically, Smith diverted from orthodox Owenism as the movement became more involved in trade union agitation between 1833 and 1834 (Harrison, *Robert Owen*, p. 114; Saville, 'J. E. Smith', pp. 126–30). According to Harrison, the disagreement between Owen and Smith which led to their parting ways was 'over practical issues of trade union tactics and policy, rather than irreconcilable doctrinal differences' (*Robert Owen*, p. 121). I will argue that their disagreement was indeed about their differing visions for Owenism, broadly conceived, but also that the manner in which they articulated those visions was at least as important. One aspect of this disagreement was on the legitimacy of social conflict and also the language used to describe it. The way that Smith edited the *Crisis* in this period, especially his reporting from March 1834 of the Tolpuddle Martyrs' situation, led to Owen's closure of the *Crisis*.

Smith's editorial of 29 March offered his analysis of the recent sentencing of the martyrs to seven years' transportation. Insofar as he objected to trade unionists taking oaths he remained within a recognisably Owenite position, objecting to secrecy: an oath 'presumes that you are a liar'.[49] The oath administered by the Martyrs was not illegal but 'immoral, highly immoral'; socialists should make promises rather than oaths, 'by this method we shall escape from the talons of the law

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[48] *Lecture on a Christian Community; Delivered by the Rev. J. E. Smith, M. A. at the Surry* [*sic*] *Institution* (London: John Brooks, 1833), p. 17.

[49] J. E. Smith, 'Editorial', *Crisis*, 29 March 1834, p. 252.

in a quiet and honourable manner'. On the matter of oaths, Smith, Owen, and Morrison concurred; Morrison had resigned from the executive of the union on this issue (Saville, 'J.E. Smith', p. 136). The manner in which Smith continued the article, however, is an example of what Owen would have interpreted as 'ignorant and vile language' and reason enough in itself for the dissolution of the *Crisis*. According to Smith, the event had

> awakened the slumbering listlessness of many, and called with a loud and imperious voice for an investigation of the popular claims. That voice cannot fail to be heard, and speedily answered, for now it is becoming too powerful to wait long for a reply.

The editorial ended with the following threat:

> Yet the lives or liberties of our brethren are vital points; these we must defend to the last; and we hope we shall raise such a clamour in England, as shall either immediately liberate the six victims at Dorchester, or make the oligarchy tremble at their approaching fate (p. 252).

These aggressive suggestions of a defence of the martyrs and the promise or threat of aggressive sounds ('the clamour') which would create fear in the enemy transgressed Owen's principles.

A day after James Loveless was transported to the colonies in Australia for his part in the Tolpuddle affair, the *Crisis* published an article that placed not only poetry and song but a militant working-class agency at the centre of continued action. It described 'a new feature' of meetings at the Owenite Institution, which would 'no doubt form the commencement of a new era in the history of popular assemblies. Hitherto these assemblies have been characterized by nothing but dry and protracted speechifying'.[50] The novelty was:

> vocal and instrumental music. After the passing of each resolution, the choir, accompanied by the 'organ's thundering peal', sung a hymn to Liberty, and the two stanzas of poetry which were found in the pocket of James Loveless, one of the convicts.

While this may have been a novelty in meetings at the Institute, singing was an established feature of union meetings. In their article on music and Chartism, Kate Bowan and Paul Pickering quoted Holyoake on the '"Great gathering of the unions"

[50] 'The Crisis', *Crisis*, 12 April 1834, p. 5.

on Newhall Hill in Birmingham in 1832 when 200,000 *sang* the Call: "the trumpet of liberty" and others made the reply'.[51]

> The *Crisis*'s report ended:
>
> But with all our zeal, all our music, and all our numbers, we have produced no effect upon our rulers. The poor convicts are doomed as victims; but it is a doom which shall fall at last upon the rulers themselves. Their sentence is now pronounced. Henceforth let the people cease to crave a morsel from them. We would say unto the people, as we are told the Lord said unto Joshua when he was lying 'praying', with his face to the earth: 'Get thee up; wherefore liest thou thus upon thy face?'.

This quotation from Joshua 7. 10, with its encouragement to rise from a position of supplication, references the Battle of Jericho.[52] The Book of Joshua describes the Israelites' conquest of the land of Canaan. Their first victory is the Battle of Jericho, with Joshua using the voice of the people to flatten the walls of the city: 'Joshua said unto the people, Shout; for the LORD hath given you the city' (Joshua 6. 16). Smith's use of Joshua figures the human voice as weapon, defeating the forces of corruption. Rather than inscribing the event within Owenite images of light and harmony, Smith turns to the discordant sounds so disliked by Robert Dale Owen in his representation of Shelley's *Queen Mab*.

Smith acknowledged the failure of agitation on the Martyrs' behalf: most of the Martyrs had just been transported with George Loveless to follow on 25 May. The peaceful demonstration led by Owen to petition parliament for mercy and the prisoners' release had come to nothing. Smith has the apparent victory of the rulers as pyrrhic, their sentencing of the Martyrs sealing their own doom. Repeating the words of God to stop prostrating themselves is both to suggest that victory was inevitable, and that the Martyrs' supporters submit to no-one. It also hints at divine intervention, perhaps understood by Smith literally, or in terms of the revolutionary sublime that Duffy identified in Shelley's political poetry in which violent revolution is imagined as the natural and inevitable outgrowth of oppression (pp. 11–12). While this raises questions about human agency (which agents would act to bring this about and how they would behave), it nevertheless suggests the possibility of an event ruled out in advance by orthodox Owenism.

This growing class consciousness in Smith paralleled a shift in the kind of poetry appearing in the *Crisis*. As noted above, 'Poet's Corner' featured Charles Cole's

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[51] Kate Bowan and Paul A. Pickering, '"Songs for the Millions": Chartist Music and Popular Aural Tradition', *Labour History Review*, 74 (2009), 44–63 (p. 48) (original emphasis).

[52] *Holy Bible: King James Version* (London: Collins, 2011), p. 284.

poems that accorded with Owenite principles and avoided those that offended them, chastising Cole for blaming his class enemies. Other poems appearing in 'Poet's Corner' in September and October of 1833 described affection for children and simple pleasures.[53] In April 1834, however, the editor had 'much pleasure in inserting the following lines to "The Dorchester Sufferers", by a Mechanic'.[54] The poem contrasted the righteous suffering of the Tolpuddle Martyrs with its cause — 'the jealous hate/ Of proud oppression'— and the consequences of their resistance — 'the mad revenge' of predators (3–4, 14). It concluded with a promise that thousands 'Unshrinkingly with thee make common cause,/ Or with thee in one common wreck be whelm'd' (24–25). According to the *Pioneer*'s editor a week later, 'The Muses have been very busy this week. The Poets have nearly overwhelmed us with their effusions'.[55]

The poem 'The Dawn of Freedom', by 'W', appeared in the *Crisis* in June, after Smith had referenced Jericho to represent working-class organisation in terms of vocal agency.[56] This poem was dated September 1833, and was perhaps a victim of the earlier attitude towards poetry that had governed 'Poet's Corner'. A notice to correspondents that month rejected their contributions of poetry: 'Our poetical friends are thanked for their contributions: we endeavour to collect only such scraps or pieces of verse which show the undoubted inspirations of the Muse, with her elevated thought and pure diction'.[57] In the newly militant context, however, the poem's celebration of the 'voice of the people' awakening the nations and causing the 'ruthless oppressors' to 'quake' with 'terror' may have been more welcome (9, 13).

'The Dawn of Freedom' bears comparison with a Chartist poem in the *Northern Star* in 1841: W. H. C.'s 'The Voice of the People'.[58] Both poems refer to the 'voice of the people' in terms of the natural force 'thunder' ('Dawn', 9; 'Voice', 4). As noted above, the earlier poem describes the people's oppressors quaking in terror; the later one has the natural forces 'shock like the earthquake' the tyrants' hearts, filling them with 'dismay' ('Voice',7). Both poems describe the voice filling a natural amphitheatre, though the earlier poem has an international dimension lacking in its Chartist counterpart, with the poem's protagonist receiving the sounds from 'o'er the boundless Atlantic!/ From the land that first kindled to liberty's flame' and predicting

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[53] Junius Redivivus, 'To Inez', *Crisis*, 28 September 1833, p. 30; and William Wordsworth, [Untitled], *Crisis*, 5 October, p. 40, respectively. Wordsworth's lines came from the Prologue to 'Peter Bell'.
[54] 'A Mechanic', 'The Dorchester Sufferers', *Crisis*, 19 April 1834, p. 16.
[55] 'Correspondents', *Pioneer*, 26 April 1834, p. 320.
[56] W, 'The Dawn of Freedom'. *Crisis*, 7 June 1834, p. 72. The *Pioneer* printed a poem by Charles Cole with the same title in March 1834: Julius T. U., 'Sir', *Pioneer*, 15 March 1834, pp. 251–52.
[57] 'To Correspondents', *Crisis*, 21 September 1833, p. 20.
[58] W. H. C., 'The Voice of the People', *Northern Star*, 4 December 1841, p. 3.

that 'Great Britain and France respond to the sound' ('Dawn', 17–18, 25). Sanders argued that Chartist poetry, especially in the early years, used the 'voice' to 'represent political consciousness' or 'political strength'.[59] I suggest that this sense of the 'people's voice' also flickered briefly in this period of Owenism. Charles Cole would also find a publisher for his political poetry in the Chartist *Northern Star* in later decades.[60]

By late July 1834, the relationship between Owen and his editor Smith was breaking down publically in the pages of the *Crisis*. In his editorial of 16 July, Smith quoted a letter by Owen in which he alleged that Smith had 'done great injury to that paper by allowing sentiments to appear in it altogether in opposition to the principles on which it was established'.[61] Smith did not merely sin by expressing opinions prohibited by Owen, but was also guilty of 'ignorant and vile language' (p. 117). According to Owen, the *Crisis* was:

> the only paper among the working classes that has been established to introduce kind, charitable, and correct moral views among them, and to disarm them of that violence and injustice in their conduct to each other which is always the result of want of knowledge of human nature, and of extensive experience among the different classes of mankind'. (p. 117)

The *Crisis*'s promotion of Owenite sociability was supposed to 'disarm' aggressive impulses, not encourage them. Smith was also clearly partisan in his support for the working class, rather than seeking the class conciliation that Owen intended the *Crisis* to bring about.

In the *Crisis*'s last issue, Smith published his own and Owen's versions of events. Owen claimed in his editorial that he had been successful in establishing the *Crisis* in accordance with his philosophy but that it had subsequently 'become a compound paper, containing heterogeneous opinions, some in unison with, and others opposed to, my principles'.[62] He announced the imminent arrival of the *New Moral World*:

> Men of all nations and colours, rejoice with us in this GREAT EVENT, for the certain deliverance from all human wickedness and folly is near at hand! Regret not that the *Crisis* now expires, for it dies at its appointed period, to be succeeded by the '*New Moral World*', in which truth, industry, and knowledge

[59] Michael Sanders, 'Poetic Agency: Metonymy and Metaphor in Chartist Poetry 1838–1852', *Victorian Poetry*, 39 (2001), 111–35 (pp. 112–13).
[60] Charles Cole, 'The Strength of Tyranny', *Northern Star*, 9 May 1846, p.3; 'The Spirit of Wat Tyler', *Northern Star*, 16 September 1848, p. 3; and 'Who Made the Poor?', *Northern Star*, 4 January 1851, p. 3.
[61] J. E. Smith, 'The *Crisis*', *Crisis*, 19 July 1834, pp. 116–18 (p. 117).
[62] Robert Owen, 'The *Crisis*', *Crisis*, 23 August 1834, p. 154.

> will for ever remain triumphant. For TRUTH is alone VIRTUE and RELIGION. (Original emphasis)

In a move that underlines the importance of periodical culture to the social movement, Owen associated the *Crisis* under Smith's editorship with the old immoral world, and the new moral world with a new periodical. Owen intended the new periodical to:

> be a paper in which one sentence shall not be in opposition to another. The fundamental principles upon which the '*New Moral World*' will be based, being laws of nature, form a moral science, which, like physical science, is at once destroyed by the admission of contradictions or inconsistencies.

The *New Moral World*'s first number announced that: 'The time is arrived for new measures to be adopted, because the mania of Radicalism has ceased, the excitement of the Trades' Unions to force up, or even maintain, the monied value of labour [...] is dying a natural death'.[63] Owen used the new periodical to reassert his commitment to truth unpolluted by contradictions; warnings against imagination reappeared, but it was rare for a poem to appear in its own right in the *New Moral World*'s first volume.[64] The few that did were quoted in the context of excerpts from other publications; poetry was an occasional rather than a regular presence.[65] A reader's contribution was rejected on the grounds that 'Poetry is inadmissible in the New Moral World, unless it be something out of the ordinary line, whether in goodness of sentiment or expression'.[66] If Owenites 'reverted to their earlier classless approach' after the end of the movement's convergence with trade unionism, then so, too, did it reassert the values of 'truth without error' and 'agitation without conflict' in its discursive practices (Harrison, *Robert Owen*, p. 197).

### Shelley in the *Crisis*

Shelley's presence in the *Crisis* can be outlined briefly. His poetry first appeared in the periodical's second volume as lines and part of a prose note from *Queen Mab*

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[63] 'Notice of Change in Proceedings in the Institution in Charlotte Street', *New Moral World*, 1 November 1834, pp. 6–7 (p. 7).

[64] For an example of the former, see 'Burton Rooms, Burton Street', *New Moral World*, 14 February 1835, pp. 121–23. Owen lectured to the effect that, 'the *imagination* of the human race has maintained the mastery over the judgment, and, in consequence, the imaginary notions of man have, to the present period, governed and directed the conduct of all individuals and of all associations of men. And hence the evils which have been and are now suffered, more or less, by all mankind' (p. 121).

[65] For example, 'Miss Martineau', *New Moral World*, 11 April 1835, p. 192, which was an extract from the *Working Man's Advocate*, in turn quoting the 'National Intelligencer'.

[66] 'Notices', *New Moral World*, 30 July 1836, p. 320.

appeared in a fable articulating a labour theory of value.[67] This fable had been published previously in pamphlet form, and Shelley's contribution to the text was one of the innovations in the version that subsequently appeared in the *Crisis*. I will discuss this, as well as an occasion when Shelley's poem was used to illustrate a vision of the future, in concluding this chapter.[68] The feminist writer Concordia also used Shelley's poems in four of her fourteen contributions to the *Crisis*, and then only in items concerned with women rather than with society more generally. Since it pertains to Owenite feminism, I will discuss her use of Shelley in the *Crisis* in the following chapter.

When compared to the *Free Enquirer*, Shelley is noticeably far less prominent in the *Crisis*. The *Free Enquirer* printed whole poems and sections from *Queen Mab*, was instrumental in the production of the first American edition of that poem, and made Shelley the sole subject of the series 'Sketches of the Lives, and Authentic Accounts of the Deaths of Modern Philosophers' when it reappeared in March 1833. I argued in the previous chapter that Shelley was an important resource for the *Free Enquirer*'s editors Robert Dale Owen and Henry D. Robinson in articulating their commitment to secularism. The *Crisis*, on the other hand, did not discuss Shelley or present his poetry in its own right and his presence was due to contributors rather than to the periodical's creators. As I noted in the previous chapter, there were two editions of *Queen Mab* by the Owenite publisher John Brooks: one in 1829, and one in 1833. Neither received the publicity that was afforded Robert Dale Owen's *Moral Physiology* when it was reprinted by both Watson and Brooks in 1832.[69] Kalim claimed that 'The Owenite journals, particularly the *New Moral World*, are full of quotations from Shelley', without noting his relative absence from the *Crisis* (p. 11). I argue that the ways in which Shelley was used in the *Crisis* illustrates the internal relations of Owenism during its co-operative period, when the movement was less dominated by Owen than Kalim tended to assume (pp. 22–24).

### The origins of *A Fable for the Times*

*A Fable for the Times: Addressed to the Working Classes* (1831) made use of an apiarian allegory, deployed more famously by Bernard Mandeville in *The Fable of the Bees* (1724) and John Minter Morgan in *Revolt of the Bees* (1826), to illustrate social

[67] 'To the Editors of the Crisis', *Crisis*, 9 February 1833, pp. 39–40.
[68] C. W. W., 'Visionary', *Crisis*, 7 September 1833, p. 8. (v. 249–53)
[69] Robert Dale Owen, 'Moral Physiology', *Crisis*, 27 October 1832, p. 136; and R. D. O., 'Moral Physiology', *Crisis*, 3 November 1832, p. 140.

inequality arising from unequal distribution of wealth. It thus participated in the long tradition of fables used for didactic purposes.[70] The fable described a situation in which the 'working bees' or 'working classes' produced all the honey, which was then placed by the 'sorting bees' or 'shopkeepers' at the service of the 'drones' or 'rich class'. Its solution, arrived at in the allegory by 'a gathering together of the whole body of the working bees', was for the sorting bees and drones to become workers thereby earning the comforts they enjoyed (p. 2). If the drones 'could not be convinced of the injury they did the bees' then they 'should not be COMPELLED to restore the honey' but would be left to enjoy the wealth they had already accrued (p. 2). The Nation of Bees would thereafter be divided into communities which would 'live in unity, in concord, and in peace' (p. 2). The fable describes a society afflicted by the 'curse of unnatural inequality', which it critiques in terms of a labour theory of value in which the worker had a natural right to the fruits of their labour (Harrison, p. 70).

The published fable was signed 'H', with a footnote attributed to 'K'. This footnote refers to the 'fallacies lately put forth in a work, entitled, the "Rights of Industry" but which is, in reality, a work justifying the plunder of industry by the *money capitalists*' (p. 2, original emphasis). 'K' recommended, instead, 'our tracts, called the "Workings of Money Capital;" also, "Gray's Treatise on the Principle of Exchange"'. This identifies 'K' as William King, a Londoner who also published 'Workings of Money Capital', and dates the tract as 1831 since Charles Knight's 'Rights of Industry' and the other tracts King mentioned were published in that year (Harrison, *Robert Owen*, p. 307, 318).

When the *Crisis* reprinted the tract *A Fable for the Times* on 9 February 1833 at the behest of 'A Disciple', it published a significantly reworked version.[71] This version not only incorporated lines of poetry and prose notes from the fifth canto of *Queen Mab* but also adjusted their sense to place greater stress on both Owenite and co-operative values that were important in that period. I will give an account of this canto, as it is relevant to the *Crisis*'s version of the *Fable*, before discussing that version's use of Shelley's poem.

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71 Murphy's *Toward a Working-Class Canon* contains a short and dismissive commentary on *Fable* 2, without noting Shelley's contribution to it, or to the existence of *Fable* 1 (p. 90).

**'Commerce' in *Queen Mab***

*Queen Mab*'s fifth canto is the first in the poem to give sustained attention to economics, following cantos in which Mab awakens Ianthe and shows her the effects of human development on the globe as a whole (cantos one and two), offers her a vision of humanity divided into kings and subjects with both parties suffering (three), and a vision of war (four). Although the canto refers frequently to 'wealth', and is supported by a prose note articulating a labour theory of value, it is significant that Shelley articulates his economic analysis via the metaphor of 'commerce'.[72] Shelley uses 'commerce' to stress the relational aspects of wealth production since its various meanings include 'trading', 'communication', 'interchange (esp. of letters, ideas, etc.)', and 'sexual intercourse' (*OED*). As Williams noted in *Keywords*, 'commerce' encompassed 'trade' as well as 'all kinds of "dealings" — meetings, interactions — between men' by the sixteenth century.[73] Associated terms used in the canto are 'intercourse', 'interchange', 'mediative', and 'transfer' (v. 104, 38, 132, 252). As an overarching metaphor, 'commerce' allows Shelley to identify the manifold social ills that accompany and result from economic inequality but which are not readily associated with it, even by some of capitalism's critics.

The canto's first few references to 'commerce' attribute the practice to the immorality it associates with organised religion:

> Twin-sister of religion, selfishness!
> [...]
> Hence commerce springs, the venal interchange
> Of all that human art or nature yield;
> Which wealth should purchase not, but want demand. (v. 22, 38–40)

Far from encouraging the free exchange of resources, interchange is made 'venal': a term that denoted the sale of goods before becoming associated with corruption (*OED*). The only free and equal exchange arising from commerce is that of hatred and disease: under its shade, 'poverty and wealth with equal hand/ Scatter their withering curses' and 'pining famine and full-fed disease' belong 'to all that shares the lot of human life' (v. 46–50). The effects of 'Commerce' circulate via a material body in the form of gold, marked by 'selfishness' and worshipped by rich and poor alike as 'a living god' (v. 53, 62).

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[72] In the fifth canto, 'Wealth' appears in lines 40, 46, 78, 80, 94, 128, and 254, more than doubling the number of references in previous cantos. Prose note seven, attached to the lines 'And statesmen boast/ Of wealth!' will be discussed below (*Poems*, I, 364–67).

[73] Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (London: Fontana, 1988), p. 70.

As a mode of relating, commerce affects everything: 'All things are sold' (v. 177). The window tax made 'the very light of heaven [...] venal' (v. 177–78). Charitable acts and liberty were rationed (v. 182–87). Most perniciously, 'even love is sold'; 'old age' and 'selfish beauty' exchange their wares to the benefit of neither, and 'youth's corrupted impulses prepare/ A life of horror, from the blighting bane/ Of commerce' (v. 189, 190–94). The point here is that Shelley did not see prostitution as a private transaction that might be kept separate from the rest of society.[74] Shelley, as the ninth prose note which was attached to these lines makes clear, regarded prostitution as 'the legitimate offspring of marriage' (*Poems*, I, 371). The 'monkish and evangelical superstition', chastity, perverted natural relations between the sexes. Women were punished for '[following] the dictates of a natural appetite' and men were encouraged by the rule of chastity to consort with prostitutes (pp. 371–72). Venereal disease thus contracted, as suggested by the lines 'the pestilence that springs/ From unenjoying sensualism', pollutes the legitimate domestic sphere (v. 194–95).

For Shelley, the rule of commerce establishes a mutually constitutive relationship between wealth and poverty and he focuses on that relationship as a process rather than on 'wealth' as its outcome. By articulating the relational nature of the two positions under the term 'commerce', which has a broad meaning encompassing 'communication' and 'interchange', Shelley can posit an alternative means of relating. The alternative to corrupt social relations is not the absence of social relations, but the creation of better ones. Corrupted commerce could be opposed with a positive commerce that has a different method of settling accounts. Shelley does this in the concluding lines of the fifth canto, which offers a 'commerce of sincerest virtue' and 'a commerce of good words and works' (v. 231, 253).

In this passage, Shelley reveals that not 'everything is sold', after all. 'There is a nobler glory, which survives/ Until our being fades' and is available to the virtuous in all social contexts, whether consigned to 'the dungeon's gloom' or free to walk 'the precincts of the palace' (v. 214–18). Virtue's reward is 'The consciousness of good, which neither gold,/ Nor sordid fame, nor hope of heavenly bliss,/ Can purchase' (v. 223–25). This is secured by the commitment of heart and brain to the social good. The brain seeks knowledge not for its own sake, but 'toils to change/ Reason's rich stores for its eternal weal' (v. 229–30). In opposing a corrupted commerce, this 'commerce of sincerest virtue' can exchange private wealth for the common weal.

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[74] For commentary on commerce as prostitution in *Queen Mab*, see Nora Crook and Derek Guiton, *Shelley's Venomed Melody* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 142–43.

Such riches are not limited by scarcity and thus distributed unequally, but operate according to a different method of accounting:

> This commerce of sincerest virtue needs
> No mediative signs of selfishness,
> No jealous intercourse of wretched gain,
> No balancings of prudence, cold and long;
> In just and equal measure all is weighed,
> One scale contains the sum of human weal,
> And one, the good man's heart. (V. 231–37)

Marx described the exchange of goods as the exchange of different qualities, and money as facilitating this exchange by serving as a universal equivalent.[75] Shelley opposes a system in which exchange entails loss with an alternative in which nothing is lost. 'Mediative signs of selfishness' recalls Shelley's description earlier in the canto as gold carrying the 'mark of selfishness' set upon it by commerce (V. 53). Money also enabled the preservation of value in a non-perishable form, and thus the stockpiling of both value in the form of wealth and the social power wealth conferred (*Capital*, pp. 228–31). The moral equivalent in social relations, in Shelley's view, included jealously guarding privileges and giving only in so far as it conferred a benefit on the giver.

The 'commerce of sincerest virtue', on the other hand, does not require a universal equivalent in money to mediate between parties. Shelley suggests an equivalence between 'the sum of human weal' and 'the good man's heart'. This is not, however, a balancing of different qualities against one another since 'the sum of human weal' must include 'the good man's heart'. The good man contributes to the common weal, he is not cut off from it. Shelley's equation balances and yet includes one of its terms within the other. It is a sum that does not add up by design; the rewards of virtue for the good man and benefits for the common weal are not involved in a zero-sum game. Unlike the 'balancings of prudence', the 'commerce of sincerest virtue' is radically imbalanced and yet entirely just. Shelley went on to propose a similar economics of desire in *Epipsychidion*, in which 'True Love', unlike monogamy, 'differs from gold and clay,/ That to divide is not to take away' (160–61).

Shelley's use of 'commerce' in *Queen Mab*'s fifth canto relates to the differences between Godwin and Thomas Malthus on labour, poverty, and population. Godwin had argued in his essay 'Of Avarice and Profusion' that all in

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[75] Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, trans. by Ben Fowkes (London: Penguin, 1990), p. 132, 162–63.

society should labour and that poverty was not related to population levels.[76] Malthus responded in *An Essay on the Principle of Population*, with arguments that Shelley described in *A Philosophical View of Reform* as 'those of a eunuch and of a tyrant'.[77] Both Godwin and Malthus used 'commerce' to refer to financial trade, sexual relations, and communication in general.[78] The *OED* also lists Malthus's *An Essay on the Principle of Population* (in the third edition of 1803) as the first to use 'intercourse' to denote 'sexual connection', and his use of 'commerce' to denote 'Intercourse of the sexes; esp. in a bad sense' (*OED*). Godwin's 'Of Avarice and Profusion' in *Enquirer* and his *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice* influenced Shelley's seventh prose note 'And statesmen boast/ Of wealth!', with the latter also influencing the ninth note 'Even love is sold!' (*CP*, II, 601, 605). Shelley's attempt in *Queen Mab* to recuperate 'commerce' in a positive sense is in reaction to the term's recent cultural history.

Of the critical commentary on Shelley's writing on 'commerce' in *Queen Mab*, Timothy Morton comes closest to this sense of the term as both negative and positive in his study of the 'literary and cultural history of the commodity'.[79] Morton quotes a section of the poem beginning 'Commerce! beneath whose poison-breathing shade/ No solitary virtue dares to spring' before suggesting that 'commerce' functions as 'a *pharmakon*: it is part of both nature and culture, representing for Shelley a faulty circulation in the social body which is a corruption of its dual nature' (V. 44–52; *Poetics of Spice*, p. 92, original emphasis). Morton's analysis of Shelley's poem draws on Jacques Derrida's analysis of Plato's *Phaedrus*, in which the 'pharmakon' represents both 'poison' and 'medicine'.[80] It also applies to written texts rather than to 'spoken speech', as the former provides the resources for philosophic enquiry while

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[76] William Godwin, *The Enquirer: Reflections on Education, Manners, and Literature. In a Series of Essays.* (London: G. G. And J. Robinson, 1797).

[77] Thomas Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population*, ed. by Geoffrey Gilbert (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). For Shelley's criticism, see P. B. Shelley, 'A Philosophical View of Reform', in *Shelley's Prose; Or, The Trumpet of a Prophecy*, ed. by David Lee Clark (London: Fourth Estate, 1954), pp. 229–61 (p. 247).

[78] William Godwin, *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice, and Its Influence on Modern Morals and Happiness*, ed. by Isaac Kramnick (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1976), p. 506, 764, 298, respectively. Malthus, *An Essay,* p. 64, 77, 151, respectively.

[79] Timothy Morton, *The Poetics of Spice: Romantic Consumerism and the Exotic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 3. For commentary on 'commerce' in *Queen Mab* in the strictly economic sense, see Duff, *Romance and Revolution*; Wheatley, *Shelley and His Readers*; and Jeffrey N. Cox, *Poetry and Politics in the Cockney School: Keats, Shelley, Hunt, and Their Circle* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 201. Ian Haywood discusses Shelley's criticism of the 'psycho-social effects of capitalism' in *Queen Mab*'s fifth canto in *Bloody Romanticism: Spectacular Violence and the Politics of Representation, 1776–1832* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p. 202.

[80] Jacques Derrida, 'Plato's Pharmacy', in *Dissemination*, trans. by Barbara Johnson (London: Athlone, 1981), pp. 63–171 (p. 70).

refusing to offer a resolution ('Plato's Pharmacy', pp. 70–71). For Morton, 'commerce' as 'pharmakon' commits Shelley against his will to capitalist logic: 'Shelley characteristically prefers flow over fixity', and 'what Shelley criticises at the level of content, he emulates on the plane of expression' (p. 93, 96–97). Shelley's 'anti-capitalism' is, therefore, only 'apparent' (p. 104). My reading of Shelley's use of 'commerce' entails a trajectory from illness to health; the social poison would need to be purged, meaning that commerce as a pharmakon would have to give up its dual nature.

### *A Fable for the Times* in the *Crisis*

When the *Fable* appeared in the *Crisis* in February 1833 it was in a revised form.[81] The original text had been altered to lay greater emphasis on the empowering nature of education and knowledge in the reformation of the Nation of Bees. The inclusion of 'Associations', as well as 'Communities', as the organising institution that would facilitate this change is also significant. The revised *Fable* also included the concluding lines from the fifth canto of *Queen Mab* on the 'commerce of sincerest virtue' and passages from the poem's seventh prose note ('And statesmen boast of wealth!': *Poems*, I, 364–67). I suggest that this makes overt what had been a covert reference to Shelley's poem in the original version of the *Fable*. I will discuss these changes and additions before considering the ways in which the revised *Fable* departed from Shelley's analysis of commerce. I will henceforth refer to the original *Fable* as '*Fable* 1' and the version that appeared in the *Crisis* as '*Fable* 2'.

> *Fable* 1 had the following passage as an epigram:
>
> When the Working Classes *once* begin to *think*, and to possess *real knowledge*, then will heart rending Poverty and Misery, or the *fear* of it, be only known to them in the dim remembrance of the past. (p. 1, original emphasis)

This passage establishes a causal relationship between the initiation of 'thought' in the working class, and its subsequent possession of 'real knowledge', with the cessation of 'Poverty and Misery'. The subordinate clause, 'or the *fear* of it', at one level undermines this optimism since it suggests that knowledge will provoke a change in subjective attitudes rather than objective material conditions. It might also, however, acknowledge that this change in attitude will be a valuable resource for those still mired in poverty but who hoped to change those conditions.

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[81] 'To the Editors of the Crisis', *Crisis*, 9 February 1833, pp. 39–40.

When the *Fable* appeared in the *Crisis*, the content of this passage was split into two, moved from the position of an epigram, and incorporated into the main text. Thought and knowledge become the subjects of an opening address and the prediction that poverty and misery will be abolished is relocated to the end of the text. In *Fable* 2, this prediction takes the form of Shelley's lines from *Queen Mab*'s fifth canto, likely to have been the inspiration for the original *Fable*:

> But hoary-headed selfishness has felt
> Its death-blow, and is tottering to the grave:
> A brighter morn awaits the human day,
> When every transfer of earth's natural gifts
> Shall be a commerce of good words and works;
> *When poverty and wealth, the thirst of fame,*
> *The fear of infamy, disease and woe,*
> *War with its million horrors, and fierce hell*
> *Shall live but in the memory of time*,
> Who, like a penitent libertine, shall start,
> Look back, and shudder at his younger years. (v. 249–59, my emphasis.)

The unattributed epigram in *Fable* 1 is a prose version of Shelley's utopian vision in poetry, where 'poverty', 'misery', and the fearful emotions these states engendered would be committed to the 'dim remembrance of the past' (p. 1).

The effect of this rearrangement is more powerful rhetorically as *Fable* 2 creates a sense of doubt and suspense that is then resolved by the content of the fable which concludes with Shelley's uplifting prediction. *Fable* 2 began:

> WORKING MEN, *will you ever* begin to think, *will you ever* desire to possess real knowledge, will you still suffer poverty and misery to cling to you and drag you to the earth, when you might easily become rich and happy? (p. 39, my emphasis)

*Fable* 2 continued to stress the importance of insight and knowledge in its frequent additions to *Fable* 2, indicated by italicisation in the following extracts. The '*unthinking* consent of the labouring bees' allowed the 'sorting bees' to 'place the honey in the hive under the Government of the Drones' (p. 40). This alteration also questioned the drones' management of wealth since 'Government' replaced 'care', indicating that the two terms were not identical. Before the working bees attained insight, they:

> thought not of blaming the real Causes of their evils (the grasping passion, *and their own ignorance,* and which passion would never have existed, had not the bees placed the honey under the Government of the drones, *which silly act the working bees would not have committed, had they been intelligent and wise*). (p. 40)

Finally, in an example that also stressed the Owenite principle of no blame:

> the working bees were exceedingly ignorant, and they cursed the drones in their hearts, and talked of being revenged upon the drones for what they had done — but what in truth, *Ignorance*, and evil *selfish* passion had done. (p. 40)

*Fable* 2 concluded, like *Fable* 1, with an instruction that working men 'follow the example of the bees' in creating wealth for their own consumption. It differed from *Fable* 1, however, by concluding with Shelley's lines that it intended to encourage hope: 'Yet, unfortunate Beings, for all this, despond not — it cannot last — for 'Old hoary headed selfishness', etc.[82] Shelley was deployed in this case to resolve the doubt created in the *Fable* 2's opening address to the 'Working Men'.

Another significant alteration to *Fable* 1 was in the appearance in *Fable* 2 of 'Associations' as the organisation arising from the working men's enlightenment. The order of events in *Fable* 2 is as follows: inequality caused great unhappiness and discord, but:

> at this critical moment, Wisdom silently arose from her deep cells and caverns, she shook the dust of ages from off her shoulders, she spread her ample hands over the 'Nation of Bees,' and the veil of darkened ignorance fell from before the eyes of the working bees, and they became like unto one rational mind. (p. 40)

An understanding of the causes and effects of economic inequality both freed the bees from negative feelings towards their oppressors and allowed them to act. This action, heralded by 'a mighty voice [...] shouting for a gathering together of the "Nation of Bees" under the mantles of truth, of equality, and of Justice', resulted in four resolutions (p. 40). Firstly, that wealth would be consumed by producers and protected from the non-producers. Secondly, that middlemen ('sorting bees') should become producers. Thirdly, that non-productive drones would not be tolerated but taught to produce for themselves. (The clause in *Fable* 1, where the drones would be left to enjoy their accrued wealth if they refused to become workers was omitted from *Fable* 2.) Fourthly, that 'henceforth the "Nation of Bees" should be divided into different Associations, or Communities; each Association supporting itself by its own labour' (p. 40). The allegory is then related to the contemporary context; italics indicate the additions that *Fable* 2 made to *Fable* 1:

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[82] These lines were also used to conclude an item adjacent to the first 'Poet's Corner'. C. W. W.'s 'Visionary' regretted that Owen's theory of character formation was dismissed as visionary, but concluded with 'I can see, with the gifted poet', followed by the following lines from *Queen Mab*: v. 249–53 (C. W. W., 'Visionary', *Crisis*, 7 September 1833, p. 8).

> Working Men — follow the example of the *Working* Bees, and if the Rich will not give up the honey they *unjustly* possess, do ye *commence making fresh honey, and consuming it — to obtain this object,* form yourselves into *Associations* and no more sell your labour, but Exchange it for Equal Labour with your brother workmen. (p. 40)

The novelties of *Fable* 2, therefore, are the instruction to think about future production ('commence making fresh honey'), as well as the replacement of 'communities' with 'Associations'. 'Associations' are proposed explicitly as the means by which future wealth is produced and consumed equitably.

I contend that these alterations are highly significant and should be related to the commitments of co-operation more broadly in this period (rather than Owenism more narrowly) as the context in which *Fable* 2 appeared. I will argue that focusing on these alterations to *Fable* 1 illuminates relations between radicalism and Owenism in this period, as well as allowing me to account for the presence of Shelley in the *Crisis* in terms of a specific socio-cultural formation. Finally, I will argue that this has consequences for how we view the reception and transmission of Shelley in Owenite discourse, questioning the degree to which Owen can be credited with Shelley's presence in the *Crisis* or in Owenism during this period.

**Co-operation, Owenite socialism, and radicalism**

The few years preceding the publication of *A Fable for the Times* were critical in the development of Owenism. As Harrison noted in his history of the movement, 'the year 1829 marked a turning point' as 'communitarian experiments' in America and Britain had come to an end (*Robert Owen*, p. 195). From 1829 to 1834, 'orthodox Owenism had to meet the challenge of alternative interpretations of doctrine and practice' (Harrison, *Robert Owen*, p.195). Such interpretations resulted in the development of institutions led by the working-class: co-operative societies, co-operative trading stores, labour exchanges, and trades unions.

Iorwerth Prothero's *Artisans and Politics in Early Nineteenth-Century London* gives an account of the development of these institutions, from the establishment of the London Co-operative Society in 1824 and the London Co-operative Trading Association in 1827 to the establishment of the British Association for Promoting Co-operative Knowledge (BAPCK) in 1829.[83] The London Co-operative Society 'united under the Owenite banner a notable collection of metropolitan

[83] Iorwerth Prothero, *Artisans and Politics in Early Nineteenth-Century London: John Gast and His Times* (London: Methuen, 1981), p. 239–64.

working-class radicals' (Harrison, *Robert Owen*, p. 199); this included the future Chartists Lovett, Watson, Cleave, Hetherington, and others. They were also 'joined by middle-class sympathizers such as Julian Hibbert, a Shelleyan figure who had supported Richard Carlile' (Harrison, *Robert Owen*, p. 199).[84] *Fable* 1 is connected to the BAPCK via William King, who was the tract's publisher besides suggesting to the association that it exchange labour via labour notes in its bazaar. (Harrison, *Robert Owen*, pp. 202–03).

Owen's involvement in this movement resulted from his attending the BAPCK's congresses from 1831 (Prothero, p. 243). Owen was instrumental in the creation of the National Equitable Labour Exchange (NELE) in September 1832, making his Institution premises on Grays Inn Road available for its dealings (Harrison, *Robert Owen*, p. 204–05). Despite the fact that Owen's Institution of the Industrial Classes for Removing Ignorance and Poverty by Education and Beneficial Employment had 'wealthy philanthropists, bankers and M.P.'s [gracing] the committee of directors', the NELE actually functioned due to deposits made by artisans suffering the most from the effects of developing industrialization (Harrison, *Robert Owen*, p. 204; Prothero, p. 251) The *Crisis*'s title changed in April 1833 from the *Crisis, or the Change from Error & Misery, to Truth & Happiness* to the *Crisis, and National Co-operative Trades Union, and Equitable Labour Exchange Gazette.*

Both Harrison and Prothero stressed the autonomous nature of working-class involvement in these institutions. Harrison noted that trade societies had 'embarked upon schemes of co-operative production for their unemployed members' before the establishment of the NELE, and had used the BAPCK's exchange bazaar before they took over control of the NELE as the United Trades Association (UTA) in July 1833 (*Robert Owen*, p. 207). When general trading conditions improved, they would trade outside the NELE in order to avoid paying the exchange commission (Prothero, p. 252). There was also a degree of geographical independence. Although the NELE's business was conducted from Owen's Institution on Grays Inn Road, from December 1832 there was also 'a branch exchange [...] at the Rotunda in Blackfriars Road' (Harrison, *Robert Owen*, p. 205). Between January and May 1833 the Rotunda was

[84] Linton, in his biography of James Watson, described Hibbert (a benefactor of Watson) as having a character like Shelley's: 'He seems indeed (that I learned) to have been a prose Shelley, with the same gentleness of nature and chivalrous zeal against Wrong': W. J. Linton, *James Watson: A Memoir* (Manchester: Abel Heywood, 1880), p. 39. Linton also quoted from Shelley's 'Lines Written During the Execrable Castlereagh Administration' in discussing the politician in Watson's biography (pp. 7–8).

the headquarters of the NELE, because Owen left the premises on Grays Inn Road due to a dispute over rent (Harrison, *Robert Owen*, p. 205).

Ideologically, this period represents the conjunction of Owenism and radicalism. As Harrison noted:

> proletarian endeavour in the period 1829–34 was not so much a collection of separate movements, some of which waxed as others waned, as one massive, complex response to problems facing the working classes. (*Robert Owen*, p. 200).

Institutional forms such as co-operative stores or union societies did not express sectarian differences, and Owen's periodical the *Crisis* was the organ of the UTA (Harrison, *Robert Owen*, p. 208). Claeys identifies 'creative interaction between radical and Owenite language' in the discourse of the BAPCK, as the concerns of radicalism and Owenism were made accessible to adherents of both formations (p. 178). Claeys also identifies early 1830 as the point at which 'this particular blend of radical and Owenite ingredients in the BAPCK' was established (p. 180).

### *Fable* 1 and *Fable* 2 in this context

These factors bear on *Fable* 2's introduction of 'Associations' as the organising unit. In the first occasion (the fourth resolution of the assembled bees) 'Associations' are in addition to 'community': 'henceforth the "Nation of Bees" should be divided into different Associations, or Communities; each Association supporting itself by its own labour' (p. 40). In the second occasion, 'Associations' replaces 'communities':

> Working Men — follow the example of the Working Bees, and if the Rich will not give up the honey they unjustly possess, do ye commence making fresh honey, and consuming it — to obtain this object, form yourselves into Associations and no more sell your labour, but Exchange it for Equal Labour with your brother workmen. (p. 40)

I argue that this partial addition, partial substitution, of 'association' for 'community' relates to the development of the UTA, which formalised the association of trades societies using the NELE to exchange the products of their labour. *Fable* 2 appeared in the *Crisis* after this process had begun, from December 1832, but before the formal establishment of the UTA in the spring of 1833 (Prothero, pp. 251–52). This has consequences for means and ends in the context of this conjunction of Owenite socialism and radicalism.

Claeys made two claims in his analysis of the conjunction of socialism and radicalism between 1829 and 1835. One is that in 1829, 'a co-operative turning

towards politics was [...] a logical step' following the collapse of communities in America (New Harmony) and Britain (Orbiston) (p. 176). Another is that although the Owenites 'did not of course encourage class antagonisms', they 'refined the language of class to a much greater degree than the radicals' (p. 183). *Fable* 1, therefore, appeared at a moment when the principle of community was waning and before the next phase of Owenism (1835–45), when Owen had abandoned the working-class movement, revived the principle of Owenite sectarianism, and returned to communities (Harrison, *Robert Owen*, p. 7). The *Crisis* published *Fable* 2 at a point when the trade societies were attempting to use Owenite institutions in the production and exchange of goods, bypassing the general capitalist economy. *Fable* 2 expressed this as 'making fresh honey' and not selling labour but 'Exchange it for Equal Labour with your brother workmen'; 'associations', not 'communities', would enable this to happen.

The notion of 'division', introduced by *Fable* 1 and retained by *Fable* 2, undergoes a change in this shift from 'communities' to 'associations; as *Fable* 2 had it, 'henceforth, the "Nation of Bees" should be divided into different Associations, or Communities' (p. 40). There is a difference between the division of the land into geographically situated communities and the division of the economic sphere, where the organising unit 'associations' brings together economic agents who were indentified in contradistinction to mainstream forms of production and consumption. While the Owenite community as a concept was committed to the principle of class reconciliation in a social space, an association like the UTA was so defined precisely because the classes were divided. As Prothero pointed out, the bazaars of the NELE were used by workers disadvantaged by the growing industrialisation of capitalist production (p. 251). The NELE did not have as its aim the promotion of class reconciliation.[85]

Other changes made to *Fable* 1 can also be explained in terms of the conjunction between Owenism and radicalism. *Fable* 1 was written in the context of this conjunction, and we can identify elements that expressed both radical and socialist concerns. From Owenism, there was a stress on knowledge and education as necessary for change, as well as an insistence that corrupted society harmed both rich

[85] We might remember here that Godwin objected to association as 'an instrument of a very dangerous nature' in the text that influenced Shelley's prose note on labour: *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice* (I, 212). He also objected to Shelley's use of association in an early prose work; as Wheatley noted 'Reacting to an advertisement for the Proposals for an Association, Godwin wrote, "Shelley, you are preparing a scene of blood!"' (p. 67). See *The Letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, ed. by Frederick L. Jones, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964) I, 270.

and poor. From radicalism there was the identification of parasites ('drones') living off the labour of others, supplemented by the socialist identification of non-productive middle-men (the 'sorting bees', or shopkeepers) (Claeys, p. 178). As Claeys noted, the 'rhetoric of parasitism formed an excellent bridge between the radical and socialist views of society' (p. 178).

I argue that *Fable* 2's additions and alterations to *Fable* 1, however, reinforce radical rather than Owenite socialist values. Its use of prose note seven from Shelley's *Queen Mab* stressed the radical criticism of 'wealth-as-money', where the rich appropriated wealth created by the working class, rather than the socialist criticism of 'wealth-as-labour', where the privileged did not contribute labour-power to the production of society's material goods (Claeys, p. 178). While Shelley's note in its entirety provides ammunition for both analyses, the lines reproduced in *Fable* 2 condemn the accumulation of wealth to facilitate the enjoyment of luxury: 'The poor are set to labour, — for what? Not the food for which they famish [...] no; for the pride of power, for the miserable isolation of pride, for the false pleasures of the hundredth part of society' (*Poems*, I, 365).

*Fable* 2 also expressed radicalism's moral critique of exploitation in its frequent references to the lack of 'justice' in the Nation of Bees, the way the drones 'slily' tasted the honey, the dominance of 'evil selfish passion', and the unjust possession of wealth by the parasites (p. 40). Radicalism's focus on political representation was present in the substitution of 'Government' for 'care' in the description of the drones' management of wealth; Claeys notes that the BAPCK issued its first petition to government in 1830 (p. 180). *Fable* 2 also significantly introduced vocal agency: 'a mighty voice [...] shouting for a gathering together of the "Nation of Bees" under the mantles of truth, of equality, and of Justice'.[86] Conceptual relations between politics and aesthetics on the matter of 'representation' in this period have been explored in the secondary literature of recent years.[87] Finally, there was the frequent stress on the need for 'knowledge' to change this state of affairs. This may be taken as emphasising Owenism, but it might equally refer to the need to pay attention to what radicalism 'knew' as a result of its own social analysis.

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[86] The revised *Fable* also had an additional stress on vocal agency in its arrangements of the original *Fable* and Shelley's prose note. In the *Crisis*, Shelley's text appears more oral than it does in *Queen Mab*, as an end note to a philosophical poem: 'The poor are set to labour, — for what? Not the food for which they famish [...] no; for the pride of power' (p. 39).

[87] See Armstrong, *Victorian Poetry*; Timothy Simon Randall, 'Towards a Cultural Democracy: Chartist Literature, 1837–1860' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Sussex, 1994); John Plotz, *The Crowd: British Literature and Public Politics* (California: University of California Press, 2000); and Sanders, *Poetry*.

**Shelley's multifaceted 'commerce' fragmented**

To return to Shelley, I contend that *Fable* 2's use of poetry and prose from *Queen Mab* associates Shelley with radical rather than socialist elements within the co-operative movement of this period. Shelley was an overt presence in *Fable* 2, with his prose on the appropriation of labour's produce and lines from his poem offering a hopeful vision of the future beginning and concluding the fable, respectively. The parable itself did articulate the consequences for the 'unfortunate Drones (who were themselves made miserable by the possession of the honey)' (p. 40). Shelley was also concerned in prose note seven with the negative consequences for the rich, who were 'heaping up for their own mischief the disease, lassitude and ennui by which their existence is rendered an intolerable burthern' (*Poems*, I, 366). Shelley's name, however, was attached only to the selections that supported a radical critique of wealth. Given the alterations discussed above, which stressed other aspects of radical discourse, *Fable* 2 associated Shelley more effectively with the co-operative movement's radical rather than its socialist strand.

This makes sense within the publication history of *Queen Mab*, given the fact that the radical Carlile had been pirating the text for over a decade before the appearance of *Fable* 2. Acknowledging this provenance, however, demands recognition that *Fable* 2 did not take up other aspects of Shelley's notion of 'commerce'. Shelley's critique of commerce as a multi-faceted phenomenon, for example, condemned its pernicious effects on gender relations. One of the other prose notes attached to *Queen Mab*'s canto five was the ninth ('Even love is sold!') in which Shelley defines prostitution as 'the legitimate offspring of marriage and its accompanying errors' (*Poems*, I, 371). *Fable* 2 did not take up this aspect of Shelley's critique of commerce, highlighting the more straightforwardly economic strand.

Carlile's *Republican* of 6 May 1825 reprinted a handbill circulating at the time, offering advice on family planning: 'To the Married of Both Sexes of the Working People'.[88] In his comments on the piece Carlile promoted contraception as benefitting women especially and concluded 'by quoting from Shelley's Queen Mab, his corresponding note on love' (pp. 565–69). Most of Shelley's prose note followed. The leading article of that issue of the *Republican*, 'What is Love?', asserted the rights of women to the expression of sexual feeling, promoted contraception, and criticised Malthus's theory that population, left unchecked, would increase beyond the means

[88] 'To the Married of Both Sexes of the Working People', *Republican*, 6 May 1825, pp. 561–69.

of sustenance.[89] *Fable* 2's use of *Queen Mab*, though predominantly radical rather than socialist in character, only emphasised the economic within 'commerce'. This means that *Fable* 2 did not make Shelley available to readers of the *Crisis* as a feminist resource; the following chapter argues that Concordia's contributions to the *Crisis* established the link between Shelley's poetry and Owenite feminism.

The other aspect of Shelley's metaphor of 'commerce' that did not appear in the *Crisis* was its critique of religion. Shelley had described commerce as springing from 'selfishness' which was religion's 'twin-sister', the complicity of 'priests' in the worship of gold as 'a living god' in the 'temple of their hireling hearts', and the 'slavish priest' selling forgiveness since he 'sets no great value on his hireling faith' (v. 22, 58–62, 198–99). As argued in the previous chapter, Shelley's relation to organised religion was the main concern of the American Owenite periodical *Free Enquirer*. This sense is entirely absent in its British counterpart, the *Crisis*, which may be explained with reference to the disapproval of many co-operators of Owen's atheism. Prothero noted that Owen's statements to the effect that religion was error 'alienated many co-operators' (p. 258). Harrison and Saville noted that Smith and Morrison, in Harrison's words, 'resented the intrusion of Owen's religious views', as well as 'his dominance of the executive committee of the Union' (*Robert Owen*, p. 212; Saville, 'J. E. Smith', p. 143). It is unlikely that the 'Disciple', who contributed *Fable* 2 to the *Crisis*, would have reinforced an aspect of Owen's doctrine that was problematic for many co-operators.

## Conclusion

In this chapter I established the orthodox Owenite approach to language and conflict, arguing that this impacted on poetry's status in the *Crisis*. Smith's period as editor of the periodical led to both the increase in the quantity of poetry in its pages and the transgression of Owenite values regarding language use. During this period of Owenism, closely associated with the working-class and co-operation, a more class-conscious discursive form appeared in the main Owenite journal. I argued that this orthodox position on language and conflict was a major sticking point between Owen and his faithful followers, and more politically militant Owenites. As Smith's work on the politics of language in the period just before Owenism has shown, there were other positions also indebted to Enlightenment philosophy (such as Paine and Cobbett's) which were more open to the expression of social conflict. The politics of

[89] 'What is Love?', *Republican*, 6 May 1825, pp. 545–58.

periodical editorship was also important, as was evident in the relationship between Owen and his editor Smith. As Smith became more militant and aware of class oppression, his editorial style became more aggressive. I will argue in my chapters on Chartism that this continued in Chartist newspapers and in such a way that used Shelley's poetry to articulate class identity.

I also accounted for alterations made to the Owenite tract *A Fable for the Times* in terms of the movement's contemporary concerns, such as its focus on associations rather than communities. I argued that *Fable* 2 associated Shelley more closely with the radical, rather than the socialist, strand within Owenism in this period. *Fable* 2 also emphasised the economic aspects of Shelley's metaphor of 'commerce', and deemphasised its religious and gendered aspects. The lack of the religious aspect can be related to disagreements between Owen and co-operators on the subject of the former's atheism. The reasons for the lack of the latter — gender — will be explored in the following chapter.

# Chapter 3: 'Woman as She is, and as She Ought to Be' — Shelley and Owenite Feminism

## Introduction

This chapter examines another version of Shelley in Owenite periodicals: a feminist Shelley. Use of Shelley's poetry in feminist arguments was begun in the *Crisis* by the correspondent 'Concordia' and developed further in the *New Moral World* by others. Concordia and Kate, Concordia's counterpart in the *New Moral World*, wrote contributions supporting key tenets of Owenite philosophy. When they wanted to emphasise the ways in which unreformed society affected women in particular, they turned to Shelley's poetry. Many of Concordia's contributions to the *Crisis* took the form of fables. Formally, the fable was more acceptable than poetry in Owenism; its narrative, though a fiction, clearly illustrated Owenite principles. This did not prevent other correspondents from criticising Concordia's writing for her use of 'disguise', provoking her to respond with a dream vision in which she used Shelley's *Revolt* to assert women's right to speak.

