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The Presence of the Shelleys in the Brontë Juvenilia

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Introduction.

i. The Textual Shelleys.

In the extensive field of Brontë studies, only limited attention has been paid to the engagement of Charlotte (1816–1855), Branwell (1817–1848), Emily (1818–1848), and Anne's (1820–1849) with and knowledge of Percy Bysshe (1792–1822) and Mary Shelley (1797–1851), and there has been no sustained examination of a specific Shelleyan engagement within their work. Given that Mary Shelley was a proximate contemporary woman novelist to the Brontës – her first novel *Frankenstein, or the Modern Prometheus* (1818), was published in the year of Emily Brontë's birth, and her final work, *Rambles in Italy and Germany* (1844) was issued just three years before the first Brontë novel *Jane Eyre* appeared – very few Brontë scholars mention Mary's name, nor have many considered the possibility of a significant relationship between them. Despite the extensive publicity around the Shelleys within the print culture of the 1800s, scholars have not explored a potential connection with the Brontës, regardless of the accessibility of published material written both on and by Mary and Percy Shelley, available to the family in Haworth. My thesis argues, through a detailed examination of the Shelleyan narrative accessible to the Brontës, for a new perspective on their engagement with the Shelleys, which enables the identification of new forms of indebtedness in both their juvenilia[1] and later novels. In this respect, I understand the Brontës as readers, rather than exclusively as writers, viewing them as a product of the early nineteenth–century literary marketplace.

[1] Whilst the term juvenilia implies childhood writing, despite the Brontë siblings continuing to write pre–novel material as young adults, I retain the term juvenilia in keeping with its wide use amongst Brontë scholars to group by common term all preparatory work. See, for example, Heather Glen, 'Introduction,' *Tales of Angria* (London: Penguin, 2006), p. xiii, and Christine Alexander & Margaret Smith, *The Oxford Companion to the Brontës* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012 [2006]), p. 227.

The diversity of published materials available to the Brontës offered them material from newspapers, annuals, magazines, poetry, novels, biographies and accompanying volumes of engraved illustrations. The family were not limited to reading works of fiction, but, as their juvenilia demonstrates, absorbed details of everyday life and factual accounts of a wider world of politics, science, discovery and war, together with life accounts of famous literary figures. Creating the fictional worlds of Gondal and Angria, the siblings' use of source texts contributed to the content and context of these imaginary kingdoms.[2] As Glen concurs, the importance of the sources read in their youth, can be seen most readily in the fantasy kingdoms they developed in their juvenilia.[3] Charlotte Brontë's Angrian 'novelettes' are, agrees Glen, 'not artless "trance writings"[4] but carefully crafted fictions, in which a highly accomplished writer, alert to the literary, linguistic and cultural life of her time, can be seen playing wittily with contemporary literary fashions and experimenting with evolving literary forms.'[5] Through a detailed analysis of print culture in this period – from the 1810s through to the 1840s[6] – this thesis aims to establish a specific presence for the Brontës in the early and mid–nineteenth–century of a Shelleyan print narrative, which offered to readers information about their works and opinionated narratives about their lives. My re–examination of the Brontës' adolescent reading will provide evidence for what I loosely term the 'textual Shelleys' upon the Brontës' subsequent work, offering an important

[2] Charlotte and Branwell created Angria around June 1834. The first known reference to Emily and Anne's Gondal dates to November of the same year.

[3] Heather Glen, 'Introduction,' *Tales of Angria* (London: Penguin, 2006). [every footnote: first name surname, eg Heather Glen, 'Introduction'. You only reverse names for Bibliography.]

[4] Glen recognises the suggestion the Angrian manuscripts were written in a 'trancelike' state was first asserted by Winifred Gérin (1971), and later reiterated by critics such as Gilbert & Gubar (1979), Alexander (1983) and Sadoff (1982), Ibid, p. xliv.

[5] Ibid, pp. xvi–xv.

[6] The first pieces of surviving juvenilia date from 1827. Charlotte's juvenilia ended by 1839 and there is little material which could be termed as juvenilia which survives after his date.

example of a female literary heritage for the sisters, as opposed to what has traditionally been seen as a male literary tradition.

By bringing together what are currently a small number of fragmented scholarly references, alongside original archival research, my thesis aims to redefine the family's literary development, offering new accounts for the early foundations of their subsequent novels, and consequently repositioning the Brontë sisters as women novelists with a stronger Shelleyan presence in their work than has previously been recognised. 'Writers in general have often been cautious about [Percy] Shelley's influence' Chitham warns, noting how it 'is true that precise evidence of Emily's reading of [Percy] Shelley is distressingly wanting.'[7] While a few scholars have hinted at the Shelleys' influence within Brontë works, my work not only proposes that both Percy and Mary Shelley are a significant presence within the juvenilia, but also shows how, through the framework of this Shelleyan narrative, the early work of all four Brontë siblings can be seen as the product of a cohesive writing group. Considering the juvenilia as material that is connected rather than as standalone pieces, the Shelleyan narrative I describe presents the juvenilia as interrelated early work.

ii. Juvenilia and Critical Fragments.

Visiting Haworth Parsonage after Charlotte's death to research *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* (1857), Elizabeth Gaskell (1810–1865) wrote 'I have had a curious packet confided to me, containing an immense amount of manuscript, in an inconceivably small amount of space; tales, dramas, poems, romances, written principally by Charlotte, in a hand which is almost impossible to decipher without the aid of a magnifying glass.'[8] This 'packet' contained the juvenilia papers. Offering extracts from the papers in Charlotte's *Life,* Gaskell termed the

[7] Edward Chitham, 'The Irish Heritage of the Brontës,' *A Companion to the Brontës,* ed. Diane Long Hoeveler & Deborah Denenholz Morse (Chichester: Whiley Blackwell, 2016), p. 412.

[8] Elizabeth Gaskell, *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, ed. Elizabeth Jay (London: Penguin, 1997 [1857]), p. 62.

work 'wild weird writing' which was 'sometimes to the very borders of apparent delirium.'[9] Charlotte's widower, Rev. Arthur Bell Nicholls (1819–1906), later acquired the manuscripts, taking them with him to Ireland. He was visited in 1895 by Clement Shorter, a journalist and literary critic who had edited Gaskell's *Life* and was subsequently interested in acquiring profitable material on the Brontës. Aware of items described by Gaskell, Shorter was able to purchase the packet of manuscripts from the elderly Nicholls which had lain untouched 'in the bottom of a cupboard tied up in newspaper' for thirty years.[10] Shorter went on to publish *The Brontës and their Circle* (1896), and *The Brontës: Life and Letters* (1908), even publishing a small selection of the juvenilia under Charlotte's name, as *The Twelve Adventurers: and Other Stories* (1925).[11] His sale of the original juvenilia manuscripts to Thomas J. Wise led to the papers being separated and dispersed through auction sales which damaged their preservation. Whilst Wise subsequently offered an edition of the juvenilia in 1936, this was inaccurate and incomplete.[12] As a result of this fragmentation, scholarship has only relatively recently made significant headway in accurately reconstructing the content of the

[9] Ibid, p. 69.

[10] Clement Shorter King, *Charlotte Brontë and Her Circle* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1896), p. 25.

[11] Clement Shorter King, *Charlotte Brontë and Her Circle* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1896); Clement Shorter King, *The Brontës: Life and Letters; being an attempt to present a full and final record of the lives of the three sisters, Charlotte, Emily and Anne Brontë from the biographies of Mrs. Gaskell and others, and from numerous hitherto unpublished manuscripts an letters* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1908); Charlotte Brontë, *The Twelve Adventurers: and Other Stories,* Clement Shorter King, ed. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1925).

[12] Block terms Wise the 'villain of this story' who 'privately printed abridged and inaccurate editions of some of the manuscripts. He removed the original covers from a number of the booklets and had them rebound for his own personal library; and others he took apart page by page, selling fragments to friends and acquaintances. Portions of manuscripts were bound and titled as if they were separate volumes; sheets from different volumes were removed from their original bindings and rebound together. Signatures and other small parts of pages were literally cut out of manuscripts and sold or give away. Titles were fabricated, attributions of authorship were deliberately falsified, and signatures were forged. As a result, Charlotte and Branwell's books, so carefully 'printed' and hardbound by the child authors themselves were dismembered, mis–collated, misidentified and dispersed in pieces, mostly across the United States and Britain'. Carol Block, '"Our plays": the Brontë juvenilia,' *The Cambridge Companion to the Brontës,* ed. Heather Glen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 37.

manuscripts.[13] Nonetheless an unknown amount of the Brontës' early work is presumed lost, including the entirety of Emily and Anne's Gondal manuscripts.

With a few notable exceptions, there has been relatively little critical attention given to the Brontës' Shelleyan engagement. Criticism on the Brontës' Shelleyan connection is piecemeal, at times contradictory, and spanning observations across the Brontë novels, poetry and juvenilia. Yet the numerous, if isolated, mentions of thematic similarities or textual likeness, when taken together, gesture towards the sweeping nature of the Brontë consciousness of a Shelleyan narrative. Helen Small's distinctive consideration of Emily's *Wuthering Heights* (1847), which has formed a starting point for my thesis, suggests a notable textual presence of the works of both Shelleys within the novel:

> Like Mary Shelley's *The Last Man* (1826), to which it seems at one point to allude, *Wuthering Heights* is pervaded by the diction and imagery of high Romanticism, especially the writings of Percy Shelley, Byron, and Scott. It is so thoroughly infused with them that the prose seems occasionally to take on the aspect of a stylistic graveyard for that literary movement, even as it can lay claim to being the most vigorous continuation of Romanticism into Victorian fiction. [Emily] Brontë's references to Romantic poetry and prose are rarely as obvious as Mary Shelley's. The possible reminiscence of Percy Shelley's 'Adonais' in the novel's final sentence, for example, seems to have gone unremarked by critics.[14]

[13] Most notably Neufeld's publication of Branwell's work, Branwell Brontë, *The Works of Patrick Branwell Brontë*, ed. Victor Neufeld, vol. 2, (London: Garland Publishing, 1999), and Christine Alexander's publication of Charlotte's juvenilia, Charlotte Brontë, *The Early Writings of Charlotte Brontë*, ed. Christine Alexander (New Jersey: Wiley, 1992).

[14] 'Introduction,' Emily Brontë, *Wuthering Heights,* ed. Helen Small (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. xi.

Small goes on to draw attention to Emily's 'references to Romantic poetry and prose', which 'thoroughly infuse'[15] her prose, and identifies specific textual likenesses between *Wuthering Heights* and Mary's *The Last Man:*

> the dying Catherine Linton's reference to her body as a "shattered prison", recalling Shelley's account of the death of Raymond (a character based on Byron): "I pressed [his cloak] to my lips … as if regret and endless lamentation could re–illumine the extinguished spark, or call to its shattered prison–house of flesh the liberated spirit.[16]

Noting the textual similarity Small's observation is strengthened by the possible echo of"Adonais" in its final sentence'. Small notes, that '"I … wondered how any one could ever imagine unquiet slumbers for the sleepers in that quiet earth" … briefly evokes "Adonais," stanza 14 ("Pale Ocean in an unquiet slumber lay")'.[17] Whilst the likeness of the phrase may seem little more than coincidence, when coupled with Small's proposed textual similarity with Mary's *The Last Man,* the connection becomes more significant. Whilst these details may seem slight, Small's account suggested a possible Shelleyan significance that scholarship has not, to date, significantly expanded upon.

iii. Scholarly Reviews of Percy Shelley and the Brontës.

The sole evidence of the name 'Shelley' being documented by the Brontës exists in Charlotte's citing of Percy Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound* in her 1839 juvenile tale *Caroline Vernon:* 'time is advancing and the hours – those "wild–eyed charioteers" as Shelley calls

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid, ft. n. 8, p. xi.

[17] Ibid, p. xi

them – are driving on.'[18] No further direct naming of the Shelleys has been recognised. Nonetheless, Alexander and Smith propose several examples of Percy Shelley having been a published presence for the Brontës. Considering the availability of his image and works to the family, alongside evidence of Shelley's poetry and philosophy within the siblings' own poetry and novels, Alexander suggests that within *Shirley* (1849) 'Charlotte captured Emily's Shelleyan passions'.[19] Noting Chitham's recognition of their access to Percy in relation to Emily's work, Alexander identifies that 'The Brontës had a copy of Mary Shelley's 1839 edition of her husband's *Poems,* but seem to have known some of his works earlier, perhaps stimulated by Thomas Moore's *Letters and Journals of Lord Byron, with Notices of his Life* (1830).'[20]

Constable also suggests Percy Shelley may have marked a significant figure within the juvenilia. His early political objectives in Ireland with his first wife Harriet, she proposes, particularly his '*An Address to the Irish People* (1812) [which] was delivered in Dublin and printed in most major British and Irish newspapers … and later published as a pamphlet' may have resonated with Branwell whose:

> […] effete posing was based on the models of Byron and his circle, with which the siblings were eminently familiar. Indeed, by 1939 Charlotte was casually quoting Shelley's 'Prometheus' in her novelette *Caroline Vernon* … and since the children's reading at that time was communal there is little doubt Branwell was familiar with the poet's paradigm for 'success.'[21]

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[18] Charlotte Brontë, 'Caroline Vernon,' *Tales of Angria,* ed. Heather Glen (London: Penguin, 2006), p. 383.

[19] Christine Alexander & Margaret Smith, *The Oxford Companion to the Brontës* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012 [2006]), p. 460.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Kathleen Constable, *A Stranger at the Gates: Charlotte Brontë and Victorian Irishness* (New York: University of America, 2000), pp. 50–52.

Concurrently, Chitham believes Percy Shelley to have been an important figure for the young Brontës, acknowledging that whilst 'We have no proof that the young Brontës saw it ['Queen Mab' (1813)] … it might have been hard to avoid doing so'. The poem was 'running through many pirated editions'.[22] 'We may guess,' considers Chitham, 'but unfortunately can offer no sure proof [for the presence of] … Shelley's poetry, the influence of which is deep in her [Emily's] own and Anne's [work].'[23] Chitham likewise proposes that:

> [Emily] seems to be talking of the same lonely and misunderstood person, for whom she feels. She clings closely to him. He is not a Gondal fiction; he is not Branwell, who will not die for nine years. This man, on the other hand, is dead 'long ago' … this man angered God in the eyes of the world … He died overseas and was buried there … It must be stressed again that this man is not a Gondal fiction. It is hard to find a candidate for this identity more appropriate than [Percy] Shelley, whose thought permeates Emily's, and who called himself an atheist. We have posited that she and Anne read 'Epipsychidion'… It seems impossible to prove that this was Shelley, but if not then who was it? Who else can be suggested who flouted convention and religion … it must be a person whose picture Emily had seen … and whose writings she could read.[24]

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[22] Edward Chitham, 'The Irish Heritage of the Brontës,' *A Companion to the Brontës,* eds. Diane Long Hoeveler & Deborah Denenholz Morse (Chichester: Whiley Blackwell, 2016), p. 412.

[23] Edward Chitham, *A Life of Emily Brontë* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), p. 73.

[24] Ibid, pp. 133–34.

Expanding upon Chitham's observations, my thesis aims to provide more detailed evidence for these proposed Shelleyan strains in the juvenilia, strengthening Chitham's suspicions to include all four Brontës and both Shelleys. Whilst Winnifrith and Chitham's studies focuses upon Emily, I propose it likely that if she had encountered some of Percy Shelley's work, then so too would her brother and sisters. Chitham does not relate Percy Shelley to Charlotte nor to Branwell, yet as my thesis will demonstrate, there is evidence for the presence of Percy Shelley's works as being within the parsonage, and available to all four siblings, as early as 1829. This claim confirms Chitham's suspicion that Emily shows signs of having read his poetry prior to 1831.

Whilst Chitham recognises 'that precise evidence of Emily's reading of Shelley is distressingly wanting'; he also proposes that 'Few doubt that the family was influenced by Byron, but in my view Shelley is a stronger influence, and the similarities simply cannot be coincidental.'[25] Winnifrith and Chitham conclude Percy Shelley was a crucial figure in their assessment of Brontë references to Romantic poets from the juvenilia onwards. Whereas Brontë scholars such as Alexander or Barker omit to note Percy Shelley in their summaries of Brontë reading material, Winnifrith and Chitham recognise how Charlotte 'makes a number of references to [Percy] Shelley ... Emily's poetry seems often indebted to him ... Both she and Anne appear to have read *Epipsychidion* [1821] at an early stage.'[26] Winnifrith and Chitham explore in detail the influence of Percy Bysshe upon the Brontës, not solely through his work but also in the published narrative of his life.[27] They consider the Brontës' engagement with Percy Shelley of equal importance to that of Byron: 'Shelley had already been one of Emily's favourites', they declare, 'now [in 1839, the four volume edition of Percy

[25] Edward Chitham, 'The Irish Heritage of the Brontës,' *A Companion to the Brontës,* eds.p Diane Long Hoeveler & Deborah Denenholz Morse (Chichester: Whiley Blackwell, 2016), p. 412.

[26] Tom Winnifrith, & Edward Chitham, *Charlotte and Emily Brontë* (London: Macmillian, 1989), p.58.

[27] Ibid, p.59.

Shelley's *Poetical Works* being published] she would be able to read the poems in full when the new edition was available. From this point a Shelleyan tone often replaces the Byronic in Emily's poems.'[28] Proposing that Percy Shelley was crucial to Emily's juvenilia, Chitham identifies him as the figure in a series of her poems who is 'not a Gondal fiction.'[29] Whilst Winnifrith and Chitham offer piecemeal evaluations of the Brontës' proposed engagement with Percy Shelley's and his work, Miller disputes a strong connection. Whilst she acknowledges that it 'is true that Emily could have had access to Percy Shelley and his work',[30] she nevertheless argues 'that certain figures in Emily's poetry can really be identified with Shelley is far from certain, especially since his name appears nowhere in her writings.'[31]

Percy Bysshe Shelley is, compared to his wife Mary, a more extensively noted presence in the Brontë field – although not to an extent comparable with that of Byron – and does, at times, find a general scholarly mention. For example, in their *Brontë Encyclopaedia,* Barnard and Barnard, while not recognising Mary Shelley, do reference Percy, noting Chitham's suggestion that he was 'an important factor in Emily's creative life and thought.' They also identify how Percy's 'works had made some headway in Haworth Parsonage ... proved in a draft version of part of "Caroline Vernon", in which there is an attributed quote ["wild–eyed charioteers"]. There are other echoes in the poetry,in *The Professor* ch. 6'. Barnard and Barnard further credit Chadwick's note of 'a possible source for one of *Wuthering Heights*' best known lines in *Epipsychidion:* "I am not thine: I am a part of *thee"'.*[32] Furthermore, Hewish draws attention to a possible similarity in *Wuthering Heights* to J. A.

[28] This refers to the 1839 edition of Percy Shelley's works when Mary Shelley was at length permitted to publish a four volume edition of her husband's complete poetry.

[29] Edward Chitham, *A Life of Emily Brontë* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), p. 133.

[30] Lucasta Miller, *The Brontë Myth* (London: Random House, 2002), p. 249.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Robert & Louise Barnard, *A Brontë Encyclopaedia* (West Sussex: Blackwell, 2013 [2007]).

Herud's article in *Fraser's Magazine* of 1838,[33] which reviewed, with extracts, Percy Shelley's poetry, and 'may have' been read by the Brontës.[34] Lockwood's contemplation, in *Wuthering Heights,* of 'wholesome medicine' and 'bitter herbs,'[35] are words, Hewish considers, which are anticipated in the line 'out of its solution extract wholesome though bitter medicine' from *Fraser's* article on Percy Bysshe Shelley's atheism. Hewish comments on Emily's poetry, claiming she 'wrote a kind of "Ode to the West Wind," '"Aye, there it is! It wakes to–night" ... The response to [Percy Bysshe] Shelley, tempered with her own consciousness of the Christian world–picture, suggests that this most important influence dates from this time. It is, I think, manifest in later poems, and indirectly – but very revealingly – in *Wuthering Heights.'*[36] Gérin, whilst noting the strong Shelleyan similarities and themes within Emily's poetry, raises the important question of how much, if anything, of Percy Shelley's work had Emily read?[37] 'In 1833 Medwin's *Life of Shelley*[38] appeared,' Gérin recognises, 'with extracts from his poems; in S.C. Hall's anthology *The Book of Gems* published in 1838 other titles were included. In anticipation of [Mary Shelley's *Complete Works* (1839)] *Fraser's Magazine* for June 1838 carried a long appreciation of Shelley which Emily had the opportunity to read.' This 'opportunity to read' either of the Shelleys cannot of course be taken as evidence

[33] J. A. Herud, 'Shelley's Poetry,' *Fraser's Magazine,* no. cii, vol. xvii, June (London: James Fraser, 1838), pp. 654–76.

[34] John Hewish, *Emily Brontë: A Critical & Biographical Study* (London: Macmillian, 1971 [1969]), p.146.

[35] In Chapter xvi of *Wuthering Heights.*

[36] John Hewish, *Emily Brontë: A Critical & Biographical Study* (London: Macmillian, 1971 [1969]), p. 59.

[37] Winifred Gérin, *Emily Brontë: A Biography* (London: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 153.

[38] First publishing Shelley's biographical material in *The Shelley Papers: Memoir of Percy Bysshe Shelley* by T. Medwin and *Original Poems and Papers* by Percy Bysshe Shelley (1833), the following decade Thomas Medwin published *The Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, 2 vols (1847). Medwin's *Conversations of Lord Byron* (1824) also included some Percy Bysshe Shelley related anecdotes which would have been available to the Brontës.

that any of the Brontë siblings did indeed read these works, yet what remains striking is the number of critics who widely suggest textual similarities with Shelleyan works within those of the Brontës'.

Further examples of scholars who propose a textual likeness between Emily and Percy Shelley include Lodge, Davies, Hewish, Spark, and Harris Williams. Lodge, whilst not detailing specifically Percy Shelley's proposed influence, recognises the 'poetry of Shelley, Coleridge, and Wordsworth' as 'essential reading in the Haworth household'. She identifies Percy Shelley's *Epipsychidion* as another 'important source for *Wuthering Heights'.*[39] Davies suggests that '[Emily's] treatment of the fratricidal butchery of civil war in "Why ask to know" (When kindred strive – God help the weak!) resembles [Percy] Shelley in 'The Triumph of Life' looking upon the Inferno of history or the Chorus of the Furies'[40] is similar to Hewish's claim that Emily's poem 'No Coward Soul is Mine' contains an 'immediate power' which 'seems to be Shelley … Emily reproduces Shelley's feeling for the perpetuating power of nature as a pledge of some undefined immorality … Emily Brontë's poem is nevertheless worthy to be set beside Shelley's [Adonais]'.[41]

Muriel Spark, a commentator on the Brontës in the 1950s, additionally produced a body of work on Mary Shelley, notably her *Mary Shelley: Child of Light* (1951).[42] Yet despite writing separately on both Mary Shelley and the Brontës, Spark does not recognise any connection between them. She does nonetheless remark on comparison of Emily and Percy Shelley's poems: 'The metaphysical lyric, in fact, achieved in Emily Brontë its most important

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[39] Sara J. Lodge, 'Literary Influences on the Brontës,' *The Brontës in Context,* ed., Marianne Thormählen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 146–7.

[40] Stevie Davies, *Emily Brontë: Heretic* (London: Women's Press, 1994), p. 241.

[41] John Hewish, *Emily Brontë: A Critical and Biographical Study* (London: Macmillan, 1971 [1969]), pp. 88–9.

[42] The publication of Spark's work on Mary Shelley was timed to coincide with the centenary of Mary's death. It was republished with a new preface in 1987.

development since [Percy] Shelley'.[43] Similarly Spark additionally recognises what she terms an 'incidental' link between the creative process employed by both Mary Shelley and the Brontës. 'Mary succeeds,' Spark discerns, 'in creating an atmosphere for her story [*The Last Man*]; and she also employs the graphic technique of introducing the motif of storm in order to convey an atmosphere of foreboding. All the Brontë sisters did this, incidentally, and Mary is no less effectual when she prepares for an approaching disaster with the ominous sound of contending seas and winds.'[44] Harris Williams notes a similarity between Emily's poems and Percy: 'Shelley's West Wind scattering words and dead leaves over the landscape, her [Emily's] visitor that "comes with western winds" insists on the death without which there can be no rebirth'.[45] Recognitions of these discrete textual similarities, which do not name a source text in the borrowing, are nonetheless suggestive of some form of Shelleyan indebtedness.

iv. Scholarly Reviews of Mary Shelley and the Brontës.

Critical assessments of Mary Shelley's impact upon the Brontë's writings is more sporadic than that of Percy Bysshe, possibly because her work is less concomitant with the poetry of Brontë regular Lord Byron. In Charlotte's Belgium essay, 'La Chute des Feuilles' (The Fall of the Leaves), written in March 1843, a reference to Mary's *Frankenstein* (1818) has been proposed by Lonoff.[46] Charlotte wrote: 'de peur de nous trouvez dans la position de cet étudiant allemande qui croyait apprendre à creér, en apprenant a dissequer.' ('for fear of finding ourselves in the position of that German student who believed he was learning to

[43] Muriel Spark & Derek Stanford, *Emily Brontë: Her Life and Work* (London: P. Owen, 1953).

[44] Muriel Spark, *Mary Shelley: Child of Light* (London: Constable, 1994 [1988]), p. 195.

[45] Meg Harris Williams, 'The Hieroglyphics of Catherine: Emily Brontë and the Musical Matrix,' *The Brontës in the World of Arts,* eds. Sandra Hagan & Juliette Wells (London: Routledge, 2016).

[46] Sue Lonoff, ed., *Charlotte & Emily Brontë: The Belgian Essays* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), pp. 240.

create, in learning to dissect'). Also discerning an engagement with Mary's *Frankenstein*, Gallagher arguesthat Emily's Heathcliff might have a 'genesis' in Frankenstein's creature. Indeed, he claims that both Charlotte and Emily may have read *Frankenstein,* whilst curiously concluding 'it is possible that both sisters read *Frankenstein* without the other being aware of it.'[47] Similar to Gallagher's suggestion, Gilbert and Gubar, in their major 1984 work, *The Madwoman in the Attic,* claim that:

> *Frankenstein* and *Wuthering Heights* are not usually seen as related works … however, *Frankenstein* and *Wuthering Heights* are alike in a number of crucial ways … Both make use of what in *Frankenstein* we call an evidentiary narrative process, a Romantic storytelling process that emphasizes the ironic disjunctions … in fact, in its use of such a process *Wuthering Heights* might be a deliberate copy of *Frankenstein.*[48]

This assertion has not been pursued in greater detail by subsequent Brontë scholars, aside from Levine who proposes 'The only other English Nineteenth century novel (than *Frankenstein)* with so successfully tight and complicated a narrative structure is Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights.'*[49] However, neither Gilbert and Gubar, nor Gallagher or Levine, consider in any further depth the parallels between Emily and Mary's work, despite the suggestion that Charlotte was also familiar with *Frankenstein.*

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[47] H. W. Gallagher, 'Frankenstein and the Genesis of Heathcliff,' *Brontë Studies*, 29: 2,(2004), 164–5 .

[48] Sandra M. Gilbert & Susan Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and Nineteenth Century Literary Imagination* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000 [1984]), p. 249.

[49] George Levine 'The Ambiguous Heritage of *Frankenstein,*' *The Endurance of Frankenstein: Essays on Mary Shelley's Novel*, eds. Levine, George & Knoepflmacher, U. C. (Oakland: University of California Press, 1979).

. Although McLaughlin does not consider any of Mary's work other than *Frankenstein,* focusing upon the image of the heroine and the feminine, she *does* argue for a Brontë literary lineage which stems from Mary Shelley, exploring a new presentation of the heroine within the Brontë novels.[50] McLaughlin proposes that

> With the new epitome, which I date from Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*, a new structure of femininity enters the tradition of the English novel. That is, by adumbrating in *Frankenstein* an alternative to the previous novelistic heroines, Mary Shelley moves toward the creation of rational, self-directed heroines. Shelley changes the pattern of passivity, creating a creature who is feminine-like but at the same time a mutant – an independent, intelligent, resourceful and reflective human being, one who is neither long suffering nor forbearing. Thus, from *Frankenstein's* rib so to speak, or from this new model, which women writers in the early Victorian era, Charlotte and Emily Brontë in particular, will refine and articulate, evolves a coherent novelistic tradition.[51]

McLaughlin does not propose a direct influence from Mary's novel to the Brontës' work, but rather notes a development in female writing which she identifies as having stemmed from Mary Shelley. Studies that recognise similar concerns in the themes and forms of their work as female novelists are more regular than studies which note a direct engagement. Elfenbien for instance suggests associations between Mary Shelley and Charlotte as women writers, viewed as similar because of the mutual influence of Byron on their work:

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[50] McLoughlin focuses upon the novels *Wuthering Heights, Jane Eyre* and *Villette.*

[51] Maryann Thomason McLaughlin, *Frankenstein's Rib* (Philadelphia: Temple University, 1984), pp. 5–6.

> Such female writers as Felicia Humans, Caroline Lamb, Mary Shelley, and Charlotte Brontë, however reproduced the Byronic hero in their writing not merely as an object of desire but as a figure for themselves as authors … The tendency for so many female writers to recreate the Byronic hero suggests that the figure was available not solely for desire and admiration, but also for imitation and identification.'[52]

As with Franklin, Elfenbein notes the Brontës were writing about similar contemporary themes in their novels as those of Mary Shelley, particularly concerning Byronic narratives.

Drabble's summary, which is similar to Chitham's but substituting Percy with Mary, deems Emily's juvenilia 'much the kind of verse one would expect from a lonely girl whose yearnings were nourished on the historical novels of Scott, on Byron and Mary Shelley.'[53] Drabble, whilst not elaborating on this claim, further credits Gérin as recognising the relation of '*Wuthering Heights* to Mary Shelley's *Valperga* (1823), reviewed at length in *Blackwood's*[54] and who points to a character who, like Heathcliff, has "basilisk eyes."'[55] Gérin observes that 'writers like Mary Shelley, Hoffmann, James Hogg ... [were] either published or extensively reviewed in *Blackwood's.* In either case, they were sooner or later available to Emily Brontë and almost certainly read by her.'[56] Gérin additionally recognises how *Valperga*

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[52]Andrew Elfenbein, *Byron and the Victorians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004 [1995]), p. 65.

[53] Margaret Drabble, 'Introduction', *Wuthering Heights,* ed. Hugh Osbourne (London: Everyman, 2000 [1907]), p. xiii.

[54] As will later be examined in detail, the Brontës were readers of *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* – published quarterly, it began publication in April 1817 and continued into the late twentieth Century.

[55] Margaret Drabble, 'Introduction,' *Wuthering Heights*, ed. Hugh Osbourne(London: Everyman, 2000 [1907]), p. xxv.

[56] Winifred Gérin, *Emily Brontë* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), p.153.

contains 'a scene set in dungeons very reminiscent of Gondal', also observing, that there is a similarity between Heathcliff and the 'gentle' Castruccio who has 'been transformed into a monster of cruelty.'[57] Correspondingly Pykett recognises a prototype of Emily's Heathcliff within *Valperga.* Castruccio, Pykett proposes, is likewise the same allusion of 'a previously gentle man, who has been transformed into a cruel tyrant.'[58] Refuting the likelihood of Emily having read an entire novel by Mary Shelley, other than via extract within a periodical review, Gérin claims 'fiction did not reach Emily Brontë through the main Victorian stream of realism ... It may be doubted if she read any novels other than Scott's and those serialised in *Blackwood's* during her impressionable girlhood.'[59]

Recognising links at a thematic level, between *Frankenstein* and *Wuthering Heights* or *Jane Eyre,* are the most common connections noted by critics. Yeasting[60], for example, examines 'Romantic Idealism' in the Novels of Mary Shelley, Emily Brontë and Angela Carter,[61] whilst Standish builds a trio of writers to include Christina Rossetti alongside Mary Shelley and Emily Brontë, exploring 'the literature of disability.'[62] Yet, such studies are concerned only with similarities in structure and theme, rather than suggesting any direct influence from Mary Shelley to the Brontës. Likewise Pike's 'Resurrection of the Fetish' offers a comparable vision of 'the fetish of the female corpse, which has an entire literary and

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[57] Ibid, p.215.

[58] Lyn Pykett, *Emily Brontë* (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 1989), pp.31–2.

[59] Winifred Gérin, *Emily Brontë* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 214.

[60] Jeanne Ellen Yeasting, *Double Trouble: Idealism in the Novels of Mary Shelley, Emily Brontë, and Angela Carter* (Washington: University of Washington, 1999). Although evidently both Brontë and Shelley have had an influence upon the subsequent works of Carter nearly two centuries on, Yeasting does not recognise an independent link between the two earlier novelists.

[61] A synopsis remains for a novel Carter was beginning before her death in 1992, envisioning a sequel to *Jane Eyre* based upon the life of Mr. Rochester's ward, Adéle Varens. Susanna Clapp, 'The Greatest Swinger in Town', *The Guardian* (29 January 2006).

[62] Georgia Slandish, *Mary Shelley, Emily Brontë and Christina Rossetti: The Literature of Disability* (Reno: University of Nevada, 2005).

cultural heritage as a perverse fantasy ... Both [Mary] Shelley and [Emily] Brontë offer us a powerful cultural critique of Western civilisation's fetishization of the dead body, in particular the dead female body'.[63] This analysis again suggests similarities between style and content, possibly due to the authors writing in the same period, as opposed to indicating any direct or self-conscious engagement of one author with the work of the other.

McInterney's 'Satanic Concepts,'[64] Renfoe's 'Implications of Nature as Personified as Female,'[65] (which asserts that 'Both Brontë and Shelley use Nature, personified as female, as a vehicle to redefine the masculine type of Romanticism'), and Young's 'The Monster Within'[66] are all thematic studies concerned with only a slim selection of Charlotte, Emily and Shelley's best known novels, and fail to look at the wider narrative concerning Mary Shelley's work which was available to the Brontës (as will be discussed in detail in Chapter 1), nor do they consider the wider range of Mary's novels. Similarly Stein's *Monsters and Madwomen: Changing the Female Gothic*,[67] investigates thematic gothic figures such as Heathcliff, Bertha Mason and Frankenstein's creature, finding similarity in the Brontës and Mary Shelley as being female writers who created comparable, otherworldly villains in their fictions in keeping with a 'Romantic' or 'Gothic' motif. Yet Stein, as with the other critics I have mentioned, establishes no suggestion of any significant engagement between the women writers. Whilst the studies discussed recognise similarities of theme and structure, and point

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[63] Judith Pike, 'Resurrection of the Fetish', *Romantic Women Writers: Voices and Countervoices,* eds. Paula R. Feldman & Theresa M. Kelley (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1995), p. 151.

[64] Peter McInterney, 'Satanic Concepts in *Frankenstein* and *Wuthering Heights,' Milton and the Romantics* (Boston: Northeastern University, 1980).

[65] Alicia Renfroe, *Defining Romanticism: The Implications of Nature as Personified as Female in Mary Shelley's Frankenstein and Charlotte Brontë's Jane Eyre*, Prometheus Unplugged, 3rd Annual National Graduate Student Conference on Romanticism, April 1996.

[66] Arlene Young, 'The Monster Within: The Alien Self in Jane Eyre and Frankenstein,' *Studies in the Novel,* 23:3 (1991), 325–38.

[67] Karen F. Stein, 'Monsters and Madwomen: Changing Female Gothic,' *The Female Gothic,* ed. Juliann E. Fleenor (London: Eden Press, 1983).

to certain kinds of similarities, they do not explain what might lie behind these similarities. None of the studies go further to explain the correspondence in terms of a specific influence, which considers the possibility of a Shelleyan presence.

Whilst Percy Bysshe and Mary Shelley finds occasional mention within Brontë scholarship, this generally only features as fragmented references, with no serious critical attempt to place the couple as markedly significant to the Haworth family. Furthermore, little has been offered by critics to define seriously any borrowings from published Shelleyan narratives within the Brontës' reading material, and scholarly studies of the siblings' work are habitually blurred with their biographical narrative. The first to offer a biographical account of the Brontës and their literary foundation was Charlotte's friend and fellow author Elizabeth Gaskell. But neither in Gaskell, nor in Barker's more recent study of the Brontës[68] (a voluminous 1003 page work), is there a single reference to the Shelleys. Gérin, who has written four critical Brontë biographies, one for each of the siblings, whilst offering a solid contribution for the possible Shelleyan aspects of Emily's work, as noted above, makes no mention of either of the Shelleys in Charlotte, Anne or Branwell's biographies.[69] Du Maurier's popular study on Branwell, *The Infernal World of Branwell Brontë,* likewise includes no mention of the Shelleys.[70]

Emily Brontë's earliest critic, Agnes Mary Frances Robinson – whose biography of Emily was published in 1883 – drew in part from Gaskell's *Life of Charlotte Brontë,* and spoke with Charlotte's friend Ellen Nussey. Robinson's work deemed Emily a novelist 'without experience; her range of character is narrow and local; she has no atmosphere of broad

[68] Juliet Barker, *The Brontës* (London: Phoenix, 1995 [1994]).

[69] Winifred Gérin, *Anne Brontë: A Biography* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1959); Winifred Gérin, *Branwell Brontë: A Biography* (London: Thomas Nelson, 1951); Winifred Gérin, *Charlotte Brontë: Evolution of Genius* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961); Winifred Gérin, *Emily Brontë: A Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971).

[70] Daphne DuMaurier, *The Infernal World of Branwell Brontë* (London: Gallancz, 1960).

humanity like George Eliot'.[71] Although now dated, Robinson showed little concept of the vast reading experience of Emily Brontë, and, in line with Charlotte's 'Editor's Preface' to *Wuthering Heights,* strengthened the now archetypal image of an isolated, homesick Emily Brontë who 'was a nurseling of the moors … her native hills were far more to her than a spectacle, they were what she lived in … circumstances favoured and fostered her tendency to seclusion … she rarely crossed the threshold of home.'[72] In reference to Percy Shelley, Robinson remarked – with apparently no acknowledgement of the reading material potentially available within the parsonage – that 'Of the materialistic influence of Italy, of atheist [Percy] Shelley, Byron with his audacity and realism … she [Emily] would have little experience in her remote parsonage.'[73] Notably, neither of these accounts takes into consideration Emily's access as a reader to contemporary publications and the Shelleyan narratives available to her and her siblings in Haworth.

Similarly, far from exploring or establishing the textual Shelleys as potentially read by the Brontës, Gordon argues that not only did the Brontës certainly *not* read Mary Shelley in their youth, but stretches the point to include *all* of the 'great woman writers.'[74] Gordon proposes:

> Charlotte was reading widely – Virgil's *Eclogues* and Ovid (keeping up with Branwell), more Scott and Byron, Edward Young ... and Cowper ... as well as habitual reading of the Bible – but, at this early stage, none of the great women writers came her way. Her father's bookshelves contained

[71] A. Mary F. Robinson, *Emily Brontë* (Cambridge: John Wilson & Son, 1883), p. 3.

[72] Charlotte Brontë, 'Editor's Preface to the New Edition,' in Emily Brontë, *Wuthering Heights,* ed. Helen Small (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009 [1995]), p. 308.

[73] A. Mary F. Robinson, 'The Origin of Wuthering Heights,' *Wuthering Heights: An Anthology of Criticism,* ed. Alastair Everitt (London: Frank Cass, 1967), p. 12.

[74] Lyndall Gordon, *Charlotte Brontë: A Passionate Life* (Hachette Digital, 2009 [1994]).

> no Fanny Burney, no Mary Wollstonecraft, no Mary Shelley, no Jane Austen; nor did she borrow them from the nearest lending library, in Keighley, to which the Brontës were accustomed to walk four miles each way.'[75]

Gordon's claims seem unreasonable by confining the Brontës' reading to what was evidenced to have been on their bookshelves, not least because it cannot be definitively known what *was* on their bookshelves, and it is also unknown what they could have accessed from elsewhere. As I will suggest in Chapter One, we should reconstruct the intellectual and cultural milieu within which a writer works by reference to the wider textual narrative available to them, rather than simply by a list of books that they definitively owned. Davies observes how:

> Books may steal unnoted in and out of lives, even those of young women without spare cash, living in the north of England. One may send away for them; they may come in and go out via the hand of a brother or visitor, or be picked up on a trip to Halifax, Manchester or Brussels. There is ... the healthy desire to stick to the known 'facts' but ... records are by their very nature not systematic but ... arbitrary survivals.[76]

That the Shelleys are not openly named within Brontë letters, diaries or books known to have been owned or borrowed by the family (other than Charlotte' note of 'wild–eyed charioteers'), does not necessarily denote their absence, yet the lack of clear documented evidence for the Brontës having encountered Shelleyan material may be a reason why

[75] Ibid.

[76] Stevie Davies, *Emily Brontë: Heretic* (London: Women's Press, 1994).

scholars often only point to isolated similarities, but do not go so far as to recognise an actual process of influence or a specific borrowing. My thesis therefore seeks to consider first the Shelleyan textual narrative available to the Brontës, before considering any corresponding textual indebtedness within their subsequent juvenilia .

v. A Process of Appropriation.

