1930

The social and political philosophy of Shelley as revealed in his poetry

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THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF SHELLEY
AS REVEALED IN HIS POETRY

BY

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A

THESIS

submitted to the faculty of the

SCHOOL OF MINES AND METALLURGY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

in partial fulfillment of the work required for the

Degree Of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

Rolla, Mo

1930

APPROVED BY

Professor of English

36400
Table of Contents

I. Introduction

II. Shelley's Debt to William Godwin and Mary Wollstonecraft
   a. Godwin - An Enquiry Concerning Political Justice
   b. Shelley's Creed as Differing From Godwin's
   c. Wollstonecraft - The Vindications of Women

III. Shelley, the Youthful Philosopher
   a. Early Influences
   b. Queen Mab

IV. The Maturing Shelley
   a. Domestic Troubles

V. Shelley At His Best
   a. Home in Italy
   c. Death of Shelley

VI. Conclusion
I

Introduction

The interest in a study of the philosophy of Shelley does not lie in the hope of discovering anything new, since there is little in anyone's belief that is without historic parallel. Rather, the sources of such an interest are first, the medium of poetry through which Shelley expressed his belief, and secondly, the transference of these beliefs into the acts of his life. It is to a consideration of the first of these that this paper is limited. Biographical facts will be used only for the elucidation of the theories expressed in his poems.

Briefly, the purpose of this essay is to show that Shelley embodied in many of his poems his belief in: (1) the strength of the human will in overcoming the wrong, and in leading to action; (2) the use of reason in the rectifying of all evils; and (3) the power of love to create, inspire, and perfect.

From these somewhat abstract theories come the more familiar elements of Shelley's philosophy.
He believed the human will to be a power able to overcome the superstitions of man inherent in his religious beliefs, his fear, his blind obedience. The will can make man endure torture for the sake of the right rather than yield to tyranny. Woman through the power of the will can rise from her debased position to one of honor. Will is almost supreme, yielding only to necessity:

"Spirit of Nature! all-sufficing power
Necessity! ........ the caprice
Of man's weak will belongs no more to thee
Then do the changeful passions of his breast
To thy unvarying harmony."

Shelley would have reason used where force was wont to be, to banish scenes of bloodshed, the tyranny of monarchs, and the authority of religious institutions. He believes reason or the mind to be creative, with the power to make a world which, while not material, is more real and more enduring than the physical world. Love he makes equally creative with the mind, but less ethereal, since it can bring peace and joy

1 Percy Bysshe Shelley: *Queen Mab*, Part VI, ll. 197-203
to the people and creatures of earth as they exist. By the unselfish suffering of one, love works for the happiness of the many. It is humanitarian in its breadth embracing the poorest of humanity and the weakest of living things. It protests against the shedding of blood for food or wantoness. Through the combining of will, reason, and love Shelley visualizes a perfect world, a millenium wherein

"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."2

He believes in the perfect adjustment of our whole social and political system. In the principal chapters of this paper, this belief will be traced from *Queen Mab* to *Hellas*.

2 *Queen Mab* Part V, 11. 251-257
To accomplish the purpose mentioned above it seems best first, to consider in part the sources of Shelley's ideas, especially in the acknowledgement of his debt to William Godwin and Mary Wollstonecraft; secondly, to show how he absorbed, diverged from, and altered their theories; and last, by illustrations from his poems to show the presence of his philosophy in his poetry.
II
Shelley's Debt
to
William Godwin and Mary Wollstonecraft

Shelley's devotion to the doctrines taught in the works of William Godwin and Mary Wollstonecraft is evident from his absorption of their theories into his own philosophy. Godwin's *An Enquiry Concerning Political Justice*, read by Shelley when he was an Eton schoolboy, was the principal philosophic work of the time. Perhaps a brief survey of the theories in this book that were accepted or partially accepted by Shelley would serve as a fit precursor to a discussion of the beliefs of Godwin's poetical disciple. Reading from one who lived in an age when reason was enthroned, we might expect the dictum: "The reason has unlimited power over the emotions." His attitude toward crime illustrates this belief. The criminal is not to blame for any crime; instead he is merely an agent in the protest against coercion. Punishment is used because there is thought to be a unity of idea between crime and suffering. No such unity exists. "The only measure of equity is utility, and whatever is not attended with any beneficial purpose is not just." Punishment is only to do

1 William Godwin: *An Enquiry Concerning Political Justice* Introduction p.XXI
2 Ibid. Book VII, Chapter I
good. If it will help the guilty, he should have it. Likewise, if it will make of the innocent a better citizen, he, too, should have it. There is no such thing as desert. He who administers punishment on a fellow-man with a view to the past and not the future administers it in vain. All of which argument seems very reasonable if it would only really work. It remained for Shelley to demand its practice.

However, the power of reason, according to Godwin, does not stop with the restraining of criminals. It can undertake and accomplish revolutions. Argument and persuasion are the only weapons that need be used. Then, too, things may not be righted at once. We should be willing to wait even for years for the realization of our hopes, in the meantime ever working for the truth. To Godwin in his maturity there was a placidity in waiting that was not present in the enthusiasm of Shelley. The pupil believed in the emotional conversion, the quick-springing growth, while the master said, "The seeds of virtue may appear to perish before they germinate".

This supreme power of reason, able to carry on bloodless revolutions, is just as able to destroy the forces of evil which institutions have brought upon the

3 Cf. Brailsford p. 236
4 Godwin Book IV, Chapter II, Section 4
earth. The equality of man must be granted. True the mental powers of one often exceed the mental powers of another, but this only should be the test of merit. We are equal and alike in many ways. Our senses, our feelings, our pleasures, and our pains are similar; hence, we need the same improvements and the same opportunities. Institutions would destroy this right. They would forget justice and increase the feeling of inequality by fostering injustice and wrong. Though the very poor and downtrodden, he admits, may not have an acute sense of injustice, such a condition does not take away the evil of unjust acts. Besides the direct harm of an act of injustice, it takes away the faith in the future, thus making a strong spirit weak. If we support that which we know to be unjust, we will soon lose our strong sensibility of the right. That this is done in our governmental institutions is a further argument for their annihilation. The minority are almost forced to support what they feel to be wrong in national assemblies. To avoid disagreeableness, they assent to the will of the majority. Argument and reason are used too little to enable either side to see what is really right. And, anyhow, one must live. Godwin at no time preaches the doctrine of active rebellion against an existing force. Since government means the ex-
ercise of force, we obey because we have no remedy. It is not immoral to give that which will be taken by force. But such a bending of the will is not really obedience. Obedience and intellect go together. We should not obey what we do not understand. When man "surrenders his reason, and becomes the participant of implicit faith and passive obedience, he is the most mischievous of all animals".

Godwin's protest against tyranny settles around the monarch himself. Nor even here is the blame to rest on the despot alone. His education and treatment from infancy have been such as to distort his mind, giving him a sense of the divinity which he thinks is his. To be educated a man must have mixed pretty freely with men, have felt emotions and expressed them, have observed the human mind in its many intentions. But a prince has no such education. Always he is trained to consider himself better than all around him. His servants cater to him to secure his favor. Simple truth is ever kept from him. Because he is kept in the darkness of falsehood, his maturer years reveal him as a stranger to the people he is to govern. Instead of a forward-looking leader, the nation has one fed with the food of tradition and

*Ibid: Book III, Chapter IV*
nursed in the lap of falsehood.

Man must have the power of discernment to help in the welfare of others. This power a monarch cannot have because he is perpetually deceived by his ministers regarding the condition of his people and his country. Ministers and their subordinates live upon the smile of their superiors; so the king is unavoidably a despot. The rich are insolent and usurping, aggravating the unhappiness of their inferiors who think luxury and felicity synonymous, and buying mercy and the power of legislation. Hence, laws are always against the poor. Every man should have a share in his government since there is no reason for any to govern others, remembering that "all private considerations should yield to the general good."

Such a statement, however, does not take away our right of private judgment. We should not suffer a war we object to. There are, according to Godwin, only two reasons for war: (1) the defense of our own liberty; and (2) the defense of the liberty of others. It is true that such a defense may be called anarchy. Anarchy has slain hundreds while despotism has sacrificed millions. Anarchy, moreover, is shortlived; despotism is almost immortal. Anarchy is a dreadful remedy, but a sure one. If not opposed

6 Ibid: Book III, Chapter IV
by despotism, reason would soon lead it into a calm, peaceful result, for "Reason is at all times progressive".

Despotism, however, is not willing to allow the full exercise of reason. "The general idea is that the government should aid in keeping the minds of its subjects free from ideas that are pernicious". Yet all religions, by their ideals, at least, believe in vast knowledge, and in the use of this knowledge for the spreading of wisdom and justice. Differences in opinion can do no harm so long as the government does not interfere. But just here is the cause of so much error. That fear of future punishment should be taught people to keep them from so much evil is the argument of many divines and politicians. The tendency of a code of religious conformity is to guard against degeneracy and decline, but to make no advance. Stagnation is impossible with a nation. It either declines or advances. Moreover, a set religious code makes men hypocrites. The clergy pretend to follow things which they do not really believe, and the people either take up these false ideas or despise their leaders.

All this authoritative power would disappear with the simplification of government for, if man is vicious, it is because he has been made so by injustice and hypocrisy. Godwin, following the trend of thought of other rev-

Ibid: Book V, Chapter XI
8 Ibid: Book VI, Chapter III
olutionary leaders, had no faith in the innate tendencies of man. He is what he is because of environment and heredity. The doctrine of the perfectibility of man follows such a theory inevitably. That man is perfectible is shown by his improvements in methods of communication. If perfectible in this, there is every reason to believe that it is only a question of time until man in his social and political life may be perfect.

Godwin in this book became the promulgator of principles that were to be revived twenty-five years later in the poetry of Shelley. Many theories of Shelley are but poetical repetitions of those of Godwin. Those he followed most implicitly were: (1) the power of reason to overcome crime, to bring about bloodless revolutions, and to destroy the evils left by institutions; and (2) the doctrine of man's perfectibility. However, in many of his later poems, Shelley has, probably unconsciously, changed the philosophy of Godwin to one less materialistic and rationalistic. These changes may be summed up briefly thus: (1) the importance attached to reason by Godwin has developed in Shelley into a devotion to the world of thought; (2) Shelley has demanded the freedom of the mind advocated by Godwin, but has further emphasized this freedom by an opposition to tyranny in all its
forms; (3) the "anarchical individualism" of the older philosopher has approached the idea of a "humanitarian brotherhood and the authority of the wise" in the younger; and (4) Shelley has broken away from the theory of Godwin's slow evolution to perfection and from his plan of doing the greatest good to the greatest number to an acceptance of love as the ruling power of the world, and the creation of the happiness of earth and the bliss of eternity. If we add to this list Shelley's belief in the rightful place of woman by the side of man, we may accept it as at least the major part of his creed.

This last theory, while an outgrowth of an innate sense of justice and reverence, was doubtless formulated by the teachings of Mary Wollstonecraft, a member of the later famous Godwinian circle, and a woman whose writings were read and loved by Shelley. While her voice was not the first to be heard in protest against the status of women it wielded the greatest influence of that time. It is perhaps a little difficult for women of the twentieth century to realize the position of woman at the time of the French Revolution. Even Rousseau says, contemporaneously and honestly regarding the education of women: "To please, to be useful to us, to make us love and esteem them, to educate us when young, to take care of us when grown-up, to

9 Emile Legouis and Louis Cazamian: *A History of English Literature*, page 1085
10 André Maurois: *Ariel*, page 147
11 Brasliford: *page 65 ff.*
advise, to console us, to render our lives easy and agreeable, all this, he says, is the duty of women. The prevailing theories of the day were full of high ideals, but they were forwarded by men and not by women. Submission, the art of pleasing, agreeableness, and ignorance seemed the only requirements woman need aspire to.