I discuss these feminist pieces by Concordia and Kate to argue that, within the context of Owenism's broader commitments and ambitions, the positions of women and the arts were related. In doing so I bring together Taylor's arguments regarding the status of women within the movement and Murphy's arguments about the development of a literary working-class canon. I argue that the perceived roles of women and the arts within Owenism were constructed around similar possibilities and limitations, and that this link is illustrated by dialogue between Concordia and her critics. While Owenism never fully reconciled to the value of the fictional, as warnings against the dangers of the 'irrational' continued to appear in the *New Moral World* throughout its print run, poetry and the imagination grew in status between 1834 and 1841. I argue that Owenite feminists were responsible for this shift and that Shelley's poetry was central to their efforts. 'A Review of Modern Poets, and Illustrations of the Philosophy of Modern Poetry', intended to discuss poetry 'which is identified with, and prophetic of, the redemption of the human race'; it only featured Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound* and *Revolt*.[1] Kate's husband, John Goodwyn Barmby, used Shelley's poetry and pointed to Shelley's character in articles that I argue, following Taylor, attempted to resolve some of the contradictions in Owenite

[1] 'A Review of Modern Poets, and Illustrations of the Philosophy of Modern Poetry. Article I.—Shelley', *New Moral World*, 1 December 1838, pp. 83–85 (p. 83).

feminism. I make the additional argument that such articles also aimed to address contradictions in the Owenism's approach to the aesthetic.

It is also significant that this period of Owenism overlapped with Chartism. This chapter introduces my argument that the Owenite feminist Shelley developed between 1838 and 1841in dialectical relation to both Chartism and the Chartist Shelley of the same period. The 'Review' promoted a pacifist Shelley while Chartists discussed political violence and prepared for a General Strike in 1839. The *New Moral World* announced in October 1837 that it wanted to include more material (including literature) that attracted the 'general reader' in order to disseminate socialist ideas, reemphasising this policy a year later.[2] I contend that this was in response to Chartism's less equivocal and more positive relationship to poetry, which had emerged in the intervening period. After the Barmbys established the Communist Church and put their energies into their own periodical, the *Promethean*, the *New Moral World* reversed this policy at the end of its ninth volume. Thereafter, it would no longer print contributions that some thought had injured 'the unity and consistency of the paper'.[3] Shelley's poetry and prose continued to appear in the *New Moral World* until its closure in 1845, but the manner in which it was approached changed. Rather than appearing within arguments that the arts or imagination had an important social role to play, use of Shelley's writing as illustration of an already known Owenite truth became dominant again.

## Women's moral mission: Concordia in the *Crisis* and Kate in the *New Moral World*

As Taylor noted, feminists identified a gendered aspect to the Owenite principle that character was made for and not by the individual (*Eve*, p. 25). If women were considered inferior to men it was because a limit had been put on the development of their capacities. So-called 'natural' differences between men and women were produced culturally, and need not continue. On the other hand, Owenites were also drawn to the argument that 'women had a unique moral mission' to perform in bringing about the new moral world. 'Feminine qualities', such as gentleness and kindness, were key aspects of ideal Owenite sociability. Women were also better placed to inculcate these values in the next generation as the primary carers of children. This, Taylor argued, created an 'unresolved tension between the desire to

[2] 'To the Readers of "The New Moral World"', *New Moral World*, 28 October 1837, pp. 1–2 (p. 1); and 'Enlargement of The [*sic*] "The New Moral World"', *New Moral World*, 20 October 1838, p. 417.
[3] 'Conclusion of the Ninth Volume', *New Moral World*, 26 June 1841, p. 398.

minimize sexual difference and the need to re-assert it in women's favour' (pp. 30–31). I argue that this phenomenon was evident in the Owenite feminists' use of Shelley and that where his poetry was quoted in these contexts it was caught up in this ambiguity. However enabling it was for Owenite feminists to quote Shelley's heroines like Cythna from *Revolt of Islam*, such lines, abstracted from Shelley's poem and incorporated into Owenite discourse, sometimes appeared to confirm this essentialism.

Concordia's article 'Woman', for example, contains the major features of the Owenite feminist critique of society.[4] The truth of the 'Social System' as described by Owen is accepted — 'all the plans there developed, harmoniously and beautifully tend to produce and perpetuate universal happiness' (p. 159) — and the article closes by quoting a regulation from Owen's 'Outline of the Rational System of Society': 'Rational System, Regulation XIV.— Both sexes shall have equal education, rights, privileges, and personal liberty'.[5] The 'Outline' was published as a four-page supplementary number to the *Crisis* on 26 May 1832, and offered a blueprint 'on which we propose to erect an entire new fabric of society' (p. 37). While Concordia makes the case in the pages of the *Crisis* for gender equality, she does so in the highly ambiguous manner identified by Taylor. Concordia appeals to 'Man': 'Let, then, man no longer pursue this ungenerous, this false system; let him awake to his real happiness' (p. 159). He is reminded that his own happiness depends on the well-being of the women with whom he will share domestic space: the 'Mother', who 'is entrusted with the formation of the mind in infancy'; the 'Sister', who 'walks hand in hand with him in the delightful days of childhood'; and the 'Wife', who consoles him when the 'golden dreams have ended' and 'sweetly foretells that happiness will yet come' (p. 159). This stress on the agency of women in domestic relations recurred in Owenite feminist writings, as they understood the role of women in inculcating values to be pivotal in the re-education of society.

The Regulation from Owen's 'Outline of the Rational System of Society' that Concordia chose to support her argument was from the section 'On Providing for, and Educating the Population'. Care and education of the young, who would become the next generation, was thought to be a key part of woman's moral mission. Concordia took her epigraph from the third act of *Prometheus Unbound* in order to present women in the newly emancipated world as 'gentle, radiant forms,/ From custom's evil

[4] Concordia, 'Woman', *Crisis*, 25 May 1833, pp. 159–60.
[5] Robert Owen, 'Outline of the Rational System of Society', *Supplementary Number. Crisis*, 26 May 1832, pp. 37–40 (p. 39).

taint exempt and pure', and 'changed to all which once they dared not be,/ Yet being now, made earth like Heaven' (III. 4, 153–60). Concordia had also argued in the article that woman had been debased by slavery and worshipped 'as an angel' (p. 159). While Shelley's lines offer a positive image of emancipation for women, able to fulfil their potential because they were freed from customary limits, it also risks affirming conventional feminine values: they were 'gentle, radiant', 'pure', and 'made earth like Heaven'.

Many of Concordia's contributions to the *Crisis* were notable in their imaginative use of allegory. Her parables lacked titles but were addressed 'To the Editor', or 'For the Crisis'. 'For the Crisis' of 20 July 1833, for example, described a wise man who improved the water supply of a village, winning over villagers who had been unreceptive to his ideas.[6] This parable linked the improvement of material conditions with the spread of knowledge in a metaphor of liquidity, opposing the 'stagnant water' of ignorance with the 'pure stream of ingenuousness' brought by the Owen-like wise man (p. 220). She may have been influenced in this by Owen's description a few months earlier of 'stagnant pools' requiring the disturbance of agitation.[7] Concordia's 'To Robert Owen, Esq' occupied the front page of the *Crisis* on 5 April 1834 and allegorised contemporary society as a 'lovely island' prevailed upon by a 'distressing epidemic' — 'COMPETITION'.[8] The island was occupied by characters such as Mr Honesty who could no longer make himself heard and Miss Money, whom inhabitants honoured above Miss Love (p. 257). Such fables and allegories illustrate a general Owenite structure of feeling: faith in practical example and education to change public opinion, and the damage that competitive values wrought on societies committed to those values. Concordia did not use Shelley in these fables; his poetry appeared only in her feminist pieces.

Her parables of 6 July and 7 September 1833 both took flowers as their subjects and both referred to Shelley's 'The Sensitive-Plant'.[9] 'For the *Crisis*' of 6 July took lines from 'The Sensitive-Plant' as an epigraph describing the 'Naiad-like lily of the vale' and the 'rose' (I. 21–24, 29–30). The fable itself describes a fine lady, Mrs A, learning from her gardener John that she had planted her lily of the valley and roses in conditions that did not suit their natures. She 'thought of the analogy that there

[6] Concordia, 'For the Crisis', *Crisis*, 20 July 1833, pp. 219–20.
[7] 'Weekly Proceedings', *Crisis*, 23 March 1833, pp. 81–82 (p. 82).
[8] Concordia, 'To Robert Owen, Esq', *Crisis*, 5 April 1834, pp. 257–58 (p. 257).
[9] Concordia, 'For the Crisis', *Crisis*, 6 July 1833, pp. 205–06; and Concordia, 'To the Editor of the Crisis', *Crisis*, 7 September 1833, pp. 5–6. John Goodwyn Barmby also quoted 'The Sensitive-Plant' in his article 'Notes on the Streets of Paris in 1840', *New Moral World*, 7 November 1840, pp. 292–93.

was between these flowers and many human beings', who might have flourished if they had 'been tended by kindness and truth, and placed in situations congenial to their natures and habits' (p. 206). Instead, they 'became noisome weeds where they should have bloomed in strength and beauty' (p. 206). In Shelley's 'The Sensitive-Plant', flowers including the rose and lily of the valley die and are succeeded by 'loathliest weeds' when the garden is no longer tended by various agents: the 'Lady', the 'Power', and the 'Eve in this Eden' (III. 51; II. 5, 1–2). Concordia's parable effectively reverses this trajectory, beginning, as might be expected from an Owenite parable, with the fallen garden illustrating the contemporary state of society in which human nature is perverted, but confidently predicting its regeneration when 'error and misery must cease, [and] truth and happiness will alone reign' (p. 206). The primary source of change, therefore, would be the figure of the lady, cultivating the conditions conducive to such development, by encouraging love and affection.

'To the Editor of the Crisis' of 7 September describes a community of female flowers in which rumour and misinformation create discord between the flowers and 'their beloved, their gentle queen, Rose'.[10] Some flowers obeyed an edict that their Queen had apparently issued to behave selfishly and 'keep to [themselves] that affection and sympathy which must not only be weakened, but positively wasted by exchange' (p. 5). As a result, the 'poor little sensitive plant [...] looked in vain for pity or aid from her more sturdy neighbours, [and] now seemed ready to expire' (p. 5). The sensitive plant in both Shelley's poem and Concordia's parable registers the loss of mutuality and love by reacting physically to the loss of touch and sunlight. Where affection is withdrawn, the sensitive plant suffers. The Rose Queen makes the experience an object lesson in forgiveness: 'I blame you not; *I know that, circumstanced as you were, you were compelled to think as you did*' (p. 6, original emphasis). As in her earlier use of a flower parable, Concordia structured regeneration around recognition of the Owenite principle that people are conditioned by circumstances. In both parables women are the agents of change since they are figures who understand Owenite truths and are capable of cultivating healing affections.

Like Concordia, Kate wrote articles and fables illustrating both general Owenite philosophy and specifically feminist concerns but reserved use of Shelley for the latter. Women's special role in reforming society, especially in so far as they

[10] 'To the Editor ', p. 5. The parable ends with the following law from Owen's 'Rational System': 'Condition VI. The power of associating at pleasure with those for whom we feel the most regard and the greatest affection', p. 38.

would raise and educate the next generation, was a frequent subject of Kate's contributions to the *New Moral World*. 'The Flower Garden' argued that women's recent achievements in literature were less important than their education in 'the mode by which they shall fulfil their natural duties' and modelled the fulfilment of these duties via the piece's form: a dialogue between a mother and her daughter.[11] Kate also used the metaphor of flower cultivation in 'An Appeal to Woman', an article in which she told women that 'the bright effects of your virtuous example, will shed a rich perfume around you, which, like the leaves of a faded rose, will continue after your existence shall have ceased'.[12] This compares to, but also feminises, the 'virtuous man' of *Queen Mab* 'who leads/ Invincibly a life of resolute good' and whose influence 'shall never pass away' (III. 150–53, 169). Kate also described women as 'destined by nature to be the moral rulers of the world!'.[13]

In 'Condition of Woman.— Art. II', Kate anticipated what woman 'might do, were free play given to the peculiar qualities of her nature! were she educated to become the "help-meet" and equal of man, instead of his plaything or his drudge!'.[14] She quoted lines from *Queen Mab* as an image of a future that would be brought about by 'improving the position and mental being of those who thus early stamp the impress of their peculiar character upon us':

> We shall then have commenced a regeneration of society in real earnest, and may look forward without fear of retrogression or failure, to the consummation of the visions of felicity and purity which have gladdened the minds of the good and wise in all past ages; and the contemplation of which prompted the exclamation from SHELLEY, one of the prophets and poets of the future:— 'How sweet a scene will earth will become!/ Of purest spirits, a pure dwelling place'. (p. 114; VI. 39–40)

When Shelley's lines were used in conjunction with notions that women had a special moral mission, they were associated with the problems and contradictions that such gendering entailed for women. The 'purest spirits' inhabiting a 'pure dwelling place', and the 'virtuous' examples may have been held out as exemplary by Owenism for both sexes, but in the context of a discussion of women (even a feminist discussion) the terms are especially loaded for women. There is much in Kate's article that the analyst of separate spheres ideology would recognise.[15]

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[11] Kate, 'The Flower Garden', *New Moral World*, 2 April 1836, pp. 180–81 (p. 181).
[12] Kate, 'An Appeal to Woman', *New Moral World*, 22 August 1835, pp. 343–44 (p. 344).
[13] Kate, 'An Appeal to Woman', *New Moral World*, 15 August 1835, pp. 335–36 (p. 336).
[14] Kate, 'Condition of Woman. —Art. II', *New Moral World*, 22 August 1840, pp. 113–14 (p. 113).
[15] Besides Taylor, see Catherine Hall, 'The Early Formation of Victorian Domestic Ideology', in *Fit Work for Women*, ed. by Sandra Burman (London: Croom Helm, 1979), pp. 15–32.

It is also important to note that Concordia's particular form of Owenism was not predominantly critical of class inequality or aware of class interest. Her fable about the community of female flowers resolved discord by removing the source of misunderstanding and reconciling the Rose Queen with her subjects. In 'On the Influence of Women', Concordia described the middle-class woman as less burdened by the evils flowing from the extremes of riches and poverty, and thus more able to exercise her capabilities. As a result, she thought it was to the influence of women of 'the middle ranks', that 'we look for the regeneration of society; in their hands is placed the precious deposit of human happiness'.[16] This appeared in the context of a periodical that was more attuned to class interest than it had ever been, which two months earlier had featured a review of John Minter Morgan's *Hampden in the Nineteenth Century* reaching the opposite conclusion that it was 'the poor man' who was most likely to take the lead in bringing about social change.[17]

**The backlash: women and the arts in Owenism**

Concordia's parables which used Shelley's poetry and appeared in the *Crisis* between May and July 1833 provoked criticism from other correspondents. 'X. L.', questioned the wisdom of couching Owenite truths in fictional form:

> In offering a few remarks on the subject of Fables and Allegories, I would not wish to undervalue the ingenious productions of Concordia and other correspondents in the Crisis, but I would appeal to their enlightened minds, whether, in attempting to communicate a certain species of knowledge, it be not judicious to select the best means of attaining the end in view. We have arrived at a period in human history when all disguise is becoming useless, if not pernicious; and the sober intellects of the class with whom we have to deal may be safely trusted with the view of truth without a veil.[18]

The week before, 'Wisdom' had argued that although fiction had a pedagogic value if it illustrated the means by which 'truth is more firmly fixed in the mind', it was still 'sweet nonsense' and 'the subordinate service of the illustration of truth'.[19] Concordia was not chastened by X. L.'s criticism of her work; her next contribution to the *Crisis* went further still by taking the form of a dream vision in which she quoted Shelley's *Revolt*.[20]

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[16] Concordia, 'On the Influence of Women', *Crisis*, 15 February 1834, p. 204.
[17] 'Hampden in the Nineteenth Century', *Crisis*, 5 April 1834, p. 262.
[18] X. L., 'To the Editor', *Crisis*, 12 October 1833, pp. 44–45 (p. 44).
[19] Wisdom, 'Sweet Nonsense', *Crisis*, 5 October 1833, p. 35. It is likely that X. L. and Wisdom's contributions were with the editor by early September 1833; see 'To Correspondents', *Crisis*, 7 September 1833, p. 4.
[20] Concordia, 'For the Crisis', *Crisis*, 9 November 1833, pp. 83–84.

It begins with a conversation between the narrator and a female friend, in which they rehearse Owenite theories about the reason for suffering in the old immoral world. 'Oh! why cannot all share our present happy feelings', asks the friend (p. 83). 'Because Ignorance rules with an iron sway', the narrator responds. The piece might have ended there, as other dialogues in the Owenite press did once they had fulfilled their role in articulating Owenite philosophy, but it then shifts into the dream vision that forms the bulk of the piece. This dream vision, beginning when the writer's 'imagination kept awake' after she had retired to rest, encodes the same Owenite truth in a different form. One of the allegory's epigraphs is the first line from Byron's poem 'Darkness': 'I had a dream, which was not all a dream'.[21] Concordia appears to insist (albeit obliquely) on the value of the non-realist and the non-prosaic, which she refuses to dissociate entirely from indisputable Owenite 'truth'.

In her vision, the narrator travels through a country 'which *Nature* seemed to have fitted for the abode of peace, plenty, and happiness', but which was inhabited by 'anxious' men sowing thistles instead of corn under the orders of 'they who have a right to know best' (p. 83). This is reminiscent of lines from *Queen Mab* in which Mab asks the rhetorical question: 'Hath Nature's soul,/ That formed this world so beautiful, that spread/ Earth's lap with plenty' 'on Man alone,/ [...] heaped ruin, vice, and slavery' (IV. 89–99). When the narrator asked the anxious men why they did not sow corn, they replied that some did 'but they were mostly odd, visionary beings, who were generally laughed at' (p. 83). Neither these agricultural workers, nor the inhabitants of the metropolis who lived in sunshine but whose 'houses were closed as if it had been night', listened to the arguments of this visionary figure (p. 83).

The male philosopher of Concordia's earlier parable had managed to overcome the villagers' objections and persuade them to accept changes that improved their lives but no one listened to the female philosopher advancing the same arguments. When she questioned the education of children, in which lies were employed deliberately to maintain the status quo, she was patronised by 'the learned professor' (p. 83). She performed the role of Cythna in *Revolt*: 'Once, indeed, when men were boasting of their freedom, I believe I drew upon myself much ill-will by asking in public, in the words of a modern poet— "Can man be free when woman is a slave?"' (p. 83; II. 1045). Cythna entered the Golden City via ship having won its sailors to feminism (VIII. 3226–441). Concordia suggests that a man like Owen would have

[21] George Gordon Byron, 'Darkness', *Byron's Poetry and Prose: Authoritative Texts, Criticism*, ed. by Alice Levine (New York: W. W. Norton & Co, 2010), p. 245.

been less well-received if he had been a woman, and that Shelley's female revolutionary would have struggled to gain an audience in Concordia's environment. In contemplating women's position in this society she loses the sanguine disposition that Owenites considered ideal:

> There was one peculiarity in the domestic arrangements that, I am afraid, moved my indignation, and this was the narrow, little-minded nature of their opinions respecting the women, whom, be it known, I found much more agreeable and right principled than the men. (p. 83)

The dream vision ends with the narrator's question 'And who reigns over these miserable people?'. '"Ignorance," was the reply. The name dispelled the vision, and I awoke' (p. 84).

I argue that this episode in the *Crisis* illustrates the ways in which women and the arts within Owenism were related, since they were conceived in terms of a similar combination of possibility and limitation. As Murphy argued, with reference to a *Crisis* article on the value of Sir Walter Scott's fiction, the typical contemporary attitude towards fiction within radical culture both denigrated it and associated it with women (p. 76). A. B. C.'s 'On the Late Walter Scott', for example, suggested that 'novelists prize "feminine qualities" of beauty and imagination and care little for the "masculine" qualities — reason, factual knowledge, and understanding — that are to be found in more sober literature'.[22] On the other hand, as Murphy also notes, the fable was used frequently in periodicals like the *Crisis* to illustrate key values (pp. 88–89). Like women, the arts had a moral mission to educate the populace but 'masculine' rationality was considered more valuable. We might remember, here, Wisdom's description of fiction's limited utility in performing a '*subordinate* service of the illustration of truth', and which was 'sweet nonsense [...] to hundreds of thousands of [fiction's] devoted readers' (p. 35, my emphasis). It is also relevant that, as Murphy noted, 'criticism of women as the principle readers of a useless genre is as old as the novel itself' (p. 76).

Concordia could reasonably point to her work's content as fulfilling the duty of not only Owenites in general, but Owenite women in particular. Concordia and Kate's parables often modelled ideal Owenite sociability and education, especially education of children by their mothers. Many features of their writing could be read in terms of feminine characteristics. As Jack Donovan noted in *Poems*'s headnote to 'The Sensitive-Plant', the sex of the plant 'is never specified' and yet the plant was

[22] Murphy, p. 76. A. B. C., 'The Late Sir Walter Scott. Character of His Works, the Cause of Their Success, and their Effect on the Public Mind', *Crisis*, 20 October 1832, pp. 131–32 (p. 131).

gendered feminine via its name: 'Its species is mimosa pudica. The two terms of the Latin denomination combine the sense "mimic" with that of "bashful, modest or chaste"' (*Poems*, III, 288). Tone was gendered, too. An editorial comment before Kate's dialogue 'Conversation of Sophy and Emma' suggested Kate's style indicated that she was 'evidently a lady' and chivalrously expressed the hope that she would 'follow up these conversations' with the opposite sex 'on the condition, however, that she can find one not too much in love with her, (intelligence and unobtrusiveness in woman being ever lovely)'.[23] In 'Woman and the Laws', Kate wrote 'it is, I confess, an ungracious task to review the laws, or to cast censure upon the conduct man has pursued, in reference to woman'.[24] It is difficult to imagine a male correspondent fearing a loss of 'grace' in criticising conventional values, although they did generally try not to offend ideal Owenite sociability.

While Concordia adhered successfully to the Owenite principle of 'agitation without violence', X. L. found her guilty of mystification. On the one hand her response within the form of a dream vision was provocative, and compounded the error. For an Owenite to be 'visionary' was to risk criticism that their schemes were impracticable.[25] On the other hand, the dream vision could be used to encode criticism of Owenism that was not acceptable to the movement on its own terms As Fredric Jameson argued, narrative allows the partial expression of social conflict in attempts to resolve it symbolically.[26] In Concordia's context, what is uncomfortable and requires partial concealment is both the marginalisation of women's voices in a movement that aimed to emancipate women and the frustration experienced by Owenite women when marginalisation occurred.

The content of the line 'Can man be free if woman be a slave?', therefore, was not supposed to be problematic for Owenites. The problem to which Concordia alludes was a formal one: 'I drew upon myself much ill-will by asking in public, *in the words of a modern poet* — "Can man be free when woman is a slave?"' (my emphasis). The sublimated version of these lines that applies to aesthetics goes as follows: 'I drew upon myself much ill-will by asking in the *Crisis*, in an imaginative mode — "Can mankind be free if writing is made a slave to rationality?"'. The dream vision's overt message (true liberation entails women's as well as men's freedom) was

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[23] [Untitled], *New Moral World*, 4 June 1836, p. 254.
[24] Kate, 'Woman and the Laws', 29 June 1839, pp. 561–62 (p. 561).
[25] For an example of Owenite anxiety regarding being dismissed as 'visionaries', see 'Visions Realized', *Crisis*, 2 June 1832, pp. 41–42.
[26] Fredric Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 62–66.

acceptable to orthodox Owenism, but its covert message (creativity cannot be suppressed without consequences) was less acceptable. The dream vision's overdetermination in this respect allowed Concordia to criticise Owenism in the *Crisis*, while also avoiding open conflict.

If women and the arts shared an educative mission and decorous limitations, then to denigrate Concordia's medium was also to implicitly undermine women's agency within Owenism. As a female artist this problem was particularly acute for Concordia. In 'Woman', Concordia had advanced an argument familiar from Mary Wollstonecraft's critique of women's education in *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*:

> Imagination, sensibility, affection, are remorselessly cultivated by every artificial stimulus, because [man] is pleased with the flights of the former, and desires all the refinement and warmth of the latter to be lavished upon him. Has he forgotten that imagination the most splendid — fancy the most exuberant — is but a bright, a fatal deceit to the possessor when unaccompanied by correct judgement? (p. 159)

Concordia argues here that the dangers of the imagination where it is not regulated by reason was especially dangerous for women. Sensibility and affection were, as Taylor noted, attributes thought of as 'quintessentially female [and] also those which the Owenites wished to see generalized across the population' (*Eve*, p. 31). This aim existed in tension with their concurrent 'desire to minimize sexual difference' (p. 30). Concordia inherited Owenism's critical attitude towards the arts, and yet she was a skilled writer of lively and imaginative parables.

I would argue, therefore, that it was always going to be more likely that a female rather than a male Owenite would be responsible for securing a place for poetry, and Shelley's poetry in particular, within the movement. The issue was highly cathected for Concordia as a feminist Owenite who was also an imaginative writer. Owenism's related attitudes towards women and the arts produced a situation in which the contradictions were more acute for the female artist within the movement. In Shelley's poems 'The Sensitive-Plant' and *Revolt*, Concordia found able female role models. His formal strategies also appeared to have been useful; the dream vision appeared frequently in Shelley's poems, such as *Queen Mab*, *Revolt*, *Mask*, and *Triumph of Life*. In Concordia's experience, however, a Cythna-figure would have to face problems unknown to her male counterpart, Laon, just as the female artist would face problems unknown to the male writer of prose.

In a subsequent parable, Concordia described an old man, Vansnipem, pruning and shaping trees into unnatural shapes as illustrating families 'whose taste for cutting and pruning having been exercised upon human beings, has produced more mischief, waste, and misery, than a casual novice would discover'.[27] The Law from Owen's 'Rational System' that she chose to support this parable was: 'Everyone shall be equally provided through life with the best of every thing for human nature, by public arrangements, which arrangements shall give the best known direction to the industry and *talents* of every individual' (p. 39, original emphasis). 'Talents' was not italicised in the original, and this emphasis is perhaps Concordia's objection to attempts to curb her talents in crafting parables illustrating Owenite philosophy.

Concordia's article 'On the Influence of Women' followed these pieces, and argued that the arts were an important aspect of young people's education.[28] She described the ways in which men like Scott and the artist Benjamin West owed the development of their talents to their mothers. Of Scott, Concordia wrote 'his love of poetry was greatly owing to his mother's beautiful manner of reciting the national ballads'. Mothers' care for children, then, could have positive aesthetic as well as moral outcomes. Recalling Murphy's argument regarding the shift in attitudes towards the arts in working-class periodicals of the 1830s, we can see that Concordia would have been a pioneer in this development.

Conflict between male and female Owenites became more overt in the months after Concordia's sublimated response to her critics. 'Philia' and 'Justitia' also contributed to the *Crisis*, in a debate on gender relations in Owenism. This debate showed how Shelley's line 'Can man be free if woman be a slave?', quoted by Concordia in November 1833, informed the arguments of Owenite feminists the following year. Justitia had objected to criticism by the Saint-Simonians that Owenism had failed to make 'the emancipation of woman a leading object in his designs for the amelioration of mankind'.[29] According to Justitia, Owen's social philosophy already covered women's interests as they were not separate from men's. Nor could women lay claim to special knowledge or experience as a result of their gender. Murphy noted that Justitia also argued for verisimilitude in poetry in a contribution to the *Poor Man's Guardian*; for Justitia, 'true poetry is nonfiction' (p. 111).

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[27] Concordia, 'To the Editor of the Crisis', *Crisis*, 21 December 1833, p. 134.
[28] Concordia, 'On the Influence of Women', *Crisis*, 15 February 1834, p. 204.
[29] Justitia, 'To the Editor of the Crisis', *Crisis*, 22 March 1834, p. 246.

'Philia' responded with an accusation that the writer 'signing *him*self "Justitia"' had failed to recognise that this criticism had originated in the *Crisis* and been taken up by the French periodical *Tribune des Femmes*, which translated and reprinted Concordia's letters to Owen.[30] Philia paraphrased the lines from *Revolt* that Concordia had quoted: 'Can man cease to be the oppressor of his fellow-man, while he holds a legal right, and is trained in accordance with this legal right, to be the tyrant and oppressor of woman? Reason, science, and philosophy answer, no!'. Philia insisted that Shelley's rhetorical question in poetic form was also a rational, scientific, and philosophic one, and therefore thoroughly Owenite. She used Shelley's formulation again in refuting a narrowly political or legal understanding of emancipation: 'as man cannot be free, but on condition of his ceasing to be a chartered tyrant over the other sex [...] association is a vain term, and all attempts at bettering even their physical condition a delusion'.

Justitia's original article was in response to an excerpt from *Tribune des Femmes*, which was accompanied by an editorial note in the *Crisis* that made politics and men's emancipation, rather than 'moral socialism' and women's emancipation, the priority:

> The women in France are certainly far in advance of English women [...] But England is the land where the emancipation of man must take place — it is evident that nature has destined the two countries for these two departments; hence political liberty, which is the male department, is more abundant here.[31]

While social reform 'is the grand consummation' of an emancipatory project begun by politics, it was 'impossible' to achieve 'moral socialism' before 'political emancipation', which was identical to 'male emancipation'. Since the Unions were most likely to achieve male emancipation, social (and therefore women's emancipation) depended on politics.

I argue it mattered that Owenite feminists like Philia used Shelley within this context to argue for women's emancipation. Philia insisted (contra Justitia) that stress on women's freedom was internal to Owenism and not a delusion imported from Saint-Simonianism. Her argument also ran counter to contemporary investments of the *Crisis* under Smith's editorship: trade union agitation rather than orthodox Owenism. Contributions by 'Vesta' to the *Crisis* and the *Pioneer* appearing immediately before Justitia and Philia's debate are also instructive. Like Concordia, Vesta suggested in the *Crisis* that middle-class women would be the primary agents

[30] Philia, 'To the Editor of the Crisis', *Crisis*, 5 April 1834, p. 258 (original emphasis).
[31] 'Woman', *Crisis*, 8 March 1834, p. 232.

of change.[32] Her article for the *Pioneer* in March 1834 quoted Shelley's line 'Shall man be free, while woman is a slave', while arguing that trade unionists should not neglect women's rights.[33] Vesta was clearly neither a frequent reader of the *Pioneer* nor well versed in trade union principles; she began her letter to the editor 'In looking over your interesting publication', and noted that 'Your new constitution is founded (if I understand right) upon the universal association of all for the benefit of each' (p. 245, 246). Her aim in writing to the *Pioneer* was to remind trade unionists associated with Owenism of what Owenite feminists now considered to be fundamental Owenite principles — women's liberty as well as the familiar principle of non-aggression: 'above all, forget not to temper justice with the heavenly attribute of mercy; let your motto be, "Benefit of all, with real injury to no one"' (p. 246). This is a version of Owen's policy regarding industrial conflict (characterised by Postgate as 'strike policy on an avowed "class-peace" basis'), with added emphasis on women's social influence (p. 103).

I draw the following conclusions from my discussion of the Owenite feminists' use of Shelley in the *Crisis*. One is that Concordia, rather than Owen, was responsible for Shelley's presence in Owen's British journal. Taylor noted that 'there was the persistent echo of Shelley' in the critique of marriage in Robert Owen's *Lectures on the Marriages of the Priesthood in the Old Immoral World*, but this was published in 1835, some years after Concordia's use of Shelley in her articles (*Eve*, pp. 43–44). We must question the assumption that the direction of influence in movements is from the top down, just as we must question the apparently obvious influence of Shelley on the movement *per se* where alternative and similar sources were available. Given the relationship that existed in Owenism between women and the arts, in that they shared a set of limitations and possibilities, it was more likely that an Owenite like Concordia rather than Owen himself would have found Shelley's poetry useful in its capacity as poetry.

A related point is that although *Fable* 2 appeared in the *Crisis* before Concordia's first use of Shelley, she was responsible for most of his appearances in the periodical. As a result, Shelley was predominantly associated in the *Crisis* with Concordia's particular brand of Owenism: one more preoccupied with women's wrongs than those of the poor. Concordia, and subsequently Vesta, were concerned with peaceable social reform and mobilised Shelley in terms of that priority. A more

[32] 'The Improvement of Women', *Crisis*, 12 April 1834, p. 8.
[33] 'The the Editor of the Pioneer', *Pioneer*, 15 March 1834, pp. 245–46 (p. 245).

class-conscious use of Shelley would emerge later in Chartism and publications associated with that movement, but not in the main Owenite periodical during its trade-union phase. It is possible that Concordia's feminist Shelley was hegemonic in the *Crisis*, and in such a way that discouraged a class-conscious use by Owenites more concerned with trade-union agitation in the context of Tolpuddle.

**Owenite women and abstractions**

In his study of Chartist poetry, Sanders references Phyllis Mary Ashraf's argument that while use of abstractions such as 'Liberty' in Chartist poetry has often been attributed to Shelley's influence, there was an alternative source available in the imagery of trade union culture.[34] I want to argue here that Shelley was a likely source of inspiration for Concordia, in her poem 'The Voice of Truth'.[35] Considering an Owenite feminist use of abstraction in terms of later Chartist usage helps to distinguish further between the two movements' relation to Shelley.

Firstly, Owenite use of feminine abstractions is another example illustrating the problematic relationship forged between women and aesthetics in the movement. S. N. argued in a letter to the editor of the *New Moral World* that 'Socialism's' purpose 'is to *supersede*, not to attack — to exhibit truth in all her beauty and power'.[36] Kate characterised truth as feminine in her article 'Flattery and Politeness': she described a superior spirit to flattery as 'already discovered, and her name is — Truth! Hail! fairest and most beloved of Nature's gifts, all hail! and welcome to sojourn on earth!'.[37] Where female contributors used pseudonyms like 'Concordia' (representing social harmony), 'Vesta' (representing domestic space), or 'Philia' (representing love), they performed roles expected of them by Owenite ideology.

Tension was evident in the *Crisis* and the *Pioneer* on the subject of women's involvement in trade-union agitation, as Taylor pointed out.[38] The *Pioneer* with its 'Woman's Page', a regular feature from 22 March 1834, and support for the unionisation of women described Frances Wright appearing in a public lecture 'like the goddess Hope'.[39] To hear her speak in public was disappointing: 'She rather

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[34] *Poetry*, p. 49. See P. M. Ashraf, *Introduction to Working Class Literature in Great Britain: Part I Poetry* (German Democratic Republic: unknown publisher, 1978), p. 58.
[35] Concordia, 'The Voice of Truth', *Crisis*, 5 January 1833, p. 176.
[36] S. N., 'Socialism, and the Mode in Which it is Sometimes Advocated', *New Moral World*, 6 July 1839, pp. 580–81 (p. 581, original emphasis).
[37] Kate, 'Flattery and Politeness', *New Moral World*, 14 March 1835, pp. 157–58 (p. 158).
[38] *Eve*, pp. 94–117. See [Editorial], *Crisis*, 1 March 1834, p. 221; and A Woman, 'Woman', *Crisis*, 8 March 1834, p. 230.
[39] 'Madame Darusmont', *Pioneer*, 5 July 1834, p. 431.

seemed to affect the oracle, apostrophising man like the Queen of Delphi; and yet we loved her so, we could not rest upon this harsh conclusion'. Returning to her more satisfying writing after this experience showed by contrast the insubstantiality of Wright's performance in her lecture, 'she never fills her outline up'. The *Pioneer* seems to regret that Wright performed as a two dimensional abstraction rather than offering her audience something more substantial.[40]

We have seen how Concordia's use of fiction provoked accusations by X. L. that she used 'disguise' to mystify truth. For some contributors, this was true even of pseudonyms. The *New Moral World* informed J. Hall, who had complained about 'Correspondents making use of fictitious and classical signatures; which he thinks in opposition to "Truth without Mystery"', that that 'the time is not yet come, when the utterance of honest convictions is unattended with danger'.[41] This was especially true for female Owenites, who suffered more social stigma than male counterparts as a result of sexual double-standards (*Eve*, pp. 186–88). Preventing female Owenites from using pseudonyms would have limited their opportunities to speak still further.

Concordia's poem, 'The Voice of Truth', is recognisably Owenite in its content; Truth recognises that 'from the throne to the hut there is misery' (14). It is unorthodox, however, in its form and imagery; if the Owens preferred scopic images to aural experience, Concordia depicts clear sight as a consequence of Truth's message being heard: 'I will whisper the heart, and all visions bright,/ At the magical sound, start to life and light'(21–22). Orthodox Owenism's light of truth is retained ('In the light of my presence dark error shall cease'), and supplemented with a powerful vocal aspect ('Pale falsehood shall flee at my potent voice') (26, 29).This unorthodoxy was perhaps offset by the fact that the item following Concordia's poem was an excerpt from Paine's *Age of Reason*, in which he criticised 'mystery' as 'the antagonist of truth [...] a fog of human invention'.[42] In that work, Paine had also admitted that he had repressed a talent for poetry since it led 'too much into the field of the imagination' (p. 434).

There is a possible debt to Shelley's *Mask* in Concordia's personification of 'Truth' and use of vocal tropes.[43] In *Mask*, the poet was moved to 'walk in the visions

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[40] For analysis of such performances by Eliza Sharples, partner of Richard Carlile and editor of the *Isis*, in her lectures, see Rogers, *Women and the People*, pp. 48–79.

[41] 'To Correspondents', *New Moral World*, 2 November 1839, p. 863.

[42] Thomas Paine, 'The Age of Reason', in *Collected Writings* (New York: Library of America, 1995), p. 712.

[43] *Mask* was published for the first time a few months before the *Crisis* published Concordia's poem. Murphy cited its presence in periodicals between December 1832 and January 1833 (p. 53). *Mask*'s publication history is covered in more detail in chapter four.

of Poesy' by a 'voice from over the sea' (2–4). As Haywood noted, Shelley's poem 'makes female agency the basis of political opposition'.[44] 'Hope' cries out and lies before the procession of Anarchy, whose death leads to 'words of joy and fear' arising 'as if her heart had cried aloud' (138, 146). The imagined voice of the 'indignant Earth' addressing 'the sons of England' forms the rest of the poem. Concordia's poem is written in the first person, and the voice of Truth responds to appeals from the miserable:

> From the nations of the earth a voice I hear,
> Which calls me down from my starry sphere (1–2)
>
> And the earth resounds with the call for me
> From the throne to the hut there is misery. (13–14)

Where Shelley responds to the indignation that followed the Peterloo massacre by creating a poem in the form of a dream vision, Concordia's Truth appears to hear all voices, including the poet's:

> The poet's dream will I realize
> And earth shall become one true paradise. (23–24)

The 'pale falsehood' that would flee when she spoke might refer to Shelley's Anarchy, who he described as 'pale even to the lips' (32).

Elements from *Mask* which are not present in Concordia's poem are Anarchy's procession with its description of suffering, the death of Anarchy with its martial images and discordant sounds, and the content of the address beginning 'Men of England, heirs of Glory' (5–85, 102–34, 147–376). Concordia's concluding lines has the voice of Truth freeing the 'spirit of man' from its 'chains' (29–32), whereas Shelley's *Mask* encouraged the Men of England to shake off their own chains (374–75). Concordia also appears more concerned with spiritual suffering, whereas Shelley addressed the material privations experienced by the working class: freedom was 'clothes, and fire, and food/ For the trampled multitude' as well as 'Wisdom', 'Peace', and 'Love', qualities more obviously attractive to Owenites (221–57). Finally, while Shelley imagined Hope as overcoming a prolonged period of waiting, during which she took on the appearance of 'Despair', Concordia calls her agent of freedom 'Truth' (*Mask*, 86–97). As in orthodox Owenism, exposure to the truth emancipates immediately and irrevocably: 'For the spirit of man once freed from its chain,/ Can

[44] Ian Haywood, 'Shelley's *Mask of Anarchy* and the Visual Iconography of Female Distress', in *Romanticism and Popular Culture in Britain and Ireland*, ed. by Philip Connell and Nigel Leask (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 148–73 (p. 149).

never be bound in its fetters again' (31–32). As Harrison noted, Owenites maintained their confidence in the social system after the failure of various experiments, for which they 'always had explanations' (*Robert Owen*, p. 176). As a result, Owenites would appear to have been less in need of what Williams called 'resources for a journey of hope'.[45] Subsequent chapters on Shelley and Chartism will show that the later movement was more sensitive to success and failure, making 'hope' more important.

Concordia's use of abstraction in 'The Voice of Truth' appears in the first person form of address. It serves, therefore, as an instructive counterpart to subsequent appearances of abstractions like 'Liberty' in Chartist poetry, where the third person is more frequent. Chartist poems figuring Liberty in terms of vocal agency tended to suggest, unlike Concordia's 'Voice of Truth', that the abstraction had a martial aspect or would at least frighten opponents. Charles Westray's 'The Voice of Freedom', for example described that Freedom's voice as '[striking] upon the ear/ Of tyrants', smiting them 'with pallid, coward fear'.[46] Where the figure of Liberty is recognisably female rather than an abstract force, she might be presented as an object in need of Chartist (men's) protection rather than as the liberatory subject in her own right. Allen Davenport's 'Ireland in Chains', for example, addressed readers with 'Rise, Britons, rise! with indignation, —/ [...] See! See! The fiends of war/ Have seized on Liberty'.[47] While it was understandably necessary for Chartists to articulate a sense of self-determination, there was an undeniable gendered aspect to such images.

Concordia's use of the abstraction Truth, therefore, does not adhere to orthodox Owenism since it celebrates vocal agency in poetic form. Nor does it correspond to Chartist poems that figure the female abstraction as an object rather than a subject. Concordia's abstraction, rather, was an Owenite feminist one that represented her commitment to Owenism and her belief that middle-class women would form the vanguard for social, rather than political, reform.

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[45] Raymond Williams, *Towards 2000* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985), pp. 243–69.

[46] C. Westray, 'The Voice of Freedom', *Northern Star*, 5 November 1842, p. 3 (10–12). See also T. S. L., 'The Voice of Liberty!', *Northern Star*, 10 November 1838, p. 7; Eugene la Mont, 'Universal Liberty — The Chartist Reaction', *Northern Star*, 26 September 1840, p. 3; D. C., 'Oppression', *Northern Star*, 3 September 1842, p. 3; David Knox, 'Lines on the Present Movements', *Northern Star*, 22 April 1848, p. 3; Ernest Jones, 'The March of Freedom', *Northern Star*, 18 March 1848, p. 3; and John Skelton, 'The Respond to Liberty', *Northern Star*, 22 April 1848, p. 3.

[47] Allen Davenport, 'Ireland in Chains', *Northern Star*, 25 April 1846, p. 3 (1, 9–10). See also T. H., 'Liberty', *Northern Star*, 4 May 1839, p. 7; and Jonathan Lefevre, 'The Enslaved', *Northern Star*, 28 March 1840, p. 7.

## ‘A Review of Modern Poets, and Illustrations of the Philosophy of Modern Poetry’ in the *New Moral World*

The first issue of the *New Moral World*’s fourth volume of October 1837 informed readers that Owenite principles were ‘as yet understood and embraced by a comparatively small portion of the community’ and that ‘the occasional insertion of matter less pointedly and exclusively bearing on the social views, and of a nature which would be attractive to the general reader, might materially aid this object’.[48] Literature would play an important role: ‘Utility is not to be found alone in grave dissertations, solemn lectures, and dry calculations’ (p. 1). While literature would still have to adhere to ‘sound principles and legitimate deductions’, unless it also added ‘variety of illustration and playfulness of imagination, half of its value is lost’ (p. 1). Four months before this, Smith in his own periodical the *Shepherd*, had criticised Owenism for excessive materialism. Expressing ‘the most fervent respect for Mr. Owen, as a man — respect, also, for his system, as a beau-ideal of social mechanical morality’, Smith regretted that Owenism had neglected the imagination:

> but in respect to Imagination, and all its charming offspring, we must treat the system as a vacuum which Nature abhors, and must be filled up. Imagination is too strong to be put down. It is the strongest power in Nature.[49]

Following an encomium to Nature, including the suggestion that imagination ‘makes light itself more visible’, was a defence of poets and of Shelley, in particular: ‘The poets are the only priests who offer a free and a willing sacrifice to the God [...] the Mab of Shelley is the high-priestess of Nature’ (p. 2).

By the time the last edition of the *New Moral World*’s fourth volume appeared in October 1838, a year later, the process of making the periodical more accessible had apparently not gone far enough. The periodical would be enlarged in the fifth volume from eight to sixteen pages, which would allow for both ‘fuller reports of our progress’ and ‘the insertion of a greater variety of subjects more calculated to gratify the general reader’.[50] The reformed *New Moral World* would, therefore, satisfy both the ‘Socialist’ and the ‘miscellaneous reader’ who ‘will be led gradually to the appreciation of the great truths, the exposition of which forms the great object of *The New Moral World*’. This was a necessary justification for proposed changes; not only had the price increased by a third but orthodox Owenites distrusted imaginative play

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[48] ‘To the Readers of “The New Moral World”’, *New Moral World*, 28 October 1837, pp. 1–2 (p. 1).
[49] ‘The Shepherd’, *Shepherd*, 1 July 1837, pp. 1–2 (p. 2).
[50] ‘Enlargement of The [*sic*] “The New Moral World”’, *New Moral World*, 20 October 1838, p. 417.

on principle and had to be reassured that the periodical would remain recognisably Owenite.

The series 'A Review of Modern Poets, and Illustrations of the Philosophy of Modern Poetry' appeared in the *New Moral World* in this context. Despite declaring in its first instalment that it would illustrate 'the spirit and sentiment of modern poetry, especially that portion which is identified with, and prophetic of, the redemption of the human race, from the present miserable system to one of intellect, virtue, and happiness', Shelley's poetry was the only subject of the series.[51] In this focus on Shelley alone it was similar to the *Free Enquirer*'s 'Sketches of the Lives, and Authentic Accounts of the Deaths of Modern Philosophers'. In this section I show how the 'Review' establishes Shelley as a poet illustrating and anticipating Owenite philosophy in the two poems it covers: *Prometheus Unbound* and *Revolt*. I then argue that his poetry, and through it poetry in general, is associated with women's moral mission as outlined above.

The first instalment of the 'Review' identified several reasons for Shelley's suitability as a subject. Not only was he 'one of the greatest poets of this or any other age' but he also 'made the graces of poetry an instrument only for conveying the most important and profound truths to the ear of an ignorant and priest ridden world' (p. 83). Shelley's qualities united his work and his ethics; he was 'one of the kindest, bravest, and purest beings that ever visited this moral wilderness, standing forth in bold relief, calm and unruffled amidst the insults and calumnies of ignorant and misguided men' (p. 83). *Prometheus Unbound* was 'a rich fund of poetry as well as

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[51] 'A Review of Modern Poets, and Illustrations of the Philosophy of Modern Poetry. Article I.—Shelley', *New Moral World*, 1 December 1838, pp. 83–85 (p. 83). (I. 1–30, 48–69, 73, 107–19, 124–30, 204–15, 218–21, 245–48, 254–55)

Henceforth, I will refer to the series as the 'Review', and will give page numbers rather than full references as the 'Review' only appeared in the fifth volume of the *New Moral World*. References for subsequent instalments, with line references for quotations from Shelley are:

'A Review of Modern Poets, and Illustrations of Philosophy of Modern Poetry', *New Moral World*, 8 December 1838, p. 103. (I. 262–305, 410–16, 425–32, 452–57, 605–07, 609–25, 627–34)

'Modern Poets and Modern Poetry. Article III.—Shelley's Prometheus', *New Moral World*, 22 December 1838, pp. 134–36. (I. 659–61; II. 1. 171–94, 207–08; II. 3. 1–15, 17–53; II. 4. 1–32, 100–20; II. 4. 121–32, 140–49)

'Modern Poets and Modern Poetry. Article IV.—Shelley's Prometheus', *New Moral World*, 5 January 1839, pp.166–68. (III. 1. 51–61; III. 2. 1–10, 18–51; III. 3. 1–4; III. 4. 33–71, 98–100, 128–41, 144–88, 190–97)

'Modern Poets and Modern Poetry. Article V.—Shelley's Prometheus', *New Moral World*, 16 February 1839, pp. 262–64. (IV. 1–34, 35, 39, 69–80, 81–128, 135–58, 175–79, 274–302, 309–18, 382–87, 400–05, 412–23, 554–78)

'Review of Modern Poets and Poetry. Shelley's Revolt of Islam', *New Moral World*, 15 June 1839, pp. 533–35. ('Dedication', 19–45, 55–63, 73–81, 118–26, I. 145–53, 343–77, 397–423)

'Modern Poets. Shelley's Revolt of Islam. Act II', *New Moral World*, 22 June 1839, pp. 550–52. (I. 559–76, 586–603, 640–48; II. 694–702, 730–38, 775–92, 994–98, 1027–53; III. 1412–13; IV. 1488–89; V. 1801–21, 1898, 1927–29, 1918–26, 1945–66, 2008–25, 2308–16)

philosophy — a production that could only proceed from a vigorous mind, setting at nought the conventional trammels and fashionable modes of thinking, which enslave little minds' (p. 533). For this Owenite, therefore, Shelley's poetry was not only compatible with their philosophy, but his own life and character represented both the value and the dangers inherent in opposing conventional wisdom.

The 'Review' characterised poetry in feminine terms. Poetry was supposed to enlist the imagination to stimulate sympathy and use 'the graces and witcheries of poetry; particularly when the enchanting syren lends the melody of her voice to sing the will of "divine philosophy", and with her smiles softens down the asperities of her more argumentative brother' (p. 83). The formal qualities of lines from *Prometheus Unbound* were described repeatedly as 'intensely poetical' and 'beautiful', while Shelley's poetry as a whole was described as combining the aesthetically beautiful with the wisdom of Owenite philosophy (p. 134, 135, 166). The series was supposed to display 'the prominent beauties to be found in [poets'] works, and exhibit those passages where the wisdom of the philosopher is combined with the fancy of the poet' (p. 83). Concordia was ahead of her time when she wrote not only imaginative parables but ones influenced by Shelley, for the 'imaginative faculty' was now recognised in the 'Review' as being 'possessed in a less or greater degree, by every person', a faculty which had to be stimulated 'before we can accomplish any great good by dry and abstract reasonings on moral conduct' (p. 263).

'Review' frequently compared Shelley's philosophy with that of Owenism: he was 'the nearest approximation, in his views, of all our poets to the social system', and 'not only a near approximation to the Social system, but the Social system in its most perfect conceivable form' (p. 83, 168). Its fourth article quoted liberally from *Prometheus Unbound*, in which the Spirit of the Hour describes the regeneration of a society in which mankind is liberated from tyranny and hate:

> We have here described, in the most glowing verse, the new state of society consequent upon the annihilation of superstition, or religions of faith and ceremony, and the release and embellishment of truth, with all its attendant blessings, among mankind. Could the most sanguine votary of Socialism picture, with his imagination, a finer earthly paradise, than the one which Shelley makes the Spirit of the Hour describe? Is there any gap left unfilled by the poet, which the Socialist is called upon to supply? I ween not. (p. 168)

Shelley's poetic vision was superlative, offering a total and totally satisfying image of a redeemed future for this Owenite, though as a theorist of social change he was inferior to Owen: 'that he might not as clearly perceive the means to the end as our

venerable social father, we are willing to admit' (p. 168). Poetry could offer a glorious image of the end, but the means to that end as put forward by Owen's scientific method were seen as superior.

It is important to recognise here that the values Shelley was understood to represent were already well-established in the Owenite press before the *Crisis* published the 'Review'. The writer claims that:

> the hour approaches when love and truth shall establish their empire among men, and superstition, with its gaunt train of anti-social vices, be for ever annihilated; or, in the language of the poem, the powers of Jupiter shall be destroyed, the Titan liberated, and all things be subject to eternal love. (p. 166)

The lauding of truth and love, and the association of 'superstition' with 'anti-social vices', were already cornerstones of Owenite philosophy, which are translated here into the terms of the poem. Shelley's figure Jupiter represents the tyranny of superstition and established religion; the poem is understood via already recognised Owenite socialist values rather than used to establish them:

> The struggles of Socialism with the old world is the war between Prometheus and Jupiter, and in just proportion as we imitate the uncompromising Titan, both in firmness as well as love, shall we extinguish this evil system, and usher in the New Moral World. (p. 264)

The value of returning love for hate was demonstrated by a 'beautiful trait in the character of Prometheus', that his tormentors were 'to him objects of pity': 'No quarter is given in the Prometheus; unbound [*sic*] to hate, ambition, or revenge, love is everywhere celebrated as the great leading principle. Here again we recognise the principle moral feature of the social system' (p. 103, 263). Prometheus is presented as Shelley's double, and Shelley is identified explicitly with Owen.