Taking the various scholarly references to a Brontë/Shelley relationship and viewing them collectively, points to a phenomenon which I argue is more systematic than usually recognised. As will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Two, the juvenilia began as a playful game which, as the siblings grew older, evolved into a more serious practice. Their characters began as public, military or pioneering figures like those available in their reading material, who at a later stage developed into poets. Through their characters, the Brontës became the overseeing Genii in their fictional kingdoms, or journalists for their 'Blackwood's Young Men's Magazine.' Charlotte's early character Captain Tree was the only novelist, whose romantic tales were advertised in their imitative magazine.[77] Tree soon became obscured by new characters who were poets. Branwell's letters reveal his objective to become successful in the fields of the figures he read and wrote of, as the juvenilia gave him a platform for practice; Branwell might be a portrait painter, a journalist or a poet. Notably his letters scorned novelists,[78] suggesting that he had no examples he admired to imitate.

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[77]Charlotte and Branwell's 'Young Men's Magazine, October 1840', for example includes under 'Advertisements', 'Books published by Sergeant Tree, SOGAST, a Romance. By Captain Tree in 2 volumes. Oc. Price 20d'. 'The Proud Man, by Captain Tree. Price 30s. 3 vol.' Brontës, The, *Tales of Glass Town, Angria and Gondal,* ed. Christine Alexander (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 50–52. Although Charlotte wrote the tales, she accredited them to her character.

[78] [cut this footnote down a bit, ot put in main text]With a view to becoming painters 'Branwell Brontë and his sister [Charlotte] received a few lessons in portrait painting … a knowledge of the master's career did not a little to fire the mind of the enthusiastic Branwell with ardour to aim in the same direction ... [They] were led to think of, and – as regards the brother – to persist for a time in making a profession of painting for which they had no special aptitude. Branwell, in fact designed to become himself a portrait–painter, and he conceived that a course of instruction at the Royal Academy afforded the best means of preparation'; Francis A. Leyland, *The Brontë Family* (Hastings: Delphi Classics, 2017). Additionally hoping to write for *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine,* Branwell

Beginning in childhood, the production of the juvenilia can best be termed as a playful game; one which involved borrowing, rewriting and responding to source texts. 'Juvenilia enact this process of play and appropriation', Alexander argues; 'through play, the Brontës learned to become writers'.[79] Charlotte's friend Mary Taylor's account (in Gaskell's *Life)* emphasises that the juvenilia was private: 'No one wrote in it, and no one read it, but herself [Charlotte], her brother, and two sisters. She promised to show me some of these magazines; but retracted it afterwards, and would never be persuaded to do so.'[80] The intended readers of the juvenilia were therefore the other Brontë siblings, with no further audience anticipated or permitted. Glen proposes that 'these tales were evidently written in the confidence that the "reader" or "readers" [i.e. the other Brontë siblings] frequently addressed within them would be quick to pick up topical allusions and respond to generic

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wrote to the editor on a few occasions. Most notably in December 1835 he wrote offering himself as a replacement for writer James Hogg: 'I know myself so far as to believe in my own originality, and on that ground I desire of you admittance into your ranks.' Harold Orel, ed., *The Brontës: Interviews and Recollections* (Iowa: University of Iowa Press, 1997), p. 34.

As an adult, between 1841 and 1847, Branwell had eighteen different poems published (twenty-five publications in all as a selection of the same poems were published over four different newspapers). This achievement, Neufeld stresses, was 'no mean feat'. The *Halifax Guardian, Leeds Intelligencer, Yorkshire Gazette* and *Bradford Herald* all prided themselves on the quality of their poetry, publishing poets such as Wordsworth, Tennyson, Longfellow, Southey, Leigh Hunt and Percy Shelley. The *Halifax* Guardian, for example, 'welcomed contributions of "Original Poetry" but did not hesitate to reject material which it considered beneath the high standards of which it boasted, and delivered stinging rebukes to poor souls who had presumed to send in "feeble verses" for publication.' Victor Neufeldt, ed., *The Works of Patrick Branwell Brontë*, iii vols. (New York: Garland, 1999), p. xx. Branwell wrote to his friend Leyland (in apparent contempt for the novel as opposed to his preference for poetry), that 'in the present state of the publishing and reading world a Novel is the most saleable article, so that where ten pounds would be offered for a work [of poetry] the production of which would require the utmost stretch of a man's intellect – two hundred pounds would be a refused offer for three volumes whose composition would require the smoking of a cigar and the humming of a tune.' *A Complete Transcript of the Leyland Manuscripts*, eds. Alex J. Symington & C. W. Hatfield (Privately printed, 1925), p. 19. Even so, despite his disdain for novelists, Branwell attempted to write an unfinished novel in 1845, implying his eventual overall aim was publication, literary or artistic success, and financial gain. See Victor Neufeldt. 'Introduction,' *The Works of Patrick Branwell Brontë*, iii vols. (New York: Garland, 1999), p. xix.

[79] Christine Alexander, 'Play and apprenticeship: the culture of family magazines,' *The Child Writer: From Austen to Woolf,* eds. Christine Alexander & Juliet McMaster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p.32.

[80] Elizabeth Gaskell, *The Life of Charlotte Brontë*, ed. Elizabeth Jay, (London: Penguin, 1997 [1857]), p.79.

clues'.[81] Correct recognition of the presence of source texts consequently relates the juvenilia material to a wider body of source materials and contexts. 'Appropriation,' Sanders asserts, is 'dependent on the literary canon for the provision of a shared repository of storylines, themes, characters and ideas upon which their creative variations can be made. The spectator or reader must be able to participate in the play of similarity and difference between the original sources or inspiration to fully appreciate the reshaping or rewriting undertaken by the adaptive text'.[82] This 'Encouraged interplay' continues Sanders, 'between appropriations and their sources begins to figure here as a fundamental aspect of the reading or spectating experience, one productive of new meanings and applications.'[83] The Brontës might therefore display textual borrowings in their new juvenilia from the original reading material which inspired them.

This process is most commonly exampled by the model of Lord Byron. Scholars recognise that the Brontës both demonstrate textual borrowings from his poetry and rewrite his biography in their own tales. Women writers, Franklin proposes, were 'seriously engaged with Byronism';[84] their fiction was 'influenced, interacted with, or responded to the poetry and life story of Byron.'[85] Franklin's study on Byronism – which has provided a model for my thesis on the Shelleys – considers the impact of Lord Byron upon women's fiction in the earlier nineteenth century, including of course the work of the Brontë sisters. Indeed, Franklin asserts, 'Answering, appropriating, and rewriting Byron were major catalysts fermenting fiction concerned with the role of women in society'.[86] The Brontës' engagement

[81] Heather Glen 'Introduction,' *Tales of Angria* (London: Penguin, 2006), p. xiv.

[82] Julie Sanders, *Adaptation and Appropriation* (London: Routledge, 2016 [2006]), p. 57.

[83] Ibid, p. 43.

[84] Caroline Franklin, *The Female Romantics: Nineteenth–century Women Novelists and Byron* (London: Routledge, 2013), p. 3.

[85] Ibid, p. 1.

[86] Ibid.

with Byron is critically recognised (as will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Two) by evidence of the Brontës having owned copies of Byron's work as well as reading narratives of his life which were common within the periodicals they accessed. Consequently, scholars recognise a textual Byronic presence within the Brontë works, which is too sustained, and too textually similar, to be coincidental. As an alternative to the Brontës' use of a Byronic narrative however, my thesis proposes to place the comparable textual presence of a Shelleyan narrative within the juvenilia.

My consideration, in Chapter One, of Shelleyan source texts available to the Brontës suggests a Shelleyan engagement within the juvenilia, which I identify in more detail in Chapters Three and Four. I use the term 'source text' to define the original work; that is, the reading material which has been engaged with. The 'new text' is that which has been written once the writer had accessed the source text. I demonstrate how the Brontës engaged with Shelleyan material in a source text and revealed a response to what they had read through textual borrowings evident in their 'new' work. This method may take the form of an imitation, a rewriting, or some other kind of response to the source. From the source text, the Brontës might, for instance, appropriate characters, events or language into their own, new work. Appropriation, or taking something for one's own use, is, as Hutcheon explains, 'taking possession of another's story, and filtering it, in a sense, through one's own sensibility, interests, and talents.'[87]

Sanders notes the distinction between adaptation and appropriation, arguing that there are 'many ways in which both the process and the effects of adaptation and appropriation intersect and are interrelated, yet it is equally important to maintain some clear distinctions between them as creative activities. An adaptation most often signifies a relationship with an informing source text either through its title or through more

[87] Linda Hutcheon, with Siobhan O'Flynn, *A Theory of Adaptation* (London: Routledge, 2016 [2006]), p. 18.

embedded references'.[88] She notes that, as opposed to adaptatsions, 'appropriations tend to have a more complicated, intricate and sometimes embedded relationship to their intertexts'.[89] Significantly, appropriation is usually less clear than adaptation, as Sanders affirms: 'appropriations do not always make their founding relationships and interrelationships explicit. The gesture towards the source text can be wholly more shadowy'.[90] I suggest that the Brontës' borrowings from the Shelleys are exactly of this nature, being embedded, in complex ways, within a new text.[91]

Whilst a Shelleyan indebtedness within the Brontës' works has been loosely proposed by scholars through various recognitions, my thesis distinguishes four different methods of borrowing: quotation or citation; imitation of structure or pastiche; thematic; and linguistic similarity. A quotation or citation is the most obvious means of recognising a Shelleyan presence, that is, the Brontës directly quote or name a source text or figure. Usually signalled by quotation marks, a quotation is an exact conveyance of the words from a source text to the new text, whereas a citation may only borrow a few words from the original passage. Although the reader may fail to recognise the origin if unfamiliar with the source text, a quote or citation may make the reference obvious by noting the original author and source text. For example, Charlotte names Percy Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*, both identifying the poet and quoting him in her 1939 tale *Caroline Vernon:* 'time is advancing and the hours – those "wild–eyed charioteers" as Shelley calls them – are driving on.'[92] In this instance, Charlotte has signposted the source text of Percy Shelley to her

[88] Julie Sanders, *Adaptation and Appropriation* (London: Routledge, 2016 [2006]), p. 35.

[89] Ibid, p. 36.

[90] Ibid, p. 43.

[91] The term adaptation implies a recognition of the original work which keeps the work closely related to its source. For this reason, the term appropriation is more fitting as the Brontës did not borrow from a single source text but rather the juvenilia borrowed from many.

[92] Charlotte Brontë, 'Caroline Vernon,' *Tales of Angria,* ed. Heather Glen (London: Penguin, 2006), p. 383.

reader, significantly this is the only occasion in which any Brontë does so by recognising Shelley's name. Through this quotation Charlotte has signalled her knowledge of the poet and of her access, however slight, to his figure and works. Other Brontë appropriations of the Shelleys are, as I will show, more complex.

Imitations of structure by the Brontës mostly take the form of paralleling the style of a publication format or of a particular kind of narrative. For instance, Branwell began his 'Branwell's Blackwood's Magazine' in January 1829, in imitation of the style of *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, complete with frontispiece, contents, price and advertisements. Mock-ups of these sources would be made with the intention of the reader recognising the playful imitation of the familiar features and structures of source texts. Examples of thematic appropriation can be found in Chitham's recognition of Emily's Gondal figure who 'died long ago,' 'angered God,' and 'died overseas and was buried there', and in Chitham's proposal of a Shelleyan poetic figure who drowned and was an atheist.[93] Thematic parallel are strengthened when they involve, as here, the linking of apparently disparate characteristics. For instance, as Chitham questions – given the number of connected themes for Emily's poetic figure – a poet, an atheist, a figure who drowned, died and was buried overseas, 'if not [Percy Shelley] then who was it?'[94] The linking of a poetic figure with atheism, the sea and the continent, can, Chitham determines, only be related to one specific textual source figure. Byron and Keats, for instance, both died overseas, but neither were atheists nor drowned, so such themes could not refer to them. Chitham's claim falls short however in evidencing Emily's textual access to Percy Shelley.

Lastly, examples of linguistic similarities can be found in Small's recognition, noted above, of the likeness of the term 'unquiet slumber' in both *Wuthering Heights* and 'Adonais'. Setting this textual similarity beside Small's second observation of both Raymond

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[93] Edward Chitham, *A Life of Emily Brontë* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), p. 133.

[94] Ibid, pp.133–34.

and Catherine Linton's bodies described as a 'shattered–prison' strengthens the Shelleyan connection. Likenesses might therefore appear slight in isolation, but in combination with the other appropriations which I describe, the identification of more sustained similarities suggests a greater significance.

vi. A Shelleyan Presence.

My Introduction has thus discussed both old and new scholarship on the relationship between the Shelleys and the Brontës, which serves as the point of departure for my own research. I have defined the juvenilia as a playful game or process of appropriation which borrows from source texts. The four different formats by which the juvenilia might make use of source text material will later establish how I recognise the Brontës have responded to or engaged with a Shelleyan text. Chapter One of my thesis will define the position of the Brontës as readers. Offering a detailed examination of the reading material accessible to the family in Haworth which contained reference to either the Shelleys' work or lives, I will demonstrate which works are evidenced to have been in the Parsonage along with which publications were accessible to Brontës. As potential source texts to the juvenilia, this first chapter will demonstrate the Shelleyan narrative available to the siblings in their childhood whilst defining the various accounts which circulated. By presenting these various narratives, including publications which offered material edited by Mary Shelley, I show the published presence of the Shelleys as available to the Brontës in Haworth.

In Chapter Two I will set out the evidence for the Brontës' general childhood writing practice, exampling how they borrowed from their reading material within their new juvenilia. Demonstrating the critically defined examples of figures such as Byron, Napoleon and Walter Scott, my second chapter will establish how the siblings made use of the material which they read whilst considering the similar Romantic writing process of borrowing and

appropriation as discussed in publications available to the Brontës, such as *Blackwood's Magazine*.

By Chapter Three I then seek to identify specific textual parallels, themes, styles or structures from the Shelleyan narrative in the language, themes and characters in the Brontës' interrelated juvenilia, showing that the siblings actively engaged with, responded to and appropriated Shelleyan narratives within Gondal and Angria. Recognising proposed Shelleyan influences, I argue that the siblings' juvenilia over Gondal and Angria demonstrates common Shelleyan connections which suggest that despite the siblings' pairings, their early work was connected by their borrowings from, and engagement with, their reading material.

Chapter Four will lastly consider the specific textual relationship between the juvenilia and Mary Shelley's novel *The Last Man* (1826). The argument of this chapter proposes that the catalyst for the often noted change of tone in the juvenilia from 1833, and which removed the writing from an early Napoleonic and African concept, was a further consequence, along with the narrative of the textual Shelleys, as discussed in Chapter Three, of the siblings' encounter with *The Last Man*. As writers, I suggest here that the siblings, whose work is each considered independently, demonstrate a sustained *Last Man* thematic, linguistic, and at times structural influence, which strengthens the connections between the juvenilia lands.

My thesis proposes that the Brontës were more strongly engaged with the textual Shelleys than has hitherto been critically recognised. The young Brontës, I offer, demonstrate in their juvenilia an appropriation of Mary and Percy Shelleys' published writings, and narratives of their lives, which were available to the Brontës through a variety of source publications. That this early engagement with the Shelleys has been seriously underappreciated by critics is, I suggest, one reason why there has been a lack of recognition of the importance of the Shelleys for the Brontës' work more generally, including their later novels. Recognition of this Shelleyan familiarity and indebtedness is important for Brontë

scholarship, especially because Mary Shelley marks an early model for what the sisters would become, woman novelists. In the following first chapter, I demonstrate the published presence of the Shelleys as analogous with the Brontës' documented reading habits. Considering the material within which the Shelleys were present, I assess the accessibility of this Shelleyan narrative for the parsonage in Haworth.

Chapter One.
The Textual Shelleys: The Brontës as Readers.

i. The Shelleys in Print.

Viewing the Brontës predominantly as readers, rather than writers in this chapter, I seek to outline the publications available to the Yorkshire family which offered an accessible Shelleyan narrative in print that they had the opportunity to read. As a prelude to identifying the textual presence of the Shelleys within the juvenilia (as will be the application of Chapter Three), this current chapter places the Brontë family within a reading context which offered them Shelleyan material. Since it cannot be precisely known exactly which publications the Brontës read, I therefore consider their reading by what was available to the family during the production of their juvenilia. Outlining first the sources accessed by the siblings (as mediated by the works of other Brontë critics), I correlate the narratives of periodical publications with the dates when they were available to the Brontës. By considering the contents of local newspapers, I will compare the Yorkshire circulation of the Shelleys in print with available national narratives in magazines. This entails a consideration of the varying, and at times conflicting, contents and contexts of these available narratives. Alongside these periodical publications, I likewise consider the Brontës' access to books, evaluating the probability of them having been able to read, possibly even to have owned, works by the Shelleys, taking into account the bookshelves at the parsonage and sources from which such books would have been available. Considering various formats of Shelleyan reading material available to the Brontës, the first chapter of my thesis will therefore establish how the siblings had opportunity to be familiar with the Shelleys in print.

There are sources available which categorically inform us of the Brontës' reading habits, such as Charlotte Brontë's 'History of the Year,' written in 1829, which specifically documents that the family 'take the *Leeds Intelligencer,* Tory, and the *Leeds Mercury,* Whig ... We see the *John Bull;* it is a high Tory, very violent. Dr. Driver lends us it, as likewise

Blackwood's Magazine, the most able periodical there is.'[1] Diary notes and letters such as these offer confirmation of sources the siblings read from, but on the whole, evidence for what the family read is inadequate, given the volumes of work they subsequently produced. My thesis therefore attempts to present Shelleyan texts available to the Brontës, noting parallels in their juvenilia to publications they may have potentially accessed.[2] Some of the contents of the Rev. Patrick Brontë's bookshelves are known through the registers of the Brontë Parsonage auction catalogue after his death. Whilst attempts have been made by the Brontë Society to retrace those original books, many sold in the parsonage sale have since been lost. Hutton is exasperated by the auction catalogue being 'frustratingly vague, particularly with regard to the books that belonged to the Brontës'; there are 'many, many [auction] lots of books without title.'[3] For example, the entry noted as 'Byron'– which sold for 3 shillings to a Mrs Merral – is unspecific, possibly referring to Branwell's pocket copy of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (which has now been returned to become part of the Brontë Society Collection at the Parsonage), or any number of editions or biographies of Byron once potentially owned by the Brontës.

Unlike many of the Brontë's artworks and personal effects which had been kept by their friends and family, being auctioned off after the Brontë's fame had grown in the late nineteenth-century, the books which were sold at the auction on October 1861 were less sought-after and documented at the time. 'Those who did attend [the auction]' notes Messenger, 'were mainly locals more interested in getting a good bargain than in acquiring

[1] Charlotte Brontë, 'The History of the Year,' *The Professor, Tales from Angria, Emma: A Fragment,* ed. Phyllis Bentley (London: Collins, 1954), p. 47.

[2] For instance, Barker notes how Charlotte copied illustration from annuals such as *Friendship's Offering* and *The Keepsake,* and portraits 'which had appeared in Moore's *Life of Byron* and even illustrations to his poems such as 'The Maid of Saragossa.' See Juliet Barker, *The Brontës* (London: Phoenix, 1994), p.213.

[3] Joanna Hutton, 'The Sale at Haworth Parsonage on October 1st and 2nd, 1861,' *Brontë Society Transactions*, vol. 14, pt. 5 (Leeds: Maney Publishing, 1965), pp. 46–50.

mementoes of famous authors.'[4] Indeed, Hale, an American visitor to Haworth, remarked that the auction was 'considered a matter of no consequence, it was not widely advertised nor largely attended.'[5] Therefore, from the auction records, it is evident that the Brontë household could certainly afford to buy an unspecified yet considerable amount of their own books.

Charlotte's letters to her friend Ellen are very telling, not only of her wide access to books, but of her awareness of the wider social appraisal towards works she had encountered:

> If you like poetry let it be first rate, Milton, Shakespeare , Thompson [sic], Goldsmith, Pope (if you will though I don't admire him) Scott, Byron, Campbell, Wordsworth and Southey. For History read Hume, Rollin, and the Universal History if you can – I never did. For fiction – read Scott alone, all novels after his are worthless. For Biography, read Johnson's Lives of the Poets, Boswell's Life of Johnson, Southey's Life of Nelson, Lockhart's Life of Burns, Moore's Life of Sheridan, Moore's Life of Byron, Wolfe's Remains.[6]

Charlotte's letter not only recommended works she herself clearly had no interest in (such as *Universal History* and Pope), but anticipated that her friend might be 'startled at the names of Shakespeare and Byron.' Charlotte's letter demonstrates an awareness of the appropriateness of certain writers, whilst Barker suggests that Charlotte's recommendations

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[4] Tracey Messenger, 'Note on the Provenance of Brontë Art Works,' as in Juliet Barker, *The Brontës* (London: Phoenix, 1994), appendix B, p. 434.

[5] Charles Hale, 'An American Visitor at Haworth, 1861,' *Brontë Society Transactions*, vol. 15, part 77 (Leeds Maney Publishing, 1967) p. 132.

[6] Charlotte Brontë to Ellen Nussey, 4th July, 1834, as in Juliet Barker, *The Brontës* (London: Phoenix, 1994), p. 220.

in her letter do not reflect her own reading habits, suggesting that Charlotte's claim of all novels other than Scott's being worthless was not necessarily her genuine opinion:

> Byron, more feared [Barker claims] for his moral reputation than for his often execrable verse, was the only unusual inclusion, and, as Charlotte pointed out, poems like his 'Hebrew Melodies' were free from any taint of moral perversion. What she did not tell Ellen was that she had not only read both *Don Juan* and *Cain* herself, but had lingered over the more salacious passages.[7]

Consequently, if Ellen would potentially be offended by these 'great men', requesting that Charlotte advise her on 'the good, and avoid the evil',[8] it is highly unlikely that Charlotte would have included any reference to atheist Percy Shelley in such a letter, even if she had read him herself.

ii. Print Culture in the Romantic Era.

The publishing environment of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century saw significant developments as mechanised printing presses were able to produce periodicals, magazines and newspapers in higher volumes in rapid production.[9] Parish schools were teaching children to read (incidentally, the Brontë sisters led the Sunday school at Haworth Parish Church next to the parsonage), and the emerging middle classes yielded a new social

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[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid.

[9] See James Raven, 'The Book Trades,' *Books and their Readers in Eighteenth-century England,* ed. Isabel Rivers (New York: Continuum, 2003 [2001], pp. 1 –30 for a discussion on the production, development and market of books in the late 1700s and early 1800s. See also Simon Eliot, 'Books and their Readers,' *The Nineteenth Century Novel,* ed. Denis Walters (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 331 –340, who charts technological changes in printing through the nineteenth century.

readership, particularly of educated women, who offered a new market for reading matter which was both entertaining and educational.[10] A principal factor promoting literacy at this time, was, as Hudson recognises, 'the rise of the commercial middle class, a segment of society that prized literacy for its worldly advantages.'[11] These changes, he explains, beginning in the eighteenth century, 'permitted the expansion of the publishing industry … The more efficient retailing and distribution of books, the development of new literary forms such as the newspaper, and the institution of circulating libraries gave ever widening access to printed materials.'[12] Whilst the publication of newspapers, periodicals and magazines had increased during the late eighteenth century, it was developments in the first two decades of the nineteenth century which amounted to a 'paradigm shift within British print culture.'[13] Wheatley identifies 'three developments in particular [which] helped to shape the distinctive periodical culture of the Romantic era'.[14] These were the arrival of opinionated and radical 'Review' publications, the appearance on the scene of the 'playful' and 'instantly notorious'[15] *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* which instantly generated imitators, and the new directions taken by weekly and daily newspapers.

As Finkelstein outlines, 'between 1800 and 1850 the literary periodical became the dominant publishing format in British culture. The founding of ground-breaking and profitable journals such as the *Edinburgh Review* (founded in 1802) and *Blackwood's*

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[10] See Jaqueline Pearson, *Women's Reading in Britain: 1750 –1835* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000 [1999]), pp. 1 –22, who discusses the rise of the woman reader and the 'public and private world' books renegotiated for them.

[11] Nicholas Hudson, *Writing and European Thought 1600 –1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 5.

[12] Ibid, p. 93.

[13] Kim Wheatley ed., *Romantic Periodicals and Print Culture* (London: Frank Cass, 2003), p. 1.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

Edinburgh Magazine (founded in 1817) consequently affected the development and relative cultural importance of poetry, the essay, and the novel.'[16] Featuring reviews of, and extracts from, writers' work, periodicals offered their readers access to novels, poetry and literary lives.[17] Alongside the publication of Romantic poetry, the fashion for biographical reading grew. Celebrated lives became part of the fabric of reading in magazines, newspapers and 'Introductions' or 'Prefaces' to novels or works of poetry. It was during these years, North identifies, 'that biography produced the "Romantic poet" for popular consumption and that literary biography decisively asserted itself as a modern, market force.'[18] Poets such as Byron, Percy Shelley, Wordsworth and Keats became a published product in themselves, as their figures were textually constructed into romantic yet flawed characters. Significantly Higgins discerns a 'construction' of 'great men' as a social process, by which the publishing industry appropriated real–life figures into characters who could be offered for public consumption.[19]

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[16] David Finkelstein, *Print Culture and the Blackwood Tradition, 1805 –1830* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006).

[17] Finkelstein recognises how the market 'soon grew more crowded, with the founding of periodicals such as the *London Journal* in 1820 and the *Westminster Review* in 1824 … the young publisher James Fraser drew up plans for a half-crown monthly, *Fraser's,* which capitalised on its greater frequency to exploit topical materials and a quicker, hipper metropolitan style. Moreover, the steam –presses used to print the journal allowed for tighter deadlines and last-minute improvisations of copy. Many successful imitators followed', ibid.
North similarly notes 'Between 1815 and 1832 over twenty new journals came into production – the quarterly and monthly literary reviews, followed in the 1830s by cheap weekly magazines. The popular literary annuals, with their mixture of verse, essays, and short stories, became the most lucrative way of publishing poetry after the mid –1820s … 'Lives' of the poets pervaded the periodical press, feeding a growing curiosity amongst readers about the private lives of literary men and women. Many of these new magazines carried series of biographical 'Portraits' or 'Sketches' of living or recently dead authors, including poets … these periodical 'portraits' were an irritating reminder to poets of the popular currency of their lives over their works.' Julian North, *The Domestication of Genius: Bibliography and the Romantic Poet* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p.44 –5.

[18] Ibid, p. 3.

[19] See David Higgins, *Romantic Genius and the Literary Magazine: Biography, Celebrity and Politics* (Oxon: Routledge, 2005), p. 3.

Newlyn emphasises the 'shift from a literature written for an elite audience to one written for the public at large.'[20] She recognises the position of the reader, 'whose numerical power and anonymity were felt to be threatening [to the writer].'[21] This 'competitive culture' left writers vulnerable 'to the whims of their audiences'; reviewers could 'make' and 'mar reputations … This was an age in which anecdote was fashionable and biography an increasingly popular genre.'[22] Likewise, Mole identifies a 'modern celebrity culture'[23], beginning in the Romantic period, within which 'Lord Byron should be understood as one of its earliest examples and most astute critics.'[24] Mole recognises 'celebrity to be a cultural apparatus, consisting of relations between an individual, an industry and an audience, that took shape in response to the industrialised print.'[25] He terms this new 'celebrity culture' the 'hermeneutic of intimacy'.[26] Notwithstanding mass production and commercialisation, these 'celebrity' texts offered personal engagement for their individual readers. Furthermore, given the wide variety of texts concerned with the same individual, such as Byron, Mole considers how they operated 'typically in several media, which ranged from the celebrity's own work, to texts which promoted a sympathetic image, to those which attacked or satirised the celebrity (while further contributing to his or her ubiquity.)'[27]

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[20] Lucy Newlyn, *Reading, Writing and Romanticism: The Anxiety of Reception* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003 [2000]), p. 7.

[21] Ibid, p. 8.

[22] Ibid, p. 10.

[23] Whilst the term 'celebrity' is widely used today with famous, or infamous, figures, two centuries ago such figures whose lives carried popular narrative in the press might be better termed as celebrated figures or luminaries, being as these figures were primarily popular for their noteworthy talents, achievements or endeavours. [ref? what about criminals, scandal, etc?]

[24] Tom Mole *Byron's Romantic Celebrity: Industrial Culture and Hermeneutic of Intimacy* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), p. xi.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid, p. xiv.

[27] Ibid, p. 156.

As part of the 'Godwinian Radicals,' 'Satanic Set' or the 'Pisan Circle,'[28] the Shelleys had a literary presence as both writers and famed figures within the press, featuring regularly in periodical publications noted to have been accessed by the Brontë family. Aside from Charlotte's previously mentioned reference to Percy Shelley,[29] this chapter establishes how the young Brontës would have been exposed to a comprehensive Shelleyan narrative available through what they read. As Percy and Mary Shelley were a prominent published presense from the 1810s, giving the Brontës not only frequent opportunities to encounter references to the Shelleys' poetry and fiction, but also accounts of, or references to, their infamous life story.[30] Despite Mary Shelley often being named as the 'Author of *Frankenstein*' by the official publishers of her novels, due to restrictions placed on her by her father in law, Sir Timothy Shelley, periodicals such as *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* or *Fraser's Magazine* would offer a narrative of the Shelleys' life, and that of their associates, as readily as their work.[31] When her novel *The Last Man* was issued in an unofficial edition in 1833 by Carey, Lea & Blanchard in Philadelphia she was named as 'Mary Shelly' (sic.).

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[28] Others 'schools' of canonical Romantic poets were the 'Cockney School' including John Keats and Leigh Hunt, and the 'Lake School' – Robert Southey, Williams Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge. Periodicals took a campaign against schools of poets whilst promoting others. Notably *Blackwood's* rallied to the Satanic Set whilst campaigning against the Cockney School. See Kim Wheatley ed., *Romantic Periodicals and Print Culture* (London: Frank Cass, 2003), p. 2.

[29] Charlotte demonstrates familiarity by her character Caroline Vernon, within the her 1839 Angrian tale of the same name, who quotes lines from Percy Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*. Whilst *Blackwood's* had reviewed Percy's work in 1820, as had *Forbes Magazine* in 1838, the lines used by Charlotte are quoted in neither review, suggesting she likely encountered a book of his poetry.

[30] Mary Shelley's first published work was *History of a Six Weeks' Tour* in 1817; her last was *Rambles in Italy and Germany* published in 1844. *Jane Eyre,* the first Brontë novel to be published, was issued just three years later in 1847.

[31] Seymour describes Mary Shelley's situation as author, of which Mary bemoaned 'There is nothing I shrink from more fearfully than publicity.' 'Mary,' continues Seymour, 'as Peacock pointed out on her behalf to Sir Timothy and his representative, signed *The Last Man* as "By the author of *Frankenstein*." Reviewers [and bootleg editions] had not been so scrupulous; Mary was punished with a further suspension of her allowance for, even if unwittingly, setting the Shelley name before the public ... Sir Timothy's punitive attitude had by this time given Mary a terror of seeing her name in print; every time the words "Mrs Shelley" appeared, she could be sure that her allowance would be withheld until she begged forgiveness … It was not just the book she explained; it was the way the critics might write about it: "each critique, each mention of your work, might drag me forward."'Miranda Seymour, *Mary Shelley* (London: Picador, 2001 [2000], pp. 362–3.

Likewise, the Shelley's lives, being associated with the popular interest in Byron, were named and offered as part of a Byronic narrative. For readers, therefore, the Shelleys maintained a published presence, despite Sir Timothy's constrictions.

Publications of various genres offered a construction of these figures and their works, which circulated, despite censorship, through the early 1800s and were available to the Brontë family as readers. Mary's novels, particularly *Frankenstein,* were widely available in reviews, as were Percy Bysshe Shelley's poetical works[32] and the novels of her parents, William Godwin and Mary Wollstonecraft.[33] Mary Shelley's editorial roles and her decision to write her own 'Introduction' to the 1831 edition of *Frankenstein* with biographical reference to herself (as she also did when introducing her father's reissuing of *Caleb Williams* [1794][34], and for much of her husband's work after Percy's death in 1822[35]), provided further opportunities for the Brontës to have accessed her. Whilst Mary published eight novels,[36] she was also editor and publicist for her husband and father, and a prolific contributor to magazines and journals, writing short stories for ladies' annuals and contributing 'Lives' to

[32] Percy Shelley's shorter poems, often published in collections, include 'Ode to the West Wind'(1819), 'To a Skylark'(1820), and 'The Cloud'(1820). Major, longer poetic works include *Queen Mab* (1813), *Alastor* (1815), *The Revolt of Islam* (1817), *Rosalind and Helen* (1818), *The Cenci* (1819), *Prometheus Unbound* (1820), *Adonaïs (1821),* and *Episychidion* (1821). Political works include *The Necessity of Atheism* (1811) and *A Philosophical View of Reform (1819)*.

[33] Godwin's most notable works were his *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice* (1793) written in response to the French Revolution; his novels, amongst others, were *Things as They Are; or the Adventure of Caleb Williams* (1794), *St. Leon* (1799), *Fleetwood* (1805), *Mandeville* (1817), *Cloudsley; a Tale* (1830) and *Deloraine* (1833). Wollstonecraft's most well-known work *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman with Strictures on Moral and Political Subjects* (1792) was accompanied by other educational works such as *A Vindication of the Rights of Men* (1790) and *Thoughts on the Education of Daughters* (1787). She wrote 2 novels, *Mary; a Fiction* (1788) and her unfinished *The Wrongs of Women; or Maria* was published posthumously in 1798 by Godwin. In 1798 Godwin also published *Memoirs of the Author of A Vindication on the Rights of Woman.*

[34] William Godwin, *Caleb Williams,* (London: Colburn and Bentley, 1831).

[35] See for example Percy Bysshe Shelley, *The Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley* (London: Edward Moxon, 1839).

[36] *History of a Six-Weeks' Tour* (1817), *Frankenstein* (1818), *Valperga* (1823), *The Last Man* (1826), *Perkin Warbeck* (1830), *Lodore* (1834), *Falkner* (1837), *Rambles in Germany and Italy* (1844). Mary's second novel, *Mathilda,* written after *Frankenstein,* was rejected by her father when she sent it to him to arrange publication, not being published until 1959.

Lardner's *Cabinet Cyclopaedia.*[37] Despite Mary Shelley not having had her own 'life' published, many narratives of Percy's life were circulated after his death, as were accounts, in various formats and publications, of her parents and her acquaintance Lord Byron, which included her life as an integral figure. I later consider these accounts in detail, with relation to their accessibility to the Brontë siblings. Even local newspapers kept their readers updated on the Byron/Shelley narrative, charting the relationships, works and deaths, and inevitably assessing the morality of the characters. By the mid–1830s, this complex narrative of the late Byron and Percy Shelley was constructed through the accounts of their friends and associates, as well as by adversaries, often including more negative, moralistic, critical attacks by papers and magazines.

Despite the potential availability of reading material to the Brontë family, Gérin believes however that 'their initiation into contemporary literature was severely one-sided … While they possessed in their father's library the works of all the major poets, and had Byron by heart at a time when other children were reciting Cowper and Wordsworth, their knowledge of contemporary prose literature was limited to the writers contributing to the Tory periodicals, *Blackwood's, Fraser's*, and the fashionable Annuals.'[38] Gérin's claim fails to consider the numbers of unidentified books sold at the parsonage auction, nor the contents of the magazines which contained significant lengthy extracts from novels. Scholars' summaries of the Brontë children's reading popularly cite Thomas Moore's *Life of Byron*, without detailing

[37] Rev. Dr. Dionysius Lardner's *Cabinet Encyclopaedia* was published between 1829 – 1846, divided into five 'cabinets' of Biography, Philosophy, Arts, History and Natural History. As the only female contributor, Mary wrote *Lives of Literary Men of Italy, Spain and Portugal* (1833). Walter Scott was a further notable contributor. See Nora Crook, 'General Editor's Introduction,' *Mary Shelley's Literary Lives and Other Writings*, ed. Tilar J. Mazzeo, vol. i (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2002), p. xx & xxv; and Greg Kucich, 'Mary Shelley's *Lives* and the Regendering of History,' *Mary Shelley in Her Times,* eds. Betty T. Bennett & Stuart Curran (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000).

[38] Winifred Gérin, *Emily Brontë,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 213.
These 'contributing writers' are recorded by Charlotte as being the editor of *Blackwood's* 'Mr. Christopher North ... his company are Timothy Tickler, Morgan O'Doherty, Macrabin Moredecai, Mullion, Warnell and James Hogg, a man of most extraordinary genius' from Charlotte Brontë, 'The History of the Year, '*The Professor, Tales from Angria, Emma: A Fragment,* ed. Phyllis Bentley (London: Collins, 1954), p. 47.

the wider contents of this work. Along with Galt's 'Life of Byron', these circulating 'lives' invariably included the Shelleys as associates to Byron.[39] Therefore, whilst the textual Shelleys remain rarely recognised in Brontë scholarship, they were nonetheless available within the siblings' critically recognised reading material.

iii. *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*

Haworth resident Dr. Driver offered the Brontë family his back-copies of the *Blackwood's Magazine* publication. The siblings therefore were likely to have accessed backdated issues from *Blackwood's* first edition in April 1817. In May of 1832 however Dr. Driver's loan ended.[40] The children's aunt Elizabeth Branwell (1776–1842) subsequently subscribed the family to *Fraser's Magazine.* Charlotte's letter to Branwell describes how she was 'extremely glad that aunt has consented to take in *Fraser's Magazine* for though I know from your description of its general contents it will be rather uninteresting when compared with *Blackwood,* still it will be better than remaining the whole year without being able to obtain a sight of any periodical whatever.'[41] Charlotte's comments suggest the importance that these publications had for the family. Branwell similarly enthused in an 1835 letter to the editor of *Blackwood's Magazine* about the periodical's significance to him from childhood:

[39] Although featured a couple of years before the Brontës subscribed to the magazine, in October 1830 *Fraser's Magazine* published Galt's 'Life of Byron.'

[40] Shattock suggests that *Blackwood's* may no longer have been available at the parsonage by this time, being as the Dr. Driver who had provided it was likely the Revd. Jonas Driver of Haworth who died in December 1831. 'Newspapers and Magazines,' *The Brontës in Context*, ed.Marianne Thormählen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 271. See also, Juliet Barker, *The Brontës.* (London: Phoenix, 1995 [1994]), p. 149. However the definitive identity of Dr. Driver remains inconclusive; Emily and Anne's diary paper of 1834 mentions Haworth grocer James Driver who died in 1840, there is also an Edward Driver of Ivegate listed in Pigot's Directory for 1828–9 as a Bradford bookseller and stationer, see *Pigot and Co.'s National Commercial Directory,* (London, J. Pigot & Co., 1828), p.909.

[41] As in Elizabeth Gaskell, *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* (London: Penguin Books, 1997 [1857]), p. 81.

> I cannot express … the heavenliness of associations connected with such articles … read and re–read while a little child, with all their poetry of language and divine flights into that visionary region of imagination which one very young would believe reality, and which one entering into manhood would look back on as a glorious dream. I speak so, sir, because while a child, *Blackwood's* formed my chief delight, and I feel certain that no child before enjoyed reading as I did.[42]

Blackwood's had advertised in its list of new publications for April 1818, Patrick Brontë's own novella 'The Maid of Killarney, or Albion and Flora; a modern tale; in which are interwoven some cursory remarks on religion and politics'.[43] In this instance it seems reasonable to propose that a copy of this 1818 edition of *Blackwood's* was kept within the parsonage. Whilst the specific issues of each and every *Blackwood's* edition owned or accessed by the Brontës is unknown, it is generally agreed by scholars that until 1831 Dr. Driver had leant the family his collection of backdated copies, possibly from the first issue in 1817. There is further textual evidence of the siblings having accessed later editions of *Blackwood's* after their subscription to *Fraser's,* and so consequently they had at the very least occasional, if not fairly consistent, access to both current and backdated copies from the magazine's first issue onwards.[44]

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[42] Clement Shorter , ed., *The Brontës: Life and Letters,* vol. i (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013 [1908]), p. 132.

[43] Anon, 'New Publications,' *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine,* vol. iii no. vii, April (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1818).

[44] The Keighley Mechanics Institute Library lists holdings of *Blackwood's Magazine* available to its borrowers. Charlotte, Emily and Branwell make reference to later *Blackwood's* editions in their work, diary notes and orders for books from 1834 through to 1844. See Victor Neufeldt A., *The Poems of Charlotte Brontë: A New Text and Commentary,* (New York & London: Garland Publishing, 1985), p. 411, and Juliet Barker, *The Brontës,* (London: Phoenix, 1995 [1994]), pp. 904, n.69 & 926 n. 78.

Contemporary to the Brontës' reading, both *Blackwood's* and *Fraser's* magazines carried steady references to the Shelleys, which included dialogue on their lives, comments on their position as writers, and comparisons with their contemporaries, together with reviews of their work and, at times, contributions from Mary Shelley herself. The Shelleys appeared in these periodicals from the 1810s till the 1850s and beyond, at least annually if not quarterly. It is therefore reasonable to presume that the Brontë family would have had (as should any reader of *Blackwood's* and *Fraser's*) a basic knowledge of the Shelleys, including knowing that Mary, the author of *Frankenstein,* was the daughter of William Godwin and Mary Wollstonecraft, that both Mary and Percy were companions of Lord Byron, she being the *step*-sister of Byron's one-time mistress Claire Clairmont,[45] and that Mary had eloped with Percy whilst he was still married to his first wife Harriet Westbrook.[46]

Narratives of many aspects of Byron and Percy Shelley's lives were offered in the magazines even decades after their death; a particularly popular topic was Percy's assertion of atheism.[47] Certainly by 1834, the readership of these periodicals was presumed to have

[45] The relationship between Mary and Claire is variable within 'life' accounts. Claire might be described as 'sister-in law' or 'sister,' but rarely 'step-sister' as she was. It is unlikely the Brontës would have acquired an accurate understanding of the relationship between the women.