A few, indeed, were beginning to realize that woman had her own place in life. Baron Holbach is one of the pioneers in the field of woman's rights. He foretells the future freedom of woman, attacks her position of inferiority and the grave dangers facing the women of the poorer classes, and mentions the possibility of women's political rights having recognition. Condorcet, years later, pleaded for the broader education of women; that the home and family, the seat of social reform, might be bettered by the removal of that domestic inequality that fosters later tyranny.

But Mary Wollstonecraft was a woman, with a woman's viewpoint and sympathy. Facing her own personal problems bravely, she with a heart full of love for humanity, yearned to help others. In her Vindication of the Rights of Women she takes a stand taken by only a very few in her day that there must be a "revision of the attitude
of men toward women, and of women toward themselves."

Though she barely hints at the possibility of women being represented in the government, she seems to know that this is not their first need. The revolutionary movement had allowed reason supreme. Mary Wollstonecraft uses this belief as proof of the tyranny to which women were subjected. She demands the broad education of her sex with the result that there will then be no blind obedience to the sensual tyrant. Women, she asserts, can never be virtuous until they are independent of men. They have been pretty to arouse emotions, never strong to influence to virtue. "Liberty is the mother of virtue," and women will never be what they could be without this liberty. They should not be the mistresses of men, but their companions. Here is no radical demand. She does not preach the tailor-suited type of masculinity in women but she pleads that woman may lead her own life. She would not detract from their femininity. Though motherhood is the primary duty of woman, she still thinks that certain trades and professions should be open to them. With the brave understanding of a woman who had suffered from the social Pharisees, she attacks the double standard of morality

13 Brailsford: page 207
14 Brailsford: page 209
set for the sexes. This she did before the birth of
the little Mary Godwin whose life was later to wind
about the life of another prophet of woman's eman-
cipation, Percy Bysshe Shelley.

III

Shelley, the Youthful Philosopher

Arcadias and Utopias are as old as humanity.
That they are evanescent and transitory has never de-
tracted from their charm. The Garden of Eden is still
a place of beauty and a human dream home in spite of the
expulsion of our earthly parents. Youth especially
lives in its dreamland. Shelley, an Eton school boy,
set apart from his fellows because of his beliefs, lying
on the bank of a stream, poring over Godwin's Political
Justice was merely living in his Utopia, the right of
every normal youth. It is true that the ever-pressing
needs of the world will not leave us to passive enjoy-
ment. The droning voices of his imprisoned school com-
panions came to him as the call of his fellow-men under
the hand of tyrants, and the desire to help them was
born:
"So without shame I spoke:- I
will be wise,

And just, and free, and mild,
if in me lies

Such power, for I grow weary
to behold

The selfish and the strong
still tyrannize

Without reproach or check".

Surely not a very revolutionary rebel, this
delicate boy who had every reason to hate the compan-
ions he was pitying. The artificial atmosphere of
the school, with the tyrannical power of the masters,
was to his freedom-loving soul the world he was to
liberate from the forces of wrong. One finds much
in these early years of Shelley's life to explain the
attitude of defiance so much deplored later by his
father and the school and college authorities. Left
much to his own devices to secure amusement for him-
self and little sisters, he seems rarely to have felt
the restraint of authority. Bright, self-willed, and
affectionate, he filled the hours of childhood with
happy, wild dreams and hair-raising experiments. Con-
fronted suddenly with the strict discipline of the

1 Shelley, Percy Bysshe: The Revolt of Islam -
To Mary, Stanza IV
schools of the time, and by boyish cruelty and heartlessness, he easily became the victim of the one and the foe of the other. Oxford, however, presented the companionship and leisure his active spirit needed. But once more the dragon of authority assailed the youthful author of *The Necessity of Atheism*. Hogg, his friend and constant companion, says that he can never forget the look and tones of the disgraced boy when he first told of his expulsion from the college. Had there been a sympathetic home to receive him, it seems likely that many of his rebellious protests would never have been written. Shocked by the disgrace, and entirely unable to understand rebellious youth, Sir Timothy Shelley once for all threw away the opportunity to contribute to the happiness of his gifted son.

The paternal discipline created a feeling of injury in Shelley coupled with a restlessness only too dangerous for the impulsive lad. His meeting with Harriet Westbrook and her subsequent pursuit of him are well known. There is nothing strange in Shelley's abduction by Harriet. For one as sincere as Shelley to do a thing he really did not believe in, that is, take part in the marriage ceremony, shows the hand and power of a pursuing woman. Not that Shelley was un-
happy. Believing, as the deeply sincere do, that those who seemed to be sympathetic really were so, he incorporated the pretty little Harriet into his own idealism. She believed what he believed. Together they set out as reformers of the Irish condition. That Harriet got a good deal of childish fun and nothing else out of the escapade seems never to have irked Shelley.

During the first two years of their marriage, Shelley was constantly working for the cause of political and religious freedom. The methods of peaceable assembly and discussion emphasized in his prose works of the time, and reminding one rather strongly of William Godwin, is apparent in much of his later poetry. Though not published until 1813, Queen Mab had been in formation for three years. The poem is a strong protest against the prevailing religious beliefs. It is rather crude and unmistakably Godwinian, but full of the emotional sincerity found in all his poems. At the time he wrote it, he believed just what he wrote. Later he protested against a re-publication of the poem because he feared it "... better fitted to injure than to serve the sacred cause of freedom." 

"Queen Mab is nothing but Godwin in verse,

2 John A. Symonds: Percy Bysshe Shelley page 69
with prose notes which quote or summarize him."

While Godwin seemed able to stand without his theories, Shelley's became a part of him. If he did not create, he breathed in the breath of life, and the perfect forms created by Godwin became vital, pulsing, and beautiful. He worshipped Godwin from his Eton days to the day of his death. It is true there came a time when he saw too clearly his idol's clay feet, but his eyes, to a great extent, remained kindly blinded. Although he cannot be regarded as only Godwinian in his beliefs, neither can he be said to escape the influence of the cold reasoning of Godwin on his own impressionable imagination.

In *Queen Mab* Shelley voices his desire to reform the world. "He saw, in a fervent call on his fellow-creatures to share alike the blessings of the creation, to love and serve each other, the noblest work that life and time permitted him. In this spirit he composed *Queen Mab.*" Ianthe, following the Fairy to the gorgeous car, ascending through the illusory, tinted clouds, touched always with the imagination of a poet, and reaching at last the ethereal palace, is the soul of humanity longing for beauty and

3 Brailsford, page 175
4 Mrs. Shelley's note on *Queen Mab*, Woodberry
freedom. Resting in the Hall of Spells, Ianthe learns from Queen Mab the ruin of the past, the evils of the present, and the glories of the future. Before Queen Mab presents to the intellectual eye of the spirit of Ianthe the panoramic view of the world through the centuries, she issues a command, the theme of which is to sound again and again in the poems of Shelley:

"Learn to make others happy."

The sole purpose of life was to Shelley as it was to the characters of his poems, the securing of the happiness of those about him. The virtue which would be happy within itself he counted as nothing. Only that which would bear fruit was worth while to Shelley. And perhaps here is the greatest difference between Godwin and Shelley. The philosopher was willing to expound his theories; the poet must live them. Sure that they were right, he still had the desire of a scientist to try them out. He must satisfy himself that the means of happiness be within the reach of everyone. Nor has he even in this earliest poem that callousness to suffering that we sometimes ascribe to the youth that is just reaching maturity. The sympathy and love for all of earth's creatures remind us that this is a poet

5 Shelley: *Queen Mab* Part II, line 64
speaking, sensitive to every emotion, cognizant of every creature. The tiny insect has a life

"And the minutest throb
That through their frame diffuses
The slightest faintest motion,
Is fixed and indispensable
As the majestic laws
That rule yon rolling orb."

This humanitarianism of Shelley that caused him to regard the inhabitants of the entire world as his fellow-creatures endeared him to many. Little children found in him a companion who could be one of them. The story of Shelley, as a college youth, feeding bread and milk to a hungry, homely little girl with his own hand, is related by the sympathetic Hogg. The many charitable acts throughout his life are concrete examples of the philosophy of a far-reaching brotherhood, bringing everlasting joy, as he has his Ianthe say:

"'For when the power of imparting joy
Is equal to the will, 'the human soul:
Requires no other heaven.'"

6 Ibid. Part II lines 238-243
7 Ibid. Part III lines 11-13
Contrasted to this are presented the horrible conditions of monarchy, an unhappy king pleading for a peace which can never be his. All the emotions of a freedom-loving spirit and the protest against tyranny and wrong are expressed in the words that make a position of selfish power a Hell. The helplessness of the tyrant in the throes of his environment recall the words of Godwin regarding the monarch. A better understanding of his position is aroused when he mutters that

"'...... the unconquered powers
Of precedent and custom interpose
Between a king and virtue.'"  

These words show the insight of a reformer who laments the impotence of the thousands under tyrants who submit because they always have. The condition of the monarch and subject, he contends, is contrary to nature and will be overcome

"'...... when reason's voice,
Loud as the voice of Nature, shall shall have waked
The nations; '"

another quotation reminiscent of Godwin and the Age of Reason.

8 Ibid. Part III lines 97-99
9 Ibid. Part III lines 126-128
With a fine contempt for the "gilded flies" who, living lives of indolence, allow others to slave and toil, "to drag out in labor a protracted death," that these parasites may "glut their grandeur," Shelley furiously attacks the systems of autocracy giving as their source, vice with all its attendant evils. Not without hope is the world, however, for he has faith in the reason of man, that, in the maturity of his powers, he will reject the unnaturalness of the hectic glare of the court for a life of truth.

The prevailing form of religion with its hypocrisy and tyranny he also discloses. The idea of a God that men have had, with a religion which has caused so much bloodshed, created such fear, and which has been fostered by tradition and falsehood, he spurns. Such a god is the god of ambition, of power, and of punishment. In its place he puts the

"Spirit of Nature! all-suffering Power,
Necessity. Thou mother of the world.
Unlike the God of human error, thou:
Requirest no prayers or praises."

Just what were Shelley's ideas of religion at the time this poem was written is not easy to tell. He

10 Ibid, Part III, lines 115-116
11 Ibid, Part VI, lines 197-198
had repudiated the conventional belief of a God who has created a weak being, permits temptation, and then punishes eternally because of the yielding to that temptation. The idea of a God who gave his son to die for the world, and then worked malice against those who rejected him, allowing all this to be followed by scenes of bloodshed in his name, — small wonder is it that the sensitive soul of Shelley would shrink from such a creed. He had branded himself an atheist and thereby brought down on his head much buffeting that he would have been spared, had he been content to remain silent as to his beliefs. But such a silence would have been for Shelley an act of cowardice. To have seemed what he was not was a form of guilt absolutely foreign to his nature. Likewise, he lacked the egoism of the perfect romanticist. While it is true he created again and again a character in whose lineaments and ideals we cannot fail to see the poet, even this pseudo-Shelley inevitably gave his whole life and being for the sake of others. His own thoughts and experiences he seemed to affix to the thoughts and ex-

12 Cf. the youth in Alastor, Leon in The Revolt of Islam, Prometheus in Prometheus Unbound
periences of his fellowmen. Back of the evils of
the world, the poverty, crime, drudgery, and debased
living that he describes in *Queen Mab* there is the
hopeful idealism of the youthful poet. The rich and
poor together are slaves, but they have hope:

"Yet every heart contains perfection's
germin." 13

He then visualizes the perfect being,

" .......... of cloudless brain,
Untainted passion, elevated will,
Which death
 .......... might alone subdue." 14

We know of course that we are not perfect, but the dream
of perfection belongs to man's innate subconsciousness,
that thought-chamber which its owner scarcely enters,
keeping it closed to the curious and familiar. The
longing for that "untainted passion" is there. Because
we occasionally feel its presence we are sure of its
attainability. Human waywardness too soon rushes back
and stains the pure thoughts; but, because we have real-
ized a brief Elysium, we cannot truthfully scoff at the
idea of that "cloudless being" with its one conqueror,
Death. Even this master presents no dread, but in this
world where reason and passion are as sisters,— a world

13 *Queen Mab* Part V, line 147; 14 Ibid, lines 154-158
without law, - death is merely a gate to another country. Without the diseases or pains of old age, one may at last find that

"Mild was the slow necessity of death,
The tranquil spirit failed beneath its grasp,
Without a groan, almost without a fear,
Calm as a voyager to some distant land
And full of wonder, full of hope as he."  