The second 'Review' quoted Prometheus disowning the curse he laid on Jupiter: 'It doth repent me, words are quick and vain;/ Grief for awhile is blind, and so was mine —/ *I wish no living thing to suffer pain*' (I. 303–05, original emphasis in the 'Review'). It commented: 'Here spoke the philanthropist, and, in Prometheus, Shelley spoke the feelings of his own benevolent bosom' (p. 103). The poem was also understood to predict the victory of such efforts: 'The moral of this splendid poem clearly appears to be, that the long suffering, and indefatigable exertions of the worshippers of truth, will end in their complete triumph over every obstacle, which may be opposed to them' (p. 263). *Prometheus Unbound* satisfied the Owenite writer since it predicted the victory of moral right over tyranny, justifying the martyrdom of

the reformer 'to strengthen hope and increase love among those who have entered the field of combat against the evils of present society' (p. 263).

After a break of four months, the 'Review' returned in June 1839 to address another of Shelley's epic poems, *Revolt*. The poem is as Shelley described it in his Preface: a meditation on the French Revolution. As Shelley saw it, the event demonstrated the great difficulty of realising the revolution's worthy principles while avoiding terror: 'Can he who the day before was a trampled slave, suddenly become liberal-minded, forbearing, and independent?' (*Poems*, II, 36). The instalments covering *Revolt* described the childhood of the two main characters, Laon and Cythna, before quoting liberally from passages in which Laon persuades both soldiers to stop murdering revolutionaries and then the victorious revolutionaries to spare the life of the despot (pp. 550–52). The other aspect of the poem that was important for Owenites was the active role played by Laon's female counterpart, Cythna. The 'Review', therefore, quoted Cythna's 'splendid ode to equality' as well as the question she posed that was popular among Owenites: 'Can man be free if woman be a slave?' (II. 1045). Owenites found *Revolt*, especially Cythna's feminist statements, a valuable resource for their own articles and parables.[52]

I argue that it is significant that the *New Moral World* redoubled its efforts to enlist the imagination and literature in the service of Owenite truths ten months after the establishment of the Chartist newspaper the *Northern Star* in January 1838. As Sanders showed, the movement saw 'a dramatic increase in Chartist literary production in the period from 1838 to 1841' (*Poetry*, p. 72). The *Northern Star*'s editor was forced to reject the majority of readers' poetry throughout 1838, indicating that poetry was important to the Chartist rank and file. Owenism predated Chartism, but found in the latter movement an ideological rival for the commitments of the working class. A *New Moral World* editorial of May 1839 admonished the 'radicals' for concerning themselves with political reform when the Owenite strategy of class reconciliation was 'the shortest, the easiest, and the best way to secure "equal rights" to all'.[53] While the *New Moral World* stated confidently that the radicals' 'talented men' were 'fast coming over to us', in their view Chartist strategies would not only divert energies down an unproductive path but actively opposed the Owenite project.

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[52]Besides Concordia's 'For the Crisis', *Crisis*, 9 November 1833, pp. 83–84, see W. W. Pratt, 'On the Necessity and Pleasures of Agricultural Employment', *New Moral World*, 16 June 1838, pp. 265–66; W. W. P., 'Woman as She is, and as She Ought to Be' [cont.], *New Moral World*, 26 January 1839, pp. 210–11; 'The Pleasures and Advantages of Knowledge', *New Moral World*, 12 September 1840, pp. 166–68; and John Goodwyn Barmby, 'The Inferiority of Fourier's Classification of Society', *New Moral World*, 5 December 1840, pp. 355–56.

[53] 'The Chartists and the Socialists', *New Moral World*, 2 March 1839, p. 296.

Hostile publications conflated Owenism and Chartism in 1839, when the Chartists threatened a general strike in the summer and in the aftermath of the Newport Uprising at the end of the year. In response, the *New Moral World* stated in the context of the former event that 'the objects of the Chartists and the Socialists, as well as the means adopted by each for their advancement, are totally opposed to each other'.[54] It also congratulated itself that Owenism had deprived Chartism of 'the foremost minds among the working classes', who 'would have been most dangerous to government' had they not 'been by our means withdrawn from any participation in violent political agitation'.[55] If Owenism aimed to draw working-class people away from Chartist strategy and poetry was important to Chartists then it made sense to provide more of it in the *New Moral World*.[56] I will continue this line of argument in the following chapter, arguing that it is significant the 'Review' did not complete its account of *Revolt* but covered only the first five cantos, thereby avoiding acknowledging Shelley's ambiguous position on the subject of political violence.

**John Goodwyn Barmby on Shelley, drama, and Owenite sociability**

Earlier, I discussed Kate's contributions to the *New Moral World* which linked feminism and Shelley. In this section, I discuss contributions by John Goodwyn Barmby, who became Kate's husband in 1841 (*Eve*, p. 173). Taylor described Barmby as 'a high-minded young bohemian who espoused Shelleyan views on sexual relations' (p. 69). He was both a Chartist and an Owenite; elected delegate to the Chartist conventions between 1839 and 1841, the same period in which he was writing articles for the *New Moral World* (*Eve*, p. 172). As I approach the differences between Owenite and Chartist use of Shelley through their print culture — as a forum in which certain ideas and strategies, both political and discursive, were either welcome or unwelcome — it is useful to consider Barmby's work for both the *New Moral World* and his own publication, the *Promethean; or Communitarian Apostle* (1842). In this section I examine Barmby's use of Shelley in his discussion of women and the arts in the *New Moral World*. I argue that his position represents a

[54] 'Extracts from Our Contemporaries', *New Moral World*, 10 August 1839, pp. 669–70 (p. 670).

[55] 'Physical, *versus*, Moral Revolution', *New Moral World*, 7 December 1839, pp. 929–31 (p. 930). For other examples of Owenite commentary on Chartism, see 'The Chartists and the Socialists', *New Moral World*, 2 March 1839, p. 296; James Lindsay, 'Chartism v. Socialism', *New Moral World*, 8 June 1839, p. 516–17; 'Birmingham Town Mission', *New Moral World*, 22 June 1839, pp. 552–54; 'Mr Owen to the Social Missionaries', *New Moral World*, 11 July 1839, pp. 593–97; and W. Hawkes Smith, 'Chartism and Socialism', *New Moral World* , 10 August 1839, pp. 670–71.

[56] Kalim claimed that the 'Review' expressed an Owenite respect for poetry as 'noble enough in itself' as well as an instrumental use in directing the 'ignorant worker' (pp. 53–54). He did not note that acceptance of poetry in Owenite culture had been hard won by 1841.

development from earlier contributions in the Owenite press using Shelley to discuss the same subjects.

Barmby contributed a series of articles to the *New Moral World* on the social mission of drama. 'The Past, Present, and Future of the Stage' ran from November 1840 to March 1841, culminating in an instalment heavily indebted to Shelley's ideas and poetry which ascribed the arts an important social mission.[57] Previous articles in the series described the stage as 'one of the greatest mirrors of the age: it is a reflection of the manners, virtues, and follies of every aera [...] the subject of the drama must ever be of great importance to the Social Reformer'.[58] Barmby recounted the achievements of classical dramatists, noting that Aeschylus's *Prometheus Unbound* had been lost, and that it had 'been so gloriously supplied by Shelley, with the additional lustre of his own mind' (p. 296). Barmby presented Shelley, along with Shakespeare and Goethe, as having surpassed 'the first Greek tragedians' in poetry. It was the sixth and final article in the series, however, that made Shelley's thought central to the development of both drama and socialism.[59]

Drama's 'true mission' was 'the rehabilitation of the manners and morals of the nations, by the operation of its art' (p. 158). The means to that end was the introduction of a 'choral' element into drama, as a formal device that would 'mediate' between the two 'antagonistic' tendencies or 'types' that had previously characterised both poetry and drama. Barmby accepted Victor Hugo's definition of drama as 'the particular poetic expression of the modern aera', an idea he discussed before presenting 'the choral' as the solution lacking in Hugo's analysis. This emphasis on 'poetic expression' avoids affirming generic boundaries, as Barmby valued the imaginative capacities of 'poetry' broadly understood to anticipate a better future. The article began:

> The aggregated hopes of society for the future, eventually constitute that future; as the poet imagined the violet to become blue from gazing with love upon the sapphire sky. The future is wrapped and cradled in the present; and what we will to become, we can most assuredly be. (p. 157)

Barmby posits collective hope for the future and imaginative poetic desire as analogous forces.

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[57] For Kalim's analysis on Barmby's attitude towards drama, see pp. 66–67.

[58] John Goodwyn Barmby, 'The Past, Present, and Future of the Stage', *New Moral World*, 7 November 1840, p. 292.

[59] John Goodwyn Barmby, 'The Past, Present, and Future of the Stage.— Art. VI', *New Moral World*, 13 March 1841, pp. 157–59.

One of the antagonistic types was formally the ode in poetry or tragedy in drama, which took virtue as its subject and was idealist in character. Its antagonist was formally the epic or comedy, which took vice as its subject and was materialist in character. Barmby offered a schema representing the 'formula of the doctrine for the sake of visual perspicuity':

I.—The Poem.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. *Antagonistic* | 3. *Mediative.* | 2. *Antagonistic.* |
| 1. Primitive Aspect. | 3. Modern Aspect. | 2. Ancient Aspect. |
| 1. The Ode. | 3. The Drama. | 2. The Epos. |
| α. Ideal. | γ. Actual. | β. Real. |
| α. Thought. | γ. Action. | β. Being. |

II.—The Drama.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. *Antagonistic.* | 3. *Mediative.* | 3. *Antagonistic.* |
| 4. The Virtuous. | 6. The Reflective. | 5. Vicious. |
| 7. The Tragic. | 9. The Choral. | 8. The Comic. |

Fig. 1.

Situated between the two antagonistic poles was Barmby's preferred mode: the dramatic poem or the choral in drama, which took reflection as its subject, and was neither idealist nor materialist but 'actual' and 'active' in character. This 'mediative influence' would 'pacify, melodise, and moralise these two warring ideas, these dual antagonistic types, on the stage, as in the world' (p. 158). I argue that Barmby's theory was informed by the two poems he used to illustrate them, Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound* and *Hellas*, as well as *Queen Mab* (unnamed in the article). Barmby took 'mediative' from *Queen Mab*, which according to the *OED* was the first text to use the word in the sense analysed in the previous chapter — an adjective describing a quality that 'mediates'. I will discuss this idea in its three aspects of form, subjectivity, and character in turn.

Formally, the idea that there was no clear division between poetry and drama, and use of Shelley's poetry as exemplifying this idea, was significant. According to the schema, the mediative poem in its modern aspect was dramatic, and the play in its modern aspect should be choral. Shelley's *Hellas* was the model of the mediative poem in Barmby's theory, and he quoted from the Preface to *Prometheus Unbound* as a footnote to the article (*Poems*, II, 474). According to Stuart Curran, these two poems of Shelley's were lyrical dramas, 'an innovative form that, above all others, we associate with Shelley's experimental genius', and a 'deliberate assault on the

integrity of the tripartite generic division — epic, drama, lyric'.[60] Shelley's purpose was to force 'recognition that all action is subordinate to the preliminary mental conceptions that spur it', an idea that would have had obvious attractions for an Owenite (p. 292). It also allows historical development to be conceived as radically open: the lyrical aspect of lyrical drama allows Shelley to 'project history as possibility' and 'substitute a lyrical potentiality for dramatic assurance' (pp. 292–93). It also conjoins the individual, which was associated with the lyric form, and the collective character of drama.

Barmby prescribed the importation of this form into drama on the stage because he wanted to instantiate a new form of subjectivity in audiences witnessing a choral drama. He saw the coexistence of vice and virtue on the stage as problematic, since 'the mind is lost in a maze of contrary ideas', and 'too often dazzled by the poetry of vice' (p. 158). The role of the chorus would be to 'pacify, moralise, and melodise, the jarring chords of character and opinion', suggesting as an example a play on a 'physical force revolution':

> Let it be the first French revolution or any other [...] each day is a volcano; each hour a conflict; each night a half-smothered fire. Royalty and liberty, defeat and victory, mercy and revenge, contend in the bosoms of the audience as upon the stage; but a *choral band* appears. Youths and maidens with love in the eye, and garlands upon the brow, enter in a dance between the ranks of the combatting [*sic*] ideas. From one to the other, the chorus is kept up: — they sing. (p. 158, original emphasis)

Barmby went on to quote lines from *Hellas* in which the discordant sounds of revolution — 'The crash as of an empire falling/ The shrieks as of a people calling' — answered and countered by other choral lines in which 'Revenge and wrong bring forth their kind', and seek to substitute 'Love for hate and tears for blood'.[61] Barmby then reflected:

> How mediative! how calculated to produce beneficial reflection! would this chorus be, if introduced upon the stage in such a scene. It would be the representative type of the heart's song of a loving spirit, amid the discord of the world. (p. 159)

Barmby imagines a relation on stage between 'combating ideas' of irresolvable discord and the chorus of youths and maidens who embody different values. Symbolic embodiment of this difference makes desired values visible to and felt by

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[60] Stuart Curran, 'Lyrical Drama: *Prometheus Unbound* and *Hellas*', in *The Oxford Handbook of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, ed. by Michael O'Neill and Anthony Howe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 289–98 (pp. 289–90).

[61] 724–25, 729, 737. The full reference to lines quoted from *Hellas* is 719–37.

the audience, since what occurs in the 'bosoms of the audience' is evoked by action on the stage.

Such a 'type' would be unlike the two antagonistic 'types', where characters embody 'virtue' or 'vice' in a way that contradicts Owenite theories of character formation and belief in the possibility of changing character. The experience encouraged by the choral drama would be a truly human subjectivity and an authentic mode of being as it encouraged reflection. For Barmby, in true Owenite fashion, this reflection leads only to reconciliation between antagonistic factions. Intervention and change could result because there was no longer a stress on either an ineffective idealism nor a crude materialism or 'realism', but instead on the 'actual'. This 'actual' appears to be able to take into account both that which exists but is flawed and also that which might be and is better.

The schema's design also reflects this concept in the numbering of elements in the 'Drama' section. It describes a movement that oscillates between the two extremes of the arts' 'antagonistic' versions before coming to rest on the 'mediative' version: 1. *Antagonistic*, 2. *Antagonistic*, 3. *Mediative*, 4. The Virtuous, 5. The Vicious, 6. The Reflective, 7. The Tragic, 8. The Comic, 9. THE CHORAL.[62] Barmby proposed the mediative and reflective as modes 'in accordance with universal nature and science, which ever between two poles places an equator' (p. 158). This was more than just a metaphor; two months before the *New Moral World* published this article on drama it had published Barmby's 'Remarks Upon, and Specimen of, a New Book of Genesis, as Illustrative of Saint Simonian Cosmogony'.[63] Both Kalim and Shaaban discussed this article (and others by Barmby on the merits of Fourierism) in terms of Barmby's use of Shelley to discuss other contemporary socialisms.[64] Taylor's account of the article situated it in terms of Owenism's internal relations (*Eve*, pp. 168–82). Her discussion of Barmby's article 'The Man-Power, the Woman-Power, and the Woman-Man-Power' noted its debt to Saint-Simon's cosmogonic theories, in which a global climatological change would accompany a social one. In the following two sections, I build on this work while drawing out the relevance of this for the conjunction of women and the arts in Owenism, and Shelley's writing as a resource for this theory.

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[62] '2. *Antagonistic*' was misnumbered in the *New Moral World* article.

[63] John Goodwyn Barmby, 'Remarks Upon, and Specimen of, a New Book of Genesis, as Illustrative of Saint Simonian Cosmogony', *New Moral World*, 26 December 1840, pp. 401–02.

[64] Kalim, p. 115; Bouthaina Shaaban, 'Shelley and the Barmbys', *Keats-Shelley Journal*, 41 (1992), pp. 122–38 (pp. 131–32).

## Shelley and rival socialisms: 'Inferiority of Fourier's Classification of Society'

In 'Inferiority of Fourier's Classification of Society', Barmby used *Revolt of Islam*, *Epipsychidion*, and musical metaphors to suggest that Charles Fourier's theories of socialism were inferior to Owenism.[65] Lines from *Revolt* formed the article's epigraph, lines in which (as the last instalment of the 'Review of Modern Poets' noted) Cythna performed her 'splendid ode to equality, part of which may be found in the social hymn book' (p. 552). Such lines sung in an Owenite meeting would fulfil Barmby's recommendation that choral singing performs an ideal Owenite sociability. Barmby brings this idea and Shelley's poetry together in his writings; he appears to be a possible candidate for the anonymous writer of the 'Review of Modern Poets'.

Barmby took issue with Fourier's 'classism', in which reformed society would still be stratified according to occupations which were determined by natural inclination (p. 355). The ontological rationale for this offended the Owenite doctrine that character was formed for individuals by society. Likewise, Fourier's unequal distribution of wealth according to those classes prevented true equality. Cythna's appeal to Equality from *Revolt*, as the 'first principle of all right and law', forms the epigraph and is meant to speak to Barmby's argument (v. 2212–26). Barmby substituted 'should' for 'here' in the lines 'Earth bares her general bosom to thy ken,/ And all her children *here* in glory meet/ To feed upon thy smiles, and clasp thy sacred feet' (v. 2224–26, my emphasis). His prescription, therefore, rebukes Fourierism as well as 'the capitalist order', which Barmby thought Fourier had introduced 'into his system' (p. 356).

For Barmby there could be no harmony without equality: 'to melodize society is the object of the social Orpheus' (p. 355). By referring to the poet and prophet of Greek myth, Barmby linked the power of poetry and Owenism's social mission. Immediately after this claim he quoted Shelley's love poem, *Epipsychidion*:

> Are we not formed, as notes of music are,
> For one another, though dissimilar;
> Such difference without discord, as can make
> Those sweetest sounds, in which all spirits shake
> As trembling leaves in a continuous air? (142–46)

The importance of loving relationships and sexual equality for social reform is implicit in Barmby's use of both *Revolt* and *Epipsychidion* in this article. Cythna

[65] John Goodwyn Barmby, 'Inferiority of Fourier's Classification of Society', *New Moral World*, 5 December 1840, pp. 355–56.

entered the Golden City triumphant, having converted the ship's sailors and encouraged their love matches (IX. 3469–513). She confounded tyranny with 'quiet words' asking for mercy (IV. 1574–75). 'Wild-eyed women [thronged] around her path', and Cythna taught 'equal laws and justice' to women, 'outraged and polluted long' (IV. 1585–95). This education, in true Owenite fashion liberates at once and irrevocably: 'chiefly women, whom my voice did waken/ From their cold, careless, willing slavery/ sought me' (IX. 3350–53). *Epipsychidion* in this context supports a collective social formation rather than an exclusive romantic attachment, as Barmby discovered broad social implications in Shelley's love poem. In *Hellas*, as Curran noted, 'the collective voices that open the drama and intermittently comment on its development are composed of a "CHORUS OF GREEK CAPTIVE WOMEN", doubly enslaved by gender and nationality' ('Lyrical Drama', p. 297). The importance Shelley ascribed women in *Revolt* and *Hellas* (if not in *Epipsychidion*) survived in Barmby's use of those poems in articles on social reform.

As in his article on the social value of the chorus in drama, Barmby stresses harmony and rejects discord in both art and society. Harmony must comprise differences to exist, but this difference does not entail conflict; this suggests an idealised heterosexual romantic relationship as a model for social relations.[66] Barmby rejected Fourier's ontological justification for social stratification; it was unjust to claim that some were 'predestined to till the earth by the sweat of their brows' since 'each man possesses, in some degree, heart, head, and arm' (p. 355, 356). Barmby's rejection of the social division of labour parallels his persistent rejection of generic divisions in aesthetics. His use of Shelley's poems on sexual equality (*Revolt*) and romantic attachment (*Epipsychidion*) in this article not only brought class and gender in closer alignment than previous Owenite feminists had achieved in their writing, but also implicitly challenged essentialist ideas about women's capacities. This would become more explicit in the article 'The Man-Power, the Woman-Power, and the Woman-Man-Power', an article in which the influence of Saint-Simon is also evident.

[66] The *Pioneer* had also used the metaphor of musical harmony in relation to sexual relations: 'male and female voices are not rivals in the musical concerto — the melody is enhanced by the contrast'. 'A Page for the Ladies', *Pioneer*, 12 April 1834, p. 293.

## Shelley and rival socialisms: Saint-Simonianism and the 'Woman-Man-Power'

Earlier in this chapter I explained how the Owenites' concept of women's 'moral mission' was problematic in its essentialism. Barmby's article 'The Man-Power, the Woman-Power, and the Woman-Man-Power' was, according to Taylor, 'the most explicit critique of the concept of an essential masculinity and femininity to be found within Owenism' (*Eve*, pp. 179–80). She also noted its debt to Saint-Simonianism via the writing of Smith, both in the *Crisis* and in his subsequent periodical the *Shepherd* (p. 178).

According to Barmby, 'man-power' and the qualities associated with it — 'force' and 'terror', but also 'intellect' and 'strength of body' — had dominated 'except during the fabled golden age'.[67] These qualities had been gendered masculine but need not remain so in the future. Socialism's purpose was to reconcile these qualities with those that had been gendered feminine: 'gentleness and its sentiment equations' (p. 268). Man-power dominated in 'times of barbarization and feudalism', but the recognition of woman-power would bring about a society in which, quoting *Queen Mab*, '"War, with all its million horrors and fierce hell", will be no more; peace, love, and heaven, will be supernal' (p. 268, 269; v. 256). Reconciliation of these powers would happen both within and between individuals. 'Equilibriated beings', in which man-power and woman-power balance, 'are invoking the same powers in the breasts of others' (p. 269). Barmby thus uncouples gendered 'powers' from biological subjects, substituting for these a communist or socialist subjectivity: 'In fine, to be a true communist, or Socialist, the man must possess the woman-power as well as the man-power, and the woman must possess the man-power as well as the woman-power. Both must be equilibriated beings' (p. 269). Examples of 'man-power' were Oliver Cromwell and Joan of Arc, of 'woman-power' Felicia Hemans and William Cowper, and of the ideal 'woman-man-power' 'Marie Wolstonecraft' [*sic*] and Shelley (p. 269).

Barmby also proposes a dialectical relationship between people and the earth: 'as individuals become thus equilibriated, conditions will be so likewise' (p. 269). According to Taylor, this concept is indebted to an 'evolutionist cosmology' that Barmby had derived from Saint-Simon via Smith (*Eve*, p. 178). Barmby's article 'Remarks Upon, and Specimen of, a New Book of Genesis, as Illustrative of Saint

[67] John Goodwyn Barmby, 'The Man-Power, the Woman-Power, and the Woman-Man-Power', *New Moral World*, 1 May 1841, pp. 268–69 (p. 269).

Simonian Cosmogony' articulated this theory five months before the appearance of the 'Woman-Man-Power' article. For Barmby, Saint-Simon's theory had begun to reconcile science and religion in rewriting the genesis myth. He quoted from the 'St. Simonian Genesis', in which God instructed the feminine Earth to prepare for her 'Beloved' by developing her ecosystem (p. 401). The marriage of Earth to her 'husband', mankind, resulted in the climates being 'moderated' and 'equalized' (p. 401). Christ's appearance 'broke the union' which would be restored on the appearance of the new messiah (pp. 401–02). The consequences of the new union between the 'bridegroom' and the 'free bride' would be both social and ecological: 'true love and harmony will reign; war and discord will cease; the continents will unite with one another as if in marriage [...] all our planet will be rehabilitated' (p. 402). For Barmby, these passages reminded him 'strongly of those splendid choruses in the last act of Shelley's "Prometheus Unbound," in which the planets of the universe rejoice at his delivery, and the Earth and Moon are imagined discoursing of it in sphery melody' (p. 402). A footnote also suggests that Fourier had stolen this idea '*sub rosa* from the *Doctrine St. Simonienne*', and that Barmby had 'learnt it from the *savans of Le Globe* [the Saint-Simonian newspaper], from Percy Bysshe Shelley, and other writers long enough before he ever heard of a Fourierite' (p. 402). Barmby thus makes Fourier an unnecessary supplement to an intellectual lineage that included Saint-Simon and Shelley.

In Barmby's version the triumph of 'woman-man-power' would halt the 'precession of the equinoxes', where the earth changes the orientation of its axial tilt over a period of 26,000 years. Climactically, this creates unequal seasons and Barmby described such physical phenomena as corresponding to social discord: 'the world is now vacillating between man-power and woman-power. [...] We voyage to the two poles, the northern and the southern, and we find their medium in the equator [...] while vacillation is discord, equilibrium is harmony' (pp. 268–69). Barmby then offered a diagram in which the gendered powers were associated with the poles and the androgynous power with the equator.

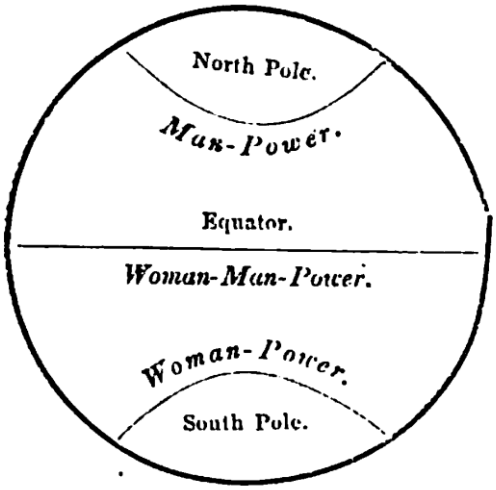


Fig. 2

This diagram was more than just a metaphor that would enable readers to visualise a harmony that could be reached by navigating the two extremes of machismo and femininity. If the precession of the equinoxes ceased then the equator would be perpendicular to its orbit and earth would be more genial to mankind because the seasons would be equal and moderate: this is the climatological equivalent of the woman-man-power's social dominance.

Shelley's poetry is central to Barmby's theory. The 'Woman-Man-Power' article's epigraph is from *Revolt*, lines in which 'obscener slaves' alleged that, after the overthrow of tyranny described in the poem, 'the rule of men was over now,/ And hence, the subject world to woman's will must bow' (IX. 3609–12). Barmby's theory rejects the rule of either men or women, as signs of a fallen, unequilibriated world, and thus rejects the charge that the end of patriarchy must result in matriarchy. The article noted that 'an enthusiastic woman [had] proclaimed the reign of women upon earth', mistaking the temporary rise of the 'woman-power' for imminent matriarchy. Taylor argued that Barmby followed Smith in viewing the millenarian prophet Joanna Southcott as such a figure (*Eve*, p. 178). I would add that Shelley's lines are used here not as an image that agrees with the argument advanced, but as a position articulated by a character and rejected. Rather than the frequent monologic Owenite gesturing at 'the language of Shelley', where the poet is represented as always voicing his own opinions, Barmby recognises the dialogic nature of Shelley's poetry.[68]

[68] W. W. Pratt, 'On the Necessity and Pleasures of Agricultural Employment', *New Moral World*, 16 June 1838, pp. 265–66 (p. 266).

There is also a probable connection to the prose notes of *Queen Mab* in the scientific apparatus of Barmby's theory. The intellectual framework behind it included Shelley's poem as well as Saint-Simonian socialist theory. Shelley's image of a redeemed world was quoted by Kate in two of her articles:

> How sweet a scene will earth become!
> Of purest spirits a pure dwelling-place,
> Symphonious with the planetary spheres;
> When man, with changeless nature coalescing,
> Will undertake regeneration's work,
> When its ungenial poles no longer point
> To the red and baleful sun
> That faintly twinkles there.[69]

This image of a world in which a redeemed mankind and a temperate environment are mutually dependent is supported by *Queen Mab*'s tenth prose note, in which Shelley grounds his poetic image in scientific theory (*Poems*, I, 373–74). The 'red and baleful sun' was:

> The north polar star, to which the axis of the earth, in its present state of obliquity, points. It is exceedingly probable, from many considerations, that this obliquity will gradually diminish, until the equator coincides with ecliptic: the nights and days will then become equal on the earth throughout the year, and probably the seasons also. There is no great extravagance in presuming that the progress of the perpendicularity of the poles may be as rapid as the progress of intellect; or that there should be a perfect identity between the moral and physical improvement of the human species. [...] Astronomy teaches us that the earth is now in its progress, and that the poles are every year more and more perpendicular to the ecliptic.[70]

Barmby's articles identify this process explicitly with sexual equality, as he would subsequently propose the 'mediative' and 'reflective' dramatic modes as existing 'in accordance with universal nature and science, which ever between two poles places an equator' ('The Past, Present, and Future of the Stage', p. 158). Barmby used Shelley in his articles to critique gender binaries as well as generic divisions in art, making the Owenites' gendered aesthetic more emancipatory than it had previously been in the movement's structure of feeling.

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[69] Kate, 'Female Improvement', *New Moral World*, 13 June 1835, pp. 263–64 (p. 264); and Kate, 'Condition of Woman. —Art. II', *New Moral World*, 22 August 1840, pp. 113–14. (VI. 39–46)

[70] VI. 45. Theoretical writings on this 'golden age' were also behind Shelley's theory; according to Matthews's notes in *Poems*, Shelley's sources, such as John Frank Newton's *The Return to Nature* (1811), 'considered it indisputable "that the poles of the earth were at some distant period perpendicular to its orbit", indentifying this period with the Golden Age, and speculated upon a time when "a second change will be accomplished, which shall bring back equal seasons and perpetual spring' (*Poems*, I, 373).

**Shelley in the *Promethean; or, Communitarian Apostle***

Kate and Goodwyn Barmby contributed to the *New Moral World* until August 1840 and May 1841, respectively. By then, they were married and collaborating in the 'Central Communist Propaganda Society' which became the 'Communist Church' (*Eve*, p. 173). The *Promethean; or, Communitarian Apostle* was the organisation's first periodical, and every issue carried the following lines from *Prometheus Unbound* underneath the masthead:

> Our singing shall build,
> In the void's loose field,
> A world for the Spirit of Wisdom to wield;
> We will take our plan
> From the new world of man,
> And our work shall be called the Promethean. (IV. 153–58)

The Chorus of Spirits' words sum up the *Promethean*'s self-designated role. It prescribes 'singing' in building a New World informed by the spirit of wisdom. Barmby continued in the *Promethean* to insist on the importance of poetry and art for social reform, attributing the failure of previous revolutionary movements to the rule of 'reviewers and critics' rather than to 'artists or poets'.[71] In 'The Outlines of Communism, Associality and Communization', Barmby extends the communist ideal of community in property to intellectual work:

> That the poet, however, is a creationing instrument, a working agent, is without doubt; thus the species, man, communally is poetic, but no individual poet can privately, or of himself, singly create, in any way whatever, nor can he therefore lay claim to private property.[72]

He quoted Shelley in support of this view: 'There is nothing, however, more eternal, and therefore more communal, than thought, even as is splendidly expressed by Shelley in his *Hellas*' (p. 57). This further inscribes poetry within a communal social project, undermining the premise of individual genius.

The Barmby's recognition of Prometheus as a figure is also important. The *Promethean*'s first issue claimed as an ancestor 'the hero of Æschylus and Shelley'.[73] Barmby had previously, in the *New Moral World*'s 'The Past, Present, and Future of the Stage', described Prometheus as superior in character to 'Milton's Satan, noble as is the arch-fiend in the Pandemonium of the poet':

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[71] Goodwyn Barmby, 'The Outlines of Communism', *Promethean*, January 1842, pp. 1–2 (p. 1).
[72] Goodwyn Barmby, 'The Outlines of Communism, Associality and Communization', *Promethean*, June 1842, pp. 57–58 (p. 57).
[73] Goodwyn Barmby, 'Address to our Readers', *Promethean*, January 1842, p. 12.

> as a school-boy, we always sided with the Satan of *Paradise Lost*, and thought his character superior to that of Milton's vengeful, tyrannic, Almighty; but when reading the *Prometheus Bound* of Æschylus, we absolutely feel the cause and the miseries of the Titan to be our own; it is the battle of the class the most numerous and the most poor that he fights.[74]

In associating the figure of Prometheus in the *Promethean*'s motto with Shelley's poem rather than Aeschylus's play, Barmby offers readers a role model that rejects class conflict. The 'additional lustre of his own mind' that Shelley gave his version of Aeschylus's lost play was to have his hero secure liberty in the act of rejecting the curse he had laid on his enemy, Jupiter. Shaaban claims that in 'Address to our Readers' Barmby 'failed here to distinguish between the Prometheus of Aeschylus who compromised with his tyrant and that of Shelley who defied Jupiter through patience and strong will', but he did not have to do so, given the strength of the Owenite conviction that conflict was to be rejected ('Barmbys', p. 127). Appearing in this context, Barmby's Prometheus is obviously closer to Shelley's than to Aeschylus's. What Barmby offers, via Shelley, is a Promethean figure capable of changing the world and recognising the special claim of 'the class the most numerous and the most poor' while eschewing confrontational class conflict.

As I noted earlier, the Barmbys were Chartists as well as Owenites. The *Promethean*'s first issue argued for 'unisexual Chartism', or truly universal suffrage, and Catherine's tract *The Demand for the Emancipation of Woman, Politically and Socially* had lines from *Revolt* as its epigraph.[75] The Barmbys offered a version of Shelley that was both Owenite and Chartist. Subsequent chapters of this thesis will argue for a distinctly Chartist version of Shelley that enabled a more aggressive version of Shelly's poetry to emerge in popular politics because Chartist periodicals allowed correspondents greater freedom in articulating sentiments that Owen would have rejected.

### The return to rationalism

The point at which the Barmbys stopped writing for the *New Moral World* was also the point at which the periodical returned to its rationalist roots. The last issue of the ninth volume and the first of the tenth announced a change in the periodical's

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[74] John Goodwyn Barmby, 'The Past, Present, and Future of the Stage', *New Moral World*, 7 November 1840, pp. 292–93 (p. 292).

[75] Goodwyn Barmby, 'Declaration in Favour of Electoral Reform', *Promethean*, January 1842, p. 14. Catherine's tract can be found in Taylor's *Eve*, pp. 386–13: *The Demand for the Emancipation of Woman, Politically and Socially* (1843). (II. 994–98)

editorial policy. 'Conclusion of the Ninth Volume' admitted that the *New Moral World*'s recent pluralism had 'displeased some readers, who were of opinion that the unity and consistency of the paper was thereby injured' and who 'saw little practically valuable in the numerous papers on psychological and metaphysical subjects, to which we have given insertion'.[76] The *New Moral World* promised in the first issue of its next volume to refocus on the 'internal management and organization' of Owenism, publishing 'branch proceedings' and promising not to 'neglect to notice the claims of physical science'.[77]

Although it also promised to include 'poetry based upon philosophy and inspired by genuine love to man' in the tenth volume there appeared to have been little satisfying that description (p. 2). Rejections of poetry outnumbered appearances of it in the final four years of the *New Moral World*'s life; as one rejection had it, there was limited space for poetry 'compared with the mass of truly useful matter we have to present our readers'.[78] I argue that a change in the character of Shelley's presence in the *New Moral World* accompanied this shift. From the tenth volume onwards, lines from Shelley's poems would continue to appear but only in the orthodox Owenite manner: the content and not the form of his lines was important. Shelley's poetry henceforth typically appeared in support of Owenite positions independent of his formulations. The editorial 'Partial Remedies', for example, concluded with lines from *Revolt*:

> When the petty schemes of the day have sunk into oblivion [...] the Rational System of society, founded on the unchanging laws of nature, and aided by all the discoveries of science, will go forward, conquering error, and poverty, and crime; and
>
> > Toil from thought all glorious forms shall cull,
> > To make this earth, our home, more beautiful:
> > And Science, and her sister Poesy,
> > Shall clothe in light, the fields and cities of the free![79]

[76] 'Conclusion of the Ninth Volume', *New Moral World*, 26 June 1841, p. 398. The *Crisis*, during Smith's editorship, had defended metaphysics as necessary to the refinement of language, and stated in a review of Minter Morgan's *Hampden* that 'nothing can be more practical than the tendency of metaphysical inquiries' ('Hampden in the Nineteenth Century', *Crisis*, 5 April 1834, p. 262).

[77] 'The Past and the Future', *New Moral World*, 3 July 1841, pp. 1–2 (p. 1, 2).

[78] 'To Correspondents', *New Moral World*, 30 December 1843, p. 216. For other rejections of poetry, see 'To Readers and Correspondents', *New Moral World*, 28 August 1841, p. 72; 'To Readers and Correspondents', *New Moral World*, 18 September 1841, p. 96; 'To Readers and Correspondents', *New Moral World*, 29 October 1842, p. 148; and 'Editor's Letter Box', *New Moral World*, 19 November 1842, p. 172.

[79] 'Partial Remedies', *New Moral World*, 30 December 1843, pp. 212–14. (v. 2253–56)

Shelley's poetry functions here as a rhetorical flourish to an Owenite prediction; Science rather than her sister Poesy was central to Owenism.

According to Sanders, 'by the close of 1841, the volume of unsolicited poetic manuscripts threatened to overwhelm the *Northern Star*'s editor' (*Poetry*, p. 73). This was the same period in which the main Owenite periodical turned away from poetry. The Chartist Shelley, which subsequent chapters will show was quite different to the Owenite Shelley, had also emerged and been consolidated by this point. After trying to capture this market between 1837 and 1841, the Owenites had perhaps accepted that poetry was firmly part of Chartism's arsenal, and associated the form with the errors they saw in Chartist strategy. Subsequent chapters give an account of Shelley in Chartist publications, arguing that Chartists saw opportunity rather than danger in polysemy and in Shelley's ambiguous formulations depicting political confrontation.

**Conclusion**

In this chapter I have argued that the Owenite feminist Concordia innovated in her use of Shelley in the *Crisis*. She used his poetry to argue for women's liberation, and only in her explicitly feminist articles and parables. This association of Shelley and feminism continued in the *New Moral World*, as Kate and Goodwyn Barmby used Shelley's poetry to argue for women's emancipation. Owenites showed a clear preference for certain aspects of Shelley's poetry over others: these articles and stories quoted liberally from Cythna's speeches, as she was the feminist heroine of *Revolt* who argued for women's liberty, but not the passages in which Shelley describes the revolution of the Golden City. *Queen Mab* was also frequently present, but poems like *Mask of Anarchy* and 'Song to the Men of England' were notable by their absence.

I have also argued that there is a concurrent and related development in Owenite attitudes to the arts. While Concordia's use of literary techniques was questioned by other Owenites, adhering to the orthodox Owenite position on language and conflict, she responded with an even more compromised form: the dream vision. I argued that in this use of a form that Shelley used frequently, incorporating lines from *Revolt* in which Cythna speaks, Concordia found a way of both rebutting criticism and partially obscuring her own displeasure at attempts to silence her. Fiction enabled overt criticism of conventional values and covert criticism of fellow Owenites. The Owenite value of non-conflict was associated with women,

and so they had a special role to play in the rejuvenation of society, but it also made necessary criticism of other Owenites' conduct more difficult. Barmby's writings for the *New Moral World* and the *Promethean* argued for the generalisation of 'woman-power' in the creation of the androgynous 'woman-man-power' but also for the importance of poetry. I argued that his theory of the 'woman-man-power' offered a solution to the contradictions inherent in Owenite desires for both a special mission for women and the generalisation of 'feminine' qualities across society.

Barmby's other innovation was in linking social action with Shelley, a move that promoted the use of song and poetry as forms that could embody and enact Owenite values. He used a range of poems from Shelley's oeuvre in support of this theory: *Revolt*, *Prometheus Unbound*, *Hellas*, and *Epispychidion*. By the time Barmby wrote these articles for fellow Owenites in the early 1840s, poetry was allowed a greater social role than in the early years of the *Crisis*, in which the form was viewed with suspicion by orthodox Owenism. I argued that this shift was at least partly due to the value Chartism placed on poetry, as Owenites saw a need to draw the working class away from a potentially aggressive political movement. I also suggested that the subsequent retreat from literature that did not meet the description of being 'truly useful' could be attributed to Chartism's more positive view of the relationship between politics and aesthetics.

# Chapter Four: Shelley and Chartism in 1839

## Introduction

'The year 1839', according to Dorothy Thompson, 'was so important in the history of the Chartist movement that it could only be satisfactorily dealt with at the length of at least a volume' (*The Chartists*, p. 73). The year began with Chartism established as a movement with concrete aims rather than, as Chase described it, the '*mood*' it had been in the first half of 1838 (p. 35, original emphasis). Feargus O'Connor had established the *Northern Star* in 1837, which was providing a forum for news of Chartist activity in regions around the country and helping the movement to cohere nationally (pp. 16–17). Chartist print culture expanded with the establishment of the following publications in 1839: the *Charter*, the *Chartist*, the *Chartist Circular*, the *Odd Fellow*, the *Scottish Patriot*, the *London Democrat*, and the *Western Vindicator*. Plans emerging in the summer of 1838 to set up a General Convention to manage the collection of signatures for the National Petition, which would demand the adoption of the People's Charter, would come to fruition in 1839.

I dedicate a chapter of this thesis to 1839 since Thompson's claim is also true of the reception and transmission of Shelley's poetry in Chartism. In this chapter I show how images and phrases from *Mask* and 'Song: To the Men of England' were present in Chartist discourse before the appearance of *Poetical Works*, published over several months at the beginning of 1839. I also argue, however, that this edition of Shelley's poetry stimulated Chartists' use of it in their rhetoric. This was not a direct line of transmission; mediating between expensive editions and the majority of Chartists was Linton's the *National: A Library for the People*. This anthology, published in weekly instalments over the first half of the year, provided the movement with two excerpts from *Mask* with new titles which Chartist newspapers subsequently reprinted. Examining Linton's presentation of Shelley makes evident Chartists' preference for the poet's images of popular resistance of tyranny over those images depicting women's wrongs or female revolutionaries, which Linton also made available. I also show how the presence of 'Song: To the Men of England' in Chartist publications was probably due to their producers reading *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*'s review of *Poetical Works* rather than to the edition itself.

The chapter goes on to situate appearances of Shelley's poetry in Chartist newspapers in terms of that year's major events: the presentation of the first National Petition in July, the 'sacred month' or General Strike of August, and November's

failed attempt at insurrection in Newport, South Wales. One of Shaaban's more important theses was that Shelley provided Chartists with hope for the future ('Chartist Press', p. 47). I have concentrated on Shelley in Chartist newspapers over the course of 1839 in order to introduce the key argument of this thesis's second half: that although Shelley was indeed an important resource for Chartists wanting to represent their movement as vital, use of Shelley in Chartist rhetoric also registers their doubt regarding tactics. Shelley's 'Song: To the Men of England' was important in Chartist discussions of 1839 in the *Northern Star*, especially with reference to the proposed General Strike in the summer of that year. This section of the chapter develops my argument regarding the dialectical relationship between the Owenite and Chartist 'Shelleys', suggesting that the *Northern Star* responded to the *New Moral World*'s 'Review' by quoting *Revolt* in the context of industrial action and class conflict.

The chapter concludes with a discussion of Shelley in the Chartist newspaper the *Western Vindicator*. The *Vindicator*'s editor and proprietor Henry Vincent was jailed in May 1839; Shelley did not appear in the newspaper until that event occurred, after which Vincent's series of letters from Monmouth Gaol usually opened with an extract from *Queen Mab* as an epigraph. The *Vindicator* was also related to the major Chartist event at the end of 1839: the Newport Uprising. I suggest that one of Vincent's letters in the *Vindicator* after this event engages with *Mask* in its use of a dream vision imagining the movement freeing the insurrection's leader, John Frost, from prison. The *Vindicator* also published 'Song: To the Men of England' in its last issue of 14 December 1839. The poem in the context of a failed Chartist insurrection had quite different overtones, I argue, from more confident usage earlier that year.

**The publication history of Shelley's poetry for Chartism**

Chapter one's account of the routes of transmission of Shelley's poetry into Owenite circles also obtains for the Chartists. As I showed earlier, one lineage of *Queen Mab* piracies began with the radicals Clark and the Carliles, passed through the Owenite publisher Brooks, and continued with the Chartists Watson and Hetherington. Other poems by Shelley also appeared in the Chartist press: *Revolt* (though to a lesser extent than in Owenism), 'Liberty', 'Political Greatness', 'Misery.— A Fragment', 'To a Sky-Lark', 'A New National Anthem', 'Scenes from the Faust of Goëthe', 'Love's Philosophy', as well as some of Shelley's prose writing.[1] The main poems for

[1] See the appendix for full references.

Chartism, however, were *Queen Mab*, *Mask*, and 'Song: To the Men of England' — lines from which appeared frequently in Chartist newspapers, entered as phrases into Chartist discourse, and, I argue, were used to articulate the Chartist structure of feeling at key moments in the movement's history.

Shelley wrote *Mask* in the aftermath of the Peterloo Massacre in 1819, but the poem was not published until 1832 (*Poems*, III, 27–35). Leigh Hunt had declined to publish *Mask* and other poems that Shelley had sent him from Italy in the months following the event, soliciting his help in securing a publisher for 'a little volume of *popular songs* wholly political, & destined to awaken & direct the imagination of the reformers' (*Letters*, II, 191. Original emphasis). Hunt's decision is usually attributed to a desire to avoid prosecution under the Six Acts, legislation passed after the Massacre and designed to curtail radicalism.[2] According to Stephen Behrendt, 'the passage of the Reform Act in 1832 made [Hunt] feel safe enough to publish' *Mask* for the first time ('Shelley and his Publishers', p. 90). Its publisher was Moxon, who also published *Poetical Works* in 1839. Engelberg noted that the poem was reviewed and excerpted in November and December 1832 by the *Athenaeum*, the *London Literary Gazette*, the *National Omnibus*, the *Reviewer*, the *Metropolitan*, and the *Monthly Review* (pp. 207–09). Besides the *National Omnibus* and the *Reviewer*, Murphy cited an additional two publications from radical culture: 'the *Schoolmaster, and Edinburgh Weekly Magazine* (1832–33) and *Cobbett's Magazine* in 1832, [which] greeted enthusiastically the long-delayed publication of Shelley's class-sympathetic *Mask of Anarchy*' (p. 53).

The Chartist period coincided with the poem's appearance in the next significant publication by Shelley's circle: the Mary Shelley edited collection *Poetical Works*, the publication history of which I detailed in my first chapter. I argue in this chapter that the publication of *Poetical Works* in 1839 stimulated Chartist interest in *Mask*. Several Chartist newspapers or those that sympathised with the cause — such as the *Brighton Patriot*, the *Champion*, the *Northern Liberator*, the *Operative*, and the *Northern Star* — predated *Poetical Works*. Barring a few indirect references to *Mask* discussed in chapter five, the frequency of definite use of Shelley's poetry in Chartist newspapers exploded after the appearance of *Poetical Works*. This chapter and the following two relate this fact to the movement's development, situating use of Shelley's poetry in relation to Chartism's structure of feeling.

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[2] Stephen C. Behrendt, *Shelley and His Audiences* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), p. 202.

In publishing for the first time some of the other poems Shelley wrote in the Peterloo Massacre's aftermath, such as 'Song: To the Men of England' and 'A New National Anthem', the collection also gave the Chartist movement new material that represented the relationship between the working and 'unproductive' classes as exploitative. Alison Morgan argued that these poems, which Shelley intended to appear with others in 'the little volume' for the attention of reformers, have a stronger rhetorical effect when read as a group due to their range of linguistic registers and generic forms.[3] While the three poems *Mask*, 'Song: To the Men of England', and 'A New National Anthem' would not be published together in a separate volume by Watson until 1841 (in what could be argued was a Chartist version of Shelley's 'little volume') something of the spirit of Shelley's intention was present where the poems began to appear in the Chartist press from 1839. While Shelley imagined in his letter Hunt smiling at his ambition that the poems would 'awaken & direct the imagination of the reformers', I will argue that Shelley's poems did bear a relationship of this kind to Chartism, although his 'influence' was not straightforwardly admiring but creative in its own right.

The Chartist edition of the poem was available from at least as early as November 1841; the *Odd Fellow* carried an advertisement for the volume in November 1841 advising readers that Watson's edition of 'Shelley's Masque of Anarchy, written on the Occasion of the Manchester Massacre' would be available 'in a few days'.[4] It included Linton's review of the edition the following week, informing readers in the correspondents' column of the same issue that 'we have no copies of Moxon's edition of Shelley's Works for sale'.[5] 'No real admirer of Shelley', in any case, 'would be content with the four-volume copy, which is INCOMPLETE and high-priced'; as noted earlier, Mary Shelley had excised some of the more controversial passages from *Queen Mab* in the first edition of *Poetical Works*. Readers were referred, instead, to Watson's editions.

As the four volumes of *Poetical Works* cost five shillings each, it seems likely that the press was the main medium for the poem's transmission into working-class culture. I found only one instance of a use of *Mask* before its publication in *Poetical*

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[3] Alison Morgan, 'P. B. Shelley's Popular Songs' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Salford, 2012), p. 4. Morgan suggested that these poems were *Mask*; 'Ode to the Assertors of Liberty'; 'To S. & C.'; 'Sonnet: England in 1819'; 'People of England'; 'What Men Gain Fairly'; 'Song: To the Men of England'; 'Lines on the Castlereagh Administration'; 'A New National Anthem'; 'Ode to Liberty'; and 'The Ballad of the Starving Mother' (p. 3).

[4] 'Watson's Popular Works', *Odd Fellow*, 6 November 1841, p. 180.

[5] 'To Correspondents', *Odd Fellow*, 13 November 1841, p. 182. For Linton's review, see 'The Masque of Anarchy', *Odd Fellow*, 13 November 1841, pp. 182–83.

*Works* — in a February issue of Linton's serialised anthology of literature, the *National*. In his autobiography, published posthumously in 1894, Linton described his purpose in producing the *National* as wishing to 'supply the working classes with political and other information not open to them with their limited means for purchase and time for study, and scarcely to be printed under the laws then gagging the press' (*Threescore*, p. 75.). Linton described a period of several months' study in the 'old Reading Room at the British Museum' during 1838', collating these materials for the *National* (*Threescore*, p. 74–75). The British Library's only copy of *Mask*'s 1832 imprint bears a 'MUSEUM BRITANNICUM' library stamp in blue ink, indicating that the volume was a copyright deposit. It is possible that Linton consulted this volume and used it as a source for the excerpts printed in the *National*. Haywood also noted that Linton recalled consulting Watson's personal library for the *National* (*Revolution*, p. 280).

Considering Linton's choice of lines from *Mask* and the titles that he gave the two excerptions appearing in the *National* reveals periodical culture as another possible source. 'Freedom' was the first excerpt from *Mask* to appear in the *National*.[6] The lines, defining freedom for the labourer in terms of basic home comforts which they lacked, had appeared under the same title in two periodicals in 1832 (Engelberg, p. 208). The *National Omnibus*, a publication within working-class radical culture, had printed a more extensive excerpt of those lines.[7] The *Reviewer*, a weekly supplement to *Bell's Weekly Messenger*, was an even closer match in printing lines 213–17, 221–33, and 250–57 under the title of 'Freedom'.[8] Described by the *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century of Journalism* as a 'moderate Tory paper', it was briefly edited by Thomas Wade (who was Linton's brother-in-law) in the 1840s (p. 47). Wade's writing appeared in the *National*, including a poem in praise of Shelley.[9] Wade also received Shelley's annotated copy of *Queen Mab* from Brooks in 1870, before Buxton Forman acquired it from his widow (*Shelley Circle*, IV, 492).

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[6] 'Freedom', *National*, 2 February 1839, p. 72. (213–16, 221–33, 250–57)

[7] 'Freedom', *National Omnibus*, 9 November 1832, p. 359. (213–73) The *Omnibus* may have taken this from yet another publication, since Louis James described it as 'the best' type of magazines where 'the most useful apparatus of the editor was generally a pair of scissors': Louis James, *Fiction for the Working Man, 1830–1850* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 17.

[8] 'Selections from New Books', *Reviewer*, 11 Nov 1832, p. 131. The piece's other selections under new titles were 'Anarchy' (30–65) and 'Hope' (86–97). I have been unable to consult the *Reviewer* to confirm Engelberg's reference to the excerpt 'Freedom', but the inclusion of line 217 ('Thou art not, as imposters say') before line 221 ('For the labourer thou art bread') seems unlikely. If line 217 did not appear in the *Reviewer* version then it would exactly match Linton's 'Freedom'.

[9] Thomas Wade, 'Shelley', *National*, 9 February 1839, p. 76. According to Engelberg, this was from Wade's collection of poetry, which included two other poems on Shelley: *Mundi et Cordis: De Rebus Sempiternis et Temporalis* (1835) (p. 228).

The second time that lines from *Mask* appeared in a Chartist publication was also in the *National* and was around the time that the third volume of *Poetical Works* appeared. On this occasion, Linton chose different lines from the poem to appear under the title 'To the People'.[10] These lines define slavery in terms of the lack of autonomy and home comforts, describing the violence of the 'Tyrant's crew' when the labourers complain. They also contain the famous stanza beginning 'Rise like lions after slumber' (151–55). I am not aware of instances where these lines appeared under the same title in periodical culture prior to Linton's *National*.