[46] Reviewing Percy Shelley's cousin, Captain Medwin's, 'Life of Shelley', *Blackwood's* remarked 'The public is assured, at p. 238, that Shelley was "one of the most moral as well as amiable men." Why disturb the ashes of his funeral pile, by thus unwillingly compelling us to recall the memory of his vices? Who ever heard the tale of his first wife, the beautiful victim of his lust and his infidelity, without execrating the author of her sorrows?', as in Anon, 'Lord Byron's Conversations,' *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine,* vol. xvi, no. xciv, November (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1823), p. 539.

[47] The circumstances of Percy Shelley's death reveal an almost light-hearted narrative within *Blackwood's* from 1823: 'It was here [The Gulf of Spezia] that Shelley ventured out to sea in a bark, with which a fisherman would not have ventured to cross a stream. His family at the time of his mishap resided in the neighbourhood; and the respectable inn-keeper at Sarzana described to me the grief of one of the party … The ashes of Shelley, you must have heard, had been transmitted to Rome to be laid by those of his infant son; but as the infant had been buried in the old enclosure … it was a matter of some difficulty to execute exactly the wish of the poet or his friends.' Anon, Letters from Italy. No. VI', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine,* vol. xxii, no. lxxiv, March (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1823), p. 281. Additionally; '"Mr Shelley died, it seems with a volume of Mr Keats's poetry grasped with one hand in his bosom" – rather an awkward posture, as you will be convinced if you try it. But what a rash man Shelley was, to put to sea in a frail boat with Jack's poetry on board. Why, man, it would sink a trireme. In the preface to Mr Shelley's poems we are told that "his vessel bore out of sight with a favourable wind;' but what is that to the purpose? It had Endymion on board, and there was an end. Seventeen ton of pig-iron would not be a more fatal ballast. Down went the boat with a "swirl!" I lay a wager it righted soon after ejecting Jack.' Anon, 'Letters of Mr Mullion to the

had enough knowledge to enable sweeping statements such as the following in *Fraser's:* 'The circumstances of his [Godwin's] connection with Mary Wollstonecraft, his marriage and its consequences, his children and their several histories, are too well known to render it necessary that we should do more than allude to them.'[48] The 'portrait' of Godwin offered in *Fraser's* 'Gallery of Literary Characters' would have been available to read at Haworth Parsonage, along with J. H. Herud's 'The poetry of Shelley', which quoted his verse written for Mary: 'they say thou wert lovely from thy birth, Of glorious parents, thou inspiring child!'. The footnote underneath read '*Mrs Shelley was the daughter of William Godwin, by Mary Woolstonecraft [sic].'[49] By accessing these back-dated copies of *Blackwood's Magazine*, and *Fraser's* after 1832, the Brontë family should have also been made aware of the identities of various 'schools' of poetry, such as the Lake Poets (Wordsworth, Southey and Coleridge) or the Cockney School (Hunt, Keats and Hazlitt).[50] An 1819 *Blackwood's* satire set the Shelleys within a radical cohort that had joined Byron in setting out to debase the nation:

> There's Godwin's daughter, Shelley's wife,
>
> A writing fearful stories;

Leading Poets of the Age', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine,* vol. xvi, no. xcii, September (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1823, p. 288.

[48] Anon, 'Gallery of Literary Characters. No. LIII. William Godwin', *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country,* no. lviii, vol. x, (London: James Fraser, 1834), p. 463.

[49] J. A. Herud, 'Shelley's Poetry,' *Fraser's Magazine,* no. cii, vol. xvii, June, (London: James Fraser, 1838), pp. 666.

[50] *Blackwood's* defined Percy Bysshe Shelley 'a man of far superior powers to Keats. He had many of the faculties of a great poet. He was, however, we verily believe it now, scarcely in his right mind. His errors in private life had been great, but not *prodigious*, as the Quarterly Review represented them, and they brought evils along with them which Shelley bore with fortitude and patience. He had many noble qualities; and thus gifted, thus erring, and thus an outcast, we spoke of him with kindness and with praise. He felt, and gratefully acknowledged both; and was proud to know, that some of the articles in our work on his poetry, were written by a poet whose genius he admired and imitated. How did the Cockneys swallow out praises of Shelley? – As wormwood. For envy and jealousy are the corroding and cancerous passions which are forever gnawing at a Cockney's heart.' Anon, 'Preface', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine,* no. cviii, vol. xix, January, (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1826), p.91.

There's Hazlitt, who, from Hunt and Keats

Brays forth in Cockney chorus;[51]

First featuring in *Blackwood's* in July 1818, Mary Shelley was unnamed as the author of *History of a Six Weeks Tour* which was reviewed with long extracts, and Mary termed 'a sweet-blooded wedded wife', writing with 'ease, gracefulness, and vivacity.'[52] For a woman novelist, *Blackwood's* was consistently supportive in its reviews of Mary's books, advertising them in its 'Works Preparing for Publication' and reviewing her novels with long extracts over the first half of the nineteenth century, when they were newly published. In its early editions, Mary's identity was fairly obscure, the identity of the author of *Frankenstein* being confused with her husband Percy. Her first work, *Six Weeks' Tour,* gave no indication that the unnamed party, (described as 'our fair friend, and her husband and sister') was Mary née Godwin, Claire Clairemont and Percy Shelley. The only elusive hint to their identity was that 'S*** read aloud to us Mary Wollstonecraft's Letters from Norway, and we passed our time delightfully.'[53] 'Above all,' the *Blackwood's* reviewer fawned, 'there is something truly delightful in the colour of her stockings; they are of the purest white, and much more becoming that the brightest blue.'[54] 'Treating the classically trained daughter of the age's leading anarchist [Godwin] and most notorious bluestocking [Wollstonecraft]', comments Mason, 'as little more than a simpering school–miss surely ranks among the great blunders

[51] Anon, 'Don Juan Unread', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine,* no. xxxii, vol. vi, November (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1819), p.194.

[52] Anon., 'History of a Six Weeks Tour Through France, & etc.', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine,* no. xvi, vol. iii, July, (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1818), p.412.

[53] Ibid, p.415.

[54] Ibid, p.412.

in the history of literary criticism.'[55] As Mason recognises, *Blackwood's,* over its early years, offered readers an incoherent commentary on Mary; the magazine's readers would have needed to be astute to assemble a coherent narrative. As readers who accessed *Blackwood's* in both current, and backdated editions, from Dr. Driver, the Brontës would have had the opportunity to concurrently read of Mary Shelley named the author of *Frankenstein* in the 1823 edition, despite *Blackwoods* having attributed the authorship of *Frankenstein* to Percy.

Demonstrating their familiarity with *Blackwood's* in their early work, the Brontës appropriated the magazine's contributors and their fictional aliases, John Wilson (Christopher North), James Hogg (The Ettrick Shepard) and John Lockhart (Timothy Tickler), as characters in the juvenilia. Known as the 'Noctes Ambrosianae', running from 1822 –1835 in *Blackwood's,* 'conversations' between the correspondents' fictitious personalities related their opinions on current popular figures, works and events. Similarly, in Glass Town pastiche, the siblings used their own synonyms (Sergeant Bud, Captain Tree, Lord Charles Wellesley) to scornfully review each other's work.[56] Glass Town voices, Alexander notes, 'challenge each other for the 'Truth' of their story … all male like their *Blackwood's* originals … Through their narrative personae, Charlotte and Branwell constantly satirize and rewrite each other's version of events …Their personae act as 'masks', allowing them to identify and play with opposing points of view.'[57] In Charlotte and Branwell's 'Conversations', written in 1830, their work models *Blackwood's* 'Noctes Ambrosianae' in both format and style.

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[55] Nicholas Mason, 'Communal Reception: Shelley and Blackwood's School of Criticism,' *Romanticism and Blackwood's Magazine,* eds., Robert Morrison & Daniel S. Roberts (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 107–8.

[56] See Christine Alexander, 'Introduction', *Tales of Glass Town, Angria and Gondal,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. xviii – xix. 'Like the original *Blackwood's,* the [juvenilia] magazines include a variety of genres: stories, articles, poems, reviews of paintings and books, letters to the editor, and 'Conversations', the latter based on the renowned narratives of literary and current affairs … The same kind of rivalry is evident in the Brontës' earliest articles and reviews. Under the guise of fictitious poets, historians, and politicians, they jockey for the Glass Town public's attention by writing slanderous reviews on each other's work', p. xix.

[57] Ibid, p. xx.

Charlotte's 'Prefaces' to her early tales, in the voice of C. Wellesley, speak jauntily to her 'readers' (likely directed at Branwell, Emily and Anne); 'The conclusion [of this tale] is wholly destitute of any foundation in truth, & I did it out of revenge … but I hope my readers will pardon me for it, as I promise to make amends with usury next time I write a book.'[58] This satirical tone of writing – imitative of that found in *Blackwood's* – implies the Brontës' familiarity with sarcasm, differences of opinion, and conflicting accounts.

Consider the following narrative of the Shelleys offered by *Blackwood's* (taking into consideration that the Brontës weren't necessarily reading in order of publication dates). For an early review of *Frankenstein,* Sir Walter Scott had taken on the appraisal (one of the few times he offered his services to *Blackwood's*). By reading the March 1818 edition of *Blackwood's,* the Brontës would not have had to actually read the novel *Frankenstein* to access a basic understanding of the work. *Blackwood's* offered 'Remarks on *Frankenstein*, or the Modern Prometheus; A Novel',[59] which featured a detailed overview of *Frankenstein*, with some extracts from the novel. Associated with Godwin's *St. Leon*, the authors' 'Preface' was quoted in full with an extract from *Frankenstein* which in turn cited Coleridge's *Ancient Mariner*:

> This is a novel, or more properly a romantic fiction, of a nature so peculiar, that we ought to describe the species before attempting any account of the individual production … We have only to add, that this class of fiction has been sometimes applied to the purposes of political satire, and sometimes to the general illustration of the powers and workings of the human mind. Swift, Bergerac, and others, have employed it for the former purpose, and a good

[58] Charlotte Brontë, 'Albion and Marina,' *Tales of Glass Town, Angria and Gondal,* ed., Christine Alexander (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 55.

[59] Ibid, pp. 613–620.

> illustration of the latter is the well-known Saint Leon of William Godwin. In this later work, assuming the possibility of the transmutation of metals, and of the *elixir vitæ,* the author has deduced, in the course of his narrative, the probable consequences of the possession of such secrets upon the fortunes and mind of him who might enjoy them. Frankenstein is a novel upon the same plan with Saint Leon; it is said to be written by Mr Percy Bysshe Shelley, who, if we are rightfully informed, is son in law to Mr Godwin; and is inscribed to that ingenious author In the preface the author lays claim to rank his work among the class which we have endeavoured to describe.[60]

An early introduction for readers of *Blackwood's* to the Shelleys, their family relationships and literary networks were detailed, albeit incorrectly, in *Blackwood's* identification of *Frankenstein's* author.[61]

Five years later in 1823, *Blackwood's* offered a review of Mary's novel *Valperga,* and clarified its past mistaken attribution:

> We opened the packet, which we knew to contain this book, with great expectations. *Frankenstein*, at the time of its appearance, we certainly did not suspect to be the work of a female hand; the name

[60] Ibid, pp. 613–614.

[61] The association here with Mary's father is noted, and *Frankenstein* clearly linked in its relationship to existing novels, a further concept which will be explored in Chapter Two as a Romantic fashion which characterised many works of the time, works which responded to or were written as companion pieces to others, and was widely accepted by magazines as a recognisable literary technique for attuned readers. – Anon, 'Remarks on Frankenstein, or the Modern Prometheus; a Novel,' *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine,* no. xii, vol. ii, March (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1818), p.614.

> of Shelley was whispered, and we did not hesitate to attribute the book to *Mr* Shelley. Soon however, we were set right. We learned that *Frankenstein* was written by *Mrs* Shelley; and then we most undoubtedly said to ourselves, "For a man it was excellent, but for a woman it is wonderful." ... we have ventured, throwing a thousand defects out of view, to recommend *Valperga,* as, on the whole, a clever novel.[62]

Accompanied by long extracts from the novel, the piece concluded: 'The work, with all the deductions we have made, undoubtedly reflects no *discredit* even on the authoress of Frankenstein – although we must once more repeat our opinion, that Valperga is, for a second romance, by no means what its predecessor was for a first one.'[63] Despite deeming *Valperga* a 'clever and amusing romance,' and Mary Shelley a writer with 'talents which cannot be excluded with so much impunity', such writing, insisted reviewer John Gibson Lockhart (infamous for a provocative style in his reviews), belonged to 'a certain school which is certainly a very modern as well as a mischievous one, and which ought never, of all things, to have numbered ladies among its disciples.'[64] She 'is capable, and she is worthy of other things', commented Lockhart, 'and were it but that she is the daughter of Godwin, we

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[62] Anon, 'Valperga', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine,* no. lxxiv, vol. xiii, March (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1823), pp. 283–5.

[63] Ibid.

[64] John Gibson Lockhart (1794 –1854). His savage reviews, particularly those on the 'Cockney School' of poets, earned him nickname 'The Scorpion.' Emily featured him as a figure in her early juvenilia, as described by Charlotte in 'The Origin of the Islanders.' Later writing to friends in 1874, Lockhart himself described Charlotte Brontë as 'far the cleverest that has written since Austen and Edgeworth were in their prime', although termed her character Jane Eyre 'rather a brazen Miss', see Barnard, Robert & Louise, *A Brontë Encyclopaedia,* (West Sussex: Blackwell, 1013 [2007]) and Richardson, Thomas, 'John Gibson Lockhart and Blackwoods: Shaping the Romantic Periodical Press,' *Romanticism and Blackwoods Magazine,* eds. Robert Morrison & Daniel S. Roberts, (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp.35–45.

should be sorry to find her persisting in the case of such claptraps.'[65] To its readers, *Blackwood's* recommended Mary's work with some praise, albeit cautioning of Mary that there was a certain demeanour expected of women writers which she was cutting fine. 'Over a five year period', Mason summarizes, 'the magazine [*Blackwood's'*] has ascribed the works of her [Mary Shelley's] pen to groups as divergent as properly domestic women, Godwinian radicals, flashing–eyed poets, and tea swilling Cockneys ... *Blackwood's* is known to have enlisted her services only once, as the reviewer of her father's 1830 novel *Cloudsley'.* [66] For women readers, Mary offered a rare female figure whose work could be compared to that of a man within a literary market which was dominated by men.

As example, comparable female novelist Jane Austen was a lesser presence in *Blackwood's* at the time of the Brontës' reading. G. H. Lewes' 'The Novels of Jane Austen' was featured by the magazine in 1859 remarking that her name was 'almost entirely unknown … unremembered even in connection with the very works which are themselves remembered.' [67] Most notably Charlotte, despite her wide childhood reading, did not encounter Austen until encouraged to read her works after the publication of *Jane Eyre.* Charlotte entered into a fierce series of correspondence in 1848 with Lewes, questioning 'Why do you like Miss Austen so very much? I am puzzled on that point … I had not seen *Pride and Prejudice* till I read that sentence of yours, and then I got the book and studied it. And what did I find? An accurate, daguerrotyped portrait of a common-place face; a carefully-fenced, highly cultivated garden … no open country, no fresh air'.[68] In contrast to Mary Shelley Austen's life was fairly unremarkable, so it was that her comparable published

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[65] John Gibson Lockhart, 'Valperga', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine,* no. lxxiv, vol. xii, March (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1823), p. 285.

[66] Nicolas Mason, 'Communal Reception: Shelley and Blackwood's School of Criticism,' *Romanticism and Blackwood's Magazine,* eds. Robert Morrison & Daniel S. Roberts (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 106–9.

[67] George Henry Lewes, 'The Novels of Jane Austen,' *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine,* no. Dxxv, vol. lxxxvi, July (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1859), pp. 99-113.

[68] As in Elizabeth Gaskell, *The Life of Charlotte Bronte* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1876), p. 267.

presense did not reach the Brontës' attention, her name being widely unknown at the time the juvenilia w written. Most likely because both of Mary's parents had previously established a renowned literary presence, and coupled with her husband's and friend Byron's literary reputation, she could offer both a biographical an literary interest for publication. The attention given to Mary Shelley by *Blackwood's* for being a *woman* is notable, in comparison to the quantity of male writers' works. It is notable also that the Brontë sisters themselves, although critically linked to influential male writers, are barely associated with female role models. By reading *Blackwood's* and *Fraser's,* the Brontës would have had the opportunity to be familiar with Mary's novels, from extracts and précis, along with often favourable reviews of her work.

Whilst Mary's early presence in *Blackwood's* was at times confused, the works and identity of Percy Shelley was much clearer. The year following Scott's review of *Frankenstein*, *Blackwood's* featured overviews and extracts from Percy Shelley's *Rosalind and Helen, A Modern Eclogue* (1819) and *Alastor; or the Spirit of Solitude* (1816). *Blackwood's* acknowledged a concern for Percy's atheism but declared:

> Indeed, Mr Shelley does not write like a conscientious man, sinking into fatal error by the imbecility of his intellect … We leave it to others to speak of him in the bitterness of anger and scorn – to others again to speak of him in the exultation of sympathy and praise. We claim no kindred with either set of critics – seeing in this highly gifted man much to admire – nay much to love – but much also to move to pity and to sorrow. For

> what can be more mournful than the degradation of youthful genius involving in its fall virtue, respectability and happiness.[69]

Blackwood's also acknowledged that 'Mr Shelley's writings have, we believe, hitherto had but a very limited circulation, and few of our periodical brethren have contended to occupy their pages with his poetry. It is one of the great objects of this journal to support the causes of genius and of imagination – and we are so confident that our readers will think we have done so in this number, by the full and abundant specimens of fine poetry which we have selected from Percy Bysshe Shelley.'[70] Buoying its readers to appreciate Percy Shelley and by-pass his incongruences, *Blackwood's* was critical of other publications for their condemnation of him, having berated the reviewer from *The Quarterly Review* for:

> [dealing] out a number of dark and oracular denunciations against the Poet, which the public can know nothing about, except that they imply a charge of immorality and wickedness. Let him speak out plainly, or let him hold his tongue. There are many wicked and foolish things in Mr Shelley's creed, and we have not hitherto scrupled, nor shall we henceforth scruple to expose that wickedness and folly.[71]

The issue of September 1820 featured Percy Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound,* with an overview and long extracts, and claimed 'It would be very highly difficult to deny, that this

[69] W. Blackwood, ed., 'Rosalind and Helen, a modern Ecologue,' *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine,* vol. v, no. xxvii, June (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1819), p. 268.

[70] Ibid, p. 273.

[71] Anon, 'Alastor; or the Spirit of Solitude: and Other Poems', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine,* vol. vi, no. xxxii, November (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1819), p. 154.

gentleman has manifested very extraordinary powers of language and imagination in his treatment of the allegory, however miserably he may have tried to pervert its purpose and meaning',[72] whilst 'Remarks on Shelley's Adonais' in 1821, offered long extracts with a negative commentary on his work: 'The following Poem has been sent to us as written by Percy Byshe [sic], and we think it contains all the essence of his odoriferous, colorific, and daisy–enamoured style.'[73] The Shelleys' work continued to be advertised and reviewed throughout the decade, despite Percy's drowning in 1822, which features as a flippant anecdote in *Blackwood's,* insinuating that his fatal boat might not have sunk had it not had a copy of Keats' *Endymion* on board.[74]

The Shelley's' heredity in both a literary family grouping and as part of the Geneva circle they shared with Lord Byron and Leigh Hunt, was regularly discussed within *Blackwood's'* and *Fraser's*. Within the press of the 1830s and 40s Percy Shelley was recurrently cited alongside Byron, and the Brontës were likely highly aware of a 'golden age' of poets which had recently passed. *Fraser's Magazine* lamented the early death of this age in 1833, mourning:

> There is, alas! Too ample room and verge for new poetical spirits to delight in, now that those members of song, whose names are familiar to our youthful recollections, are passing away in gradual order to their eternal rest. Byron, Keats, Shelley, Crabbe, and Sir Walter Scott, are no more. Wordsworth is silent, thought his eyes wander in daily admiration

[72] Anon, 'Prometheus Unbound,' *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine,* no. xlii, vol. vii, September (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1820), p. 680.

[73] Anon, 'Remarks on Shelley's Adonais,' *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine,* no. Iv, vol. x, December (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1821), p. 700.

[74] Anon, 'Letters of Mr Mullion to the Leading Poets of the Age', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine,* no. xcii, vol. xvi, September (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1823), p. 288 [see note 45].

> over scenes which in times of yore were want to kindle his beating heart into inspiration.[75]

As readers of a variety of publications, the Brontës were subject to a varying commentary regarding Percy Shelley's life. Mason recognises that *Blackwood's Magazine* presented a unique view, during its early years 'occasionally warring against [Percy Bysshe] Shelley, yet no other periodical quoted him so extensively, or defended him so staunchly ... Blackwood's alone was forthright and generous and ran a thick seam of Shelleyan subversion through the bedrock of its own Toryism.'[76] Indeed, both *Blackwood's* and *Fraser's* carried a derogatory, yet lamentful, criticism of Percy Shelley's atheism, usually analysing his shocking philosophies, but always praising his poetic genius which rarely fell foul of reviewers. Whilst being aware of Shelley's scruples, *Blackwood's* seems to have upheld its promotion of his genius, whilst recognising the disdain of similar magazines:

> Mr Shelley's writings have, we believe, hitherto had but a very limited circulation, and few of our periodical brethren have contended to occupy their pages with his poetry. It is one of the great objects of this journal to support the causes of genius and of imagination – and we are so confident that our readers will think we have done so in this number, by the full and abundant specimens of fine poetry which we have selected from Percy Bysshe Shelley.[77]

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[75] Anon, 'English Poetry', *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, no. xxxviii , vol. vii., (London: James Fraser, 1833), p. 211.

[76] Nicolas Mason, 'Communal Reception: Shelley and Blackwood's School of Criticism', *Romanticism and Blackwood's Magazine*, eds. Robert Morrison & Daniel S. Roberts (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 107–8.

[77] Anon, 'Rosalind and Helen, a modern Epilogue', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine,* vol. v, no. xxvii, June (1819), p. 273.

To its readers, *Blackwood's* stood by the worth and promise of Shelley's poetry, and certainly its consistent praise of his work may have enticed readers into appreciating his verse, despite his transgressive beliefs, which were often side-lined as a fault of youth which he should, like Godwin before him, grow out of:[78]

> We long to see the day when Mr Shelley, having shaken himself free from these faults – faults so devoid of any essential or mastery genius – will take his place as he ought to do, not far from the first poets of his time. It is impossible to read a page of his Revolt of Islam, without perceiving that in nerve and pith of conception he approaches more nearly to Scott and Byron than any other of their contemporaries.[79]

Whilst discussing Percy's 'faults' of blatant atheism, what was equally evident was *Blackwood's* promotion of the eminence of his work, as the magazine analogously offered a talented and well esteemed poet:

> That a poet should be blind, deaf, and insensible to the divine beauty of Christianity, is wonderful and deplorable, when, at the same time, he is so

[78] 'Such of our readers have been struck by the power and the splendour of genius displayed in the Revolt of Islam, and by the frequent tenderness and pathos of "Rosalind and Helen," will be glad to observe some of the earliest efforts of a mind destined, in our opinion, under due discipline and self –management, to achieve great things in poetry.' Anon, 'Alastor; or the Spirit of Solitude: and Other Poems. By Percy Bysshe Shelley', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine,* vol. vi, no. xxxii, November (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1819), p. 148.

[79] Anon, 'Rosalind and Helen, a modern Ecologue', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine,* vol. v, no. xxvii, June (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1819), p. 274.

> alive to the beauty of the external world, and, in many instances, to that of the human soul.[80]

Indeed, the *Blackwood's* narrative would have been unlikely to deter readers from the Shelleys. Where other publications held back, *Blackwood's* was faithful in defending him:

> the Reviewer [from the quarterly review] has dealt out has dealt out a number of dark and oracular denunciations against the Poet, which the public can know nothing about, except that they imply a charge of immorality and wickedness. Let him speak out plainly, or let him hold his tongue. There are many wicked and foolish things in Mr Shelley's creed, and we have not hitherto scrupled, nor shall we henceforth scruple to expose that wickedness and folly.[81]

Critical of other publications, *Blackwood's* narrative on Percy Shelley not only positively promoted the poet to readers, but further berated those magazines that overlooked the worth of his work whilst offering scathing accounts of the man:

> Why, up to this blessed hour, has the Edinburgh review never hinted that there has been such a man in the world as Percy Bysshe Shelley? … Shelley, with all his faults, was a gentleman, a scholar, and a poet; and his merits as such were uniformly acknowledged in Blackwood's Magazine. … In a word, the Edinburgh Review neglected his fine

[80] Ibid. 273 –274.

[81] Anon, 'Alastor; or the Spirit of Solitude: and Other Poems. By Percy Bysshe Shelley', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine,* vol. vi, no. xxxii, November (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1819), p. 154.

> qualities, however obvious, and Blackwood praised them warmly and zealously, in spite of his bad qualities, however obvious.[82]

Reading *Blackwood's,* not only should the Brontës have had access to Percy's poetry, and the magazine's positive reviews of his work, but they should also have been able to understand the complexities of his character. As *Blackwood's* invited its readers to overlook Percy's moral flaws, readers would have been shown the value of his work in correspondence with his faulty morals and biography. Through this narrative, not only would the Brontës have opportunity to access the Shelley's work, but also understand the complexity involved by esteeming their figures.

iv. *Fraser's Magazine.*

Whilst the Brontës had early access in their childhood to these editions of *Blackwood's* (both praising the genius of the Shelleys' work yet cautioning Percy's message of atheism), from 1832 their main Shelleyan narrative transferred to that of *Fraser's Magazine. Fraser's,* in comparison with *Blackwood's,* was more tentative in its attitude towards Percy Shelley, hesitating to acclaim his work. Whilst, like *Blackwood's,* Percy Shelley found mention in almost all biannual editions, it was not with the same recommendation, and often only in relation to other poets. Despite this, once subscribing to *Fraser's* in May 1832, the Brontë family would have been offered the work of the Shelleys within that year's editions. The November edition, for example, printed *Stanzas by Percy Bysshe Shelley.*[83] The year before they had subscribed, in June 1831, *Fraser's* had featured an introduction to Percy Shelley's

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[82] Anon, 'Letters of Timothy Tickler, Esq', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine,* vol. xiv, no. lxxix, June (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1823), p. 555.

[83] Anon, 'Stanzas by Percy Bysshe Shelley', *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, vol. vi, no. xxxv, November (London: James Fraser, 1832), p. 599.

The Wandering Jew; in July the work had been printed in full.[84] By 1834 the magazine offered a cautious perspective, declaring 'Shelley was mad outright'.[85] Whilst his featured work was deemed admirable, his character was less so, and consequently the magazine sought to excuse him:

> Some of the companions he [Byron] chose were the worst he could have chosen. Shelley must be excepted, who was a wild enthusiast, but ingenious, subtle, and original, and of a gentle and amiable disposition. But he did not sufficiently associate with men of his own rank, and men of experience on the great theatre of the world … His moral feelings, whether good or bad, were of extraordinary liveliness … The chances are that no religion had been instilled in him in childhood; and that family affairs and remembrances had bred discontent and misanthropy.[86]

Despite these incongruences in Shelley's morals, *Fraser's'* Morgan Rattler praised Shelley's work, recommending him to readers without mention of any negative aspects:

> As for Shelley, he must be sought when you are in a fond, imaginative mood, and withal something fantastical, – when you are anxious that your soul should wing its way in pilgrim flight to the "land of dream."

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[84] Anon, 'The Wandering Jew, by the Late Percy Bysshe Shelley', *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, vol. iii, no. xviii, July (London: James Fraser, 1831), p. 666 –677, and Anon, 'New Poem, by Percy Bysshe Shelley, The Wandering Jew, Introduction', *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, vol. iii, no. xvii, June (London: James Fraser, 1831), p. 329– 536.

[85] Anon, 'Dean Swift's Madness', *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, vol. x, no. lv, July (London: James Fraser, 1834), p. 25.

[86] Anon, 'Poetry – the Modern Poets', *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, vol. x, no. lviii, October (London: James Fraser, 1834), p. 426.

> Then he will discourse "most exquisite music," which shall be moreover fraught with the deepest wisdom and most glorious whisperings of pregnant inspirations – things inaccessible to the research and denied to the worship of the mere cold earthly votary of the mystic poet – of the hierophant of Nature. For my own part, whenever I read Shelley's poetry in reverent guise, and with an awakened soul, I always feel calmed, and raised into a species of dreamy elevation above all sublunary things.[87]

A year later, *Fraser's* reviewed Mary Shelley's *Lodore* over five pages, with an overview and extracts from the text, and continuing the contemporary gossip that Mrs. Shelley, as she was named, was indeed the author of *Frankenstein*, a novel previously attributed to her husband. The publication of *Lodore*', declared *Fraser's*:

> has gone a considerable way toward convincing us that Mrs. Shelley might have indeed been the author of *Frankenstein* – a work which we once believed could not possibly owe its existence to a female novelist; and this, not because there is similitude between the structure and development of *Frankenstein*, that fearful and fantastic dream of genius, and the love-story before us, which is of this every-day world – its doings and its sufferings, but because there is common to both a depth and sweep of thought – a knowledge of human kind, in its manifold relations with this earth – and a boldness and *directness* in penetrating to the recesses and displaying the motives and workings of the heart, its

[87] Morgan Rattler, 'The Books on my Table,' *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, no. lix, vol. x, November (London: James Fraser, 1834), p. 514.

> feelings and passions – not in woman only, but in man also – which we should certainly have imagined to be far beyond the scope and power of a lady. Yet there is, at the same time, nothing in these volumes which a lady might not have known, and felt, and written; nor can there be the slightest doubt that they are the product of a feminine mind, albeit one of robust culture and extraordinary vigour ... Mrs Shelley has shewn, not only can she unveil the soul of woman to its very uttermost recesses, but that she can divine, appreciate and depict the character of men.[88]

The review concluded – after an overview of the novel's plot with lengthy extracts – in praise of Mary Shelley and *Lodore* :

> one of the best novels it has been of late years our fortune to read. We are very happy in being able to confer this praise on Mrs. Shelley, whose name is dear to us (we doubt not, from "the late remorse of love," it is to the public), for the sake alike of the dead and the living – her illustrious husband, and her living son, who was born in his image.[89]

This last comment was illustrative of the public interest in the Shelleys' published work and, significantly, the tandem narrative of their lives. *Frankenstein,* although first published nearly two decades earlier, apparently still prompted confusion over its authorship. Mary appeared to maintain an aura of mystery around her work and figure, likely due to Sir Timothy's

[88] Anon, 'A Decade of Novels and Nouvellettes: 6. Lodore', *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country,* no. lxv, vol. xi, May (London: James Fraser, 1835), pp. 600 –1.

[89] Ibid, p.605.

restrictions. Similarly to *Blackwood's,* the review praised Mary's work specifically for being that of a woman, praising her for being beyond 'the power and scope of a lady.' For potential female novelists, *Fraser's* estimation of Mary broadened the established capabilities of a woman.

The following year, through 1836, Percy Shelley was referred to several times, often in connection with Byron, being at times presented in higher estimation and in one instance referred to as Byron's 'teacher':[90] 'Hence Byron bore away the palm from Wordsworth and Shelley, though his best thoughts were stolen from them'.[91] Some narratives set him above other poets, *Fraser's* terming him 'the poet's poet':

> Such poems are written rather for poets than ordinary readers. Thus Byron almost adored Shelley; who, by the by, has been, not without reason, described as the poets' poet … nothing can prevent him from becoming a classic in his land's language.[92]

Readers who might have an admiration for Byron, would have been directed by elements of *Fraser's* to likewise appreciate Percy Shelley and his work. Despite the magazine's attempts to discredit him for his atheism, it is evident that the merit of his work persuaded the

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[90] 'Something about the later works both of Byron and Shelley seemed to announce a coming dominion to them over the sources of their inspiration; whence the world began to expect fine specimens of art, from men who had shewn themselves to possess so much of the material, in the genius which had enabled them to put forth evidences of promise and power that had never been exceeded. Of Shelley we felt more certain than of Byron; Byron continuing to borrow till the last – borrowing even of Shelley, and taking the colour of all companions and all books with whom his spirit communed. But Shelley, as the teacher of Byron, showed a mind more original, and more self –dependant'. J. A. Herud, 'The Poetry of Shelley', *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, vol. xvii, no. cii, June (London: James Fraser, 1838), p. 674.

[91] Anon, 'Hastings's Sonnets', *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, vol. xiii, no. lxxiv, February (London: James Fraser, 1836), p. 225.

[92] Anon, 'Report on Fraser's Magazine,' *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, vol. xiii, no. lxxiii, January (London: James Fraser, 1836), p. 27.

publication to take regard of his poetic talent. Indeed, despite their early caution, in 1838 *Fraser's* nonetheless featured several pages on Percy Shelley and his work, suggestive of a popular demand for the poet which was being delivered by other publications in a competitive market.

In June 'The Poetry of Shelley' offered both extracts of his work and assessment of his life and character, heavily focusing upon his atheism:

> Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Byron, have received from us repeated tributes, such as we could render, to the works and the memory of men who had realised and embodied for us the poetic spirit of the age. From Shelley, for obvious reasons, we had somewhat shrunk; yet any retrospect of literature must be imperfect which fails to record and to decide the character of such a poet … the verses of Shelley failed on their first publication to gain popularity – as much on account of their repeating associations … because of the suspicions which attached themselves to the author's reputation in the minds of Christian men … Shelley professed himself to be an Atheist, and his writings are replete with sentiments apparently Atheistical…[93]

The feature offered an in-depth assessment on Shelley's atheism, which included a scientific analysis of the elements of 'air, fire and water'. His atheism was clearly a troubling issue for the magazine, which communicated to its readers a clear disdain for Shelley's beliefs. Yet, although readers were discouraged to sympathise with his philosophies, *Fraser's* invited them to admire elements of his poetry. The piece gave a detailed life account of Shelley,

[93] J. A. Herud, 'The Poetry of Shelley,' *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, vol. xvii, no. cii, June (London: James Fraser, 1838), p. 654.

beginning with his expulsion from Oxford for writing a 'silly work', 'a recapitulation of some of the arguments of Voltaire' with 'a most ridiculous title, *The Necessity of Atheism."*[94] The feature related 'the more essential elements' of *Queen Mab* as grounded in Paine's *Age of Reason* and Godwin's *Political Justice*: 'Shelley was only the expression of other men's thoughts and opinions'. The article analysed and quoted extracts from *Queen Mab,* Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound;* the *Revolt of Islam* and the *Cenci* were also listed, as were featured quotes from the Preface to the *Revolt of Islam* and an overview of that work. 'The Dedication to his second wife is touching,' wrote *Fraser's,* 'as containing his history, particularly the stanza alluding to his first unhappy marriage'. It was also noted in footnotes that 'Mrs Shelley was the daughter of Mr Godwin, by Mary Wollstonecraft'.[95] This particular feature in itself could have offered the Brontës a synopsis of Percy Shelley's life, relationships, beliefs and work, as well as his connections with other writers such as Byron, Mary Shelley and Godwin, and how his work related and responded to their own.

Despite Shelley having drowned in 1822, his presence remained in print over the following few decades. *Fraser's* regularly wrote of him as a dynamic figure, often lamenting the idea of a golden age of poetry which had passed, and, even twenty years later, continued to esteem and feature the work of the poets who had died a decade or more before.[96] Similarly to *Blackwood's, Fraser's* Morgan Rattler lamented this poetic age, listing Shelley amongst the poets of 'genius': 'Whilst Byron blazed the comet of a season, Shelley and Keats

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[94] Ibid.

[95] Ibid, p.666.

[96] 'Tennyson … may be called … the poetical son of Keats; unless it be a derogation from the praise due to many others, such as Shelley, and especially Goethe, who have combined in the production of the present glory of English song, to allow one man so large a share in the parentage.' 'Keats and His School', *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, vol. xxxviii, no. ccxxvii, November (London: James Fraser, 1848), p. 495. Additionally, 'Chaucer, Spencer, Milton, Shakespeare, Dryden, were succeeded by Scott, Campbell, Crabbe, Southey, Moore, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Byron, Shelley. All these were living, pouring forth the full tide of their inspiration during the childhood and boyhood of all who, like myself, being to the present generation.' Morgan Rattler, 'The Books on my Table, by Morgan Rattler', *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, vol. x, no. lix, November (London: James Fraser, 1834), p. 505.

appeared and passed away, leaving some noble memorials of their genius behind them … Not a year went by without producing more than one volume of a quality we never see now …. after this [1825] began to cease among us; Byron, and Shelley, and Keats were dead; Scott and Southey silent; Coleridge dreaming away existence'.[97] *Fraser's Magazine* lamented the flawed poets, their youth and the tragedy of their lost genius:

> the fountain of his [Byron's] heart yet welled with waters sweet and bitter. Poor Shelley, too, walked in ways of vanity. The spiritual development of these has been cut short by death, or stopped at the half –way house of party of prejudice; or else *sui generis*, is unconnected in any remarkable manner.[98]

Mention of Percy Bysshe Shelley, whilst set alongside 'oracle' poets such as Scott, Southey, Coleridge, Wordsworth and Byron, contained warnings to readers who were frequently cautioned on his atheism. 'His moral feelings, whether good or bad, were of extraordinary liveliness, and never at rest: they were always feverish, and often approached to insanity. He was impetuous, daring, and mockingly defiant.'[99] *Fraser's Magazine,* in 1838, fifteen years after Percy's death, continued to assess his atheism:

> Shelley professed himself to be an Atheist, and his writings are replete with sentiments apparently Atheistical, in union with others so refined

[97] Anon, 'Past and Present Condition of British Poetry,' *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, vol. xxxiii, no. clxxxviii, May (London: James Fraser, 1846), p. 589 –590.

[98] Oliver York, 'Oliver York at Home, No. iii: A Dialogue with Johann Wolfgang Von Goethe,' *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country,* no. xxv, vol. v, February, (London: James Fraser, 1832).

[99] Anon, 'Brydges, Sir Egerton (Per Legern Terræ) Lord Chanders of Sudley,' *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, no. lviii, vol. x, November (London: James Fraser, 1834).

> a cast, as to perplex the ordinary reader with a distressing sense of paradox and heterogeneousness. In a word, Shelley asserts the reality of spirit, yet seems to deny the existence of God ... Shelley, however, erred in transferring merely intellectual scepticism to his moral being, which admits of none ... It will turn out, that the Christianity to which Shelley in this and other works opposed himself, was a phantom of his own and other men's imaginations.[100]

This piece suggests that despite his death, and reviewers' repeated admonitions over his philosophies as contained within his poetry, his work likely continued to be in popular demand by *Fraser's'* readership, being as the magazine continued to feature him, albeit reproachfully.

The loss of 'genius' poets saw them feature in *Fraser's* as ghosts, poets still current as characters on the page regardless of their deaths. A 'Report on Fraser's Magazine' listed 'the most distinguished persons in this world, and in the world of shadows.' Under the 'List of Immortals' were included 'The Ghost of Homer … The Ghost of S. T. Coleridge … The Ghost of Byron, The Ghost of Shelley'.[101] Both Shelleys continued to feature at least biannually in *Fraser's Magazine* throughout the 1840s and 1850s, suggesting that readers of the periodical magazines had continued access to their lives and their works. *Fraser's* offered a complex assembly of the figures, philosophies, and works of the Shelleys, alongside their position in the wider web of Romantic figures. The various editors and contributors to the magazines offered a vibrant and varying commentary which spanned over forty decades. As

[100] J. A. Herud, 'Shelley's Poetry,' *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country,* no. cii, vol. xvii, June, (London: James Fraser, 1838), p. 564.

[101] Anon, 'Report on Fraser's Magazine,' *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, vol. xiii, no. lxxiii, January (London: James Fraser, 1836), p. 3.

periodical readers, the Brontës would have had the chance to be well accustomed to the Shelleyan narrative.

v. Narrative in Newspapers.

Within the papers documented by Charlotte as received at Haworth Parsonage (the *Leeds Intelligencer* and the *Bradford Mercury*), local stories of house fires, or announcements of marriage or death, ran side by side with stories reviewing books and the lives of the Romantic poets. Any Shelleyan narratives which circulated in these Yorkshire publications would have featured current Shelleyanstories, such as Percy's death, very early in the Brontë siblings' childhood, likely too early for the children to read or understand the articles. Nonetheless, these newspapers offered interesting and often conflicting opinions to those presented by *Blackwood's* or *Fraser's.* The textual presence of the Shelleys circulated locally from early on in the Brontës' lives, indicating a Northern social interest in the Shelley's. The death of Percy Shelley in 1822 was a notable story for the people of Yorkshire:

> This gentleman, whose poetical talents were of a very high order, but lamentably perverted in their direction, perished at sea on the 8th ult. in a storm, on the coast of Italy, near Leghorn. His friend Captain Williams, of the Fusiliers, shared the same fate with him. Both of these gentlemen have left wives and children to lament their loss.[102]

The *Leeds Intelligencer* detailed with contempt that:

[102] Anon, 'Death of Shelley,' *The Leeds Intelligencer,* 12th August (1822), page ref?.