The world will not always be full of the evils that we see. The very physical nature of earth will be as it should be, - perfect. Man, no longer hurt by the extremities of heat or cold will stand immortal upon earth."  

Nor will he stand among his fellowmen only. All creatures of earth will be his equals. No longer will there be scenes of cruelty and bloodshed, instituted by the lords of creation,

"........... no longer now
He slays the lamb that looks him in the face,
And horribly devours his mangled flesh," 17

for there is no need of this flesh as food, the law of

15 Ibid. Part IX, lines 57-61; 16 Ibid. Part VIII, lines 211 17 Ibid. Part VIII, lines 211-213
Nature being now never broken. The birds are playfellows of little children, and man associates, undreaded, with his equals, the earth-creatures secure in his peaceful, healthful home, decorated only with the gem of truth. There is no prostitution because there is no prudish chastity, forcing wrongs to be committed. Instead the souls "with kindred sympathies" associate in freedom, unabashed by the world's conventional opinion. Woman, formerly the slave and pet of man, as she is described by Mary Wollstonecraft, moves freely by man's side:

"Woman and man in confidence and love, Equal and free and pure, together trod, The mountain paths of virtue, which no more Were stained with blood from many a pilgrim's feet." 19

In this ideal world there is no friction. There are no rulers, no churches, no prisons. Institutions for the restraint of criminals are needed for there is no crime, no need for crime. The churches built to please a ruler have become a ruin. Little children play about the prisons, and the sunshine falls through the ruins

17 Ibid. Part IX, line 78; 19 Ibid. Part IX lines 89-92
on their happy faces.

True to Godwin in the latter part of the poem, Shelley does not predict that this change will be sudden. The spirit is warned to pursue

"'The gradual paths of an aspiring change.'"

There is still much to be done, but the duties of the human spirit is manifold:

"......................... thy will
Is destined an eternal war to wage
With tyranny and falsehood, and uproot
The germ of misery from the human heart."

The spirit of the French Revolution is still alive, guiding the pen of a rebel against the causes of the world's misery.

Immature as is Queen Mab, imitative and inconsistent as it is branded, it is remarkable for the age of its author. Very few of his other early poems show aught of his political or social ideas. A few give a reflection of a very precocious boy's hopes and dreams. He saw with keen eyes, however, many of the evils of the day, and fearlessly attacked them. The govern-

20 Ibid. Part IX, line 147
21 Ibid., lines 189-192
ment's use of its power to draft soldiers among all classes he condemns in a little poem sent to Miss Hitchener, January 7, 1812. He said the facts were real, the usual sad story of an aged, broken-hearted mother forced to give up her only son to the government:

"When the tyrant's bloodhounds forced
the child
For his cursed power unhallowed arms to wield --
Bend to another's will --."

The son returns broken in health and spirit, and Shelley's repudiation of the social inequality existing is expressed in the lines:

"And now cold charity's unwelcome dole
Was insufficient to support the pair
And they would perish rather than bear
The law's stern slavery, and the insolent stare."

To the same period belong some impassioned poems on liberty. The people of all countries fighting for freedom were the brothers of Shelley. To the Mexicans he addresses an appeal to continue the start

22 Shelley's: A Tale of Society as It Is, Section II
23 Ibid, Section VII
made toward freedom, assuring them of his sympathy. Even in this country beyond the Atlantic that he may never see, he is sure that

"Love shall burst the captive's prison."

The impetuosity of the poet cools somewhat into the patience of the philosopher when he reflects that liberty does not spring quickly from slavery:

"Thou art a conqueror Time; all things give way
Before thee but the 'fixed and virtuous will.'" 25

He does not ever quite escape from the influence of Godwin during these earlier years. Even in the rollicking ballad, "The Devil's Walk," Shelley temporarily puts aside the weapon of love which he uses so effectually in later poems, and has the Devil's fall come from the blow of Reason:

"But were the Devil's sight as keen
As Reason's penetrating eye,
His sulphurous Majesty I ween
Would find but little cause for joy."

24 Shelley: To the Republicans of North America, St. II
25 Shelley: To Ireland, St. II
"For the sons of Reason see
That, ere fate consumes the Pole,
The false Tyrant's cheek shall be
Bloodless as his coward soul."

IV
The Maturing Shelley

The year 1814 marks a great change in the life of Shelley. The growing coldness of Harriet, shown by her entire disregard of his wishes in putting the baby in the care of a wet-nurse, her demands for a carriage and for finery that was really beyond Shelley's means of providing, and her growing lack of sympathy with the things he loved began to have an effect. She, being apparently more content with the Westbrooks than with him, spent a great deal of her time with them. Shelley, thrown on his own resources, sought sympathy and happiness with his friends, the Boinvilles, where he found a depth of emotions and intellectuality that was never really present in Harriet. It is evident, too that about this same time he became acquainted

26 Shelley: The Devil's Walk, Sts. 29 and 30
with Mary Wollstonecraft and William Godwin, with whom he was thereafter to be connected. There is no need to attempt to lift all blame from Shelley in the events that followed. Nor is Harriet blameless. The possibility of her unfaithfulness has been suggested as a reason for the separation, but this seems unlikely. There is nothing in any of Shelley's letters to her to indicate that he believed it, and from what we know of Shelley's attitude toward crime, it seems unlikely that he would voluntarily have used such a reason as an excuse for leaving Harriet. His openly expressed opinions on the subject of marriage were, as he thought, shared by Harriet. To him there seemed no wrong in transferring his affections to Mary Godwin, then a prematurely minded girl of sixteen. She, being a follower of the teachings of both father and mother, likewise saw no wrong in the step she took. That the conventional, judging world of England did see the wrong was inevitable. That a man could be a friend to his wife and love and live with another woman seems to have been as inconceivable then as now. With the traditional idea of a home as the basis of social life, people are too prone to forget that a home is an impossible institution without love. To
Shelley, affection given and received was a necessary part of life. When this was gone, there remained only his kindness of heart and sense of justice. That this kindness did not extend to the unselfish giving up of Mary, and to the devoting of himself to his wife and child, must but add to the growing list of his inconsistencies, and indubitably human characteristics.

One palliating factor lies in the memory of Shelley's first connection with Harriet. In a letter found but recently, he says:

"Our connection was not one of passion and impulse. Friendship was its basis, and on this basis it has enlarged and strengthened."

He appeals to Harriet to let him be her friend, her brother. He even, with the inborn tactlessness of a man, "wishes she could see Mary." The toleration that Harriet had evidently exhibited in her letter, probably with the hope of thus winning him back, he thanks her for as a child believing and trusting in a woman. In another letter he again asks her to allow him to superintend her after life. He evidently thinks it would be entirely possible for all three of them to live together. That Harriet's dependent nature must

1 Leslie Hotson: The Atlantic Monthly, Jan. 1930, p. 129
have caused her to seek sympathy and advice in this crisis of her life is evident from his words: "Suffice to your own self, and despise the miserable compassion of those who cannot esteem or love." He fails to understand how Harriet can feel injured at his taking up with Mary, when he has always been, and is still so ready to help her. He thinks that Harriet, if generous or even just, should be kind to the woman he has selected as the "noblest and most excellent of human beings." The inability of a perfectly sincere nature to understand deceit is nowhere more evident than in Shelley's helplessness before the scheming, ambitious Westbrooks. Harriet, influenced by her sister, Eliza, and her friends, had done enough to enrage even the good-natured Shelley. She had gone to his solicitor, Amory, and told everything concerning their separation. Having learned this, and that the ever-active Eliza had been telling of their father's intention to ".... take legal steps in consequence" of Shelley's conduct, he says: "The memory of our former kindness, the hope that you might still not be lost to virtue and generosity would influence me, even now, to concede far more than the law will force."

Depressed and indignant by this double-dealing from one he had learned to trust, he reproaches her not without a good deal of justice:

"I was an idiot to expect greatness or generosity from you, that when an occasion of the sublimest virtue occurred, you would fail to play a part of mean and despicable selfishness."

While it is entirely possible that Harriet was scantily provided for at the beginning of their separation, the same was rather more true as regarded Shelley and Mary. He provided regularly for Harriet and the two children as soon as his financial affairs were settled.

Dejected by these events as well as by the constant presence of a dread of pulmonary troubles, Shelley shows a solemnity and calmness in the writings of 1815 in sharp contrast to the fiery exhortations of Queen Mab. In Alastor, Shelley unveils the mental movements he was at this time experiencing. A youth is represented, one who has drunk deep "at the fountains of knowledge, and is still insatiate." His longing for intercourse with a being of an intelligence like his own results in the imaginary creation of such a being. Disappointed by

5 Ibid.
6 Shelley's Preface to Alastor
his vain search for this intelligence, he dies prematurely. In a sense the life of this youth is a direct antithesis to the ideal of Shelley. There is no sympathy with mankind, no desire to be of service, but only a deadening, vain delusion, that ends in its love. "Those who love not their fellow-beings," he says, "live unfruitful lives, and prepare for their old age a miserable death." This great love for humanity and for every creature is the Shelleyan creed apart from the Godwinian benevolence:

"...... no bright bird, insect, or gentle beast

I consciously have injured, but still loved

And cherished these, my kindred."

In addition to this strong sympathy for the weak, there is, in this poem and in several later ones, the expression of that intense longing for the perfect mate, the passionate outpouring of a mind needing a kindred mind to understand and love. Perfect love and understanding do not exist except in high idealism. If they did, social problems would be solved and the world

7 Ibid.
8 Shelley's Alastor, ll. 13-15
would be a heaven. As Shelley grew older he relied less and less on weak, human characteristics, and more on the satisfying creations of the world of thought. He believed in what he calls "intellectual beauty" or the power of the mind to work magic in the world, to right all its wrongs, and to free its people from slavery. His appeal to this spirit voices his ever-present desire to help others:

"Thus let they power
..... to my onward life supply
Its calm, to one who worships thee,
And every form containing thee
Whom, spirit fair, thy spells did bind,
To fear himself, and love all humankind."  

His desire to "love all humankind" met its greatest test in the trying events following the finding of Harriet's body in the Serpentine River, December 10, 1816. Although free from the consciousness of having acted from evil motives, Shelley suffered keenly at times from the pangs of self-reproach. The thought of the sweet face of Harriet, bloated and stained from the effect of the water, sometimes taxed to the utmost

9 Shelley Hymn to Intellectual Beauty, Stanza VII
the enduring powers of Shelley. They had lived and suffered together. He had abandoned her at a time when her need was greatest, and, though the cause of her death cannot so justly be laid at his door as at that of her unjust family, his sensitive, honest soul suffered. On only one occasion that we know does he give expression to the remorse that was his because of Harriet's death. He had fallen into a fit of gloomy abstraction while walking with his friend, Peacock. On Peacock's attempting to rally him, he had answered with a rudeness, foreign to his usual gentleness. Referring to this unreasonableness the following day, he said, "I will tell you what I would not tell anybody else. I was thinking of Harriet."