Those two versions of the poem, 'Freedom' and 'To the People', appeared subsequently in the Chartist press. The *Champion and Weekly Herald* of 10 March 1839 and the *Northern Star* of 13 April 1839 followed the practice of the *National* of 2 March, printing exactly the same lines under the same title of 'To the People'.[11] The *Northern Star* also acknowledged the provenance of its extract with the subtitle 'from the *National*'. June of that year saw the next two appearances of the poem in the Chartist press, in the *Northern Liberator* and the *Charter*.[12] These publications appear to have taken the *National*'s 'Freedom' as their model, as they printed the same lines and used the same title. The seventh excerpt to appear in the Chartist press, in the *Northern Liberator* on 31 August 1839, returned to the *National*'s 'To the People' as a model.[13] The final time that the poem appeared in the Chartist press as poetry (rather than incorporated into rhetoric) was exceptional in every sense. The *Northern Star* of 19 February 1848 printed lines from the poem as part of a book review of Watson's edition rather than in the poetry column, it did not follow the *National*'s model but printed lines from early in the poem, and was the only excerpt not to appear in 1839.[14]

While there may be more examples extant this pattern suggests that the *National*, rather than *Poetical Works*, was instrumental as a mediator in the poem's reception during the early years of Chartist print culture. It is thanks to the *National*, and subsequently to the Chartist newspapers, that lines from *Mask* were continually before Chartists and available for rhetorical use in speeches, articles, and letters.

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[10] 'To the People', *National*, 2 March 1839, pp. 124–26. (147–54, 156–92, 266–86, 295–306, 372–76)

[11] Shelley, 'To the People', *Champion*, 10 March 1839, p. 6, and P. B. Shelley, 'To the People, *From the National*', *Northern Star*, 13 April 1839, p. 7. The latter changed the last line to 'WE ARE MANY — THEY ARE FEW'.

[12] Shelley, 'Freedom', *Northern Liberator*, 8 June 1839, p. 4; Shelley, 'Freedom', *Charter*, 16 June 1839, p. 333. The *Chartist Circular* also reprinted other excerpts from the *National* issue in which 'To the People' appeared; see 'Truths', *Chartist Circular*, 7 December 1839, p. 43.

[13] Shelley, 'To the People', *Northern Liberator*, 31 August 1839, p. 6.

[14] '*The Masque of Anarchy*, by Percy Bysshe Shelley', *Northern Star*, 19 February 1848, p. 3.

Underpinning Linton's efforts were those of Watson and his wife, Eleanor, who had predicted that the *National* '"would not pay", and to abate Linton's losses they had each week personally folded and stitched the 2,000 copies'.[15]

If the *National* did not pay, the *Northern Star* certainly did. Its circulation figures for 1839 have been estimated at 36,000 copies a week in 1839 and the number of readers for each copy at twenty to thirty.[16] Potential readers of the *National*'s 'To the People' (which the *Northern Star* printed in April 1839), therefore, numbered between three quarters of a million to just over one million. *Poetical Works*'s print run in the four-volume edition was 2,000 and St Clair described it as being almost immediately remaindered (*Reading Nation*, p. 682). It would not be an exaggeration to claim that the 'almost entirely working-class' readership of the *Northern Star* constituted the largest audience for Shelley's poem in 1839 (Epstein, p. 69). We can also attribute Watson's edition of *Mask* to Linton's influence; according to Forman, 'Mr W. J. Linton tells me this publication was suggested by him, and that Hunt's permission was got' (*Shelley Library*, p. 114). The next section discusses the version of Shelley that Linton presented in the *National*, arguing that it was closer to the Owenite feminist version of Shelley than the one Chartist discourse consolidated later in 1839.

'Song: To the Men of England', a poem that *Poetical Works* published officially for the first time, also appeared frequently in the Chartist press. As with *Mask*, periodical culture rather than official volumes appears to have been the main source for the movement. Selected lines from 'Song' appeared in the *Northern Star* in April 1839.[17] The second occasion I found was in the *Brighton Patriot*'s review of *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* for May, itself a review of *Poetical Works*.[18] The *Brighton Patriot* concluded its 'present notice of this excellent magazine by extracting the following glorious song of Shelley's from its pages', and included *Tait's* misprint in line twenty-seven — 'Why shake the chains ye wrought? why see/ The steel ye tempered glance on ye' — with the second 'why' replacing 'ye'.[19] *Poetical Works* had the accepted version 'Why shake the chains ye wrought? ye see/ The steel ye tempered glance on ye'. All of the subsequent examples which I found of the poem appearing in the Chartist press which printed the final two stanzas (four in 1839) also

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[15] F. B. Smith, *Radical Artisan, William James Linton, 1812–97* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1973), p. 22. Linton recalled this himself in *Threescore*, p. 75.
[16] Epstein, *Lion*, p. 68. Epstein built on the work of Patricia Hollis in *The Pauper Press: A Study in Working-Class Radicalism of the 1830s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970).
[17] Percy Bysshe Shelley, 'To the Men of England', *Northern Star*, 27 April 1839, p. 7. (1–8, 13–24)
[18] 'Shelley's Poems', *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, May 1839, p. 340.
[19] '*Tait's Magazine* for April, 1839', *Brighton Patriot*, 7 May 1839, [n. pag].

had the misprint 'why see'.[20] It is worth noting that the poem had national exposure in those four excerpts via the metropolitan *London Dispatch*, the north-eastern *Northern Liberator*, the Scottish *Chartist Circular*, and the *Western Vindicator* based in South Wales and the West of England. No appearances of the poem in Chartist print culture after that year included the final two stanzas; I will suggest reasons for this omission later in this chapter.

Price is also likely to have been a factor, here. The *Brighton Patriot*'s review commended *Tait's* for charging a price which 'would enable all classes to purchase it', at the risk that its 'extreme cheapness' for a literary monthly would result in its closure. Alexis Easley thought that 'even at the reduced price of one shilling, *Tait's* would have been inaccessible to all but the most prosperous of the working classes'.[21] The *Brighton Patriot*, at 5d. for the issue containing 'Song: To the Men of England', was significantly less expensive. There is also a link via *Tait's* to earlier working-class excerption of *Mask*. *Tait's* had, in 1834, incorporated *Johnstone's Edinburgh Magazine*, which had previously been titled the *Schoolmaster, and Edinburgh Weekly*: the enthusiastic reviewer of the poem in 1832 (Easley, p. 264).

### Shelley in William James Linton's the *National: a Library for the People*

'The presiding genius' of the *National*, according to F. B. Smith, was 'Shelley in his offensive, anti-clerical, anti-authoritarian, homiletic strain' (*Radical Artisan*, p. 19). Smith noted that *Revolt*, *Prometheus Unbound*, 'To the People' (an excerpt from *Mask*), and *Queen Mab* 'were all heavily quoted' in the anthology (p. 19). Considering the character of Linton's version of Shelley in the *National* in relation to what had preceded it in Owenism and what would succeed it in Chartism, however, rather complicates this description of Shelley's influence on the *National*. I will argue in this section that Linton's use of Shelley's poetry in the *National* bears relations to those in Owenism and Chartism more generally, but which corresponded completely to neither.

As I have shown in previous chapters, the Owenite periodicals the *Crisis* and the *New Moral World* had already produced Owenite readings of *Revolt* and

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[20] 'Poets our Best Teachers', *London Dispatch*, 12 May 1839, p. 6; Shelley, 'Song to the Men of England', *Northern Liberator*, 5 October 1839, p. 7; 'Percy B. Shelley', *Chartist Circular*, 19 October 1839, p. 16; and Shelley, 'To the Men of England', *Western Vindicator*, 14 December 1839, p. 6.

[21] Alexis Easley, 'Tait's Edinburgh Magazine in the 1830s: Dialogues on Gender, Class, and Reform', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 38 (2005), 263–79 (p. 266). For *Tait*'s rationale behind the reduction in price in 1834, see Mark A. Weinstein, '"Tait's" on "The Cheap and Dear Periodicals"', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 14 (1981), 141–43.

*Prometheus Unbound* before Linton began to publish the *National* in January 1839. These readings, informed by orthodox Owenite sociability, were 'anti' the errors of the old immoral world but were decidedly not offensive; they aimed to agitate without producing social conflict or political violence. As Smith and Janowitz noted, Linton organised material in issues of the *National* around themes (Smith, pp. 20–21; Janowitz, p. 200). Janowitz also observed that 'some of the most striking numbers of the *National* are sets of texts on women's emancipation' (p. 200). These included Shelley's poems, which the organising principle of the themed issue placed in direct relation with Owenite writing and the Owenite Shelley.

The *National* of 20 April 1839, for example, was the 'wealth and property' issue which excerpted lines from *Queen Mab* describing commerce as a 'venal interchange'.[22] The item 'Wealth' followed, which comprised lines from *Queen Mab*'s seventh prose note: Shelley's Godwinian labour theory of value.[23] As I showed in chapter two, both the poetry and prose from *Queen Mab*'s fifth canto appeared in the *Crisis*'s version of *A Fable for the Times*. A subsequent article in this issue of the *National* was 'Property', which cited the socialist economist Thomas Hodgskin who had influenced Owenism (Harrison, *Robert Owen*, p. 66). Diverging from Owenism was the suggestion of a power relation between the many and the few: the article stated that over time '*the many became the slaves of the few*' as a result of fraud and force (p. 224). It concluded by promising or threatening that 'the Many will not much longer endure to be ground down for the unwholesome food of the Few' (p. 224).

The 'martyr' or 'exile' issue of 9 February was the most thoroughly saturated with Shelley, presenting him as a victim of religious oppression. Linton based his biography 'The Life of Shelley' on both Cyrus Redding's memoir in the Galignani piracy and Leigh Hunt's biography in *Lord Byron and Some of His Contemporaries*.[24] One of Linton's alterations situates this Chartist biography of Shelley in terms of working-class objections to the 1832 Reform Act, which extended the franchise to small property owners but not to working-class men.[25] Hunt describes Shelley's family as 'Whig aristocrats', for Linton 'his family were of the compromising class: Whig aristocrats' (Hunt, p. 178; Linton, p. 76). Linton also omitted Hunt's description of Shelley's 'regret' at *Queen Mab*'s reappearance in the

[22] 'Commerce', *National*, 20 April 1839, pp. 216–17. (V. 38–60, 64–98, 177–78, 181–94, 197–98)
[23] 'Wealth', *National*, 20 April 1839, pp. 220–21. (*Poems*, I, 364–67)
[24] 'The Life of Shelley', *National*, 9 February 1839, pp. 76–78; and Leigh Hunt, 'Mr Shelley. With a Criticism on his Genius, and Mr Trelawney's Narrative of his Loss at Sea', in *Lord Byron and Some of His Contemporaries; With Recollections of the Author's Life* (London: Henry Colburn, 1828), pp. 174–245.
[25] Eric J. Evans, *The Great Reform Act of 1832* (London: Methuen, 1983), p. 37.

early 1820s via radical piracies (p. 188). This issue also featured part of *Queen Mab*'s prose note thirteen ('There is no God!') and lines from *Rosalind and Helen* as epigraph to the piece 'Records of the World's Justice. By a Hardware Man, No. 4 — The Infidel'.[26] The 'clerisy' or 'established Christianity' issue also made frequent use of Shelley's poetry.[27]

The 'love' issue of 16 February 1839 featured lines from Cythna's speech to the mariners taking her to the Golden City in *Revolt*, including the lines 'Woman! — she is [man's] slave; she has become/ A thing I weep to speak — the child of scorn'.[28] Some of those lines had appeared previously in the *New Moral World*.[29] The *New Moral World*'s 'Review' had been quoting from *Prometheus Unbound* for two and a half months before its last instalment coincided with the publication of the *National*'s 'love' issue, and the two publications' use of *Prometheus Unbound* on 16 February shared some of the same lines.[30] This issue of the *National* also included two items by Owen and 'Equality of Man and Woman', by Condorcet.[31] Shelley's prose writing on 'love' was also a frequent presence in the *New Moral World* over this period.[32] The 'love and marriage' issue of 9 March 1839 printed two extracts from the ninth prose note to *Queen Mab* ('Even love is sold') under the title 'Marriage. Celibacy and Prostitution', and again later, following 'Life of Mary Wollstonecraft', where Linton described Mary Shelley as 'wife of the Apostle of Poetry, The God-inspired Shelley'.[33] The 'women' issue of 16 March included excerpts from Frances Wright and Mary

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[26] 'Nature of Belief', *National*, 9 February 1839, p. 86 (*Poems*, I, 381–91). 'Records of the World's Justice. By a Hardware Man, No. 4 — The Infidel', *National*, 9 February 1839, pp. 74–75 (861–66, 680–83, 689).

[27] Part of *Queen Mab*'s twelfth prose note appeared as 'Predestination', *National*, 11 May 1839, p. 258 (*Poems*, I, 375–81). Lines from 'Athanase' appeared under the title 'Love', *National*, 11 May 1839, p. 259 (1–9 of detached passage (c)). Lines from 'To a Sky-Lark' appeared in 'Religion', *National*, 11 May 1839, pp. 263–66 (18–20). Finally, Shelley's opinion that a religion based on charity rather than faith would be 'divine' appeared as 'An "Atheist's" Religion', *National*, 11 May 1839, p. 262.

[28] 'From Shelley's Revolt of Islam', *National*, 16 February 1839, pp. 87–89. (VIII. 3289–3396, 3433–41)

[29] W. W. P., 'Woman as She is, and as She Ought to Be', *New Moral World*, 12 January 1839, pp. 177–78.

[30] 'Chorus. From Shelley's Prometheus Unbound', *National*, 16 February 1839, pp. 97–98. (IV. 1–34, 81–134)

[31] Condorcet, 'Equality of Man and Woman', *National*, 16 February 1839, p. 100. Owen's pieces were 'The Immediate Duty', *National*, 16 February 1839, p. 98, and an untitled piece on p. 96. For other pieces by Owen in the National, see the issues of 23 February (p. 106), 9 March (p. 142), 16 March (p. 146), 1 June (p. 307), and 7 June (p. 324).

[32] P. B. Shelley, 'Love', *New Moral World*, 2 June 1838, p. 256; P. B. Shelley, 'On Love. By Percy Bysshe Shelley', *New Moral World*, 27 April 1839, pp. 423–24; and J. E. 'Shelley on Love', *New Moral World*, 25 September 1841, p. 99. J. E. introduced Shelley's writing as 'the following gem, so exactly and exquisitely in harmony with the philosophy of Socialism, on a point so misapprehended by those, the melancholy victims of vulgar prejudice, and so vilely misrepresented by the time-serving and the malignant'.

[33] 'Marriage. Celibacy and Prostitution', *National*, 9 March 1839, pp. 132–33 (*Poems*, I, 368–73); [Untitled], *National*, 9 March 1839, p. 140; and 'Life of Mary Wollstonecraft', *National*, 9 March 1839, pp. 139–40.

Wollstonecraft as well as from Shelley's 'The Sensitive-Plant', the same lines that appeared in Concordia's pieces for the *Crisis* earlier that decade.[34] Its article 'Womanly Virtues' claimed that 'were all men wise as Lucretius and lovely as the Divinest Shelley, they would owe something to woman's nurture'.[35] Linton's feminist presentation of Shelley would have been familiar and acceptable to Owenites. Indeed, the *New Moral World* showed its appreciation of the *National* in two notices of the anthology, notices which also singled out Shelley's presence in issues dedicated to the themes of 'love and marriage' and 'religion'.[36]

What would have been unfamiliar and acceptable to orthodox Owenism was the *National*'s other version of Shelley, one that would emerge more fully in the Chartist period. Published between the 'love' and 'love and marriage' issues discussed above was the 'patriot' or 'tyranny' issue of 2 March. Linton chose for that issue's cover his own engraving illustrating 'Cromwell Dissolving the Long Parliament', a dramatic and energetic scene of Cromwell confronting the Rump Parliament in which weapons are clearly visible. This was followed by the article 'An Examination of the Right of Parliament', which was for Linton a 'right' that 'might' secured.[37] Beginning with the claim that 'The British Isles are under the rule of Anarchy', the article covers the loss of Anglo-Saxon freedoms (including the right to bear arms) and the succession of the Normans, before an account of the revolution: 'The People, awakening from the old-time lethargy of slavishness, readily supported the patriot innovators. Charles was executed for high treason against the Sovereign People' (p. 117). It ended with the claim that 'All men are equal: all men have the right to resist oppression' (p. 119). This was the same issue in which 'To the People' appeared, which included the line 'Rise like lions after slumber' and was subsequently reprinted in the *Champion* and *Northern Star* in the spring of 1839. Another 'tyranny' issue appearing later in March printed Shelley's 'Lines Written During the Castlereagh Administration' as 'Lines Written During the Execrable Castlereagh Administration'.[38] Keach concurred with Scrivener's assessment that Medwin's substitution of the title referencing Castlereagh for Shelley's own ('England') when

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[34] Frances Wright, 'Mental Slavery', *National*, 16 March 1839, p. 143; Mary Wollstonecraft, 'Woman's *Honour*', *National*, 16 March 1839, p. 144–45; '(From Shelley.)'; and 'The Sensitive Plant', *National*, 16 March 1839, p.152–53 (II. 1–48).

[35] 'Womanly Virtues', *National*, 16 March 1839, pp. 148–49 (p. 149).

[36] 'The Outcast', *New Moral World*, 13 April 1839, pp. 388–90; and 'Religion', *New Moral World*, 15 June 1839, pp. 539–40.

[37] 'An Examination of the Right of Parliament', *National*, 2 March 1839, pp. 115–19.

[38] 'Lines Written During the Execrable Castlereagh Administration', *National*, 30 March 1839, p. 179. Line 25 has line 22 as 'Let Fear and Disgust and Strife', indicating that the source text was the version in the *Athenaeum* on 2 December 1832 rather than *Poetical Works* (*Poems*, III, 280–82).

the poem appeared in the *Atheneaum* in 1832 'distances the political meaning of the poem for the 1832 audience'.[39] I would argue that this effect is obviated where it appeared in an issue of the *National* on the subject of tyranny, which Linton makes clear continued in the Chartist present and did not end when the Tory politician committed suicide in 1822. The continuance of political oppression in the Chartist era emphasised rather than weakened the poem's political meaning.

Linton placed the other excerpt from *Mask*, 'Freedom', in his 'slavery issue'. 'Freedom' followed the article 'Slavery', in which Linton listed 'all women' as a 'species of slaves *to be found* among us', besides indentured servants, 'military slaves', 'political slaves', 'the slaves of fashion and respectability', 'slaves of habit and conventional form', and 'slaves of prejudice'.[40] The last group believed 'anything because their fathers believed it', a description reminiscent of both Owenism's analysis of customary forms and *Queen Mab*'s contention that the wretched man 'like the vulgar, thinks, feels, acts and lives/ Just as his father did' (p. 72; III. 96–97). Chartism was receptive to Owenite ideas, and 'Freedom' was carried into the Chartist press, but Linton's use of Shelley to link women's slavery with a general political slavery did not also persist in Chartist discourse. Barmby appeared to have been well aware of contextual differences between Chartist and Owenite print culture in his practice of mobilising Shelley. Before he wrote contributions for the *New Moral World* which developed the Owenite feminist Shelley, he chose lines from *Revolt* as epigraph to his *Southern Star* article 'An Address to the Young Men of the British Isles'.[41] Barmby informed the 'Young Men of All Classes' that they 'should be the inheritors of the world to come', and that the Charter was the means to that inheritance.

The only example of Shelley's poetry used as a feminist resource in Chartist newspapers of which I am aware was in the 'Address of the Female Political Union of Newcastle-Upon-Tyne to Their Fellow Countrywomen', published in the *Northern Star* on 9 February 1839.[42] The 'Address' called for Chartist women to support men in their efforts to obtain the Charter, using the following lines from *Revolt* as its epigraph:

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[39] Scrivener, *Radical Shelley*, p. 227, quoted in Keach, 'Rise', p. 95.
[40] 'Slavery', *National*, 2 February 1839, pp. 71–72 (original emphasis).
[41] John Goodwyn Barmby, 'An Address to the Young Men of the British Isles', *Southern Star*, 19 January 1840, p. 3. (VIII. 3397–405)
[42] 'Address of the Female Political Union of Newcastle-Upon-Tyne to Their Fellow Countrywomen', *Northern Star*, 9 February 1839, p. 6. Commentary on this article can be found in Thompson, *The Chartists*, p. 139; and Sheila Rowbotham, *Hidden from History: 300 Years of Women's Oppression and the Fight Against It* (London: Pluto Press, 1974), p. 35.

> Well ye know
> What Woman is, for none of Woman born,
> Can choose but drain the bitter dregs of woe,
> Which ever from the oppressed to the oppressors flow. (VIII. 3330–33)

The 'Address', however, did not quote the lines faithfully; it had the final two lines as 'Can choose but drain the bitter dregs of woe/ Which ever *to* the oppressed *from* the oppressors flow' (my emphasis).[43] In Shelley's version, oppression rebounds on oppressors: in this instance, on husbands who enslave their wives by denying them equality. A month before the appearance of the Chartist women's address, a *New Moral World* article 'Woman as She is, and as She Ought to Be' had quoted the lines accurately in support of its argument that if women do not have 'equal rights, power, and importance in the social scale with man' then all of society, including men, suffers.[44] The Chartist version in the 'Address', however, changes the dynamic of the original lines in switching the prepositions 'from' and 'to'. This alteration reverses the direction of the woe's movement and de-genders Shelley's critique; the lines become a more straightforward description of oppression causing the working class to suffer. The thrust of the lines is altered to suit that of the article, as the Female Political Union of Newcastle-Upon-Tyne demanded the right to occupy the 'field of politics' in order to 'help our fathers, husbands, and brothers to free themselves and us from political, physical, and mental bondage'. They did not also demand the extension of the franchise to women; as in Chartism more generally, the rights of women to the franchise were subordinated to the rights of men.[45] Imbalance of power within the working-class family had to be suppressed in order to locate the source of oppression outside that family. This source of oppression acted on the family negatively as a unit; domestic disharmony was a result of political tyranny experienced by the working class as a whole.

Although the *National* appears to have influenced the development of a Chartist Shelley more broadly, Chartists showed more interest in the Shelley of Linton's 'patriot' or 'tyranny' issue than the feminist Shelley evident in many of his other issues. Since the *National*'s rhetoric, according to Janowitz, 'took up and amplified the sense of class division' in radical discourse, Shelley's feminist poetry

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[43] Consulting the editions of the poem that were available to the Female Political Union of Newcastle-Upon-Tyne reveals that it is more likely that this alteration to Shelley's line was their own and not copied from an unfaithful edition. Brooks's 1829 edition of *Revolt*, popular among Owenites, and *Poetical Works* agree that the line is 'Which ever from the oppressed to the oppressors flow'.

[44] W. W. Pratt, 'Woman as She is, and as She Ought to Be', *New Moral World*, 12 January 1839, pp. 177–78 (p. 177).

[45] Jutta Schwarzkopf, *Women in the Chartist Movement* (London: Macmillan, 1991), pp. 89–90.

had a quite different forum in Linton's anthology than it had had in Owen's *New Moral World* (p. 202). If the producers of Chartist newspapers had wished to create a version of Shelley in 1839 that was both feminist and class-conscious, they would have found more than enough material in the *National* with which to do so. Their preference for *Mask*'s image of militant 'lions rising from slumber' over the female revolutionary figure of Cythna in *Revolt*, therefore, must be seen as a conscious choice rather than the result of limited options.

**Hope and optimism in the New Year**

If 'Chartism was buoyant as the New Year began' then a speech by the Chartist George Julian Harney at a meeting of the Carlisle Radical Association on New Year's Day expressed that optimism and confidence (Chase, p. 57).[46] Harney took up the meeting's theme of the Reverend Joseph Rayner Stephens's recent arrest, claiming that 1839 would be pivotal in the history of Chartism. Harney, who played a significant role in Chartist print culture as an editor of the *Northern Star*, the *London Democrat*, the *Democratic Review*, and the *Red Republican*, predicted that the year would see a decisive clash between 'the people' and their 'tyrants':

> If happiness were not their lot before the year was out, misery should be the lot of their oppressors.
>
> The arrest of Mr Stephens had taken place with the view of driving the people into premature insurrection. But those who anticipated that would be mistaken. The people would remain quiet till February, and then if they rose in arms it would be in defence of the convention. — (Cheers.)
>
> The year 1839 would be as glorious in the annals of England as 1793 was in the annals of France; and [Harney] concluded by saying that Universal Suffrage the people would have — peaceably if they could; forcibly if they must.

Harney presented the Chartists as being in control of events. Theirs would be no premature insurrection or reactive riot: January would be too soon, but a rising in February in defence of a threatened Convention would signify that Chartists acted in order to serve a specific political end. His reference to events in France in 1793 is suggestively ambivalent: it could refer to the Convention's ratification of the French Constitution (which upheld popular sovereignty and various social and economic rights, and might therefore invite comparisons with the People's Charter) or to the

[46] 'Carlisle Reform Meeting', *London Dispatch*, 13 January 1839, p. 970.

Reign of Terror which also began in that year.[47] Harney's subsequent use of the Chartist phrase 'peaceably if we may, forcibly if we must' points to both possibilities: freedom secured by legislation if possible but by violent action if necessary.

Despite the fact that 'Song: To the Men of England' had not yet been published officially when Harney addressed the meeting, his speech included a possible use of the poem's images. Threatening the ruling class with the 'firebrand' if they remained obdurate, he phrases the prospect of working-class rebellion in terms similar to those of the poem:

> The people had built houses for their comfort, and they knew how to destroy them if necessary. — (Cheers.) God avert such a danger from our beloved land; but rather than the hand-loom weavers and the agricultural labourers should continue to live upon their present miserable gains, he would say to the former, weave nought more for your tyrants but their winding-sheets; and to the latter, dig nought more for them but their graves.

This striking conjunction of the ideas and the phrases in Harney's speech is highly reminiscent of those in Shelley's 'Song: To the Men of England', with Harney's 'weaving winding-sheets' and 'digging graves' almost exactly paralleling Shelley's 'weave your winding sheet' and 'trace your grave and build your tomb'. If Harney did not know Shelley's poem before its official publication, then we have to conclude either that Shelley borrowed from an unknown source or that Harney, independent of Shelley's poetry, had struck upon the same combination of phrase and idea. It is worth looking briefly at the poem's representation of class relations in order to determine the ways in which Harney developed this representation in his own rhetoric.

In a poem described by Scrivener as representing 'an uncompromising view on labor alienation', Shelley described in 'Song: To the Men of England' the appropriation of wealth produced by the working class: 'The robes ye weave, another wears;/ The arms ye forge, another bears' (*Radical Shelley*, p. 232; 'Song: To the Men of England', 19–20). Shelley then recommends the workers stop participating in their own exploitation: 'Weave robes — let not the idle wear:/ Forge arms in your defence to bear' (23–24). This last line supports Behrendt's claim that 'this poem comes as close as Shelley ever comes to sanctioning violence as a last resort' (*Shelley*, p. 52). Shelley informed the 'men of England' that their 'forced produce' was appropriated and 'spoiled' by the 'drones':

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[47] Paul R. Hanson, *Historical Dictionary of the French Revolution* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2004), pp. 87–89, 309–10.

> The seed ye sow, another reaps;
> The wealth ye find, another keeps;
> The robes ye weave another wears;
> The arms ye forge, another bears. (17–20)

The following stanza reframes this dynamic and Shelley recommends that the working class reclaim the results of their own productive capacities, redefining in the process the nature of their relationship with 'tyrants', 'impostors', and 'the idle':

> Sow seed — but let no tyrant reap:
> Find wealth — let no impostor heap:
> Weave robes — let not the idle wear:
> Forge arms — in your defence to bear. (21–24)

The conflict of class interest inherent in this formulation leads to the final line of the stanza in which arms are still produced but in order that the productive classes can defend themselves from the unproductive.

The following two stanzas, however, suggest a return to a state of subjection with the added note of doubt or reproach:

> Shrink to your cellars, holes, and cells —
> In halls ye deck another dwells.
> Why shake the chains ye wrought? Ye see
> The steel ye tempered glance on ye.
>
> With plough and spade and hoe and loom
> Trace your grave and build your tomb,
> And weave your winding sheet — till fair
> England be your Sepulchre. (25–32)

Shelley abandons genuine questions requesting illumination — 'wherefore plough/ For the lords who lay ye low?' — for rhetorical questions which doubt the ability of his audience to produce a satisfactory resolution: 'Why shake the chains ye wrought? Ye see/ The steel ye tempered glance on ye'. The final stanzas, therefore, reverse the movement and undo the gains of the sixth stanza in which the people are imagined as cohering into a self-sufficient unit, with the arms returning to the oppressors and the working class continuing their productive activities of weaving and digging. The difference is that the poem has encouraged the insight that the working class participates in its own exploitation; at its most cynical, this could encourage the reproach that working-class people were complicit in their own oppression and had to bear some responsibility for their injuries. The radical difference between the sixth and eighth stanzas for the position of the oppressed seems to be the willingness of the working class to use the arms they forge in their own defence. Shelley reveals

coercion as the strength of oppressors and the reason for the continuance of their rule.

Keach argued that Shelley offered in 'Song: To the Men of England' a far more direct and approving image of citizens rebelling against oppressors than the more equivocal perspective of *Mask* (*Arbitrary*, p. 147). He also gestured at critical commentary 'puzzled' by Shelley's analysis and what he appears to recommend as a solution to exploitation ('Rise', p. 94). In his speech, Harney offered the audience, and by extension the readers of the Chartist press, the ideas and imagery of the poem in a condensed form that resolves the doubt of the final stanzas.[48] In raising the spectre of the firebrand he reminds 'the people' that they could destroy what they had created, reformulating Shelley's image of the agricultural worker and the weaver digging their own graves and weaving their own winding sheets, respectively, into a more combative form of class struggle than Shelley proposed explicitly in his poem. In the speech of a physical-force Chartist, the equivocation in Shelley's conclusion is transformed into a more proactive formulation that foreshadows Marx and Engels's prediction in *The Communist Manifesto* that the bourgeoisie was '[producing] its own grave-diggers' in the working class.[49]

**Shelley and the General Strike of 1839**

On 4 February, a month after Harney's speech, the Convention began to meet in London. The majority of Chartists thought that the Convention's remit included other duties besides organising the collection of signatures for the first National Petition (Epstein, p. 139). These included discussion of ulterior measures that Chartists were prepared to undertake in the expected event that the Houses of Parliament rejected the petition (Chase, pp. 57–58). Harney's speech was an example of the tenor of such discussions, in which Chartists threatened the establishment with the consequences of its rejection; the very public accrual of weapons and talk of obtaining the Charter 'by force' if peaceable means failed hinted at insurrection (Chase, pp, 60–61). Other

[48] Harney's speech also appeared in 'Carlile', *Operative*, 13 January 1839, p. 7. Less supportive papers also reported Harney's speech, such as the *Examiner* reprinting an article that had appeared in the *Morning Chronicle*. The *Chronicle* did not quote Harney's Shelleyan constructions, focussing instead on his threat that Chartists could use the firebrand to destroy property. While this was 'no doubt, atrocious language', the *Chronicle* was of the opinion that working people 'seldom went beyond big words'. It concluded that Harney's language, though violent, represented the feelings of 'a small fraction of the working population'. See 'London', *Morning Chronicle*, 8 January 1839, [n. pag]; and 'The Rev. Mr Stephens and His Incendiary Associates, *Examiner*, 13 January 1839, pp. 22–23.

[49] Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*, ed. by David McLellan, trans. by Samuel Moore (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 16.

ulterior measures proposed were economic pressures such as abstention from purchasing taxed goods, the withdrawal of savings from banks, and exclusive dealing where Chartists would refuse to buy goods from hostile retailers who had the vote (Epstein, p. 157). The prospect of a national strike brought together the political and economic; Chartists' withdrawal of labour was designed to put pressure on the state, and arming was thought necessary to prevent the authorities from forcing them back to work As Chase argued, in these circumstances 'the sacred month was [...] not an action short of outright insurrection, it *was* insurrection' (p. 80, original emphasis).

This was the context in which Shelley's *Mask* and 'Song: To the Men of England' appeared in the poetry columns of the Chartist press. A week after the Convention discussed use of political violence and the *National* printed 'To the People', the poem also appeared in the *Champion*.[50] In April, the Convention was debating the principle of the constitutional right to bear arms while the *Northern Star* printed 'To the People' and 'Song: To the Men of England', omitting the last two stanzas which expressed doubt as to outcome of confrontation. This was also a period in which the Convention's class character was changing, since middle-class delegates resigned as a result of these discussions. As Epstein observed, middle-class delegates 'were invariably replaced by working men' (p. 153). Shelley's poetry illustrating economic exploitation and offering images of popular resistance, therefore, appeared in issues of Chartist newspapers which also reported on the Convention's debates.

The article 'Meeting of Chartists at Stockport' reported a number of speeches made by Chartists in response to the rejection of the national petition and in expectation of the sacred month.[51] At the meeting on 15 July 1839 the Chartist Bronterre O'Brien used images similar to those in Shelley's 'Song: To the Men of England' in presenting the strike as a decisive crisis. Without mentioning the poem by name, O'Brien said:

> Let not the anvil be struck within the length and breadth of the land. Let not a needle nor a spade be used unless to dig some tyrant's grave. Let not a shuttle move, unless to weave the winding sheet of some monster-robber, some profit-monger, who dared to attack the People's Parliament. All will then soon be over.

By using Shelleyan images in reference to the anticipated general strike, O'Brien applied the economic logic of Shelley's lines to the immediate conditions faced by Chartists. He engaged with the poem's final stanza in which Shelley described the

[50] Shelley, 'To the People', *Champion*, 10 March 1839, p. 6.
[51] 'Meeting of Chartists at Stockport', *Northern Star*, 20 July 1839, 1.

consequence of the workers' failure to act as being if not physical death then at least living entombment. Like Harney earlier that year, O'Brien transformed Shelley's final stanza in countering its pessimism. He might also have been suggesting revenge for the recent attack on the Convention in Birmingham. On 4 July, the London Metropolitan Police policed Chartist demonstrations. Their attempts to arrest Chartist orators resulted in battles with Chartists, eliciting the *Northern Star*'s judgment that the Convention had been 'wantonly, violently, and illegally attacked' (Chase, p. 82). In O'Brien's formulation, the grave and winding-sheet were to be cut to the shape of those 'who dared to attack the People's Parliament', rather than to the people themselves.

For all the ambiguity in poems such as *Revolt* or *The Mask of Anarchy* on the use of violence in self-defence at critical moments, Shelley also included statements to the effect that revenge was unequivocally wrong. As *Mask*, the other poem very popular in Chartism, had it: 'Blood for blood — and wrong for wrong —/ Do not thus when ye are strong' (195–96). In their frequent use of the poem, Chartists did not quote Shelley's lines on not taking revenge; 'To the People', the version of *Mask* present in the Chartist press in this period, contained the lines 'Rise like lions after slumber' but not the lines rejecting revenge. According to my findings, use of 'Song: To the Men of England' comparable to O'Brien's did not occur in the *New Moral World*; I found no references to the poem in the Owenite journal though it was still in print six years after 'Song' was published for the first time. What matters, if we are to take Shelley's poem seriously as concerned with questions of political strategy, is what can be recognised as a position of strength. A possible reading of the line is that Shelley equates the position of strength with unequivocal victory and that his injunction against revenge, therefore, is not incompatible with use of violence in self-defence at moments of confrontation. It would then become a question of whether responding in kind to the state's 'attacks' on the Convention, which was still meeting when O'Brien spoke, constituted self-defence or revenge. Such questions recognise the lack of straightforwardness inherent in Shelley's images of political struggle; he does not give unambiguous instructions to his intended readers. Interpretation in such circumstances was always creative.

Lines from *Revolt*, for example, appeared in the *Northern Star*'s poetry column on 20 July 1839 under the title 'The Arguments of Tyranny (From Shelley's

*Revolt of Islam*)'.[52] The lines depict a battle between the forces of revolution and counter-revolution, a battle in which the former discover a cache of 'rude pikes/ The instrument of those who war but on their native ground/ For natural rights', to the 'shout of joyance' (VI. 2444–46). Laon, the great pacifist in Owenite readings of the poem, also experiences this joy and it appeared as though their assailants would be repelled. The counter-revolutionaries, however, were encouraged by the realisation that they held the balance of force, 'and then the combat grew/ Unequal but most horrible', until only Laon survived (VI. 2456–57). The fact that the *Northern Star* quoted these lines under the title 'The Arguments of Tyranny' then requires explication.

The *Northern Star* offered its readers Shelley's description of war between the forces of 'tyranny' and those who fought for 'natural rights' sixteen days after the state attacked the Convention and eight days after Parliament had rejected their petition. The next anticipated milestone in Chartism was strike action that Scottish Chartists, for example, expected would cause 'nothing short of physical revolution' (Chase, p. 81). When the *Northern Star* quoted these lines from Shelley's poem in this context, it was clear that they were intended to speak to this moment. It is possible that the scene is supposed to illustrate the tyrannical argument that 'might is right'. While it is possible to defend Shelley's avowed commitment to non-violence in the poem's Preface on the basis that an oppressed people must also reject this argument of tyranny, his lines in this passage do not suggest that Laon and his comrades were wrong to defend themselves. Much depends, then, on what a counter-argument to tyranny might be since the Chartists were clearly not minded to accept tyrants' arguments.

There were, however, several conclusions that could be drawn from the lines in the context of their appearances in the *Northern Star*. On the one hand, the battle dramatised a confrontation between proponents of a just cause and oppression in a manner that valorised the former. On the other, the conclusion of the battle illustrated the result of a contest between the people and an enemy better prepared for the fight. Two days after the *Northern Star* printed the lines the Convention reconvened, with the reappearance of O'Brien and O'Connor who had been absent when the Convention's delegates selected 12 August as the date on which the sacred month would commence (Chase, p. 86). O'Brien, despite his recent optimistic speech,

[52] 'The Arguments of Tyranny. (From Shelley's *Revolt of Islam*)', *Northern Star*, 20 July 1839, p. 7. (VI. 2425–60, 2473–78, 2488–96)

believed that the Convention did not have the authority to make that decision for a people who were not 'prepared for the national holiday' (Epstein, p. 177). O'Connor's *Northern Star* editorial of 2 August argued that it was not the right time to embark on a sacred month, proposing a three-day strike instead: the people 'are not a tenth part of them in possession of the means of self-defence' (Chase, p. 86). Chartists could have read 'The Arguments of Tyranny' in this context as illustrating the lack of preparation for confrontation that some in the Convention argued necessitated the postponement or curtailment of the sacred month. This inequality meant that the arguments of tyranny, if this did mean 'might is right', could not be answered in kind by Chartists with any prospect of success. Shelley's lines in this context upheld the principle of self-defence in either reading; the question for Chartists was a strategic one.

'The Arguments of Tyranny' is a possible response, therefore, to the reading offered by Owenites in the *New Moral World*, since the 'Review' did not deliver on its promise in what transpired to be its final instalment to continue discussion of *Revolt* in future issues. The 'Review' had previously discussed *Prometheus Unbound* from the poem's beginning to its conclusion over five instalments. Discussion of *Revolt*, however, was limited to discussion of its Preface and first five cantos, meaning that the final seven cantos were not covered. Given the practice established in discussion of *Prometheus Unbound*, we might have expected future instalments of the *Review* to discuss those cantos. Since 'The Arguments of Tyranny' appeared in the *Northern Star* a month after the last instalment of the 'Review' appeared in the *New Moral World*, it is possible that the *Northern Star* deliberately picked up the baton by excerpting lines from *Revolt*'s sixth canto.

As noted above, Duffy thought Shelley's political poetry was defined by a 'tension [...] between gradualism and revolutionism, quietism and violence' (p. 10). I concur with this reading of Shelley, and suggest that this is precisely the kind of ambiguity in his poetry on the subject of political violence that Owenites would have found troubling. As I showed in the previous chapter, the conduct of Chartists and the differences between that movement and Owenism was discussed frequently in the *New Moral World* throughout 1839. It is not surprising, therefore, that the 'Review' ended when it did, on 22 June 1839, without discussing the lines that Chartists went on to use the following month in a manner that would have offended Owenite principles. Owenite and Chartist use of *Revolt* in this period evidences the ways in which their print cultures manifested key differences in the movements' structures of

feeling.

## Shelley in the *Western Vindicator*: before the Newport Uprising

A couple of months before these debates in the Convention occurred, one of its delegates had been arrested and imprisoned. In May, Henry Vincent was taken into custody in London for delivering a speech in Newport at a meeting that local magistrates had declared illegal.[53] His newspaper the *Western Vindicator* fulfilled a similar service for Chartism in the West of England and South Wales that the *Northern Star* did for the movement nationally by bringing together the mass platform and print culture, and helping the movement to cohere in the area.[54] Though the war of the Unstamped Press had lost its intensity by 1839, the Whig government continued to monitor the print culture of the working class. To avoid paying stamp duty and thereby driving up the cost of the *Vindicator*, direct reportage of news had to be avoided; other modes of writing had to be utilised in order to incorporate this material, from 'debates and digests' to 'satirical sketches, inspirational poetry, [and] dream narratives' (Ashton, p. 58). In the rest of this chapter, I discuss Vincent's use of Shelley in the *Vindicator* in direct response to local political events.

Vincent continued to write for the *Vindicator* while imprisoned, with the help of fellow prisoners who smuggled his letters and articles out of Monmouth Gaol.[55] The first of his series of letters 'To the People of the West of England and South Wales, and to the Radical Reformers of the United Kingdom' gave Vincent's account of his arrest.[56] From the second letter on 1 June onwards, it was his usual practice to preface the letter with lines from *Queen Mab*.[57] The *Vindicator* did not print Shelley's poetry before this event. I argue that Vincent's use of *Queen Mab* in these letters is significant beyond the relation between specific lines and the content of the letter that followed. The poem had been associated with radical working-class readers since the piracies of the early 1820s. Passages from the poem, therefore, were significant

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[53] Chase, p. 75. For Vincent as a delegate to the Convention, see Epstein, p. 144.

[54] Owen R. Ashton, 'The *Western Vindicator* and Early Chartism', in *Papers for the People*, pp. 54–81 (pp. 54–56).

[55] For a study discussing the way Vincent managed to continue his work with the *Vindicator* while in prison, see Thomas Scriven, 'Activism and the Everyday: The Practices of Radical Working-Class Politics, 1830–1842' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Manchester, 2012), pp. 190–94.

[56] Henry Vincent, 'To the People of the West of England and South Wales, and to the Radical Reformers of the United Kingdom', 18 May 1839, p. 1.

[57] Henry Vincent, 'To the People of the West of England and South Wales, and to the Radicals of Great Britain', 1 June 1839, p. 1. (III. 150–69) All other examples can be found in the appendix.

beyond their content, as Vincent wanted his prison letters to protest the authorities' suppression of political activity and radical print culture.

Vincent followed the lines from *Queen Mab* on 1 June with the following address to readers:

> My Friends, — In all ages and under every form of government there has been open and deadly hostility, for mastery, between the opposite principles of virtue and vice; and those who have undertaken the promulgation of virtuous principles, have unavoidably met with the strong hand of persecution. [...] It is true that the mass of mankind are hourly emerging from barbarism — *misery* has engendered *thought* — and the newspaper, the book, and the schoolmaster, are cultivating that thought and, ripening it into intelligence. (Original emphasis)

He stressed in this letter the political significance of newspapers such as the *Vindicator*, drawing a parallel between it and those booksellers who had been prosecuted for selling books like *Queen Mab*. Its reputation for atheism, moreover, made it especially suitable for use by Vincent, since he had been refused permission for the use of writing material and books while in prison, except religious texts (Scriven, p. 194). By associating his prison letters with Shelley's poem, Vincent suggests that the fact of his imprisonment would not stop the production of the *Vindicator*, nor communication between himself and his audience.[58]

The letter of 1 June quotes lines from *Queen Mab* comparing the virtues of the 'virtuous man' and 'the trembling judge' to the former's advantage: he 'stands amid the silent dungeon depths,/ More free and fearless' than the latter (III. 151–54). The obvious parallel is Vincent's own situation as a political prisoner, and it was a provocative use by a man who had yet to meet his own judge. Shelley as a martyr was one Chartist version of Shelley; the *National* on 9 February, which was more directly concerned with Shelley than other issues, presented Shelley as a martyr figure and Linton's biography of Shelley noted the court's decision to deprive him of his children.[59] A letter to the editor of the *Northern Star* in 1846 from 'A Leaf from the Annals of Shoemaker's Garret [*sic*]' drew parallels between the lines Vincent quoted and Shelley himself, who '[wrote] his own character in these words — "The virtuous man, who, great in his humility, as kings are little in their grandeur!"'[60] Vincent's association of himself as a political prisoner with Shelley's poetry in 1839 would

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[58] For an account of the prosecution of Abel Heywood for publishing Shelley's poetry in the Chartist period, see 'Curious Turn of the Bishop of Exeter's Crusade', *Northern Liberator,* 6 June 1840, p. 3

[59] 'The Life of Shelley', *National*, 9 February 1839, pp. 76–78.

[60] 'A Leaf from the Annals of a Shoemaker's Garret [*sic*]', 'Tait's Magazine and Lord Byron', *Northern Star*, 31 October 1846, p. 6.

continue with O'Connor's imprisonment in 1840; the following chapter will consider Chartist use of *Mask* in discussing O'Connor as the 'caged lion'.

Vincent's imprisonment also inspired two poems by Edward Thomas which the *Vindicator* printed on 29 June 1839.[61] Thomas appears to have taken Shelley's lyric poem 'To a Sky-Lark' as his model. The poems 'The Birds of the Prison' and 'Song' were prefaced by a section from a letter Vincent wrote from prison describing the way he was lulled to sleep by bird-song and awoken by the 'shrill song of the "Queen of the Morning" merrily mounting on high to kiss the clouds before Aurora's beams chase away the balmy dews'. Besides the fact that this enabled Vincent to retain a link to the natural world while imprisoned, it also inspires him to rise early and pursue his studies while in prison. Vincent described his routine in another letter to his cousin John Minikin:

> I always take a book up to bed with me; and my favourite bird the lark awakes me every morning before 4 o'clock; so that I get two hours good reading before six o'clock every morning. I have several of Cobbett's works and I am reaping much instruction therefrom.[62]

Literature, therefore, was a means of asserting mental freedom while in prison. If Shelley's poem does 'explore the nature of poetic creation' and figures this creativity through the sky-lark, Thomas's poem further associates this creativity with political freedom (*Poems*, III, 468). This freedom, crucially, was available to Chartist political prisoners despite their incarceration. As Vincent wrote in the first of the prison letters to quote *Queen Mab*, which the *Vindicator* published on the same date that he composed his letter to Minikin:

> Arouse, then, ye people! What matter, that some of your friends lie in dungeons? What boots it that my body is now entombed within the walls of this prison? My mind ranges far from the prison-walls, and fixing its impression upon this paper, bids ye remember your father land. (1 June 1839)

Shelley's lyric has also conventionally been included in anthologies that excluded his explicitly political poems; according to Rossington and Schmid, the example of the *Golden Treasury* (1861) in doing this 'influenced anthologists throughout Europe and made them privilege the lyrical over the political Shelley' (*Reception*, p. 6). The *Vindicator* brought 'To a Sky-Lark' within the radical canon in the Chartist period by associating it with political prisoners such as Vincent.

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[61] 'The Birds of the Prison' and 'Song', *Western Vindicator*, 29 June 1839, p. 2.

[62] This letter to Minikin was dated 1 June 1839 and can be found in the People's History Museum Archive, Vin.1/1/16.

Vincent used lines from *Queen Mab* as epigraphs to his prison letters as paratextual indicators in Gérard Genette's sense, as:

> a zone between text and off-text, a zone not only of transition but also of *transaction*: a privileged place of a pragmatics and a strategy, of an influence on the public, an influence that — whether well or poorly understood and achieved — is at the service of a better reception for the text and a more pertinent reading of it (more pertinent, of course, in the eyes of the author and his allies).[63]

In other words, passages from *Queen Mab* functioning as prefaces to the prison letters that followed would produce a more pertinent reading of Vincent's text (and the *Vindicator* itself) in the eyes of both his Chartist allies and political enemies. I also suggest that this relationship between the epigraph as paratext to the text of Vincent's letters was a true 'transaction', in that it affected both parties involved in exchange. I have argued that by associating his letters with *Queen Mab*, Vincent situated them in terms of the recent history of the political suppression of print. The content of the letters themselves, however, rebounds on *Queen Mab* as a paratext and affects the poem's transmission in the *Vindicator*. The arguments of Vincent's letters rejected the authorities' attempt to criminalise him. Vincent sought to divest his prison letters and *Queen Mab* of criminality, more specifically, of the crime of seditious libel: Vincent concluded the speech that earned his sentence with 'When the time for resistance arrives, let your cry be "To your tents, O Israel" and then with one voice, one heart, and one blow perish the privileged orders!'.[64] *Queen Mab* helped to make Shelley notorious for atheism, as well as functioning as 'canon shot' in the War of the Unstamped (Wickwar, pp. 260–61, 263). While Vincent found the poem's outlaw status useful in asserting his right to participate in print culture without repression, he also wanted to present the established Church as betraying Christian principles rather than to celebrate atheism.

Vincent's creative misreading of Shelley's poem to make it accord with Chartism's structure of feeling regarding religion occurs in two of the prison letters which used lines from *Queen Mab* as an epigraph: 1 June and 15 June. Vincent adverts in the 1 June letter to the 'sublime truths of the Christian Religion', which had been dismissed as blasphemy when they were first expressed. For the ruling class, the creed's popularity among 'the lower orders' was worse than this blasphemy; the parallels with modern day Chartism were obvious for Vincent. Where the 'virtuous

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[63] Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. by Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 2 (original emphasis).

[64] Ashton, 'The *Western Vindicator*', p. 76; 1 Kings 12. 16.

man' of Shelley's lines that formed the letter's epigraph is associated with Vincent's argument, he becomes a persecuted radical Christian as well as a Chartist like Vincent: 'The Christian Religion will never reign triumphant, until we have crushed the aristocratic principle which runs through society and government'.

The letter of 15 June took lines in which Shelley describes Nature's endowment for its epigraph: 'the fruits, the flowers, the trees,/ Arise in due succession: all things speak/ Peace, harmony, and love'.[65] Shelley thought that this natural inheritance should be enjoyed by all, but that corrupt society had disinherited 'the outcast man'. For Vincent, however, the state of nature was Hobbesian since theft by force governed life 'under the law of nature'. It was for this reason that man created the institutions of civil society which were supposed to protect property, including labour, but which society had since betrayed: 'Man did not leave the woods to become an inhabitant of cities and towns, that he might labour for other men, and go hungry and naked himself'. Vincent presented the 'rights and duties' of civil society as the endowments of God rather than Nature, as in Shelley's poem: 'The *rights* and *duties* of men are thus made clear. God created them all equal [...] The benevolence of our Creator is manifest through all his works; "all things proclaim peace, harmony, and love — *all but the outcast — man*' (original emphasis). Shelley's poem, so critical of established Christianity's God figure, is corralled into supporting a divine plan that class rule had spoiled. Barmby's argument in a proposed series of articles on Shelley in the *Charter* (apparently aborted after the first instalment) was typical of Chartists, who preferred to see the avowed atheist as 'one of the purest, the warmest, the best, on the records of humanity. His life was worthy of a Christian; he was disinterested; loving; merciful'.[66] Vincent's use of Shelley's poem was no mere transmission of Shelley's 'message' but an active reception that turned the atheist into the ideal Christian who proved his moral worth by supporting the poor.

### Shelley in the *Western Vindicator*: after the Newport Uprising

The *Vindicator* was continually concerned with the politics of public discourse, with the role that newspapers such as itself inhabited within this public sphere, and with the relations between its own and Tory and Whig politics in print culture. A direct link was drawn between battles fought in the ideological sphere and bloody uprisings, when a cause of the Newport Uprising on 3 November 1839 was said to be the

[65] Henry Vincent, 'To the People of the West of England and South Wales, & the Radicals of the United Kingdom', *Western Vindicator*, 15 June 1839, p. 1. (III. 192–213)
[66] J. G. Barmby, 'Remarks on Shelley', *Charter*, 31 March 1839, p. 154.

imprisonment of Vincent, who had spent the six months before the uprising in Monmouth Gaol.[67] Ashton attributes the coalescence of Chartism as a movement in South Wales and the West of England to Vincent's speaking tours in the area and to the publication of the *Vindicator* (p. 59). The authorities also thought this; just three weeks before the Newport Uprising on 3 November, Lord Segrave wrote to Lord John Russell, the Home Secretary, on the 'need to instigate legal proceedings against [the *Vindicator*'s] editor, Vincent', since it was 'producing a mischievous and discontented spirit' amongst the working class (Ashton, p. 54). John Frost, who led the uprising, had his letters printed regularly in the *Vindicator*. The newspaper was presented as evidence at the trial of a participant, Samuel Etheridge, by Thomas Ady, 'special constable for the borough of Newport': he reported at Etheridge's trial that, 'I searched the prisoner's house where I found various manuscripts, copies of the *Western Vindicator*, and other papers'.[68] On 30 November, the *Northern Star* reprinted an article from *The Times* which stated that 'The *Western Vindicator* is still circulated through the hills; almost every cottage having one, and is exerting itself, as last week, in endeavouring to stir up the people to liberate the traitors in Monmouth Gaol'.[69] *The Times* quoted liberally from the *Vindicator*'s editorial of 23 November as evidence of its lack of repentance, and criticised the government for not banning the paper:

> This paper has now been allowed to be published forty weeks with (I state it advisedly) a full knowledge of its character by the Government, [...] and yet the paper has been allowed to go on unpunished until sedition has reared its head in fierce rebellion. (p. 6.)