> Lord Byron is in the environs of Genoa, and the bodies of his two friends Shelley and Williams have been found. One Monsieur M., to all appearance the common friend of Lord Byron, and all of them, performed the rites of sepulchre on a funeral pile, in a manner altogether antique, philosophical, and pagan – not in the least christian [sic]. The end and object of this disgusting farce must have been to collect the ashes of those two liberals.[103]

Indeed, the journalists of the *Intelligencer,* with greater disdain than those writing for the periodicals, generally offered their narrative of Percy Shelley and his associates with rebuke: 'Clarke, the Publisher of the atrocious Poem of Queen Mab, by Percy Bysshe Shelley (alluded to in our notice of the Liberal) has also been convicted of blasphemy by the Society for the Suppression of Vice.'[104]

Byron was likewise admonished by the paper:

> In the notes to his Doge of Venice, Lord Byron expressed with an earnest hope that the abhorrence with which he regarded his own countrymen, would soon become reciprocal. We are happy to have it in our power to congratulate him on the full consummation of his wishes. He cannot detest, more than he is detested. His name will go down to posterity altogether shorn of its beams; for the brightness of his head cannot fail to be eclipsed by the determined

[103] Anon, 'Domestic Intelligence', *Leeds Intelligencer* 30th December (Leeds: G. Wright, 1822), page ref?..

[104] Anon, 'Domestic Intelligence', *Leeds Intelligencer* 28th October (Leeds: G. Wright, 1822).

> blackness of his heart. So much for the MAGNUS APOLLO of the LIBERAL![105]

In the same piece, the *Intelligencer* offered a longer account of Percy Shelley's life, suggestive of an interest for the Shelleyan biography in Yorkshire, which the paper sought to condemn:

> […] cut off suddenly a few weeks ago, in the midst of his profligacy, by the sinking of a vessel, in which he was sailing in the Gulf of Spezsa. Of … [Percy Shelley it] might be deemed invidious to speak, were he not termed in the preface to the present pamphlet THE NOBLEST OF HUMAN BEINGS! As it is, we feel, that the mention of a few circumstances connected with his biography, may prove rather useful than otherwise, our readers may be aware on what his claim to NOBILITY was founded – Percy Bysshe Shelley is the author of Queen Mab, a poem, not only of infidel, but positively atheistical tendency … To enter more at large upon the nobility of this man's mind; we happen to KNOW, that he was expelled from college, for a monstrous attempt to prove the non-existence of God by a mathematical diagram; and subsequently disowned and disinherited by his own father … In early life, this NOBLEST OF HUMAN BEINGS contracted a marriage with an unfortunate, but at that time highly respectable young woman … whom he deserted, simply as he himself confessed, because he had met with another person more to his taste, without the slenderest provision: and, who after sinking into the lowest depths of vice and prostitution terminated her miserable existence by throwing herself into the basin at St. James's

[105] Anon, 'Literary Notices', *The Leeds Intelligencer* 21st October (Leeds: G. Wright, 1822).

> park. Such is the character of the late Mr. Percy Shelley, that 'divine minded philosopher,' as the Morning Chronicle entitles him.[106]

The Intelligencer's damning overview of Percy's life focused almost solely upon the negative aspects of his story. Berating him for his expulsion from Oxford for atheism, his disinheritance by his father, and his desertion and the subsequent ruin of his first wife, whilst scathingly criticising *The Morning Chronicle's* glowing opinion of him by sardonically referencing language used by other publications. Whilst one of his poems, 'Queen Mab,' was mentioned, this was only to condemn the verse's content, with no consideration given to his poetic worth. The piece was derisively written in direct response to the publication of other works, such as *The Chronicle,* which had termed Percy 'The Noblest of Human Beings', a 'divine minded Philosopher' and 'mankind's friend, the friend of the Universe!'

These northern papers similarly offered a narrative of Mary Shelley's literary family, continuing into dates when the Brontë children would now have been of an age to read them. At the death of her younger, half-brother William, *The Leeds Intelligencer* reported the 'Death of Mr Godwin – gentleman ... the son of the author of "Caleb Williams," and the brother of Mrs. Shelley, and possessed as a writer much of the literary power of his family.'[107] The same newspaper advertised Godwin's *Caleb Williams*, clarifying the family network that linked Mary with her parents by writing a memoir of her father's life in 1831 to accompany his novel's new edition:

> *The Standard Novels* (to be published May 2) … No. 2, consists of *Caleb Williams* with a memoir of the Author by his daughter, Mrs. Shelley. The copyright of this celebrated fiction has been

[106] Ibid.
[107] Anon, *The Leeds Intelligencer* 28th April (Leeds: G. Wright, 1831).

> purchased by Messrs. Colburn and Bentley of Mr Godwin, who has carefully revised the story in its progress through the press and bestowed on it his last touches.[108]

The Leeds newspapers also documented the works of Mary Shelley, their sale advertised under 'The Standard Novels and Romances':

> It may be confidently asserted that from Novels and Romances ... they are calculated to afford an intellectual banquet of the highest order, such works have only been selected as cannot offend the taste of the most fastidious; such indeed as a father need not hesitate to present to his family. [To] This cheap series of the most admired modern fictions … has been added 'Caleb Williams' and 'St. Leon,' productions which stamped the veteran Godwin as one of the most original and powerful writers of any age or country … 'Frankenstein,' by Mrs. Shelley, justly characterised by Canning as the 'romance of a child of genius.'[109]

This advertisement offered a glowing review of Mary Shelley and her father Godwin, not only as gifted novelists but as moralists, teachers and prodigies. Whilst reviewed in *Blackwood's* and *Fraser's,* the narrative on Mary Shelley and Godwin's novels was additionally available to the Brontës through the *Intelligencer.* Regular advertising campaigns such as these, which overstated the brilliance of the novels may have intreagued readers such the Brontë family.

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[108] Anon, 'The Standard Novels,' *The Leeds Intelligencer,* 28th April (Leeds: G. Wright, 1831).

[109] Anon, 'Standard Novels and Romances', *The Leeds Intelligencer*, 5th April (Leeds: G. Wright, 1832).

Ironically opposite to the acerbic pen of Yorkshire newspaper journalists, which Percy Shelley and Byron fell afoul of, the glowing advertisements from London for Mary's novels were concurrently available to a Yorkshire readership. Appearing at the top of the front page of the *Intelligencer* in 1823, the paper quoted directly from *Blackwood's Magazine* its warm review of Mary's *Valperga*:

> This day was published, Price 21s, Boards. VALPERGA or the LIFE and ADVETURES of CASTRUCCIO, PRINCE of LUCCA. By the Author of FRANKENSTEIN. IN 3 Vols. … We shall leave the wide stream of the Author's Narrative pure and untouched. For the refreshment of those whose thirst it ought to be our business to excite, not to assuage … It is impossible to read without admiration of the eloquence with which it is written – Blackwood's Magazine, April, 1823.[110]

The newspapers received by the Brontës presented inconsistent views of the Shelleys, distaining Percy's depravity, yet paradoxically promoting, via her publishers' national advertisements, the virtuosity of Mary's novels. The *Intelligencer's* featured advertisement of 'The Standard Novels and Romances' advised its readers on the fashionable, respectable books they should be reading:

> The series of works entitled "The Standard Novels and Romances," now publishing in monthly volumes, is certainly the cheapest periodical of the day. Each volume, generally containing an entire novel, only costs 6s.

[110] Anon, 'Valperga', *The Leeds Intelligencer*, 24th July (Leeds: G. Wright, 1823).

> Whatever is rich and rare in the productions of the most gifted of recent writers of fiction may be found in this interesting collection. These cheap reprints appear with the advantages of careful revision and illustrative notes by several authors, at *less than one –fifth of their original price.* An additional recommendation will be found in the clever embellishments by which the volumes are accompanied. Let us add, that 'The Standard Novels and Romances' now contain the justly popular works of ... Miss Austen … Victor Hugo, Mrs Shelley, Godwin … "The Standard Novels" are, therefore, a luxury for all. They are necessary to every well-appointed library.[111]

Featured regularly in the paper taken in by the Brontë family each week throughout the 1830s, these advertisements, through repetition, made certain readers' familiarity with poets' and authors' names. To the 'Standard Novels', advertised the *Intelligencer,* has been added*:*

> "Frankenstein" by Mrs Shelley, justly characterised by Canning as "the romance of a child of genius. ... We heartily congratulate the public on being enabled to procure such fictions (beautifully embellished, and revised in almost every instance expressively for this edition by the authors themselves, who have added new introductions explanatory of the origin of the stories,) for only six shillings a volume, containing the whole of several works, originally in three or four vols.[112]

[111] Anon, 'The Standard Novels and Romances', *The Leeds Intelligencer,* 22nd March (Leeds: G. Wright, 1834).

[112] Anon, 'The Standard Novels and Romances', *The Leeds Intelligencer*, 5th April (Leeds: G. Wright, 1832).

The adverts sought to appeal to households, promoting the novels' contents and affordability as a respectable luxury accessible to all. The advertising for the 'Standard Novels' carried promotional reviews from *The Literary Gazette:* 'We may, indeed, say, that we have seen no periodical design more attractive in every way than the "Standard Novels."' "'Frankenstein" – "Vigorous, terrible, and with its interest sustained to the last, Frankenstein is certainly one of the most original works that ever proceeded from a feminine pen'.[113] In February 1833 the *Intelligencer* promoted:

> The next volume of the STANDARD NOVELS AND ROMANCES contains the following esteemed productions, revised and corrected, with new Introductions, in most instances written by the Authors themselves, expressively for this edition ... By *Mrs Shelley.* Frankenstein ... Any volume may be had separately, Price 6s.[114]

Again, in December 1833: 'The popular series of works of Fiction entitled "The Standard Novels"... To residents in the country this Work will prove an acquisition of the highest value. We heartily recommend it; and those who may be induced to act upon our recommendation will have reason to thank us for having pointed out to them a fund of entertainment and information such as may not be procured in any other way except at immense cost.'[115] The stressed reasonable price of these novels affirmed to make them affordable to

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[113] Anon, 'The Standard Novels and Romances', *The Leeds Intelligencer*, 15th March (Leeds: G. Wright, 1832).

[114] Anon, 'The Standard Novels and Romances', *The Leeds Intelligencer*, 7th February (Leeds: G. Wright,1833).

[115] Anon, 'The Standard Novels and Romances', *The Leeds Intelligencer*, 21st December (Leeds: G. Wright, 1833).

households.[116] Intriguingly, the adverts asserted that the books were 'necessary to a well –appointed' household. Readers of the newspapers were told monthly that the books were a *necessity* to read and own. Moreover, the adverts publicised the father/daughter relationship between Godwin and Mary Shelley: the 'Introductions,' written by themselves or for each other, were an added draw to readers.

The *Intelligencer's* advertising furthermore set alongside the work of Godwin and Mary Shelley with Moore's *Life of Byron* and memoirs of Napoleon, texts and figures who are critically associated with the juvenilia:

> The third number of *The Standard Novels* (to be published MAY 2) will contain the whole of THE SPY, by COOPER …No. 2 consists of *Caleb Williams* with a memoir of the Author by his daughter Mrs. Shelley. The copyright of this celebrated fiction has been purchased by Messrs. Colburn and Bentley of Mr Godwin, who has carefully revised the story in its progress through the press and bestowed on it its last touches … We understand that the NATIONAL LIBRARY having now become an established favourite, the projectors of that undertaking have been stimulated to fresh exertions to merit the public support. The beautiful editions of "Bourienne's Memoirs of Napoleon," just published, is allowed to be the cheapest work yet offered to the public in any of the libraries. (See advertisement in our paper of this day) Of the volumes already published we have already taken occasion to speak: Galt's *Life of Byron* is now considered to be the most impartial biography of the noble bard that has ever appeared.[117]

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[116] *Bent's Monthly Literary Adviser* categorised a low priced book as 3s 6d or under, a medium priced book as 3s7d –10s, and a high priced book as over 10s. A book priced at 6s would therefore seem reasonable for a mid-priced novel.

[117] Anon, 'The Standard Novels', *The Leeds intelligence,* 28th April (Leeds: G. Wright, 1831).

Therefore books known to have been read by the Brontës – books featuring accounts of figures included in their juvenilia (specifically Galt's *Life of Byron*) – were being advertised in their local newspaper alongside the works of Godwin and Mary Shelley.

vi. Books and Lending Libraries.

In addition to narratives within newspapers and periodicals, the Brontës both owned and borrowed books from circulating libraries. Affordable books, often unendorsed editions, were evidently marketed to middle-class households by local newspapers or periodicals taken in by the parsonage. By advertising the necessity of households owning books, the works of authors such as Mary Shelley, Godwin or Byron were presented as wholesome, even if their figures were not always deemed so in the press. For the Brontës' household, and given the catalogue of books at the parsonage auction, they evidently found a number of books affordable.[118] Being constantly exposed to advertising campaigns in newspapers and magazines, the family had the opportunity to be familiar with current novels and their authors, and to potentially purchase those works.

The Brontës are further recognised by scholars to have borrowed books from lending libraries. A copyright ruling, passed in 1774, tied the hands of the reprint market, initiating circulating libraries which could lend out books within the 14 year rule, to those who could not otherwise afford them – albeit with a membership fee and loan charge.[119]

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[118] *Bent's Monthly Literary Adviser* shows a significant change in the trend for book sales between 1825 and 1835, the period during which these adverts appeared. At the beginning of the decade expensive books far eclipsed the sale of mid –range and cheaper books, yet ten years on, mid –priced books were selling in the largest volumes, a trend which continued over the century until low priced books far eclipsed any other. This suggests that a market for lower priced books became much more available to everyday families, whereas before they had only been a 'luxury' item for the wealthy. A 6s book fell into the category of the lower end of mid –priced books. See Anon, 'Book Prices 1811 –1895', *Aspects of the Victorian Book,* www.bl.uk/collections/early/victorian/pu_intro.html, (accessed 30/08/2016).

[119] Commonly termed 'the battle of the booksellers,' over the later 1700s a number of high profile cases were brought to court concerning copyright issues. By March 1774 a Bill was passed through the

These developments in available reading matter, Lawson and Silver identify, 'were quite substantial, and became an increasingly important factor in questions of education and literacy.'[120] Whilst most clubs and societies were open solely to men (both Reverend Brontë and his son Branwell were members of local associations in Haworth and Keighley), women too generated a burgeoning readership for the evolving publishing industry.[121] Indeed, Brayman Hackel and Kelly claim that the 'protean expansion of a female readership shaped the history of publishing and the development of a literary culture. We can see its impact in the steadily increasing numbers of texts aimed at least partly at female readers–cum –consumers and the popularity of novels whose plots revolve around heroines who are *themselves* avid readers'.[122] Despite Charlotte writing to Ellen Nussey in 1848 that 'we do not subscribe to a circulating library at Haworth and consequently "new novels" rarely indeed come in our way',[123] other sources appear to contradict her claim. Branwell's friend Leyland quotes William Heaton, an acquaintance of Branwell's when he was at Luddenden Foot, which suggests that he had access to a curious wealth of books:

Commons that 'no such copy right in authors or their assigns doth exist at common law', from 4th June, 'any author who had already printed and published his work' should 'have the sole an exclusive liberty of printing such book … for the term of fourteen years … and no longer.' That is, with no authorisation needed, after several years from its official issue, publishing houses could print and sell existing works without permission from the author or their original publisher. See Ronan Deazley, *Rethinking Copyright: History, Theory, Language* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2006), p. 22.

[120] See John Lawson & Harold Silver, *A Social History of Education in England* (London: Routledge, 2013 [1973]).

[121] Hackel and Kelly argue it is 'no exaggeration to call this process dramatic.' Indeed, they cite that in the 1500's 'as much as 99 percent of women may have been illiterate, and girls of all social backgrounds were the objects of purposeful efforts to restrict their access to full literacy.' Yet, by 1800 'nearly half of English and Anglo-American women demonstrated alphabetic literacy and the female reader had emerged as a cultural ideal and market force.' Heidi Brayman Hackel & Catherine E. Kelly, 'Introduction,' *Reading Women: Literacy, Authorship, and Culture in the Atlantic World, 1500 –1800* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2008), pp. 1 –2.

[122]Heidi Brayman Hackel, Heidi & Catherine E. Kelly 'Introduction,' *Reading Women: Literacy, Authorship, and Culture in the Atlantic World, 1500 –1800,* Hackel (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2008), p. 2.

[123] As in Juliet Barker, *The Brontës* (London: Phoenix, 1995 [1994]), p. 148. Barker also considers here the ambiguity which exists amongst scholars concerning where the family may have borrowed their publications or not.

> [...] if the subject were some topic that he was acquainted with, or some author he loved, he would rise from his seat, and, in beautiful language, describe the author's character, with a zeal and a fluency I had never heard equalled. His talents were of a very exalted kind. I have heard him quote pieces from the bard of Avon, from Shelley, Wordsworth and Byron, as well as from Butler's *Hudibras,* in such a manner as often made me wish I had been a scholar, as he was ... He leant me books which I had never seen before.[124]

Barker likewise proposes that in contradiction to Charlotte's later letter to Nussey, Charlotte's communication with her brother Branwell, from Roe Head in 1832, implies that in childhood they *did* indeed subscribe to a circulating library. This letter, Barker believes, 'implicitly suggests that they did. She [Charlotte] is pleased Aunt Branwell has decided to subscribe to *Fraser's Magazine* as "there would be no possibility of borrowing, or obtaining a work of that description from a circulating library."'[125] The Brontës are generally acknowledged to have borrowed books from the Keighley Mechanics' Institute Library, four miles away from Haworth.[126] Whone presents the 1841 catalogue of books from this library, yet notes that as there is not a catalogue available for each year,[127] it therefore isn't possible to ascertain if copies of Shelleyan poetry and novels were available for loan.

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[124] Francis A. Leyland, *The Brontë Family: With Special Reference to Patrick Branwell Brontë*, *In Two Volumes* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1886), vol. i, pp. 28 –9.

[125] Juliet Barker, *The Brontës* (London: Phoenix, 1995 [1994]), p.863. Barker quotes Charlotte's letter of May 1832 which is currently held at the Brontë Parsonage Museum.

[126] See, for example, Barker, ibid, p. 148.

[127] Clifford Whone, 'Where the Brontës Borrowed Books*',* Brontë Society Transactions, vol. II, pt. lx. (Leeds: Maney Publishing, 1950), pp. 344–58.

Given the general evidence for the Brontës having owned and borrowed a number of books, it is sound to conclude that the family undoubtedly had access to many unidentified texts. The advertising in magazines and newspapers taken in by the parsonage promoted works by the Shelleys – including long extracts from their books – which confirms that the siblings had many opportunities to certainly have at least been familiar with, if not accessed or even owned, some of Percy and Mary Shelley's works.

vii. Moore's *Life of Byron.*

Having written his own memoirs for himself, Byron's autobiographical papers were destroyed after his death, supposedly to protect his reputation.[128] Therefore, Mary Shelley became important by the summer of 1824 for her knowledge of Byron, both by being familiar with him as a friend in Geneva, Venice and Pisa, and most crucially having had read Byron's destroyed memoirs herself. Approached almost instantly by two would-be biographers, Thomas Medwin and Thomas Moore – who plied her with invitations to meet Washington Irving and a promise that there might be the support for her to re-enter the literary world once more – Mary agreed to give assistance to Moore. Undeterred, Medwin's similar biography appeared in 1833 without Mary Shelley's sanction, and gave uneasy reference to her as 'Mrs Shelley', whilst awkwardly glossing over the transition of Shelley's first and second wives.[129] By the summer of 1827, Mary presented her handwritten account

[128] The memoirs were reputably destroyed in May 1823, supposedly at the behest of Byron's sister, Augusta Leigh, or else, as Seymour believes, 'more certainly on the instructions of John Cam Hobhouse, one of Byron's executors. See Miranda Seymour, *Mary Shelley* (London: Picador, 2001 [2000]), p. 351.

[129] In 1833 Thomas Medwin, published *The Shelley Papers: Memoir of Percy Bysshe Shelley and Original Poems and Papers by Percy Bysshe Shelley.* Medwin, Percy Shelley's cousin, attempted to blackmail Mary into helping him with his book through threatening to detail the legal battle over Percy Shelley's children, Charles and Ianthe, with his first wife, Harriet. Mary did not respond to his threats, so consequently Medwin did mention the custody case yet did not damage Mary's name within his work. There was no mention of her elopement to Switzerland, for example, and Medwin implied that Harriet and Percy's marriage was an unhappy one even before he met Mary.

of Byron's memoirs for Moore and *The Life of Byron* was published in 1830, a text which Seymour terms a 'Moore-Mary version,' recognising how Moore had 'never bothered to read the memoirs which Byron had given him when he visited Venice in the autumn of 1819.'[130] To its readers, Moore's *Life* gave no acknowledgement of its authorial indebtedness to Mary.[131]

As a significant book popularly identified by critics as being a fundamental influence on the Brontë juvenilia, Thomas Moore's *Life of Byron* was purchased by Rev. Brontë for his children. As the original copy owned by the Brontës is lost, and the work was published between 1832–5 in various editions, it is unknown as to which specific edition the family owned.[132] Alexander and Sellers note the significant moment of the Brontë family acquiring a copy of Thomas Moore's *Life of Byron* was around 1833.[133] North, for example, recognises how Byron's publisher Murray indicated a 'belief that Byron's life, rather than his works, would attract the largest number of new readers.'[134] 'Most importantly', Elfenbein asserts, 'in 1833, the Rev. Brontë acquired Murray's handsome, seventeen-volume edition of Byron's poems. The work included Moore's biography as well as engravings by the Finden brothers'.[135] *Fraser's Magazine* in 1830 heralded the publication of Moore's *Life* on its front

[130]Miranda Seymour, *Mary Shelley* (London: Picador, 2001 [2000]), p. 351.

[131] The account of Byron's life at the Villa Diodati in Moore's *Life* includes Byron crossing Lake Geneva singing the Tyrolese song of liberty, which is reflected by Mary's character Raymond in *The Last Man.*

[132] For reference, in keeping with the critically acknowledged date of 1833 being the year the Brontës likely acquired Moore's *Life,* I am using the 1833 edition of *The Works of Lord Byron: with his Letters and Journals, and his Life, in Seventeen Volumes,* issued by the book's official publisher, John Murray. There were many editions circulating at the time supplied by other publishing houses, and it is subsequently unknown which copy the Brontë family owned.

[133] Christine Alexander & Jane Sellars, eds., *The Art of the Brontës* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

[134] Julian North, *The Domestication of Genius: Bibliography and the Romantic Poet* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 60.

[135] Andrew Elfenbien, *Byron and the Victorians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004 [1995]), p.129.

page for March, asserting: 'Gods! There never has been such a saint as that same lord in the calendar of Parnassus! Can Mr. Moore think that Byron's unmannerly passions and course selfishness are to be concealed by his thick painting? We acknowledge that he has managed his theme ingeniously.'[136] Indeed, more than 20,000 copies of the edition were sold by the end of 1833.[137]

Seymour argues that Mary used Moore's *Life* to rewrite a previously published, anonymous account which depicted a serene Byron and 'quaking atheist' Shelley at sea. Through Moore's *Life,* Mary was able to reverse the roles: '[Percy] Shelley is heroically calm ... Here we can see Mary reviewing Shelley's death, imagining the frame of mind which she longed to believe he had met those unknowable final moments when the *Don Juan* sank.'[138] The readers of Moore's *Life* were therefore reading an edited collaboration between Moore and his unacknowledged source, Mary Shelley. The work angered Byron's last mistress, the Countess Teresa Guiccioli, as in reference to the love letters exchanged between herself and Byron, she raged that Moore had 'no right to make such a use of them ... [being] particularly requested by me of that.'[139] Guiccioli indignantly declared Moore's *Life* 'was so faulty as to be beyond correction.'[140] Significantly for the Brontës however – despite Mary being an anonymous authorial voice to them – Moore's *Life* contained within it a biographical commentary on the Shelleys. Having considered the Shelleyan narrations offered in periodicals and local newspapers, within Moore's *Life* a further narrative was available. The

[136] Anon, 'Moore's Life of Byron', *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, no. ii, vol. i, March (London: James Fraser, 1830), p. 129.

[137] See Julian North, *The Domestication of Genius: Bibliography and the Romantic Poet* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 60.

[138]Miranda Seymour*Mary Shelley* (London: Picador, 2001 [2000]), pp. 353–5.

[139] As in Iris Origo, *The Last Attachment: The Story of Byron and Teresa Guiccioli as Told in Their Unpublished Letters and Other Family Papers* (London: Turtle Point Press, 2000), p. 494.

[140] As in Miranda Seymour, *Mary Shelley* (London: Picador, 2001 [2000]), p. 355.

figures of Mary and Percy Shelley, under Mary's terms, offered readers a version which focused upon literary talents, whilst polishing over any negative narrations delivered elsewhere.

Readers were offered the Moore/Mary edited version of 'Mrs Shelley', a romanticised, legitimately married, young girl adventuring with poets and writing in union with them. Her stepsister and short term mistress of Byron, Jane 'Claire' Clairemont and their daughter Allegra, were simply not mentioned.[141] Todd outlines how Mary Shelley presented a doctored account of herself within her own words, so that her four-volume edition of Percy Shelley's poetry 'established her husband as one of the greatest geniuses of the era; prudently his political and sexual ideas were submerged in his own uplifting spiritual message.'[142] Similarly, in Mary's 'Introduction' to a new edition of Godwin's *Caleb Williams,* the idealization was continued. Mary implies, as Todd notes, that:

> she was the only daughter of a conventional pair who had married before she was conceived. So too in an introduction to *Frankenstein,* she effaced Harriet by suggesting that Shelley and she were man and wife before they left for Switzerland in 1816. The past had to conform to the present needs.[143]

Indeed, the regular reference Brontë scholars make to the sibling's familiarity with Moore's *Life of Byron,* links the textual presence of Percy and Mary Shelley to the Brontë

[141] Allegra 'Alba' Byron (1817 –1822) was accepted by Byron to be his daughter and taken into his care at her first birthday under the arrangement of Percy Shelley. Byron placed her in a convent in Bagnacavallo, Italy, where she died of typhoid fever, aged 5.

[142] Janet Todd, *Death and the Maidens: Fanny Wollstonecraft and the Shelley Circle* (London: Profile, 2007), p. 261.

[143] Ibid.

consciousness.[144] In Byron's *Life,* Mary Shelley was first introduced as 'Mrs Shelley', despite still being Mary Godwin at the time (the real 'Mrs Shelley' then being Percy's first wife Harriet Westbrook), and there was no mention of their scandalous elopement to the continent. The Brontës could have read of Mary and Percy Shelley, who, 'After passing a fortnight under the same roof with Lord Byron at Saccheron … removed to a small house on the Mont–Blanc side of the Lake, within about ten minutes' walk of the villa which their noble friend had taken.'[145] The work further detailed the friendship between Byron and the young Shelleys, that 'though the weather had changed and become windy and cloudy, he [Byron] every evening crossed the Lake...to visit them and as he returned again...over darkened waters, the wind, from far across bore us his voice singing.'[146] The presentation of Mary Shelley as romantic heroine herself, a 'lady' whose presence prevented Byron from 'probably hav[ing] done some rash thing,' depicts her 'after a shower of rain, walking up the hill to Diodati' sighted by Byron who 'saw her from his balcony where he was standing' and told his companion, physician Polidori, 'Now, you who wish to be gallant ought to jump down this small height, and offer your arm.'[147] Within Moore's *Life,* Mary Shelley was a delicate, romantic, figure amid the landscape of the lakes and mountains of Geneva, and ultimately a luminary young woman of literary mind, who, along with their small circle of companions, was challenged by the poet Byron himself to write a ghost story.

The text of Moore's *Life* endeavoured to establish Mary, not as a dissipated usurper in the scandal of Percy Shelley's ill-fated marriage, but as a cerebral companion of Byron, not only a friend but as literary partner:

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[144] Barker, Miller, Alexander, Chitham and Glen, to name a few scholars, all example works such as Moore's *Life of Byron, Blackwood's* and *Fraser's Magazine* as source texts to juvenilia.

[145] Thomas Moore, *The Works of Lord Byron: with his Letters and Journals, and his Life, in Seventeen Volumes,* vol. iii (London: John Murray, 1833), p. 276.

[146] Ibid.

[147] Ibid, p. 279.

> having amused themselves with reading German ghost–stories, they agreed at last, to write something in imitation of them. 'You and I,' said Lord Byron to Mrs Shelley, 'will publish ours together.' He then began his tale of the vampire … The most memorable result, indeed, of their story telling compact, was Mrs. Shelley's wild and powerful romance of Frankenstein.[148]

As Percy Shelley's wife, Mary enjoyed the inspiring companionship of two of the greatest poets of the age. In Moore's *Life*, even Byron was inspired by the exceptional Percy Shelley; 'The conversation of Mr Shelley, from the extent of his poetic reading, and the strange, mystic speculations into which his system of philosophy led him, was of a nature strong to arrest and interest the attention of Lord Byron, and to turn him away from worldly associations and topics into more abstract and untrodden ways of thought ... the rich, glittering labyrinth of Mr Shelley's pages.'[149]

Byron's '*Life*' was therefore at times both a Byronic and Shelleyan narrative, which, when detailing Percy and Mary, concentrated upon their literary connections and talents. For the Brontës, Moore's *Life* offered the figure of Mary Shelley as part of a writing circle with male poets. Whilst in some instances Mary Shelley was only an invisible biographer for readers, through Moore's *Life* she was able to anonymously offer readers an account of her and her husband's lives on her own terms. This narrative delivered an alternative and more favourable account than the often rebuking versions of the Shelleys' lives found in local northern newspapers or *Fraser's.* Most significantly in Moore's *Life,* Mary appeared to readers as a companion of Byron's, not as a fictional character or mistress, as in the women

[148] Ibid, p. 339.

[149] Ibid, p. 271.

featured in publications such as *Finden's Byron Beauties,*[150] esteemed for their 'beauty' and 'loveliness', but as an intellectual, with equal literary worth to Byron and Percy Shelley.

viii. Mary's Narrative.

Within many of the publications available to the Brontës (those documented by the family and referenced by scholars), the parsonage household had access to a diversity of commentaries chronicling both the lives and works of the Shelleys. The range of publications offered after the death of Percy Shelley indicate a popular demand for details on the Shelleys; a public interest which continued into the decades beyond, enduring not least because of the early restrictions placed upon Mary. By the 1830s (a decade of abundant production in the Brontë juvenilia), despite post-dating Percy Shelley's life by over a decade, Shelleyan narratives in the press paralleled the commencement of the juvenilia. Besides a series of 'Portraits,' 'Sketches' and 'Lives' within magazines, detailing the private lives of poets, North notes:

> during the 1830s, in particular, publishers were beginning to realize the commercial potential of the biographical edition as a way to maintain poets' sales. Indeed, the biographical preface, or "introductory notice" of the life, became an almost obligatory, and often very substantial, part of any collected or selected edition of poetry … the reputations of Byron, Shelley and [Felicia] Hemans were also very largely determined by the *Life and Works* format in which they were brought to readers in the 1830s … a competitive

[150] W. & E. Finden , *Finden's Byron Beauties: or the Principal Female Characters in Lord Byron's Poems* (London: Charles Tilt, 1836).

> interdependency of poetry and biography became inscribed in the means of disseminating the idea of the "Romantic poet."[151]

Scholars have credited Mary Shelley with affirming her husband's position as a poet of the age; if it had not been for Mary's resolute work as editor of his poetry, ensuring editions of his works regularly appeared throughout her lifetime, Percy Bysshe Shelley's name might well have been forgotten. Because Mary was behind many commentaries on Percy, readers were offered a narrative which countered injurious accounts by glossing over his licentiousness with extravagant declarations of his genius. Indeed, in many respects the Gallignani brothers' 1829 publication was a landmark edition; being of a relatively high textual standard the Galignani edition featured superior readings communicated by Mary Shelley. As recognised by Taylor, the edition was important in establishing a foundation text for Shelley's later publications. Taylor notes that Galignani's edition served as a printer's copy for the authorised 1838 *Poetical Works* published by Edward Moxon.[152]

Behrendt identifies how editions of poetry and biographic prefaces, largely indebted to both Mary Shelley and Leigh Hunt, were available to 'a more broadly defined popular readership,'[153] that is, those who read periodicals – such as the Brontës – rather than an audience which was used to complete volumes. By 1833 a wealth of biographical lives of Percy Bysshe Shelley were available as accompaniments to publications of his poetry or as independent articles within periodicals or papers. Often the same 'Life' might be reproduced

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[151] Julian North, *The Domestication of Genius: Biography and the Romantic Poet* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 124.

[152] Charles H. Taylor Jr., *The Early Collected Editions of Shelley's Poems: A Study in the History and Transmission of the Printed Text* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958), p. 34-46.

[153] Stephen C. Behrendt, 'The Reception of P. B. Shelley in Europe', *History of Shelley Editions in English,* eds. Susanne Schmid & Michael E. Rossingon (London: Continuum, 2008).

for a new edition or separately published in a magazine after featuring within a book.[154] Notably, these Shelleyan accounts offered to the public were almost solely created by Mary herself, or by select friends of Percy Shelley at Mary's request and approval. In 1824 Mary Shelley had an edition of Percy's poetry published, carrying a 'Preface' on Shelley written by her. The book was then suppressed by Sir Timothy. For the following fifteen years (until 1839 when Mary was at length permitted to publish a four volume edition of her husband's complete poetry) the only way of circulating his work was through unauthorised means, such as requesting unofficial publishers like Galignani to further the Shelleys' work. This illicit distribution meant that readers could access Shelleyan commentaries which countered damaging accounts on the Shelleys, offering a diversity of interpretations of their lives and works. Given the wealth of publications available to the Brontës, it is likely that in accessing them they were aware of the conflict in these narratives, narratives which left readers to form their own opinions.

In this respect, Behrendt identifies the understated importance of Galignani's bootleg edition of *The Poetical Works of Coleridge, Shelley and Keats* in 1829, given that Mary Shelley contributed directly to its publication.[155] Morrison and Stone describe how Mary Shelley had also assisted author Cyrus Redding in writing Percy's biographical notice for Galignani's *Poetical Works.* The Shelleys had been familiar with the Parisian newspaper *Galignani's Messenger*[156] from living on the continent, its narrative allowing them to keep up

[154] Mary Shelley's 'Preface' to his works, published in 1824, was continually reproduced in unofficial editions of his poetry, until Mary wrote a new edit on his life for the publication of his poetry in 1839. Leigh Hunt's *Life of Shelley'* offered an alternate take, as did *Blackwood's* and *Fraser's Magazines* in their features on Percy Shelley's life and works. Astute readers would have the opportunity to pick apart the discrepancies in these accounts.

[155] Stephen C. Behrendt, 'The Reception of P. B. Shelley in Europe', *History of Shelley Editions in English,* eds. Susanne Schmid & Michael E. Rossingon (London: Continuum, 2008).

[156] Giovanni Antonio Galignani founded the Parisian newspaper *Galignani's Messenger* in 1814.

with British politics.[157] Mary Shelley's published justification for her husband's adultery had appeared anonymously in her 1824 memoir of Percy Shelley, which had been offered in Galignani's unofficial edition of *The Poetical Works of Coleridge, Shelley, and Keats*. Mary's memoir was flagrant in that Percy had still been married to Harriet Westbrook when he had 'paid his addresses to another lady, Miss Godwin, with whom in July, 1814, he fled, accompanied by Miss Jane Clairmont, her sister-in-law, to Uri, in Switzerland.'[158] Seymour recognises that the memoir had been written by Mary as a reaction against Hunt's 'gloss' on Percy's life within his 1828 recollections on Byron, where 'once again, readers were led to assume that her relationship with Shelley had only begun after Harriet's death; no mention was made of the period during which she lost her first baby and gave birth to William.'[159]

Mary's memoir in Galignani's edition, Seymour asserts, demonstrates her intention to present the truth 'on her own terms,' the narrative making it clear that her elopement with Shelley happened *before* Harriet's death. 'Equally striking,' Seymour observes, 'is the fact that the Redding Memoir presented Mary, at her own wish, neither as Shelley's wife nor as Godwin's daughter. She was introduced, at her own insistence, as Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin, daughter of the celebrated authoress of the *Rights of Woman* ... Mary's way of saying that she now preferred to see herself in a female context.'[160] This name also asserted the identity of Mary without breaking the terms set down by Sir Timothy. Mary continued to modify the Shelley narrative over the years, and despite originally banning Mary from publishing his son's work, Sir Timothy eventually lifted the sanction. This allowed Mary to present her husband in the edition's postscripts as an ethereal genius, his sexual or political

[157] Lucy Morrison & Staci Stone, *A Mary Shelley Encyclopaedia* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2003), pp. 161–2.

[158] Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Percy Bysshe Shelley & John Keats, *The Poetical Works of Coleridge, Shelley, and Keats,* ed. Cyrus Redding, (Paris: A. & W. Galignani, 1829), p. vi.

[159]Miranda Seymour, *Mary Shelley* (London: Picador, 2001 [2000]), p. 364.

[160] Ibid, p. 364–5.

transgressions glossed over, and leaving absent any mention of Godwin, or Mary's sisters Fanny Imlay and Claire Clairmont. She attempted to efface his first wife by editing the opening verses to 'Queen Mab,' a poem originally written for Harriet; outraged, Percy's friends, Peacock and Hogg, insisted she restore the initial verses. Despite this, Mary's editing attempted to rewrite the negatives of her past – inferring in an introduction to Godwin's *St. Leon* that her parents were married *previous* to Wollstonecraft falling pregnant, and that she had married Percy Shelley *before* they visited Switzerland – within her Author's Introduction to a new edition of *Frankenstein.*

In consequence, the published Shelleyan narrative was inconsistent throughout the years after Percy's death. Papers and magazines which had previously defamed the poet, came to reconsider him and the worth of his poetry. As his editor, Mary became more shrewd when engaging with the public, purging his life story, bringing the focus to his work and eclipsing his outspoken atheism through her 'Prefaces'. To a great extent, Mary Shelley led the creation of a mythologised Percy Shelley figure. As Rowland recognises, 'The idea of the writer was already a part of the romantic myth [which] in part explains the popularity of … *The Poetical Works of Coleridge, Shelley, and Keats,* when commentators among the intelligentsia could see no reason for grouping the three. The political and artistic differences among the writers faded before the public sense of Coleridge as a thwarted genius and Keats and Shelley as angels called home from this world.'[161] North evaluates Mary Shelley's changing projection of herself through her position as biographer:

> The title page of the four-volume *Poetical Works* which presented the edition, from the outset, as a family concern and Mary Shelley's own role as editor was, at once, respectfully and sympathetically domestic –

[161] William G. Rowland, *Literature and the Marketplace: Romantic Writers and their Audiences in Great Britain and the United States* (Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), p. 7.

> the reverential widow of the 'illustrious' poet and loving mother to his son ... In the *Poetical Works* she represents her notes to Shelley's poems as the office of the wife who bows to her husband's genius … By 1839, when Mary Shelley was 42, she adopted the position of the mother who was, at once, indulgent to and wiser than the poet who died at the age of 29.[162]

The growing interest to read of the Shelley's' lives alongside their work was evident, for instance, in an 1832 edition of *The Beauties of Percy Bysshe Shelley* was revised to contain a biographical preface.[163] Thomas Medwin's *The Shelley papers: Memoir of Percy Bysshe Shelley and original poems and papers by Percy Bysshe Shelley,*[164] was published in 1833, the memoir having appeared first in the *Athenæum* the previous year.[165] Significantly for the Brontës' potential access to these Shelleyan biographies, Bentley records that a sketch drawn by Charlotte (likely depicting Leigh Hunt) was probably copied from an engraving which was the frontispiece to Hunt's 1829 work, *Lord Byron and Some of his Contemporaries,* and which included Percy Shelley.[166] Additionally, Charlotte's 1834 watercolour, 'The Maid of Saragoza,' which was copied from an engraving exhibited within various publications relating to Lord Byron at the time, also features as an illustration within Hunt's 1829 work. Had the

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[162] Julian North, *The Domestication of Genius: Bibliography and the Romantic Poet* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 132.

[163] Edward Lumley, ed., *The Beauties of Percy Bysshe Shelley: Consisting of Miscellaneous Selections from his Poetical Works, the Entire Poems of Adonais and Alastor, and a Revised Edition of Queen Mab Free from all the Objectionable Passages* (London: Gladdon & Hunt, 1832 [1830]).

[164] T. Medwin., ed., *The Shelley Papers: Memoir of Percy Bysshe Shelley and Original Poems and Papers by Percy Bysshe Shelley* (London: Whittaker, Treacher, & Co., 1833).

[165] Anon, 'Memoir of Shelley', *The Athenæum: Journal of Literature, Science and the Fine Arts,* January – December (London: J. Francis, 1832).

[166] Phyllis Bentley, 'A Charlotte Brontë Sketch Book', *Brontë Society Transactions,* vol. xi, Pt. ivxxx (Leeds: Maney Publishing, 1948). The present location of Charlotte's sketch is currently unknown.