The marriage with Mary took place near the last of the month. Shelley's reason for the allowing of this ceremony is similar to that of Godwin's in marrying Mary Wollstonecraft, the fact that he had no right to bring more unhappiness on a woman through refusing to take the vows of marriage. The attempt to secure the care of his children was foiled by the Westbrooks. The judgment of Lord Eldon was against

Shelley because of his atheistical views and immor-
ality. Queen Mab had been used as chief proof of
his unfitness for the care of the children. Not
only were his feelings those of an outraged father,
but also those of a captive slave, subject to the
unjustice of a tyrant master. He had hoped to train
the young minds

"To gentlest love, such as the
wisest teach," 11

but instead they were to be given to the care of
hirelings and reared to the belief in the falsehoods
that his soul detested. With a bitter hate, unlike
Shelley, he curses this tyrant:

"By the false cant which on their
innocent lips
Must hang like poison on an
opening bloom,

By the dark creeds which cover
with eclipse

Their pathway from the cradle
to the tomb." 12

This fear of the power of the law was renewed a little
later when he heard of a hint to deprive him of Mary's
first-born. The despair regarding the future of his
children had grown, and those whom he had hoped to

11 To the Lord Chancellor, Stanza VII
12 Ibid, Stanza X
make "fearless and free,"

"To a blighting faith and a cause of crime

They have bound them slaves in youthful prime

And they will curse my name and thee, (his son, William)

Because we are fearless and free."

This rather personal rebellion against tyranny finds a fuller and broader expression in The Revolt of Islam. In this poem Shelley returns somewhat to the social and political ideals of Queen Mab. At the time of writing The Revolt of Islam, the Shelleys were living at Marlow in Buckinghamshire. This was a habitation of poor people. The women were lace-makers, earning little. The sufferings were increased by the results of a long war and bad harvest. Shelley, in his sympathy, helped them all he could, but the land was full of disease and death. Some of this local coloring steals into the poem. Shelley says he wrote this when he thought death was near. Fearful lest he might die before his thoughts were told, he gave to the world the sincere beliefs of his heart. Though he had lost much of "the eager spirit which believed it

13 To William Shelley, St. II
could achieve what it projected for the benefit of mankind," he retained his belief in the ultimate effect of love, goodness, and virtue, together with wisdom and eloquence.

The poem under its first title of Laon and Cythna merely increased the feelings of prejudice aroused by Queen Mab. The publisher, realizing the attitude of the reading public toward the relationship of Laon with his sister-bride Cythna, induced Shelley to alter this relationship. The poem with this change appeared in 1818 as The Revolt of Islam. The purpose of the poem as he said was "to kindle a virtuous enthusiasm for those doctrines of liberty and justice, that faith and hope in something good, which neither violence, nor misrepresentation, nor prejudice can ever wholly extinguish among mankind. Furthermore he proposed to show love as the "sole law which should govern the moral world." The seeming failure of the French Revolution has had its effect in demoralizing the world's thinking, but the belief in the returning sanity of people, and in the slow but sure progress of democracy is making itself

14 Cf. Mrs. Shelley's note on The Revolt of Islam  
15 Shelley's Preface to The Revolt of Islam  
16 Ibid.
felt. The struggle between the eagle and serpent, in the first canto, is representative of the struggle between oppression and right. Now in midair, now low on the crest of the waves they strive, grow weak, regain strength, and fall again, until at last the eagle or the power of evil is triumphant, and the serpent, the spirit of good, repulsed by the world, sinks into the sea, wounded but not dead; therefore not without a hope of some day renewing and winning the battle. Shelley's deliberate flouting of public opinion is again emphasized by his wilfully regarding the serpent, from the time of Eden a symbol of evil, as the spirit of good.

Many of the attacks on conventional belief in the poem are put into the mouth of the youth Laon, who in the Temple of the Spirit tells a story of earth. The story of his and the maiden Laone's attempt to put down injustice and wrong embodies everything that Shelley believed. When they are at first successful in dethroning the tyrant, and when the old cry of an eye for an eye is heard in the words:

"He who judged let him be brought
To judgment."

17 Shelley: The Revolt of Islam, Canto V, St. 32
then we find an echo of the teachings of Christ in
the words of Laon to the revengeful mob:

"Are ye all pure? Let those stand forth who hear
And tremble not."

Those who punish criminals because they have committed
crimes are not really performing a deed of justice.
True to Godwin's theories that punishment is illogical
and unfair, Shelley has Laon continue to rebuke the
furious soldiers with calm, philosophical words:

"The chastened will
Of virtue sees that justice is the light
Of love, and not revenge and terror and
despite."

No one who understands the doctrine of equality as
Shelley did will concede the right of one man to punish
others. The right of law does not exist for such.
When such a punishment will help, then, only, is it jus-
tifiable.

The idea of the equality of men is broadened by
Shelley in this poem to include women. The freedom of
love between man and woman he regards as a necessary
element in a free country:

18 Ibid. Canto V, St. 34
19 Ibid.
"Man and woman
Their common bondage burst,
may freely borrow
From lawless love a solace 20
for their sorrow."

The childish love of Laon and Leone has developed into that physical and spiritual joy that is Shelley's conception of the relationship of man and woman. Laone has saved Laon from the angry foe, and they seek joy in one another in an old ruin where they have taken refuge. Here their former early friendship deepens, and they unite body and spirit as one. To Shelley this unconventional union seems right.

"To the pure all things are pure," he says with truth. In the early morning light Laon speaks of this uniting of body and soul as needing no dependence on ceremony:

"There we unheeding sat, in the communion
Of interchanged vows, which with a rite
Of faith most sweet and sacred, stamped our union." 22

A further protest against convention and the tyranny of

20 Ibid. Canto V, St. 51, Part 4
21 Ibid. Canto VI, St. 30
22 Ibid. Canto VII, St. 40
custom and religion he voices thus:

"And such is Nature's law divine, 
that those

Who grow together cannot choose 
but love,

If faith or custom do not interpose
Or common slavery or what else 
might move

All gentlest thoughts."

One need not agree with Shelley to be able to appreciate his beliefs. He urged a freedom of intercourse between man and woman, a freedom unbound by law, but unspoiled by impure thoughts and deeds. His hatred of the horrors some women were forced to endure he expresses in the story of Cythna's life among

"the thralls Of the cold tyrant's cruel lust,"

and her terrible frenzy after the night spent with the tyrant in a mockery of love. Once more Shelley discloses his ideals for the condition of woman, and protests against her present position:

"Woman as the bond-slave dwells 
Of man, a slave."

23 Ibid. Canto VII, St. 40; 24 Ibid. Canto VII, St. 4
25 Ibid. Canto VIII, St. 13
In Laone he realizes his dream woman, one who can take her place by the side of man, endure with him, love him, die with him. She is not a toy for the playful mood of males, but a woman possessed of that wisdom which, alone, can create leaders. At a feast prepared by the multitude for the celebration of the victory of liberty, Laone was chosen the priestess of the rites. A touch of Shelley's temperance is infused in the preparations for the feast. Contrary to the custom, instead of meats, there are to be fruits of many kinds, the roots of plants, and the juices of grapes before

"Accursed fire their mild juice
could transmute
Into a mortal bane." 26

The world that Laone pictures for the crowd is free from the taint of impurity of food. As she visualizes this world open for them all, she sees it a place without bloodshed where the birds and beasts need have no fear:

"'Never again may blood of bird or beast
Stain with its venomous stain
a human feast." 27

26 Ibid. Canto V, St. 56
27 Ibid. Stanza 51
Though the world as Laon sees it is free from the tyranny of fear, and governed by the spirit of good, the conquest is short-lived. The scene changes, and we have again the power of the tyrant triumphant. Hatred and force reign. Fear and panic have done their work. The multitude flee until Laon with eloquent reasoning and scorn urges them to defend themselves. Partly victorious they become like beasts, Laon alone restraining himself until he sees the white hair of an old friend under his feet. The ensuing scene is a horrible one of hatred and bloodshed. The old cry of Shelley against force may be heard:

"And this was thine, O War! Of hate and pain
Thou loathed slave."

Later, even the beasts are driven to kill their kind, the streams are poisoned, the very insects perish. The skies are brazen, the air is full of vile odors, and plague follows in the wake of famine.

Back of all this suffering is the motive that drives on the Priest of Islam, - the reinstatement of the belief in God, and a vengeance on those who refuse

28 Ibid. Canto VI, St. 17
to conform to man-made rules. Shelley thought that the power which people believe to be working for them is just a creation of their own, clothed in their own conceptions and experiences as he has Laore say:

""  Some moon-struck sophist stood,
      Watching the shade from his own soul up-thrown  
      Fill Heaven and darken earth, and in such mood
      The Form he saw and worshipped
      was his own.""  29

This man-made God has for his ministers those that bring

"Man's free born soul beneath the oppressor's heel,"  30

a religious tyranny unacceptable to Shelley. According to his conceptions, this great Power is dealing out deadly tortures to his followers, showing that though there is little difference between virtue and vice, might makes right. The people bowed down by sorrow, plague, and famine feel that some secret sin has caused God to turn against them. They implore his mercy and devoutly pledge their lives to him, each one to his own idea of God. He is too angry to be appeased, and the plague continues until the vile suggestion of the priest, a

29 Ibid. Canto VIII, St. 6
30 Ibid., Canto VIII, St. 7
hater of free thought, is made. He demands that
Laon and Laone, the leaders in the fight for free-
dom, be sacrificed to expiate the sins of the people
and reconcile God to them. The acceptance of this
plan by the people whom these two had served is com-
parable to the actions of blind followers of religious
doctrines. Ignorant, superstitious leaders seek to
divorce reason from the minds of their flock. The
unswerving conservatism of the older men of the coun-
cil, unmoved by the reason and wisdom of Laon, which
had won the younger men, urges on the death plan for
Laon. The inexperienced youths, ready to comply
with the call to liberty, are stabbed in the back by
their wiser, experienced elders.

This condemnation of age appears in both
these earlier poems of Shelley, and may be somewhat the
reaction of the Oxford youth against his dogmatic guar-
dians. Age has never been able satisfactorily to settle
the affairs of youth, perhaps because they are too eager
to inflict on the young their own ready-made ideas of
religion and of conduct. To Shelley, religion was but
a cloak for cruelty and injustice. He hopes for a
world of happiness and equality, free from this curse:
"Religion's pomp made desolate by
the scorn
Of wisdom's faintest smile, and
thrones uptorn
And dwellings of mild people
interspersed
With undivided fields of ripening
corn
And love made free —"

At this last line we touch again upon that
magic word that Shelley believed would lighten the
gloomy world, - love. It is to the troubled hearts
of men a calming influence; it embodies justice,
truth, and joy, and

" those only can
From slavery and religious-labyrinth
caves
Guide us, as one clear star 32
the seaman saves."

This great love was present in the heart of Laon, a
love that would make him willing to yield up all he
had, his life. The expiation is demanded, reason has
failed, and believing that love alone has power to free
the world from madness, Laon calmly gives himself to
the cause of liberty. And again an act of a charac-
ter of Shelley's poems reminds us of the words of Jesus,

31 Ibid. Canto VII, St. 35
32 Ibid. Canto VIII, St. 11
"Greater love hath no man --. " Laon gave his life for humanity. United with this universal love is the more personal love of Laone, who will not permit Laon to die alone, but smilingly bids the mutes bind her on the dreadful pyre. The sacrifice is complete, and as we are wondering if it is all worth while, there comes again the note of Shelley's hope:

"....... if aught survive, I deem
It must be love and joy for they immortal seem. " 33

In spite of the horror and bloodshed of this poem, in spite of its appeal to the sensuous, and in spite of its rather stern condemnation of an earnest if blinded people, the aspirations expressed by Laone are worthy any ideal of life:

"To give to all an equal share of good,
To track the steps of freedom
...... to suffer all in patient mood,
To weep for crime,
To feel the peace of self-contentment's lot,
To own all sympathies .........
To sit and smile with joy

33 Ibid. Canto XI, St. 17
To kiss salt tears from the worn
cheek of woe

To live as if to love and live
were one." 34

That Shelley lived to a great degree the
creed he has here seems apparent from the record of
his many deeds of charity. Stories of his caring
for the unfortunate and poor are told by Leigh Hunt
and other friends. His purse was open to all. Be-
sides discharging many of Godwin's debts, and giving
gifts of money to Leigh Hunt and Peacock, he was often
the first subscriber to various reforms. "Without a
murmur, without ostentation, this heir of the richest
baronet in Sussex illustrated by his own conduct those
principles of democratic simplicity and of fraternal
charity which formed his political and social creed."