The Home Secretary heeded the warning; as Ashton notes, 'within days the Home Secretary had taken the decision both to prosecute Francis Hill and to ensure that Vincent was denied all access to writing materials' (p. 71).

Ashton suggests that the catalyst for this event was Vincent's editorial for 16 November, a 'cleverly constructed dream narrative', in which he imagines Frost answering the call of 'thousands of the sturdy Welsh', only to subsequently appear in Vincent's prison cell after the failed uprising in order to recount his experiences.[70] As a piece of writing in response to an event in which working-class people were killed, it

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[67] G. M., 'Revolution in Wales!', *Western Vindicator*, 9 November 1839, p. 1; and 'The Newport Riots', *Northern Star*, 30 November 1839, p. 6. (The latter was 'from *The Times*'.)
[68] 'The Riots in Newport', *Charter*, 24 November 1839, pp. 693–95 (p. 694).
[69] 'Uneasy State of Merthyr — March of Troops for Cardiff — Further Examination of the Prisoners', *Northern Star*, 30 November 1839, p. 6.
[70] Ashton, p. 71. Henry Vincent, 'To the People', *Western Vindicator*, 16 November 1839, p. 1.

begs comparison with Shelley's *Mask*. As Shelley 'lay asleep in Italy' he was removed from the arena of action (1). Vincent, on the other hand, is an unwilling exile, and the fact that his environment is a prison cell and his bed 'a straw pallet' means that he occupies the same environment as the recently imprisoned Frost. Vincent argues with Frost in his dream:

> What! and will the men of Wales suffer you to be sacrificed? Is there not spirit enough amongst them to liberate their greatest benefactor? Perish the thought. I cannot, will not suppose it. The People of England will not surely be apathetic and quiescent. (p. 1)

Vincent then 'awoke, and found 'twas all a dream':

> Of course I know nothing of the proceedings without my prison; but in the event of an occurrence bearing any similitude to my dream, my sentiments would be the same as those I have penned as being entertained in my visions. (p. 1)

By writing these sentiments as if recording a dream Vincent attempted to evade punitive legal consequences, while endorsing what is clearly a move to save Frost from prison and execution. Local magistrates responded to such provocation in the aftermath of the Newport Uprising by seizing copies of the *Vindicator* and forcing its manager, Francis Hill, to evade arrest. This made production of the paper more difficult and the 14 December issue was its last (Ashton, pp. 71–72).

The *Vindicator*'s last issue printed 'Song: To the Men of England' in full, which contained the alteration to line twenty seven ('why see/ The steel ye tempered') that I have attributed to *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*.[71] Following Shelley's poem in the *Vindicator* was an article in which M. Clements described '[attempts] to obtain the Charter through the means of physical force' as utterly 'useless', if not 'mad'.[72] He attributed this, however, to 'the unfavourable combination of circumstances by which the working classes is [*sic*] surrounded' rather than any moral objection to violent class conflict. Clements also insisted that the classes had conflicting interests by definition and that:

> the war has commenced between the proper combatants at last. Labour has taken the field against the money-monster, and will not leave until one is conquered.

The fact that the source of an aggressive reading of the poem was *Tait's* is ironic as, according to Easley, the magazine was published for the first time 'in 1832, just one

[71] Shelley, 'To the Men of England', *Western Vindicator*, 14 December 1839, p. 6.
[72] M. Clements, 'To the Chartists of the United Kingdom', *Western Vindicator*, 14 December 1839, p. 6.

month before the passage of the first Reform Bill' (p. 263). It was intended to bridge gaps between the working and middle class, and to 'construct a national literature of reform that would "solve" conflicts and inequalities in the Victorian class and gender system' (p. 264). Its editor's working assumption was that the improvement of the general public's literary taste would result in positive social change.

Harney's reading of 'Song', in which the hand-loom weavers and the agricultural labourers ought to be prepared to 'weave no more for [their] tyrants but their winding-sheets', and 'dig nought more for them but their graves', still resonated with Chartist readers of the poem at the end of the year. After Newport, however, physical violence as a means was doubtful, in outcome if not in desirability. The *Vindicator's* reprint of 'Song: To the Men of England' appears to be the last time that the poem as a whole appeared in the press according to my findings. From then on, the final two stanzas in which Shelley expressed doubt or a challenge that the working class would act to emancipate itself and that Harney and O'Brien turned into an offensive position earlier in 1839 would not be printed with the other, less equivocal, stanzas.[73] The later version ending on the line 'Forge arms in your defence to bear' may seem assertive, if not outright aggressive, but the reluctance to quote the ambiguous stanzas and transform them as Harney did in January 1839 suggests that Chartists in later periods of the movement lacked the confidence of the period 1837–39. It is possible that they could not risk inviting a quiescent and despondent reading of the poem during periods in which success seemed less certain.

## Conclusion

This chapter established the publication history for *Mask* and 'Song: To the Men of England' for Chartists, arguing that periodical culture was the main medium of transmission for Shelley's poetry in Chartist culture. I showed how Linton's anthology the *National* offered readers Shelley's poetry as a resource to argue for women's emancipation but that the broader movement's use of Linton's versions of *Mask* evidenced its preference for Shelley's images of popular resistance. The chapter went on to situate excerptions from *Mask* and 'Song: To the Men of England' in the Chartist press in terms of major events in the movement over 1839: the Convention's debates on political violence, the General Strike, and the Newport Uprising. I argued

[73] The *Northern Star* reprinted lines 1–24 of the poem, without the last two stanzas, in P. B. Shelley, 'Songs for the People. No. II. To the Men of England', *Northern Star*, 24 January 1846, p. 3; Shelley, 'Song To the Men of England', *Northern Star*, 31 July 1847, p. 3; Shelley, 'Song To the Men of England', *Northern Star*, 15 July 1848, p. 2; and Thomas Martin Wheeler, 'Sunshine and Shadow; A Tale of the Nineteenth Century. Chapter XXVI', *Northern Star*, 29 September 1849, p. 3.

that this period shows how Shelley's poetry gave Chartists useful images for describing confrontation with the authorities but that Shelley's poetry was ambiguous in terms of any tactical recommendations that might be drawn from them. This was especially relevant when a consensus did not exist, as was the case when the movement prepared for the General Strike. Use of *Revolt* in this period also illustrates the difference between Owenite and Chartist presentations of Shelley on the issue of popular violence.

The chapter concluded with analysis of Vincent's use of *Queen Mab* and *Mask* in the Western Vindicator. Vincent's prison letters associated Shelley's poem, which had been notorious for atheism, with religious as well as political martyrdom. This was another key difference from Owenism, which celebrated Shelley for his commitment to free thought. I went on to argue that Vincent used Shelley's formal strategy of a dream vision in *Mask* in endorsing an attempt to free the Newport Uprising's leader, John Frost. The *Vindicator*'s final issue was the last occasion in which the Chartist press printed 'Song: To the Men of England' in full. I argued that over the course of 1839 Chartist attitudes towards Shelley had begun to shift from Harney and O'Brien's confident framing of his images in terms of a successful use of physical force to a more doubtful relationship in the aftermath of the Newport Insurrection.

# Chapter Five: Rising like Lions after Slumber

## Introduction

This chapter considers Chartist use of an image from Shelley's *Mask* that became a key means of representing the movement's power and prospects: that of the lion rising from slumber. It traces the image's development over the course of the movement. I begin by considering Leigh Hunt's presentation of *Mask* in his Preface to the poem's first edition in 1832, arguing that in their use of the poem from 1838 Chartists confounded the terms of Hunt's reading which attempted to locate Shelley's political poem within a narrative of the gradual liberalisation of society. If the 1832 Reform Act was achieved neither by peaceful methods nor represented the final rebuke of the spirit of tyranny, then the terms of Shelley's poem were still active. His representation of a moment of confrontation could be taken up by the Chartists to imagine confrontation with the state that served working-class interests.

I go on to discuss Chartist attitudes towards political violence, arguing that their use of Shelley's lion corresponded to the essential ambiguity that others have identified in Chartist strategy, which could not be easily divided into 'physical' and 'moral' force 'positions'. Chartist use of the 'rising lion' image, I argue, comprised three main periods. The first, from Autumn 1838 to Summer 1839, was the period in which the Chartist lion emerged. It was characterised by a physical aggression, working-class agency, and was associated with both O'Connor and his newspaper the *Northern Star*. Chartists made Shelley's image of lions rising from slumber more physically aggressive by combining it with Shakespeare's image of a war-like lion in *Troilus and Cressida*. They also lent it divine sanction by associating it with images from Psalms. I argue that this period came to an end when the movement suffered the setbacks of the 1839 General Strike and the Newport Uprising. I show here (and later in the chapter in a section on *Mask*'s images of vocal agency) that Chartists engaged creatively with Shelley's poem, changing its images to suit their own purposes.

The lion image's fortunes were restored with the second period: May 1840 to August 1841, during which O'Connor was in prison. The 'Lion in his den' made great political capital from his status as political prisoner, consolidating his role as the movement's leader. *Queen Mab* as well as *Mask* proved useful, here, as the martyrdom of the 'virtuous man' allowed Chartism to regain the moral high ground after the 1839 Uprising. Chartists could also anticipate a rejuvenation of their

movement with O'Connor's release, and they imagined the Shelleyan lion awakening in terms of resurrection from a 'sleep of death', another image from Psalms. Unlike early usage, when Chartists encouraged one another to rise 'once more' and gain what they demanded, the image was now made elastic enough to imagine rising from repeated setbacks. Such elasticity was broken, I argue, with the events of the 1842 General Strike in which O'Connor made clear his doubt that Chartists could respond successfully to state violence.

The final period, from November 1843 to the movement's conclusion, featured a last ditch attempt in the *Northern Star* to 'rouse the British lion from his too long continued slumbers'. That promise appeared in the paper's series 'The Condition of England Question', which tried to reassert Chartist ambitions regarding political reform. I discuss this episode in relation to the formulation of Chartism's critic, Thomas Carlyle, who created the phrase.

### Leigh Hunt's Preface to *Mask* (1832)

As discussed in the previous chapter, Hunt was reluctant to risk another jail sentence by publishing *Mask* in the aftermath of the Peterloo Massacre. In his Preface, Hunt attributed his decision to what he thought would be the disastrous political consequences of publishing the poem in 1819:

> the suffering part of the people, judging, not unnaturally, from their own feelings, and from the exasperation which suffering produces before it produces knowledge, would believe a hundred-fold in his anger, to what they would in his good intention; and this made me fear that the common enemy would take advantage of the mistake to do them both a disservice. (*Poems*, III, 732)

Hunt imagines that the poem's immediate reception would result in a popular reaction and its subsequent repression because Shelley's poem would be misread: 'the public at large had not become sufficiently discerning to do justice to the sincerity and kind-heartedness of the spirit that walked in this flaming robe of verse' (p. 731). Few readers would understand that while Shelley's images implied violence his message was peaceable. This was a trajectory from ignorance to knowledge: the public had not temporarily lost discernment at a moment of crisis but had yet to acquire it. In the period between 1819 and 1832, Shelley's own writing had brought about the change that made it safe to publish *Mask*: 'Mr Shelley's writings have since aided the general progress of knowledge in bringing about a wiser period' (p. 732). *Mask*, in the more liberal and better informed period, would 'shew every body what a

most considerate and kind, as well as fervent heart, the cause of the world has lost' (p. 732). Not only were the working class in a position to understand the message of Shelley's poem but the ruling class, unthreatened by insurrection, were likewise in a position to do justice to Shelley himself. 'Every body', every class as well as person, was able to reach a consensus on Shelley who was to be a divisive figure no longer.

Hunt positions the poem and his understanding of its significance in relation to the Great Reform Act of 1832 which extended the franchise to small property owners. *Mask*, written while Shelley '[waited] anxiously [to] hear how the Country will express its sense of this bloody murderous oppression of its destroyers', actually anticipated reformist legislation:

> the advice given by the poet, the great national measure recommended by him, is singularly striking as a *political anticipation*. It advises what has since taken place, and what was felt by the grown wisdom of the age to be the only thing which *could* take place, with effect, as a final rebuke and nullification of the Tories; to wit, a calm, lawful, and inflexible preparation for resistance in the shape of a protesting multitude, — the few against the many, — the laborious and suffering against the spoilt children of monopoly, — Mankind against Tory-kind. It is true the Poet recommends that there should be no active resistance, come what might [...] yet, in point of the spirit of the thing, the success he anticipates has actually occurred, and after his fashion; for there really has been no resistance, except by multitudinous protest. The Tories, however desirous they showed themselves to draw their swords, did not draw them. The battle was won without a blow.[1]

Hunt imagines the events of the period of agitation leading to the passing of the Reform Bill as bearing out Shelley's 'anticipation' in *Mask*. Reformers in 1832, by developing a 'calm, lawful, and inflexible preparation for resistance' had managed to break historically with the Peterloo narrative of martyrdom in which Tory tyrants beat down an oppressed and deserving people.

It is worth noting here that Hunt effectively distinguishes between what Shelley himself described to Hunt as his 'exoteric' poem and the 'esoteric' poems which had been published in Shelley's lifetime. Shelley distinguished between the two classes of poems in a letter to Hunt, describing *Mask* as belonging to 'the exoteric species' (*Letters*, II, 152). 'Esoteric' poems like *Prometheus Unbound*, inward looking texts with 'elevated diction and complex periodic syntax', were intended for the few readers who could understand them (Behrendt, *Audiences*, p. 196). Shelley's imagined 'five or six readers' for that poem was enlarged substantially in the Owenite period, as the *New Moral World* excerpted long sections from it (Klancher, p. 14).

[1] *Poems*, III, 733 (original emphasis). Shelley's letter to Charles Ollier of 6 September 1819: *Letters*, I, 116–18 (p. 117). For likely composition dates of *Mask*, see *Poems*, III, 28–29.

The 'exoteric' poem *Mask*, on the other hand, was outward looking, concerned with the quotidian, and formally indebted to the tradition of popular ballads.[2] For Hunt, it was Shelley's 'esoteric' poems which 'aided the general progress of knowledge in bringing about a wiser period' while his 'exoteric' poem *Mask* risked intervening disastrously in practical politics.[3] If *Mask* had recommended the 'great national measure' of the Reform Act it was only safe to recognise this after the fact.

I argue that a section of the 'Mankind' party, the working class, would have taken issue with all of these aspects of Hunt's presentation of *Mask*. The idea that there was a 'Mankind' party opposed to the spirit of Toryism did not correspond to working-class radicals' judgement of the Act. In his account of the period, E. P. Thompson quoted the judgment of the *Poor Man's Guardian* that the 'promoters of the Reform Bill projected it, not with a view to subvert, or even remodel our aristocratic institutions, but to consolidate them by a reinforcement of sub-aristocracy from the middle-classes' (*Making*, p. 893). Lord Grey, Whig Prime Minister when the Bill passed, had admitted in the Commons that the legislation was designed to halt the extension of the franchise beyond a desirable limit (*Making*, p. 892). Hunt obscured the internal divisions of the 'Mankind' party, between its middle-class beneficiaries and a working class who desired the extension of the franchise to include those (men) who did not meet the £10 qualification. For O'Brien writing in 1833, the effect of the Act 'would be to detach from the working classes a large portion of the middle ranks' (*Making*, p. 903). The act had the effect of accentuating class division between the represented middle class and the unrepresented working class; the class character of the two antagonists 'the few' and 'the many' had been reconstituted.

The reluctance of 'the many' to accept their lack of political rights meant that they did not consider the settlement of 1832 to be final. Working-class criticism of the settlement continued in Chartism, and E. P. Thompson described the movement as resulting directly from partial reform (*Making*, p. 909). James Mitchell said at a public meeting in Macclesfield in 1839 that the Act was not final, and that 'the lion

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[2] Behrendt, *Audiences*, p. 191. For work on *Mask* relation to this tradition, see Janowitz's *Lyric and Labour* and Morgan's 'P. B. Shelley's Popular Songs'.

[3] Behrendt's definitions of the two 'species' also helps to explain the greater attractions that *Prometheus Unbound* held for the Owenites and *Mask* for the Chartists:

> Whereas the esoteric poems focus on fresh, even apocalyptic myths of the *new* man, the exoteric poems dwell with the righteous indignation of Jesus among the money changers on the dilemma of the *old* man crushed by the old, exploitative intellectual and sociopolitical system. (*Audiences*, p. 196, original emphasis)

arose from his slumber' as a response.[4] The betrayal that Chartists perceived in the conduct of the middle class in not extending the franchise to working men was figured here as the lion's political awakening, occurring as a result of the Act's failure rather than heralding its success. Chartism responded by organising in a constitutionally legal manner, but Mitchell recommended rebellion if the authorities continued to '[bludgeon] the people', as they had done in Birmingham during the 1839 Convention. 'The day was not come for destroying property, the day was not come yet' — the 'yet' indicated a limit to Chartists' patience.

Hunt's identification of tyranny with 'Torykind', an oppressive regime he saw as nullified by the 'great national measure', was also objectionable. One of Vincent's prison letters exemplifies this attitude.[5] He critiqued the Whig view of history informing Hunt's presentation of *Mask*, coupled with the repudiation of criticism of aggressive Chartist rhetoric in newspapers hostile to the movement:

> It has been the fashion of late, with the editors of newspapers to talk about the violence of Chartists, and to recommend to them the adoption of a 'moderate tone of voice,' in urging their claim on the attention of the ministry. [...] We read in Whig papers how, in 1817, the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended by the Tories, and how the Six Acts' Bill was also passed [...] we have been reminded of Tory murders on the fields of Peterloo, on the 16th of August, 1839; and the editorial pens have swaggered away, telling us *all those things are past*, and the nation is secure from their recurrence by the reinstatement of the liberty-loving Whigs. (Original emphasis)

The parapraxis '1839' for '1819', the actual year of the Peterloo Massacre, typifies Vincent's argument: where the Whigs claimed distance from the abuses of the Peterloo era, Vincent (or at least the *Vindicator*'s compositor) saw continuity. He went on to draw a parallel between the deaths at Peterloo and the suppression of the Lower Canada Rebellion, or Patriot's War, of 1837. Vincent made use of a report in *The Times* of a House of Lords' debate on the culpability of Colonel John Prince for the murder of prisoners of war: 'Yet this is the new administration that is to save us from the horrors of a Tory government! This is the new administration, made up of two new ingredients in the march of improvement, *imperceptible progression and finality!*' (original emphasis). Far from agreeing with Hunt on the relative values of the Whigs and the Tories he thought worse of the Whigs because they were hypocrites, '[oiling] their tongues with reform words' and betraying 'the very cause

[4] 'Great Chartist Meeting at Macclesfield', *Northern Star*, 3 August 1839, p. 7.
[5] Vincent, 'To the People', *Western Vindicator*, 8 June 1839, p. 1.

they pretended to espouse'. Greater hatred for the Whigs, according to Epstein, was a common Chartist attitude (p. 277).

Vincent's reference to newspaper editors' recommendations that Chartists eschew 'violence' for a 'moderate tone of voice' indicates another aspect of Hunt's partial reading of the period of agitation before the Reform Act. From the early months of 1831 until the 'Days of May' in 1832 the country was, according to Thompson, 'without any doubt passing through a crisis in these twelve months in which revolution was possible' (*Making*, p. 889). It was the threat of a more radical change in society, backed by the threat of physical force, that enabled reformist politicians in the House of Commons to force through the Reform Bill. According to Evans, 'Nothing is more certain [...] than that reform was peacefully enacted in June 1832 not because noble lords were persuaded by the merits of the case, but because they feared the consequences of continued resistance' (p. 36). Hunt's interpretation of recent events, therefore, was also a very partial reading of the political climate in which the Reform Act was brought about and the methods used to achieve it. Hunt has to forget the fact that arms underpinned the 'multitudinous protest' of the Reform Bill crisis in order to characterise the Act as the product of a peaceful movement. For Chartists, the success of the earlier reform agitation legitimised Chartism's strategy of intimidation, since in 1832 the 'government was forced to concede reform to organised public opinion which was marshalled outside Parliament and which threatened recourse to violence' (Epstein, p. 115).

The arguments above entail the following consequences for the reception and transmission of *Mask* in the Chartist period. If the 1832 settlement was not final and the oppressive relationship between the unrepresented and the ruling class which *Mask* depicted was still contemporary, then so were the terms of Shelley's poem. Recent political events had not divided the period of Peterloo from the post-Reform Act era, nor had they resolved *Mask*'s ambiguities regarding the nature of political 'resistance'. If Shelley's poem was still relevant, it was because the Reform Act was not 'the great national measure recommended by him'; the Chartists anticipated the fulfilment of their own political and social ambitions. Shelley's main concern in *Mask* was the moment of confrontation rather than proposing political measures. Shelley gives far more attention to the nature of 'Freedom': if 'Slavery' was material privation and the lack of self-determination then 'Freedom' was material comforts and abstract concepts such as 'Justice', 'Wisdom', and 'Peace'. 'Science, Poetry and Thought' were Freedom's 'lamps', though ones that had the effect of compensating the poor in

contemporary society to the point that they '[cursed] their maker not' (160–261). The extension of the franchise was not only just in itself but was imagined by the Chartists to lead to gains such as those Shelley described. Parliamentary reform was not just an end in itself; 'something more' was at stake'. Chartism, especially in its later years, engaged with 'social democratic ideas [...] under the banner of "The Charter and Something More"' (Chase, p. 336).

Linton's review of the poem in the *Odd Fellow* was respectful of Hunt's 'eloquent Preface' but regretted that he had declined to publish *Mask* in 1819: 'We do not think the Editor was right [...] the holy doctrine inculcated *throughout* the poem was too much wanted — is too much wanted at all times — to be spared even one year'.[6] While some of the details were specific to the 1819 massacre, 'by far the greater part bears upon and speaks to all times in which men are struggling for the overthrow of evil and the enthronement of peaceful liberty' (p. 182). 'Peterloo' had not been resolved as an historical event: 'that memory [was] yet warm in the memory of execration' (p. 182).

As I noted in chapter one, Shelley was not uncontroversial seven years after Hunt published his Preface: Hetherington had used the publication of *Poetical Works* in 1839 to force recognition that blasphemy law was used to police the print culture of the working class. Such battles over Shelley proved that his writing was still contested, and that what was at stake was recognition of conflicting class interest. This was not a matter of a linear progression from ignorance to knowledge, with a pacifist and reformist politics associated with that trajectory. Shelley's 'exoteric' poems *Mask* and 'Song: To the Men of England' had finally found a popular audience in a mass movement, one that demonstrated their relevance to contemporary politics. If the working class had not abandoned the principle of 'active resistance' as an important facet of its political structure of feeling, then the danger that Hunt feared had not passed. The rest of this chapter shows how the poem's image of the rising lion was vital in the early years of Chartist discourse, allowing Chartists to articulate threats and hopes for their own success.

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[6] 'The Masque of Anarchy, a Poem', *Odd Fellow*, 13 November 1839, pp. 182–83 (p. 182). Linton included a clipping of the review in his *Prose and Verse Written and Published in the Course of Fifty Years, 1836–1886*, 20 vols (Connecticut, 1895), V, 113–16. Janowitz also discussed Linton's review of *Mask* in *Lyric and Labour*, p. 70.

**Chartism and violence**

As Sanders noted, the dominant analytic framework for understanding Chartist political strategy has been the 'perceived opposition between "physical force" and "moral force" Chartism' (*Poetry*, p. 88). For Epstein, the distinction between 'moral' and 'physical force' Chartism in Chartist historiography 'neatly [corresponds] with what has been regarded as the central dichotomy between O'Connor and Lovett's leadership' (p. 124). The first Chartist historian, R. G. Gammage, made use of threatening language the characteristic of the physical force 'school' or 'party', as opposed to the moral force school which 'contended that the people's rights must be secured by moral means alone'.[7] The Chartist slogan 'peaceably if we may, but forcibly if we must' belonged, therefore, to the physical force 'school'.

Building on Thomas Milton Kemnitz's argument that O'Connor utilised a 'language of menace' inspired by the reform agitation of 1830–32, Epstein argued for a more flexible conception of the relationship between the two 'positions': 'The distinction between "moral" and "physical" force was never absolute. Most radicals regarded the terms not as diametrical opposites but as part of an interrelationship'.[8] As O'Connor had it in one speech: 'Moral force and physical force were man and wife. Moral force was the wife, and knew when to call in her husband to her aid'.[9] For Epstein, though 'O'Connor was the most prominent and forceful advocate of an early resolution [in the 1839 Convention] of the question of "ulterior measures"', he actually 'sought to avert a physical revolution through a strategy of open intimidation and mass pressure' (p. 148, 154). Lovett, whom even Kemnitz aligned with 'moral force' position, wrote the 1839 Convention's *Manifesto of the General Convention of the Industrial Classes*, which appeared with Lovett's portrait on the cover and advocated defensive violence with 'uncompromising' language (Chase, pp. 71–72).

Sanders offered categories through which to understand the specificities of violent discourse in Chartism, categories structured around three 'myths of violence' each of which had their own historical referent (*Poetry*, pp. 88–90). The two most popular in the movement were the myths of 'Peterloo' and '1832' (pp. 88–89). To reference 'Peterloo' within a speech discussing the Chartists' relationship to authority was to '[articulate] the people's readiness (and right) to resist armed oppression' (p. 88). '1832' was more ambiguous, both in terms of the extent to which it was justified

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[7] R. G. Gammage, *History of the Chartist Movement, 1837–1854* (London: Merlin, 1969), p. 83.
[8] Epstein, *Lion*, p. 124; and Kemnitz, 'Approaches'. Plotz also acknowledged this lack of a clear division between the two positions in *The Crowd*, p. 148.
[9] 'Dinner to Mr Frost, at the White Conduit House', *Charter*, 24 March 1839, p. 130.

and in terms of endorsement; if the question was 'is the threat of violence symbolic or actual?', then the answer became apparent when the myth was tested in concrete circumstances (p. 89). Both of these myths were essentially defensive, reacting to decisions made by local or national government which could avoid the moment of confrontation either by not martyring the people (as in Peterloo) or by conceding demands (by accepting the National Petition or offering other reforms). The third myth of the French Revolution 'represented proactive insurrectionary violence on the part of the people' and garnered less support in the movement (pp. 88–89). The limiting factors here were Chartists' endorsement of offensive violence as well as the capacity of the state to crush insurrection.

A benefit of thinking in terms of 'myths' instead of 'schools' or 'parties' is that the concept registers points at which the various myths gain or lose plausibility. This is especially useful for understanding O'Connor's use of mythic violence in his speeches. Sanders shows how after Newport the myth of Peterloo 'becomes increasingly dominant' in O'Connor's rhetoric and the *Northern Star* as the movement attempted to disavow offensive violence and reframe the insurrection as martyrdom by the state (p. 91). Sanders also noted that 'concrete examples of Chartist thinking about violence can be marked by the simultaneous presence of all three structuring myths' (p. 89). I argue that Chartist use of the rising lion image references the 'Peterloo' and '1832' myths. Peterloo was used in the creation of a narrative of continuity linking the main political parties in their attitudes towards working-class reformers, and between the success of the Reform Bill agitation in 1832 and what the Chartists hoped to achieve in their own period. Linking Peterloo and the Reform Bill crisis made it possible to imagine a future 'Peterloo' that had the aggression of the Reform Bill crisis, and a future 'Reform Bill Crisis' that served working-class interests. The historical facts informing *Mask*'s production and publication fed into this, since Chartists knew the poem was written 'on the occasion of the Peterloo massacre' and that Hunt had positioned it in relation to 1832.[10] I have shown how Hunt's presentation ran counter to contemporary working-class analysis of 1832; I will go on to argue that Chartist use of Shelley's image effectively countered Hunt's arguments.

The two periods in which the image was most active in Chartist rhetoric were Autumn 1838 to the Summer of 1839, and then during O'Connor's imprisonment

[10] See advertisement and review of the poem in the *Odd Fellow*: 'Watson's Popular Works', *Odd Fellow*, 6 November 1841, p. 180; and 'The Masque of Anarchy, a Poem', *Odd Fellow*, 13 November 1841, pp. 182–83, respectively.

from May 1840 to his release in August 1841. The image's vitality in both periods, I argue, was tested by the National Petitions and General Strikes occurring in 1839 and 1842. The second period (during O'Connor's imprisonment) managed to recoup the energies deflected by the unsuccessful petition and strike in the summer of 1839. The events of 1842, however, appear to have tested the image's credibility to breaking point. From 1843 onwards, Chartist references to the 'rising lion' noted its 'too-long continued slumber', and it become noticeably less coherent and powerful. Tracing the changes of this image over the period of the movement uncovers shifts in the way the rising lions image articulated Chartist hopes about their movement's prospects. The rest of this chapter addresses these three periods in turn.

## The origins of the 'Lion of Freedom' in 1838

Epstein's study of O'Connor's role in Chartism, *The Lion of Freedom*, provides the historical basis for this chapter's arguments but he did not account for the origins of O'Connor's nickname which he took for his book's title. This section attempts to rectify that lack.

Although *Mask*'s publication in *Poetical Works* encouraged use of Shelley's poetry in Chartist rhetoric, the rising lion image was present in Chartism's formative months. In September 1838 the *Northern Star* reprinted a notice by Peter Bussey that had been circulating in Bradford. The notice employed the lion trope to present the movement as uniting the energies of the nation's men:

> Britons arouse ye! Radicals of Bradford and the surrounding villages, and all others who value the enjoyment of political liberty, and who are disgusted with the vaccillancy and the hypocrisy of the whigs, and the open-handed robberies of the tories, you are hereby requested to attend a public meeting [...] to enable you to act in unison with your fellow-citizens in different parts of the kingdom, in one grand simultaneous movement whereby their concentrated energies may be brought to bear on those factions who, by force and fraud, have deprived you of your just and legitimate rights. Then, shake off your apathy! Rise! Stand on your feet! Be men! Let the slumbering lion in British hearts be once more aroused, and prove to the tyrants, by your conduct, that you consider that
>
> 'A day, an hour, of virtuous liberty,
> Is worth a whole country of bondage.'
>
> Yes, follow the example of the brave men of Birmingham and of the north, and by your united energies bid defiance to the proud oppressors of your country.[11]

Bussey's stress on arousing energies, shaking off apathy, and asserting manhood in order to create and sustain a national movement in Chartism would prove to be

[11] 'Bradford. Northern Union', *Northern Star*, 8 September 1838, p. 5.

constant features of this image's appearance in Chartist rhetoric. His version, however, has elements identifying it as belonging to the early Chartist period. One is the reference to public meetings in the period when Chartism was developing the strategy of the mass platform, which would enable the movement's members to 'act in unison' with Chartists around the country (Epstein, pp. 110–16). As Epstein noted, the meetings were justified constitutionally and historically by the 'reform agitation of 1830–32' and 'the spectre of Peterloo pervaded the Chartist demonstrations of 1838–39' (p. 115). Bussey's suggestion that this rising would be the last, as 'the slumbering lion in British hearts' would be 'once more aroused', was also a promise made by O'Connor as the movement collected signatures for the National Petition (pp. 120–21). William Rider expressed his opinion in a letter to the *London Democrat* that the ruling class must be made to understand that the National Petition of 1839 would be the last, ending by using *Mask* to express strength in numbers: if the petition failed then 'PETITION NO MORE, but let us be united and determined to effectuate a complete Radical change in the whole system. [...] Meet — demand — if need be, fight in freedom's glorious cause. Remember "*we* are MANY, *they* are FEW"'.[12] To suggest that the petitioners would appeal once only to the House gestured at the non-constitutional measures that could succeed petitioning.

O'Brien similarly accounted for the emergence of Chartism in his editorial for the *Operative* two months after Bussey's notice appeared in the *Northern Star*:

> Had you continued, for the last three months, to hug your chains in slavish apathy as you were inured to do before the appearance of FEARGUS O'CONNOR and his lieutenants in the manufacturing districts, you would hear no more of war now than you did twelve months ago. With the establishment of O'CONNOR'S *Northern Star* commenced the present agitation. The success of the *Northern Star* led to the announcement of the *Northern Union*. The announcement of the Northern Union operated the resurrection of the Birmingham Union. The Birmingham Lion once roused from his long slumber, crack went the movement at the rate of eleven knots an hour.[13]

Like Bussey, O'Brien referred to recent Chartist activity in Birmingham: the city's mass meeting on 6 August attracted 200,000 people and Chase described it as one of the more important of such meetings in the latter half of 1838 because 'the nascent Chartist movement assumed more definite shape around a cluster of practical measures' (p. 35). The People's Charter, the National Petition, and the Convention

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[12] William Rider, 'Letters to the Editors', *London Democrat*, 27 April 1839, pp. 22–23 (p. 23).

[13] 'The Editor of "The Operative" To the Working Classes of the United Kingdom, on Impending War, Coalition, and "Strong Government" — Whom Should We Fight Against?', *Operative*, 11 November 1838, pp. 17–18 (p. 17, original emphasis).

were now on the agenda (Epstein, p. 108). Unlike Bussey, O'Brien relates this 'resurgence of the Birmingham Union' and the 'Birmingham Lion' directly to the influence of both O'Connor and the *Northern Star*. The Birmingham Political Union (BPU) was a key body in the agitation for Reform in the early 1830s; Chase described its leader Thomas Attwood addressing a crowd at a meeting in Glasgow in May 1838 on the failure of the 1832 Reform Act to represent working people (pp. 1–7). According to Epstein, 'Atwood's conversion [to universal suffrage] marked the final act in the process of the demystification of the 1832 Reform' (p. 108).

Epstein's detailed analysis of the relations between O'Connor and the BPU in the autumn and winter of 1838 sheds light on the development of the lion image and its growing association with O'Connor in this period. O'Brien's description of the Birmingham Lion in November occurred around the time that Chartists began to meet at night under cover of torchlight (pp. 119–20). Until that moment, O'Connor had managed to forge a 'compromise between the northern platform and the Birmingham leaders' but 'the torchlight demonstrations [...] formed the pretext for the clash between O'Connor and the BPU leaders' (p. 124). These meetings 'pushed the boundaries of the right to public assembly to their limit. At these meetings the rhetoric of violence coupled with the recommendation to arm reached a crescendo' (p. 119). This was the point at which O'Connor began to consolidate his position as Chartist leader, as his appearance at such meetings in Birmingham elicited the endorsement of the BPU's rank and file. Epstein argued that the clash between O'Connor and the BPU leaders was due not to use of aggressive language (even Attwood used threatening language) but to the growing working-class character of the BPU which moderates thought threatened prospects of an alliance between the working and middle class (p. 125).

For Epstein, 'the confrontation with the BPU leaders was a superb example of the skilful manner in which O'Connor could transform a local situation into a matter of over-riding national Chartist concern centring upon his own person' (p. 129). The earliest reference I found describing O'Connor himself as the lion dates from this period, when the *London Dispatch* reprinted an article from the *Preston Chronicle* describing O'Connor as 'the great lion of the day', explaining that he had not attended a meeting in Wigan because he had been 'called away to Birmingham, to answer the charge brought against him by the men of that town of misleading the people, by

calling upon them to arm'.[14] Bussey's association of the British lion with Birmingham, and O'Brien's subsequent association of the Birmingham lion with O'Connor as the driving force behind a working-class 'resurgence of the Birmingham Union' formed the pre-history of the Chartists' description of O'Connor as the 'Lion of Freedom'. Lionizing O'Connor in this manner was not solely an expression of working-class fondness for the gentleman leader; it showed how issues of representation in the broadest sense were linked in Chartism.[15] The image illustrates a convergence between the importance of O'Connor as a leader figure, the tactic of the mass platform, the importance of the *Northern Star* as the newspaper helping the movement to cohere, and a sense of working-class agency. The rising lion image, moreover, endowed this agency with a physically aggressive character.

**Rise like lions: Summer 1839 to the Newport Uprising**

The previous chapter showed how Chartism in 1839 went from optimism in the New Year to doubt by its end and argued that Chartist use of Shelley's poetry registered these feelings. This chapter looks more closely at how the rising lions image from *Mask* functioned in this context and beyond, to subsequent periods of Chartist agitation. One such example in July 1839 was O'Connor's use in addressing a public meeting at Nottingham while Chartism was preparing for the National Petition's presentation to Parliament and the General Strike. After declaring that the enthusiasm for Chartism prevailing in Nottingham was shared by the rest of the country, he went on to say:

> The only astonishment that now prevails is, that the lion of England has not arisen before from his slumber, and in his majesty shaken the dew from his mane. The astonishment is, not that the Charter has gone on so far, but that the Charter has not been acquired sooner; the Charter contains those principles, every one of which, except Vote by Ballot, belongs to the institutions and constitution of the country.[16]

As a metaphor for the latent and unrealised power of the working class it recalls the most frequently quoted stanza of Shelley's *Mask*:

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[14] 'Wigan Radical Association', *London Dispatch*, 25 November 1838, p. 914. The only article I found similar to that description in the *Preston Chronicle* was an article that claimed O'Connor did attend: 'The North Lancashire Demonstration', *Preston Chronicle*, 10 November 1838, [n. pag]. It placed 'lion' in speech marks, indicating distance from the term: 'Feargus O'Connor was the "Lion" of the day, and the chief spokesman'. The *London Dispatch* also took the liberty of appending the word 'great' before this description, if it was the model for the *Dispatch*'s excerpt.

[15] John Belchem and James Epstein, 'The Nineteenth-Century Gentleman Leader Revisited', *Social History*, 22 (1997), 174–93.

[16] 'Feargus O'Connor, Esq. at Nottingham', *Northern Star*, 6 July 1839, p. 6.

> Rise like Lions after slumber
> In unvanquishable number —
> Shake your chains to earth like dew
> Which in sleep had fallen on you —
> Ye are many — they are few. (372–76)

O'Connor's use of 'arisen', 'slumber', 'shaken', and 'dew' within a single sentence would almost certainly have been recognised by his audience as a reference to Shelley's famous poem. As noted above, the lines had appeared in the *National*'s 'To the People' in March, which O'Connor's *Northern Star* reprinted the following month. Incorporated into O'Connor's usage of Shelley's lines, however, are two significant deviations from them: the image of the lion shaking the dew from its mane, and the collective 'Lions' becoming the singular lion. Subsequent uses of the lines by other Chartists introduce a third addition: the lion's 'roar'. This chapter goes on to examine Chartist use of these images, focusing on the ways in which the coherence of the image registered shifts in their consciousness of the movement's prospects and opinions regarding the legitimacy of political violence.

I argue that this image of shaking dew from the lion's mane rather than chains from the body is a reference to Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*, and that this reference accentuates the aggressive aspects of Shelley's ambiguous image. The lines come from the third act of *Troilus and Cressida*, when Patroclus urges Achilles to take Ulysses's advice and return to the battlefield of the Trojan wars in order to recover his reputation:

> Sweet, rouse yourself, and the weak, wanton Cupid
> Shall from your neck unloose his amorous fold
> And, like a dew-drop from the lion's mane,
> Be shook to air.[17]

Achilles's relationship with Patroclus is figured as a vitiating influence on his masculinity and reputation as a warrior, which he can recover if he shakes off the influence 'like a dew-drop from the lion's mane'. The passage is suitable for incorporation into Shelley's stanza due to the use of cognates: rouse/rise, lion's/lions, dew-drop/dew, shook/shake. Shelley may have taken this passage as his model in *Mask*, removing the martial element in order to recommend non-violent resistance. If so, it was reintroduced by the Chartists, for this passage espouses an aggression that they were keen to harness and its reintroduction into Shelley's version gives them one

[17] William Shakespeare, *Troilus and Cressida*, ed. by Anthony B. Dawson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), III. 3. 223–26.

in which it is possible to imagine fighting. In his speech, O'Connor followed his reference to the lion with a tribute to the people for accepting him as their leader; he attributed his success in building Chartism to his '[promotion] from the ranks of the aristocracy to a commission in the democracy', and so strengthened the association of the lion with martial power (p. 5).

Peter Holbrook's article on Shakespeare in Chartism also noted the association of Shakespeare and Shelley in reputational terms, as the *Chartist Circular* argued for Shakespeare as a radical writer in its series 'Politics of Poets'. For Holbrook, the series 'assimilated [Shakespeare] unambiguously to Shelleyan radicalism', placing the impetus on Shelley rather than his literary forebear ('The Cause of the People', p. 210). I argue that Shakespeare was assimilated in a similar way in Chartist appropriations of Shelley's lion image, with the image remaining recognisably 'Shelleyan' in its main contours though incorporating an element from Shakespeare. This process was also occurring in the Chartist press before the establishment of the *Chartist Circular* in September 1839.

It is also worth noting at this point that Milton's *Paradise Lost* has a similar formulation containing the same key words that appear in Shelley's *Mask*: 'Awake, arise, or be for ever fall'n'.[18] This line also appeared in the Chartist press; William Rider's letter to the *Northern Star* on 4 July 1840, for example, was hopeful that 'the working *men* of Leeds will *awake, arise, and be no longer fallen*'.[19] Rider's letter was caustic in parodying support for 'household suffrage' advocates, who proposed that the franchise be extended to male heads of households rather than to all men as a right (Chase, p. 172). It is possible that Rider chose Milton's rather than Shelley's image in order to reserve use of the latter for Chartism. Another road not taken was the 'ravening lion' in Shakespeare's *All's Well that Ends Well*. Lines from the play appeared as epigraph to an extract from *The Italian Lady's Tale* in the *Northern Star*: better 'twere/ I met this ravening lion when he roar'd/ With sharp constraint of hunger'. [20] Potentially, the lines offer the Chartists another image of a physically aggressive and bloodthirsty lion, but it is one motivated by the 'sharp constraint of hunger'. The lion in *Troilus and Cressida*, representing masculine agency and martial force that supplements Shelley's less aggressive version, proved more attractive to Chartists than this lion motivated by weakness and hunger. This preference supports

[18] John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, ed. by Barbara K. Lewalski (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), I, 330.
[19] William Rider, 'Bricks and Mortar Forever! To the Editor of the Northern Star', *Northern Star*, 4 July 1840, p. 7.
[20] 'The Italian Lady's Tale', *Northern Star*, 28 March 1840, p. 7.

Dorothy Thompson's arguments that Chartism was not limited to the 'politics of hunger' (*Early Chartists*, pp. 12–13).

Images similar to O'Connor's followed in Chartist discourse, indicating the Chartist appetite for using the 'rising lion' to articulate the movement's structure of feeling in this period. A *Northern Star* editorial of 1841 stated: 'Let the British lion arouse from his slumbers, up, and shake the dew drops from his mane, and ask for his restoration with a lion's voice'.[21] John Watkins's letter to the same newspaper demarcated the elements in separating the reference to Shakespeare from the rest of the image with quotation marks:

> Dear Sir, — I am rejoiced to inform you, and through you, the country, that London is shaking off its sleep, and will soon arise 'like a giant refreshed'. [...] The leaders in London have libelled the men, to excuse their own supineness; but the men are now awakening, and will shake off all intimidating and treacherous friends 'as dew -drops from a lion's mane'.[22]

Watkins introduced a further reference to this cluster of elements forming the 'rising from slumber' image: Psalms 78. 65, where 'the Lord awaked as one out of sleep, *and* like a mighty man that shouted by reason of wine' (original emphasis). This image of divine retribution against sinners in the tribes of Israel sanctifies the aggressive rising lions image.

Epstein argued that there was a 'contradiction at the heart of O'Connor's strategy of intimidation', in that 'it was impossible to intimidate the government without at the same time fostering the impression within Chartist ranks that some course of positive action would follow the failure of constitutional protest' (p. 121). There is something of this in Watkins's use of Shelley and Shakespeare's lines; the 'leaders in London', or 'treacherous friends' of 'the men' Watkins refers to are advocates of moral-force Chartism, or what he calls in the same letter 'the Lovettites' or the 'backward-move men', cast in the role of the 'weak wanton Cupid'. According to Chase, however, Watkins 'never fully comprehended that O'Connor was not one of Chartism's jacobins [*sic*]' (p. 123).

The first major test of O'Connor's strategy was the build up to and cancellation of the sacred month in 1839. Epstein detailed the effect that this had on Chartist agitation and O'Connor's reputation in this period. After months of deploying threatening rhetoric to great effect, O'Connor began to cast doubt on Chartists' ability

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[21] 'Patting on the Belly. Last and Most Glorious of All the Glorious Victories of the Glorious Chartists', *Northern Star*, 20 March 1841, p. 4.

[22] John Watkins, 'To the Editor of the Northern Star', *Northern Star*, 31 July 1841, p. 5.

to counter state violence (p. 175). His leadership was subsequently 'called seriously into question by sections of the Chartist rank and file', and his aggressive talk 'now represented little more than a flourish of platform rhetoric' (p. 183). I found no references to O'Connor as a lion in this period; the second significant period of such references commenced with his prison sentence in May 1840.

Where the lion did appear in the Chartist press at the end of 1839, however, it was attached to the Newport prisoners. As I noted in the previous chapter, the prosecution presented the *Western Vindicator* as evidence at Samuel Etheridge's trial during the testimony of Thomas Ady, 'special constable for the borough of Newport'.[23] Ady reported that, '[he] searched the prisoner's house where [he] found various manuscripts, copies of the *Western Vindicator*, and other papers'. These other papers also included the text of a poem or song in which a reference to the 'lion's roar' in the first verse signifies the beginning of a popular response to tyranny:

> The labourer toils and starves the more,
> While tyrants are carousing
> But, hark! I hear the lion's roar,
> The British youth are rousing.
> The rich are liable to pain,
> The poor man feels the smart, sir;
> But let us break the despot's chain,
> We soon shall have the Charter. (1–8)

The *Northern Liberator* then reprinted the verses in its poetry column the following week, under a description we might consider their title in the absence of another: 'The following Song was produced at the examination of the Welch prisoners last week'.[24]

The *Liberator* recognised the lines as both art (since it appeared in the poetry column rather than an article on the court case), and as legal evidence in a criminal trial. Etheridge distanced himself from the papers: 'I do not consider these things evidence against me', saying that 'the song was sent to me to get printed, which I did not have done' (p. 694). The lines continued:

> Then rouse, my boys, and fight the foe,
> Your arms are truth and reason;
> We will let the Whigs and Tories know
> That union is not treason. (9–12)

[23] 'The Riots in Newport', *Charter*, 24 November 1839, pp. 693–95 (p. 694).
[24] 'Poetry', *Northern Star*, 30 November 1839, p. 8.

As evidence for the prosecution, the lines were supposed to prove that the Newport insurrectionaries intended to rise up in a treasonable sense, rather than in an alternative reading where 'truth and reason' 'roused' the intellect from lethargy. I argued in the first chapter that the sole Owenite use of the 'rise like lions' image in the *New Moral World* emphasised the intellectual awakening sense in its replacement of 'rouse' for 'rise'.[25] Etheridge's trial shows how 'rouse' could be made to signify 'rising'. Publication in the Chartist press gave the song the exposure that Etheridge claims he prevented by not printing them as requested. The authorities, however, had already intervened in its reception by adducing it as evidence against men they defined as traitors. For the state, such Chartist rationality was not reasonable but treasonable, by definition, since this song was evidence that the Newport Chartists planned the Uprising.

**'The lion in his den': May 1840 to August 1841**

O'Connor was one of the Chartist leaders arrested as a result of the events of 1839; he faced charges for criminal libel published in the *Northern Star* on the subject of the Poor Law (Chase, p. 85). He had used the trial to 'reaffirm' his commitment to both working-class interests and the Charter, resulting in the retention and consolidation of the leader role (Epstein, pp. 211–12). In the period before O'Connor entered prison in May 1840 the movement's mass-platform strategy regained its strength (p. 209). O'Connor's imprisonment did not take him away from the movement but consolidated his status as leader; his use of the *Northern Star* to communicate with the movement continued despite the Home Secretary's injunction against O'Connor writing political articles while incarcerated (pp. 216–18).

Chartists often described O'Connor as the 'caged lion' during his time in prison and as the 'uncaged lion' on his release.[26] Abel Heywood, the Manchester based newsagent, who had been the victim of oppression and imprisoned for selling the *Poor Man's Guardian* in the early 1830s, gave one such example at a meeting celebrating the recent release of Dr Peter McDouall and John Collins from prison.[27]

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[25] E. Gould Buffum, 'The Factory System', *New Moral World*, 1 June 1844, pp. 399–400.

[26] For O'Connor as the 'caged lion', see 'More Young Patriots', *Northern Star*, 12 September 1840, p. 8; 'Mr Burns and His "National Press"', *Northern Star*, 18 July 1840, p. 4; and 'Mansfield', *Northern Star*, 5 December 1840, p. 1. As the 'uncaged lion', see 'Birmingham. O'Connor Demonstration', *Northern Star*, 18 September 1841, p. 2; 'Rochdale', *Northern Star*, 25 September 1841, p. 8; and 'Strathaven', *Northern Star*, 30 October 1841, p. 1.

[27] Margaret Beetham, 'Heywood, Abel (1810–1893)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/47364> [accessed 7 April 2014].

After stating that 'the noble and dauntless proprietor of the *Star* was the first to agitate the kingdom of the establishment of the Charter', Heywood claimed that it was:

> Only three weeks since he saw the lion in his den — (enthusiastic cheering) — bearded by the vile Whiglings who misgoverned them — he saw the noble and fearless lion crushing the contemptible — what should he call them? — the contemptible beetles. (Laughter.) The spirit of the man was not crushed.[28]

Earlier in the meeting, Mr Littler of Salford had declared that 'though Feargus O'Connor was as the caged lion, he was not asleep — he was still studying their interests, though he had been snatched from them' (p. 8). Epstein also acknowledged that the very unity owed to the efforts of national leaders was also a potential weak point, since the movement's internecine struggles threatened to divide it. The trope of the lion helped to consolidate the position of the leader in an image of a strong and dependable figure: 'From this very instability arose the images which surrounded the demagogue — the rock, the lion, the champion of liberty and martyred patriot — together with an emphasis on principled consistency and unity' (p. 93). The association of O'Connor with the lion continued during his time in prison, as he turned his imprisonment into political capital.

The period of imprisonment also allows for the intersection of the lion image from *Mask* and passages from *Queen Mab* on persecution and tyranny. In a letter to the editor printed on 28 August 1841, Mathew Green addressed Chartists on the need to support imprisoned leaders, whose situation should serve as a stimulus to renewed activity:

> Arouse then, my countrymen and countrywomen, from your indifference to the fate of our chiefs who have suffered unjustly, and are suffering unheard-of cruelties in the dark and loathsome cell, for daring to attempt to establish the rights and liberties of the sons and daughters of England.[29]

This is a rare appeal in that it speaks to the daughters as well as to the sons of England. Green also used lines from *Queen Mab* describing the 'virtuous man' imprisoned by the trembling venal judge as his letter's epigraph (III. 150–57). It is worth noting that Vincent had used *Queen Mab* in this way two years earlier and that he had also positioned himself as a political prisoner in the service of Chartism by telling his readers that he was in prison 'for you — on your account — for advocating

[28] 'McDouall and Collins in Manchester', *Northern Star*, 22 August 1840, pp. 7–8 (p. 8).
[29] Matthew Green, 'To the Editor of the Northern Star', *Northern Star*, 28 August 1841, p. 7.

your rights'.[30] This foreshadowed O'Connor's situation in 1841 but did not carry the same national significance.

A week before O'Connor was released, the *Northern Star* ran an editorial announcing the fact which contained the injunction: 'Britons, rouse yourselves! the British Lion slumbers; awake him, and as the king of beasts proclaims his sovereignty over the forest, proclaim you your sovereignty over your own House!'.[31] At the public celebration of O'Connor's release from prison on 30 August 1841, the incident in which he famously wore a suit of fustian to symbolise his allegiance to the men he represented, the procession had a 'large white banner' displaying a 'British Lion holding a broken chain'.[32] A fortnight after Green's appeal to Chartists in August Harney addressed a crowd in Sheffield in similar terms. O'Connor was now free and Harney promised that his imminent visit would rejuvenate Chartist activity in the locality in distinctly Christ-like terms:

> The day is rapidly coming when the chief of the people's choice, O'Connor, will once more visit your town, and again will his lion-voice be heard in your streets, peeling the death-knell of tyranny, and awakening the masses from their apathetic sleep of slavery. Men of Sheffield, I appeal to you do your duty — the lying factions have said that Chartism was dead in Sheffield — if the giant hath ever slept the sleep of death, prove on the day of O'Connor's coming, that that sleep was only the precursor of a glorious resurrection.[33]

Chartism in September of 1841 was not dead, therefore, but only temporarily asleep and it is notable that Harney gave equal weight in this passage to O'Connor's physical reappearance amongst the Chartist crowd and the actions of the Sheffield Chartists. This symbolic attachment of the lion to the leader figure of O'Connor allowed the awakening of the people to be imagined in spatial terms — the 'Lion' was liberated and thus able to rejoin the arena of action, reinvigorating the national movement's energies. The opportunity for a renewal promises to be national, which O'Connor represents, but it remains with the local Chartists to 'do their duty' and 'prove' that Chartism was alive, to confirm in praxis what was promised in theory and poetic metaphor.