Brontë family had access to Hunt's *Lord Byron* (and it seems likely from their drawings that they did), they would have been able to read the chapter, 'Mr Shelley: with a criticism on his genius, and Mr. Trelawney's narrative of his loss at sea.'[167] The passages covered an assessment of Percy Shelley's relationship with his first wife who was 'not of a nature to appreciate his understanding ... They separated by mutual consent ... the marriage was disapproved by Mr. Shelley's family and the lady of inferior rank.' Hunt implied that Harriet's death occurred *before* he met and married Mary Godwin. This account is illustrative of the tensions between the defences of Percy Shelley by his friends: 'Persons who riot in a debauchery of scandal, delighting in endeavouring to pull down everyone to their own standard, and in repeating the grossest charges in the grossest words, have taken advantage of this passage in Mr. Shelley's life, to show up their total ignorance of his nature',[168] remarked an infuriated Hunt.

The passages in Hunt's text also assembled the 'illustrious descent' (and therefore the literary family group of Mary) of the heir to the Shelley baronetcy, the Shelleys' son Percy Florence: 'his mother a woman of talents, his father a man of genius, his grandfather, Mr Godwin, a writer secure of immortality; his grandmother, Mr. Godwin's wife, the celebrated Mary Wollstonecraft.'[169] Whilst a number of biographical accounts circulated from Percy Shelley's death onwards, his biographers (generally his friends or wife), were never without their objectives in restructuring the truth. North distinguishes how:

> Victorian biographies of Percy Bysshe Shelley have been profoundly influential in shaping academic and popular conceptions of 'the Romantic

[167] Leigh Hunt, *Lord Byron and Some of his Contemporaries: with Recollections of the Author's Life and of his Visit to Italy, in Two Volumes* (London: Henry Colburn, 1828), p. 313.

[168] Ibid.

[169] Ibid, p. 322.

> poet' … Mary Shelley's editions of her husband's *Posthumous Poems* (1824) and *Poetical Works* (1839), with their biographical prefaces and notes, and after them Lady Shelley's *Shelley Memorials* (1859) have been regarded as especially culpable in disseminating a hagiographic construction of Shelley as a man of pure angelic goodness, beauty, and unworldliness, his poetry, like its creator, pure and ethereal. From Leigh Hunt and Thomas Medwin in the 1820s and 1830s, to … the mid–to late Victorian period, all the major biographers have been associated with the promotion of this 'Shelley myth,' as false as it is seductive. Biography has been placed at the centre of the effort to defuse the threat of Shelley as a religious, political, and sexual dissident, and to project a "declared" or "virtually depoliticised" figure, marketable to middle–class readers.[170]

Whilst continuing to promote Percy Shelley's works and legacy throughout the years after his death, Mary Shelley continued to write novels. For the Brontë family, Mary Shelley as the biographer behind Moore's *Life* may have been little more than an anonymous voice, but as a novelist, figure within the biographical lives of Percy, Byron, Godwin or Wollstonecraft, or by reviews with extracts of her work, her published narrative would have been frequently available to them within newspapers and periodicals.

ix. Parallel Narratives.

The quantity of available reading material for the Brontës which gave reference to the Shelleys, circulated in varying versions and formats throughout the Brontës' childhood, and ran parallel to the creation of their juvenilia. My examination of this reading material

[170] Julian North, *The Domestication of Genius: Bibliography and the Romantic Poet* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p.101.

presents a complex Shelleyan narrative which was variously accessible to the family at the Haworth parsonage. Although it is difficult to precisely establish which specific texts the Brontë siblings definitely owned or read, the general presence of the Shelleyan narrative within both national and local publications, indicates a social familiarity with the Shelleys which was widespread, even in Yorkshire. As subscribers to *Blackwood's* and *Fraser's* magazines, the Brontës had access to a wide range of texts which, contrary to 'limiting'[171] the Brontës' knowledge, rather offered them comprehensive in-depth access to poetry, novels and opinionated narratives. Both *Blackwood's* and *Fraser's* offered a commentary on writers, poets, and novelists, providing readers with lengthy synopses, extracts and reviews of newly published works, meaning that the siblings need not even have owned nor borrowed books to be very familiar with current texts of the day. From Mary's most famous novel, the term 'Frankenstein' became a political parody.[172] Evidenced by *Fraser's Magazine* in 1830, an unsigned report upon the relations between France and England made use of a metaphorical Frankenstein's creature: 'A State without religion is like a human body without a soul, or rather like a human body of the species of the Frankenstein Monster, without a pure and vivifying principle; for the limbs are of different natures, and form a horrible heterogeneous compound'.[173] This fluency in the media perhaps explains Charlotte's pre-mentioned reference in her Belgian essay to the 'German student' who in learning to dissect,

[171] Gérin perceives the Brontës' 'knowledge of contemporary prose literature' as *'limited* to the writers contributing to the Tory periodicals, *Blackwood's, Fraser's*, and the fashionable Annuals.' Winifred Gérin, *Emily Brontë,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 213.

[172] *Blackwood's*, for example, advised 'Another Frankenstein will never appal us ... No political Mrs Shelley will ever produce such a miscellaneous abortion.' Anon, 'Friendly Advice to the Lords – Observations on a Pamphlet', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, no. clxxxviii, vol. xxx, August (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1831), p. 846 –7.

[173] Anon, 'France and England,' *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country,* no. x, vol. ii, November (London: James Fraser, 1830).

believed he had learnt to create, whether she had actually read *Frankenstein* for herself or not.[174]

The Brontës read and wrote amid a culture which was consistently exposed to a variable, often celebrated, Shelleyan narrative within a market responsive to a demand for Shelleyan works and accounts of their lives. Solely by reading the periodicals, the family at the parsonage would have had access to many of Mary's novels through extensive extracts and summaries, and a large selection of Percy's poetry from magazines, which generally endorsed the Shelleys' works and offered dozens of varied accounts of their works, literary circles and characters. The lack of connection given to the Shelleys within Brontë scholarship suggests the need for a deeper evaluation of the Brontë's juvenilia in relation to the Shelleyan context I have sketched. The biographical narratives offered to readers necessitates an equal consideration of both the published work of the Shelleys and various biographical accounts in the media. In the following chapters I therefore offer a new assessment of the siblings' juvenilia in recognition of the availability of the Shelleys in print. Given the contexts described in this chapter, my thesis will consider the Brontës' writing alongside the parallel presence of the textual Shelleys within their accessible reading material. In the following chapter I consider the Brontës as writers, outlining the methods by which the siblings' reading sources are textually present within their juvenilia. By using examples of recognised influential writers for the Brontës, such as Byron and Scott, whose presence is regularly recognised by scholars, I propose to define a framework for the Brontës' writing method in which to place the textual Shelleys.

[174] See Introduction, f.n. 5.

Chapter Two.
Textual Play: The Brontës as Writers.

i. Textual Play.

Having demonstrated the availability of the Shelleyan narrative to the Brontë family in the previous chapter, in Chapter Two I offer a detailed examination of how the siblings used texts they read in their writing. As initiated in my Introduction, I proposed that a 'new text' may be borrowed from an original by means of appropriation. The juvenilia were defined as a playful game, one which involved borrowing, re-writing and responding to source texts. I noted that my thesis distinguishes four different forms of borrowing: quotation or citation; imitation of structure; theme; and linguistic parallel. Building upon this model of Brontë writing practice, I now consider in more detail their use of source material to better appreciate how Shelleyan texts may be present within the juvenilia; as MacFarlane recognises, 'The imitation … [is] refashioned from pre-existent materials'.[1]

Developing as an early Napoleonic narrative, the juvenilia progressed into a more sophisticated Byronic one, as accepted by modern research.[2] My thesis considers a selection of sources and figures as examples, whilst establishing the importance at the time of life-writing which impacted upon the development of Gondal and Angria. This celebrity culture, driven by an expansion of publications – be that newspapers, periodicals and the celebrity of poets – subsequently lead to the textual presence of both a writers' life and their work being discernible in the juvenilia. In this chapter, as initially discussed in my Introduction (see Franklin, f.n. 83–85), I consider Byron as a model for how the Shelleys might likewise be placed. Whilst references to periodical culture in material written at the Brontës' time was commonplace – as are generally writers' references to classical mythology, Shakespeare and

[1] Robert MacFarlane, *Original Copy: Plagiarism and Originality in Nineteenth Century Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 19.

[2] See Introduction, f.n. 52.

the Bible – by distinguishing what is particular to the Brontës' use of source material, a thorough framework can be established within which to place the Shelleys.

In this chapter therefore I discuss, as examples of the Brontës' writing practice, the presence of a critically mediated Byronic narrative, along with the Brontës' critically established use of Napoleonic narratives and their borrowings from, for instance, Scott, the Bible, Shakespeare and Wordsworth. These examples of available narratives in the Parsonage's reading material, which subsequently textually feature within the juvenilia, are all demonstrative of the appropriated writing practice which typifies the Brontës' juvenilia. Establishing this writing technique, I will define the purpose of the siblings' early writing; how this was influenced by what they read, and how they wrote as a group. Lastly, I also establish the published narratives available to the Brontës which offered readers discussions on the writing practice of poets; these narratives demonstrate similarities between the Romantic writers and the Brontës' writing process. I offer a chronological consideration of the general writing practice of the juvenilia, and the borrowings it made from reading material – including the various formats which it took through prose tales, poetry, drawings and imitation journalism – to define a general writing practice for the juvenilia within which the textual presence of the Shelleys can be later positioned.

Termed by Charlotte a 'habit of communication and consultation' in her 'Editor's Preface' (1850) to Emily's *Wuthering Heights,* Charlotte recognised the siblings' early work as a writing union 'from childhood upwards … [in which] we used to show each other what we wrote.'[3] For this reason, I argue that the siblings' juvenilia was the production of a writing circle; I further consider the available narrative within magazines and published poetic works which communicated the writing process of the Romantics, and their writing circles, to

[3] Charlotte Brontë, 'Biographical Notice of Ellis and Acton Bell,' *Wuthering Heights* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009 [1976]), p. 301.

readers.[4] The practice of the Romantics, identifies Mazzeo, meant their readers were 'likely to recognise appropriations … and therefore … evaluate a text according to the standards of early nineteenth century plagiarism. Literary borrowings represented an implicit claim for narrative or literary mastery, and reviewers [such as those of *Blackwood's Magazine*] appear to have delighted in evaluating them.'[5] The appropriative writing practice of the Brontës therefore reveals appropriations which were typical to their social culture. Yet, by considered definition of their practice, the specific presence of less obvious sources, and ultimately the textual Shelleys, can be later placed by definition of this writing framework.

ii. Appropriated Sources.

Perhaps too often, especially concerning Branwell, the juvenilia is considered by scholars in biographical terms. For instance, Du Maurier proposes that 'the wooden soldier Sneaky, alias Young Man Naughty, alias Alexander Rouge the rebel and pirate, was slowly developing into Alexander Percy, the future Viscount Ellington and Earl of Northangerland, the sinister and embittered individual whose many love affairs and changes of fortune were so unlike anything that could ever have happened, or was likely to happen, to a boy of sixteen.'[6] Branwell's hero Northangerland, Du Maurier suggests 'can only have been founded on

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[4] In this sense, I use the word Romantic as a collective term for the group of writers in the period which spanned the late eighteenth Century through to the mid-nineteenth Century. This movement, contested by simple definition, is described by Bloom as the 'useful term "Romantic", describing the literary period that was contemporary with the French Revolution'. It was 'not employed until the later Victorian literary historians looked back at the early years of the nineteenth century. Since that time, the word has meant not only a cultural period – in England and on the Continent – but a kind of art that is timeless and recurrent as well, usually viewed as being in some kind of opposition to an art called classical or neoclassical … The critical terms by which mid-eighteenth-century literature named itself … were "the sublime" and "sensibility." No poet of the Romantic period ever characterised his own poetry or that of any of his contemporaries as "Romantic."' Harold Bloom, *The Visionary Company: A Reading of English Romantic Poetry* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1971[1961]), pp. xvi –xvii. Most relative to my research, my use of the term 'the Romantic period' or 'Romanticism' encompasses noted coteries of poetic circles which were recognised in the press [Ch. 1, f.n. 28].

[5] Tilar J. Mazzeo, *Plagiarism and Literary Property in the Romantic Period* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), p. 125.

[6] Daphne DuMaurier, *The Infernal World of Branwell Brontë* (London: Penguin, 1972 [1960]), p. 40.

Branwell's ideal of the heroic figure he must himself have longed to be.'[7] In contrast, my thesis considers the successive titles given to the evolving Sneaky in view of the textual material available to the Brontës. The variety of publications read by Branwell represent the foundation of his writing content, rather than the Brontë biography. Glen recognises that whilst Charlotte 'is still often thought to be an "autobiographical writer" whose works are most intimately connected to the story of her life,' she argues that the 'tales of her early twenties prompt a rather different view.'[8] Glen identifies how the Brontës, along with their contemporaries, were readers in a burgeoning publishing industry, 'writ large in the bestselling annuals, with their exquisite engravings of exotic places and society beauties … in the continuing cult for Lord Byron, the success of the silver fork novels, the popularity of Sir Walter Scott.'[9] Glen proposes that the stories in the juvenilia were:

> sharply topical, in ways that their readers in Haworth Parsonage would immediately have recognised. They imitate and ironize contemporary literary fashions; they offer vivid glimpses of the manners, the crazes, the controversies of the England of the 1830s; they allude not merely to high literature – Shakespeare, Milton, the Bible, the Classics, romantic poetry – but also to popular catchphrases, and comic and sentimental songs.'[10]

Ultimately, Glen surmises, 'Charlotte Brontë was engaging much more closely with the common cultural currency of her time than the strangeness of Angria might lead one to

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[7] Ibid.

[8] Heather Glen, 'Introduction' in Charlotte Brontë, *Tales of Angria* (London: Penguin, 2006), p. xiii.

[9] Ibid, p. xxiv.

[10] Ibid, p. xxvii.

suppose.'[11] The juvenile tales therefore, are recognised by Glen as indicative of the textual narratives the siblings accessed and borrowed from, rather than sourced in the Brontë biography.

The familiar influence of William Shakespeare (1564 –1616) and the Bible upon the Brontës offers insight into the various methods of appropriation that the siblings demonstrate. Several of Shakespeare's plays are cited, although the playwright William Shakespeare himself does not additionally feature as a figure. For instance, in the tale 'The Wool is Rising,' Branwell quotes a line from *Hamlet*, 'Man delights not me', with quotation marks.[12] This practice not only showcases the writer's knowledge of Shakespeare's tragedies, histories and comedies but additionally allows the reader, if familiar with Shakespeare's quoted text, to note the borrowing. There were 'assumptions about a shared familiarity with Shakespeare,' considers Prince, 'made by writers … by poets, novelists and visual artists'.[13] Jane Austen's 'famous and frequently quoted remark' from *Mansfield Park* (1814), Prince continues, that 'Shakespeare "gets one acquainted without knowing how" … is now something of a commonplace among cultural critics to observe that Shakespeare has become a way for us to explain ourselves'.[14] 'Shakespeare', proposes Collick, was used in the early nineteenth century by writers 'as an emblem of British nationalism', his work representing 'the creation of a new cultural identity during the Napoleonic wars … Shakespeare's plays could only really pass into the artistic milieu of national Romanticism after considerable transformation. In effect, this meant their removal from the stage … and

[11] Ibid, p. xv.

[12] Patrick Branwell Brontë, 'The Wool is Rising; Or the Angrian Adventurer,' *The Works of Patrick Branwell Brontë,* vol. ii*,* ed. Victor Neufeldt A. (London: Garland Publishing, 1999).

[13] Kathryn Prince, 'Shakespeare in the Periodicals,' *Shakespeare in the Nineteenth Century,* ed. Gail Marshall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 62.

[14] Ibid.

their re-incorporation into Romantic literature as narrative literature.'[15] Publications such as *Blackwood's,* Prince notes, had a 'well-read and culturally sophisticated readership whose familiarity with Shakespeare's works could support the regular incorporation of subtle allusions.'[16] In accord with their time, the Brontës likewise made use of their familiarity with Shakespeare. Alexander and Smith advocate that their works are 'rich in Shakespearean echo and allusions, sometimes enhancing irony or sorrow, sometimes showing a lively appreciation of a comedy.'[17] Quotations from the Bard feature abundantly in the juvenilia, and continue to do so in the novels, as the siblings make use of citations from the universally known and commonly recognised plays of Shakespeare to offer textual borrowings recognisable to their readers. For instance, Anne uses Shakespeare's *Macbeth* in *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall* in a textual 'allusion' which 'recalls' the play. As Alexander and Smith note, 'Huntingdon's vices "sit loose upon him, like a cloak" (ch. 32), and Grimsby curses women with their "false, fair faces" (ch. 3), recalling *Macbeth* 1. 7. 81. Shades of *Hamlet* accompany Huntingdon's deathbed, as Helen's faith asserts that his "erring spirit" may attain bliss beyond the "purging fires".'[18] These textual citations are embedded within Anne's prose, yet the source text remains perceptible to a reader.

As with Shakespeare, passages from the Bible are likewise recognisable.[19] As noted by Alexander and Smith, 'familiarity with the Bible was inevitable, brought up as they were in

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[15] John Collick, *Shakespeare, Cinema &* Society (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), p. 22.

[16] Kathryn Prince, Kathryn, 'Shakespeare in the Periodicals,' *Shakespeare in the Nineteenth Century,* ed., Gail Marshall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 62.

[17] Christine Alexander & Margaret Smith, *The Oxford Companion to the Brontës* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012 [2006]), p. 3.

[18] Ibid, p. 459.

[19] The Brontës each owned their own copy of the Bible. Several of the family's editions of the Bible are held in either the Brontë Parsonage Museum or the Pierpont Morgan Library. The Parsonage contained copies of the Bible in French, German, and Latin. Charlotte's *The Holy Bible: containing the Old and New Testaments* (London: G. Eyre & A. Strachan, 1821) was gifted to her by who godmother, who instructed Rev. Brontë to pass it to her at ten years of age. See 'The Online Catalogue of Pierpont Morgan Library, PML 17769. A *Holy Bible, Authorised Version* (London: R. Barker, 1612). This particular

the home of a Protestant minister whose own writings, and of course his preaching, were permeated by biblical language. The use his children made of it reflected their personalities, reading, and experience.'[20] Whilst biblical quotes and references to biblical stories are widely appropriated within the juvenilia and the novels beyond, Branwell in particular makes considered use of biblical influences when writing about his character Alexander Percy's atheism. Branwell also uses quotes in his tales, for instance, for SDeath's advice to Percy in Branwell's 'Life of Alexander Percy, vol. i'. Neufeldt recognises his lines 'come unto me all ye that are heavy laden, and I will give you rest', and 'though your sins be as scarlet yet they shall be as white as wool', compares with Matthew 11:28 and Isaiah 1:18.[21] Branwell's use of biblical references invites his readers to form an opinion of his characters from their own familiarity with the Bible.

Writing only for each other in the juvenilia quartet, the siblings could be confident of their readers recognising appropriated material and thus gathering intended indications, being as they accessed the same source material. Commonplace texts of the Bible and Shakespeare's plays show sources which are easily recognisable two hundred years later to readers of Brontë works. Whilst the intended readers of the juvenilia (the four Brontë siblings) as it was written, would have been accessing the contemporary reading material necessary to recognise any borrowings, the sisters' continued use of these early habits into their novels had to necessarily cater for readers for whom the Brontës had no knowledge of their reading practices. Consequently, noting appropriation of familiar texts by Shakespeare and the Bible is an example of how the sisters intended their readers to be familiar with their

book, signed 'Charlotte Brontë, Haworth, April 21st, 1834' on the flyleaf, was sold at Sotheby's Auction House on 1st November, 1910, see Frank Karslake, ed., *Book Auction Records.* Vol. 7, pt. 1 (London: Karslake & Co., 1910).

[20] Christine Alexander & Margaret Smith, *The Oxford Companion to the Brontës* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012 [2006]), p. 33.

[21] Victor Neufeldt, *The Works of Patrick Branwell Brontë*, vol. i (New York: Garland, 1999), p. 117.

use of borrowing from original texts.[22] Texts which are less familiar to us today are more difficult to recognise, and therefore may remain unnoted by scholars.

Walter Scott (1771 –1832) is a further significant figure who offered a source for appropriation in the juvenilia, as both a figure, and through his work. Scott likewise offers a framework for the proposed presence of the Shelleys. Along with Scott, I also want to consider the textual influence of Romantic poet William Wordsworth (1770 –1850) together with historical figures such as Queens Victoria and Mary of Scotland. These historical queens offered a figure for appropriation which was accessible in print, as opposed to the literary works of Wordsworth or Shakespeare. A figure in this instance may be less obvious to place if a character in the juvenilia demonstrates characteristics familiar with a popular figure yet lacks the corresponding linguistic citation which strengthen the presence of a writer's work. These examples all help to explicate the variety of influential, familiar source texts, and the resultant different methods of consequent appropriation which example the many forms by which, in the following chapters, I propose the Shelleys to feature.

Scottish writer Scott was a poet and novelist whose works were admired by the Brontë children and is critically recognised to have influenced aspects of the juvenilia. Named as one of Emily's original soldiers, Scott was well-regarded for firstly his poetry and later his prose works.[23] His first novel, *Waverley,* was published in 1814. He also helped to found the literary and political periodical *The Quarterly Review* and contributed to the *Edinburgh Review.* His novels, such as *Ivanhoe* (1820) and *Kenilworth* (1821)*,* were set against the backdrops of historical events which combined contemporary political messages for his alert readers. Reviews of Scott in periodicals offered readers the work of a man with

[22] A review of Charlotte's *Villette* in 1853 criticised her use of the Bible, disapproving that she 'constantly quotes and plays with its sacred pages, as though they had been given the world for no better purpose than to point to a witticism or furnish an ingenious illustration.'– Mosley, J & C, eds., *The Christian Remembrancer,* xxv, (London: J & C Mosley,1857), p. 401 –3.

[23] With three soldiers each 'Emily chooses Sir Walter Scott, Mr Lockhart and Johnny Lockhart as her representatives'. A. Mary F. Robinson, *Emily Brontë* (Cambridge: John Wilson and Son, 1883).

literary talents, political principles and, like Byron or the Shelleys, a fascinating life. Scott featured in *Blackwood's* several times, which published extracts from a number of his novels. He also reviewed *Frankenstein* for the magazine in 1818, mistakenly believing that Percy, not Mary Shelley, was the author. The future King George IV's esteem for Scott inclined the Prince Regent to request that Scott recover the Honours of Scotland (or Scottish Crown Jewels) from Edinburgh Castle in 1818. This prompted Scott's baronetcy in 1820, and his administration of the King's visit to Scotland in 1822. Alexander and Smith state that Scott's works had 'a profound effect' on the Brontës.[24] 'After reading his *Tales of a Grandfather,* given to the Brontë children by their aunt … Emily added Scott's son-in-law John Gibson Lockhart and his grandson Johnny Lockhart to her 'chief men' in the early juvenilia.[25]
'It is remarkable how many of [Scott's] novels' Alexander and Smith note, 'are alluded to in the Brontës own novels. There are direct quotations … use of place names and characters to general similarities like the blend of romantic elements with realistic regional landscape.'[26]

Alexander and Smith offer several examples for the influence of Scott within the juvenilia, modelling how the Brontës might appropriate both the figure of Scott as well as his literature, characters and themes: 'Minna, the heroine of [Scott's] *The Pirate,* probably inspired the name of the Angrian heroine Mina Larry'.[27] 'The Brontë juvenilia' they propose, 'owes much to Scott's poetry, his novels, and the ballads he collected and imitated. Charlotte's *The Green Dwarf …* for example, imitate Scott in both title and form'.[28] Alexander and Smith's analysis of Scott's textual presence is an example for my recognition of the

[24] Christine Alexander & Margaret Smith, *The Oxford Companion to the Brontës* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012 [2006]), p. 444.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid, p. 445.

Brontës' four identified appropriation methods. The siblings use the figure of Scott, naming the man as an appropriated juvenilia character; they demonstrate linguistic borrowings from his works by textual similarity or quotations from his prose and poetry; they borrow his Scottish themes and imagery of landscape and historical figures; they structurally imitate his 'title and form'.[29] As with the Bible and Shakespeare, appropriation of Scott was typical of the day. The 'first decades of the nineteenth century [was] when Walter Scott produced his enormously popular *oeuvre* … an all-pervasive point of reference,' considers Rigney.[30] Scott's Waverley novels were so popular, given the 'rapidity with which they produced and disseminated', that Rigney recognises that there was 'a unified public imagination based on the sense that everyone was simultaneously reading the same book about a common past'.[31] As Raleigh agrees, 'To have been alive and literate in the nineteenth century was to have been affected in some way by the Waverley novels'.[32] A familiarity with the textual Scott was therefore unremarkable in the Brontës' juvenilia, and their borrowings from his published narrative demonstrate how popular sources were typically appropriated into the Brontës' tales.

Like Scott's use of historical figures in his work, Alexander and Smith note that Emily's 'early fascination with the Princess Victoria, only ten years younger than herself, informs the Gondal saga … Princess Victoria was adopted as a central player by Emily and her character and fortune reconfigured with that of another Brontë heroine, Mary, Queen of Scots, whose tragic life of suspicion, murder, lovers, imprisonment, and death permeates the

[29] Charlotte even wrote a poem which concluded with the lines 'such a charming dogge[re]/as this was never wrote/not even by the mighty/& high Sir Walter Scott.'

[30] Ann Rigley, *The Afterlives of Walter Scott: Memory on the Move* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 4.

[31] Ibid.

[32] John Henry Raleigh, 'What Scott Meant to the Victorians,' *Critical Essays on Walter Scott: The Waverley Novels* Shaw, ed. Harry E. Shaw (New York: G.K. Hall, 1999), p. 49.

Gondal saga.'[33] Emily's appropriation of Victoria within Gondal is parallel to a narrative in the press, which Alexander recognises by noting Emily's initial 'adoption' of Victoria, when the princess was 'thrust into the limelight in 1830 as heir to the British throne'.[34] The presence of Victoria in Gondal is also recognised by Alexander: seven years later, Emily 'recorded the young queen's imminent ascension to the throne in her Diary Paper of 26 June 1837, and transported the event into her Gondal setting'.[35] 'The Emperors and Empresses of Gondal and Gaaldine', wrote Emily, demonstrating how events in Gondal lay parallel to real life narratives, are ' preparing to depart from Gaaldine to Gondal to prepare for the coronation which will be on 12th of July Queen Victoria ascended the throne this month'.[36] Inclusions such as this reveal how contemporary events read by the Brontës were borrowed for the juvenilia, both historical and present queens being appropriated into current Gondal tales.

As a Romantic poet alike to Byron and Percy Shelley, the Brontë's appropriation of Wordsworth in the juvenilia consists of quoting lines identical or similar to his poems within Charlotte's *Young Men's Magazines.* Whilst not naming the poet, the borrowing is acknowledged by quotation marks. Charlotte quotes 'that inward eye which is the bliss of solitude', a line which echoes Wordsworth's 'They flash upon that inward eye/Which is the bliss of solitude'.[37] Similarly Charlotte quoted him in 'Conversations' from 1st September 1830, citing 'murmurs beside the woodland stream and music, sweeter than its own', lines from Wordsworth's 'A Poet's Epitaph.' Interestingly Wordsworth's poem describes 'Murmur

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[33] Christine Alexander, *Tales of Glass Town, Angria and Gondal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. xxxv.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Emily Brontë & Anne Brontë, 'Diary Paper 26th June 1837,' *Tales of Glass Town, Angria and Gondal,* ed. Christine Alexander (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010, p. 487.

[37] From Charlotte's 'Conversations' (1st September 1830) in 'Second Series of the Young Men's Magazine.' See Anon, 'An Essay on the Theory and Writings of Wordsworth', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, no. clviii, vol. xxvi, October (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1829), p. 606, which discussed and quoted lines from Wordsworth's 'I wandered lonely as a cloud.'

near the running brooks / A music sweeter than their own'.[38] Whilst these lines are slightly different from Charlotte's, the verse is so similar that Charlotte likely intended her reader to recognise the appropriation. Unlike Charlotte's borrowing from Wordsworth, Emily's poem 'The Blue Bell' (credited to 1838 in fair copy but likely written earlier) only echoes Wordsworth's poem 'She dwelt among the untrodden ways' without quoting directly or referencing its source. Wordsworth's 'A violet by a mossy stone / Half hidden from the eye' is textually similar, as noted by Smith, to Emily's 'And that wood flower that hides so shy / Beneath its mossy stone'.[39] Both use the term 'mossy stone' whilst Wordsworth's description of being 'half hidden from the eye' is rewritten by Emily as a flower 'that hides so shy'.[40] By not appearing as a quote, Emily's appropriation is more hidden in her text, yet the reader is nonetheless invited to recognise the source through linguistic correspondence. These examples of the sisters' use of Wordsworth's poetry demonstrates the difference between a quote and a borrowing with linguistic similarity which is less easily recognised. Whilst a quotation is clearly signalled to a reader, Charlotte's intention by integrating textual borrowings into her work without clearly marking them, leaves her reader to recognise any borrowings for themselves, giving her work a deeper and more personal consideration based upon the knowledge of her reader. Incidentally, the source poems used here by the sisters were available in the same volume of *Blackwood's* in 1829. These noted appropriated examples all borrow from texts typical to writers at the Brontës' time, and occasionally equally familiar to us as readers today. Whilst the siblings' use of these texts is not atypical, they demonstrate clearly how textual sources feature within the juvenilia in ways which I will later argue the Shelleys to also be present.

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[38] Ibid, p. 776.

[39] Anne Smith, *The Art of Emily Brontë* (London: Vision Press, 1980 [1976]), p. 86.

[40] Anon, 'An Essay on the ,Theory and Writings of Wordsworth', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, no. clx, vol. xxvi, December (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1829), p. 904.

iii. Romantic Writing Practice.

Having discussed elements of the Brontës' writing process, I now give consideration to a wider Romantic writing practice from the early nineteenth century, as employed by the Romantic poets, and particularly the Shelleys' circle. Considering exclusively the published narrative available to the Brontës, that is the material they had the opportunity to read; magazines like *Blackwood's* offered a platform for Romantic writers to discuss plagiarism, copying and inspiration. As typically do most poets, the Romantic writers recognised and admired historical works within their own, alluding to and writing in dialogue with works from the past. Subsequently these 18th and 19th century writers appropriated from an original text, from, for instance, the Greek tragedies of Sophocles, Aeschylus and Euripides. Whilst borrowings might be clearly attributed, textual appropriations might also be tightly woven into the new text and discernible only to astute readers. As to these 'literary borrowings', Mazzeo notes, early nineteenth century 'reviewers appear to have delighted in evaluating them.'[41]

Predecessors to the Shelleys, such as Godwin, Wollstonecraft and Mary Robinson (1759 –1800), had already established this practice in a writing circle which offered additional connections to each other's work; they appropriated each other's themes, figures and narratives into new works.[42] As a notable literary practice amongst writers of the early nineteenth century, this was not only recognisable to readers within the works of Romantic writers, but was also widely discussed in Introductions, Prefaces and periodicals as an active practice. Readers such as the Brontës would have had the opportunity to access these various narratives, even allowing them to have been potentially attentive to Shelleyan

[41] Tilar J. Mazzeo, *Plagiarism and Literary Property in the Romantic Period* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), p. 125.

[42] See J. E. Young, 'Perdita's Cottage: Mary Robinson in Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley's *The Last Man', Notes and Queries*, vol. 64, issue 1, 1st March 2017, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 83 –86, which discusses how the figure of Mary Robinson features as the character Perdita by linguistic insinuation.

writing practices when writing their own material. A narrative which ran through magazines, newspapers and prefaces to works through the 1820s and 1830's, offered writers and their critics a publicised place to discuss originality, defend plagiarism, and criticise or converse about writing practices used by the poets. Concerning the poetry of Percy Shelley and Byron, *Frazer's Magazine* considered their writing practice. Lord Byron, the magazine determined, relied more heavily upon appropriation whilst Shelley was more original:

> Something about the later works both of Byron and Shelley seemed to announce a coming dominion to them over the sources of their inspiration; whence the world began to expect fine specimens of art, from men who had shewn themselves to possess so much of the material, in the genius which had enabled them to put forth evidences of promise and power that had never been exceeded. Of Shelley we felt more certain than of Byron; Byron continuing to borrow till the last – borrowing even of Shelley, and taking the colour of all companions and all books with whom his spirit communed. But Shelley, as the teacher of Byron, showed a mind more original, and more self-dependant.[43]

Romantic poets were thus alert to criticism of similarities in their works and that of other writers, or accusations of plagiarism.[44] Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772 –1832) directly addressed the concern in his Preface to his poem 'Christabel', first published in 1816:

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[43] Anon, 'The Poetry of Shelley', *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, vol. xvii, no. cii, June (London: James Fraser, 1838), p. 674.

[44] Readers also joined this narrative. For instance, writing to the editor of *Blackwood's* in 1825, a reader defended Byron: 'Mr Campbell is the original poet, and he is very jealous of his originality; so much so, indeed, that he must need vindicate his "Last Man" from any imitation of Byron's "Darkness." No two copies of verse were ever more unlike.' Anon, 'Plagiarism Mr Thomas Campbell', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine,* July, vol. xviii, no. cii, (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1825), p. 131.

> I am confident however, that as far as the present poem is concerned, the celebrated poets whose writings I might be suspected of having imitated, either in particular passages, or in the tone and spirit of the whole, would be among the first to vindicate me from the charge, and who on any sticking coincidence, would permit me to address them in this dogged version of two monkish Latin hexameters:
>
> 'Tis mine and tis yours,
> But an if this will not do;
> Let it be mine, good friend! for I
> Am the poorer of the two.'[45]

Coleridge, almost drolly, reasoned for his readers to take no notice of any similarities his work might have to others, knowing that once a dialogue had begun in the press to discuss writing practies, there was little he could do to escape such accusations.

Satirist Thomas Love Peacock's tongue-in-cheek essay in 1820, ignited a contemporary dispute on plagiarism. His 'Four Ages of Poetry' divided literature into four ages: iron, gold, silver and brass, brass being his contemporary age. Iron was the age of the warrior, encompassing *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey*; gold an age of cultivation and perfection, containing Homer and Sophocles, and silver by which 'this poetry is of two kinds, initiative and original. The imitative consists in recasting, and giving an exquisite polish to, the poetry of the age of gold: of this Virgil is the most obvious and striking example.'[46] 'It is now evident', Peacock remarked, 'that poetry must either cease to be cultivated, or strike a new

[45] Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Christabel: Kublai Khan, A Vision: The Pains of Sleep* (London: John Murray, 1816), pp. vi – vii.

[46] Thomas Love Peacock, 'The Four Ages of Poetry,' *Olliers Literary Miscellany* (London: C & J Ollier, 1820).

path. The poets of the age of gold have been imitated and repeated till no new imitation will attract notice … Then comes the age of brass'[47]. Brass, Peacock professed, was the age where 'by rejecting the polish and the learning of the age of silver … professes to return to nature and revive the age of gold.' Poems, disparaged Peacock, were 'disjointed relics of tradition and fragments of second-hand observation, being woven into a tissue of verse, constructed on what Mr. Coleridge calls a new principle (that is, no principle at all), compromise a modern-antique compound of frippery and barbarism'.[48] Peacock, who wrote mainly satirical novels, asserted that poets could not 'return to nature' to write anything new, they could only repeat what had already been written and poetry therefore was out-dated.

In 1821, in disagreement, Percy Shelley wrote a response to Peacock, intended to be delivered in three parts (although only the first was completed before his death on the Gulf of Spezia, being published later that year; the second part was posthumously offered in 1840 by Mary). His essays argued for the 'storehouse' of literary resemblances which offered an immortal verse to civilisation:

> the pleasure resulting from the manner in which they express the influence of society or nature upon their own minds, communicates itself to others, and gathers a sort of reduplication from the community. Their language is vitally metaphorical; that is, it marks the before unapprehended relations of things and perpetuates their apprehension, until words, which represent them, become, through time, signs for portions or classes of thought, instead of pictures or integral thoughts; and then, if no

[47] Ibid.

[48] Ibid.

> new poets should arise to create afresh the associations which have been disorganised, language will be dead to all the nobler purposes of human intercourse. These similitudes or relations are finely said by Lord Bacon to be "the same footsteps of nature impressed upon the various subjects of the world" – and he considers the faculty which perceives them as the storehouse of axioms common to all knowledge.[49]

Percy identified how writers must continue to offer new material from original perspectives to keep alive the literary sources of the past; a new original work can then still involve the appropriation of a timeless source text which reveals itself by 'signs' or 'relations.' Although, because of his death, the totality of his essay was not published until 1840, he had previously considered the issue in his work 'Alastor, or the Spirit of Solitude' in 1816.[50] Representing the poet who fails to satisfactorily appropriate textual sources and personal experience, as Mazzeo recognises, Percy 'incorporates into *Alastor* landscapes [descriptions] that are appropriated from textual sources … it is likely he intended for his readers to recognise his borrowings.'[51] Offered by *Blackwood's* in 1819, 'Alastor' was featured with an explanatory commentary. The poem was accompanied with Percy's short explanation of the subject: 'The poem,' Percy wrote, 'may be considered as allegorical of one of the most interesting situations of the human mind … [The poet] seeks in vain for a prototype of his conception'.[52]

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[49] Percy Shelley Bysshe, *Essays, Letters from Abroad, Essays and Fragments* (London: Edward Moxon, 1840) p. 56.

[50] First published in 1816, 'Alastor' was the title poem of a work containing several separate stanzas such as 'O! There are Spirits of the Air' and 'To Wordsworth.' The name Alastor from Roman mythology was suggested by Thomas Love Peacock as the spirit who ignites the poet's imagination.

[51] Tilar J. Mazzeo, *Plagiarism and Literary Property in the Romantic Period* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), p. 141.

[52] 'Alastor; or the Spirit of Solitude: and Other Poems, by Percy Bysshe Shelley', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine,* vol. vi, no. xxxii, November (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1819), p. 148 –149.

'We cannot say', *Blackwood's* deliberated, '[that Percy's explanation] throws any very great light upon it, but without which, the poem would be, we suspect, altogether unintelligible to ordinary readers.'[53] The Brontës, as readers of *Blackwood's,* would have been offered 'Alastor' with both Percy Shelley's and the *Blackwood's* reviewer's explanations. As part of a wider conversation and direct critique of other poets, Percy gives example of borrowing by quoting a passage spoken by Wordsworth's figure The Wanderer from the first book of *The Excursion* (1814).[54] Referring to other poets and their work through his poetry, Percy's work contained textual connections to others in a practice which was intended to be recognised by his readers.[55]

Mary's 1830 review for *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* of Godwin's *Cloudesley* – in which his daughter set out her views on impressing real life and personal emotions into literary fiction – similarly established her awareness of writing strategies and their creative constructs. 'The merely copying from our own hearts,' she declared, 'will no more form a first-rate work of art, than will the most exquisite representation of mountains, water, wood, and glorious clouds form a good painting, if none of the rules of grouping or colouring are followed.'[56] Mary Shelley's instructions advised a complex 'painting,' making use of existing

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[53] Ibid, p. 148.

[54] See Tilar J. Mazzeo, *Plagiarism and Literary Property in the Romantic Period* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), p. 141.

[55] Mary joined the discussion in 1823 with 'Giovanni Villani', her own answer to Peacock. Published anonymously in *The Liberal,* Mary contended that a reader should not be directed by a writer in what to think. A reader should be allowed to use their own judgement to contemplate a text, the anonymous Mary advocated, as each form of art has its own qualities, independent of that which has gone before or is held contemporary to it, and will appear different to each receptor based upon their individual knowledge. See Anon [Mary Shelley], 'Giovanni Villani,' *The Liberal,* Volume the Second (London: John Hunt, 1823), p. 182 –183. As Mazzeo agrees, Mary 'proposes that the incorporation of texts into literary works guarantees the authenticity and cultural value of Romantic period verse in fundamental ways.' Tilar J. Mazzeo, *Plagiarism and Literary Property in the Romantic Period* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), p. 128.

[56] Mary Shelley, 'Cloudesley; a Tale,' *Blackwoods Edinburgh Magazine*, no. clxvi, vol. xxvii, May (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1830), p. 711 –19.

works, which nevertheless ought to do more than simplistically copy. The published narrative offered by Mary invited readers to admire works from all ages, to appreciate their beauty and genius without comparing one to another, and creating new works by making use of what has gone before. North recognises that the Romantic writers' use 'forms of collaborative intertextuality … for instance, Mary Shelley [uses] quotations from and allusions to her husband's poetry in her biographical notes to his 1839 *Poetical Works*'.[57] By reading Moore's *Life of Byron,* the Brontës would additionally have been familiar with the writing partnership of Mary and Byron, deriving from the inspiration of German ghost stories: 'they agreed at last, to write something in imitation of them. "You and I," said Lord Byron to Mrs Shelley, "will publish ours together." He then began his tale of the vampire … The most memorable result, indeed, of their story telling compact, was Mrs. Shelley's wild and powerful romance of Frankenstein.'[58] This narrative which presented the writing practice of Byron, Percy and Mary as a collaborative circle offered readers the model of a writing unit which wrote new texts from a mutual source, inspired by and borrowing from each other's and source texts.[59]

As Newlyn recognises, 'an emerging and steadily strengthening Romantic aesthetic, which defended itself from the charge of repeating the past by claiming that an echoic affinity with past writers, revealed the endurance of deep truths.'[60] Similarly Mazzeo

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[57] Julian North, 'Intertextual Sociability in Victorian Lives of the Romantic Poets: Thomas DeQuincey's Lake Reminiscences and Edward John Trelawny's *Recollections of the Last Days of Shelley and Byron,' Life Writing,* vol. 14, Issue 12 (June 2017), pp. 155 –169.