V

Shelley, at His Best

Only four short years yet remained for
the poet to carry out his ideals. In the spring of
1818, the Shelleys with Miss Clairmont and her and
Byron's child, Allegra, went to Italy. The compen-

34 Ibid. Canto VIII, St. 12
35 Symonds, page 102
ionship of Byron, while not satisfying to Shelley, at least gave him new food for thought. While his sensitive nature shrank from the rough egotism of Byron, there seems little doubt that his influence over the moody pilgrim was greater than he thought. The companionship of the two as is given in the poem, Julian and Maddalo, though close, had in it ever that lack of complete understanding that makes perfect friendship. The scenes of Italy impressed the mind of the poet, and though his love for people did not decrease, there seems to have been in him a great dependence on the beauties around him, the watery streets of Venice, the historic ruins of Rome, and the hills and blue skies of all Italy. Loving the free beauty of the land, he felt the weight of her thralldom and urged release. He pleads with Venice to rise from her lethargic sleep, to bid freedom awake, and unlock the dungeons in which the imprisoned cities of Italy lie:

"Thou and all thy sister band
Light adorn this sunny land
With new virtues, more sublime."

Though the hopefulness of his youth is not dead, there is a less certain assurance that in time the tyrants

1 Cf. E. J. Trelawny: Recollections of the Last Days of Shelley and Byron, p. 36 ff.
2 Lines Written Among the Euclean Hills, ll. 155-158
will fall, in the lines:

"Men must reap the things they sow,
Force from force must ever flow
Or worse; but 'tis a bitter woe
That love or reason cannot change
The despot's rage, the slave's revenge." 3

While ever interested in the political and social life of his fellow-men, Shelley continued to spend much time among the poets of the past. His appreciation of Greek and Italian literature was profound. Poetry he regarded in its highest sense as the product of an inner spiritual urge, "the interpenetration!" as he says, "of a diviner nature than our own". Though he has frequently urged his dislike of didacticism in poetry, there seems little doubt that Shelley did believe in the moralizing value of poetry. To him there was poetry existing in the very philosophy that was his. His Prometheus Unbound and The Cenci, products of the same year, reflect his familiarity with the themes of the past, as well as his modernity. The Greek play, Prometheus,

3 Ibid. II. 231-235
4 Shelley: Defense of Poetry
by **Æschylus**, had ended with a compromise between Prometheus and Jupiter, but such an ending was most distasteful to Shelley. He could not conceive of a compromise between tortured humanity and its tyrant oppressor. To do so would be to compromise good with evil, liberty with tyranny, and love with hate. The conception of a defiant, suffering Prometheus waiting through almost endless ages of torment for the overthrow of evil, is one typical of the Shelleyan doctrine. The hour of triumph comes and the unrighteous power of civic and religious institutions, deified by Jupiter, is driven out by the strength of wisdom and necessity, found in Demogorgon. The union of Prometheus with his old love, Asia, signifies the reuniting of the spirit of humanity with the spirit of beauty and divine love, aided by the spirits of faith and hope, and other attendant spirits, all of whom will help to make the world free from the evils brought into it by the long reign of the spirit of evil.

If, in reading this poem, we are blinded by the radiance of its colors, or confused by the swarming spirits, good and evil, that seem to fill the air, we must remember that Shelley lived not in the actual world we have all so painfully learned to live
in, so much as he lived in a world of unreality which to him was real. The spiritual was even more real to him than the actual. With this in mind it will be easier to understand the wealth of imagination displayed in *Prometheus Unbound*.

Occasionally, it is true, even here we catch an echo of the more earthy philosophy of Godwin. Prometheus logically, if stubbornly, refuses to submit to the tyrant, Jupiter, and to disclose the secret of the time of his fall, because he knows by so doing he will lengthen the time of the power of evil. He refuses to flatter the tyrant, and awaits the end, not to gloat over his enemies in vengeful punishment:

"For Justice, when triumphant, will weep down
Pity, not punishment, on her own wrongs,
Too much avenged by those who err,"

but secure in the knowledge that he is right. Mercury, wishing to save Prometheus from the additional pain he must endure, pleads with him to divulge his secret knowledge, pointing in his sympathetic eagerness to the joys that would be Prometheus' if he would only submit. But Prometheus sees no joy in re-

5 *Prometheus Unbound*, Act I. ll. 403-405
penting of his service to mankind, preferring rather the awful, eternal torture than the joys of "the self-despising slaves of Heaven." Calmly he assures the furies, who are waiting to torture him, of his own self-control:

"Yet am I king over myself."

As a true king he is, in his strength and courage, in his tenderness and love. His pity extends even to the fiends who torture him. The greatest of unselfishness it surely is to pity those who do us evil.

"I weigh not what ye do, but what ye suffer."

Being evil," he says to the demons, and we see in the lines the reverence Shelley had for the suffering Christ who taught the too often forgotten doctrine of doing good to "those who hate you." Once more is the great spirit of Prometheus moved with pity as he beholds the symbol of Christ's sufferings shown by the furies. He forgets his own suffering in looking on the sacrifice that now seems to him so vain, in that those who are most like Christ are tortured and disdained. The fury, to torment further his victim,

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6 Prometheus Unbound, Act., ll. 480-481
7 Ibid. l. 493
8 Ibid., Act I., ll. 480-481
presents to him the conditions existing on earth, the
dominion of hypocrisy and convention, the weakness of
the good, the strength of the evil, and the ignorance
of all in that

"...... they know not what they do."

Dispirited by the seeming vanity of his
own sacrifice, and wearied in soul and body by the
futility of his efforts, Prometheus for a time well-
nigh despairs, forgetting the comfort of his secret
knowledge. When he has seen in a vision all his hope
of the power of love, liberty and truth being destroyed
by the injustice of the heavens, he is comforted by his
mother Earth, welcoming the spirits

"Whose homes are the dim caves of
human thought" 10
to bring comfort to him. Here we enter the thought-
world of Shelley for to him these messengers were more
truly comforters than the people of earth could be.
The spirits of self-sacrifice, of revolution, of wisdom
and of poetry bring with them the message of courage for
Prometheus, the courage to do the things that make up
his duty. He feels indeed, loneliness, for Asia is
far away, but bravely he takes up the burden:

9 Ibid. Act I, line 631
10 Ibid. Act I, line 659
"I would fain
Be what it is my destiny to be,
The saviour and the strength of suffering man,
Or sink into the original gulf of things.
There is no agony, and no solace left,
Earth can console, Heaven can torment no more." ll

The brave strength in these words commands our attention. Can this be the ideal of the shy, reticent young man, blushing and stammering in the presence of strangers, often insulted by his inferiors, and condemned by many of the good? Just as our thought-world is so often in direct contrast to the acts men judge by, so this strong, self-reliant Prometheus was indeed the inner, spiritual self of the emotional, erratic Shelley.

True, too, to the highest ideals of Shelley, Prometheus was ready to suffer to secure, once more, the freedom of man. Asia briefly reviews from the creation, through the reign of Saturn when everything on earth was joyful and alive, down to the time when they were refused the

ll Ibid. Act, ll. 815-820
"... birthright of their being,
knowledge, power,
... the thought
Which pierces this dim universe
like light,
Self-empire and the majesty of love."  

Prometheus had given this wisdom to Jupiter with the
provision, only, that man might be free. The promise
had been broken, but even now the hour of the tyrant's
downfall is approaching when man will once more regain
his liberty, and love will have paid the debt. The
power of love is sounded by the deep voice of Demogor-
gon when Asia asks him for the name of the power that
rules all:

"What ( would it avail) to bid speak
Fate, Time, Occasion, Chance and Change?
To these
All things are subject but eternal
Love."

So once again we reach the core of Shelley's philosophy,
the power of love, to recreate, to live, to inspire, to
make happy. Hercules, though he unbinds Prometheus,

12 Ibid. Act II, Sc. IV., ll. 38-42
13 Ibid. Act II, Sc. V, ll. 118-120
the act signifying the power of strength, himself says that he is ready to become a slave to Prometheus who typifies

"Wisdom, courage, and long suffering love." 14

This love is now to live in the world, making it glorious, and free from the evils of the past. The waters of Ocean are no longer stained with blood, her ships no longer carry desolation and ruin to the nations, but peace and happiness reign. Apollo, too, joins in the general rejoicing, glad that he will no longer look down upon scenes of bloodshed and sorrow. Earth, pulsing under the joyous freedom of her child, predicts the change that will come to the things in her bosom, as she feels this love, this joy of life. She sees them no longer sick and miserable but with beautiful colors, strong and happy, with homes among the sweet flowers. Those who sleep on her bosom shall have happy dreams and awake to the joyful day, while the dead shall be enfolded as a wandering child by its mother. The trees and flowers, even the gorgeous rainbow become more beautiful under this new regime of love. As the new-created earth, with all

14 Ibid. Act III. St. III, 11. 1-2
the evils of the past. destroyed, joins in the joyous song, the moon feels the warmth of the power and sings in harmony the joy of her rebirth, giving the cause of it all as:

" 'Tis love, all love." 15

As the things of nature rejoice in their new freedom, there comes a sigh of ecstasy from the world of men. Sweet communion, music, and joy form the day's happiness for Prometheus, Asia, and her sisters as they sit in their beautiful cave. From the world without come the echoes of the great change brought about by love and freedom, the assurance that man is daily growing better through this great power that as it grows,

" ..........veil by veil, evil and error fall." 16

The Spirit of the Hour comes into the cave and reports what she has seen on earth. It is, indeed, a scene desired by Shelley, a scene in which all who love liberty and peace would rejoice. Thrones and all the objects that accompany them are no more. The prisons wherein man once thought to force his fellowman are gone. Gone, too, are the emblems of that religious belief that made the people shed blood, break hearts, and destroy love that they might please their God.

15 Ibid. Act IV, 1. 389. 16Ibid. Act III. Sc. III,1.62
The mask of pretense is gone and "the man remains,

Scepterless, free, uncircumscribed, but man

Equal, unclassed, tribeless and nationless

Exempt from awe, worship, degree, the king

Over himself; just, gentle, wise." 17

This tribeless, nationless being is not a savage, but a man still of the future, a man to whom the world is a community, and the inhabitants of the world, his neighbors. We have not yet attained this ideal of man, though perhaps we are a little nearer than we were in the time of Shelley. If we lack in this, there is perhaps an even greater lack in the realization of the rightful place of women who here are

"........ frank and beautiful and kind," 19

with that perfect freedom from the taint of custom, so that they may indeed speak as they feel, voice the emotions of their hearts, be free from aching fears and jealousies, and be able at last to create a heaven of earth as was intended. From social to political per-

17 Ibid. Act III. Sc. IV, ll.194-197
18 Leslie Stephens; Hours in a Library, page 580
19 Prometheus Unbound,
fection we turn again to face a happier land where

"... thrones were kingless and men walked

One with the other even as spirits do -

None fawned, none trampled."