Harney also combines the image with two from Psalms: the 'giant' of Psalm 78. 65, as discussed above, and the 'sleep of death' from Psalm 13. Psalm 13 begins with the supplication 'How long wilt thou forget me, O Lord?', and pleads that God 'lighten

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[30] Vincent, 'To the People of the West of England', *Western Vindicator*, 18 May 1839, p. 1.
[31] 'The "People's House"', *Northern Star*, 21 August 1841, p. 4.
[32] 'York. Liberation of F. O'Connor, Esq.', *Northern Star*, 4 September 1841, pp. 6–8 (p. 6).
[33] George Julian Harney, 'Julian Harney to the Chartists of Sheffield and its Vicinity', *Northern Star*, 11 September 1841, p. 8.

mine eyes lest I sleep the sleep of death'. The sleep of death would mean no deliverance from suffering.[34] In combining the two Biblical images with the prospect of O'Connor the lion 'awakening the masses from their apathetic sleep of slavery', Harney suggests that if deliverance (and possibly retribution) had been put on hold in the aftermath of Newport then Chartists were now to prove that this period of quiescence was only temporary. There was also a connection between the symbolic death of Chartism and the prospect of O'Connor's literal death in prison. Epstein noted that before he entered prison, O'Connor announced the threat to his life that it posed, and that one of his missives from jail accused his persecutors of attempted murder: 'but … *I am to Live*' (p. 216). On his release O'Connor announced that 'he agreed with their worthy chairman when he said that if plain John had buried Chartism, it must now have had a glorious resurrection'.[35] O'Connor's release signified a rejuvenation of the movement's fortunes.

### The Lion's roar and Shelley's *Mask*

Since its first appearances in the Chartist press, the Shelleyan lion was associated with a political vocal agency that went beyond discourse narrowly defined. As discussed above, O'Brien's early intervention in Chartist use of the lion image ensured that O'Connor and the *Northern Star* were associated with the success of the nascent Chartist movement.[36] Use of the image in this context yoked the strength of print culture, O'Connor's oratory, and the growing use of the mass-platform to campaign for the Charter. The 'assembly of massed men', however, was suggestively ambiguous: though legal, the crowd appeared to suggest either 'the paternal rod sitting untouched in the corner when a child is asked politely to obey, or [...] the brutal club brandished by a brigand when asking for a "loan" on a moonlit road'.[37] This ambiguity lent the lion image a flexibility in its deployment in Chartist rhetoric,

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[34] Sander's work on the contents of the *National Chartist Hymn Book* noted that 'the first stanza of hymn eight, with its opening quotation "How long…?" and its call on God to "defend/ The helpless" is reminiscent (both thematically and structurally) of many of the Psalms' (p. 693). He also suggested that there were 'echoes of Percy Bysshe Shelley' in the twelfth hymn (p. 691). Mike Sanders, '"God Is Our Guide! Our Cause Is Just!": The National Chartist Hymn Book and Victorian Hymnody', *Victorian Studies*, 54 (2012), 679–705.

[35] 'Glorious Demonstration in Honour of Feargus O'Connor, and in Favour of the People's Charter', *Northern Star*, 13 November 1841, p. 7.

[36] 'The Editor of "The Operative" To the Working Classes of the United Kingdom, on Impending War, Coalition, and "Strong Government" — Whom Should We Fight Against?', *Operative*, 11 November 1838, pp. 17–18 (p. 17).

[37] Plotz, *The Crowd*, p. 128. For Plotz, Chartism's language of the mass platform suggested that Stedman Jones was wrong to think the discourse of radicalism continued in Chartism unchanged: 'That meaning was not inherited by rote from Radicalism, but reshaped by public meetings that were effectively guided by plebiscite, an element that must be factored into any account of the movement's ideology' (p. 221).

which could emphasise one of its aspects over another: either legitimate political demands or illegal and treasonable threats.

The Newport poem, for example, suggestively linked the sound the lion made with rebellion which the prosecution in Etheridge's trial fixed in a manner designed to harm the Chartist defendants. The parliamentary aspect dominated in the summer and autumn of 1841; as noted above, the *Northern Star* advised readers to awaken the slumbering British lion, which would lead to Chartists proclaiming 'your sovereignty over your own House!'. Here, political awakening would lead to successful political demands; this occurred shortly after the recent Chartist attempts to intervene in the General Election of 1841, the first since the movement began (Chase, p. 179). Although the movement's few candidates had not been successful in gaining seats, Chartists could enjoy the fulfilment of at least the first half of the 1841 Convention's edict to 'put down Whiggery first and Toryism next' when the 'Whigs were driven from office' (Chase, p. 179, 181). They had also exposed the undemocratic nature of parliamentary elections when Chartist candidates won the hustings (where constituency residents had the right to vote by a show of hands) but were defeated at the subsequent polls (where only the legally enfranchised could vote) (Chase, pp. 180–83).

The parliamentary usage also dominated usage related to O'Connor's release from prison when, at a celebration, William Martin moved a resolution of no confidence in the 'faction who acquired power in 1830' and urged those present to:

> propose Mr. O'Connor, as a candidate for their borough, and to carry him as their representative to Parliament. (Hear, hear.) The Speaker would then have to say 'Hark from the lobby the noble lion's roar,' and might have to ask for advice as to whether or not he ought to admit him.[38]

O'Connor the 'noble lion' represents his constituents as the trope of the 'lion' encompasses both the people and the leader who represents them. The representative of the House of Commons, the Speaker, whose role is to regulate and facilitate debate within the House, must decide whether to admit O'Connor and therefore the claims of the working class to a voice within parliamentary democracy. Although O'Connor had already sat in the House of Commons between 1832 and 1835, it was as a member of Daniel O'Connell's repeal party: he had yet to represent Chartism, as he would when he was returned by the constituency of Nottingham in the general election of 1847, so O'Connor functions in this image as a proxy of Chartism itself.

[38] 'York. Liberation of F. O'Connor, Esq.', *Northern Star*, 4 September 1841, pp. 6–8 (p. 7).

This metonymic relation between O'Connor and the rank and file legitimised the alteration of Shelley's lions in the plural to the singular Lion of Freedom.

To return to Shelley's lines that Chartists used frequently in their political rhetoric, the lion's roar in *Mask* is notable by its absence. Given the importance that discourse occupied within the Chartist notion of agency, it is important to consider the kinds of vocality that Shelley makes available to the working class in *Mask*. In the poem, the stimulus for Shelley's 'walk in the visions of Poesy' is the 'voice from over the sea' (4, 2). As Shelley is roused by this voice from his own slumber in Italy to write the poem, so too are the 'Men of England' addressed by the 'words of fear and joy' that arose at the demise of anarchy (138). Vocality, therefore, is central to notions of agency in the poem, but it is not clear exactly who functions as addressor and addressee in the latter occasion. Shelley understands one mode of articulation to be available to the working class in the unreformed 'Old World' — a continual and ineffectual complaining that fails to describe the cause of their suffering accurately. They 'complain/ With a murmur weak and vain' and their voice is embodied as they 'groan for pain, and weep for cold' (188–89, 282). The moment of emancipation is figured as turning around the satisfactory answering of a question:

> What art thou Freedom? O! could slaves
> Answer from their living graves
> This demand — tyrants would flee
> Like a dream's dim imagery. (213–16)

What had hitherto appeared as unassailable tyranny would be revealed as being as insubstantial as 'a dream's dim imagery' on the condition that 'slaves' define the nature of freedom, thereby negating their state of slavery and resolving the ambiguity of the 'living graves' they inhabit.

The people were to oppose violence with a single declaration of freedom: 'Declare with measured words that ye/ Are, as God has made ye, free' (301–02). This is followed by a resolute silence and a refusal to engage physically with the aggression this provokes: 'Stand ye calm and resolute,/ Like a forest close and mute' (323–24). The bloodshed that ensues (for Shelley does not imagine that this confrontation will be the last, or that non-violent resistance is adequate protection against violence) proves to be 'eloquent, oracular', inspiring the 'Nation' to overthrow tyranny (366). A local confrontation and a single declaration of freedom subsequently become a national concern and a refrain:

> And these words shall *then* become
> Like oppression's thundered doom

> Ringing through each heart and brain,
> Heard again — again — again — (368–71, my emphasis)

'These words' were the final stanza of *Mask* — beginning 'Rise like lions after slumber' — and the 'measured words' that formed the people's declaration of freedom are provided by the poem itself, since 'measure' is a facet of poetry. The role Shelley imagines for the crowd is that of martyrs, and their martyrdom as propelling Shelley's poetry into the national arena and enabling it to become a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Some of the ambiguity in the final stanza, the reminder that 'ye are many, they are few', often read as representing a threat to tyranny or state power, might be lessened by the appearance of the stanza earlier in the poem as lines 151–55 where they were followed by the voice's meditations on freedom and Shelley's recommendation of non-violent resistance. Given the fact that the poem's entry into the popular canon ensured its repeated reading, as Shelley intended, the final stanza might be designed to throw the reader back cognitively to the beginning of the poem and thus experience Shelley's associations of blood with tyranny and warnings to resist feelings of revenge 'when ye are strong' over and over again (196). If so, the Chartist practice of quoting the stanza in isolation from the rest of the poem might disrupt this motion, reintroducing this ambiguity and the sense of menace it engenders. Stanzas from the poem return to the press in the Chartist era, and are 'heard again — again — again —', though not without alteration. In giving the lion a voice, whose character they determined, Chartists refused 'weak murmur' in the present since the articulation of discontent in public discourse was part of Chartism's logic of protest. Their use of Shelley's 'measured words' was a reformulation that made the poem more aggressive in character than Shelley's original.

## The Lion's roar, stifled

In the week after O'Connor's release the *Northern Star* published 'The Lion of Freedom', which became his 'signature song'.[39] For Thomas Cooper (who rejected attributions of the poem's authorship to him) the song's popularity 'may serve to show how firmly O'Connor was fixed in the regard of a portion of the manufacturing operatives, as the incorruptible advocate of freedom'.[40] The song promised unceasing effort in the service of a cause led by O'Connor: 'We'll hail our caged lion, now free

[39] Sanders, *Poetry*, p. 138. 'The Lion of Freedom', *Northern Star*, 11 September 1841, p. 3. A week before, another poem describing O'Connor as a lion appeared in the *Northern Star*'s poetry column: David Wright, 'The Sons of the North', *Northern Star*, 4 September 1841, p. 3.

[40] Thomas Cooper, *The Life of Thomas Cooper* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1872), p. 160, 176.

from his den,/ And we'll rally around him again and again' (11–12). While Chartism was 'probably never in better shape' by early 1842, with O'Connor '[standing] at the zenith of his influence and popularity', the situation had altered by the end of the year (Epstein, p. 287, 302). The second National Petition and General Strike of 1842 provided another occasion on which to test 'the bounds of constitutional protest' and the threat that Chartists would use at least defensive violence against the state (p. 287).

As in the aftermath of the Newport Insurrection, there was a return in Chartist discourse to the martyrdom aspect of the Peterloo myth of violence. The Chartist Richard Marsden referred to his home town as 'the humiliated town of Preston, where the well-known Peterloo tragedy hath just been re-enacted'.[41] A report on events in Ashton, 'Brutal and Cowardly Attack on the People by an Infuriated and Drunken Soldiery', opened with:

> This town has been the scene of the most brutal and dastardly assaults on an unoffending and defenceless people that is on record since the never-to-be forgotten Peterloo, by a soldiery that is evident were made drunk for the purpose.[42]

After a series of failed attempts to prevent colliers from attending the meeting, the authorities were then reported as entering the local Chartist Room to confront the colliers and exact revenge in terms that could have been used to describe Peterloo:

> At this moment Mr Lord commenced reading the Riot Act, although there was not the least signs of any breach of the peace, and before he had hardly done, the dragoons, without the least notice commenced sabreing and riding over the people who had followed them, and the majority of whom were women and children.[43]

This is described as the superlative example of such events: 'a more cold-blooded, cowardly, and murderous transaction is not on record'. In the early days of Chartism, Peterloo was held as a standard against which attempts at repetition would either fall short (the authorities would not dare to re-enact the event), or surpass it (the Chartists would refuse martyrdom and redeem the deaths of 1819 in gaining

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[41] Richard Marsden, 'To the Editor of the *Northern Star*, 10 September 1842, p. 5.
[42] 'Brutal and Cowardly Attack on the People by an Infuriated & Drunken Soldiery', *Northern Star*, 10 September 1842, p. 8.
[43] 'Brutal and Cowardly Attack'. For analysis of Peterloo, see Robert Poole, '"By the Law or the Sword": Peterloo Revisited', *History*, 91 (2006), 254–76.

liberty).[44] By 1841–42, events could be described as the equivalent of Peterloo, as in Preston and Ashton.

Chartist involvement in the strike was led by the rank and file rather than the leadership of the National Charter Association (NCA), established in 1840 in order to provide the leadership and direction that was judged to have been missing from the Convention of 1839 (Epstein, pp. 220–21). The Executive of the NCA in 1842, however, gave only a partial approval of the strike and did not endorse 'physical force'; O'Connor even 'deprecated the use of violent language' (p. 296). Instead of covering the strike on 20 August, the *Northern Star* devoted its front page to the commemoration of the anniversary of Peterloo, which coincided with the strike wave, and to the description of the unveiling of a monument to Hunt's memory in the Churchyard of Scholefield's Chapel in Ancoats, Manchester.[45] Two weeks later, the *Northern Star* printed an address by the Hunt's Monument Committee in response to a letter published in the *British Statesman* by 'An Old Chartist'. [46] The Chartist had criticised O'Connor for his conduct in Manchester while he attended the Convention, at which it was debated by the Executive whether or not to support the strike, and the ceremony of Hunt's monument. The Committee's letter claimed that it was their decision to keep O'Connor 'out of the way', thereby preventing him attending a tea party at the Carpenter Hall:

> Brother Chartists, we were perfectly aware of the plans of our enemies, and of their inordinate thirst for victims and blood. We wished to avoid a second Peterloo, and therefore we concluded [...] to frustrate their wicked designs by putting off the procession; also the meeting; and by requesting O'Connor not to go to the Hall.

In his letter addressed 'To Mr Patrick Rafter of the Irish Universal Suffrage Association', L.T. Clancy congratulated O'Connor on evading the attentions of 'the thirsty blood-hounds whose burning throats were parching for a second Peterloo!'.[47] This came after several years of hints that the Chartists, confronted by the prospect of

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[44] See 'The War of Proclamations'. *Northern Star*, 11 May 1839, p. 4; 'Richard Oastler, the Enemy of the Enemies of the Working Man', *London Dispatch*, 7 May 1837, p. 265; and 'Newcastle Triumph of Moral Force. The Bloody Whigs and their Physical Force. The Virtuous People and their Moral Forbearance', *Northern Star*, 30 June 1838, p. 4.

[45] Terry Wyke, *Public Sculpture of Greater Manchester* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2005), p. 157. According to Wyke, the monument deteriorated over the decades, and in 1888, 'the monument was demolished and the stone sold' (pp. 157–58).

[46] 'Address of the Hunt's Monument Committee To the Working Classes of Great Britain; but More Particularly Those Who are Members of the National Charter Association', *Northern Star*, 3 September 1842, p. 7.

[47] L. T. Clancy, 'To Mr Patrick Rafter of the Irish Universal Suffrage Association', *Northern Star*, 1 October 1842, p. 7.

a 'second Peterloo', would refuse martyrdom. At a 'Great Meeting in Birmingham' in April 1839, O'Connor himself had promised '*one more* Peterloo or Rathcormac, and farewell property'.[48] The Chartist rank and file may well have wondered what would have constituted the correct time to confront the authorities, if not a General Strike which saw state violence deployed against strikers routinely demanding the Charter as well as economic benefits (Chase, *Chartism*, p. 217). The next section argues that Chartist use of the lion image registered the damage done to Chartists' hopes for the movement inflicted on the movement by these repeated disappointments.

## 'Rousing the British Lion from his too-long continued slumbers': November 1843 to June 1850

Between November 1843 and June 1850, the *Northern Star* printed reports of court cases, industrial action, and exemplary cases of physical and emotional suffering under the title 'The Condition of England Question'. The instalment of 2 December 1843 was introduced with the image of the 'British Lion':

> It shall be no fault of ours if this 'Condition-of-England question' be not fully understood by the whole civilized world. We promise to rake together such a mass of tyranny on the one hand, and slavery and misery on the other, as shall rouse the British Lion from his too-long continued slumbers, and make 'The very stones to rise against earth's tyrants's' [*sic*].[49]

There are three writers discernible in this extract: Thomas Carlyle, who coined the phrase 'Condition-of-England Question' in his 1839 essay *Chartism*; Shelley and *Mask* in the reference to the lion; and Byron with the closing explicit quotation from *Don Juan*.[50] In addition to *Mask*, and in relation to *Don Juan*, I would argue that Shelley's poem 'To —— ('Corpses are cold in the tomb') or 'Lines Written During the Castlereagh Administration' is also present in the capacity of a 'road not taken'. Like *Mask*, 'To ——' was written in the aftermath of the Peterloo massacre; it describes 'Stones on the pavement' as 'dumb' and Albion's 'sons [...] as stones in the way' (2, 6). As I noted in the previous chapter, Linton's the *National* made the poem available to Chartists but the poem did not appear subsequently in the Chartist press. My argument in this section is that like Shelley's *Mask*, Carlyle's *Chartism* presented Chartism with problems on the questions of political and vocal agency, whereas the lines from Byron's poem were more conducive to Chartism's desire to see itself as

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[48] 'Great Meeting in Birmingham', *Operative*, 14 April 1839, p. 11 (my emphasis).
[49] 'The Condition of England Question. The Coventry Starving', *Northern Star*, 2 December 1843, p. 5.
[50] Lord Byron, *Don Juan* in *The Major Works*, ed. by Jerome J. McGann (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), VIII. 1076–77.

politically and vocally powerful. Bringing these writers together enables the *Northern Star* to rebut Carlyle's criticisms of Chartism and to deploy the positive aspects of Shelley's *Mask* while minimising its more problematic aspects. Before discussing Carlyle, Shelley, and Byron, I will situate the series 'The Condition of England Question' in terms of the *Northern Star* as its home and Chartism more generally.

As the column itself recognises, it was intended to 'roar' *at* the 'British Lion' and awaken it from what had become by 1843 its 'too-long continued slumbers'. Chase noted that Chartist activity in this period was 'but a shadow of that of earlier years' (p. 242). According to A. R. Schoyen, the *Northern Star*'s 'weekly sale was only 10,000 copies, a quarter that of 1839'.[51] The series, therefore, takes on the responsibility of awakening the 'British lion', which it identifies with readers of the *Northern Star*, to its duties of continuing with the Chartist project. The period in which the *Northern Star* published the series coincided almost exactly with the editorship of Harney, who assisted Joshua Hobson after William Hill's departure in July 1843 and was full editor from October 1845 to his own departure in August 1850 (Chase, p. 242, 256, 335).[52] 'The Condition of England Question' series, therefore, emerged in the *Northern Star* in the context of a new editor and the political necessity of rejuvenating Chartism.

Harney's ambitions for Chartism's poetry formed part of this political ambition. As Sanders argued, Harney attempted in May 1844 to improve the quality of readers' contributions to the *Northern Star*'s poetry column (*Poetry of Chartism*, p. 76). To that end, Harney declared his intention in the *Northern Star* of 11 May 1844 to reject poor quality poetry in favour of the 'original and really poetic' but also the 'deathless pages of Byron, Shelley, Burns, Nichol, &c., &c.,' (p. 76). Harney thus 'indentifies a canon of exemplary writers', of which Shelley was a prominent example, and also affirmed 'a vital relation between the poetical and political condition of the Chartist movement' (pp. 76–77). Other innovations identified by Sanders were Harney's series 'The Beauties of Byron', which featured *Don Juan* on the anniversary of Peterloo in 1845, and another series 'Songs for the People', which featured Shelley's 'Song: To the Men of England' on 24 January 1846 (pp. 77–80).

As Jonathan Rose recognises in his history of working-class intellectual life,

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[51] A. R. Schoyen, *The Chartist Challenge: A Portrait of George Julian Harney* (London : Heinemann, 1958), p. 125.

[52] O'Connor sacked Hill as the *Northern Star*'s editor following a dispute over the NCA's finances in which Hill alleged misuse of funds, if not outright theft, and 'implied that working men should be excluded from Chartism's directing body' (Chase, p. 239). This was obviously offensive to the Chartist principle of working-class political self determination, since working men could not afford to work for the cause without payment.

working-class autodidacts derived intellectual and political value from Carlyle's works (*Intellectual*, pp. 41–48). Rose also notes, using the Chartists Linton and Holyoake as examples, that Carlyle's working-class audience could discriminate between aspects of his writing. Linton, for example, respected Carlyle's denunciations of laissez-faire economics while '[condemning] Carlyle's hostility to the 1789 Revolution' (pp. 46–47). Explicit engagement with Carlyle's criticisms of Chartism would appear in the pages of the *Northern Star* two years after the publication of *Chartism* and only then at one remove, in a review of a review of Carlyle's work appearing in *The British and Foreign Review, or European Quarterly Journal*.[53] The reviewer was aware that both Carlyle and the original reviewer considered Chartism's commitment to universal male suffrage to be 'a chimera of the brain' but insisted that 'neither Mr. Carlyle, nor his reviewer, know what Chartism is […] they mistake totally the causes of the evil and the true source of the remedy'. I argue that 'The Condition of England Question' series was another possible response to *Chartism* in 1843. Schoyen reported Harney's opinion of Carlyle as 'one half a great man and one half a humbug' (p. 126). By taking Carlyle's phrase 'the Condition-of-England Question', the *Northern Star* under Harney could raise the problems of poverty and social conflict while suggesting a different solution. I will argue that the passage shows how Chartists privileged vocal agency in their political struggles and that use of lines from Shelley and Byron's poems underpinned that agency. This commitment necessarily came into conflict with Carlyle's judgment of Chartism's political cogency.

Carlyle used the phrase 'Condition-of-England Question' in his 1839 essay *Chartism* to designate a national malady of which 'Chartist torch-meetings' were only one symptom: 'Glasgow Thuggery, Chartist torch-meetings, Birmingham riots, Swing conflagrations' also signified disorder (p. 152). Chartism as a movement was a mistaken reaction to a genuine problem, an 'incoherent embodiment' indicating the 'wrong condition or therefore the wrong disposition, of the Working Classes of England' (p. 151). In opposition to Chartist demands for parliamentary representation, Carlyle proposed that Chartism was a symptom of a disease requiring diagnosis by a qualified cultural commentator:

> How inexpressively useful were true insight into it; a genuine understanding by the upper classes of society what it is that the under classes intrinsically mean; a clear interpretation of the thought which at heart torments these wild inarticulate souls, struggling there, with inarticulate uproar, like dumb creatures in pain, unable to speak what is in them! (p. 155)

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[53] 'The British and Foreign Review, or, European Quarterly Journal', *Northern Star*, 6 November 1841, p. 3.

Although the time was ripe for 'speech and articulate enquiry' on the question, Carlyle thought that this duty properly devolved upon observers of working-class suffering rather than on the sufferers themselves (p. 151). He described working-class complainants repeatedly as inarticulate: Honourable Members of Parliament ought to 'interpret and articulate the dumb deep want of the people! [...] They are either speakers for that great dumb toiling class which cannot speak, or they are nothing that one can well specify' (p. 154). Chartism and Peterloo, like 'all popular commotions and maddest bellowing' are '*in*articulate cries as of a dumb creature in rage and pain; to the ear of wisdom they are inarticulate prayers: "Guide me, govern me! I am mad and miserable, and cannot guide myself!"' (p. 189, original emphasis). Carlyle depicted the working class as 'Dingy dumb millions [...] struggling as they could to say: "Behold, our lot is unfair"' (p. 217). As John Plotz argues, the Chartist strategy of staking a claim to the franchise on the basis of a discourse comprising words and bodily action is reconfigured by Carlyle, who demotes the Chartist analysis of what was wrong to the status of a bodily pathology, an 'incoherent embodiment', the 'intrinsic meaning' of their discontent placed beyond what could be articulated by the 'inarticulate uproar' of 'dumb creatures in pain' (*The Crowd*, pp. 127–53).

Although Carlyle states that what we might call the 'Condition-of-Ireland Question' was beyond the scope of his essay, he did find a comparison between the English poor and the Irish 'Sanspotato' instructive (p. 169). The Irish had suffered a great injustice at the hands of their colonial rulers and, in migrating to areas populated by the English poor, had compounded the natives' suffering by provoking a decline in living standards (pp. 171–74). Carlyle suggests that a political solidarity had also been forged: the 'strong silent people' of England had since made 'common cause' with the 'noisy vehement Irish' (p. 172). Such an analysis invites reference to prominent Irish Chartists such as O'Connor and O'Brien as well as to working-class radicals' opposition to the Irish Coercion Act (Thompson, *The Chartists*, p. 28). Chartists would have disagreed with Carlyle's judgement of the Irish brogue; whereas for Carlyle, it was a 'well-known fact that the Irish speak a partially intelligible dialect of English', Chase quotes a Barnsley handloom weaver's approval of O'Connor's speech: 'the language of O'Connor, to ears unaccustomed to little else than the Barnsley dialect, as spoken by pale-faced weavers and swart cobblers, sounded like rich music' (Carlyle, p. 170; Chase, p. 13). For Chartists, there was a significant aesthetic yield, as well as a political one, to be garnered from O'Connor's speech.

Despite this alliance between the Irish and what Carlyle calls the 'Saxon British', he maintained a racial difference between the two groups in capacity for action. Whereas the Irish had submitted to injustice and signalled their discontent by noisy vehemence, the 'Saxon British' were heirs not only to a 'methodic spirit' and 'rationality' but also to a 'Beserkir rage [...] which will prefer all things, including destruction and self-destruction' to a degrading submission (p. 172).[54] For Carlyle, this capacity was to be respected; it lay 'far down in the centre, like genial central-fire, with stratum after stratum of arrangement, traditionary method, composed productiveness, all built above it, vivified and rendered fertile by it' (p. 172). The 'inward fire' of the Saxon-British 'as all such fire should be, is hidden at the centre', but as Plotz pointed out, the epigraph of *Chartism* is the proverb 'It never smokes but there is fire' (p. 145). Chartism's complaints, therefore, might be seen from Carlyle's perspective as a misguided though useful warning that the greater danger lay in an English working-class anger courted by the ruling class' mistreatment of them which had not yet been reached in extremis. 'Let no man awaken it, this same Beserkir rage!', Carlyle warns, or total destruction would follow (p. 172). Chartism ought not, if peace was to be maintained, to be misread as an ineffectual grumbling in the Irish vein but as a sign that English Chartists would resort to their Nordic heritage and destroy everything in responding to injustice.

For the Chartists, 'awakening' in the sense of 'lions rising from slumber was a positive response to injustice that redeemed and emancipated. The Chartists would be loud, but also articulate in their vocal strength, and this strategy would win them the right to political self-determination. They saw such a response, moreover, as grounded in legal and constitutional rights secured by the Magna Carta: 'Magna Charta constituted the foundation stone of English liberties and the People's Charter would complete the edifice' (Chase, p. 8). Anglo-Saxon culture, however, was also a democratic touchstone in the theory of the 'Norman yoke', wherein the Normans had not only stolen the land but suppressed native democratic rights and practices.[55] In this narrative, Chartists had a Saxon heritage on which to draw which did not invoke a destructive 'Beserkir rage' but a just and constitutional democratic settlement. In this manner, and by deploying various authorities, the Chartists could appeal to historical precedents that inscribed their movement within British constitutional

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[54] The *OED* entry for 'beserker' defines both the figure and the 'rage': 'A wild Norse warrior of great strength and ferocious courage, who fought on the battle-field with a frenzied fury known as the "berserker rage"'.

[55] See Christopher Hill, *Puritanism and Revolution: Studies in Interpretation of the English Revolution of the 17th Century* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1958), pp. 50–122.

history as well as to argue that that tradition was predicated on an injustice that might be finally resolved if Chartist demands were met.[56]

Carlyle, however, proposes (via his alter-ego 'Herr Professor Sauerteig') a model of class struggle in which Anglo-Saxon rule necessarily gave way to Norman rule because 'mights' established 'rights'. The 'wolves and bison', for example, had a 'right to live' on the land until the Celts arrived with a 'better right' because they had a 'better might to turn it to use' (p. 204). The Normans' supremacy over the Saxons was a cultural rather than a racial one; deriving from the same geographical regions historically, 'The Normans were Saxons who had learned to speak French' (p. 205).[57] Destructive 'Beserkir rage' meets and is confounded by a document which is written in Latin and inscribes certain legal rights. For Carlyle, the 'true *Magna Charta*', rather than the ersatz Chartist one, did not so much inaugurate the rights of the revolting Barons but recognise retrospectively a 'might' that was already operative and had been since the Norman conquest:

> Your Great Charter has to be experimented on, by battle and debate, for a hundred-and-fifty years; is then found to *be* correct; and stands as true *Magna Charta*, — nigh cut in pieces by a tailor, short of measures, in later generations. (p. 206, original emphasis)

This history of class struggle described the acquirement in successive classes of the 'faculty of utterance' (p. 206). Carlyle defines rights as 'correctly-articulated *mights*': competency establishes the right to power, which then demands to be articulated for its full realisation: 'as the dumb man, seeing the knife at his father's throat, suddenly acquired speech' (p. 206, original emphasis). The English Revolution was the confirmation of 'middle-class' might, prepared for and justified by the accumulation of 'manufacturing, commercial, economic *skill*' as well as the appearance of Shakespeare: not only 'our supreme modern European man' but also 'a wool-comber, poacher, or whatever else at Stratford in Warwickshire, who happened to write

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[56] In *Mask*, Shelley underpins his injunction to resist oppression non-violently with recourse to the 'old laws of England': 'Let the laws of your own land,/ Good or ill, between ye stand' as 'arbiters of the dispute' (331–34).

[57] It could be argued that Carlyle attributed this passage to the fictional Sauertieg, author of the 'strange rhapsodic "History of the Teuton Kindred"', in order to maintain an ironic distance from racial discourse (p. 201; see Mark Alexander Allison, 'Wandering Between Two Worlds: Middleness in Victorian Literature and Culture', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of California, 2007), p. 59. Sauerteig's arguments, however, also appeared in an earlier chapter written under Carlyle's name, in which the Norman Nobles were 'strong Teutonic men' who conquered the 'Saxon Nobles' because they were able to '[drill] this wild Teutonic people into unity and peaceable coöperation' (pp. 178–79). By contrast, Carlyle maintains a racial as well as cultural difference between the Anglo-Saxon English and the Irish by describing the latter as 'Celtiberian Irish' with 'wild Milesian features' (pp. 171–72). Both terms indicate a Spanish heritage for Irish people (*OED*).

books!' (pp. 207–08, original emphasis).[58]

'England had got her Shakspeare [*sic*]; but was now about to get her Milton and Oliver Cromwell' (p. 208). A petitioner to the Long Parliament for redress, William Prynne, asks 'a testimony and question', which is to say a rhetorical question, 'to all England: "Englishmen, is this fair?" England, no longer continent of herself, answered, bellowing as with the voice of lions: "No, it is not fair!"' (p. 208). This combination of speech and the loosening of restraint, unlike the Chartists' 'incoherent embodiment' of resistance, is permissible because it is legitimised by the revolutionaries' subsequent success. This speech act is successful precisely because the revolutionary party addressed a subject — 'England' — which had the power to answer the question of whether the political settlement was 'right'. By contrast, the contemporary 'dingy dumb millions' addressed Parliamentary Radicalism with the complaint and instruction: 'Behold, our lot is unfair [...] go ye and get us justice!' (p. 217). All such Radicalism could obtain, according to Carlyle, was 'not things but shadows of things' (p. 217).

Carlyle's description of Chartism as 'dumb' signifies that he would not place the movement within this tradition of articulation confirming might and thus establishing rights. He did not view the Chartist campaign as evidence of their already established might: 'the Third Constitutional controversy, that of the Working Classes [...] is doubtless the hardest of all to get articulated' (p. 209). Contemporary 'British lions' were the likes of Richard Arkwright and James Watt, the 'Captains of Industry' of another Carlylean phrase: 'Reader, thou shalt admire what is admirable, not what is dressed as admirable; learn to know the British lion even when he is not throne-supporter, and also the British jackass in lion's skin even when he is' (p. 212). While this serves to distinguish the middle-class industrialist from the 'princes of this world' it also reflects on the relative lack of working-class power (p. 212). The contemporary working class had, for Carlyle, manifestly not confirmed their rights by deed and displaced the middle class but was reliant on the genuinely mighty. Their

[58] Shakespeare did not have to belong to the aristocracy (with Norman ancestry) to be the 'supreme modern European man', inheriting and making use of multiple strands of the English cultural past. In *King Henry V*, for example, Shakespeare deployed French and English to comic effect in the scene in which the French princess Katherine practices her English in preparation for marriage to the English King Henry. The joke relies on aural similarities between English words 'foot' and gown' (pronounced 'coun') spoken with a French accent and vulgarities of both French and Anglo-Saxon origin (William Shakespeare, *King Henry V*, ed. by T. W. Craik (London: Routledge, 1995), III. 4. 45–46). *King Henry V* can be considered a dramatization of the 'ultimate reversal of the Norman Conquest' in its depiction of an English king conquering a French land, and the consequent conquering of the French language in the courtship of Henry and Katherine (Deanne Williams, *The French Fetish from Chaucer to Shakespeare* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 219).

frequent demands for the right to political self-determination, therefore, could not be taken seriously. The People's Charter was not so much a complete fraud, cut out of whole cloth but, pitiably, an imitation of the 'true *Magna Charta*' which had been cut in pieces by men like Francis Place. A tailor by trade, Place was a member of the radical London Corresponding Society in the 1790s and claimed to have helped draft the People's Charter in 1838.[59] The Chartists were not authentic British lions but British jackasses, assuming the postures and adopting the speech of the genuinely mighty.

For their part, the Chartists saw themselves as contemporary Prynnes and firmly within that tradition of posing the clear, rhetorical question with the voice of lions. Earlier in this thesis, I discussed Linton's situating Chartism in terms of the Norman Yoke and the English Revolution.[60] As I have argued throughout this thesis, the act of fashioning emergent forms from existing residual ones did not indicate that the tailor was 'short of measures', deficient of original material, but was in fact a key tactic of their cultural politics. Sanders proposes that this tactic was ratified as an explicit tenet of Harney's editorial policy in the *Northern Star* when the paper published 'The Condition of England Question' instalment under consideration (pp. 76–77). In providing a model canon of poetic worth to encourage the production of Chartist poetry of quality, Harney affirms both Chartist creative capacities and work by literary forebears originating in another political and cultural moment. In Sanders' words, the 'argument from culture', stressed the 'vital relation between the poetical and political condition' of the movement because the 'capacity of the working classes to both recognise and produce good poetry demonstrated their fitness for the franchise' (pp. 76–77). This looks rather like Carlyle's affirmation of rights as 'correctly-articulated *mights*' but without replicating the oedipal dynamic he suggests. For the Chartists, not only could appreciation of Shelley, Byron, et al, coincide with the creation of original material but the two worked together in a positive dialectic.

In this historical context, Shelley appears as both canonical model and the springboard for the emergent. *Mask* was used to counter Carlyle's narratives and yet, as I argued previously in this chapter, Shelley's own presentation of vocal agency in *Mask* presented problems. I conclude this section by arguing that the passage from the 'The Condition of England Question' instalment under consideration bolsters

[59] Chase disputes this claim; 'A claim that the veteran radical Francis Place had a hand in it was only ever made by Place alone' (p. 9).
[60] 'An Examination of the Right of Parliament', *National*, 2 March 1839, pp. 115–19.

Shelley's poem with a line from Byron's *Don Juan*. As with their combining of lions from *Mask* and Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*, this move has the effect of strengthening an aspect of Shelley most useful to Chartism. As noted above, the intention of the series was to raise awareness of suffering and exploitation in order to 'make "The very stones to rise against earth's tyrants's" [*sic*]. The fuller lines are instructive: 'For I will teach, if possible, the stones/ To rise against Earth's tyrants'. Byron's poem has both this didactic aim as well as to record for posterity — for 'ye — our children's children! think how we/ Showed *what things were* before the world was free!' (VIII. 1079–80, original emphasis). The lines appeared in the *Chartist Circular* series the 'Politics of Poets' in September 1840, where the commentary applied the line to the contemporary context in Byron's manner:

> Posterity will wonder, that a people calling themselves free, enlightened, and Christians, could submit to the absurd and cruel policy that blackens the history of the present century, and not have struggled a hundred times more earnestly to turn the current state of affairs.[61]

Both hopeful and speculative, this is a prediction that is not inevitable but demands action to come true. Posterity will wonder not only at current inaction but even at current action when its intensity should be increased a hundred fold. St Clair noted that the piraters of Shelley's *Queen Mab* subsequently pirated *Don Juan*, with the result that by '1823 the minimum cost of reading large passages of *Don Juan* had fallen below the level of most newspapers' (*Reading Nation*, p. 327).

An alternative but less promising source for 'stones' in a potentially insurrectionary situation in Shelley's oeuvre is his 1819 poem 'To —— ('Corpses are cold in the tomb') or 'Lines written during the Castlereagh Administration'. As noted in chapter four, the poem was first published in the *Athenaeum* in December 1832, subsequently appeared in Linton's the *National* but not in the Chartist press more broadly. Shelley's poem contains references to 'stones' not active in their rejection of tyranny but passive in their victimhood: 'Corpses are cold in the tomb —/ Stones on the pavement are dumb —/ Abortions are dead in the womb' (1–3). Shelley compares the mothers of these still-born children to Albion, conceived as a mother:

> Her sons are as stones in the way —
> They are masses of senseless clay —
> They are trodden and move not away —
> The abortion with which *she* travaileth
> Is Liberty, smitten to death. (6–10, original emphasis)

[61] 'Politics of Poets. No. v', *Chartist Circular*, 5 September 1840, p. 203

Unlike in Byron's poem, the oppressed do not use stones as weapons but are themselves petrified, their inaction, since they cannot even remove themselves from danger, testifying to liberticide.[62] This testimony is silent, necessarily, given the dumbness of the 'stones', aligning Shelley's poem with what was objectionable in Carlyle's analysis of Chartism. Given the need, especially in a period of 'too long continued slumber', to emphasise Chartist vocal and political agency, it is not surprising Chartists should have preferred Byron's stone image to Shelley's.

Use of the lion image in 'The Condition of England Question' in December 1843, however, heralded the decline of the image's rhetorical power. For Plotz, the success of Carlyle's discursive strategy over time points to a defeat of the Chartists' strategy in the public sphere, but that '[for] several months in 1839 it seemed that the Chartists would succeed in representing their desire to be represented' (p. 149). This was also the period in which the Chartist's lion image was created and was more powerful, coherent, and flexible. It encompassed various political demands, both parliamentary and more militant, as well as various literary references besides Shelley. As the fortunes of Chartism ebbed and flowed, however, the rising lion image began to register pessimism as well as optimism; its force rested on the prospect of the lion awakening eventually. By the late 1840s, I argue, the previously taut and powerful image had lost both formal cohesion and political credibility.

William Rider's letter to the *Northern Star* in 1847, for example, offered a confident assessment of Chartism's vitality:

> Talk of Chartism being '*dead!*' Why, it is not only immortal but invulnerable. Its principles are founded in eternal justice. [...] Chartism can now afford to stand at ease, while the factions fight and eat each other up, tails and all; but the moment the antagonists of universal right assail our cause, then the strong giant arises, and shakes the vampires as the lion of the forest shakes off the dew from its shaggy mane.[63]

After a series of advances and setbacks, I would argue that descriptions of the movement as 'not only immortal but invulnerable' lacked credibility. Psalm 78. 65's image of the giant is present and linked, via the rising of the Shelleyan lion, to the Shakespearean lion which 'shakes off the dew from its shaggy mane'. Rider's image, however, is not coherent but a series of displacements; Chartism's energies are represented by the 'strong giant' arising and this metaphor is then compared to a simile — '*as* the lion of the forest' shake the dew from its mane (my emphasis). The

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[62] 'Lines Written During the Execrable Castlereagh Administration', *National*, 30 March 1839, p. 179.
[63] WM. Rider, 'Principle v. Expediency', *Northern Star*, 19 June 1847, p. 2.

introduction of 'vampires' and the 'forest' adds a folkloric dimension to the cluster of images.

By the time Linton compiled the materials he had produced in the service of democracy for his twenty volume set *Prose and Verse Written and Published in the Course of Fifty Years, 1836–1886*, he could be certain that the movement was unequivocally over.[64] The eleventh volume contained a clipping from the *Star of Freedom* in 1852, in which Linton stated that 'Chartism is as good as dead', affirmed by a handwritten note on the page of *Prose and Verse*: 'It is quite true'.[65] To the phrase 'the party is broken up', Linton attached the footnote: 'The name is on a tombstone. And no mock O'Connor will witness its resurrection'. The fact that Chartism was over was obvious in 1895, but use of the rising lion image showed that doubts regarding the movement's prospects were evident in Chartist rhetoric in the mid-forties.

**Conclusion**

In this chapter I argued that Chartist use of Shelley's *Mask* proved Hunt wrong: the abuses of the Peterloo era were not over and Shelley's exoteric poem was still vital for working-class politics. Chartists' creative deployment of the poem, lending it more aggression and holy authority by combining Shelley's 'rising lion' with images from Shakespeare and the Bible, respectively, showed that they did not merely accept Shelley's politics via his poetry.

By tracing the development of Chartist use of Shelley's image and their association of it with O'Connor, I contributed to Epstein's work on the Chartist as the 'Lion of Freedom'. I showed how the image came to designate not only O'Connor but also working-class agency, the power of print culture, and physical aggression. Adopting Sanders' rubric of Chartism's myths of violence enabled me to trace the vitality of the rising lion image over the course of the movement. I situated its deployment in terms of key events over the course of the movement: the development of the mass platform in 1838, the presentation of the National Petition in 1839, the Newport Uprising later that year, and the General Strike of 1842. Arguing that the image lost its vitality after that latter event, I argued that use of it in the *Northern Star* after 1843 both attempted to revive the image but also acknowledged the fact

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[64] For secondary literature on *Prose and Verse* see Janowitz, p. 201, and Alastair Philip Lovett, 'Creative Aspiration and Public Discourse: The Prose, Verse and Graphic Images of William James Linton (1812–1897)' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Durham University, 2003).

[65] *Prose and Verse*, XI, 25–29. 'Letters for the Working Men. No I. — The General Election', *Star of Freedom*.

that by that point the lion had been slumbering for ‘too-long’. While Chartists had given their lion the voice absent in Shelley’s version, the success of Carlyle’s depiction of Chartism as ‘dumb’ and requiring a spokesman proved hegemonic over time.

# Chapter 6: Shelley and Historical Consciousness in Thomas Martin Wheeler's *Sunshine and Shadow*

## Introduction

My final chapter completes the analysis of a historical trajectory I pursued in previous chapters, which mapped the reception and transmission of Shelley in Chartism onto the movement's development. Unlike previous chapters, however, its object of analysis is not discourse in newspapers and periodicals but that of a novel serialised in the *Northern Star*: Thomas Martin Wheeler's *Sunshine and Shadow*.[1] My rationale for concentrating on this novel is that *Sunshine and Shadow* contains the only references to Shelley in the *Northern Star* in its period of publication; the novel appeared in weekly instalments between 31 March 1849 and 5 January 1850.[2] As this makes those years very different from early ones in which Shelley's poetry was incorporated into Chartist rhetoric appearing in the newspaper, it indicates that a shift took place in Chartist use of Shelley. I argue that in this phase, Wheeler uses Shelley to explore the nature of Chartism's historical consciousness in the novel form. I respond to more reductive readings of *Sunshine and Shadow* that typically see the novel as an aesthetic failure due to its lack of realism.[3] I argue that the novel is a deliberate allegory of the formation of class consciousness via its protagonist Arthur and that recognising it as such requires sensitivity to the contemporary literary and political inheritance upon which Wheeler drew.

For Wheeler this included Shelley's poetry and I argue that the novel draws on *Queen Mab*, in particular. Politically and intellectually, his background included both Owenism and Chartism (Chase, p. 354). I argue that Wheeler's attempt to assess the past and future potential of Chartism also had implications for the value of Shelley and poetry in late Chartism. Wheeler writes into the narrative of his character Arthur, 'a type, a representative of his class', a progression from immature idealism and love of poetry to a more prosaic political maturity (p. 124). Traces of Wheeler's Owenite past were evident, here, and yet Wheeler did not disavow poetry and the imagination. The implied maturity of prose did not entail an irrevocable break with poetry. Poetry was still seen by Wheeler as a stimulant to imagination, and as a political force that

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[1] As I do not discuss *Sunshine and Shadow* in terms of its status as a serialised novel in the *Northern Star* I do not give references to its instalments in the newspaper, but to page numbers in Haywood's *Chartist Fiction*. Full references to those chapters that quote or mention Shelley appear in the appendix.

[2] See the appendix.

[3] Mitchell, 'Aesthetic Problems'; and Devereux, 'Chartism and Popular Fiction'.

did not come to an end when Arthur (and, by extension, Chartism) graduates from an immature dreaming to political maturity. Political experience accrued via Chartism's recent history qualified the terms of Wheeler's Owenite inheritance and he articulated a class politics in which the interests of the working and middle class were in conflict. I

I argue that at the end of the 1840s Wheeler envisaged a Chartist future with aesthetic as well as political outcomes. I conclude the chapter by arguing that the two came together via the novel's related images of the 'shipwreck' and the 'kaleidoscope'. *Sunshine and Shadow*'s kaleidoscopic image of gathering the wreckage of Chartism and reconfiguring its shards into a new pattern was the means by which Wheeler could assert the value of Chartism and its commitments for future activism, since its elements would be retained, and also imagine its rejuvenation. It is also a figure of Wheeler's own novelistic practice, as he takes the literary past and reconfigures its elements.

### *Sunshine and Shadow* and realism

Jack Mitchell set up his analysis of *Sunshine and Shadow* in his essay 'Aesthetic Problems of the Development of the Proletarian-Revolutionary Novel in Nineteenth-Century Britain' by comparing the relative achievements of Chartists in the genres of poetry and fiction. While Chartist poetry 'preserves and continues the best in the revolutionary-romantic tradition', Chartist fiction was aesthetically inferior to both Chartist poetry and 'the contemporary bourgeois novel' (p. 245). The power of the novel form, according to Mitchell, is predicated on an apparent indivisibility between the subjectivity instantiated in the novel and its material conditions via 'the dialectical unity of a special kind of aesthetic content and the corresponding kind of aesthetic form' (p. 246). Formally the novel is, for Mitchell, essentially humanist and a condition of the form's emergence is 'interest in the 'how' as well as the 'what' of human character and action': 'for a *popular* tradition in the novel to exist, the novelist must see the common people, to a lesser or greater degree, as, even in their existing form, in the midst of their misery and degradation, humanly valid' (p. 249, original emphasis). He argued that this did not occur in British working-class culture until 'the general maturing of the international revolutionary proletariat in the age of imperialism' (p. 250). The working class in the Chartist period did not recognise itself as a class subject on the world-historical stage, one representing the interests of 'Humanity' against the 'Anti-Humanity' of their exploiters (p. 260).

There was thus a relationship between aesthetic form and class-consciousness: the 'aesthetic failure' of Chartist fiction in Mitchell's view indicated the political defeat of the contemporary working-class to perceive itself as a class subject. Mitchell praised Wheeler for his achievements in *Sunshine and Shadow*: his innovation in '[bringing] in as a general theme the policy and activity of the working-class party', his efforts to rebut slanderous depictions of the 'revolutionary worker-leader as a sub-human animal', his 'attempt' to show the private and emotional side of a public political figure, and his advance on Ernest Jones' sketches of women in ascribing his own female characters class-characteristics (p. 256). These achievements, however, were 'no more than contributions of undigested raw material', for 'these early writers were not yet writing as novelists at all' (p. 257). Not only was Wheeler a 'political publicist' and a journalist, he conceived of romance and artistic flourishes as devices to make the objective 'facts' of the novel (which is really a history of Chartism) more palatable (pp. 257–58).

This criticism of *Sunshine and Shadow*, I argue, takes its bearings from Georg Lukács theory of the realist novel in *The Historical Novel* and defended from criticism in the essay 'Realism in the Balance'. According to Lukács:

> The classical historical novelists were great, precisely because they did justice to [the] richness of popular life. Scott describes the most varied class struggles [...] but he always shows in addition the richly articulated variety of response to these struggles on the part of the popular masses. [...] And only this differentiated, rich, manifold completeness can give a true and correct picture of popular life in the critical periods of human development.[4]

In 'Realism in the Balance', Lukács reiterated previously stated objections to what he saw as Expressionism's solipsistic subjectivity and elitism, reflected in its stylized form.[5] He asserted that realism rather than expressionism was the aesthetic form competent to instantiate an alliance between objective conditions and a revolutionary subjectivity in the working class. He also defined an aesthetic procedure for the realist:

> Every major realist fashions the material given in his own experience, and in so doing makes use of techniques of abstraction, among others. But his goal is to penetrate the laws governing objective reality and to uncover the deeper, hidden, mediated, not immediately perceptible network of relationships that go to make up society. Since these relationships do not lie on the surface, since the underlying laws only make themselves felt in very complex ways and are

[4] Georg Lukács, *The Historical Novel*, trans. by Hannah and Stanley Mitchell (London: Merlin Press, 1989), p. 209.

[5] Georg Lukács, 'Realism in the Balance', in *Aesthetics and Politics*, trans. by Rodney Livingstone (London: New Left Books, 1977), pp. 28–59.

> realized only unevenly, as trends, the labour of the realist is extraordinarily arduous, since it has both an artistic and an intellectual dimension. Firstly, he has to discover these relationships intellectually and give them artistic shape. Secondly, although in practice the two processes are indivisible, *he must artistically conceal the relationships he has just discovered through the process of abstraction* — i.e. he has to transcend the process of abstraction. This twofold labour creates a new immediacy, one that is artistically mediated; in it, even though the surface of life is sufficiently transparent to allow the underlying essence to shine through (something that is not true of immediate experience in real life), it nevertheless manifests itself as immediacy, as life as it actually appears. ('Realism', pp. 38–39, my emphasis)

For the working-class realist novelist, this would require their grasp of the objective conditions and self-consciousness of their class position as well as labour to 'artistically conceal' abstract knowledge of this reality at the level of form in an apparent lack of consciousness.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Mitchell found fault with *Sunshine and Shadow*, since Wheeler did not attempt to conceal artistically his own understanding of social relations. I argue that Wheeler's novel is formally self-conscious in its relation to the allegorical tradition generally and to Shelley's *Queen Mab* specifically. For while Lukács used allegory's terminology in asserting that realism 'must be concerned with the creation of *types*', allegory's abstractions were antithetical to his prescriptions for a politically useful realism ('Realism', p. 47, my emphasis). If realism is to be powerful then it must present an artistically mediated 'reality', which conceals its own artistic labour, while allegory is formally self-conscious in its use of abstractions. The aesthetic 'failures' that Mitchell identifies within *Sunshine and Shadow*, I argue, make more sense when read within the allegorical tradition: Wheeler's characters are not 'flat types, differentiated from each other only at the level of their political opinions and social-economic activity', they are allegorical figures representing the social forces at work in the development of Chartism (Mitchell, p. 258).

This self-consciousness extends, I argue, to Wheeler's use of Shelley's poetry and to his own novelistic practice. Where Mitchell saw a straightforwardly instrumental use of Romantic flourishes in order to make the novel's message palatable to readers, I trace Wheeler's relationship to his Romantic literary inheritance over the course of the novel. *Sunshine and Shadow* as an historical novel about Chartism adopts an evaluative stance regarding the movement's history, as Mitchell recognised: 'much of Wheeler's attention is given to a critique of the weakness of the Chartist movement which led to its defeat' (p. 255). As Haywood

pointed out, however, Wheeler did not consider the movement defeated; Wheeler intended the novel to make a political intervention and rejuvenate the movement. I would argue that accompanying Wheeler's political assessment of the movement was an exploration of the movement's aesthetic inheritance. Subsequent sections argue that Wheeler's handling of Romantic tropes, and those from Shelley in particular, evidence his exploration of the relative values of poetry and fiction for the Chartist artist and activist in the mid-nineteenth century. In Williams's terms, Wheeler was conscious of the residual within his own work while attempting to forge the emergent. *Sunshine and Shadow* was not, as Mitchell asserted, 'a typical novel of the Chartist period' but the first of its kind (p. 251).