[58] Thomas Moore, 'A Fragment,' *The Works of Lord Byron: with his Letters and Journals, and his Life, in Seventeen Volumes,* vol. vi (London: John Murray, 1833), p. 339.

[59] For example, Mary and Percy Shelley both explored the figure of Prometheus in their works *Frankenstein* or *the Modern Prometheus* and *Prometheus Unbound* respectively. Lord Byron, the Shelleys and Polidori also all began separate tales of horror at Lake Geneva from a communal origin. Byron's poem 'Darkness,' written when he was at Lake Geneva with the Shelleys and Claire Clairmont, presents a prophetic dream when life on earth fails which later, in part, inspired Mary Shelley's novel, *The Last Man.*

[60] Lucy Newlyn, *Reading, Writing and Romanticism: The Anxiety of Reception* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003 [2000]), p. 280.

proposes that 'silent and literary appropriations were far more widespread and common amongst writers of the [Romantic] period and were viewed accordingly to historically distinct standards of intellectual property.'[61] These literary borrowings which related a new work to an original, as recognisable to the reader, created, James and North identify, 'various forms of textual community and sociable authorship in the Romantic period'. These formed 'social networks of writers and readers, rather than the consecration of individual identity'.[62] A Romantic writer's work therefore was not isolated, but part of a network of readers, current and past texts, fellow writers, and narratives from newspapers and periodicals. 'Friends might also write together, or write over one another, James and North note: [Byron and Percy Shelley's] practices were borrowed and transformed within their wider friendship circle'.[63]

Given the narrative offered by *Blackwood's*, the Brontës would have had opportunity to be aware of this Romantic appropriative writing practice which offered independent readers opportunity to recognise borrowings, and was very similar to the Brontës own writing process. 'Poets', Percy Shelley noted in his Preface to *Prometheus Unbound '*are in one sense, the creators, and, in another, the creations of their age'[64] 'A poet', he recognised 'is the combined product of such internal powers as modify the nature of others; and of such external influences as excite and sustain these powers; he is not one, but both.[65] Like Percy's proclamation, the Brontës' juvenilia was constructed from their appropriation of 'external influences' or source texts, and this writing practice – given the narratives on writing in their

[61] Tilar J. Mazzeo, *Plagiarism and Literary Property in the Romantic Period* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), p. 17.

[62] Felicity James & Julian North, 'Writing Lives Together: Romantic and Victorian Autobiography,' *Life Writing,* vol. 14, Issue 12 (June 2017), pp. 133 –138.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Percy Shelley Bysshe, 'Preface', *Prometheus Unbound* (London: C and J Ollier, 1820), p. xiii.

[65] Ibid.

reading material – was not exceptional to the Brontë quartet but rather positions their work within an emblematic context.

iv. The Twelve Soldiers

The juvenilia began as a childhood game in 1826 when the Reverend Brontë brought home from Leeds twelve wooden toy soldiers as a present for Branwell.[66] Referred to as 'the twelves' or 'the young men,' the Brontës' initial characters were physical toy soldiers, adventurers in distant lands, who were named and modelled upon their reading, particularly of Napoleonic wars. As the juvenilia developed it included the Brontës themselves as overseeing characters and borrowings from a variety of source texts which included fairies, 'Genii', explorers, politicians, and ultimately the use of some of the Romantic poets' lives and works (such as Byron) as the twelve soldiers lost prominence. Dating from 1826 to around 1841, the juvenilia illustrates the maturation of the Brontë's writing; first a playful game, termed by Block 'narrative play',[67] which evolved into a practice for potential professions.[68] Notably, Charlotte's first attempt to offer a novel for publication in 1840 took characters and themes which had been established in the juvenilia, suggesting that it eventually became

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[66]Whilst these specific 12 soldiers featured in the juvenilia with particular importance, Branwell accounted for further soldiers with less partiality: 'It was sometime in the summer of the year A.D. 1824 when I, being desirous to possess a box of soldiers, asked papa to buy me one, which shortly afterwards he procured me from Bradford. They were 12 in number, price Is. 6d., and were the best I ever have had. Soon after this I got from Keighley another set of the same number. These soldiers I kept for about a year until either maimed, lost, burnt or destroyed by various casualties … on June 5th A.D. 1826 papa procured for me from Leeds another et (these were he 12s) which I kept for 2 year, though 2 or 3 of them are in being at the time of my writing this (Dec. 15 A.D. 1830).' Branwell Brontë. 'Introduction to the History of the Young Men,' *The Miscellaneous and Unpublished Writings of Charlotte and Patrick Branwell Brontë in Two Volumes: Volume the Second,* ed. Basil Blackwell (Oxford: Shakespeare Head, 1938), p. 63.

[67] Carol Block, '"Our plays": the Brontë juvenilia,' *The Cambridge Companion to the Brontës,* ed. Heather Glen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 39.

[68] Perhaps surprisingly, the juvenilia demonstrated no future aspiration for novel writing. Whilst the later juvenilia foresaw potential a vocation for Branwell as a portrait artist, journalist or poet – pursuits which the sisters also partook in – the juvenilia suggests a disdain for novelists, its admirable characters being poets and painters, whereas the sole novelist was the scorned character Captain Tree.

less of a game and more the preparation for literary recognition.[69] Until this later point however, , the juvenilia was not written with any audience in mind, other than the four siblings.[70] As readers of the same source material, the quartet were consequently able to straightforwardly include references to familiar textual origins for playful recognition.

Recalling the commencement of the juvenilia, Charlotte described how she and her siblings had each taken toy soldiers for themselves to be their characters:

> I snatched one up and exclaimed, "This is the Duke of Wellington! ..." Emily likewise took one up and said it should be hers ... a grave looking fellow and we called him "Gravey." Anne's was a queer little thing, much like herself, and we called him "Waiting –boy." Branwell chose his and called him Buonaparte.[71]

Branwell's account of the same event differs from his sister's, placing himself as the orchestrator of their creative game:

> The truth of this respecting the Monsters and young men is, when I first saw them in the morning after they were bought, I carried them to Emily, Charlotte and Anne. They each took up a solider, gave them names, which I

[69] Charlotte sent opening chapters of her early novel titled 'Messrs Percy and West' to Hartley Coleridge in Spring 1841. See also Melodie Monahan, ed., *Ashworth*: An Unfinished Novel by Charlotte Brontë, Studies in Philology, 80 (Autumn 1983).

[70] Although it is clear that the siblings were readers of each other's work, whether or not the Brontë children wrote anticipating their father, Rev. Brontë, to be a reader is less obvious. Having written and published his own work and featuring in *Blackwood's*, whilst encouraging his children to read books, newspapers and magazines, it is conceivable that he might have overseen some of the juvenilia's production.

[71] Written on March 12th, 1829. Charlotte Brontë, 'The History of the Year,' *The Professor, Tales from Angria, Emma: A Fragment*, ed. Phyllis Bentley (London: Collins, 1954), pp. 47 –8.

> consented to, and I gave Charlotte Twemy (i.e. Wellington) to Emily, Pare (Parry) and to Anne Trott (Ross)[72] to take care of them, though they were to be mine and I to have the disposal of them as I would – shortly after this I gave them to them as their own.[73]

Originating from Napoleonic foundations, the characteristics of their play soldiers offer insight into the broader textual sources accessed by the Brontës. As to the format and style of parts of the juvenilia, as well as some of their characters which are frequently attributed to a source in *Blackwood's,* Alexander surmises 'the layout of title pages and contents were modelled on *Blackwood's,* the Annuals, and other books owned by the Brontës'.[74] A selection of juvenilia demonstrates how the Brontës produced their own pastiche magazines, 'Lives'[75] 'Prefaces' or short tales. The Brontë siblings used material they read, both stylistically and visually; most notably demonstrated by the form of the miniature replica magazines they created to mirror the periodicals of the day. Branwell's *The Monthly Intelligencer,*[76] his Glass Town journal, was laid out in the form of a newspaper with columns,

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[72] William Edward Parry (1790 –1855) and Captain John Ross (1777 –1856) were arctic explorers, voyaging on the *Alexander* together in 1818. A narrative of a later expedition of Parry's was published by John Murray in 1821; 'Journal of a Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific, performed in the years 1819 –20, in His Majesty's Ships, Hecla and Griper, under the orders of William Edward Parry, R.N.F.R.S. and Commander of the Expedition.' *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* published extracts from the text in June 1821, (vol. ix, no. li, p.289), this being a likely source text for Emily and Anne's appropriation. The *Leeds Intelligencer* similarly chartered the expeditions of Ross and Parry continuously through the 1820s, in 1833 recounting an overview of more than a decade of Captain Ross' voyages – *Leeds Intelligencer,* Saturday 26th October (Leeds: G. Wright, 1833).

[73] Branwell Brontë, 'The History of the Young Men,' *The Miscellaneous and Unpublished Writings of Charlotte and Patrick Branwell Brontë in Two Volumes: Volume the Second,* ed. Basil Blackwell (Oxford: Shakespeare Head, 1938), p. 76.

[74] Christine Alexander, 'Introduction,' *Tales of Glass Town, Angria and Gondal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. xviii –xx.

[75] A 'Life' or 'Introduction' relating the biography of a poet might typically proceed the poetry in a book of their works.

[76] Dated by Branwell from 27th March to 16th April, 1835, this singular paper is the only edition of Branwell's *The Intelligencer* known to have been written, or at least is the only copy which survives.

title, headpiece and date, and documented events of the Glass Town characters. Branwell began *Branwell's Blackwood's Magazine* in January 1829, which was presented in the style of a periodical, much like *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, complete with frontispiece, contents, price and advertisements. By August, Charlotte had taken over as the magazine's 'editor,' replacing Branwell's name in the title with *'Young Mens'',* and later removing the reference to *Blackwood's*. Using the *Young Mens' Magazine* as a foundation for her Glass Town work, she included tales, poems and conversations based on her Glass Town characters who, in turn, had been appropriated from real-life figures as found in *Blackwood's Magazine.* Charlotte's 'Celebrated Men', which offered several 'Characters' or 'Lives' written for each of her Glass Town heroes, offers a pastiche of the typical format of sources, from works of poetry to structural features in magazines. Writing for Branwell's 'Young Men's Magazine' at the time, Charlotte was not attempting a piece of poetry or prose but a fictional biographical 'character,' similar to the popular forms of life-writing.

Charlotte's 1829 'Characters of the Celebrated Men of the Present Time'[77] which concerned her early Angrian characters (the 'courageous' and 'noble' Duke of Wellington who 'saved England in that hour of tremendous perils,' and brothers, the Marquis of Duro and Lord C. Wellesley, who later amalgamated into one in the ever evolving Angria) does not merely demonstrate the borrowing of figures, but also demonstrates linguistic, structural and thematic appropriation. Lockhart, one of the leading figures of *Blackwood's,* characterized himself as the 'scorpion, which delighteth to sting the faces of men.' Charlotte's Captain Tree, for instance, therefore aimed to scotch 'one small reptile'.[78] The textual similarities between the two demonstrates the influence behind elements of

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[77] Charlotte Brontë, 'Characters of the Celebrated Men of the Present Time,' *The Professor, Tales from Angria, Emma: A Fragment,* ed. Phyllis Bentley (London: Collins, 1954), pp. 60 –3.

[78] Christine Alexander, 'Introduction,' *Tales of Glass Town, Angria and Gondal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. xviii –xx.

Charlotte's figure Tree. Alexander also notes that the novels written by Rev. Brontë were appropriated into the juvenilia, his heroine Flora being the name of Anne's Gondal heroine.[79] Given the siblings' selection of borrowed figures from text to wooden soldier, the narrative of *Blackwood's Magazine* seems a strong influence, such that Branwell, in his letter to the magazine's editor ten years later in 1835, wrote 'I cannot express … the heavenliness of associations connected with such articles … read and re-read while a little child, with all their poetry of language and divine flights into that visionary region of imagination which one very young would believe reality...[80] Branwell's description of 'reading and re-reading' suggests the siblings' early familiarity and fluency with the *Blackwood's* narrative.

In addition to appropriating topical figures and characters from other fictions and from real-life locations, the four young Brontës initially became characters themselves within the early Glass Town worlds which revolved around the country of the four Genii (beings akin to gods or guardians, named Tannii, Brannii, Emmii and Annii, upon whose whim the fate of their characters rested).[81] Through their early years, the Brontës' creative faculties were absorbed in their Glass Town worlds, working alongside each other in a cohesive group to structure and evolve the plots of their invented kingdoms. Presented in miniscule written form by the late 1820s, Charlotte described the siblings early 'plays' as they stood in 1829:

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[79] Ibid.

[80] Clement Shorter , *The Brontës: Life and Letters,* vol. i (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013 [1908]), p. 132.

[81] Branwell Brontë wrote 'I am the cheif [sic] Genius Brannii with me there are 3 others she wellesly who protects you is named Tallii she who protects Parry is named Emmii she who protects Ross is called Annii.' – Patrick Branwell Brontë, 'The History of the Young Men' as in Juliet Barker, *The Brontës* (London: Phoenix, 1995 [1994], p.154.
The Genii intercede in landmark Glass Town events, in Branwell's 'The Pirate' (February 1833) "a vast GENIUS of immeasurable and indefinable height and size ... seizing hold of a huge cloud with his hand, he vaulted into it ... 3 vast flashes of fire came bursting a round. They were the Cheif Genii TALIL, EMII & ANNII ... [Sdeath] was the Cheif Genius BRANNII.' Branwell Brontë, 'The Pirate,' *Tales of Glass Town, Angria and Gondal,* Christine Alexander (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 339.
The genii make their last appearance in Charlotte's Angrian tale 'The Pirate' in 1833.

> Our plays were established: *Young Men,* June 1826; *Our Fellows,* July 1827; *Islanders,* December 1827." The *Young Men's* play 'took its rise from some wooden soldiers Branwell had; *Our Fellows* from *Aesop's Fables.*[82]

Along with *Aesop's Fables*, the biblical book of *Revelation,* Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*[83] and *The Arabian Nights*, critics have identified a number of fantasy sources, together with newspapers and periodicals, for the Brontës' otherworldly concepts. Barker recognises the genii being directly compatible to the gods of ancient Rome and Greece, also seeing the Twelves as similar to 'the heroes of the ancient world, fighting against the vengeful whims of the gods, voyaging far and wide and leading their people to a new found civilisation.'[84]

These early textual sources from childhood were recalled in Charlotte's *Jane Eyre* in the late 1840s: '…the word *book,*' young Jane Eyre enthuses, 'acted as a transient stimulus, and I begged her to fetch Gulliver's Travels from the library. This book I had again and again perused with delight. I considered it a narrative of facts, and discovered in it a vein of interest deeper than what I found in fairy tales.'[85] As the tales progressed, Barker notes how they came to encompass works of high literature and the classics.[86] Specifically in Branwell's

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[82] Charlotte Brontë, 'The History of the Year,' *The Professor, Tales from Angria, Emma: A Fragment,* ed. Phyllis Bentley (London: Collins, 1954), p. 47.

[83] There are references to Gulliver in Branwell's Angria and the Angrians '...my hands were chained as fast as Gulliver's the night he took the brandy...' – Winifred Gérin, *Branwell Brontë* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1972 [1961]).

[84] Juliet Barker, *The Brontës* (London: Phoenix, 1995 [1994]), p. 186.

[85] Charlotte Brontë, *Jane Eyre,* ed. Margaret Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008 [1980]), p. 21.

[86] The Brontës may also have similarly associated their work with that of their own father, Rev. Patrick Brontë (1777 –1861). Patrick Brontë, as a young man, published volumes of Romantic verse with a Christian message. These volumes sat on a shelf in his study and were possibly the inspiration for his children taking up pens in the first place. For example, his poetry has textual similarity to Charlotte's. Patrick's 'Kirkstall Abbey', 'juxtaposes human accomplishment beside the wonder of nature' and 'evokes music'. See also 'The Harper of Erin' or in 'The Nightly Rebel', the thunder 'mutters', exactly Charlotte's word. In 'The Tempest', the 'pealing thunder roars!' as does Charlotte's wind 'peel out

poem 'The Fate of Regina,' Barker recognises his 'imitation' of Homer's *Iliad* and Milton's *Paradise Lost.*[87]

Of the origin of the juvenilia characters the O'Dears, Charlotte wrote, 'The people we took out of Aesop's Fables. Hay Man was my cheif [sic.] man, Boaaster Branwell's, Hunter Anne's, and Clown Emily's.'[88] Likewise, this same practice was followed in the origin of the Islanders:

> I said, "Suppose we each had an Island of our own." Branwell chose the Isle of Man, Emily Isle of Arran and Bute Isle, Anne, Jersey, and I chose the Isle of Wight. We then chose who should live in our islands. The cheif [sic] of Branwell's were John Bull, Astley Cooper, Leigh Hunt, &c, &c. Emily's Walter Scott, Mr Lockhart, Johnny Lockhart, &c, &c. Anne's Michael Sadler, Lord Bentinck, Henry Halford, &c, &c. And I chose Duke of Wellington & son, North & Co., 30 offices, Mr Abernethy, &c, &c.[89]

The process of how the Brontës worked as a quartet to share material from a mutual source text is demonstrated by the formation of the O'Dears, the Islanders, and the initial division of wooden soldiers. This creative game was evidently understood by Charlotte as worthwhile documenting, suggesting that this division of source material was an early example of the framework for the siblings' developing writing practice. Their writing method was to

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such awful wildness.' See 'Tales of the Islanders,' *Tales of Glass Town, Angria and Gondal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), vol. II, ch. II, p. 20.

[87] Juliet Barker, *The Brontës* (London: Phoenix, 1995 [1994]), p. 185.

[88] Charlotte Brontë, 'The Origin of the O'Dears,' *The Brontës: Tales of Glass Town, Angria, and Gondal,* ed. Christine Alexander (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 4.

[89] Ibid.

consciously divide the textual borrowings collectively from source texts before appropriating into the 'new' juvenilia text for recognition by its readers.

Splitting from their mutual Glass Town quartet around June 1834, Charlotte and Branwell created their juvenilia kingdom of Angria.[90] By November 1834, whilst Charlotte was away at school, the first recognised reference to Emily and Anne's parallel kingdom of Gondal is critically noted. Unlike the Angrian material (which was preserved by Charlotte's husband), the Gondal tales were not conserved and very little of the Gondal works remain.[91] Much of what does survive exists within the poetry of Emily and Anne. Their Gondal characters were often the speakers in their poetry, which was an analogue from sections of the wider and more substantial Gondal prose sagas which are now lost. Indeed, the missing Gondal tales may have been originally written years before the accompanying poems drew on their events. Various scholars have attempted to reconstruct Gondal, primarily from Emily's poetry.[92] Some distinguish her verse in two distinct groups (Gondal and non –Gondal poetry), whilst other critics see this distinction only relevant to Emily's later division of her poems with publication in mind.[93] By the time the sisters united to publish their *Poems*

[90] The first Angrian novelette was likely 'The Spell,' written by Charlotte in June 1834.

[91] After Rev. Brontë's death, Charlotte's widower Arthur Bell Nichols took some Brontë manuscripts, including Emily's poetry and the Angrian material, home to Ireland. Much of this material was purchased by Clement Shorter in 1895, which he later published. Whether the Gondal prose was lost through distribution to purchasers, disposed of in the Bell household in Ireland, or originally left behind in Haworth as illegible childhood scribblings (the term by which Elizabeth Gaskell discounted Charlotte's Angrian work) is unknown.

[92] In trying to make sense of Gondal, amongst other critics, Mary Visick believes the Gondal material was recast into *Wuthering Heights* (Visick, Mary. *The Genesis of Wuthering Heights.* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1965 [1958])). Fannie Ratchford attempts to reconstruct all of Emily's poems into a Gondal narrative, Fannie E. Ratchford, ed., *Gondal's Queen* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1955). See also Robert & Louise Barnard, *A Brontë Encyclopaedia* (West Sussex: Blackwell, 1013 [2007]), pp. 126 –127, and Laura Hinckley, *The Brontës: Charlotte and Emily* (New York: Haskell House, 1945). Chitham and Winnifrith rationally conclude that 'a good deal of Gondal must remain a closed book', Edward Chitham and Tom Winnifrith, *Brontë Facts and Brontë Problems* (London: Macmillian, 1983), p. 57.

[93] This view arises from Emily having copied her poetry, in 1844, into two notebooks, one headed 'Gondal Poems' and the other E.J.B. [Emily Jane Brontë], the later consisting of poems with all reference to Gondal undetectable. See Fannie E. Ratchford, *Gondal's Queen* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1955.

(1846), Branwell had already had his own poems published by the *Halifax Guardian.* The first – of an eventual thirteen poems published by Branwell – surfaced in May 1841 under the pseudonym Northangerland, which kept his work furtively rooted to Angria, implying, at least for Branwell, the importance of the juvenilia to his subsequent mature works.

The characteristics of early Gondal and Angria were likely very similar. In the parsonage, the Brontës undoubtedly shared communal newspapers, magazines and borrowed books together. These source texts, from which ideas and concepts were taken, were likely collectively used. As Ratchford asserts, from Spring 1833 'the four Brontës played and wrote in pairs ... each knowing the others' inventions but never overlapping.'[94] Because Emily and Anne's contribution to Branwell's 'Young Men's Play' has been lost, Ratchford recognises that their part in the creation might be 'inferred from a few passages in Charlotte's and Branwell's volumes.'[95] Charlotte reports, for instance, in the disdainful voice of her fictional version of the figure Charles Wellesley[96] for 'The Young Men's Magazine' (October 1830), of a visit to Emily's Parrysland, scathingly concluding 'I found my visit intolerably dull as much as I fear the reader will find this account of it.'[97] It is probable Emily and Anne responded in kind, with accounts of reciprocal visits to Angria. Ratchford, amongst others, believes that although the siblings 'played and wrote in pairs, the two groups maintain[ed] a parallelism of plot development which argues close knowledge of each other's writing.'[98] Certainly from Charlotte's report, it seems the siblings were aware of each other's work by demonstrating an interplay between their kingdoms. In these terms, Gondal might be reviewed much in line with Angria, and by inference Angrian works may suggest

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[94] Fannie E. Ratchford, *The Brontës' Web of Childhood* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1964 [1941], p.65.

[95] Fannie E. Ratchford, *Gondal's Queen* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1955), p. 13.

[96] Major General Lord Charles Wellesley (1808 –1858) was the second son of the Duke of Wellington.

[97] Fannie E. Ratchford, *Gondal's Queen* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1955), p.15.

[98] Ibid.

themes and textual sources for Gondal, as could the methods demonstrated by Charlotte and Branwell offer insight into Emily and Anne's procedures. Evident in these early examples of the juvenilia are two core practices: the Brontë siblings worked as a quartet, writing with and for one another, and indeed, about one another. They secondly demonstrated the conscious division of communal reading material (such as the wooden soldiers or the characters from Alsop's fables) for fictional appropriation within the juvenilia. This early writing process demonstrates the Brontës' collaborative writing method which collectively borrowed from source texts and engaged with textual narratives offered by newspapers and magazines.

v. Napoleonic Narrative.

As wth Byron, the textual constructs of Napoleon and Wellington are representative of how the influence of the Shelleys can be placed in the juvenilia. When Glass Town was first formed, Charlotte's central hero was named Wellington and Branwell's Napoleon. Over time these characters acquired new or additional names. Branwell's hero or 'Chief man,' was renamed Alexander Sneaky, King of Sneakysland, followed by Rouge or 'young Rouge' and ultimately became Alexander Percy, Lord Ellrington, Earl of Northangerland.[99] These successive 'chief men,' notes Alexander, retain 'Napoleon's courageous but deceitful characteristics.'[100] From the early origin of Napoleon came Branwell's eventual definitive

[99] The name Alexander is likely taken from Alexander the Great (356BC – 323BC), king of the Ancient Greek kingdom of Macedon and tutored by Aristotle, by the time he was thirty Alexander had built a vast Persian empire reaching to India. His military leadership and conquering achievements hold him as a great historical luminary whose example likely appealed to Branwell. Anne's heroine Alexandra offered a parallel female figure from the name.
Neufeldt suggests as a 'possible source in J. Lemriere's *Bibliotheca Classical; or a Classical Dictionary, containing A Full Account of All the Proper Names mentioned in Ancient Authors,* London 1797, owned by the Rev. Brontë.' – Victor Neufeldt A., ed., *The Poems of Charlotte Brontë: A New Text and Commentary* (London: Routledge, 2015).

[100] Christine Alexander, ed., *Tales of Glass Town, Angria and Gondal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 608.

hero, Northangerland.[101] The Duke of Wellington became for Charlotte a developing genesis for her juvenilia heroes, moving into a second generation of his two sons, the elder Arthur Augustus Adrian Wellesley,[102] the Marquis of Douro, the younger Lord Charles Wellesley. The real-life Wellington was father to Lord Arthur Wellesley (1807 –1888) and Lord Charles Wellesley (1808 –1858), by Brontë appropriation, was the elder Arthur Augustus Adrian Wellesley, who, whilst acquiring many names, would ultimately become Charlotte's hero Zamorna. Many of these names were borrowed directly from a source text; some of these are easily identified, whereas the origins of others are less certain. Other names, like Zamorna, were made up. Within Charlotte's 1829 'Characters of the Celebrated Men of the Present Time by Captain Tree,' her first chapter provided a 'Character and Description of the Duke of Wellington: ... then in the 19th year of his age and very much like what the Marquis of Douro is now.' Her prevailing admiration of Wellington was evident through her description of 'one of the greatest men that ever lived ... the glorious Wellington ... Buonaparte was beaten and vanquished, who was the terrible vanquisher? It was the Immortal Wellington.'[103] Her account of Branwell's Rouge was less deferential: 'his mind is deceitful, bloody and cruel ... His walk ... is stately and solider like, and he fancies that it greatly resembles that of the Duke of Wellington.'[104]

[101] Incidentally, Branwell later used the pseudonym Northangerland for the publication of 12 of his poems within local newspaper *The Halifax Guardian.*

[102] The Duke of Wellington was born Arthur Wesley, his elder brother Richard changed the family name to Wellesley.

[103] Charlotte Brontë, 'Character and Description of the Duke of Wellington: Characters of the Celebrated Men of the Present Time,' *The Professor, Tales from Angria, Emma: A Fragment,* ed. Phyllis Bentley (London: Collins, 1954), p. 60 –1.

[104] Charlotte Brontë, 'Character of the Rouge,' *The Professor, Tales from Angria, Emma: A Fragment,* ed. Phyllis Bentley (London: Collins, 1954), p. 65.

An article in The *Leeds Intelligencer* paralleled the same passionate, flamboyant admiration of the Duke of Wellington, the Brontës' style, theme and language being very similar to the newspaper accounts:

> We shall ever contemplate, with unbounded admiration, the pre –eminent military skill, and mighty valour, which achieved your Grace's numerous and brilliant victories in the Peninsular, and were ultimately crowned with your unveiled and most glorious triumph on the field of Waterloo, and whilst we recall to mind the perils which, at the commencement of your campaigns, beset every nation in Europe, and the serious gloom which they everywhere excited, we are impressed with the deepest gratitude[105]

Likewise, not only was Napoleon an appropriated fiction within the Brontë juvenilia – since his defeat at Waterloo, followed by his death in 1821 – but the character of Napoleon presented a constant fascination for the wider collective British imagination.[106] Napoleon was, Wright perceives 'a huge presence in the consciousness of men and women in the early nineteenth century … For many this interest was tinged with fear and loathing … Yet for others, Napoleon represented an altogether different prospect. For a generation of radical romantics he appeared as the man of the age, a quintessential romantic

[105] 'The Duke of Wellington', *The Leeds Intelligencer,* October 4th, 1827.

[106] In 1818, *Blackwood's Magazine* included, under 'Births, Marriages and Deaths,' a 'Mrs P. Horton, of Chatham County, America, [who] was safely delivered of three hearty male children! They have been named George Washington, Andrew Jackson, and Napoleon Bonaparte: and of course, according to the Shandeen System, have all the chances of becoming great men that distinguished names can give them.' – Anon, 'Births, Marriages, and Deaths,' *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine,* vol. iv, no. xxi, December (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1818), p. 380.

personality.'[107] The *Bradford Observer* asked 'in what century, under what *regime*, was France greater, more prosperous? Where is the Frenchman, Liberal, Carlist, Blue or Vendean, who would efface from our history the glorious records of the empire?'[108]

The Brontës' admiration of Napoleon was therefore commonplace. As readers, the Brontës demonstrated borrowings from current social narratives. Byron and Percy Shelley each wrote a poem which esteemed Napoleon. In Byron's 'Ode to Napoleon,' the unease between the evil of Napoleon conflicting with the extensive admiration he inspired, characterise the verses: 'Oh! ne'er may tyrant leave behind/ A brighter name to lure mankind!'[109] Percy Shelley's 'Lines Written on Hearing the Death of Napoleon,' similarly display the same opposed traits of Napoleon: 'Napoleon's fierce spirit rolled/ In terror, and blood, and gold.'[110] As Pryce–Jones asserts,

> Byron was a foremost spokesperson for those who glorified Napoleon as a superman redesigning the world on progressive lines … Byron exulted, "It is impossible not to be dazzled and overwhelmed by his character and career." … Napoleon had shaped the age, and once safely out of the way he could be considered a great man, exceptional, a genius among mediocrities everywhere else.[111]

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[107] Jonathan Wright , *The Natural Leaders and their World: Politics, Culture and Society in Belfast 1801 –1832* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2012), p. 107.

[108] Anon, *Bradford Observer,* 29th September (Piccadilly: William Boyles, 1836).

[109] Lord George Gordon Byron, *Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte,* 7th ed. (London: John Murray, 1814), p. 14.

[110] Percy Bysshe Shelley, *The Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley* (London: Edward Moxon, 1839), p. 295.

[111] David Pryce-Jones, *Treason of the Heart: From Thomas Paine to Kim Philby* (New York: Encounter, 2011), ch. 3.

Considered in these terms, the Brontës demonstrate a commonplace admiration, accessing the popular narrative in print and appropriating widespread textual publications into their juvenilia. Since Napoleon's defeat and death in 1821, he became a figure of romanticism, of literature, of myth. *Blackwood's Magazine,* responding to the public appetite for Napoleon biography, proclaimed 'We have been led repeatedly to expect some great and authentic communication from the pen of Bonaparte himself, upon the historical events with which his name is connected; but the various publications which have as yet appeared … have succeeded each other in order to keep our attention fired.'[112]

Far from being unique in their digestion of Napoleonic sources, the early juvenilia therefore reflected the popular textual narrative available to the Brontë family within what they read. This Napoleonic narrative included writers such as Byron and indeed, Walter Scott.. In February 1827 the *Leeds Intelligencer* anticipated the production of Scott's *The Life of Napoleon*: 'It is natural to suppose that great interest is felt, by the reading public, with regard to this work',[113] and by June the paper advertised its publication: 'THE LIFE OF NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE, by the Author of "Waverley,"… The Public are requested to send their Orders to their respective Booksellers before the 20th Instant, to prevent disappointment.[114] Scott's *The Life of Napoleon – Emperor of the French*, brought the popularised figure of Napoleon to a mass market. The contemporary demand for biography and the esteem for Scott coupled to create a significant publication. In his advertisement to the first edition, Scott described the concept of his work, 'at first intended merely as a brief and popular abstract of the life of the most wonderful man, and the most extraordinary

[112] Anon, 'Remarks on General Gourgaud's Account of the 1815 Campaign', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine,* no. xx, vol. iv, November (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1818), p. 220.

[113] Anon, 'The Life of Napoleon Bonaparte', *Leeds Intelligencer,* 1st February (Leeds: G. Wright, 1827).

[114] Ibid*,* 14th June.

events, of the last thirty years; in short, to emulate the concise yet most interesting history of the great British Admiral [Wellington], by the Poet–Laureate of Britain .'[115] The Brontë juvenilia therefore paralleled popular themes and literature of the day, available to them through what they read.

The siblings' interest in the textual construct of Napoleon within the early juvenilia, as an important appropriated figure who displayed characteristics more or less akin to how his real life figure was presented in the popular press, demonstrates a parallel borrowing from published narrative to juvenile fiction. For instance, in 1827 the *Leeds Intelligencer* applauded the 'military genius of the Duke of Wellington,' praising 'the union and concentration, in his genius, of all the higher faculties of military inspiration … In his battles, as the assailant, his outset was as sudden, impetuous, and decisive, of that of Napoleon himself … his order of attack, in that battle, one of the most beautiful strategic lessons, as it ensured, also one of the completest victories of our age.'[116] The juvenilia consequently reflected the textual narrative available in local newspapers by borrowing names, themes, style and language. Their characters of Napoleon and Wellington were textual constructs, known to the Brontës through narratives which they read.

Auxiliary characters within the juvenilia likewise appropriated Napoleonic origins in their names: Branwell's Young Soult, later Alexander Soult, Duke of Dalmatia, Marquis of Marseilles, borrowed from Napoleon Bonaparte's commander, Marshall Soult (1769 –1851).[117] Furthermore, the Glass Town Federation contained in its west Wellingtonsland, the Brontës' Duke of Wellington lived at Waterloo Palace, and the later Duke of Zamorna lived at Wellesley House in Angrian Verdopolis. The juvenilia's Marquis Richard Wellesley

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[115] Sir Walter Scott, 'The Life of Napoleon Bonaparte: Emperor of the French,' vol. i, '*The Miscellaneous Prose Works of Sir Walter Scott,* vol. viii (London: Whittaker, 1834 [1827]), p. v.

[116] Anon, 'The Duke of Wellington,' *The Leeds Intelligencer,* 14th June (Leeds: G. Wright, 1827).

[117] Jean-de-Dieu Soult, also known as Nicolas Soult, was made one of the first 'Marshals of the Empire' and the first Duke of Dalmatian by Napoleon.

was appropriated from the real-life elder brother of the Duke of Wellington of the same name. Heroine Marion Hume was based on the daughter of Wellington's physician, and similarly, Glass Town characters Hill, Beresford, and Murray were based on friends of Napoleon who served alongside him as his officers or commanders. Of the Brontës' chief men in Charlotte's 'Tales of the Islanders,'[118] Mr. Abernethy and Ashley Cooper were surgeons to Wellington; others, such as Emily's 'men' Walter Scott, Leigh Hunt (1784–1859) or John Gibson Lockhart (1794–1854), son-in-law to Scott, were writers; all poets, novelists and critics with connections to *Blackwood's Magazine*. In Glass Town therefore, names of places, figures and their characteristics were appropriated from material read in newspapers and magazines.

An extract from Charlotte Brontë's tale 'The Twelve Adventurers' is an interesting example of the miscellaneous borrowings from source texts found in the juvenilia. Whilst Charlotte's piece contained Napoleonic elements, her work also demonstrates a curious mixture of appropriated source texts. This shows the complexity of identifying one source text amid a medley of further borrowings from various textual material. Featuring genii or genius, Charlotte's fragment also comprises of Napoleonic borrowings in her 'Romantic Tale' of 1829, 'The Twelve Adventurers':

> The Genius led us into a hall of sapphire in which were thrones of gold. On the thrones sat the Princes of the Genii. In the midst of the hall hung a lamp like the sun. Around it stood genii, and fairies without, whose robes were of beaten gold sparkling with diamonds. As soon as their chiefs saw us they sprang up from their thrones, and one of them seizing A[rthur] W[ellesley] and exclaimed, 'This is the Duke of Wellington!'

[118] Charlotte Brontë, Two Romantic Tales: The Origin of the Islanders,' *Tales of Glass Town, Angria and Gondal,* ed. Christine Alexander (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 4.

> A W asked her why she called him D of W.
>
> The Genius answered, 'A prince will arise who shall be as a thorn in the side of England, and the desolator of Europe. Terrible shall be the struggle between that chieftain and you! It will last many years, and the conqueror shall gain eternal honour and glory. So likewise shall the vanquished, and though he shall die in exile his name shall never be remembered by his countrymen but with feelings of enthusiasm. The renown of the victor shall reach to the ends of the earth. Kings and Emperors shall honour him, and Europe shall rejoice in its deliverer. Though in his lifetime fools will envy him, he shall overcome. At his death renown shall cover him, and his name shall be everlasting![119]

If this piece is considered in terms of its textual borrowings, the sources from which Charlotte's new tale has been appropriated are varied. She refers to Arthur Wellesley, the Duke of Wellington. Her character is a fictional appropriation of the historical figure of the same name. In connection with the character of Wellesley, the prophetic speech delivered by the Genius suggests Napoleon Buonaparte. To have this knowledge of Wellington, it can be assumed that Charlotte's work originated from a source text such as a newspaper or periodical magazine. This is coupled with reference to fairies and genii which are, of course, not related to factual accounts of the Napoleonic wars, and therefore a further text must be a source to Charlotte's tale. First appearing in Charlotte's 'The Twelve Adventurers' in 1829, the four Brontë siblings were each a Genii. The publications most likely to be a source, which appeared at Brontë's time of writing, are Sir Charles Morell's *Tales of the Genii* or the *Arabian Nights*. However the Genii of Roman mythology, protective spirits of divinity or the

[119] Charlotte Brontë, 'Two Romantic Tales: The Twelve Adventurers,' *Tales of Glass Town, Angria and Gondal,* ed. Christine Alexander (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 11.

soul, could also be a source.[120] Like the classical gods who dwelled on Mt. Olympus, the Brontë Genii governed their kingdoms from Mt. Arnos, very unlike the Arabian Genii. *'The Arabian Nights,'* Alexander asserts, 'that favourite book of the child Jane Eyre, was – together with *Tales of the Genii* and the Book of Revelation – instrumental in fusing the early stories with magic and the supernatural.'[121] More multifarious than the Arabian Genii who live in 'rich, spacious, and magnificent' palaces,[122] and dance with fairies at weddings,[123] the Brontë Genie rather commanded the elements and directed mankind.

For instance, in Charlotte's 'The Twelve Adventurers': 'High in the clouds was a tall and terrible giant. In his right hand he held a trumpet, in his left, two darts pointed with fire. On a thunder cloud which rolled before him his shield rested. On his forehead was written "The Genius of the Storm". On he strode over the black clouds which rolled beneath his feet and regardless of the fierce lightening which flashed around him.'[124] Charlotte's work textually echoed the genii from Morell's tales, the god Allah who similarly 'looks down upon me; and, armed with terrors, and with vengeful thunder writes his perfect law in vivid flashes on the clouds!'[125] There are therefore a number of possible source texts for Charlotte's appropriated piece. For the juvenilia's Napoleonic appropriation, Charlotte does not rename

[120] The Genii are figures of Romantic genius, utilized as a motif by poets such as Coleridge, Percy Shelley or Anne Bannerman. See Adriana Craciun, *Fatal Women of Romanticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009 [2003]), p. 178.

[121] Christine Alexander, 'Introduction,' *Tales of Glass Town, Angria and Gondal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. xvii.

[122] Antoine Garland, 'Ahmed and Pari –Banou,' *The Arabian Nights*, trans. Edward Forster (London: William Miller, 1810), p. 344.

[123] 'The Genii and the fairies, still continuing to dance, then went out of the hall, and preceded the new married pair, until they came to the door of the chambers, where the nuptial bed was prepared. When they arrived there, they arranged themselves in two ranks, to let the prince and fairy pass on', ibid, p. 346.

[124] Charlotte, Brontë, 'The Twelve Adventurers, *'Tales of Glass Town, Angria and Gondal,* ed. Christine Alexander (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 8–9.

[125] Sir Charles Morrel, *Tales of the Genii,* vol. ii (London: Ja' Wallis, 1808). p. 381.

Wellington, but simply maintains his name. She removes him from his European context by integrating him into an Arabian themed narrative (despite naming Europe) when referring to the Napoleonic wars. Her tale offers a thematic fiction, borrowing from both the historical accounts of the Napoleonic wars alongside *Tales of the Genii*. Despite being moved to a different context, if the new text retains a number of identifiable thematic and linguistic borrowings, the source might even so be identified.

Branwell Brontë's appropriation of the Napoleonic wars within his Glass Town tales bear more resemblance to the factual accounts of newspapers than his sister Charlotte's, albeit that his Glass Town hero John Leaf and his textually disconnected African Ashantee people are called to assist England 'as the only country which could have a chance of successfully opposing the French and Buonaparte.'[126] Branwell's appropriation of newspapers are an example for his own reimagining of characters and events he has engaged with. Relaying the history of Napoleon, through his exile in Elba to his dethroning of Louis XVIII and defeat at Waterloo, in his tale 'The History of the Young Men,' Branwell combines the war of his fictional Ashantees and the Genii, with his hero Wellington choosing to live in the African land of the Ashantees, rather than England, as he did in real life:

> As for the Duke of Wellington, soon after the battle of Waterloo he returned to England where he met a reception due to the conqueror of Bonaparte. The Government loaded him with honours and bestowed on him a large estate in the neighbourhood of England. But all these praises, gifts and flattery pleased not the Duke. He

[126] Charlotte Brontë & Patrick Branwell Brontë, 'The History of the Young Men,' *The Miscellaneous and Unpublished Writings of Charlotte and Patrick Branwell Brontë in Two Volumes: Volume the First,* ed. Basil Blackwell (Oxford: Shakespeare Head, 1939), p. 90.

> sighed to be with his companions in arms on the coast of Ashantee.[127]

Similarly to the newspapers taken in by the family, Branwell's account borrowed the style and tone of the Napoleonic newspaper reports. Despite their basis in real-life, esteemed figures such as politicians, doctors and war-heroes from the pages of newspapers and periodicals of the 1820s and 30s, were a textual construct no different from the Brontës' appropriation of mythology or fairy tales, which might reassemble a figure's context.

vi. Byronic Borrowings.