No hateful emotions are depicted on the faces of the people, nor is anyone afraid of another, trembling under any one else's will. There is no one confusing and doubting himself, no hypocrisy, no self-distrust. Man is changed from a divided power to a mighty whole where everything is done because of love, and the motive beautifies even the commonest acts. His will being master over all evil thoughts and mean passions, is in turn guarded by the stronger power of love. Man is now able to create all beautiful things—buildings, fabrics, poetry. Armed with this new power, he finds the elements yielding to his will, and he is master of earth and air, while the deep yields up her secrets.

The joyous singing of the spirits is an echo of the love that fills the world, of the love that was in the heart of the poet. The rhythm and the swing and the swing are as joyous as the notes of a robin.

20 Ibid. Act III, Sc. IV, ll. 131-133
21 Compare with Godwin's ideas on reason and the will above.
in the springtime. We find ourselves fully believing in the power of love to create a new world

"From the chaos made calm by love, not fear," 22

and feel a great desire to answer to the call of Demogorgon or Eternity as he calls on all things of heaven, earth, sea, and oblivion to work together, as Love has laid over the world her healing wings that there may be no more terrible destruction. Though he knows what love has done he knows, too, that through the ages there will be much more to do when

"Gentleness, Virtue, Wisdom, and Endurance" 23

must help. Contrary to the more youthful belief of Shelley in a change like an emotional conversion we hear the maturer man through the sonorous voice of Demogorgon giving certain spells by which men may regain power over the cleared chaos:

"To suffer woes which Hope thinks infinite;

To forgive wrongs darker than death or night;

To defy Power, which seems omnipotent;

22 Prometheus Unbound, Act IV, i 171; 23 Ibid. i 562
24 Brailsford, page 236
To love and bear; to hope
till Hope creates

From its own wreck the thing
it contemplates;

Neither to change, nor falter,
nor repent;

This............. is to be

Good, great, and joyous, beau­
tiful and free;

This is alone Life, Joy, Empire,
and Victory. " 25

The noble unselfishness permeating these

lines is the spirit breathing throughout the poem as
it is the spirit of Shelley. Entirely free from blame
he may not be, for the tragedy of foolish little Harriet
cannot be obliterated, nevertheless he is in soul. truly
Promethean, ready to suffer for others, eager to serve,
willing to deny self, opposed to force, cruelty, and
hypocrisy, and so infused with that love for people that
feelings of enmity cannot long exist with him.

A production of the same year as his Prometheus
is his drama of The Cenci. The story of the old Italian
family had been handed him in Rome in manuscript, and
this tragic story added to the beauty and pathos of the
pictured face of Beatrice had encouraged him in the pro­
duction. It has little of the ethereal quality of Pro­
metheus. The characters are real, though excited and

25 Prometheus Unbound, Act IV, ll. 570-578
passionate. The situations are highly dramatic, and the drama ranks deservedly high. Though originating in the old, tragic story of the Cenci, there are some familiar Shelleyan ideas expressed in the drama. The evils of the practices of the existing Roman Catholic Church were no secret. But Shelley's conception of the character of Beatrice, so pure and sweet, blindly struggling against the tyranny of her licentious father seems symbolical of society vainly rebelling against the thralldom forced on it by the tyrant, Obedience. Earthly parents, law, religion stand as his ministers. The injustice of life is keenly felt by Beatrice as she faces the inexorable judge who represents the religion she believes in, the God she has been taught to obey. The cry of despair, not alone for herself, but for humanity, rings in the words:

"Oh what a world we make
The oppressor and the oppressed." 26

There is in these two short lines the wail of eternal humanity. That Shelley, at twenty-seven, was able to see into the depths of human suffering in this way assures us, not of his poetic genius, but of his perfect, sympathetic insight. The twentieth

26  The Cenci, Act V, St. 3, ll. 74-75
century finds us still oppressors. In our foolish egotism, in our ignoble greed, in our blind ignorance, we are busy making it "what a world".

The sin of patricide is not a creation of Shelley. One who knew his ideals could not conceive of his creating Beatrice to kill, rather to suffer and forgive. It is not the Shelley plan to use force, but the old story goes on. One may feel the calm acceptance of Shelley in the casting aside of regrets for past deeds. To regret uselessly seems wrong to Shelley. Beatrice's words to her mother and brother, as they lament their weakness in confessing upon torture, are fraught with the calm reasoning of a Godwin:

"'What it was weak to do
'Tis weaker to lament once
being done.'" 27

The bravery of this girl whose will forces her to endure torture without whining, to face death calmly, trammled as she is by her training and environment, shows again Shelley's belief in the power of the will to say, "I am king over myself."

Shelley, himself, thought little of The Cenci, perhaps because he had not allowed free expression to his thought. Thinking it might find

27 Ibid. Adt V, Sc. IV, 11. 112-113
favor on the stage, he had tried to make it acceptable to the public. For Shelley wilfully to pander to public taste was for him to stultify the freedom that is his charm.

Though enamored of the beauty and poetry of Italy, Shelley did not forget England. The news of the Peterloo massacre aroused him to stern protest. In a letter to Mr. Ollier, his publisher, in which he alludes to both *The Cenci* and *Prometheus Unbound*, he says:

"The same day that your letter came, came the news of the Manchester work, and the torrent of my indignation has not yet done boiling in my veins. I wait anxiously to hear how the country will express its sense of this bloody, murderous oppression of its destroyers. "Something must be done. What yet I know not."" 28

The approval of the government for the killing of six people and the wounding of several at a mass meeting held in St. Peter's field at Manchester for the purpose of parliamentary reform was the occasion for the burst of indignation in *The Mask of Anarchy*. There was no cowardice in his attack on Eldon, Lord High

28 *Shelley Memorials*, edited by Lady Shelley, page 131
Chancellor, Sidmouth, Home Secretary, and Castlereagh, Foreign Secretary, whom he fearlessly labels Fraud, Anarchy, and Murder, respectively. Angry at the leaders of the government who permitted and encouraged the outrage at Manchester, he sternly faces them with the charges of hypocrisy, robbery, and murder. His voice, like the lash of a whip, falls rebukingly on the people of England, who have submitted to the power of Anarchy, calmly trampling the multitude into a mass beneath his feet, and proclaiming himself in the words:

"I AM GOD AND KING AND LAW"

Hope, only, is not crushed by the tyrant, but cries out to the people to shake the chains that are binding them, and secure that freedom which is theirs by natural heritage and by the laws of their country. She pleads that this freedom which is made up of justice, peace, wisdom, love, science, poetry, thought, patience, and gentleness shall reign; that a free assembly be held, an assembly free from fear and panic, refraining from the shedding of blood, but ever ready to resist the tyrant, if necessary. Here, too, we hear Shelley, for the first time, appealing to law:

Mask of Anarchy, Stanza IX
"Let the laws of your own land
Good or ill between ye stand,
Hand to hand, and foot to foot,
Arbiter of this dispute."

The laws are to help in the saving of the people from the power of anarchy, those laws

"........ whose solemn voice must be
Thine own echo — Liberty."

In another song he appeals once more to the people of England. An outcast himself, the object of bitter attacks and calumny, he pleads with his fellow-countrymen to

"Sow seed, — but let no tyrant reap;
Find wealth, — let no impostor heap;
Weave robes, — let not the idle wear;
Forge arms, — in your defense to bear."

His picture of England is his idea of the results of tyranny, dull, blind, stupid rulers, a starved and lifeless people, an army paid to kill liberty, a gov-

30 Ibid. St. LXXXII
31 Ibid. St. LXXXIII
32 Song to the Men of England
ernment allowing laws that kill, a nation with

"Religion, Christless, Godless — a book sealed" 33

It is true it is easy to talk, to encourage, to con-
demn. If Shelley had never attempted to help his
country, one might judge him more harshly. It is
ture the youthful, enthusiastic plans for reform had
in them much that was impossible, much that was ideal-
istic and futuristic. But he was doomed to be with-
out honor in his own country. The personal note of
suffering is heard in the cry for liberty of one whom

"A heavy weight of hours has
chained and bowed." 34

Shelley should never have been so bound. He puts in
his plea to the west wind his longing to serve mankind:

"Scatter as from an unextinguished
hearth

...... my words among mankind;" 35

and then with the optimism of eternal youth he looks to
the future:

"If winter comes, can Spring
be far behind?" 36

Several minor poems of the same year show the

33 *England in 1819*; 34 *Ode to the West Wind*, St. IV
interest and love that Shelley still maintained for his homeland. Peter Bell the Third, though a humorous poem probably satirizing the growing conservatism of Wordsworth, bears witness to the poet's continued interest in affairs at home and his nonchalant fearlessness in attacking the social and political evils of England. He presents Hell to the reader as a city "much like London" with its inhabitants, little and big, the men who talk and scheme and lie, and the women who like cats meow

"Of their own virtue, and pursuing
Their gentler sisters to that ruin
Without which — what was chastity?"

The comments on subjects of interest to his countrymen show less of the dreamy poet than of the sharp-sighted economist. The attack on the scheme of paper money, unjust taxation and the dishonesty of those representing the government shows a rare political insight. Poor Peter, in this city of Hell, first boldly attacks the conventions of its smug inhabitants in a book, only to find himself dodging the thrusts of the cruel reviewers, instigated by the Devil. Soured by
the injustice of the world, he turns from the songs of freedom and seeks relief in the harsh beliefs and dogmatism of the day. Delighted by the yielding the Devil once more accepts Peter, now dull, stupid, and Lethargic, but upheld by the government he praises. Though the humor of the poem may be dubious to some, there is a certain boyish mischief about it that helps us better to understand the Shelley who enjoyed "doing the horn," i.e. making a devil's horn of his forelock and mimicking that gentleman for the half-fearful delight of the children who were always his friends.

Judging from the literary productions of the year 1819, one may believe that the first two years in Italy were busy ones. Early in the year 1820, the Shelleys settled at Pisa. Their friends were increasing in number. Lord Byron engaged the use of a nearby palace, drawn, almost against his will, by the warm genius of Shelley. Captains Medwin and Trelawny are memorable friends of the remaining two years of Shelley's life. Mr. and Mrs. E. E. Williams and the Shelleys lived together much of the time. Friendship and appreciation were having their sure effect on the sensitive spirit that had borne buffeting and suffering uncomplainingly. The poems of the year are more free from bitterness, fuller of genial warmth. They range from
the simplest verse to the highest expressions of emotion. The delicacy of their only remaining child (the little William having died the previous year), requiring mildness of climate, the Shelles took up their residence at the baths of San Giuliano, four miles from Pisa where the Witch of Atlas was produced, following a solitary walk to the top of Monte San Pelegrino.

This adorable witch, the daughter of the sun, wanders freely over the earth, bewitching and changing the unchangeable. She visits the grave of the beautiful, disrobes the decaying body of its inmate, and restoring it to a dreaming, beautiful sleep, destroys all the hateful equipment associated with death, making beauty everlasting. She would bewitch the priests so that they would no longer deal in hieroglyphics and fairy stories, but would make right their lies:

"How the god Apis really was a bull, and nothing more," 39

and would give all people the right to speak what they please. Religion unmasked, monarchy next presents a challenge to her powers. With delicate humor this whimsical witch causes the king to dress up an ape

39 The Witch of Atlas, St. 73
and put it on the throne. In the morning the courtiers crawl to kiss the feet of their emperor,

"And kissed — alas, how many kiss the same." 40

The freckled, sunny face of Shelley seems to grin at us as he endows the witch with the power he would like to possess.