### *Sunshine and Shadow* as political allegory

In this section, I give an account of Wheeler's novel as a political allegory of working-class consciousness coming of age in Chartism; as Haywood argued, Wheeler 'proletarianized the *Bildungsroman*' (*Working-Class Fiction*, p. 7). As an allegory, defined as 'writing with a double meaning', *Sunshine and Shadow* indicates that the life story of its hero should be understood as not as a narrowly individual experience but as representing the history of Chartism itself.[6] I will indicate places where Wheeler referenced Shelley or produces formulations that I argue were indebted to the poet. Since I understand *Sunshine and Shadow* as an allegory of Chartism, I argue that the presence of Shelley in the novel indicates Wheeler's recognition that the poet had been important to the movement. I also consider occasions where Wheeler took his bearing from his Owenite past and how this influence changed in the context of Chartism.

Wheeler concluded *Sunshine and Shadow* by acknowledging that his purpose was to 'combine a History of Chartism, with the details of our story', and stated in the preface to his other novel, *A Light in the Gloom*, that he had 'on a prior occasion written a tale in which was inwove the chief occurrences in the Chartist agitation since the year 1838'.[7] The tale, however, did not begin in 1838 when Chartism had coalesced around specific aims, but in 1831; Wheeler described a group of schoolboys, which included his working-class protagonist, leaving school 'on a fine day, in the

[6] Rita Copeland and Peter T. Struck, 'Introduction', in *The Cambridge Companion to Allegory*, ed. by Rita Copeland and Peter T. Struck (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 1–11 (p. 2).

[7] 'A Light in the Gloom; or, The Politics of the Past', *People's Paper*, 8 May 1852, p. 7.

year 1831' (p. 72). *Sunshine and Shadow* began, therefore, with Chartism's prehistory and situated its genesis in the years of the Reform Bill crisis.

We learn about Arthur's childhood before his coming of age. Arthur's biography bears comparison to Shelley's; as Haywood noted, 'Arthur has a "cultivated intellect" and a Shelleyan imagination' (*Chartist Fiction*, p. 68). Arthur was a youthful bookworm: 'poetry was his favourite study, and Homer and Virgil, Byron and Shelley, would wile him away from his boyish companions, and wrap him in an elysium of delight' (p 74). Arthur objects to the rough play of fellow inmates at his 'second-rate boarding school', as Shelley is known to have objected to bullying in his school days.[8] This biographical information would have been available to Chartist readers of Shelley in the editor's notes included by Mary Shelley in *Poetical Works*. Her notes to *Queen Mab* in the single volume edition of *Poetical Works*, published in 1840, noted Shelley's 'incessant' reading during his childhood, and that his character at Eton was open, ardent, and disinclined to submit to tyranny.[9] Since Arthur's biography is also similar to Wheeler's own, he constructs a relationship between himself, Shelley, and his working-class hero.

From the beginning of the novel, however, Wheeler also established a relationship between poetry, youthful immaturity, and hope on the one hand, and prose, political maturity, and realism on the other. Although Arthur was a lover of poetry, 'he was not altogether a dreamer': this promise of practicality only comes to fruition in Arthur's manhood (p. 74). Arthur, and by extension the working class, had a 'practical character' that saved him from introspection and was acquired 'from the habit of self-dependence' (p. 74). Arthur's other saving grace was the relationship that he built with the character who would later become his class enemy: Walter. This relationship also entailed a shift from insular reading habits to a healthier and more beneficial sociability: 'books were no longer his sole idol, — love for Walter begat love for all human kind' (p. 75). Wheeler's Owenite roots are clear, here, but the two characters expressed class characteristics at this point that foreshadowed the middle-class betrayal of working-class democrats in 1832: Walter was 'often thoughtless and exacting' whereas Arthur was 'ever self-sacrificing and trusting' (p. 75). Part of

[8] *Sunshine and Shadow*, pp. 74–75. For Shelley's schooldays, see Richard Holmes, *Shelley: The Pursuit* (London: Harper Perennial, 2005), p. 19.

[9] *The Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, ed. by Mary Shelley (London: Edward Moxon, 1840), pp. 37–38. A small volume published by John Watson elevated this personal revolt into a 'conspiracy': 'At school he formed a conspiracy for resistance to that most odious and detestable custom of English seminaries, *fagging*': *A Brief Sketch of the Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley* (London: Watson, 1842), pp. 3–4.

Arthur's journey in this proletarianised *Bildungsroman* was to learn the limits of the relationship between the two classes.

Arthur becomes a friend of Walter's family; we learn that Walter's father is a social climber and an outwardly respectable fraudster (p. 76). The differences between Walter and his sister, Julia, are instructive. Shielded from the degrading effects of commerce, Julia is later able to appreciate the justice of Arthur's Chartist arguments (p. 77, 106–08). While there are shades here of Concordia's argument that the middle-class woman had a special role to play in the transition to a better society, Wheeler rejects their supposed intellectual superiority over the 'small tradesman or mechanic whom they are taught to look down upon with contempt' (p. 77). The best women of this class, for Wheeler, are those capable of learning from the politicised working-class man. One of Mitchell's criticisms of the novel is that 'Chartist novelists tended, defensively, to concentrate on the moral-spiritual degradation of the bosses, and their inability to find happiness in spite of their wealth' (p. 261). This he attributed to the fact that 'when Wheeler wrote *Sunshine and Shadow* his idealist Owenite past still exercised a certain influence on his ideas' (p. 255).

It is likely that this attitude owed at least as much to *Queen Mab*, refracted through Owenism, with its insistence that 'Power, like a desolating pestilence,/ Pollutes whate'er it touches' (III. 176–77). Julia's appearance resembles Ianthe's in *Queen Mab* with her 'flaxen hair' and 'eyes of the purest blue' (p. 77). While the epigraph to the chapter in which she is described suggests an influence in John Richard Beste's poem *Cuma, The Warrior-Bard of Erin, and Other Poems* (1829) — which also describes a woman in this way — I suggest that an undeclared influence is Shelley's *Queen Mab*. *Sunshine and Shadow*'s narrator suggests that 'no one could gaze upon [Julia] and not at once pronounce that Nature could not have committed that anomaly of leaving so fair a body without a corresponding soul' (p. 77). The parallel in *Queen Mab* is Henry gazing at Ianthe whose shadow or soul is 'the perfect semblance of its bodily frame' (I. 133). During her period of madness, Julia will also sit 'in fairy bowers, discoursing high and mighty truths with a seraph from above' (p. 119).

Arthur, thrown onto his own resources, learns the reality of wage slavery while Walter succeeds in trade but descends morally as he speculates on the marriage market, displaying none of the finer feeling that Arthur will show throughout the story (pp. 78–85). Chapter seven is the first to use Shelley's writing as an epigraph; *Queen Mab*'s lines on 'Commerce' as prostitution are made to comment on the sexual

mores of the middle-class (v. 189–96). Walter encourages the man Julia refuses to marry, Sir Jasper Baldwin, to rape her and thereby fulfil Walter's own ambitions. Thus coerced, she is enslaved by the 'weary chain of loveless wedlock' (p. 88).

Arthur and Walter parted company just before the passing of the 1832 Reform Bill. Arthur's induction into political manhood begins during his apprenticeship with a printer of a liberal newspaper, the *County Chronicle* (p. 79). Despite his new acquaintance with liberal politics, Arthur does not find a community here; he was 'alone in the midst of a crowd — he longed to have some definite object to do' (p. 80). Arthur's lack of family and friends threatened the return of insularity and dreaming: 'with few acquaintance, and none intimate, no wonder that he relapsed into his old habits of reserve and abstract meditation' (p. 79). This period of thought, however, was not the same as that of his youth. Thanks to the 'new views of society thus accumulated' as a result of exposure to the political press, Arthur 'no longer pondered on *imaginary* dreams' (p. 79, my emphasis). The new prospect gives Arthur hope for the future, described in scopic terms as light in shadow: 'In this manner passed his apprentice years, dark shadows with occasional gleams of sunshine. His character was fast maturing — he was emerging from the part of a dreamer to that of a worker' (p. 80). Wheeler figures the process as an awakening from dreaming to the reality of 'work', an activity that indicates the political work to come rather than Arthur's occupational status. The two are related, however, by Arthur's class position; it is his membership of the working class that leads to this awakening.

Wheeler concludes this chapter by mourning the fate of political martyrs, whose 'high and lofty inspirations [were] productive only of misery and destruction to their possessor', ending with a call for 'that true millennium' — 'that millennium of reason and liberty, which Voltaire and Rousseau were the prophets; Paine and Robespierre the harbingers; and Shelley — the amiable and gloriously-gifted Shelley — the Messiah! Speed, oh! speed, its advent' (p. 80). This narrative suggests a progression from Enlightenment reason prophesying the 'millennium of reason and liberty' and the French Revolutionary period as only a forerunner of liberty. Given the narrative position of this plea, occurring before the advent of Chartism, Wheeler suggests that the movement is the key to avoiding this fate.

Arthur makes his way to Birmingham shortly before the Chartist demonstrations in the Bull Ring and their clashes with the Metropolitan Police on 4 July 1839 (pp. 92–95). He obtains work from a Chartist printer and he becomes a prominent Chartist. Wheeler himself became a Chartist in 1839, 'entering the

movement from Owenism' (Chase, p. 354). Arthur's growing political development appears to entail a generic transition from the poetic dreaming of his youth to the prose of political newspapers. Chartism offers Arthur the chance to make his youthful hopes more substantial:

> Here was a vast field of speculation open to Arthur, a passionate lover of liberty, as embodied to him in the dream of the poet, — the musing of the philosopher, — or the motley garb of the historian; he had never considered the details necessary to ensure and retain the presence of the bright goddess. His had heretofore been a dreamy worship offered at the shrine of a Deity enveloped in dim but glorious shadow, whose outline was too vast for contemplation, and whose features ever appeared to vary with the varying imagination. A study of the principles of Chartism gave form, proportion, and colour to the shadow of his imagination, and arrayed it in the garb of right, reason, and justice. (p. 91)

Chartism's precision, with its detail sharpening the outline of the promise only suggested to Arthur by poetic dreams, philosophic musing, and history, supersedes the vagueness of his previous experience. Chartism compared well, then, to its predecessor in the Reform Bill agitation of the Whigs, which was described just before this flattering portrait of Chartism. The Reform Bill was 'a delusive benefit' and the workers had been used by the 'Whig conjurors' who had conjured into existence 'the phantasmagoria of the Birmingham revolution' (p. 91). Opposed to Chartism as an imaginative endeavour grounded in just proportions is the delusion or trick played by the liberal reformers. Wheeler understood imagination to be a prerequisite of Chartist politics; 'Chartism is the offspring of imagination; the feelings must be aroused before reason will summons judgement to its assistance, and never was a cause more hallowed by refined feelings, by chivalrous devotion, and disinterested purity, than the Chartist cause' (p. 124). While the imaginative impulse was formative, it was crucial to identify the correct form; political strategy and aesthetic form were thus linked.

Wheeler's discussion of events in Birmingham in 1839 draws a parallel between the Chartist campaign for the Charter in that year and the earlier Reform agitation, revolving around this phantasmagoric image. 'The men of England [had] discovered they had been made tools in the hand of the Whigs and their *bourgeoisie* [*sic*] supporters', and determined to 'obtain from Whig fear what justice and gratitude should have immediately granted' (p. 91). This attempt did not work as:

> it no longer suited the Whigs, nor the Whig press, to parade the number, organisation, and military equipment of thy sons; thy phantasmagoria had

> achieved its object, the conjurers were seated at the helm; they needed not the illusion, so the spell was broken, the charm deprived of its power. (p. 93)

Threatening language could not work again as the object of the threat knew how the trick worked. Wheeler indicated his preference for the 'wild but honest ardour of the physical force party' over the 'cupidity and selfishness of many of the moral force party'; it was the lack of unity and purpose that appeared to undermine the threat. Wheeler recognises the limitations of previous Chartist strategy in his novel.

Shelley's lines from *Revolt* appeared as epigraph to chapter nine (II. 838–45). Laon's report of his own oratorical powers relates to Arthur's success as Chartist orator later in the chapter, but also to the Chartists unsuccessful resort to threats in 1839: 'As from a mine of magic store, I drew/ Words which were weapons' (841–42). Arthur's speech in 1839 at the Bullring in Birmingham bewitched the audience — 'the excited myriads before him were spell-bound with the potent charm' (p. 94). Arthur's narrative not only suggests the power of Queen Mab in her oratory, but also the history of humanity that she outlined to Ianthe:

> The world's past history is thrown with lightning glance into his hearers' very hearts, and shown to be one red record of misery and crime wherever man's rights have been kept in abeyance; next his powerful eloquence vents itself on the treachery and deceit of those worshippers of the golden calf who would use the energies of his audience as the stepping-stone to their own advancement. (p. 94)

Arthur is wrongly suspected of firing houses and chased by the police; he escapes as he expects no justice from the courts and decides to go to America. Arthur, significantly, leaves the country before the Newport Uprising and no mention is made of the event in a novel purporting to be a history of Chartism; Wheeler disavows the failed insurrection by omission. As noted in previous chapters, Chartists interpreted the use of Metropolitan Police in Birmingham as an attack on the Convention. Ending this section of the novel on early Chartism in Birmingham rather than Newport allowed Wheeler to claim the moral high-ground for Chartism.

Arthur does not return to Britain until June 1842, and the interim period is spent geographically in the West Indies and America and generically in the realms of romance and melodrama. Arthur's ship to America is shipwrecked and the vessel that picks him up is bound for the West Indies; on it, he becomes reacquainted with Julia. Their youthful and unconsummated romance is consistently described in terms of dreaming; on seeing Julia's figure on board the ship Arthur wonders 'could it be a dream?' (p. 103). Arthur confessed to Julia 'the dreamings of his boyhood', and 'in

her eyes he became a hero of romance' (pp. 105–06). In their conversations they had 'so lived in the past that they had not thought of the future', and in talking to his childhood companion, Arthur described their 'hearts [clinging] to the past and [panting] to return to the land of the daisy and the primrose' (pp. 110–11).

Compared with his subsequent relationship with his Chartist wife, Mary, it is clear that Arthur's romance with Julia is a retreat into childishness; while in exile at the end of the novel, Arthur still has a good relationship with Mary 'though all the poetry of life had vanished' (p. 192). Julia could not have offered him this, grounded as Arthur and Mary's relationship is in Chartist principles and mature experience. Wheeler has the end of this melodramatic interlude as marking the end of the 'first era in the existence of Arthur', in which 'early manhood' is characterised by 'fancy' (p. 137). This attitude, which 'peopled the stern globe with the bright creations of a glowing fancy', is another instance of an optical illusion illuminated by false or misleading lights (p. 138). The mind schooled by experience, and thus disillusioned, 'turns its gaze inward, and acquires a greater knowledge of its own powers and nature, and forms a more correct estimate of its relation to society, and the duties consequent thereon' (p. 138).

As Arthur's history parallels that of Chartism, Wheeler suggests that Chartism's structure of feeling developed from an early youth characterised by misleading poetic fancies to a more prosaic stage; 'life was no longer looked at through the glass of enchantment, but beheld in the dull sober colours of reality' (p. 138). It also suggests a growing class consciousness: as Arthur represents Chartism, his gaze turning inwards is not an individualist move but represents a collective reassessment of the working-class's 'relation to society' (p. 138). This period produces a change in Arthur that makes him more effective in politics: 'with sensibilities blunted, and judgement matured, his loins were girt up for the conflict with mankind [...] he had become a more useful, though a less amiable man' (p. 138). We might recall, at this point, the earlier description of Shelley as 'amiable and gloriously gifted' (p. 80).

Arthur returns to Britain in time for the General Strike of 1842, with Arthur in Manchester as its inhabitants waited for strikers to arrive from Hyde, Ashton, and Stalybridge. Lines from Shelley's 'Song: To the Men of England' form the epigraph of chapter twenty six (1–12, 21–24). Wheeler gives O'Connor's interpretation of the strike: that it began as a conspiracy of the middle class and the Anti Corn Law League

lobbying for the repeal of the Corn Laws.[10] As the Charter became the focus of the strike, the League 'no longer directly or indirectly sanctioned the strike' and attempted to crush it (p. 147). The Chartist Convention then met in Manchester, and had the potential to '[gather] into one focus, of all the scattered elements previously existing' (p. 147). The 'Executive Address' issued by the NCA, according to Wheeler, was sound in strategy but came too late to direct the course of the strike. Wheeler's selection from the address corresponds to Shelley's lines from 'Song: To the Men of England' that form the chapter's epigraph, describing the worker as the producer of all goods:

> every thing valuable, useful, and elegant, — have sprung from the palm of his hands; he feels that his cottage is empty — his back thinly clad — his children breadless — himself hopeless — his mind harassed, and his body punished, that undue riches, luxury, and gorgeous plenty might be heaped in the palaces of the taskmasters, and flooded into the granaries of the oppressor. (p. 147)

They met too late, however, 'the crisis was past [...] and the people frightened at their own violence, had once more hugged their chains to their weary hearts' (p. 147). Wheeler ended the chapter noting that 'the chance of centuries fleeted from their grasp, and another link was added to the chain of despotism, — another scourge placed in the hands of the tyrants' (p. 148). Wheeler's conclusion to his analysis of the strike, therefore, supplied in prose the lines that he had omitted from 'Song: To the Men of England' as the chapter's epigraph.

The following chapter continued to engage with the strike and its epigraph comprises lines from Cooper's *The Purgatory of Suicides* (pp. 148–52). The lines recall Shelley's 'Song' before Wheeler describes the results of Cooper's similar injunction to the working class to 'toil no more': the strike collapses into disorder as strikers 'fired the houses of several of the obnoxious gentry of the neighbourhood' (p. 149). Wheeler counsels against despair, since this experience 'will but sharpen our weapons for the conflict that must again, ere long, rouse the world' (p. 151). The prosecution of Chartists involved in the strike, or blamed for it, 'had so thinned the ranks in the northern and midland counties, that Chartism might be said to sleep the sleep of death' (p. 151). This period of the novel coincides with the end of the vitality of the rising lion image, as I argued in the previous chapter.

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[10] *Sunshine*, pp. 145–46. For O'Connor's theory regarding the League, see Chase, *Chartism*, p. 213. For a study of the League, see Paul A. Pickering and Alex Tyrrell, *The People's Bread: A History of the Anti-Corn Law League* (London: Leicester University Press, 2000), p. 10.

Arthur's marriage to the Chartist Mary Graham and the subsequent period of their domestic harmony occurs between 1843 and 1846, when 'politics were almost forgotten in the honeymoon of his bliss' (p. 157). This period coincides with a rediscovery of literature and Shelley in particular, as Arthur educates Mary, reading to her 'the inspired readings of the divine Shelley' while she sewed (p. 157). In the succeeding economic slump, their domestic comfort diminishes as they lose the small luxuries and then the necessities of life. Arthur and Mary lose their child to starvation, before Arthur robs Walter in the street. In order to explain this event and excuse his hero, Wheeler turns to the arguments of *Queen Mab*'s fourth canto, where Shelley rejects the attribution of human suffering to natural inequality (pp. 168–71; IV. 89–265). In Wheeler's version, 'in the world of Nature all is harmony and beauty [...] but when we turn to man, how sad is the contrast' (p. 170). Wheeler, like Shelley, attributes human suffering to the actions not of a class of men but to 'man' in the abstract. Wheeler's Owenite past comes through more strongly here, along with that movement's limitations regarding class consciousness; the closest analogue to this presentation of man in the abstract is Robert Dale Owen's in the *Free Enquirer*, as discussed in my first chapter. Wheeler wrote his novel in a period of Chartism in which *Queen Mab*, rather than *Mask* or 'Song: To the Men of England', was the most frequently present of Shelley's poems in the *Northern Star*; I conclude this chapter by considering a possible reason for that shift.

At this point in the novel, the revolutions of 1848 are on the horizon: while revolutionary ideas and sentiment gained popularity in Ireland and on the continent 'England slumbered on, but the distant murmurings of revolution began to rise louder and louder upon our ears' (p. 178). As an image of a voice crossing the seas to awaken the sleeping this recalls Shelley at the beginning of *Mask* as well as the 'Men of England' roused by the indentified voice later in the poem (1–4, 146–47). Wheeler's presentation of domestic struggles occurring in the context of revolutionary Europe concurs with Saville's analysis of the confrontation between Chartism and the Government in 1848, which related the movement to 'revolutionary Paris [and] insurgent Ireland' (*1848*, p. 1). Wheeler attributes failure to obtain the Charter with the third national petition in 1848 to the poor timing of the Chartist Convention:

> their slumber was prolonged until the electric influence of the glorious days of February was frittered away, and so reduced in potency by April, when the National Convention met, that its small voice, neither bass nor treble, had

> neither the war tones of Revolution, nor yet the gentle accents of Peace, Law, and Order. (p. 179)

As is consistent with my argument in the previous chapter, the image of awakening from slumber has a more ready application in late Chartism in describing failure to act successfully rather than in predicting imminent victory. Also unlike early Chartism, where the 'marriage' of a feminine moral force and masculine physical force was considered ideal, the Convention 'vainly endeavoured to amalgamate' the 'two distinct elements, those of war and peace' (p. 179) The Convention had failed to properly harness the zeitgeist and transform the 'distant murmurings of revolution' into an argument that the Government was prepared to admit.

Underpinning such arguments, however, would have been physical force. Wheeler approved of O'Connor dissuading the Chartist crowd from marching back towards Parliament from Kennington Common, south of the Thames, and accompanying the petition as it was presented to the House of Commons: 'The awful responsibility it would have entailed upon the Convention in perchance leading an unarmed people into collision with an armed force, furnished with every requisite for slaughter, made them decide otherwise' (p. 179). As Saville argued, against Stedman Jones's narrative of Chartism's failure resulting from the lack of adequate discursive forms to counter class rule, 'coercion is the other side of the government coin marked conciliation' (p. 219). I have argued that Shelley's poems describing confrontation were useful to Chartists in representing their own confrontations with the state, and that these representations lost their force as the movement developed. In the case of the rising lions image, this had occurred by 1842: the same year that Stedman Jones identified as the point at which radicalism demonstrated its 'inability to gain any advantage from a new type of struggle': 'Unlike in 1839', there was no 'question of the government facing an armed people' (p. 163, 164). As Saville argued, however, by 1848 the state had had 'half a century' to develop its techniques in policing mass movements: 'by the 1840s, the last decade of mass agitations, there was now a much more experienced and more efficient administrative apparatus than ever before' (*1848*, p. 220). The state was Chartism's interlocutor in the 'language of menace' and responded successfully to Chartist threats.

As revolutionary feeling ebbs, that middle class returned to 'slumber': 'the easy, comfortable, every day world, after being terrified with dreams and omens of revolution, were at length allowed to slumber in quiet' (p. 181). In another use of the fragmentary image, Wheeler described this 'triumph' as 'premature', since 'they had

scattered the elements of revolution, not destroyed them' (p. 182). The final section of this chapter addresses the use of fragmentary imagery in *Sunshine and Shadow*. Arthur goes on a tour of the country to 'collect a transcript of the state of public feeling', and visits Chartist Land settlements (p. 182). Land reform was pursued by Chartism from 1843 under the recommendations of O'Connor (Chase, pp. 247–61). This linked Chartism and Owenism, though as Chase noted, 'O'Connor explicitly distinguished his vision from the communities envisaged by Robert Owen. This was a community but it was not communitarian' (p. 249). Wheeler wrote *Sunshine and Shadow* in his home at O'Connorville, one of the settlements, and he was 'Late Secretary to the National Charter Association and the National Land Company', (NLC) as the novel's first chapter acknowledged (p. 72). Chase also noted that 'thanks to Wheeler's influence, some of what appeared on agrarianism above O'Connor's name [in print] was suffused with Owenite phraseology' (p. 250). This is also apparent in Wheeler's explanation for the plan's failure in his novel: although the growing seasons were poor and the plan's fine detail was faulty and affected by human error, the principle was sound and could be a source of emancipation in the future. Such a move was typical of Owenites explaining the failure of various communities while upholding the principle in theory (Harrison, *Robert Owen*, p. 176).

When Arthur visits the NLC estates, he reflects on the difference between the agricultural labourer and a politicised working class returning to the land. He sees the development of intellect as prerequisite for appreciating Nature; with these qualities

> he would, indeed, be a *man*; living in the essence of poetry, yet mixing sufficiently with the world and his fellow labourers to shield him from insanity; he would, indeed, be a poet — ay, and a philosopher — for too far removed from the bustling world to be subdued by its glare, yet sufficiently influenced by it, to watch with emotion its ever varying phases, he could calmly reflect on its features, and analyse their worth and defects. (p. 183)

What is at stake is attaining just perspective: avoiding the 'glare' of error which could be understood correctly if the ideal position is adopted. Wheeler's ideal is an intellectual and emotional life cultivated under the influence of poetry, but sufficiently grounded in the material world to ward off 'insanity'. In the ninth canto of *Queen Mab*, Shelley used a fermentation metaphor in a passage about the regeneration of nature, 'Then steadily the happy ferment worked;/ Reason was free' (IX. 49–50). Wheeler similarly described what the Chartist estates had to offer the population in terms of a 'fermentation': Arthur 'saw in them the leaven that was to

infuse light and activity into the benighted population' (p. 183). Again, we have the association of light with freedom, but whereas Shelley has his scene lit with the secular light of a 'morn of love', opposed to the 'brand' of God' which '[sears] reason', Wheeler's scene is illuminated by the 'sun of Heaven', and those who do not live in a Chartist estate, or within the attitude that animates it, are 'benighted' (IX. 38, 48; *Sunshine*, p. 183).

The novel ends with Arthur in exile on the continent, escaping the repression that followed the Chartist demonstration. Wheeler suggests that the only way to help the political prisoners is to support their families and 'rouse up the scattered elements of the democratic party' (p. 187). Arthur's, and by extension Chartism's, period in exile is only to be temporary; Arthur awaits:

> the hour when the glorious red banner, the emblem of unity and freedom, shall proudly float on the highest pinnacle of St Stephen's; then will his woes, and the woes of his compatriots be recompensed; the shadow will then fall from his visage, and the sunlight beam on his countenance. (p. 187)

I will return to this image later in the chapter. H. Gustav Klaus argued that 'the fact that the novel can now encompass Chartism [...] is the surest indication that the movement is in decline'.[11] Only a 'reviewable' movement can 'become the objective of aesthetic reflection' (p. 55). The ending is open, however, and the narrative of Chartism is unresolved. This is in the tradition of the open ending in Chartist fiction, as identified by Haywood in *Working-Class Fiction*. Thomas Cooper's short story '"Merrie England" — No More!' ends with the following paragraph:

> There is no 'tale' to finish about John and his lad, or Rem and his wife. They went on starving, begging, receiving threats of imprisonment, they tried the 'Bastille' for a few weeks, came out and had a little work, starved again; and they are still going the same miserable round, like thousands in 'merrie England'. What are your thoughts, reader?[12]

Haywood's interpretation in *Working-Class Fiction* is that 'until the working class is emancipated, there can be no termination of this "miserable round". Resistance to narrative closure is therefore the only "realistic" option' (p. 7). Unless Chartists authored an ending to the 'history' of Chartism as a movement themselves, it should not be taken as history but as an ongoing concern. The imbrication of the aesthetic and the political in Chartist culture required dual closure; only political emancipation

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[11] H. Gustav Klaus, *The Literature of Labour: Two Hundred Years of Working-Class Writing* (Sussex: Harvester Press, 1985), p. 55.

[12] Haywood, *Working-Class Fiction*, p. 7. Haywood notes that other variations on the open ending include Alexander Somerfield's *Warnings to the People on Street Warfare*, and 'The Young Seamstress', published in *Reynold's Miscellany* in 1847.

would allow the aesthetic to attain resolution. In relation to this Chartist narrative strategy, Wheeler's novel poses a challenge to his readers, rather than a suppressed acknowledgement that Chartism was unequivocally over.

**Historical consciousness: shipwrecks and kaleidoscopes**

Kelley did not discuss *Queen Mab* in her monograph on allegory but she did discuss the poem Shelley developed from *Queen Mab*'s first two cantos: *The Daemon of the World*. She noted that Shelley used 'oxymoron or doubled negation to explain or represent the "other speech" of allegory', and that Shelley uses 'shape', 'form', and 'shadow' to denote allegorical figures in his poems (pp. 143–44). She argued that in his use of allegory, Shelley was 'wary of allegory's tendency to self-petrify'; in other words, that 'highly schematic' abstractions could serve to reify and frustrate the imagination, leading to inaction in the material world, as Prometheus and Ahaseurus found themselves locked into a delusion and beholden to abstractions that they had created themselves (p. 144). For Kelley, there is a 'materialist edge of Shelley's idealism' that allows us to see 'how allegorical ideas and material forms share the same poetic space' (p. 149). Her explication of the 'wreck' motif in *The Daemon of the World* is a demonstration of this thesis; the Daemon (replacing Queen Mab) tells the spirit of Ianthe that although the world is recreated and mankind's nature restored to its prelapsarian state, the:

> 'ruins' of faith and slavery will not 'leave a wreck behind'. Instead, 'their elements, wide scattered o'er the globe,/ To happier shapes are moulded' as the 'universal mind' attunes itself 'to individual sense/ Of outward shows, whose unexperienced shape/ New modes of passion to its frame may lend'. (p. 145)

The recreation, or reconfiguration, of these elements is possible because 'new modes of passion' are able to give them new shape; for Kelley, this represents 'a singular Romantic understanding of how the passions might reconfigure abstractions' (p. 145).

The trope of the 'wreck' —closely associated with shipwreck in *Queen Mab*, where these lines appear in an almost identical form — is a recurring trope of Wheeler's in *Sunshine and Shadow* (IX. 130–32). In this concluding section of the chapter, I argue that Wheeler deployed a version of Shelley's wreck metaphor consistently in *Sunshine and Shadow* in order to make available to Chartists in the late 1840s a metaphor of historical consciousness. If the novel was both a record of Chartism and an attempt to come to terms with past failure in order to rejuvenate the

movement, then he would have to provide an imaginative means of doing so. The danger was that 'scattered' elements, a favourite word for Wheeler to designate set backs, remained in a state beyond the point of recollection. Combining the shipwreck image with visual images, such as the kaleidoscope, enabled Wheeler to imagine a reconfiguration of past elements in a new form that could lead to the emancipation of the working class. Recognition of failure, for Wheeler, does not require the abandonment of all aspects of the past, since the residual was still valuable, but it was clear that they had to be recombined in a new way. An emphasis on scopic images such as the kaleidoscope puts the imagination and ways of seeing at the forefront of the political imaginary. What was at stake for Wheeler as a Chartist, and a Chartist novelist determined to write a history of his movement that would rejuvenate it, is how to see aright the history of Chartism in order to see a future at a time of uncertainty and defeat. I will discuss Shelley's similar formulations in *Queen Mab* before showing how Wheeler was not only indebted to those formulations but changed them substantively to suit his own purposes.

In *Queen Mab*, Shelley consistently associates historical process with an ocean in flux. Following a canto in which Shelley contrasts the peace of nature with the self-created misery of 'the outcast, man', who 'fabricates/ The sword which stabs his peace', the fourth canto begins with another scene of natural peace (III. 199–200). The ocean is peaceful and 'waveless', but 'To-morrow comes', and 'Tempest unfolds its pinion o'er the gloom' (IV. 20, 25, 29). Shelley associated the 'pinion' of wings with the allegorical figure 'Time' in the poem's final canto, where 'Time his dusky pennons o'er the scene/ Closes in steadfast darkness, and the past/ Fades from our charmèd sight' (IX. 138–40). With the introduction of time and historical process into this scene comes disaster — the calm ocean becomes a 'dark and deepening mass' and a ship is wrecked: 'the vessel finds a grave/ Beneath its jagged gulf (IV. 26, 32–33). This passage is succeeded by a description of the burning of Moscow in the Napoleonic Wars as a 'storm', where it represents, as Matthews notes, 'a self-inflicted human disaster' (*Poems*, I, 300). Mab attributes such events not to Nature, personified in the poem as the 'Spirit of Nature [...] Necessity', but to the pernicious influence of 'kings, priests, and statesmen' which assails the human from birth, giving the 'stranger-soul [...] no shelter from the sweeping storms/ Of pitiless power!' (IV. 121–27).

The broader context of this passage, then, is religion and Shelley develops further the association of shipwreck and religion in the sixth canto. Mab promises Ianthe that 'nature soon, with recreating hand,/ Will blot in mercy from the book of

earth' the scene she is about to show her (VI. 56–57). The history of religion and its effects is given as if it was a history of a human figure, from birth to old age (VI. 72–145). This history, which Mab invites Ianthe to 'read', is the 'blood-stained charter of all woe'; a doctrine that underpinned and justified all suffering (VI. 55). Religion was a 'palpable deceit', which 'peoplest earth with demons, hell with men,/ And heaven with slaves' (VI. 68, 70–71). This supports Kelley's theory that Shelley was 'wary of allegory's tendency to self-petrify' and pervert a true understanding of historical process (p. 144). For Shelley, the narratives of established Christianity were hegemonic and rivalled another understanding of historical process. By writing an allegorical history of Christianity as if it was a man, from the strength of its youth to its dotage, Shelley turns the creed's method against itself to predict its downfall. Succeeding this, both philosophically and in the narrative of the poem, is Shelley's proposal of 'Necessity' as the 'all-sufficing power' and 'mother of the world' (VI. 197–98). Attached to these lines are the twelfth prose note, arguing for a science of mind grounded in cause and effect (*Poems*, I, 375–81). 'Every human being is irresistibly impelled to act precisely as he does act', but this is not, for Shelley, a laissez-faire philosophy (p. 376). A politics, or 'morality', underpinned by necessitarianism, would be just and not seek revenge for wrong doing. To affect behaviour, the 'Necessarian' must determine the 'motives which he would employ in order to procure the adoption or abandonment of any given line of conduct' (p. 378). The 'doctrine of Necessity tends' therefore 'utterly to destroy religion', which is a mistaken 'perception of the relation in which we stand to the principle of the universe' (pp. 378–79).

If the Necessarian 'looks with an elevated and dreadless composure upon the links of the universal chain', then the person affected by without understanding the 'storm of change' is like the 'shipwrecked mariner', to whose eye 'Lone sitting on the bare and shuddering rock,/ All seems unlinked contingency and chance' (VI. 160, 168–70). Unless historical process is understood properly, Shelley suggests, we make sense of experience via false metaphor, a

> phantasmal scene
> That floats before our eyes in wavering light,
> Which gleams but on the darkness of our prison,
> Whose chains and massy walls
> We feel, but cannot see. (VI. 192–96)

As Matthews observed, Shelley was surely influenced here by 'Plato's allegory of phenomenal life' in *The Republic* (*Poems*, I, 328–29).

Shelley continues to use storm and shipwreck images in tracing the historical shift that structures *Queen Mab*, from past to present to future, and in describing emancipation. In the poem's final two cantos Mab offers images of the future to Ianthe, who is soon to return to earth from her journey and play her part in bringing this future about. She will be, 'midst the ebb and flow of human things', 'a lighthouse o'er the wild of dreary waves' (VIII. 55, 57). While sailors have been used to 'the load roarings of the tempest-waves', Mab promises that in the future 'all things are recreated' and that there will be 'no storms [deforming] the beaming brow of freshness' (VIII. 93, 107, 116). The rule of Time ends and his 'storm-breath' no longer disrupts human life (IX. 23, 28). People no longer fear 'life's phantasmal scene' and institutional forms such as the palace and the prison which had produced only suffering begin to decay (IX. 74, 96, 114). Nature's 'recreating hand' comes into play: 'These ruins soon left not a wreck behind:/ Their elements, wide scattered o'er the globe,/ To happier shapes were moulded' (IX. 130–32).

I will argue that Wheeler diverges from Shelley's version in his own use of images of shipwreck and perception, but it is first necessary to consider the reason why Wheeler turned to *Queen Mab* rather than to *Mask* or 'Song: To the Men of England'. While the two other poems appeared in *Sunshine and Shadow* at key points in the narrative, such as the General Strike of 1842, it is *Queen Mab* that is more useful for Wheeler in thinking through Chartism's history and possible future. *Sunshine and Shadow*'s structure of feeling needed to be underpinned by a longer historical perspective than the ones offered in Shelley's other two poems popular in Chartism, since they dramatised the moments of confrontation. As Sanders argued regarding the *Northern Star*'s poetry column at the end of 1848, by the end of the year 'there is a sense of a pressing need to interpret the year's events in order to plan future strategy' (*Poetry*, p. 200).

Wheeler's emphasis on *Queen Mab* in his novel of 1849 also occurred in the Chartist press the previous year. The *Northern Star* in 1848 saw two uses of *Queen Mab* in January and February, before 'Song: To the Men of England' was printed in the poetry column in July.[13] This excerpt, ending on with 'Forge arms — in your defence to bear', appeared after the failure of the National Petition but the revolutionary mood was not considered to have waned (24). Chase quoted *The Times* of 2 June to that effect: 'Chartism is neither dead nor sleeping. The snake was scotched not killed on the 10th of April' (p. 319). A 'serious Chartist conspiracy [took]

[13] 'Song to the Men of England', *Northern Star*, 15 July 1848, p. 2. (1–24)

shape' in the summer, with the NCA branch at Hebden Bridge arguing that 'all former agitations for the attainment of the People's Charter have failed in consequence of being based on moral arguments in opposition to an authority based on physical force' (p. 322, 324). The conspiracy's leaders were arrested on 16 August (the anniversary of Peterloo) and by the end of the year 'it was unclear what Chartism had to offer (p. 325, 327).

On 28 October, the *Northern Star*'s literary section featured two items based on *Queen Mab*: the entire poetry column, comprising four extracts, and a review of Watson's edition featuring three further extracts.[14] Like Wheeler, the reviewer focussed on young Chartists in drawing their attention to Watson's edition of a poem that had been available via cheap piracies for twenty seven years. *Queen Mab* was conceived as useful in terms of providing inspiration rather than concrete ideas:

> We do not agree with all the ideas and sentiments expressed in Queen Mab; but regarding the poem as a whole, we have no hesitation in asserting that no youth can rise from its perusal without feeling more than ever wedded to virtue, and bound by that tie to struggle for that happiness of mankind, and the Triumph of Truth and Justice.

Extracts from the poem followed, which were given the titles 'Commerce', 'The Reign of the Profitocracy', and 'The Poor and their Oppressors', emphasising the misery that resulted from capitalist rule. The review ended in the manner more familiar from the (now defunct) *New Moral World*: 'Such is a true picture of the present; but we believe with Shelley that — "A brighter morn awaits the human day" For: — "Hoary-headed selfishness has felt,/ Its death-blow, and is tottering to the grave"'.

Rather than seeing this use of *Queen Mab* as a turn to the orthodox Owenite approach to poetry, using poetic images to illustrate an idea rather than considering the poetic imagination as an emancipatory force, it can be considered in terms of the 'messianism' Sanders detected in the late Chartist poetry of Gerald Massey. The poet had entered Chartism in 1848 and his poetic career coincided with the movement '[oscillating] between euphoria and despair' (*Poetry*, p. 205). The messianism of Massey's poetry meant that it was, for Sanders, determined by a contradictory structure comprising both hope and despair; it had the potential to engender militancy but also political quietism (p. 206). This was the context in which Wheeler wrote and published *Sunshine and Shadow*, and I conclude this chapter by

[14] 'Poetry', *Northern Star*, 28 October 1848, p. 3 (III. 107–17; IV. 168–202; III. 170–74, 118–38). 'Queen Mab', *Northern Star*, 28 October 1848, p. 3 (V. 53–63, 177–94, 113–26, 251, 249–50).

considering his usage of *Queen Mab* as a resource for reimagining the Chartist and Owenite past.

Wheeler established a different relationship between the natural and social world than the one in *Queen Mab*, especially with regards to religion. In Shelley's poem, 'Nature' is the spiritual centre that replaces an anthropomorphic god as the standard that is defiled by human actions. The utopian vision Shelley offers is one in which social antagonisms, misrecognised as natural, are resolved into peace, and figured by the reconciliation of predator and prey. Wheeler, however, suggests that predatory behaviour is sanctioned by 'the great law of nature', and that the 'solitary exception to this great rule' — a good man like Arthur, and, by extension, a movement like Chartism — is inevitably 'a man whom the rest agree to trample under their feet, as an alien to the creed professed by themselves' (p. 191). Whereas for Shelley, there was a natural force in Necessity grounded in scientific principles, Wheeler is more like Vincent in representing a Hobbesian state of nature against which political settlements establish peace and justice. Wheeler diverges from Shelley's atheism by criticising not Christianity but false religion: mankind 'invents a religion, which, professing peace and goodwill, spreads warfare and animosity wherever it penetrates' (p. 171). In the chapter describing Arthur's guilt at robbing Walter, Wheeler contrasts Arthur, who had stolen gold to '[obey] the first great law of nature, self-preservation', with the 'respectable villain' approved by conventional 'ideas of religion and morality' (p. 174). This man 'has no remnant of natural religion in his soul', he 'worships in the temple of his God, and boasts, with the Pharisee of old, "that he is not a sinner like other men"' (p. 174).

Wheeler then reproves the 'sages and philosophers who affect to trace the hidden springs of the human mind' for having nothing 'to outrival the religion of old' for soothing anguish such as Arthur's (p. 175). If rationalist philosophy could not 'compete with the priest and confessor, and speak peace to the shaken mind' then 'vain [was its] craft' (p. 175). This is a possible response to Owenism and its rationalism: 'the stern wisdom of the present day' (p. 175). The greater ability of the 'religion of old' to feel 'the pulse of the great human heart' led to its 'ascendency [...] over the minds of men'. These were:

> Vast fragments of a mighty fabric, destined, perchance, under a new phase, and with the lights of a new experience, to again regain the empire of the mind, and, Colossus like, bestride the portals of the soul, making puny the crafts of the present age, for what is Communism but a new organisation of the disjointed fragments of the gigantic past [...] In a word, a new earth created

> from the ruins of a former world, purified by the fire of revolution, and rendered sacred by the blood and martyrdom of its founders. (p. 175.)

The 'craft' of the modern philosophers means 'skill' but also 'boat', as does the 'fabric' of 'the religion of old' reconfigured into 'Communism'. Haywood glossed this reference to 'Communism' as a reference to 'Owenism or another communitarian philosophy', which could well have been the Barmby's Communist Church as it was still in existence in 1849 (Haywood, *Chartist Fiction*, p. 198; *Eve*, p. 173).

Wheeler also used the shipwreck image to describe the Chartist Land Plan in the following chapter:

> though the tide of popular support has long ebbed and left the giant fabric almost a deserted hulk on the bleak shore; though its nationality has become a thing of naught, yet hath it performed its work in the channel of Progress, and out of its timbers may yet be hewn the vessel which shall ride triumphant into the harbour of Success. (pp. 177–78)

The image of Chartism as shipwreck is consistent with use of the image in Chartist poetry over the course of the movement. Sanders identified the presence of a shipwreck trope in Chartist poetry around the time of the General Strike of 1842, as a metaphor for first the ruin of the ruling class and then for Chartism itself. E. P. Mead's first poem on the subject, 'Address to the Starving Millions', was published in the *Northern Star* on 16 July 1842 after the rejection of the national petition and before the strike (*Poetry*, pp. 158–61). This poem imagines the storm of God's retribution destroying the 'legislative tyrants': 'the old state vessel will be wrecked and torn'. Mead's poem 'A New Chartist Song' was published the following week, and 'reworks the trope of the shipwreck', associating it with Chartism rather than the ruling class (p. 160). In this poem, Chartism is the ship assailed by the efforts of the 'New Move' Chartists, characterised here as trimmers and 'land lubbers', and Whiggery, but will be saved by O'Connor. Later that year, 'The Charter For Ever Shall Weather the Storm' by Edwin Gill also used a ship image to represent Chartism (p. 160).

As Wheeler, however, was committed to the regeneration of Chartism, these images had to be reworked; the damaged could not remain wrecked. The means was present from the novel's first chapter, as the metaphor of the kaleidoscope made it possible to imagine the reconfiguration of fragments into a new coherent pattern:

> Oh! who does not look back with delight on his boyish days, when life was all enchantment; when, let the kaleidoscope be ever so varied, its colours were always bright, and each new combination more pleasing than the last. Time!

> what boyish dreams of fairy land hast thou destroyed — what rosy bowers turned to dungeon cells — what placid streams and gay trimmed barks have proved, alas! a treacherous ocean fraught with constant wrecks; thy smiling meads have been, indeed, an arid desert, without even the mirage of enchantment, to recall the blest waters of the past; the materials of the kaleidoscope are still there, but the enchanted glass is destroyed, and we have discovered that they were broken and valueless fragments. (p. 73)

The kaleidoscope as a child's toy provides a metaphor of visual fragmentation, its meaning turning around the 'constant wrecks' in the middle of the passage from the delightful variation of images to the broken fragments of a delusion. This poignant passage at the beginning of the novel draws a contrast between youthful hope and disappointed experience; a novel on Chartism's development does so, inevitably, from the perspective of experience. Wheeler, however, makes it the means of imagining a future for the movement. The mechanism was 'still there', what was different was the removal of 'enchantment'. Since Wheeler associated enchanted images with middle-class trickery in the period leading to the 1832 Reform Act — 'the phantasmagoria had achieved its object [...] so the spell was broken, the charm deprived of its power' — the different way of perceiving the past depended on class consciousness (p. 93).

At the point the 'school-fellows [...] once more [meet]', when Arthur robs Walter, Wheeler paraphrases Shelley's argument about the process of history, but Arthur's position is that of the shipwrecked mariner rather than the elevated philosopher:

> What a tangled web of arbitrary arrangements do the affairs of this world appear. [...] Cause and effect seem to have abandoned their unity and, and the whole to be composed of vast fragments of one mighty chapter of accidents. [...] In the world of Nature all is harmony and beauty — all is in accordance with known natural laws; the planets roll through space without infringing on each other's spheres; the seasons rise and fall in due succession.[15]

This contrast between the seeming chaos of human affairs and the harmony of Nature, however, marks the difference in perspectives between *Queen Mab* and *Sunshine and Shadow*. Wheeler does not give his hero, the representative of Chartism, the perspective of Mab and Ianthe: removed from human existence. Arthur's is the position of the human, the mariner surrounded by the wreck of his craft but also a position of agency in the midst of chaos. Where Ianthe was to be a

[15] *Sunshine*, p. 170. The description of nature in this passage also bears comparison to descriptions of the universe and Nature in *Queen Mab* (I. 249–63; III. 192–240)

lighthouse figure 'midst the ebb and flow of human things', that role is reserved for political martyrs:

> Oh that the veritable democrats of England may read aright the lessons of the past, that the example of prostrate France may not be given in vain [...] then will their misery not have been endured in vain, for the fire of their persecution will have become the beacon light, to show the shoals and sandbanks on which they have foundered, and guide us in triumph to the rocks of liberty, equality, and fraternity. (VIII. 55–57; *Sunshine*, p. 184)

For Wheeler, the great historical lesson of the events of the nineteenth century was that political struggles were no longer 'between a people roused into wrath and a despot', which was 'a contest [...] soon decided' (p. 184). He understands industrial society, and Britain as its exemplar, as divided by class: 'the people', now unmistakably working class, against an alliance of 'monied and landed aristocracy' (p. 184). Chartists had witnessed the success of the state in deploying special constables in their own campaign of 1848 (*1848*, p. 112). Although the habit of submission was ingrained to the point that 'there was a traitor even in every man's heart', Wheeler warned that 'the least vacillation, the least treachery — misnamed mercy and moderation — will at once break down the barriers [...] another cycle of oppression will commence' (p. 184). The final chapter argues, turning to an image from *Mask*, that the moment of crisis will come: 'the earth still labours in the pangs of travail, and will ere long give birth to a new and better era' (p. 192). For the movement to be successful, however, Chartists could not simply wait for the moment to arrive: 'these are not the hours to waste in idle dalliance; we must be up and doing, or when the time comes, we shall again be found unprepared' (p. 192).

Wheeler's novel was an attempt to prepare Chartists for the next decisive moment, and he used *Queen Mab*'s historical perspective to do so. He associated the following elements with the image of the shipwreck: the ideological in class-conscious Chartism, the spiritual in 'old religion', and the institutional in the Chartist estates. None of these were to be consigned to the dustbin of history but instead reconfigured into a new form. We can add the aesthetic in Wheeler's literary inheritance to that list of fragmented elements, as he used 'the residual [to facilitate] working-class resistance' (Sanders, *Poetry*, p. 25). Shelley was one of those elements and I suggest that Wheeler's novel shows that even in late Chartism Shelley was considered a useful resource but by no means one to be replicated faithfully.

## Conclusion

In discussing Wheeler's novel *Sunshine and Shadow*, I argued that Shelley's poetry was still valuable for Chartists in what we now recognise to be the movement's final years but that his formulations required alteration if they were to be useful. Considering the novel as an allegory of class formation with relations to Romantic poetry enabled me to avoid viewing it as an aesthetic failure. *Queen Mab* proved useful for the Chartist novelist trying to reconceive the movement after 1848 since it offered a longer historical perspective than *Mask* or 'Song: To the Men of England'. Shelley's images of wreckage and fragmentation were taken up and reworked by Wheeler in his own tropes of the shipwreck and kaleidoscope. The latter trope suggested that Chartism, the Chartist Land Plan, and religion — offering much but which had been damaged by recent history — could be refashioned by Chartists into a new form. The key to this project would be Chartists attaining a just perspective on their own movement and its relations to the hegemonic. Unlike Shelley's philosopher, viewing society from a calm and elevated perspective, Wheeler's Chartist politician occupies the position of the shipwrecked mariner. In identifying the ways in which Wheeler was indebted to Shelley, I argued that the Chartist novelist was conscious of his effort to formulate the emergent from residual elements.

## Conclusion

The empirical work of the thesis established the varieties of 'Shelleys' generated by Owenites and Chartists in the context of their newspapers and periodicals: a free-thinking Shelley who was the victim of religious persecution in the *Free Enquirer*; a co-operative Shelley in the *Crisis*; a feminist Shelley in the *Crisis*, which was developed further in the *New Moral World*; a feminist and class-conscious Shelley in the *National*; a Shelley who was a comrade of the political prisoner in the *Western Vindicator*; a Shelley who was a 'true Christian' in the *Western Vindicator*; a physically aggressive Shelley in multiple Chartists newspapers; and a Shelley informing Wheeler's historical consciousness in *Sunshine and Shadow*. I collated this evidence in the form of an appendix which expands Shaaban's list of references to Shelley, published as the 1989 article 'The Romantics in the Chartist Press'. This appendix shows that the extent of Shelley's presence in the Owenite and Chartist press was greater than we had previously thought. More and different evidence might be yielded by the examination of different periodicals, for example the independent Owenite periodicals such as *Herald of the Future* and the *Investigator*, and periodicals from the late Chartist period such as *Cooper's Journal* and *Notes to the People*.

I also established the fact that periodical culture was an important agent in the transmission of Shelley's poetry in Owenite and Chartist circles. This work builds on the contributions of scholars such as St Clair and McCalman, whose work on the relationship between volumes of poetry and radical or working-class cultural formations has been seminal. In utilising the search capacities of the digital resource the *19th Century British Library Newspapers Database* I was able to search for Shelleyan phrases buried in the extensive corpus of Chartist newsprint that the database makes available. This method could be fruitfully applied to the study of the reception and transmission of other writers in Chartist print culture, either as a comparison with the use of Shelley or as an avenue of research in its own right.

Theoretically, the thesis was committed to understanding reception and transmission in active and creative rather than passive and replicative terms. Contesting the previous narrative that Shelley exerted a dogmatic influence on his Owenite and Chartist readers, especially on those who were working-class, I argued that the specifics of their deployments of Shelley evidence critical perspectives at work. Choices were clearly made at strategic points to highlight and minimise various

aspects of Shelley's poetry as a result of whatever was required by the demands of the movements as a whole. Moreover, the Chartists were creative in their usage as well, transforming the terms of Shelley's ideas and phrases when they incorporated them into their rhetoric. Where Owenites engaged with Shelley in this manner, it was done against the grain of what I called the orthodox Owenite attitude towards language and conflict, an attitude which preferred to keep polysemic poetry separate from the self-evident truths of Owenite didactic discourse.