Significant examples of Brontë textual borrowings, and those most relevant for placing the Shelleys are, scholars recognise, constructed from the lives and works of the Romantic poets. Stoneman perceives the distinction between the figural and literary impacts of the poets. 'The English Romantic Poets were the "modern" writers of Emily Brontë's youth; she almost certainly knew about their sensational lives and deaths, and read their works in editions published during her teens.'[128] For instance, Stoneman notes that Percy Shelley's poem 'Episychidion' has 'in particular been recognised as relevant to *Wuthering Heights.'* In this respect Stoneman distinguishes that Shelley's title which 'seems to mean "song for the soul outside the soul" … thus matches closely Catherine Earnshaw's conviction that "there is or shoukd be an existence of yours beyond you."' Byron's life and work offers a framework for the textual appropriation which I propose similarly positions the lives and works of Mary Shelley, and her husband Percy. Brontë scholarship widely recognises the textual

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[127] Ibid, p. 93–4.

[128] Patsy Stoneman, 'Romantic Love,' *Bloom's Guides: Emily Brontë's Wuthering Heights,* ed. Harold Bloom (New York: InfoBase, 2008), pp. 60 –1. In this respect, Stoneman here references scholars F.B. Pinion, Winnifred Gérin and Edward Chatham, in fact it was Ellis W. Chadwick, in 1914, who first proposed a link between *Wuthering Heights* and Percy Shelley's *Episychidion.*

appropriation of Byron's biographical story and his works within the juvenilia, and the presence of the 'Byronic hero', from origins in the juvenilia to subsequent heroes Rochester, Heathcliff and Arthur Huntingdon in the sisters' novels.[129] For instance, Charlotte's 'Editor's Preface' to Emily's *Wuthering Heights* in the 1850 edition describes Heathcliff as 'neither of Lascar or gypsy, but a man's shape animated by demon life – a Ghoul – an Afreet', which is comparable to language in Byron's *The Giaour* (1813) by the line 'Go – and with Gouls and Afrits rave'.[130] Critical recognition of the influence of Byron is an example of the Brontës' appropriation of his verse and figure by recognition of his name, biography and textual borrowings from his poetry within the juvenilia.

Franklin proposes that the Brontës were 'seriously engaged with Byronism',[131] being 'influenced, interact[ing] with, or respond[ing] to the poetry and life story of Byron';[132] the siblings' appropriation of Byron was a consequence of reading source Byronic texts. The presence of Byron is evident by the Brontës' citing of him within the juvenilia, and by the evidence of the family having owned Moore's *Life.* In Branwell's *Politics of Verdopolis,* his characters Mary Percy and Sir Robert Pelham distinctly discuss Lord Byron on Glass Town terms: '"What does your nation think of Lord Byron?" "My nation, madam, are frightened of him. They could not understand him. He was too much of a d–dammed Glass Towner for our comprehension."[133] Within the juvenilia, Byron was therefore a named figure, not a

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[129] Blunden, for example, cites that 'Miss Rebecca West addressing the Brontë Society in 1954, was magnificent on the subject of the 'Byronic worlds' Angria and Gondal, the Byronic man and brother Branwell's calamitous imitation of him, and then the repudiation and slaying of the Byronic man in *Wuthering Heights*.' – Edward Blunden, 'Foreword,' *The Genesis of Wuthering Heights,* Visick, Mary (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1965 [1958]), p. iv.

[130] See Melissa Fegan, *Wuthering Heights: Character Studies* (London: Continuum, 2008), p. 76.

[131] Caroline Franklin, *The Female Romantics: Nineteenth–century Women Novelists and Byron* (London: Routledge, 2013), p. 3.

[132] Ibid, p. 1.

[133] Branwell Brontë, 'The Politics of Verdopolis,' *The Brontës: Tales of Glass Town, Angria and Gondal,* ed. Christine Alexander (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p.362.

character but an esteemed poet whom the juvenilia characters read and admired. In Charlotte's 'High Life in Verdopolis' (1834), Mary, Duchess of Zamorna, glided 'As simple, as elegant, as fair, as unsophisticated as when, with Byron's poems in her hand, she first met Sir Robert Pelham.'[134] Likewise, in Charlotte's later novelette, 'Caroline Vernon' (1839), her characters admired Byron: '[Zamorna] thinks reading Lord Byron has half turned my head,' 'You do read Lord Byron, then?' 'Yes, indeed I do; and Lord Byron and Bonaparte and the Duke of Wellington and Lord Edward Fitzgerald are the four best men that ever lived.'[135] In these instances, reference to Byron was not an allusion but was a real life figure, read and discussed by the juvenilia characters.

Alexander and Sellars assert Byron's 'obvious influence in their [the Brontë siblings'] poetry and prose during the years 1833 to 1835.' Byron's life was, they state:

> the greatest single influence on the subject and style of the Brontë drawings ... Claire Clairmont's pursuit of Byron echoes and re-echoes throughout the juvenilia. Both Charlotte and Branwell quote Byron on numerous occasions, as epigraphs to their stories and in the speech of their central characters, who – almost invariably – have Byronic origins ... The names of Emily's heroine Augusta and her lover Lord of Elbë have Byronic associations (Augusta was Byron's half-sister and 'Albë' was Shelley's name for Byron).[136]

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[134] Charlotte Brontë, *High Life in Verdopolis: A Story from the Glass Town Saga,* ed. Christine Alexander (London: British Library, 1995), p. 38.

[135] The Brontës, *Tales of Glass Town, Angria and Gondal,* ed. Christine Alexander (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 256.

[136] Christine Alexander and Jane Sellars, eds., *The Art of the Brontës* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 17.

Whilst 'echoes' and 'associations' may be at risk of being wrongly attributed, there are clear instances in the juvenilia where Byron has indisputably influenced the tales. Branwell for instance, quotes and names him: 'and now in the words of Lord Byron "Hark through the silence of the cold dull night".[137] Also without giving specific acknowledgement to Byron, the language in Branwell's work is at times linguistically the same. For example, Neufeldt invites us to compare Branwell's '"Whose bright blue eyes" seemed now suffused with the light of love and thought and poetry' with Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage,* Canto I, 1. 176.[138] Similarly, Branwell quotes Byron's verse, particularly from *Childe Harold,* several times and the president of Angria is called Manfred, a name which Neufeldt believes is 'likely borrowed from Byron's *Manfred,* which we know Charlotte had read by 1834.'[139]

Elfenbien concurrently notes how equally Emily's language linguistically echoes Byron's as 'most Byronic echoes occur in poems involving A.G.A. [Emily's central heroine Augusta Geraldine Almeida] whose first name, recalls that of Byron's half-sister. In Emily's note book entitled "Gondal poems," A.G.A. remembers the death of Lord Elbë.'[140] Elfenbien proposes linguistic similarity: when 'A.G.A. speaks, her language reveals traces of Byron's, particularly of *Child Harold's Pilgrimage'* [141] with Emily's 'There shines the moon.' This refers to Emily's line 'There shines the moon, at noon of night', which echoes Byron's 'How in the noon of night that pibroch thrills'. Additionally Emily's 'My weary feet return at last' recalls Byron's 'The pilgrim rested his weary feet.'[142] Similarly, in Charlotte's tale 'Henry

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[137] Patrick Branwell Brontë, *The Works of Patrick Branwell Brontë,* vol. ii, ed. Victor Neufeldt A. (London: Garland Publishing, 1999), p. 559.

[138] Ibid, p. 114.

[139] Ibid.

[140] Andrew Elfenbien, *Byron and the Victorians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004 [1995]), p. 135.

[141] Ibid.

[142] Ibid.

Hastings,'(1839) critics note a textual similarity to Byron's *Mazeppa* (1819) which had been reviewed in *Blackwood's* in July 1819. Charlotte's lines 'We'll keep on their track; their/Long gallop shall never tire/The hounds' deep hate, and hunter's fire', which although not identical, are very similar to Byron's in language and style; 'Their troop came hard upon our back,/With their long gallop, which can tire/The hounds' deep hate, and hunter's fire.'[143] Whilst Charlotte and Emily's lines are imbedded within their prose, the borrowings are too similar to be accidental, and they probably expected their siblings to recognise the appropriation.

Subsequent to the Napoleonic influence on the early juvenilia material, that of Byron became a stronger critical presence, identified more greatly by scholars than any other figure. The catalyst for Byron was marked, in 1832, Gordon notes, as previously mentioned, by Mr Brontë bringing 'Moore's recently published *Letters and Journals of Lord Byron, with notices of his life* into the parsonage.' [144] Thomas Moore's *Life of Byron* was a combined edition of Byron's letters and journals with a substantial biographical narrative supplied by Moore. 'The Marquis of Douro [Charlotte's early hero],' asserts Blackwell (an early editor of the Brontë juvenilia), 'develops into a Byronic hero of dazzling beauty, and who becomes, under the romantic name of 'Zamorna,' the central figure of the Angrian stage.'[145] Winnifrith and Chitham are the only critics who acknowledge a comparable placement for Percy Shelley, whilst maintaining the central importance of Byron:

> As in the case of Shelley, Byron's life was as interesting as his poetry. In Moore's biographical work the Brontë children could follow his career.

[143] See Heather Glen, Charlotte Brontë, *Tales of Angria,* (London: Penguin, 2006), f.n. 65, p. 506.

[144] Lyndall Gordon *Charlotte Brontë: A Passionate Life* (London: Hachette Digital, 2009 [1994]), p. 30–1.

[145] Basil Blackwell, ed., *The Miscellaneous and Unpublished Writings of Charlotte and Patrick Branwell Brontë* (Oxford: Shakespeare Head, 1939), p. 36.

> Incidents in his own life as well as those of his heroes are supposed to have influenced the character of Heathcliff, while the rugged ugliness and remoteness of Rochester, as well as his wandering life, inescapably suggest Byronic influence. Some of the poetry of both Charlotte and Emily seems like an appendix to Byron: there are prisoners, empty halls, voyages, hatred, black –haired wanderers and violent loves. At times this Byronic influence leads to ridiculous bathos, especially in Emily's earlier verse. Even in the mature novels, the wild emotions of Heathcliff and Rochester edge towards the absurd at times, and an early enthusiasm for Byron may be responsible.[146]

The characters within the early juvenilia were initially a medley of the Brontës' contemporary or historical heroes and politicians (such as Wellington, Napoleon, Alexander the Great or the Arctic explorers), later followed by the introduction of fictional literary figures, as the central juvenilia heroes developed from source texts. The frequently used term 'Byronic hero' was a Romantic model for a doomed and flawed hero figure, which borrowed from the published image of Lord Byron, as well as literary characters in his works. Yet this 'flawed angel, the man of demonic attractiveness',[147] equally, I propose, may offer a textual parallel to Percy Shelley, not only as a reoccurring figure within Percy's poetry

[146] Tom Winnifrith, & Edward Chitham, *Charlotte and Emily Brontë* (London: Macmillan, 1989), p. 59.

[147] McCarthy offers a succinct impression of Byron's influential popularly for the Brontës, as recognised and heavily analysed by scholars; 'In the parsonage at Haworth in the early 1830s the surviving Brontë children, Charlotte, Branwell, Anne and Emily, read Byron's poetry and absorbed the details of his life through Thomas Moore's biography. They responded to the exoticism of the Eastern tales and the influence of Byron is clear in their invented kingdoms of Angria and Gondal. In Charlotte and Branwell's mythic Angria the central characters are Alexander Percy, Earl of Northangerland and Arthur Wellesley, Marquis of Douro, later transformed into the Duke of Zamorna. In these cycles of poems, plays and stories the young Brontës created a Byronic landscape of aristocratic bad behaviour and dark erotic power.' Fiona McCarthy, *Byron: Life and Legend* (London: Faber and Faber, 2003), pp. 556 –7.

(displayed in the character of Prometheus,[148], or the Poet within *Alastor*),[149] but as the figure of the poet himself. Like the critically recognised Byron, the textual Percy Shelley equally offered the passionate genius, analogous with nature yet ultimately flawed and self-destructive, albeit in a gentler and more sensitive way.[150] In his *Memoir of Percy Bysshe Shelley,* Percy's cousin Thomas Medwin wrote of his belief that on drowning, Percy 'had made not the slightest struggle to save himself...he wished to die young, though if years are to be measured by events, he had lived, as he used to say, to a hundred.'[151] As I will discuss in more detail in Chapter Three, the fated 'Byronic' figure recognised within the Brontës' work might equally be termed a 'Shelleyan' figure. Nevertheless, it should be noted that when the Brontës' were writing, the general figure of the poet was perceived as a fated Romantic motif in itself, not necessarily limited to Byron or Percy Shelley. As Mary Shelley recognised in *Falkner* (1837)*,* 'the figure of the poet, who represented himself as hunted by his own thoughts – pursued by memory, and torn to pieces, as Actæon by his own hounds.'[152] Both Byronic and Shelleyan aspects of a thematic poetic figure may therefore combine in the juvenilia characters. In this case, appropriations of poetic figures require a

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[148] In *Prometheus Unbound,* 1820.

[149] Ferber notes Percy Shelley's interest in 'the situation of the self-secluded and death drawn poet.' Michael Ferber, 'Alastor,' *Critical Studies: The Poetry of Shelley* (London: Penguin Books, 1993), pp. 23 –33.

[150] Everest considers, in regard to Percy Shelley's *Julian and Maddalo,* that 'The figure of the maniac is apparently based on parts of the real experience of Shelley and Byron . . . this in itself suggests Shelley's concern to explore a disjunction of social and poetic identity that has some context in his own life.' Kelvin Everest, 'Shelley's Doubles: An Approach to *Julian and Maddalo', Shelley Revalued: Essays form the Gregynog Conference,* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1983), pp. 79 –88.

[151] Medwin continues to quote Percy's past remarks 'The life of a man of talent, who should die in his thirtieth year, is, with regard to his own feelings, longer than that of a miserable, priest –ridden slave, who dreams out a century of dullness.' Thomas Medwin, *Memoir of Percy Bysshe Shelley* (London: Whittaker, Treacher, & Co, 1833), pp. 80 –1.

[152] Mary Shelley, *Falkner* (London: Saunders and Oley, 1837).

In Greek mythology, Actæon watched the goddess Artemis bathing in the river, who in punishment turned him into a deer to be ripped apart by his own hounds.

strong textual connexion with source texts before specific Byronic or Shelleyan borrowing within the juvenilia might be proposed.

vii. Brontë Writing Practice.

As my consideration of various examples of the Brontës' textual strategies of appropriating source texts has demonstrated, it is important to consider not only the similarities which this writing practice has with Romantic writers at the time – who offered a narrative in their works, prefaces and through magazines accessible to the Brontës – but also how this practice was intended to be recognised by the reader. The model of these critically perceived appropriations and 'Byronic associations' demonstrate well the nature of Shelleyan influences and appropriations, which my study proposes mark a significant presence within the juvenilia of the Brontës.

In reading back-dated copies of *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine,* the Brontës would certainly have had the opportunity to engage with a narrative of poets who were 'possessed of a true genius ... [whose] name[s] will be found on the pages of history with those of the greatest men.'[153] The juvenilia demonstrates that to the Brontës, poets were equal to military heroes or politicians: indeed many of Charlotte's 'Celebrated Men' had poetic or artistic inclinations, contiguous with their political concerns. The 'archaic flavour about the adult poems of the Brontës,' assert Winnifrith and Chitham:

> … seems to stem from the late eighteenth –century writers, with a considerable admixture of the Romantics, especially Wordsworth and Coleridge, though it has long been thought that Byron contributed strongly to their thought ... It is difficult to determine quite what they

[153] Charlotte Brontë, 'Characters of Celebrated Men,' *The Professor, Tales from Angria, Emma: A Fragment,* ed. Phyllis Bentley (London & Glasgow: Collins, 1954), p. 64.

> had read. The lyrical ballads seem to be echoed several times in the poetry of Emily and Anne. Emily's tendency to pantheism appears to have been fed to some extent on Wordsworth's work, though resemblances to Shelley may be more apparent.[154]

The many textual sources, and their borrowing by citation, theme, structure and linguistic similarity, as critically recognised within the juvenilia, construct the characters, tales, poetry and illustrations of the Brontës' early works. Building from these Napoleonic, Byronic, Shakespearean or Biblical examples, this offers a writing framework by which the textual Shelleys can be identified in Chapters Three and Four. Comparable to the writing practice of the Romantic poets, as discussed by *Blackwood's,* the Brontës' work responded to, engaged with, and appropriated from a varying range of external sources. Branwell, for instance, quoted from Shakespeare (*Hamlet* and *Macbeth),*[155] *The Bible,*[156] and *Paradise Lost.*[157] Similarly to the Shelleys, the Brontës engaged with the publications they read, appropriating source texts, and creating their own parsonage writing circle. Their juvenilia took from a mutual source and responded to the work of each sibling. The Brontës' use of appropriating from a source text was similar to the writing methods as discussed by *Blackwood's*. Byron and the Shelleys, for instance, wrote their works as companion pieces to one another, or in response to other texts, appropriating from a literary network of past and present texts which was deliberate, conscious, and characteristic of their textual strategies. For their readers, as Alexander and Smith accentuate:

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[154] Tom Winnifrith, & Edward Chitham, *Charlotte and Emily Brontë* (London: Macmillian, 1989), pp. 56 –7.

[155] Patrick Branwell Brontë, *The Works of Patrick Branwell Brontë,* Volume Two, 1834–1836*,* ed. Victor Neufeldt A., (London: Garland Publishing, 1999), pp. 163 & 175.b

[156] Ibid, p. 163, 176 & 259.

[157] Ibid, p. 163, 259 & 625.

> recognition of biblical [and all] allusions, readily picked up by most 19th–century readers, is essential to a full appreciation of the Brontës' writings. Without it, the resonance and nuances deriving from the biblical [or other intended] context cannot be savoured, ironies may be missed, emotional depth reduced, and the nature of characters … not understood.[158]

The Brontës' writing practice was therefore one which developed from a childhood game into a mature writing method, akin to the practice of the Romantic poets, where they could demonstrate their knowledge of the literary canon, whilst their readers might use their reading experience to recognise the borrowings. My consideration of Charlotte's long extract which demonstrates an amalgamation of Napoleonic newspaper reports, classical legends and tales from the *Genii,* is illustrative of the variety of source texts which were combined by the siblings. This practice may potentially disguise an obvious presence of Shelleyan appropriations if placed in an unrelated context. In the following two chapters, using the framework I have established of the Brontës' writing methods of borrowing from an original text by structure, theme, quotation, or linguistic similarity, my study proposes to place the textual presence of the Shelleys within the Brontë juvenilia.

[158] Christine Alexander & Margaret Smith, *The Oxford Companion to the Brontës* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012 [2006]), p. 34.

Chapter Three.
Gondal and Angria: Rereading the Lands in a Shelleyan Context.

i. Beyond Glass Town.

Having defined the writing practice of the Brontë siblings in their juvenilia – a process of borrowing from a source work to write a new text – I now propose to use this framework to place the textual Shelleys. Considering the published Shelleyan narrative available to the family at the Parsonage, as was offered in Chapter One, in the current chapter I establish how the textual influence of the Shelleys is present within the juvenilia. Building on the recognitions of Shelleyan influence by critics such as Winnifrith and Chitham,[1] I identify notable linguistic, structural and thematic borrowings from the Shelleyan print narrative within the juvenilia. I propose that from the early 1830s, the changes in the Brontës' juvenilia demonstrate a new engagement with Shelleyan narratives. Despite none of the juvenilia referencing the Shelleys directly (other than Charlotte's sole naming of Percy Shelley in 1839, as noted above), a consideration of the siblings' familiarity with *Blackwoods'* and *Frasers' Magazines,* along with their opportunity to read Shelleyan narratives in local newspapers, provides grounding for my identification of a Shelleyan textual presence.

With the first known juvenile tale being written in 1826, the siblings' writing began in their fictional world of Glass Town, a kingdom located in Africa, after which the quartet split into pairs by 1833. Charlotte and Branwell then wrote of their evolving fictional land of Angria; their sisters' equivalent land of Gondal was first mentioned in surviving material by 1834. Barker recognises by this point that there was 'a new tone of realism in the juvenilia ...

[1] See Introduction, f.n. 22 –31, and Tom Winnifrith, & Edward Chitham, *Charlotte and Emily Brontë* (London: Macmillian, 1989), Edward Chitham, *A Life of Emily Brontë* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), and Edward Chitham, 'The Irish Heritage of the Brontës,' *A Companion to the Brontës,* Diane Long Hoeveler & Deborah Denenholz Morse, eds. (Chichester: Whiley Blackwell, 2016).

[removing] it one stage further from its original African concept'.[2] Around the autumn of 1833, this change was noticeable in sixteen year old Branwell's tale 'The Politics of Verdopolis,' which was closely followed by 'War of Encroachment' and 'An Historical Narrative of the War of Aggression.' In these tales, Branwell moved away from Africa and the Napoleonic, establishing a new location, a new political rule, and eventually a new principal heroine, Mary Percy. By the spring of 1834, Branwell had written 'The Wool is Rising; or the Angrian Adventurer' and 'The Life of feild [sic] Marshal the Right Honourable Alexander Percy' in three volumes. Charlotte, although away at school in term time, nevertheless produced the novelettes 'The Spell,' and 'High Life in Verdopolis' when intermittently at the Parsonage.

What Emily and Anne worked on at this time is less clear. The earliest surviving fragments of Gondal material date from 1834, with the majority of their juvenilia having been lost and only their later poetry surviving.[3] Despite identifying that 'these two stories [Branwell's The Politics of Verdopolis and War of Encroachment] turned the world of the Glass Town confederacy upside down ... [deciding] the future course of the juvenilia,'[4] Barker offers no suggestion for what might have prompted this change of direction, other than proposing that the Reform Bill of 1832 may have been a stimulus for Branwell. Elfenbein on the other hand, asserts that the changes in Charlotte's Duke of Zamorna were a result of her engagement with Byron: 'Before 1833, he [Zamorna – Charlotte's central

[2] Juliet Barker, *The Brontës* (London: Phoenix, 1995 [1994]), pp. 199–200.

[3] 'Not a scrap has survived of direct information concerning the Gondal creation before 1834. If Emily wrote it out, her manuscripts have been lost. The story must be coaxed from her poems with the help of a few later fragments of prose, all written after June, 1836.' Ratchford, Fannie Elizabeth, *The Brontës' Web of Childhood* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1964 [1941]), p. 66.
Drabble likewise remarks on the enigmatic remains of the Gondal writings, which, 'except for some essays have vanished. Even the manuscript of *Wuthering Heights* has disappeared. If she [Emily] left any papers behind at her death, Charlotte destroyed them.' Margaret Drabble, 'Introduction,' *Wuthering Heights,* Emily Brontë (London: Everyman, 2000 [1978]), p. xx.

[4] Juliet Barker, *The Brontës* (London: Phoenix, 1995 [1994]), p. 200.

hero] is kind and gentle, but after 1833, when the Brontës acquired Byron's complete works, his personality changes startlingly. Charlotte has found new models for a hero.'[5] Alexander defines how 'From the outset the two older siblings had had a stimulating effect on each other's development'.[6] Whilst similarly noting that the return of Charlotte from school brought an instance of 'new ideas to pursue,' Alexander suggests that Charlotte let 'Scott's novels and ballads ... take priority, mixing with Byron's Gothic tales as the source of invention.'[7] Specifying Charlotte's 'long Gothic romance' 'The Spell,' Alexander deems that Branwell, '[who was] still focused on political and military adventures ... in 'The Politics of Verdopolis, ... takes account of Charlotte's new tales, and provides a more sophisticated lineage for his hero as a descendent of the Northumbrian Percys.'[8]

While scholars agree that in 1833 the Angrian material acquired a new initiative, they have yet to provide a convincing explanation of the source texts that might have initiated this change. The argument of my thesis is that it was the Shelleyan narrative described in Chapter One that prompted this new direction, removing Gondal and Angria from its origins in Glass Town. Critics generally locate the Brontës' first textual encounter with the Shelleys to 1833 and Moore's *Life of Byron*.[9] By contrast, in what follows, I set out evidence for an initial Shelleyan engagement from 1829 and suggest that siblings engaged with and appropriated the same communal Shelleyan material as a writing collective.

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[5] Andrew Elfenbien, *Byron and the Victorians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004 [1995]). p. 132.

[6] Christine Alexander, 'Introduction,' *Tales of Glass Town, Angria and Gondal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. xxiii –xxiv.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid.

[9] See Christine Alexander & Jane Sellars, eds., *The Art of the Brontës* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

ii. Character Names.

Considering the names of a selection of juvenilia characters, I propose that themes connected to these characters, alongside linguistic borrowings in the Brontës' texts, demonstrate that Percy Bysshe Shelley, Mary Shelley and Percy's first wife Harriet Westbrook, provided the models for three of the central figures in the Brontë tales. Associating the names of real people with characters in juvenilia may seem speculative; for instance, the name of Gondal heroine Augusta could be inspired by Byron's half-sister Augusta Leigh as Alexander asserts,[10] yet the name in itself offers little in textual evidence. For instance, in Mary Shelley's *The Last Man,* the heroine Perdita seems to offer little to relate her to the poet Mary Robinson other than that Robinson acted the part of Perdita on stage in Shakespeare's *Winter's Tale*, yet textually the figures additionally relate by Shelley's linguistic parallel in her description of Perdita's cottage to Robinson's as described in *The Memoirs of the Late Mrs Robinson* (1803).[11] Therefore, by recognising parallel structures, linguistic links and themes in the juvenilia with published texts, these textual connections strengthen the source behind the character's name.

Considering firstly the character names within Branwell and Charlotte's juvenilia , I note that three figures of interest feature. Primarily, Northangerland, Branwell's central hero, is by his multi-titled name, called Alexander Percy, Earl of Northangerland, Lord Viscount Elrington, Lord Lieutenant of Northangerland. As suggested by Alexander, Charlotte named him for Shakespeare's Earl of Northumberland, Henry Percy. Yet if the character's initial name had begun from this Shakespearean source it seems convincing, given the development of the Angrian character and the names of women associated with him, that

[10] Ibid, p. 17. 'The names of Emily's heroine Augusta and her lover Lord of Elbë have Byronic associations (Augusta was Byron's half-sister and Albë was Shelley's name for Byron).'

[11] See J. E. Young, 'Perdita's Cottage: Mary Robinson in Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley's *The Last Man', Notes and Queries*, vol. 64, issue 1, 1st March 2017, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 83 –86.

the figure became textually influenced by Percy Shelley. Northangerland's first wife is named *Harriet,* and his later wife, and an eventual central heroine of Charlotte's, is called *Mary Percy.* Although there is less Gondal material available, and no evidence within it of the name Percy, the names Mary and Harriet are also present in Emily and Anne's work. Anne included Harriet Eagle in a list of Gondal characters[12] whilst the name Mary also features. Christine Alexander notes the name Mary was erased to be replaced by 'Florian' in Anne's poem 'Verses to a Child,' and that elsewhere the name Mary has been replaced by Anne with 'Flora.'[13] No previous scholars have connected the names of Percy, Harriet and Mary, yet I propose that they are not accidental, but that suggest the Brontës' knowledge of the Shelleys had them borrow these characters from the Shelley narrative.

Introducing his hero Alexander 'Northangerland' Percy, in 1834, Branwell described:

> For amid all the Monarchs, Warriors, Statesmen, Poets and Philosophers whose Stars have blazed and twinkled on the heavens of the last hundred years we Inhabitants of Africa turn always from the lights of a Marlborough Johnson Bonaparte Byron Nelson Scott or a "Georgius" to look at the red troubled uncertain flashings of an Alexander Percy we look back through all the changes of time to the favourite luminaries of Greece and Rome, back even to Israel and Egypt, and in vain we seek for a being so strange and wonderful Mystery as the one whom I have chosen for my hero his life and

[12] Northangerland's new wife whom usurps poor Harriet Percy is the 'lofty and wicked' Augusta di Segovia. Patrick Branwell Brontë, *The Works of Patrick Branwell Brontë,* Volume ii, ed. Victor Neufeldt A. (London: Garland Publishing, 1999), p. 155.

[13] See Christine Alexander, *Tales of Glass Town, Angria and Gondal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 595 [endnote 462].

> character through himself to be one of the very leading men of Verdopolis.[14]

Referencing several figures, including Napoleon, Walter Scott, King George and Lord Byron, Branwell elevated his own hero, above all other real world figures, in complexity, talent and heroism. The figure whom Branwell's Alexander Percy was appropriated from, was evidently one he esteemed more than any other. Unlike Charlotte's hero Zamorna (who has all of his original names taken directly from Wellington and his two sons), the source for the name of 'Percy' has been less clear. Alexander, for instance, proposes that, 'The Earl of Northumberland and his son Henry Percy[15] contributed in part to the names and character of Alexander Percy (Ellington and later Duke of Northangerland)',[16] whilst in Napoleonic terms, the name Percy might derive from Major Henry Percy, who, upon Wellington's defeat of Napoleon lay the battle insignia of the French Army at the feet of George IV.[17] These Napoleonic appropriations do seem to suit the earlier creation of a Napoleonic Glass Town, when the name of Percy was first introduced into the childhood saga, however, I propose that as the juvenila writing developed an accrued source for the name was Percy Bysshe Shelley.

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[14] Patrick Branwell Brontë, 'The Life of feild [sic] Marshal the Right Honourable Alexander Percy, vol. i,' *The Works of Patrick Branwell Brontë,* vol. ii*,* ed. Victor A. Neufeldt (London: Garland Publishing, 1999), p. 92.
This work is dated by Branwell to Spring 1834 and was likely made up of three volumes, although vol. iii only survives as a fragment. See Victor A. Neufeldt, ed., *The Works of Patrick Branwell Brontë,* vol. ii*,* (London: Garland Publishing, 1999), p. 92 [fn. 1].

[15] The siblings were likely familiar with *The Ballard of Chevy Chase* which recounts the story of waring families, Percy and Douglas, over the English/Scottish boarder. Emily notes the text in *Wuthering Heights,* vol. II, ch. xvii, where the younger Catherine makes fun of her cousin Hareton for not being able to read the work properly.

[16] Christine Alexander, *Tales of Glass Town, Angria and Gondal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 570. Shakespeare's play *King Henry IV* features Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, as does *King Richard II.*

[17] As detailed in Phillips, Charles, *Kings and Queens of Britain* (London: Hermes House, 2006), p.201.

Angria's Alexander Percy is, like Percy Shelley, a poet, one whose 'passionate fondness for Music and all loftier feelings of humanity shone round and adorned him with such a delightful grace and poetry'.[18] Consider Branwell's description of Alexander Percy (Northangerland): 'the youthful Heir of Percy Hall – behold then a slender but active boy tall of his years … his aristocratic beauty … with effeminacy and girlishness the expansive forehead the anxious eye and the sensual lip'.[19] Portrait engravings of Percy Bysshe Shelley would have been accessible to Branwell, whose description of the 'golden'[20] haired Northangerland with blue eyes [see app. II, fig. i] concurs with those visual and textual descriptions of Shelley.[21] Additional to these portraits, Branwell's Alexander Percy's father is

[18] Patrick Branwell Brontë, 'The Life of feild [sic] Marshal the Right Honourable Alexander Percy, vol. i,' *The Works of Patrick Branwell Brontë,* vol. ii*,* ed. Victor Neufeldt A. (London: Garland Publishing, 1999), p. 111.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Patrick Branwell Brontë, 'The Wool is Rising; Or the Angrian Adventurer,' *The Works of Patrick Branwell Brontë,* vol. ii*,* ed. Victor A. Neufeldt (London: Garland Publishing, 1999), p. 54. 'The Wool is Rising' is dated by Branwell to June 1834.

[21] Visually, Charlotte's 1834 watercolour and pencil portrait of the Duke of Zamorna, King of Angria [see app. II, fig. ii], resembles Percy Shelley, her drawing being very similar W. Brockedon's engraving from Amelia Curran's oil portrait, re –worked into Angrian costume. Charlotte demonstrated the same method in her 1833 drawing of Angrian heroine Zenobia Marchioness Ellrington, which bears resemblance to an engraved portrait of the Countess of Blessington by E. T. Paris. Zenobia's outfit has been appropriated from the original worn by the Countess to the elaborate Angrian fashion of velvet gown and feathered head –dress. This Angrian appropriation method is also used in Charlotte's version of the 'Maid of Saragoza' which demonstrates 'significantly altered details to the original in the replacing of an earring by two fashionable ringlets in an effort to transform Byron's Italian peasant girl into an Angrian beauty' [Christine Alexander & Jane Sellars, *The Art of the Brontës* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p.236]. This image was taken from a plate drawn by F. Stone in W. & E. Finder, *Finden's Illustrations of the Life and Works of Lord Byron* (London: John Murray, 1833), vol. i. The engraving also featured, as did other images appropriated by the Brontës, in Thomas Moore, *Letters and Journals of Lord Byron: with Notices of his Life* (London: John Murray, 1833), vol. ii. In line with this approach, Percy Shelley's costume has been tailored to the Angrian military dress and plumed hat. Brockedon's engraved image of Percy Shelley became the definitive picture of the poet used as illustration for his works or biographies [see app. II, fig. i]. The heavily lidded eyes, aquiline nose, feminate curved eye –brows and pursed lips, could equally describe both Percy Shelley's or Zamorna's portrait. Even the positioning of the single ear, curl on the forehead, cleft beneath the chin and shaddowed sideburn are replicated by the two images. Although the plates would have been available to Charlotte through a number of publications, such as Leigh Hunt's 'Lord Byron and Some of his Contemporaries,' it is most likely she encountered the engraving within Finden's 'Illustrations of the Life and Works of Lord Byron.' Further images were replicated by the Brontës from Findens' 'Illustrations,' such as Emily's sketch 'The North Wind' or Charlotte's 'The Maid of Saragoza.'

Similarly, although not scholarly recognised, Branwell's portrait of hero Northangerland appears to have been appropriated from a portrait engraving of Byron, which was engraved by Henry Hopper Meyer after George Henry Harlow, c.1815, [see app. II, figs. iii and iv].

'enraged and vindictive', has a 'harsh temper' with the 'deep angry threat of future punishment'.[22] Readers of *Blackwood's* would have been informed of Sir Timothy Shelley's shame and disappointment in his son. Neither Percy Bysshe Shelley nor Branwell's Northangerland were disinherited, and both leave their country of birth to seek their own independent fortunes. Increasingly Branwell describes his Percy as a 'paradox':

> My readers may think I am describing nothing but contradictions but I tell them this Percy was contradiction itself to me he seemed a living paradox and I could trace none of his various feelings and actions to any common sources save generally and wildly taken to Ardent and tumultuous passions with an exquisitely sensitive Nervous conformation acting upon a mind from its earliest dayspring totally destitute of religious restraint or moral principal.[23]

Branwell praises his Percy as a lofty, deep-thinking and passionate figure, yet he is also described as vindictive and ill-tempered, melancholy and miserable.[24] Much of this 'paradox' seems reflective of the conflicting narratives about the real Percy Shelley offered in the press, some publications exonerating his talents whilst others disparaged his behaviour and beliefs. At times, the same article seems confounded by conflicting perspectives, all of which built a perplexing picture for readers; presenting a troubled man who was both greatly admirable for his poetic talents, yet deplorable for his marital endeavours and religious immortality. Within Branwell's writing, he expressed his own sense of conflict; was Percy

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[22] Patrick Branwell Brontë, 'The Life of feild [sic] Marshal the Right Honourable Alexander Percy, vol. i,' *The Works of Patrick Branwell Brontë,* vol. ii*,* ed. Victor Neufeldt A. (London: Garland Publishing, 1999), p. 112.

[23] Ibid, p. 111.

[24] Ibid, p. 111–12.

Shelley a man he could admire, or a man too full of flaws? Branwell's language implies that, through the fictional Percy by whom he voiced his own conflicted views relating to the real Percy Shelley, Branwell struggled with his own opinion of the poet as he questioned: 'I could trace none of his various feelings and actions to any common sources'. Branwell's textual engagement with Percy Shelley indicates that he gave him heavy consideration in the juvenilia , admiring his poetry but, as the young son of a Reverend, struggling to counterbalance his being 'totally destitute of religious constraint'. The juvenilia character of Alexander Percy was confused, Branwell apparently using the Angrian hero to contemplate the Shelleyan narrative he was reading. The confusion of the fictional Percy may likely have reflected, or have been a way of Branwell articulating, the mixed responses—both in the press and for Branwell himself—to the real Shelley.

It seems likely that Branwell's poignant portrayal of his juvenilia heroine Harriet also derived from his mixed reading of Harriet Westbrook in *Blackwood's,* and Cyrus Redding's memoir of Percy Bysshe Shelley. Branwell's portrayal of the Angrian Harriet presents a dejected and tragic figure for whom Branwell apparently shows empathy (despite Redding's attempts to gain a sympathetic understanding from readers for Percy Bysshe Shelley's abandonment of her). Indeed Branwell's work demonstrates a direct textual response to Redding's memoir, suggesting Branwell's strong engagement with Shelleyan texts, as Branwell linguistically directly responds to Redding's version. Defending the juvenilia character of Harriet, the voice of Branwell's character Sergeant Bud appealed:

> But this is only the surface of her character … there was something lying underneath this seeming impossibility of feeling angry this complete freedom from pride this unguarded abruptness. was not the strongest feature of her mind. She was not altogether what she seemed for underneath lay a heart filled with strong impression a

> mind overgrown with eradicable errors habits of constant thinking which always ended in thinking wrongly. But also and mark the folly of judging intirly [sic] from outward appearances feelings always stretched and far too often troubled and melancholy. I am convinced that her mind was of the highest order but rendered useless through want of training to the right.[25]

Branwell's defensive 'I am convinced that her mind *was* of the highest order' appears to be a direct response to Redding's her 'fate hung heavily on the mind of her husband, who felt deep self-reproach that he had not selected a female of higher order of intellect, who could appreciate better the feelings of one constituted as he was.'[26] Branwell's re-writing of his character Harriet consists of defending her perceived faults in character, apparently answering Redding through verbal borrowing, linguistically parallel to Redding's memoir. Branwell's tale suggests that he felt Harriet had been wronged, and that as a reader, her narrative had inspired his opinionated response. *Blackwood's* had remarked 'The public is assured, at p. 238, that Shelley was "one of the most moral as well as amiable men." Why disturb the ashes of his funeral pile, by thus unwillingly compelling us to recall the memory of his vices? Who ever heard the tale of his first wife, the beautiful victim of his lust and his infidelity, without execrating the author of her sorrows?'[27] *Blackwood's* appreciated that its readers may find their esteem for Percy Shelley's works be disquieting alongside sympathy for Harriet Shelley; in other words, the disjunction between admiration and disapproval was confusing for readers to contemplate. It is evident that Harriet Shelley's figure offered much

[25] Ibid, p. 154.

[26] 'Memoir of Percy Bysshe Shelley,' *The Poetical Works of Coleridge, Shelley, and Keats* (Paris: A. and W. Galignani, 1829), p. vi.

[27] Anon, 'Lord Byron's Conversations,' *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine,* vol. xvi, no. xciv, November (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1823), p. 539.

point of deliberation, and this explains Branwell's curious description of his Angrian figure Percy who 'was contradiction itself to me he seemed a living paradox'.[28]

Neufeldt describes Branwell's character Harriet O'Connor, without identifying the Shelleyan parallel as 'sister of Arthur O'Conner, seduced by Percy, later unhappily married to Montgomery, elopes with Percy who deserts her, and she dies a sad, lonely death.'[29] She is overshadowed by the 'lofty and wicked' Augusta di Segovia, who becomes Lady Percy and helps him to murder his father. Angrian Harriet O'Connor is a figure who was also featured in Charlotte's work. 'O'Connor' Ratchford notes, 'was one of Percy's boon companions in his most degraded day. His wife, Harriet, eloped with Percy, who later abandoned her to die of shame and want.'[30] I suggest that Charlotte's Angrian ballad on Harriet also borrows thematically from the Harriet Westbrook who was rejected and abandoned by Percy Bysshe Shelley:

Why did he cease to cherish
His Harriet when she fell?
Why did he let her perish
Who had loved him all too well?

She called on Alexander
As she sickened, as she died;
When fever made her wander,

[28] Patrick Branwell Brontë, 'The Life of feild [sic] Marshal the Right Honourable Alexander Percy, vol. i,' *The Works of Patrick Branwell Brontë,* vol. ii, ed. Victor Neufeldt A. (London: Garland Publishing, 1999), p. 111.

[29] Patrick Branwell Brontë, *The Works of Patrick Branwell Brontë,* vol. ii, ed. Victor Neufeldt A. (London: Garland Publishing, 1999), p. 688.

[30] Charlotte Brontë, *Legends of Angria,* ed. Ratchford, Fannie (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993), pp.331 –2.

For him alone she cried.