Proceeding from the court to the camp, the witch enjoys herself in the Shelleyan reform of turning the force of militarism to ways of peace. The soldiers become somnambulists and, walking in their sleep, they think themselves blacksmiths and beat their swords into ploughshares. The prisons are opened and the jailers under the power of this mystic witch, dreamily set free the prisoners who have been imprisoned for liberalism. Love, too, is freed from the conventions of the centuries. Young lovers who have been afraid to do what they wished to do can now do no wrong in obeying their joyous desires, but gladly come together

"and so they took their fill of happiness, in marriage warm and kind." 41

Broken friendships are healed, and friends, when they see the evils and errors that parted them

40 Ibid
41 Ibid. St. 67
"... unite again with visions clear
Of deep affection and of truth sincere."

Gnipus Tyrannus is another poem written at Pisa, reflecting certain political and social conditions in England with an exaggerated imagery that is most amusing. The landing of Queen Caroline in England, the struggle of George IV against her claims, the action of Lord Castlereagh in instituting in Parliament an inquiry into the conduct of Queen Caroline in the king's name, and all the subsequent gossip and scandal gave to the impish Shelley the material for another expression of ridicule toward monarchs in general, together with all the stupidity and wrong that their existence makes possible. The grunting of pigs at a street fair under his windows suggested to him the idea of a chorus for a satiric drama, and Swellfoot evolved. Its appearance in England was followed by threats of persecution, and it was withdrawn, but now lives as the expostulation of an English poet who dared attack the stupid conventions, the dishonesty and injustice of his government, disclose the causes of suffering, and create the hopeful vision of the approach of a time of freedom.

42 Ibid
The ridiculous picture of monarchy in its gross selfishness is given in the appeal of Swellfoot to the goddess, Famine:

"by whose power divine

These graceful limbs are clothed in proud array

Of gold and purple,"

and as he continues to survey his "swelling paunch" and perhaps to caress the fat cheeks that

"Sustain the cone of my untroubled brain

That point, the emblem of a pointless nothing," 44

a sly bit at monarchs in general and perhaps of George IV in particular, he seeks to pacify the gods that has made his position possible. Shelley believed that monarchy existed by the growth of famine, and that the leaders of the state with the help of their leech taxes, of the rat, espionage, and the gadfly, slander, contrive to destroy any outgrowth of feelings of liberty and freedom in the state. The condition of the citizens is conceived as that of starving swine, pleading for more food, better sties, and for the right to produce their kind, a right about to be taken away by the gelding of the sows. In other words, they were asking for the needs of humanity -- better living conditions, and a

43 *Timus Tyrannus*, Act I, ll. 1-3; 44 Ibid. Act I, ll. 8-9
standard of living that can support a family.

Purganax (Lord Castlereagh) expects to be able to influence the swine, or multitude, by promises of good food, clean straw, and "bits of ribbon round their legs," so that they will confide the innocent queen Iona who is about to usurp the place of Swellfoot. Harman urges the separation of the queen from her followers, or as he says:

"Divide and rule."

He then displays the Green Bag which signifies the evil that may be done by slander, espionage, and unjust taxation, an evil that will make the innocent seem guilty, and that will make these gentle of looks seem deformed and terrible. The contents of the Green Bag are, of course, to be used to cover Queen Iona, thereby effecting her ruin and enhancing the prosperity of Swellfoot and his crew. Purganax, in his speech to the multitude, assures them of a hog wash, regrets their present poverty, as unavoidable, and hopes by testing out the innocence of Queen Iona to protect the purity and chastity of the sows. His half-revealing innuendos regarding the sin of the queen are the usual refuge of a liar. The triumph of the right, as Iona empties the contents of the Green Bag on Swellfoot and his court,

is emphasized in the disappearance of Famine at the
cry of Freedom who

"In voice faint and low
Freedom calls Famine, her eternal foe." 47

In the concluding scene of the drama, Shelley shows an
Englishman's understanding of that love of freedom char­
acteristic of the Minotaux (John Bull) who, while
promising to carry the queen in the hunt after Swell­
foot, rather grudgingly and too loyally concedes that

"At least till you have hunted
down your game,
I will not throw you." 48

Never, however, could Shelley be inter­
tested in only one country. The breadth of his
sympathies made him, truly a citizen of the world.
When Naples announced its constitutional government
(1820), Shelley was overjoyed. To him Greece and es­
pecially Naples was the place of the nativity of free­
dom. He hails her with joy because she is once more
asserting that she will be free forever,

"If Hope and Truth and Justice
can avail." 49

He wishes much for her future and paints in glowing

49 Ode to Naples, l. 64.
colors her cleansing of the form of freedom, the taking away of falsehood and wrong, and the leaving her exposed in all her loveliness. He adds:

"And equal laws be thine,
And winged worlds let sail
Freighted with truth even from the throne of God." 50

There had been no liberty till Athens arose; then came Rome. But Tyranny stepped in and liberty departed. Later came the many forms of the Christian religion to choke and thwart liberty:

"When from its sea of death,
to kill and burn,
The Galilean serpent forth did creep
And made thy world an indistinguishable heap." 51

Shelley never shrank from attacking the deed of tyranny done in the name of Christ by those who are least like him. The Puritanic fear that rules the actions of so many he knew not at all. He thought of tyranny in religion as he did in government, a thing to be destroyed.

50 Ibid., II. 96-100
51 Ode to Liberty, St. 8.
"Oh that the free would stamp
the impious name
Of King into the dust .......
The sound has poison in it;
'tis the sperm
Of what makes life foul, cankerous,
and abhorred." 52

Liberty, to Shelley, has nothing in common with the
tenets of a formal religion. They bind her and
those who are wise will so work.

"That the pale name of Priest
might shrink and dwindle
Into the hell from which it
first is hurled," 53

so that our mind might be free to converse each
with its own "aweless soul," and the words that are
clothed in hypocrisy and pretense may be stripped
and the thoughts laid bare,

"Till in the nakedness of false and true,
They stand before their Lord, each to
receive its due." 54

The poet conceives for our many ailments: our creation
of tyranny, our slavery, our blind devotion to relig-
ion and government, a certain cure, wisdom:

52 Ibid., St. 15
53 Ibid., St. 16
54 Ibid
"Come thou, but lead out of
the immost cave
Of man's deep spirit ....
Wisdom".

These political poems were reflective of the contemporary thought of Shelley as is evident from his personal letters of the time. These letters also show the practical mind of the poet, and his ability to understand and improve the economic condition of England. From the contemplation of such philosophy, one must possess the versatility of a Shelley to sympathize perfectly with the metaphysical ideas in the fanciful, imaginative poem, _The Sensitive Plant_. Though full of the bright beauty and ethereal dreaminess that characterize most of the poems of the past two years, this poem conveys the poet's firm faith in the eternal existence of love, and truth, and beauty. The gentle mistress of the garden may have died, the beautiful blossoms may have withered, the tender plants may have been choked by noxious weeds, while the sensitive plant, having needed more love and care than the others, may indeed have become a "leafless wreck,".

55 Ibid., St. 18
56 _The Sensitive Plant_, l. 111
though all this work of decay and destruction may be true, we find ourselves almost willing to believe it all a dream and

"To own that death itself must be
Like all the rest, a mockery."

To Shelley as to Keats, beauty was eternal. In spite of the disillusion that the years had brought, his youthful spirit still believed that

"For love, and beauty, and delight
There is no death or change."

In *Epipsychidion*, this same "Spirit of Beauty and Love, also the eternal soul of the world, is represented as veiling itself in this form of woman, one of its incarnations." The inspiration of *Epipsychidion*, Emilia Viviani, a beautiful Italian lady suffering from Italian conventions by being held virtually a prisoner in a convent until she should give her consent to a hated marriage, was to Shelley, for a while, the personification of his ideal. Love, to Shelley, is finding in another the response to the feelings in oneself. He is looking for someone that agrees with him, not his weaknesses and his faults, but his best parts, his ideals. He wants one who

57 Ibid., ll. 128-129
58 Ibid., ll. 134-135
59 Woodberry: Note on *Epipsychidion*, page 629
Feels as he feels at the same time, one who will kiss with burning lips when his are so, not with the chill touch of cold ice. "We are born into the world and there is something within us which, from the instant we live, more and more thirsts after its likeness." Friendship and love should be joyous, thinking little of the chaos of the world, living to create light in darkness, sweetness in bitterness, and beauty where all is sordid and ugly:

"gentle tone

Among rude voices, a beloved light,

A solitude, a refuge, a delight,

If I had but a friend."

The longing for one who understands is not confined to Shelley. Much of the tragedy of life, much of its misfitness, its awful loneliness lies in the unappeased longing, "if I had but a friend."

It seems equally unnecessary to protest that this was not the usual kind of infatuation, and as Shelley whimsically complains against the putting him in the "circle of a servantgirl and her sweet-heart," or to deny that the beauty and romantic

61 Lines Connected With Epipsychidion
62 Memorials, page 163
position of Emilia had an effect on the nowise invulnerable heart of the poet. *Epipsychidion*, or the "soul within a soul," is an attempt to materialize that idealistic love which is so much a part of Shelley. For a little while he thought the ideal was the real, and with this conception he completed the poem which he had sometime before attempted to write. Had we the power of loving that Shelley had, we might better understand this impassioned poem. However, in spite of the passionate utterances and farfetched dreams, one may feel the unsatisfied longing, almost the belief that all this is not real, and that he is merely disillusioned again. Poor Shelley! The love that he desired is not possible in our land of marred perfection. Perhaps as he says:

"Love's very pain is sweet,
But its reward is in the world divine
Which, if not here, it builds beyond the grave." 63

Love is the leveller. When we have love we are no longer unequal in rank, but as he says:

63 *Epipsychidion*, ll. 596-598.
"The spirit of the worm beneath
the sod

In love and worship, blends itself
with God." 64

This universality of love is peculiarly Shelleyan. While many before him urged the practice of humanitarianism, Shelley expressed the highest aim of such a practice in the words:

"And Socrates, the Jesus Christ of
Greece,

And Jesus Christ himself did never
cease

To urge all living things to love
each other

And to forgive their mutual faults,
and smother

The Devil of disunion in their souls." 65

Unlike our selfish conception of a love that should be given to one only in this world, Shelley, rather, saw its power increased by division. He considers the worship of one without permitting room for any other as inexpressibly narrow, and a "sepulcher for its (the spirit's) eternity!"

Nor does he, though flaunting his idea in the face of all convention, consider it any more than

64 Ibid., ll. 127-128
65 Lines Connected With Epipsychidion, ll. 33-27
66 Epipsychidion, l. 178.
the life of a slave for a person to confine his earthly happiness with one whom he has at one time selected as life's partner. He acknowledges that it is the modern, moral code for a man or woman

"With one chained friend, perhaps a jealous foe,

The dreariest and the longest journey go," 67

but he urges the lack of wisdom in such a compact. The picture of the three, himself with Emily and Mary, his "sun and moon" flying away to an island in the Ægean is visionary; of course, and impossible. Something shattered the dream. He later describes the poem as "a portion of me already dead." He had raised to the divine a human being — she could only fall. He later wrote, "I think one is always in love with something or other. The error ....... consists in seeking in a mortal image the likeness of what is, perhaps, eternal."

If this poem failed to find grace with its readers, the same cannot be said as truly of another poem of the year 1821, Adonais, written in commemoration of Keats whom he truly admired, as well as in condemnation of the cruel Quarterly reviewer who was thought to have hastened the death of Keats.

67 Ibid., ll. 158-159
68 Symonds, page 141: Letter to Leigh Hunt
69 Ibid., page 146
by his infamous criticism.* The poem, a beautiful and artistic elegy, is filled with an "aerial spiritualism," that expresses, or is an attempt to express the metaphysical philosophy of Shelley. As he soars into a song of consolation, he expresses his belief of the fusing of the spirit of man with that of the eternal universe. He consigns the body to the earth:

"Dust to the dust! but the pure Spirit shall flow
Back to the burning fountain whence it came,
A portion of the Eternal."  