By taking this position, my work built on Harrison's study of Owenite history and culture in the broadest sense, contributing to a relatively unexplored area of Owenite studies: that of its literary culture. It also built on Yeo's study of Owenite social culture in showing how Owenism's versions of Shelley supported the values she identified as ideal for this formation. Taylor's study of Owenite feminism was foundational for my understanding of this history; my study of Shelley's importance for feminists in the movement gives more detailed evidence on the nature of that relationship. Regarding Chartist studies, my work built on Sanders' study of Chartist poetry by providing more evidence on the nature of attitudes towards Shelley where he had offered some speculations. Bowan and Pickering, Chase, and Scriven have recently engaged with the socio-cultural aspects of Chartism; my work contributes to that ongoing debate.

Grounding my interpretations of the reception and transmission of Shelley by these groups in the theoretical concepts of Williams enabled me to conceive this phenomenon in terms of their structures of feeling. His proposal that changes in a particular structure of feeling could be recognised by paying attention to the continually changing relationships between the residual, dominant, and emergent elements within it enabled me to trace changes in use of, and attitudes towards, Shelley with historical precision. This model might fruitfully be used to determine routes and character of cultural transmission of other writers in working-class culture in this period. In doing this work I clarified speculative points and conclusions made by Williams in *Politics and Letters*, as well as contributing more generally to Williams studies.

# Appendix

The following table lists references to Shelley and usage of his poetry in the Owenite and Chartist newspapers and periodicals listed in my introduction. It builds on and extends the list of references in Shaaban's article 'The Romantics in the Chartist Press'. References are arranged chronologically.

**Key for the 'Type' column:**
Full text = the full text of Shelley's work
Excerpt = an excerpt from Shelley's work
Item = the item mentions or discusses Shelley or his poetry
Epigraph = the item uses Shelley's work as an epigraph
In text quotation = Shelley's work is incorporated into the main text of the item

A star in the 'Multiple' column indicates that the item quotes more than one work by Shelley; each work referenced is inputted separately.

| Work by Shelley | Lines | Newspaper/ periodical | D | M | Y | p/pp | Author and title of item | Type | Multi |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 'Song' ['Rarely, rarely comest thou'] | | *Free Enquirer* | 14 | 05 | 1828 | 232 | 'Song'<br><br>[New Harmony edition] | Full text | |
| | | *Free Enquirer* | 21 | 01 | 1829 | 101–02<br><br>or 104 | 'Byron and Shelley'<br><br>A passage from Walter Savage Landor, *Imaginary Conversations*, vol 3.<br><br>[pp. 101–02 in New York edition<br>p. 104 in New Harmony edition] | Item | |
| *Queen Mab* | III. 192–222<br>III. 126–38 | *Free Enquirer* | 21 | 01 | 1829 | 101–02<br><br>or 104 | 'Extracts from "Queen Mab". By Percy Bysshe Shelley'<br><br>III. 192–222: under the title 'Equality'<br>III. 126–38: under the title 'The Future'<br><br>[pp. 101 in New York edition<br>p. 104 in New Harmony edition] | Excerpt | |
| *Queen Mab* | III. 174–80 | *Free Enquirer* | 25 | 02 | 1829 | 144 | 'Power'<br><br>[New York edition] | Excerpt | |
| | | *Free Enquirer* | 10 | 06 | 1829 | 258 | 'Heretical Writers. Shelley'<br><br>A passage from Edward Bulwer-Lytton's *Pelham; or, The Adventures of a Gentleman*, vol 3. | Item | |
| | | *Free Enquirer* | 17 | 04 | 1830 | 198–99 | 'Materialist', 'For the Free Enquirer' | Item | |

| Work by Shelley | Lines | Newspaper/ periodical | D | M | Y | p/pp | Author and title of item | Type | Multi |
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| *Queen Mab* | | *Free Enquirer* | 16 | 10 | 1830 | 408 | 'Proposals' | Item | |
| 'Good Night' | | *Free Enquirer* | 25 | 12 | 1830 | 72 | 'Shelley's Poetry' | Full text | * |
| 'Liberty' | | *Free Enquirer* | 25 | 12 | 1830 | 72 | 'Shelley's Poetry'<br><br>Alteration:<br>4: 'throne' replaces 'zone' | Full text | * |
| 'To —' ['One word is too often profaned'] | | *Free Enquirer* | 25 | 12 | 1830 | 72 | 'Shelley's Poetry' | Full text | * |
| *Queen Mab* | | *Free Enquirer* | 25 | 12 | 1830 | 72 | 'This day is published Queen Mab; by Percy Bysche [*sic*] Shelley' | Item | |
| *Queen Mab* | III. 85–106<br>IV. 89–120<br>V. 79–121<br>V. 177–96<br>Part of prose note 9 ['Even love is sold'], pp. 368–73<br>VII. 1–48<br>Part of prose note 13 ['There is no god!'], pp. 381–91<br>IX. 57–92 | *Free Enquirer* | 01 | 01 | 1831 | 73–74 | 'Queen Mab'<br><br>Alteration:<br>IV. 91: 'lamp' replaces 'lap' | Item | |
| 'From the | | *Free* | 05 | 02 | 1831 | 120 | | Full text | |

| Work by Shelley | Lines | Newspaper/ periodical | D | M | Y | p/pp | Author and title of item | Type | Multi |
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| Arabic' | | *Enquirer* | | | | | | | |
| 'The Question', | | *Free Enquirer* | 05 | 02 | 1831 | 120 | | Full text | |
| *Queen Mab* | IV. 168<br>IV. 203–20<br>V. 22–37<br>VI. 48–49<br>VI. 54–72<br>'A Dialogue between Falsehood and Vice', 49–62 [from prose note 3] | *Free Enquirer* | 17 | 12 | 1831 | 58–60 | Henry D. Robinson, 'Opinions of Celebrated Authors as to the Effects of the Christian Religion'<br><br>Alteration:<br>VI. 56: 'recreative' replaces 'recreating' | Item | |
| *Queen Mab* | III. 174–80 | *Free Enquirer* | 25 | 02 | 1832 | 141 | Robert Dale Owen, 'Of Divorces, Domestic and Governmental' | In text quotation | |
| 'Arch of Titus' | | *Free Enquirer* | 08 | 12 | 1832 | 55 | 'Arch of Titus' | Full text | |
| *Queen Mab* | Part of prose note 7 ['And statesmen boast of wealth!'], pp. 364–67<br>V. 249–59 | *Crisis* | 09 | 02 | 1833 | 39–40 | 'A Fable for the Times, Addressed to the Working Classes'<br><br>V. 249: 'Old' replaces 'But' | In text quotation | |
| *Queen Mab* | VII.13, 15–26<br>VII. 26, 28–44 | *Free Enquirer* | 16 | 03 | 1833 | 161–62 | 'Sketches of the Lives, and Authentic Accounts of the Deaths of Modern Philosophers. No. III. Percy Bysshe Shelley' | Item | |

| Work by Shelley | Lines | Newspaper/ periodical | D | M | Y | p/pp | Author and title of item | Type | Multi |
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| | | | | | | | Alteration:<br>VII. 42: 'most' replaces 'worst' | | |
| *Rosalind and Helen* | 676–85<br>689–90 | *Free Enquirer* | 23 | 03 | 1833 | 169 | 'Sketches of the Lives, and Authentic Accounts of the Deaths of Modern Philosophers. No. IV. Percy Bysshe Shelley' | Item | |
| *Queen Mab* | VIII. 209–16 | *Free Enquirer* | 30 | 03 | 1833 | 177–78 | 'Sketches of the Lives, and Authentic Accounts of the Deaths of Modern Philosophers. No. V. Percy Bysshe Shelley' | Item | |
| *Revolt of Islam* | 19–42<br>from the Dedication | *Free Enquirer* | 06 | 04 | 1833 | 185–86 | 'Sketches of the Lives, and Authentic Accounts of the Deaths of Modern Philosophers. No. VI. Percy Bysshe Shelley'<br><br>Alteration:<br>22: 'May-day' replaces 'May dawn' | Item | |
| | | *Free Enquirer* | 13 | 04 | 1833 | 193–94 | 'Sketches of the Lives, and Authentic Accounts of the Deaths of Modern Philosophers. No. VI. Percy Bysshe Shelley'<br><br>This instalment was mistakenly numbered 'VI'. | Item | |
| | | *Free Enquirer* | 20 | 04 | 1833 | 201–02 | 'Sketches of the Lives, and Authentic Accounts of the Deaths of Modern Philosophers. No. VII. Percy Bysshe Shelley' | Item | |

| Work by Shelley | Lines | Newspaper/ periodical | D | M | Y | p/pp | Author and title of item | Type | Multi |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Queen Mab* | VII. 21–22 | *Free Enquirer* | 20 | 04 | 1833 | 202–03 | 'God's Omniscience' | In text quotation | |
| *Prometheus Unbound* | III. 4. 153–60 | *Crisis* | 25 | 05 | 1833 | 159–60 | Concordia, 'Woman'<br><br>Alteration:<br>155: 'past' replaces 'passed' | Epigraph | |
| *Queen Mab* | VIII. 14–18<br>IV. 97–103<br>VII. 21–22 | *Free Enquirer* | 08 | 06 | 1833 | 257–58 | 'God's Omniscience'<br><br>Alterations:<br>VIII. 14: changed to 'Earth will no longer be hell'<br>VIII. 15: changed to 'Love, freedom, health, shall give'<br>VIII. 18: changed to 'symphonious to the harmony of the spheres'<br>IV. 98: 'wantonless' replaces 'wantonly' | In text quotation | |
| 'The Sensitive-Plant' | I. 21–24, 29–30 | *Crisis* | 06 | 07 | 1833 | 205–06 | Concordia, 'For the Crisis' | Epigraph | |
| *Queen Mab* | V. 249–53 | *Crisis* | 07 | 09 | 1833 | 8 | 'Visionary' | In text quotation | |
| *Revolt of Islam* | II. 1045 | *Crisis* | 09 | 11 | 1833 | 83–84 | Concordia, 'For the Crisis' | In text quotation | |
| | | *New Moral World* | 03 | 04 | 1835 | 183 | 'Illustration of Character. Byron and Shelley'<br><br>A passage from Walter Savage Landor, *Imaginary Conversations*, vol 3. | Excerpt | |
| *Queen Mab* | VI. 39–41 | *New Moral World* | 13 | 06 | 1835 | 263–64 | Kate, 'Female Improvement' | In text quotation | |

| Work by Shelley | Lines | Newspaper/ periodical | D | M | Y | p/pp | Author and title of item | Type | Multi |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Queen Mab* | VI. 48–49 | *New Moral World* | 28 | 11 | 1835 | 34–35 | 'Association of All Classes of All Nations' | In text quotation | * |
| *Revolt of Islam* | V. 2242<br>V. 2253–56 | *New Moral World* | 28 | 11 | 1835 | 34–35 | 'Association of All Classes of All Nations' | In text quotation | * |
| *Queen Mab* | VII. 21–22 | *New Moral World* | 03 | 09 | 1836 | 358 | Review of *The Bible of Reason; or Scripture of Ancient Moralists and of Modern Authors* | In text quotation | |
| | | *New Moral World* | 10 | 09 | 1836 | 364 | Editorial | Item | |
| *Queen Mab* | III. 192–203<br>V. 79–80 | *New Moral World* | 17 | 09 | 1836 | 374–75 | 'A Disciple of Robert Owen's', 'Answer to "Observer", &c' | Epigraph | |
| 'Love' | | *New Moral World* | 02 | 06 | 1838 | 256 | 'Love' | Full text | |
| *Revolt of Islam* | V. 2253–56 | *New Moral World* | 16 | 06 | 1838 | 265–66 | W. W. Pratt, 'On the Necessity and Pleasures of Agricultural Employment'<br><br>Alterations:<br>2253: 'Man's' replaces 'Our'<br>2254: 'his' replaces 'our' | In text quotation | |
| *Queen Mab* | V. 252–59 | *New Moral World* | 18 | 08 | 1838 | 343–44 | 'Reply to Mr Gutch' | In text quotation | |
| *Prometheus Unbound* | I. 1–30, 48, 50–69, 73, 107–19, 124–30, 204–15, 218–21, 245–48, 254–55 | *New Moral World* | 01 | 12 | 1838 | 83–85 | 'A Review of Modern Poets, and Illustrations of the Philosophy of Modern Poetry. Article I.—Shelley'<br><br>Alterations:<br>11: 'vain' omitted<br>21: 'pain' omitted<br>30: 'pain' omitted | Item | |

| Work by Shelley | Lines | Newspaper/ periodical | D | M | Y | p/pp | Author and title of item | Type | Multi |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | 48: ‘are’ replaces ‘one’<br>50: ‘thing’ replaces ‘king’<br>67: ‘harmless’ replaces ‘moveless’<br>113: ‘those’ replaces ‘thou’<br>116: ‘more’ replaces ‘thou’<br>208: ‘on his throne’ replaces ‘throned’<br>209: ‘see’ replaces ‘utter’<br>214: ‘arm’ replaces ‘sons’ | | |
| *Prometheus Unbound* | I. 262–305, 410–16, 425–32, 452–57, 605–07, 609–25, 627–34 | *New Moral World* | 08 | 12 | 1838 | 103 | ‘A Review of Modern Poets, and Illustrations of Philosophy of Modern Poetry’ [Cont.]<br><br>Alterations:<br>267: ‘phrenzying’ replaces ‘frenzying’<br>270: ‘liquid’ replaces ‘legioned’<br>285: ‘all pervading’ replaces ‘all prevailing’<br>606: ‘kind and good’ replaces ‘like to thee’<br>619: ‘ruin’ replaces ‘ravin’ (as in *Prometheus Unbound* (1820) and Galignani’s pirate (1829))<br>629: ‘sick’ replaces ‘rich’ | Item | |
| *Prometheus Unbound* | I. 659–61<br>II. 1. 171–94, 207–8<br>II. 3. 1–15, 17–53<br>II. 4, 1–32, 100–32, 140– | *New Moral World* | 22 | 12 | 1838 | 134–36 | ‘Modern Poets and Modern Poetry. Article III.—Shelley’s Prometheus’ [Cont.] | Item | |

| Work by Shelley | Lines | Newspaper/ periodical | D | M | Y | p/pp | Author and title of item | Type | Multi |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 49 | | | | | | | | |
| | | *New Moral World* | 29 | 12 | 1838 | 156 | F. B. Barton, 'Associations for Free and Full Inquiry' | Item | |
| *Prometheus Unbound* | III. 1. 51–61<br>III. 2. 1–10, 18–51<br>III. 3. 1–4<br>III. 4. 33–71, 98–100, 128–41, 144–88,190–97 | *New Moral World* | 05 | 01 | 1839 | 166–68 | 'Modern Poets and Modern Poetry. Article IV.—Shelley's Prometheus' [Cont.] | Item | |
| *Revolt of Islam* | VIII. 3314–43 | *New Moral World* | 12 | 01 | 1839 | 177–78 | W. W. P., 'Woman as She is, and as She Ought to Be' | Epigraph | * |
| *Revolt of Islam* | II. 1045 | *New Moral World* | 12 | 01 | 1839 | 177–78 | W. W. P., 'Woman as She is, and as She Ought to Be' | In text quotation | * |
| *Rosalind and Helen* | 248–55 | *National* | 19 | 01 | 1839 | 34 | 'Records of the World's Justice. By a Hardware Man, No. 2. —The Respectable' | Epigraph | |
| *Revolt of Islam* | v. 2253–56 | *New Moral World* | 26 | 01 | 1839 | 210–11 | W. W. P., 'Woman as She is, and as She Ought to Be' | | |
| *Mask of Anarchy* | 213–216, 221–233, 250–257 | *National* | 02 | 02 | 1839 | 72 | 'Freedom' | Excerpt | |
| | | *National* | 09 | 02 | 1839 | 76–78 | 'The Life of Shelley' | Item | |
| | | *New Moral World* | 09 | 02 | 1839 | 241–242 | D., 'The Aristocracy'. | Item | |
| *Queen Mab* | Prose note 13 ['There is no God!'], pp. 381–91 | *National* | 09 | 02 | 1839 | 86 | 'Nature of Belief' | Excerpt | |

| Work by Shelley | Lines | Newspaper/ periodical | D | M | Y | p/pp | Author and title of item | Type | Multi |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Revolt of Islam* | VIII. 3330–33 | *Northern Star* | 09 | 02 | 1839 | 6 | 'Address of the Female Political Union of Newcastle-Upon-Tyne to Their Fellow Countrywomen'<br><br>Alteration:<br>3333: 'Which ever to the oppressed from the oppressors flow' ('to' and 'from' are switched) | Epigraph | |
| *Rosalind and Helen* | 861–66, 680–83, 689 | *National* | 09 | 02 | 1839 | 74–75 | 'Records of the World's Justice. By a Hardware Man, No. 4 — The Infidel' | Epigraph | |
| *Prometheus Unbound* | IV.1–34, 81–134 | *National* | 16 | 02 | 1839 | 97–98 | 'Chorus. From Shelley's Prometheus Unbound' | Excerpt | |
| *Prometheus Unbound* | IV. 9–34, 36, 39, 69–128, 135–58, 175–79, 274–318, 382–87, 400–05, 412–23, 554–78 | *New Moral World* | 16 | 02 | 1839 | 262–64 | 'Modern Poets and Modern Poetry. Article V.—Shelley's Prometheus' | | |
| *Revolt of Islam* | VIII. 3289–396, 3433–41 | *National* | 16 | 02 | 1839 | 87–89 | 'From Shelley's Revolt of Islam'. | Excerpt | |
| *Mask of Anarchy* | 147–54, 156–92, 266–86, 295–306, 372–76 | *National* | 02 | 03 | 1839 | 124–26 | 'To the People'. | Excerpt | |
| | | *National* | 09 | 03 | 1839 | 139–40 | 'Life of Mary Wollstonecraft' | | |
| *Queen Mab* | Prose note 9 | *National* | 09 | 03 | 1839 | 132– | 'Marriage. Celibacy and Prostitution' | Excerpt | |

| Work by Shelley | Lines | Newspaper/ periodical | D | M | Y | p/pp | Author and title of item | Type | Multi |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | ['Even love is sold'], pp. 368–73 | | | | | 33 | | | |
| *Queen Mab* | Prose note 9 ['Even love is sold'], pp. 368–73 | *National* | 09 | 03 | 1839 | 140 | [Untitled] | Excerpt | |
| Mary Shelley's biographical notes from *Poetical Works* | | *Operative* | 10 | 03 | 1839 | 10 | 'The Poet Shelley' | Excerpt | |
| *Mask of Anarchy* | 147–54, 156–92, 266–286, 295–06, 372–76 | *Champion and Weekly Herald* | 10 | 03 | 1839 | 6 | 'To the People' | Excerpt | |
| *Revolt* | V. 1810–13 | *Charter* | 10 | 03 | 1839 | 102 | John Goodwyn Barmby, 'Address to the Soldiers' | Epigraph | |
| | | *National* | 16 | 03 | 1839 | 148–49 | 'Womanly Virtues'. | | |
| 'The Sensitive-Plant' | II. 1–48 | *National* | 16 | 03 | 1839 | 152–53 | '(From Shelley.)' | Excerpt | |
| 'To —' ['Lines Written During the Castlereagh Administration'] | | *National* | 30 | 03 | 1839 | 179 | 'Lines Written During the Execrable Castlereagh Administration'<br><br>Alteration:<br>25: changed to 'To the couch of thy bride!' | Full text | |
| *Queen Mab* | I. 188–91 | *Charter* | 31 | 03 | 1839 | 154 | John Goodwyn Barmby, 'Remarks on Shelley. Chapter 1' | In text quotation | |

| Work by Shelley | Lines | Newspaper/ periodical | D | M | Y | p/pp | Author and title of item | Type | Multi |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | *New Moral World* | 06 | 04 | 1839 | 384 | 'Character of Byron and Shelley. By a Genevese [*sic*] Boatman', from Lady Blessington's *Idler in Italy* | Excerpt | |
| | | *London Democrat* | 13 | 04 | 1839 | 5 | George Julian Harney, 'The Friend of the People: To the Enslaved, Oppressed, and Suffering Classes of Great Britain and Ireland' | Item | |
| 'Liberty' | | *London Democrat* | 13 | 04 | 1839 | 4 | Shelley, 'Liberty' | Full text | |
| 'Political Greatness' | | *London Democrat* | 13 | 04 | 1839 | 8 | Shelley, 'Political Greatness' | Full text | |
| *Mask of Anarchy* | 147–54, 156–192, 266–286, 295–306, 372–376 | *Northern Star* | 13 | 04 | 1839 | 7 | 'To the People, *From the National*'<br><br>Alteration:<br>376: changed to 'WE ARE MANY — THEY ARE FEW' | Excerpt | |
| *Queen Mab* | I. 3. 106–38 | *London Democrat* | 20 | 04 | 1839 | 13 | Shelley, [Untitled] | Excerpt | |
| *Queen Mab* | I. 3. 22–62 | *London Democrat* | 20 | 04 | 1839 | 16 | Shelley, 'Varieties' | Excerpt | |
| *Queen Mab* | V. 38–60, 64–98, 177–78, 181–94, 197–98 | *National* | 20 | 04 | 1839 | 216–17 | 'Commerce' | Excerpt | |
| *Queen Mab* | Prose note 7 ['And statesmen boast of wealth!'], pp. | *National* | 20 | 04 | 1839 | 220–21 | 'Wealth' | Full text | |

| Work by Shelley | Lines | Newspaper/ periodical | D | M | Y | p/pp | Author and title of item | Type | Multi |
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| | 364–67 | | | | | | | | |
| 'Love' | | *New Moral World* | 27 | 04 | 1839 | 423–24 | 'On Love. By Percy Bysshe Shelley'<br>From *Essays, Letters from Abroad, Translations and Fragments* (London: Edward Moxon, 1840). | Excerpt | |
| 'Song: To the Men of England' | 1–8, 13–24 | *Northern Star* | 27 | 04 | 1839 | 7 | 'To the Men of England' | Excerpt | |
| *Mask* | 376 | *London Democrat* | 27 | 04 | 1839 | 23 | William Rider, 'Letters to the Editor' | In text quotation | |
| 'Misery. — A Fragment' | 1–15, 41–45 | *Odd Fellow* | 30 | 04 | 1839 | 64 | 'Invocation to Human Misery' | Excerpt | |
| 'Song: To the Men of England' | | *Brighton Patriot* | 07 | 05 | 1839 | [n. pag.] | 'Literature: *Tait's Magazine* for April, 1839'<br><br>Alterations:<br>12: 'soil' replaces 'toil'<br>27: 'why see' replaces 'ye see' | Full text | |
| | | *National* | 11 | 05 | 1839 | 262 | 'An "Atheist's" Religion'<br>From Leigh Hunt, *Lord Byron and Some of His Contemporaries*. | Excerpt | |
| 'Athanase' | 1–19 of detached passage (c) | *National* | 11 | 05 | 1839 | 259 | 'Love' | Excerpt | |
| 'To a Sky-Lark' | 18–20 | *National* | 11 | 05 | 1839 | 263–66 (264) | 'Religion' | In text quotation | |
| *Queen Mab* | Prose note 12 ['Necessity, thou mother | *National* | 11 | 05 | 1839 | 258 | 'Predestination' | Excerpt | |

| Work by Shelley | Lines | Newspaper/ periodical | D | M | Y | p/pp | Author and title of item | Type | Multi |
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| | of the world!'], pp. 375–81 | | | | | | | | |
| 'Song: To the Men of England' | | *London Dispatch* | 12 | 05 | 1839 | 6 | 'Poets our Best Teachers'<br><br>Alterations:<br>12: 'soil' replaces ''toil'<br>27: 'why see' replaces 'ye see' | Full text | |
| *Queen Mab* | III. 150–69 | *Western Vindicator* | 01 | 06 | 1839 | 1 | Henry Vincent, 'To the People of the West of England and South Wales, and to the Radicals of Great Britain' | Epigraph | |
| *Mask of Anarchy* | 213–216, 221–233, 250–257 | *Northern Liberator* | 08 | 06 | 1839 | 6 | 'Freedom' | Excerpt | |
| *Queen Mab* | III. 180–92 | *Western Vindicator* | 08 | 06 | 1839 | 1 | Henry Vincent, 'To the People of the West of England and South Wales, and to the Radicals of Great Britain' | Epigraph | |
| | | *New Moral World* | 15 | 06 | 1839 | 539–40 | 'Religion' | Item | |
| *Queen Mab* | III. 192–213 | *Western Vindicator* | 15 | 06 | 1839 | 1 | Henry Vincent, 'To the People of the West of England and South Wales, & the Radicals of the United Kingdom' | Epigraph | |
| *Revolt of Islam* | Dedication:19–45, 55–63, 73–81, 118–26<br>I. 145–53, 343–78, 397–423 | *New Moral World* | 15 | 06 | 1839 | 533–35 | 'Review of Modern Poets and Poetry. Shelley's Revolt of Islam'<br><br>Alteration:<br>366: 'houseless' for 'homeless' | Item | |
| *Mask of* | 213–216, 221– | *Charter* | 16 | 06 | 1839 | 333 | 'Freedom' | Excerpt | |

| Work by Shelley | Lines | Newspaper/ periodical | D | M | Y | p/pp | Author and title of item | Type | Multi |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Anarchy* | 233, 250–257 | | | | | | | | |
| *Revolt of Islam* | I, 559–76, 586–603, 640–48<br>II. 694–702, 730–38, 775–92, 994–98, 1027–53<br>III. 1412–13<br>IV. 1488–89<br>V. 1801–21, 1898, 1927–29, 1918–26, 1945–66, 2008–25, 1945–66, 2008–25, 2308–16 | *New Moral World* | 22 | 06 | 1839 | 550–52 | 'Modern Poets: Shelley's Revolt of Islam. Act II'<br><br>Alterations:<br>587: 'drunk' replaces 'drank'<br>603: 'sought' replaces 'wrought'<br>1413–13: 'cave' replaces 'cove', 'wave' replaces 'wove'<br>2012: 'shed' replaces 'spread'<br>2014: 'spread' replaces 'shed'<br>2021: 'wild' replaces 'mild' | Item | |
| 'Hymn to Intellectual Beauty' | | *National* | 29 | 06 | 1839 | 363–64 | 'Hymn to Intellectual Beauty' | Full text | |
| 'Political Greatness' | | *National* | 29 | 06 | 1839 | 353 | 'Political Greatness' | Full text | |
| *Queen Mab* | V. 252–59 | *National* | 29 | 06 | 1839 | 357–61 | 'Political Suggestions' | | |
| *Queen Mab* | III. 106–17 | *Western Vindicator* | 06 | 07 | 1839 | 1 | Henry Vincent, 'To the People of the West of England and South Wales, & the Radicals of the United Kingdom' | Epigraph | |
| *Revolt of Islam* | VI. 2425–60, | *Northern* | 20 | 07 | 1839 | 7 | Under the title, 'The Arguments of | Excerpt | |

| Work by Shelley | Lines | Newspaper/ periodical | D | M | Y | p/pp | Author and title of item | Type | Multi |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 2488 –96 | *Star* | | | | | Tyranny' | | |
| *Queen Mab* | III. 192–240 | *Northern Liberator* | 27 | 07 | 1839 | 8 | 'From Shelley' | Excerpt | |
| *Mask of Anarchy* | 147–54, 156–92, 266–86, 295–306, 372–76 | *Northern Liberator* | 31 | 08 | 1839 | 6 | 'To the People' | Excerpt | |
| *Queen Mab* | V. 237–59 | *Northern Liberator* | 28 | 09 | 1839 | 7 | 'From Shelley' | Excerpt | |
| *Revolt of Islam* | IV. 1517–30, 1540–44 | *New Moral World* | 28 | 09 | 1839 | 771–73 | Amo., 'Socialism in France. Charles Fourier.— Article 4' | In text quotation | |
| 'Song: To the Men of England' | | *Northern Liberator* | 05 | 10 | 1839 | 7 | 'Song to the Men of England'<br><br>Alteration:<br>27: 'why see' replaces 'ye see' | Full text | |
| *Queen Mab* | V. 93–112, 113–26 | *Northern Liberator* | 12 | 10 | 1839 | 3 | 'From Shelley's Queen Mab' | Excerpt | |
| 'Song: To the Men of England' | | *Chartist Circular* | 19 | 10 | 1839 | 16 | 'Percy B. Shelley'<br><br>Alteration:<br>27: 'why see' replaces 'ye see' | Full text | |
| *Queen Mab* | V. 93–112, 113–26 | *Northern Star* | 02 | 11 | 1839 | 7 | 'From Shelley's Queen Mab' | Excerpt | |
| *Queen Mab* | III. 192–203<br>V. 79–80 | *Chartist Circular* | 2 | 11 | 1839 | 22 | 'Morality of the Working Classes'.<br><br>Alterations:<br>194: 'life and light' replaces 'light and life'<br>198: joy and love' replaces 'love and joy' | Excerpt | |

| Work by Shelley | Lines | Newspaper/ periodical | D | M | Y | p/pp | Author and title of item | Type | Multi |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Queen Mab* | III. 131–38 | *Northern Star* | 16 | 11 | 1839 | 1 | 'The Bricklayer's Society in Sheffield' | Excerpt | |
| *Queen Mab* | V. 38–78 | *Northern Liberator* | 23 | 11 | 1839 | 8 | 'Lines From Shelley' | Excerpt | |
| *Revolt of Islam* | | *Odd Fellow* | 23 | 11 | 1839 | 186–87 | 'The National' | Item | |
| 'Song: To the Men of England' | | *Western Vindicator* | 14 | 12 | 1839 | 6 | 'To the Men of England'<br><br>Alteration:<br>27: 'why see' replaces 'ye see' | Full text | |
| 'A Defence of Poetry' | | *Champion* | 29 | 12 | 1839 | 6 | 'The Poet Dante' | Excerpt | |
| 'Julian and Maddalo' | 172–76 | *New Moral World* | 18 | 01 | 1840 | 1028–30 | Kate, 'The New Year' | In text quotation | |
| *Revolt of Islam* | VIII. 3397–405 | *Southern Star* | 19 | 01 | 1840 | 3 | John Goodwyn Barmby, 'An Address to the Young Men of the British Isles' | Epigraph | |
| *Essays, Letters from Abroad, Translations and Fragments* | | *Odd Fellow* | 25 | 01 | 1840 | 16 | 'The Handwritings of Poets'<br><br>From a letter to Thomas Love Peacock, 8 November 1818. | Excerpt | |
| *Essays, Letters from Abroad, Translations and Fragments* | | *Champion* | 23 | 02 | 1840 | 6 | 'Description of the Cathedral of Milan'.<br><br>From a letter to Thomas Love Peacock, 20 April 1818. | Excerpt | |
| *Queen Mab* | V. 249–59 | *New Moral World* | 07 | 03 | 1840 | 1158–59 | B., 'Socialism' | Epigraph | |
| | | *Charter* | 08 | 03 | 1840 | 11 | 'Lambeth Mutual Instruction Society' | Item | |
| | | *Southern Star* | 15 | 03 | 1840 | 14 | 'Lambeth Mutual Instruction Society' | Item | |

| Work by Shelley | Lines | Newspaper/ periodical | D | M | Y | p/pp | Author and title of item | Type | Multi |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 'To a Sky-Lark' | 26–45, 56–65, 96–105 | *Odd Fellow* | 11 | 04 | 1840 | 58 | 'April, by Leigh Hunt' | Excerpt | |
| *Revolt of Islam* | Preface: p. 35 | *New Moral World* | 11 | 04 | 1840 | 1229–30 | John Goodwyn Barmby, 'Infidelity and the French Revolution' | Excerpt | |
| *Mask of Anarchy* | 258–61 | *Southern Star* | 26 | 04 | 1840 | 4 | John Goodwyn Barmby, 'Barmby's Letters. No. II. On the Vote by Ballot' | In text quotation | * |
| *Revolt of Islam* | IV. 1610–11 | *Southern Star* | 26 | 04 | 1840 | 4 | John Goodwyn Barmby, 'Barmby's Letters. No. II. On the Vote by Ballot' | Epigraph | * |
| 'Song: To the Men of England' | 20, 17 | *Northern Star* | 23 | 05 | 1840 | 8 | 'Address of the Salford Radical Association' | Excerpt | |
| *Queen Mab* | | *Northern Liberator* | 06 | 06 | 1840 | 3 | 'Curious Turn of the Bishop of Exeter's Crusade' | Item | |
| | | *Southern Star* | 14 | 06 | 1840 | 1 | 'Barmby's Letters, No. VI' | Item | |
| *Queen Mab* | V. 251–53 | *New Moral World* | 27 | 06 | 1840 | 1346–47 | Charles Jackson, 'Progress of Social Reform. Edinburgh' | In text quotation | |
| | | *Southern Star* | 28 | 06 | 1840 | 6 | 'The Dream, and other poems' | Item | |
| | | *Chartist Circular* | 11 | 07 | 1840 | 170 | 'The Politics of Poets. No. I' | Item | |
| | | *Southern Star* | 12 | 07 | 1840 | 5 | '"Publicola", on Blasphemy' | Item | |
| *Queen Mab* | III. 22–64, 170–80, 192–213 | *Chartist Circular* | 25 | 07 | 1840 | 178 | 'The Politics of Poets. No. II' | Item | |
| 'To Wordsworth' | 11–14 | *Chartist Circular* | 01 | 08 | 1840 | 182 | 'The Politics of Poets, No. III' | Epigraph | |
| *Queen Mab* | VI. 39–40 | *New Moral* | 22 | 08 | 1840 | 113– | Anon. [Kate], 'Condition of Woman. — | In text | |

| Work by Shelley | Lines | Newspaper/ periodical | D | M | Y | p/pp | Author and title of item | Type | Multi |
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| | | *World* | | | | 14 | Art. II' | quotation | |
| 'Mutability' | 16 | *New Moral World* | 12 | 09 | 1840 | 166–68 | 'The Pleasures and Advantages of Knowledge' | In text quotation | * |
| *Queen Mab* | VI. 170 | *New Moral World* | 12 | 09 | 1840 | 166–68 | 'The Pleasures and Advantages of Knowledge' | | * |
| *Revolt of Islam* | V. 2253–56 | *New Moral World* | 12 | 09 | 1840 | 166–168 | 'The Pleasures and Advantages of Knowledge'<br><br>Alterations:<br>2253: 'when' replaces 'our'<br>2255: 'with' replaces 'and'<br>2256: 'in light and love the fields' — addition of 'and love'<br>2256: 'dwellings' replaces 'cities' | | * |
| | | *New Moral World* | 10 | 10 | 1840 | 229 | W., 'Speak Out, Sir' | Item | |
| 'The Sensitive-Plant' | III. 292–93 | *New Moral World* | 07 | 11 | 1840 | 292–93 | John Goodwyn Barmby, 'Notes on the Streets of Paris in 1840' | | |
| *Prometheus Unbound* | | *New Moral World* | 07 | 11 | 1840 | 292 | John Goodwyn Barmby, 'The Past, Present, and Future of the Stage' | Item | |
| *Queen Mab* | III. 170–71 | *New Moral World* | 14 | 11 | 1840 | 305 | C.S., 'The Doctrines of St. Simon. — Art. II' | In text quotation | |
| 'To a Sky-Lark' | | *New Moral World* | 28 | 11 | 1840 | 337–38 | Robert Buchanan, 'True and False Religion' | Item | |
| *Epipsychidion* | 142–46 | *New Moral World* | 05 | 12 | 1840 | 355–56 | John Goodwyn Barmby, 'The Inferiority of Fourier's Classification of Society' | Item | * |
| *Revolt of Islam* | V. 2212–26 | *New Moral World* | 05 | 12 | 1840 | 355–56 | John Goodwyn Barmby, 'Inferiority of Fourier's Classification of Society' | Epigraph | * |

| Work by Shelley | Lines | Newspaper/ periodical | D | M | Y | p/pp | Author and title of item | Type | Multi |
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| | | | | | | | Alterations:<br>2225: ‘should’ replaces ‘here’ | | |
| *Prometheus Unbound* | IV. 319–37, 356–69 | *New Moral World* | 26 | 12 | 1840 | 401–02 | ‘Remarks Upon, and Specimen of, a New Book of Genesis, as Illustrative of Saint-Simonian Cosmogony. A Paper by John Goodwyn Barmby, read by the President’ | | |
| ‘God Save the Queen!’ | | *Odd Fellow* | 16 | 01 | 1841 | 11 | ‘Queen Liberty’ | Full text | |
| *Prometheus Unbound* | IV. 573–74 | *New Moral World* | 13 | 02 | 1841 | 96–97 | ‘A Young Socialist’, ‘On the Phalansterian Theory’ | In text quotation | |
| *Queen Mab* | V. 251 | *New Moral World* | 20 | 02 | 1841 | 120 | ‘Progress of Social Reform. Rochdale’ | In text quotation | |
| ‘From the Greek’ | | *New Moral World* | 27 | 02 | 1841 | 131 | ‘From the Greek’ | Full text | |
| *Hellas* | 719–37 | *New Moral World* | 13 | 03 | 1841 | 157–59 | Barmby, ‘The Past, Present, and Future of the Stage.— Art. VI’ | In text quotation | * |
| *Prometheus Unbound* | Preface | *New Moral World* | 13 | 03 | 1841 | 157–59 | Barmby, ‘The Past, Present, and Future of the Stage.— Art. VI’ | In text quotation | * |
| *Queen Mab* | IX. 57–75 | *New Moral World* | 27 | 03 | 1841 | 187–88 (188) | John Goodwyn Barmby, ‘Societarian Views on the Medical and Surgical Professions. Chap. 1’ | In text quotation | |
| *Prometheus Unbound* | IV. 415–17 | *New Moral World* | 03 | 04 | 1841 | 205–07 | Barmby, ‘An Essay towards Philanthropic Philology; or, Ideas on Language in Reference to the Future, of Transition and Community’<br><br>Alterations: | | |

| Work by Shelley | Lines | Newspaper/ periodical | D | M | Y | p/pp | Author and title of item | Type | Multi |
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| | | | | | | | 416: 'the' replaces 'a'<br>417: 'shapes' replaces 'forms' | | |
| *Revolt of Islam* | VIII. 3314–15 | *New Moral World* | 03 | 04 | 1841 | 212 | 'A Socialist', 'The Condition of Woman' | In text quotation | |
| | | *New Moral World* | 01 | 05 | 1841 | 272–74 | A Phalansterian, 'Reply to Mr. Barmby's Letter, "On What is Called Fourierism"' | Item | |
| *Queen Mab* | V. 256 | *New Moral World* | 01 | 05 | 1841 | 268–69 | John Goodwyn Barmby, 'The Man-Power, the Woman-Power, and the Woman-Man-Power' | In text quotation | * |
| *Revolt of Islam* | IX. 3609–12 | *New Moral World* | 01 | 05 | 1841 | 268–69 | John Goodwyn Barmby, 'The Man-Power, the Woman-Power, and the Woman-Man-Power' | Epigraph | * |
| 'To — [Lines to a Critic]' | 15–16 | *New Moral World* | 22 | 05 | 1841 | 326 | 'Byron and Shelley' | Excerpt | |
| 'Scenes from the Faust of Goëthe' | | *Odd Fellow* | 05 | 06 | 1841 | 89–90 | 'Illustrations of Witchcraft' | Excerpt | |
| 'Love's Philosophy' | | *Odd Fellow* | 10 | 07 | 1841 | 110 | 'Love's Philosophy' | Full text | |
| *Queen Mab* | | *Odd Fellow* | 10 | 07 | 1841 | 110 | 'Equal Administration of Justice: As Exemplified by Prosecutions for "Blasphemy"' | Item | |
| *Queen Mab* | IV. 208–20 | *New Moral World* | 17 | 07 | 1841 | 21 | 'More Convictions for Blasphemy'. | In text quotation | |
| *Queen Mab* | III. 150–57 | *Northern Star* | 28 | 08 | 1841 | 7 | 'To the Editor of the Northern Star' | Epigraph | |
| 'Love' | | *New Moral World* | 25 | 09 | 1841 | 99 | J. E. 'Shelley on Love' | Excerpt | |
| 'Scenes from the | | *Odd Fellow* | 02 | 10 | 1841 | 158 | 'Whither Goest Thou?' | In text | |

| Work by Shelley | Lines | Newspaper/ periodical | D | M | Y | p/pp | Author and title of item | Type | Multi |
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| Faust of Goëthe' | | | | | | | | quotation | |
| *Mask of Anarchy* | 376 | *Northern Star* | 13 | 11 | 1841 | 7 | 'O'Connor's visit to Dumfries' | Excerpt | |
| 'God Save the Queen!' | 1–7 | *Odd Fellow* | 13 | 11 | 1841 | 182–83 (183) | 'The Masque of Anarchy, a Poem' | Excerpt | * |
| *Mask of Anarchy* | 130–34, 86–96, 74–77, 122–29, 323–32, 344–66, 368–69 | *Odd Fellow* | 13 | 11 | 1841 | 182–83 (182) | 'The Masque of Anarchy, a Poem' | Excerpt | * |
| | | *Promethean* | — | 01 | 1842 | 1–2 (1) | Goodwyn Barmby, 'The Outlines of Communism' | Item | |
| | | *Promethean* | — | 01 | 1842 | 12–12 (12) | Goodwyn Barmby, 'Address to Our Readers' | Item | |
| *Prometheus Unbound* | II. 4. 153–58 | *Promethean* | — | 01 | 1842 | | In the masthead of each issue | Excerpt | |
| *Prometheus Unbound* | II. 4. 415–17 | *Promethean* | — | 01 | 1842 | 15–18 (15) | Goodwyn Barmby, 'An Essay Towards Philanthropic Philology. Or, Ideas on Language in Reference to the Future, of Transition, and Community' | In text quotation | |
| *Adonais* | 271–73 | *Promethean* | — | 02 | 1842 | 32 | Salvador St Just, 'The Living Shadow' | Epigraph | |
| *Rosalind and Helen* | II. 894–901 | *Promethean* | — | 02 | 1842 | 39 | 'Progress of Communism. Reports of the Universal Communitarian Association' | In text quotation | |
| | | *Promethean* | — | 03 | 1842 | 49 | Owen Howell, 'Anti-Aθεos, or Atheism Refuted' | Item | |
| *Hellas* | 729–32 | *Promethean* | — | 03 | 1842 | 50 | Goodwyn Barmby, 'Barmby's Addresses. No. 3 — To the Trader Class' | In text quotation | |

| Work by Shelley | Lines | Newspaper/ periodical | D | M | Y | p/pp | Author and title of item | Type | Multi |
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| | | | | | | | Alteration:<br>729: 'deceit' replaces 'revenge' | | |
| *Prometheus Unbound* | II. 4. 73–76 | *Promethean* | — | 03 | 1842 | 53–54 | Barmby, 'Past, Present, and Future Chronology. An Historic Introduction to the Communist Calendar' | Epigraph | |
| 'To Coleridge' | 1–4 | *Odd Fellow* | 31 | 05 | 1842 | 3 | 'Legend of the Golden Leg' | Epigraph | |
| *Hellas* | 696–703 | *Promethean* | — | 06 | 1842 | 57–58 (58) | Barmby, 'The Outlines of Communism, Associality and Communization' | In text quotation | |
| *Mask* | 287–94 | *Promethean* | — | 06 | 1842 | 65–69 (68) | Barmby, 'Barmby's Addresses to the Classes of All Peoples. No. 6. — To the Wealthy Class' | In text quotation | * |
| *Prometheus Unbound* | II. 1. 618–31 | *Promethean* | — | 06 | 1842 | 65–69 (68) | Barmby, 'Barmby's Addresses to the Classes of All Peoples. No. 6. — To the Wealthy Class' | Epigraph | * |
| *Queen Mab* | Prose note 7 ['And statesmen boast/ Of wealth!'], pp. 364–67 | *Promethean* | — | 06 | 1842 | 65–69 | Barmby, 'Barmby's Addresses to the Classes of All Peoples. No. 4. — To the Idler-Class' | Epigraph | |
| *Mask of Anarchy* | 205–08 | *New Moral World* | 11 | 06 | 1842 | 405–08 | 'Home Colonization' | In text quotation | |
| *Queen Mab* | III. 106–17 | *Odd Fellow* | 02 | 07 | 1842 | 4 | 'The Many and the Few'<br><br>Alterations:<br>114–17: 'A sunless life in labour; many faint with toil,/ That few may know the cares and woe of sloth' | Excerpt | |

| Work by Shelley | Lines | Newspaper/ periodical | D | M | Y | p/pp | Author and title of item | Type | Multi |
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| *Queen Mab* | IV. 33–70 | *Odd Fellow* | 09 | 07 | 1842 | 4 | 'War' | Excerpt | |
| 'Political Greatness' | | *Odd Fellow* | 20 | 08 | 1842 | 4 | | Full text | |
| *Revolt of Islam* | VIII. 3352–56 | *Odd Fellow* | 27 | 08 | 1842 | 4 | 'Lines'<br><br>Alterations:<br>52: 'wine or blood' replaces 'human blood' | Excerpt | |
| *Queen Mab* | V. 113–26 | *New Moral World* | 10 | 09 | 1842 | 85–86 (85) | 'The Crisis.— Modern Feudalism.— Duty of Socialists' | In text quotation | |
| *Revolt of Islam* | Dedication | *Odd Fellow* | 12 | 11 | 1842 | 2 | 'The Hen Chartists' | Excerpt | |
| *Queen Mab* | | *Northern Star* | 11 | 11 | 1843 | 3 | 'A Brief Account of the First Concordium, or Harmonious Industrial College' | Item | |
| *Queen Mab* | V. 251<br>III. 136–38 | *Northern Star* | 02 | 12 | 1843 | 7 | 'Priestcraft. Christian and Infidel Blasphemers — Paterson and Kalley' | In text quotation | |
| *Queen Mab* | III. 170 | *Northern Star* | 09 | 12 | 1843 | 5 | 'Chartist Intelligence. Sheffield' | In text quotation | |
| *Revolt of Islam* | V. 2253–56 | *New Moral World* | 30 | 12 | 1843 | 212–14 | 'Partial Remedies' | | |
| *Revolt of Islam* | IX. 3726–28 | *New Moral World* | 06 | 01 | 1844 | 220–22 | 'Where are we? Where are we going?'<br><br>Alteration:<br>3727: 'will buy' replaces 'has bought' | | |
| *Revolt of Islam* | IX. 3670 | *New Moral World* | 03 | 02 | 1844 | 249–51 | 'Education as it Is'. | In text quotation | |
| 'Liberty' | 1–21 | *Northern Star* | 23 | 03 | 1844 | 3 | 'Liberty' | Excerpt | |

| Work by Shelley | Lines | Newspaper/ periodical | D | M | Y | p/pp | Author and title of item | Type | Multi |
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| | | | | | | | [This 'excerpt' was the full text as it was available, via *Posthumous Poems* (1824)] | | |
| *Queen Mab* | V. 29–38 | *New Moral World* | 20 | 04 | 1844 | 338–39 | '*The Zoist*' | In text quotation | |
| *Mask of Anarchy* | 372–76 | *New Moral World* | 01 | 06 | 1844 | 399–400 | E. Gould Buffum, 'The Factory System'<br><br>Alteration:<br>372: 'Rouse' replaces 'rise' | In text quotation | |
| *Queen Mab* | III. 220–22 | *New Moral World* | 15 | 06 | 1844 | 412 | John Buxton, 'President's Address' | | |
| *Mask of Anarchy* | 372–76 | *Northern Star* | 24 | 08 | 1844 | 7 | 'Movement of the Trades. March of Agrarianism' | In text quotation | |
| *Queen Mab* | V. 251–53 | *New Moral World* | 13 | 09 | 1844 | 94 | 'Harmony Hall'<br><br>Alteration:<br>251: 'race' replaces 'day' | | |
| *Queen Mab* | III. 22–106 | *Northern Star* | 19 | 10 | 1844 | 3 | 'A King' | Excerpt | |
| | | *New Moral World* | 09 | 11 | 1844 | 154–55 | 'Importance of Studying Grammar' | Item | |
| *Queen Mab* | V. 553–63 | *New Moral World* | 23 | 11 | 1844 | 175 | 'Paper Money', 'Social Exchequer Bills' | Epigraph | |
| *Queen Mab* | IV. 1–8 | *New Moral World* | 22 | 02 | 1845 | 280 | 'Description of Night' | Excerpt | |
| *Queen Mab* | V. 39–40 | *New Moral World* | 26 | 04 | 1845 | 354–55 | 'Progress of Social Reform in America' | In text quotation | |
| *Queen Mab* | III. 150–52 | *Northern Star* | 17 | 05 | 1845 | 8 | 'Soiree in Honour of Mr Holyoake' | In text quotation | |

| Work by Shelley | Lines | Newspaper/ periodical | D | M | Y | p/pp | Author and title of item | Type | Multi |
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| *Revolt of Islam* | V. 2253–56 | *New Moral World* | 19 | 07 | 1845 | 453–54 | 'Torrington Hall' | | |
| *Queen Mab* | VII. 106–08, 163–66,171–02, 180–01 | *Northern Star* | 06 | 12 | 1845 | 3 | 'Tait's Edinburgh Magazine' | | |
| | | *Northern Star* | 17 | 01 | 1846 | 8 | 'Tait's Edinburgh Magazine' | | |
| 'Song: To the Men of England' | 1–24 | *Northern Star* | 24 | 01 | 1846 | 3 | 'Songs for the People. No. II. To the Men of England' | Excerpt | |
| *Queen Mab* | III. 150–52 | *Northern Star* | 31 | 10 | 1846 | 6 | A Shoemaker's Garrett, 'Correspondence. Tait's Magazine and Lord Byron' | In text quotation | |
| *Revolt of Islam* | IX. 3685–93 | *Northern Star* | 02 | 01 | 1847 | 3 | Thomas Frost, 'Scott, Byron and Shelley' | In text quotation | |
| 'Song: To the Men of England' | 1–24 | *Northern Star* | 31 | 07 | 1847 | 3 | 'Song To the Men of England' | Excerpt | |
| *Queen Mab* | III. 106–108 | *Northern Star* | 15 | 01 | 1848 | 8 | 'Important Public Meeting' | In text quotation | |
| *Queen Mab* | V. 58 | *Northern Star* | 12 | 02 | 1848 | 3 | 'Great Metropolitan Meeting in Honour of the Memory and Writings of Thomas Paine' | In text quotation | |
| *Mask of Anarchy* | 1–8, 14–17, 22–29, 160–87, 197–200, 205–12, 372–76 | *Northern Star* | 19 | 02 | 1848 | 3 | 'The Masque of Anarchy' | Excerpt | |
| 'Song: To the Men of England' | 1–24 | *Northern Star* | 15 | 07 | 1848 | 2 | 'Song To the Men of England'. | Excerpt | |

| Work by Shelley | Lines | Newspaper/ periodical | D | M | Y | p/pp | Author and title of item | Type | Multi |
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| | | | | | | | | | |
| *Queen Mab* | III. 107–17<br>IV. 168–202<br>III. 170–74<br>III. 118–38 | *Northern Star* | 28 | 10 | 1848 | 3 | 'Poetry'<br><br>III. 107–17. Under the title, 'Courtiers'.<br>IV. 168–202. Under the title, 'Warriors and Lawyers'.<br>III. 170–74. Under the title, 'Kings and Subjects'.<br>III. 118–38. Under the title, 'The Doom of Falsehood and Tyranny' | Excerpt | |
| *Queen Mab* | V. 53–63<br>V. 177–94<br>V. 113–26<br>V. 251<br>V. 249–50 | *Northern Star* | 28 | 10 | 1848 | 3 | 'Queen Mab'<br><br>V. 53–63. Under the title, 'Commerce'.<br>V. 177–94. Under the title, 'The Reign of the Profitocracy'.<br>V. 113–26. Under the title, 'The Poor and their Oppressors'.<br>Ends with: 'Such is a true picture of the present; but we believe with Shelley that', followed by V. 251, 249–50 | Excerpt | |
| *Queen Mab* | III. 150–52 | *Northern Star* | 25 | 11 | 1848 | 8 | 'Deaths'.<br>George Ross's obituary | In text quotation | |
| | | *Northern Star* | 21 | 04 | 1849 | 3 | Thomas Martin Wheeler, 'Sunshine and Shadow. Chapter IV' | Item | |
| *Queen Mab* | V. 189–96 | *Northern Star* | 19 | 05 | 1849 | 3 | Thomas Martin Wheeler, 'Sunshine and Shadow. Chapter VII' | Epigraph | |
| *Revolt of Islam* | II. 838–45 | *Northern Star* | 02 | 06 | 1849 | 3 | Thomas Martin Wheeler, 'Sunshine and Shadow. Chapter IX' | Epigraph | |
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| | | *Star* | | | | | Shadow. Chapter XIII' | | |
| 'Song: To the Men of England' | 1–12, 21–24 | *Northern Star* | 29 | 09 | 1849 | 3 | Thomas Martin Wheeler, 'Sunshine and Shadow. Chapter XXVI' | Epigraph | |
| *Queen Mab* | IV. 76–89 | *Northern Star* | 03 | 04 | 1852 | 3 | 'War' | Excerpt | |

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*Free Enquirer*

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*National*

*National Omnibus*

*New Moral World*

*Northern Liberator*

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*Odd Fellow*

*Operative*

*Pioneer*

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