The hunger for eternity, ever-present in the heart of the idealist, rises in a song of triumph:

"Peace, peace! he is not dead, he doth not sleep
He hath awakened from the dreams of life,

................. we decay
Like corpses in a charnel."

Though to confine the exultant blending of the spirit of Adonais with nature to a pantheistic belief is ig-

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* Symonds page 146
70 Adonais, Stanza 38
71 Ibid., 39
72 Ibid., 39

\textsuperscript{Woods: Note on Adonais}, p. 913
moring the individualistic ideals of Shelley, there
is a strange combining of pantheism with individual-
ism in the lines beginning:

"He is made one with Nature; there
is heard
His voice in all her music, from the
moan
Of thunder to the song of night's sweet
bird." 73

Though his grief for the death of Keats is human and
real, no Christian could express a higher faith and
belief in eternity than exists in these words:

"The One remains, the many change
and pass;
Heaven's light forever shines, Earth's
shadows fly;
Life, like a dome of many-colored
glass
Stains the white radiance of Eternity
Until Death tramples it to fragments.
While basking in the joy of spiritual
triumphs, and the mental life that was daily growing
more real to him, Shelley did not lose his interest in
the political events of the world. Hellas, the last
of his longer political poems, was written in the fall
of 1821. The nations of Southern Europe, restless
under the German yoke, were beginning to assert their

73 Ibid., 42
74 Ibid., 52
independence. The unlocked-for insurrection of Greece in the Spring of 1821 filled Shelley with delight. *Hellas*, written in one of his rare periods of enthusiasm, celebrates the event, and expresses the keen sympathy Shelley had always felt for the fighters for liberty. He sees no hope for Greece without this freedom. For this child of free thought, there should be no chains or slavery:

"Let Freedom leave, where'er she flies,
A desert or a paradise;
Let the beautiful and the brave
Share her glory or a grave."

Shelley had firm faith in the spread of freedom. Born with the creation, it has been trampled and seemingly defeated, only to come triumphantly down through the generations, overcoming again, and at last bursting gloriously from the West in America:

"From far Atlantic its young bears
Chased the shadows and the dreams."

Shelley, the dreamer, saw in America, as he saw in Emilia Viviani, his ideal materialized. Perhaps it is well that he could not live to see in our country,

75 *Hellas*, Act I, ll. 90-94
76 *Ibid.*, ll. 70-71
as he saw in Emilia "a cloud instead of a Juno."

He could not brook silently the contempt of malicious tyrants who were sure of the ultimate victory of might. The righteous indignation of Christ flashed out at the boasting Satan in reproof and hopefulness:

"Obdurate spirit!
Thou seest but the Past in the To-come!
True greatness asks not space, true excellence
Lives in the spirit of all things that live,
Which lends it to the worlds thou callest thine."

As a source of the strength that must liberate mankind, Shelley voices a strong faith in Christ. Other sources had failed until:

"A Power from the Unknown God,
A Promethean conqueror, came
Like a triumphant path he trod
The thorns of death and shame."

As Shelley looks in spirit into the cloudy uncertainties of the future, he can only say and try to believe

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77 Symonds page 141
78 Hellas, Prologue, ll. 161-168
79 Hellas, ll. 211-214
that

"................blazoned as on heaven's
immortal noon"

80

The cross leads generations on."

In his notes on this passage Shelley says, "Let it not be supposed that I mean to dogmatize upon a subject concerning which all men are equally ignorant, or that I think the Gordian knot of the origin of evil can be disentangled by that or by any similar assertion." While Shelley cannot understand the purpose of a God who makes it almost impossible for us not to do wrong, and then adds to our wrong-doing an eternal punishment, he nevertheless here puts himself on the side of the noblest and most exalted ideas. The "riddle is not solved" as he says, but he clings to what seems best.

The ability to enter, easily, the realm of thought provides for Shelley a constant refuge from the seeming "riddles". He ignores time. He ignores time. The present, past, and future are fused together in one great harmony. The evils and injustices of the earth become more and more of small moment to him, since the world of thought is the real world in which we live. The things of earth, the temples, the towers, the palaces,

80 Ibid., I, 223-224
and market-places are doomed to decay,

"But Greece and her foundations are
Built below the tide of war,
Based on the crystalline sea
Of thought and its eternity." 81

The past and the future mean little compared to the present, and the present will so soon be the past.

"Thought
Alone and its quick elements,
Will, Passion,
Reason, Imagination, cannot die;
		what has thought
To do with time, or place, or circumstance." 82

Shelley puts into the mouth of the old Jew his belief in the power of thought and the transiency of everything but thought. Earth and ocean, the elements, the planets,

" and men, and beasts,
and flowers, ...

(Are) but a vision;
Thought is its (the whole's) cradle and its grave, nor less.
The future and the past are idle shadows
Of thought's eternal flight - they have no being;

Nought is but that which feels itself to be." 83

81 Ibid., ll. 696-699; 82 Ibid., ll. 796-802
83 Ibid., ll. 777-785
The italics are not Shelley's but serve to emphasize his certainty of the eternity of thought. Death, life, everything shrink before the great world of the intellect. All else is a mockery.

There is, however, much that is concrete in Hellas. Shelley has lost his tribeless, nationless people and created Greeks, triumphant even in their defeat. The sound of the voices shouting the victory of Islam over the Greeks comes into the mind of the now unblinded Mahmud as a cry of slaves, because he has just realized through the wisdom of Ahaseurus and the Phantom of Mahomet, the weakness and flimsiness of such a victory. It is true that the power of wrong is still strong. The call to the tyranny:

"Anarchs, ye whose daily food
Are curses, groans, and gold, the fruit of death,
From Thule to the girdle of the world,
Come feast! the board groans with the flesh of men;
The cup is foaming with a nation's blood;"

has in it a fiendish joy somewhat shadowed by the added

84 Ibid., ll. 934-938
"eat, drink, and die."

The cry of the semi-chorus is a half-despairing wail that perhaps liberty, virtue, and love may be overcome by these evil powers now so triumphant, and even that

"Truth, who wanderest, lone and unbefriended,

If thou canst veil thy lie-consuming mirror

Before the dazzled eyes of Error

Alas for thee."

But we are not left in the abandonment of despair, else Shelley would not have been Shelley. He, with his more or less prophetic power, proclaims anew that even though Greece must be conquered, and

"A wreck, yet shall its fragments reassemble,

And build themselves again impregnably

In a diviner cline,

To Amphionic music, on some

Cape sublime

Which frowns above the idle foam of time."

85 Ibid., l. 939
86 Ibid., Il. 984-987
87 Ibid., Il. 1003-1005
Once more Shelley's idealistic enthusiasm for the future leads us to share with him this hope. He predicts a new Greece, a new Athens, with all the old beauty and grandeur, more beautiful and more grand with nothing that is of hatred and death but rather:

"Saturn and Love their long repose
Shall burst, more bright and good
Than all who fell, than One who rose,
Than many unsubdued."

It is true, this new Athens may never rest on the soil of Hellas, but "Where any mind strives after justice, where any soul suffers and loves and defies, there is the ideal Republic." And though there is one last dread that all the evil is not in the past, Shelley refuses to

" drain to its dregs the urn
Of bitter prophecy.
The world is weary of the past, 90
Oh, might it die or rest at last.

Hellas was published in the spring of 1822. The Shelleys were still living near Pisa and had united with the Williams family in a common home called the Villa Magni on the Gulf of Spezzia. We owe much of

88 Ibid., 1090-1093
89 Brailsford, page 243
90 Hellas, 11, 1098-1101
our knowledge of those last few weeks of the poet's life to the intimate recollections of Captain Trelawny, a former friend of the Williamses, who lived in close contact with the circle near Pisa. Reading and writing were still the chief occupations of Shelley. A boat, owned by Shelley and Williams, the "Don Juan", was the innocent instrument of the snuffing out of these young lives. Shelley would read as he steered, insisting that the two could be done together, "as the one was mental, the other mechanical." On the home journey from Leghorn, where Shelley had gone to help the Hunts settle in part of Byron's house, on the eighth day of July, 1822, came the twenty-minute storm that sank the "Don Juan" with its owners and an eighteen-year-old boy who had been helping them. Several days later the mutilated bodies were found, one a "tall, slight figure" in a jacket with a copy of Sophocles in one pocket and Keats' poems, doubled back in the other, all being too familiar to leave a doubt of its identity. Evidently the Keats volume had been thrust hastily away when the storm came. As the poet lived, so he died with a joy in the present:

91 Trelawny, page 105
92 Ibid., page 123
"Is not to-day enough? Why do I peer
Into the darkness of the day to come?
Is not to-morrow even as yesterday?
And will the day that follows
change thy doom?" 93

The brief life was ended. Not so the visions
born of the brilliant mind. Nor yet was the sweetness
that is diffused through his poems. If there is one
characteristic of Shelley that stands supreme in his
life and work, it is the belief in love. Forgiving his
faults as we wish to be forgiven, we cannot fail to feel
with him that

"...love, though misdirected, is among
The things which are immortal
and surpass
All that frail stuff which will be-
or which was." 94
VI

Conclusion

Throughout the preceding discussion Shelley has been considered in the light of a philosopher. To separate a man's beliefs from his actions is, in the case of Shelley, almost impossible. Therefore, from time to time biographical matter has been used to clarify the principles he expressed in his poetry. The spirit of revolt, present in Queen Mab, is better understood by the addition of the knowledge of his early rebellion against authority. The extracts from Shelley's letters to Harriet are an exposition of his social ideas expressed poetically in Epipsychidion. His poems often grew out of some incident or series of incidents in his life. The death of Harriet and the subsequent harsh criticism to which Shelley was subjected made almost necessary, for peace at least, the home in Italy whence have come so many of his best poems.

The isolated passages quoted from the poems

1 See Mrs. Shelley's note on The Revolt of Islam and The Witch of Atlas- Woodberry.
can not in themselves prove Shelley's philosophy. In order that false impressions might not be created by the illustration of a few lines, many longer poems have been briefly paraphrased. In recapitulation of Shelley's theories, the poems best illustrating his philosophy may be mentioned. First, his belief in the will to endure injustice for social benefit may be found to be most emphasized in *The Revolt of Islam*, and *Prometheus Unbound*. Especially in the first is there the expression of the individualistic spirit that makes the woman a being equal with man, his companion and friend. Secondly, chiefly in *The Revolt of Islam* is reason used in the righting of wrongs. The hero, Laon, protests against bloodshed, appealing to the reasoning power of his hearers that theirs is a mental slavery more than a physical. Laone, too, in her speech to the mariners, proves by the use of argument and persuasion the weakness of their beliefs, and by the same power secures their cooperation and help. Reason fails, temporarily at least, but love and a courageous will provide the needed sacrifice. Reason, evolving into the supremacy of thought, is paramount in *Hellas*. Lastly, the belief in the strength of love that, according to Shelley, is to
perfect the world socially and politically is present in nearly all the longer poems. The note of humanitarianism in Queen Mab and Prometheus Unbound is a part of the great scheme of perfecting the world. The willing sacrifice of Prometheus in the latter poem, and of Laon in The Revolt of Islam, is another illustration of the power of love. The witch in The Witch of Atlas is a personification of that happy love which, like a will-o'-the-wisp, darts about over the earth doing good. In Adonais, love becomes immortal.

In nearly all Shelley's poems there is the constant protest against tyranny, convention, falsehood, and hypocrisy. In four, Queen Mab, The Revolt of Islam, Prometheus Unbound and Hellas, he presents the world as a perfect social and political system would make it. Each successive picture shows the changing, maturing mind of the poet. Because of the monotony of repetition of ideas, many shorter poems and fragments have not been touched upon in the foregoing chapters. But enough has been said to show that, in spite of various interpretations of Shelley's poems, there is in each an unmistakable philosophy of life.
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