But Percy would not listen,
Would not hear when Harriet wailed.
Where Europe's ice –bergs glisten,
Far, far away he sailed.[31]

Charlotte's Angrian Harriet O'Connor is abandoned as her lover sails to a different continent, and she dies of a broken heart, the European landscapes she dies in being suggestive of Percy Shelley's own demise on the continent. Harriet Westbrook's suicide was well known in the press, and both Branwell and Charlotte's Harriet figures are usurped by stronger females leading to Harriet's desertion and death.[32]

Also in Charlotte's juvenilia are her early version of Zamorna and his first wife Marion Hume. First appearing as Marina in the tale 'Albion and Marina,' and later in 'The Foundling' and 'The Spell,' Marion had a vision of her drowned fiancé. Charlotte disposed of Marian Hume – a figure borrowed from the real Elizabeth Hume, daughter of the Duke of Wellington's surgeon – who died of a broken heart, but later revealed that Zamorna had courted the new heroine Mary Percy whilst Marian was still alive. Marion's 'untimely removal has, I confess,' Charlotte wrote, 'inflicted a wound that [for Zamorna] the lapse of centuries can never entirely heal'. Similarly to Percy Shelley's memoir, Harriet Westbrook's 'fate hung heavily on the mind of her husband'. Charlotte's early heroine Marian – unlike Branwell who borrowed directly the name Harriet – was an existing Napoleonic character who additionally demonstrates later textual character borrowings from Harriet Westbrook.

[31] Ibid.

[32] The name of Anne's Harriet Eagle, although only existing in a list of Gondal characters, suggests Gondal too may have also contained its own appropriation of Harriet Westbrook.

The new heroine introduced to Branwell's Angrian narrative *The Politics of Verdopolis,* written in November of 1833, was named Mary Percy. Despite the obvious association in her name, this figure has not been connected to Mary Shelley by Brontë scholars. The introduction of Branwell's heroinein Angria, saw him rapidly writing three significant tales to introduce her. Charlotte then took the character, and in her own tale, which was heavily focused on the new heroine, married her to her hero Zamorna. The likelihood of Angrians Harriet and Alexander Percy having been based on the real Harriet and Percy Bysshe Shelley, suggests that Angrian Mary is also likely to be a version of the real Mary Shelley. Certainly many aspects of her character are thematically consistent with that of the Mary Shelley described in the periodical press, including that of being married to a bright poet and displacing his former wife as a more fitting intellectual match. The fractured development of the fictional Mary Percy seems to mirror the more fragmented references to Mary Shelley in the periodical press. Like Mary Shelley, the Angrian Mary was the only daughter of her father Northangerland in Branwell's work (although the identity of her father was originally inconsistent earlier on).[33] The Angrian Mary's mother, also named Mary, died at her daughter's birth.

This basic parallel information on Mary Shelley as the only daughter of William Godwin and Mary Wollstonecraft was available in a variety of magazines, newspapers and 'Introductions'; the relationships with her step-sister and half-sister, Clare and Fanny, were not discussed in the press. The Angrian Mary therefore repeats the basic familial relationships of Mary Shelley as popularly disclosed in print. Branwell's Mary Percy was introduced in 'Politics of Verdopolis' (1833) after her father Northangerland had been standing at her mother's grave. She discussed the poets Byron and Angrian Arthur, Marquis

[33] In Branwell's 'The Wool is Rising' (1834), he confuses Mary as 'the wife of Alexander the daughter of Scylla', when she has previously been the 'wife of Adrian and the daughter of Alexander.' See Branwell Brontë, 'The Wool is Rising,' *The Works of Patrick Branwell Brontë*, vol. ii, ed. Victor Neufeld (London: Garland Publishing, 1999), p. 73.

of Douro, with Sir Robert Weaver, establishing her as a character of 'general silence' whose initial identity was bound in her established father, her mother who died at her birth, and her intellectual conversing with poets.[34] Highlighting the importance of the deceased mother Mary to the daughter's character, Sir Robert Pelham proposed to Mary Percy by her mother's grave.

In Branwell's *The Life of Alexander Percy,* vol. ii, the melancholy Percy caught sight of 'Mary Henrietta Wharton and a light first rose on his soul. She was the only Daughter of Lord George Wharton … Her father being a widower and an invalid felt toward his Daughter as too the sole stay and brightener of his life'.[35] The character of Mary was highly praised in Branwell's description of her:

> But Here I wish Reader that I had words to express the Heavenly beauty both in person and mind of Mary Henrietta Wharton … Mary's mind shone in all her feelings and actions it was as warm and as bright as a summer sunset and like it had a shade of Heavenly pensiveness which only made it the more lovely, when putting back the curls from her ivory forehead she turned toward you with her musical laugh and the cheerful sunshine of her hazel eyes you might see the heartfelt freindliness [sic] of her spirit brightening all her lovely countenance Pride she possessed not nor selfishness … she had a feeling to which I can give no name but which when alone and with nothing visible to touch the string will yet sound in a chord which shall make a whole life seem but its

[34] Branwell Brontë, 'The Politics of Verdopolis,' Brontës, The, *Tales of Glass Town, Angria and Gondal,* ed. Christine Alexander (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 342–363.

[35] Branwell Brontë, 'The Life of Alexander Percy,' *The Works of Patrick Branwell Brontë*, vol. ii, ed. Victor Neufeld, (London: Garland Publishing, 1999), p. 181.

> echo and feel in hours of struggle emotion[s] that are never destined to fade from the mind.[36]

By volume iii of Branwell's 'Life of Alexander Percy' Mary died, accompanied by anguished speeches from Alexander Percy. Charlotte and Branwell maintained the same figures within their Angrian tales, repeating time after time events in and out of chronological order. Mary Percy was both wife, mother and daughter in Branwell's works. Interestingly, despite the Shelleyan source texts detailing that it was Mary Shelley, the daughter of Godwin, who had usurped Harriet and eloped to the continent, in Angria it was the character of the wicked Augusta di Segovia who did so in Angria. The fictional Mary is spared any connection with Harriet's misfortune, leaving the new heroine to be introduced as a guiltless, flawless juvenilia heroine. The qualities that are applied to the fictional Mary remain close to the real Mary, as to suggest an active and self-conscious engagement with this figure, despite her not being the one to dispose Harriet.

Charlotte's 1838 tale 'The Duke of Zamorna' praised the figure of Mary Percy above other Angrian heroines. 'To form a character like hers' wrote Charlotte, 'there must be a combination of qualities and circumstances which rarely meet together. She was intellectual, poetically so'.[37] Bearing in mind the limited printed publicity of Mary Shelley's character, in comparison to her literary circle, Charlotte's description of her character Mary Percy is cohesive with Mary Shelley's narrative:

> You would have expected, on being introduced to the fair and aristocratic Mrs Percy, to see some consciousness of rank, some air of peerless beauty, some frivolity or caprice of youth, but she

[36] Ibid, p. 182.

[37] Charlotte Brontë, 'The Duke of Zamorna' *Tales of Angria,* ed. Heather Glen (London: Penguin, 2006), p.143.

> showed none. She looked kindly to you with her sweet voice, and moved with unostentatious though perfect grace, a fair young Christian lady. She was not gay. Even in her smiles she seemed softly sad. She thought much, and all her thoughts were tinged with a high religious melancholy. She really loved to ponder over the glories of a heavenly hereafter far better than to play with the frivolities of the earthly present. This was which seemed to free her from the selfishness, the vanities, the pride of her station. She had subjects for reflection which suited her system of mind better to dwell on the magnificence of this world, or its cares, or its vexations.
>
> Percy she loved. How well, how deeply, with what morbid fervency of devotion, no mind but such as her own could fully conceive.[38]

Mary Shelley promoted her husband's poetry and character after his death, as specifically demonstrated by her postscript to his posthumous works, detailing her grief and the pain of his absence. Likewise Charlotte's Mary Percy, despite her husband Zamorna not having died in Angria, has 'devotion' to him of 'morbid fervency.' For readers of Shelleyan narratives, Mary Shelley's accounts of Percy Shelley were written posthumously, therefore Charlotte's appropriation of Mary would be expected to describe her figure as pensively focused upon 'the glories of a heavenly hereafter' rather than the 'earthly present'.[39] In Mary Shelley's 'Memoir of Percy Bysshe Shelley', she wrote of 'him we had lost – not, I fondly hope, for ever: his unearthly and elevated nature is a pledge of the continuation of his being, although

[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid, p.144.

in an altered form.'[40] Charlotte's Mary is notably not described as a novelist; the character's focus rather is that she was contemplative of another sphere, strongly similar to Mary Shelley's memoir of her husband. Hinting to a literary undercurrent, Charlotte's Mary is 'intellectual, poetically so'. Furthermore, Charlotte's writing upon the character Mary Percy is coupled with Shelleyan borrowings. Take, for example, Angrian Adrian Percy's description of his wife Mary 'shrinking from me like a sensitive plant'[41] in Charlotte's tale 'Henry Hastings'(1839), similar to Percy Shelley's poem 'The Sensitive Plant.'[42] Paralleling the character of Mary Percy with linguistic borrowings from Percy Shelley's poetry suggests that Charlotte intended her heroine to textually parallel the real Mary.

The first significant 'Memoir of Shelley' was written by Percy's friend, Thomas Medwin, in 1833, but this seems an unlikely source for Charlotte as Medwin skims misleadingly over his friend's first and second marriages. Writing on Shelley's first marriage to Harriet Westbrook, she was not named. Medwin states 'Of the marriage into which he was inveigled at eighteen, I shall say little. What could be expected from a union where there was no concord, no sympathy of taste or pursuits … Shelley's ill –assorted marriage contributed, as might have been foreseen, to the misery of both parties.'[43] When Percy and Mary absconded to France, this incident was likewise muted by Medwin who implies Percy's ill –health was the reason for the trip, with no mention of who he travelled with, other than the anonymous 'Shelley and his party.' Percy Shelley, Medwin wrote, 'required a chance of

[40] 'Memoir of Percy Bysshe Shelley,' *The Poetical Works of Coleridge, Shelley, and Keats,* ed. Cyrus Redding (Paris: A. and W. Galignani, 1829), p. xi.

[41] Charlotte Brontë, 'Henry Hastings' *Tales of Angria,* ed. Heather Glen (London: Penguin, 2006), p.320.

[42] Percy Shelley Bysshe, 'The Sensitive Plant,' *The Poetical Works of Coleridge, Shelley, and Keats,* ed. Cyrus Redding (Paris: A. and W. Galignani, 1829), p. 204.

[43] T. Medwin. Esq., *The Shelley Papers: Memoir of Percy Bysshe Shelley* (London: Whittaker, Treacher, & Co, 1833), pp. 17 –21.

scene, and a milder climate; and on the 28th July, 1814, commenced a continental tour.'[44] Mary was not mentioned by Medwin until much later on in the memoirs, and like Harriet Westbrook she was not named.

Reasonably, Cyrus Redding's 1829 'Memoir of Percy Bysshe Shelley' is a more credible source for the Brontës' reading – one which I have previously noted Branwell to have responded to in his appropriation of Harriet – a source which will be discussed in more detail in section IV of this Chapter. Published in the unlicensed *The Poetical Works of Shelley, Coleridge and Keats*, Redding was helped by Mary Shelley, reproducing her memoir written for *The Posthumous Poems of Percy Bysshe Shelley,* which reasoned for Shelley leaving his first wife Harriet Westbrook, and noted her subsequent suicide. In this memoir, unlike Medwin's, Redding was explicitly clear that Shelley met Mary whilst Harriet was still his wife, and that she killed herself. 'The match was,' Redding relates, 'a Gretna-green one, and did not turn out happily […] Consistent with his own views of marriage and its institution, Shelley paid his addresses to another lady, Miss Godwin, with whom, in July, 1814, he fled, accompanied by Miss Jane Clairmont, her sister-in-law.'[45] Later, Redding recounted, 'Shelley was suddenly called by the unexpected suicide of his wife, who destroyed herself on the 10th November, 1816.'[46]

The memoir's dismissal of Harriet's tragedy was seemingly callous, making it clear that a child had been born to Percy and Mary *before* Harriet's suicidal death. Defending him from any blame for Harriet's death, the memoir made clear Percy's Godwinian philosophies: Harriet's 'fate hung heavily on the mind of her husband, who felt deep self-reproach that he

[44] Ibid, p. 26.

[45] Cyrus Redding, 'Memoir of Percy Bysshe Shelley,' *The Poetical Works of Coleridge, Shelley, and Keats* (Paris: A. & W. Galignani, 1829), p. x.

[46] Ibid, p. vi.

had not selected a female of higher order of intellect, who could appreciate better the feelings of one constituted as he was.' He then married:

> Mary Wolstonecraft Godwin, daughter of the celebrated authoress of the *Rights of Women.* That this second hymen was diametrically opposed to his own sentiments will be apparent from the following letter (addressed to Sir James Laurence,) August 1812. "I then retained no doubts of the evils of marriage; Mrs Wollstonecraft reasons too well for that ... Love seems inclined to stay in the prison, and my only reason for putting him in chains, whilst convinced of the unholiness of the act, was a knowledge, that in the present state of society, if love is not thus villainously treated, she, who is most loved, will be treated worse by a misjudging world."[47]

I have tried to show that in their juvenilia the siblings were borrowing material about the 'real' Shelleys which was available to them from their reading in periodicals and the editions of poetry. They then borrowed this life material to re-write their own fictional characters. I now go on to consider how some of the thematic concerns of the juvenilia, including Godwinian philosophies of free-love, atheism, imagery of the sea and drowning which were also likely derived from their knowledge of the Shelleys.

iii. Atheism.

As demonstrated by Chapter One, a further significant narrative, which spanned a few decades, ran through publications regarding Percy Bysshe Shelley's atheism. Brontë

[47] Cyrus Redding, 'Memoir of Percy Bysshe Shelley,' *The Poetical Works of Coleridge, Shelley, and Keats* (Paris: A. & W. Galignani, 1829), p. vi.

characters who demonstrated atheistic beliefs appeared first in the juvenilia and continued into the novels. Branwell's heroine Augusta, for instance, was an atheist: 'Oh I feel I cannot describe to my readers Lady Augusta Romana di Segovia … Religion shackled her feelings and bound her to her duties and humility therefore she was a determined unthinking Atheist. Atheism showed her fears no refuge and held out no real cure for the conscience and so she flew at times into superstitious Popery Society and customs imposed on her certain rules.'[48] Although young, and the children of a Reverend, the Brontë siblings demonstrated a keen awareness of atheism in their work amid a society where atheism was deemed a deplorable 'fault.'[49] For the siblings to so freely write about these unchristian beliefs, despite living in the parsonage and running the Sunday School, suggests they may have had influence from their reading; the main narrative on atheism available was that provided by *Blackwood's* which was connected to Percy Bysshe Shelley.

Aged eighteen, Percy Shelley had co-authored an essay *The Necessity of Atheism* (1811) whilst a student at the University of Oxford,[50] a publication deemed 'a silly work' by *Fraser's* Magazine.[51] For writing and distributing the work, including circulation to the heads of the Oxford Colleges, Percy Shelley was expelled. Although a revised edition was printed two years later, it is unlikely the work was widely available or accessible to the Brontës, although its existence was noted by magazines and life accounts of the poet. Percy Shelley's reasoning for and his atheistic beliefs were however extensively discussed in *Blackwood's, Fraser's* and local newspapers; a narrative which would have been broadly available to the family.

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[48] Patrick Branwell Brontë, 'The Life of feild [sic] Marshal the Right Honourable Alexander Percy, vol. i,' *The Works of Patrick Branwell Brontë,* vol. ii, ed. Victor Neufeldt A. (London: Garland Publishing, 1999), p. 115.

[49] 'The Poetry of Shelley', *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, vol. xvii, no. cii, June (London: James Fraser, 1838), p. 654.

[50] Percy Shelley Bysshe, *The Necessity of Atheism* (Worthing: C & W. Phillips, 1811).

[51] 'The Poetry of Shelley', *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, vol. xvii, no. cii, June (London: James Fraser, 1838), p. 654.

With strong similarities to Percy Shelley's expulsion from Oxford, in Branwell's tale 'The Life of feild [sic] Marshal the Right Honourable Alexander Percy, vol. ii,' 'Alexander Percy of St. Patricks College and his associates,' are punished for being members of a society with affiliation to atheism, being 'fined £10000 with 6 months imprisonment or instant expulsion from their college with the erasure of their degrees honours and titles'.[52] As Neufeldt notes – but without connecting Branwell's tale to a textual source about Percy Shelley – being 'sent down from Oxford in 1811 after circulating a pamphlet on "The Necessity of Atheism"', Alexander Percy has a sworn an oath to a society to 'utter Extermination of all Religious creeds and modes of belief / Secondly the overthrow of the Whole Religion and Theocracy of the Verdopolitan Union.'[53] Far from respecting and sympathising with atheism himself, on par with the uneasy narrative of magazines, Branwell suggests that, like Percy Shelley, his character Alexander Percy was a complex and unhappy figure with genius and flaws. With 'extraordinarily trustless and moral feelings' Branwell declared, 'Alexander Percy [was] the firmest and most miserable of Atheists'.[54] Branwell endeavoured, as did *Blackwood's* and *Fraser's,* to analyse the complexities of atheism through his Angrian character. 'Here indeed the overmuch unassisted thinking of an Impassioned melancholy and unbridled mind' Branwell considered, 'produced the crisis from which that mind evolved with horror and affright fixed and hopeless and rayless Atheism.'[55]

'With Branwell Brontë creating unbelieving and doubting characters,' observes Lane, 'such as Alexander Percy, who voice much the same philosophy as his own, the Brontë

[52] Patrick Branwell Brontë, 'The Life of feild [sic] Marshal the Right Honourable Alexander Percy, vol. ii,' *The Works of Patrick Branwell Brontë,* vol. ii, ed. Victor Neufeldt A. (London: Garland Publishing, 1999), pp. 144–46.

[53] Ibid, p. 143.

[54] Ibid, p.180.

[55] Ibid, p. 111.

siblings didn't shy away from religious controversy.'[56] Hence, critical analyses of Branwell's characters, such as Lane's, often tip into evaluating them biographically in relation to their creator Branwell. Lane's proposal offers no consideration of a source for Branwell's work, nor that Branwell's musings might be the result of his engagement with a Shelleyan narrative, rather than personal beliefs. Likewise Barker only considers that writing upon themes of atheism is:

> one of the few indications of rebellion among the Brontë children against the religious atmosphere in which they were brought up. His Angrian hero is often cited as proof that Branwell himself was an atheist, for example his biographer Winifred Gérin suggests Branwell himself was an atheist.[57]

In contrast, Barker argues that Branwell being an atheist 'is no more true than to suggest that Charlotte's obsession with the adulterous affairs of her hero is an indication that she indulged in liaisons with married men.'[58] Whilst Barker recognises the character Alexander Percy's atheism may not derive from Branwell's own religious orientation, she does not expand her study to suggest a textual source which may have influenced this. Barker views Branwell's writing on atheism as a 'rebellion,' rather than an appropriation of Percy Shelley which I identify the parallel Angrian narrative to be. I argue in the next section that Charlotte's heroines who liaise with married men are similarly derived from Shelleyan narratives.

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[56] Christopher Lane, *The Age of Doubt: Tracing the Roots of Our Religious Uncertainty* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), p. 80.

[57] Winifred Gérin, *Branwell Brontë: A Biography* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1972 [1961]).

[58] Juliet Barker, *The Brontës* (London: Phoenix, 1995 [1994]), p. 205.

iv. Godwinian Matrimony.

Inspired by William Godwin's *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice* (1793), Percy Shelley's own works – for instance *Queen Mab* (1813)[59] – promoted a philosophical discussion of free love and open marriage. The chapter 'Cohabitation and Marriage' in Godwin's *Enquiry,* considered what he termed the 'evils' of marriage; that 'The evil of marriage is … for a thoughtless and romantic youth of each sex to come together, to see each other, for a few times, and under circumstances of pure delusion, and then to vow eternal attachment. What is the consequence of this? In almost every instance they find themselves deceived.'[60] Openly practicing this 'freedom' in his own marriages, Percy Shelley's marital waywardness shocked society, a topic that featured in magazines, and a point of contention for his early biographers. Ratchford observes in Charlotte's Angrian tales how her character Zamora puts his wives aside in similar terms to that of Percy Shelley, who replaced his first wife Harriet, being as she was not 'a female of higher order of intellect, who could appreciate better the feelings of one constituted as he was.'[61] Ratchford perceives that Zamorna, 'the Duke, having told his wife of his new passion, spent a long night [reasoning with her], gently and kindly, with Shelley –like logic'.[62] Ratchford's own note goes no further in exploring this Shelleyan observation, nor does she, as I propose, connect these observations to Shelleyan source texts.

[59] In 'Notes' to *Queen Mab,* Shelley declares 'A system could not well have been devised more studiously hostile to human happiness than marriage.' Percy Shelley Bysshe, *Queen Mab: A Philosophical Poem* (London: R. Carlie,[sp???] 1823), p. 112.

[60] William Godwin, *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice and its Influence on Morals and Happiness,* vol. ii, (London: G. G. & J. Robinson, 1798), p. 507.

[61] Anon, 'Memoir of Percy Bysshe Shelley, *'The Poetical Works of Coleridge, Shelley, and Keats* (Paris: A. and W. Galignani, 1829), p. vi.

[62] Fannie E. Rachford, *The Brontës' Web of Childhood* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1964 [1961]), p. 74.

As scholars recognise borrowings from Lord Byron present in Angria, such as his exiled life in Europe, his relationships with his wife and mistresses, or his heroic attempts to lead armies for the Greeks, these proposed thematic images of Byron are not supported by a character named George, Gordon, or Byron.[63] Whilst his separation from Annabella Milbanke was narrated in newspapers and periodicals, his narrative has little in common with the terms by which Zamorna terminated his marriages. Men putting wives aside seems a very curious concept for the daughter of a Reverend to conceive for herself. Within Angria, the persona of Charlotte's hero Zamorna's is more convincingly Charlotte's appropriation of Percy Shelley's philosophy, sourced from narratives on his life. I suggest that while Charlotte knew of Percy Shelley through Moore's '*Life,'* she demonstrates an awareness of his philosophical ideas that go beyond this particular source. Moreover, it is not the social admonition associated with Percy Shelley's atheism that Charlotte seems concerned with, so much as his apparent licentiousness. Branwell and Charlotte's juvenile characters were not only explicit atheists and adulterers, but these were character traits casually accepted by the siblings; contemplative, yet justifiable and glamorous within the tales in ways nineteenth –century society might have found shocking.

In Charlotte's Angrian novelette, 'The Spell' (1834), the Duke of Zamorna reasoned for his abandonment of his first wife Marion:

> I spent five hours of that night in reasoning with & consoling her. The dawn of the next day found her calm & resigned, almost happy for she knew that my affection was totally unchanged, that I loved her as well as ever, & that it was that very love which caused me to take the step I had then determined on. For if I had permitted her to remain an impediment

[63] Alexander, for example, asserts 'Claire Clairmont's pursuit of Byron echoes and re –echoes throughout the juvenilia,' Christine Alexander & Jane Sellars, eds., *The Art of the Brontës* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p.17.

> to my inclinations, I should soon have hated her – lovely, devoted & innocent as she was – & my blood ran cold at the bare imagination of that ... [Her] untimely removal has, I confess, inflicted a wound that the lapse of centuries can never entirely heal.[64]

The Angrian heroes imply Brontë empathy with Percy Shelley's scandalous philosophy, rather than textual connotation with a Byronic narrative. Zamorna's 'exotic style of life,' Barker terms, is 'Byronical.' However, there appears very little to textually associate Zamorna with Byron in these terms. Byron never married again after Annabelle Milbank, despite living separately in different countries, at his death in Greece, she was still his wife. Furthermore, Annabelle Milbank did not die from a broken heart; indeed she lived to be 67, dying in 1860, outliving Byron, the Shelleys and the Brontës. The Brontës' Northangerland and Zamorna, as possibly do corresponding heroes within Gondal, instead offer more textually convincing similarities, in their relationships, to a Shelleyan figure.

v. The Sea.

Although the sea, boats and shipwrecks were common literary motifs in print culture for the Brontës, I argue that the Brontës' use of nautical imagery, of the themes of drowning and the sea, is at times specifically borrowed from a Shelleyan narrative. The figure of a widowed or deserted woman, mourning her drowned husband is a one reoccurring throughout the juvenilia, and I propose that she is appropriated from their knowledge of Mary Shelley. The Gondal hero, the 'Doomed Man,' is a reoccurring figure which Winnifrith and Chitham term 'Shelleyan.' 'The constant 'boat' metaphor of his [Shelley's] poems' Chitham notes,

[64] Charlotte Brontë, 'The Spell,' *Tales of Glass Town, Angria and Gondal,* ed. Christine Alexander (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 74–5.

'concludes with his own death in a boat which he determined to take out on a day of doubtful weather.'[65]

In 'Angria', Branwell's long unfinished poem, written October 1836, the first line 'Behold the waste of the waving sea', delivers these Shelleyan themes:

He [Alexander Percy]stands upon the rocking prow,
To see the surges boil below,
And mark his vessel plough her path
Through Heavens' and Oceans' fiercest wrath
And then he lifts his wild blue eye
To note the changes of the sky
Then through the storm a glance he flings
As if to search for unseen things…
…Tis grand to view his noble brow
Confront the breezes whilst they blow
Aside his curls of Auburn Hair
That forehead leaving free and fair
To change with the restless light
Which flashes from his Azure eye
Now softened like the calm moonlight
Now troubled as that stormy sky
Now fiercely daring to defy
The deepest gulf those waters could form
The loudest piping of that storm
And loud that storm does pipe and vast

[65] Edward Chitham, *A Life of Emily Brontë* (Gloucestershire: Amberley Publishing, [2010] 2012).

The foam white waves are roaring past

And he stands on his streaming deck[66]

What makes these lines more than a simple repetition of a familiar Romantic motif is the linguistic similarity between Branwell's poem and Percy Shelley's poetry. Verses from Percy Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound* are linguistically similar to Branwell's 'Azure eye': 'As a violet's gentle eye/ Gazes on the azure sky'.[67] Likewise, Percy's 'Scenes from The Magico Prodigioso of Calderon', a poem which describes a ship wrecked in a storm, contains the line 'Sparkles of blood on the white foam are cast',[68] which is similar to Branwell's 'The foam white waves are roaring past', as well as Branwell's Alexander Percy who 'stands upon he rocking prow', similar to Percy's 'who hovers now/Upon that shatter'd prow'.[69] There are also parallels to *Queen Mab.* Branwell's 'surges boil below' pairs the words boil and surge as do Shelley's: 'like the ocean's feathery spray / dashed from the boiling surge' and the 'Tempest unfolds its pinion over the gloom, That shrouds the boiling surge'.[70]

Similarly, the appropriation of a Shelleyan narrative is also recognisable in Emily's work. As Chitham concurs, 'Emily might see, in *Fraser's* for June 1838, a long article on the poet Shelley … the similarity between her thought and his was not accidental. A series of [Emily's] poems written between now [1838] and 1840 seem to refer to the Romantic poet

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[66] Patrick Branwell Brontë, 'The Wool is Rising,' *The Works of Patrick Branwell Brontë,* vol. ii, ed. Victor Neufeldt A. (London: Garland Publishing, 1999), p. 67-74.

[67] Percy Shelley, 'Prometheus Unbound,' Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, Percy Shelley Bysshe and Keats, John, *The Poetical Works of Coleridge, Shelley, and Keats,* ed. Cyrus Redding (Paris: A. & W. Galignani, 1829), p. 103.

[68] Percy Shelley, 'Scenes from The Magico Prodigioso of Calderon,' Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, Percy Shelley Bysshe and Keats, John, *The Poetical Works of Coleridge, Shelley, and Keats,* ed. Cyrus Redding (Paris: A. & W. Galignani, 1829), p. 256.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Percy Shelley, 'Queen Mab,' Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, Percy Shelley Bysshe and Keats, John, *The Poetical Works of Coleridge, Shelley, and Keats,* ed. Cyrus Redding (Paris: A. & W. Galignani, 1829), p. 106.

directly, and borrow from events in his life. Later poems reflect his thought, and at second hand Anne also adopts some Shelleyan views.'[71] Chitham further identifies Percy Shelley as a figure in Emily's poetry: 'a man who is dead 'long ago,' he 'angered God in the eyes of the world' and 'died overseas and was buried there … It is hard to find a candidate for this identity more appropriate than Shelley.' Although, Chitham concedes, 'It seems impossible to prove that this was Shelley, but if not, who was it? … The constant "boat "metaphor of his poems concludes with his own death in a boat which he determined to take out on a day of doubtful weather.'[72]

Building upon Chitham's suspicions, which are strengthened by the Shelleyan presence I propose in Branwell and Charlotte's work, I would highlight Emily's poem 'Shed no tears'. This features a damned man, who lies in a tomb after dying in a storm:

> But he who slumbers there,
> His bark will strive no more,
> Across the waters of despair,
> To reach that glorious shore[73]

Very significantly in this poem, and identically to comments in *Blackwood's Magazine* of 1823, is the use of Emily's term *bark*:

> It was here [The Gulf of Spezia] that Shelley ventured out to sea in a bark, with which a fisherman would not have ventured to cross a

[71] Edward Chitham, *A Life of Emily Brontë* (Oxford:??????), p. 112.

[72] Ibid, p. 133–4.

[73] Emily Brontë, *The Poems of Emily Brontë,* ed. Lloyd Evans, Barbara (London. B. T. Batsford, 1992), p. 21.

> stream. His family at the time of his mishap resided in the
> neighbourhood; and the respectable inn-keeper at Sarzana described
> to me the grief of one of the party.[74]

The poems maintain a Shelleyan narrative with ships and their sail on 'Gondal's stormy sea' as the notably named Gondal heroine *Mary* Gleneden awaits the return of:

> my dear comrades, young and gay,
> All scattered now so far away ...
> Home to our souls whose wearying sighs
> Lament their absence drear,
> And feel bright even winter skies
> Would shine if they were here.[75]

Emily's poem 'E.W. to A.G.A'(1844) could verse the publicised death of Percy Shelley and the figure of Mary, left waiting 'for them in vain; the sea by its restless moaning seemed to desire to inform us of what we would not learn.'[76] Consider also the Gondal verses about Lord Eldred on the death of Augusta Almeida, in thematic conjunction with the Shelleys:

> O, fairly spread thy early sail,
> And fresh and pure and free,
> Was the first impulse of the gale,

[74] Anon, Letters from Italy. No. vi', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine,* vol. xxii, no. lxxiv, March (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1823), p. 281.

[75] Fannie E. Ratchford, *Gondal's Queen* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995), p. 116–7.

[76] Mary W. Shelley, 'Preface,' *Posthumous Poems of Percy Bysshe Shelley* (London: John and Henry L. Hunt, 1824), pp. iii –viii.

That urged life's wave for thee!

Why did the pilot, too confiding,

Dream o'er that Ocean's foam,

And trust in Pleasure's careless guiding

To bring his vessel home?

For well he knew what dangers frowned,

What mists would gather dim;

What rocks and shelves and sands lay round

Between his port and him.

The very brightness of the sun,

The splendour of the main,

The wind that bore him wildly on

Should not have warned in vain.

An anxious gazer from the shore,

I marked the whitening wave,

And wept above they fate the more

Because I could not save.[77]

As with Branwell's linguistic borrowings from Percy Shelley's poetry, Emily's 'Ocean's foam' parallels phrases in several of Shelley's poems, such as 'The Pine Forest' (1822), as does the theme of the female figure waiting for her sailing husband to return.

Moore's *Life of Byron,* which featured Byron's letter of 1822, described the poignant moments of Shelley's cremation after his drowning:

[77] Emily Brontë, 'E.W. to A.G.A.,' *Gondal's Queen*, ed. Fannie E. Ratchford (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995), p.158 –9.

> We have been burning the bodies of Shelley and Williams on the sea-shore to render them fit for removal and regular internment. You can have no idea what an extraordinary effect such a funeral pile has, on a desolate shore, with mountains in the background, and the sea before, and the singular appearance the salt and frankencense gave to the flame. All of Shelley was consumed, except his heart, which would not take the flame, and is now preserved in spirits of wine.[78]

Emily's poem, 'A.G.A to A. E. [Augusta Geraldine Almeda to Alexander Elbë],' written 19th August 1837, in which Augusta addresses her drowned lover Lord Elbë, seems abundant with Shelleyan undercurrents. Emily's hero Alexander, Lord of Elbe, is, identically to Branwell's Northangerland, also named Alexander, a connection which, I suggest , links the two characters to the same Shelleyan genesis, as Branwell's Alexander was additionally named Percy. Despite Christine Alexander's assertion that Lord Elbë be an appropriation of Lord Byron, being as Elbë's lover was named Augusta, as was Byron's sister, I rather propose that, whilst displaying elements of Byron, Emily's Elbë borrows more strongly from Percy Shelley:

> O Alexander![79] When I return,
> Warm as those hearths my heart would burn,
> Light as thine own, my foot would fall

[78] Thomas Moore, *Letters and Journals of Lord Byron: With Notices of his Life,* vol. ii (London: John Murray, 1830).p. 609.

[79] As a note of interest, the name of Branwell and Emily's hero Alexander, reflected in Anne's heroine Alexandrina, is likely bestowed in reference to Alexander the Great (Alexander III, King of the Ancient Greek Kingdom of Macedon). This reference to military heroes is reflective of Charlotte and Branwell's appropriation of Napoleon and Wellington. In Mary Shelley's *The Last Man* Alexander the Great is referred to a few times: 'Were not the mightiest men of the olden times kings? Alexander as a king; Solomon, the wisest of men was a king; Napoleon was a king; Caesar died in his attempt to become one, and Cromwell, the puritan and king-killer, aspired to regality.' Mary Shelley [The Author of Frankenstein], *The Last Man,* vol. i (Paris: A. & W. Galignani, 1826), pt. i, ch. iv.

If I might hear thy voice in the hall –

But thou art now on a desolate sea –

Parted from Gondal and parted from me –

All my repining is hopeless and vain,

Death never yields back his victims again – [80]

Positioning these Gondal poems in relation to Mary Shelley's postscripts to her husband's poetical works demonstrates the likelihood that the Brontës engaged with Mary's epilogues. Note the textual similarities to Percy's death as depicted in Moore's *Life*: 'on a desolate shore, with mountains in the background, and the sea before' compared with Emily's 'desolate sea'. Notably there is a dominance of the word 'heart,' coupled with burning fires in Emily's poem: 'warm as those hearths my heart would burn.'

A selection of scholars likewise associate Emily's poetry with Percy, Gérin for instance attesting:

> While [Percy] Shelley wrote on a range of subjects social, scientific, and political which remained beyond Emily's compass, in spiritual experience they were equals. A common vision informed their work even if Shelley's Platonism derived from a long study of the Greek philosophers whilst Emily's was purely intuitive and personal. If, untaught as she was, she thought and wrote at times like Shelley, it was out of a natural sympathy: the lines –
>
> "And could we lift the veil and give
>
> One brief glimpse to thine eye

[80] Emily Brontë, 'A.G.A. to A. E. [Augusta Geraldine Almeda to Alexander Elbë],' *Tales of Glass Town, Angria and Gondal,* ed. Christine Alexander (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 395 – 6.

> Thou woulds't rejoice for those that live,
>
> Because they live to die." March 1844.
>
> Could be an echo of Shelley's
>
> "Die, If thou woulds't be with that which thou dost seek ...
>
> No more let life divide what Death can bring"
>
> and again:
>
> "Death is the veil which those that live call life;
>
> They sleep, and it is lifted..." '[81]

Both poets find the same image for the absolute of love, Gérin continues:

> '"How beyond refuge I am thine," wrote Shelley. "Ah me! I am not thine; I am a part of thee" [*Epipsychidion*, lines 51 –3] – which Emily Brontë equalled with Catherine Earnshaw's declaration: "Whatever our souls are made of, his and mine are the same … Nelly, I *am* Heathcliff." Parallels spring to mind between Shelley's 'Night' and Emily's 'Stars,' between *Adonais* and *Epipsychidion* and Emily's 'Death that struck', between Shelley's 'Ode to the West Wind' and Emily's lines:
>
> "And thou are now a spirit pouring
>
> They presence into all..." '[82]

Pykett likewise recognises relationship in specifically Emily's poetry with Percy Shelley:

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[81] Winifred Gérin, *Emily Brontë: A Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p.153.

[82] Winifred Gérin, *Charlotte Brontë: Evolution of Genius* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968 [4967]), pp. 153–4.

> Indeed, she seems constantly to have been rewriting Shelley's 'Ode to the West Wind', most notably in 'Aye, there it is! It wakes tonight!', which ends in a Shelleyan Platonic vision of the soul escaping from the imprisoned body. … Brontë's recurring preoccupation with the imprisoned soul and the neglected captive may be traced, at least in part, to Shelley's *Epipsychidion* (1821).[83]

Clayton also concurs that these similarities in Emily's poetry echo Percy Shelley: '"Aye, there it is! It wakes tonight" attempts to dramatize a moment of self-annihilating union by deconstructing the very figures in which it represents that union. Like Shelley's "Ode to the West Wind," Emily Brontë's lyric draws on the traditional figure of the wind as an image of apocalyptic revelation.'[84] Where scholars recognise Emily's appropriation of Percy Shelley's poetry, I am proposing that the figures of Mary and Percy Shelley were likewise appropriated thematically and linguistically into the earlier Gondal.

vi. Celebrated Men.

In addition to the appropriation of Shelleyan figures into juvenilia characters, there is a further textual strategy exhibited by the Brontë quartet. Their juvenilia demonstrates instances of borrowing structure from published sources. The appropriation of structure and linguistic similarity in the juvenilia, specifically demonstrated by Charlotte's 1829 'Characters of the Celebrated Men of the Present Time',[85] is textually suggestive of the family having accessed Galignani's 1829 edition of *The Poetical Works of Coleridge, Shelley and Keats.* This

[83] Lyn Pykett, *Women Writers: Emily Brontë* (Maryland: Barnes and Nobel, 1989), pp. 29 –30.

[84] Jay Clayton, *Romantic Vision and the Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 161–2.

[85] Charlotte Brontë, *The Professor, Tales from Angria, Emma: A Fragment,* ed. Phyllis Bentley (London: Collins, 1954), pp. 60 –3.

single text contained Cyrus Redding's memoir and most, if not all, of the poetry of Shelley, Coleridge and Keats which they are known to have read. This book would have been a fairly cheap and accessible text for the Brontë family, the publication of which corresponds with the apparent arrival of Shelleyan undertones in the juvenilia.[86] Let us consider Charlotte's 'Celebrated Men' alongside Mary's memoir which was published within Redding's:[87]

Charlotte Brontë: 'Characters of the Celebrated Men of the Present Time.' (1829):	Mary Shelley: 'Memoir of Percy Bysshe Shelley.' (1829):
The elder of these young noblemen, the Marquis of Duro … mild and humane but very courageous, grateful for any favour that is done, and ready to forgive injuries, kind to others and disinterested in himself.	No Man was ever more devoted than he, to the endeavour of making those around him happy; no man ever possessed friends more feignedly attached to him. The ungrateful world did not feel his loss, and the gap it made seemed to close as quickly over his memory as the murderous sea above his living frame.
His mind is of the highest order, elegant and cultivated. His	

[86] Giovanni Antonio Galignani (1757 –1821) was an Italian who lived for a while in London, meeting and marrying Anne Parsons and having two sons John Anthony and William. In 1798 the family removed to Paris, establishing an English bookshop and circulating library. After their father's death, the sons issued reprints of many English books, working with authors such as Mary Shelley, Walter Scott (who was offered 100 guineas for his *Life of Napoleon)* and William Makepeace Thackery. In 1852 the copyright treaty put a stop to their reprints. The fact that popular authors of the day were keen to work with the Galignanis suggests that their prints delivered a prosperous circulation to readers.

[87] For the 1829 Galignani edition of Percy Shelley's work, Cyrus Redding wrote the proceeding memoir to the poetry. In this, after the section of the memoir written by Redding, he replicated the memoir written by Mary Shelley for her 1824 edition of *The Posthumous Poetry of Percy Bysshe Shelley,* an edition which was withdrawn due to Sir Timothy Shelley's disapproval. 'The following preface to the author's Posthumous Poems' Redding explains, 'contains much interest to the admirers of his genius. The circumstance of its being from the pen of Mrs Shelley will still further recommend it.' Cyrus Redding, 'Memoir of Percy Bysshe Shelley,' *The Poetical Works of Coleridge, Shelley, and Keats* (Paris: Galignani, 1829), p. x.

genius is lofty and soaring, but he delights to dwell amongst pensive thoughts and ideas rather than to roam in the bright regions of fancy. The Meditations of a lonely traveller in the wilderness or the mournful song of a solitary exile are the themes in which he most delights and which he chiefly indulges in, though often his songs consist of grand and vivid descriptions of storms and tempests – of the wild roaring to the ocean mingling with the tremendous voice of thunder when the flashing lightening gleams in unison with the bright lamp of some wicked spirit striding over the face of troubled waters, or sending forth his cry from the bosom of a black and terrible cloud...

Lord Charles Wellesley ... All his motions are full of animation, and the expression of his face is so spirited, has so much vivacity in it, as to charm and

Hereafter men will lament that his transcendent powers of intellect were extinguished before they had bestowed on them their choicest treasures. To his friends his loss is irremediable: the wise, the brave, the gentle, is gone forever! He is to them as a bright vision, whose radiant track, left behind in the memory, is worth all the realities that society can afford. Before the critics contradict me, let them appeal to anyone who had ever known him: to see him was to love him; and his presence, like Ithuriel's[89] spear, was alone sufficient to disclose the falsehood of the tale, which his enemies whispered in the ear of the ignorant world.

His life was spent in the contemplation of nature, in arduous study, or in acts of kindness and affection. He was an elegant scholar and a profound metaphysician:

cheer every beholder. His disposition ... lively, gay, and elegant. His wit is sharp and piercing ... His imagination is exceedingly vivid, as the graphic delineation of nature and character is. Some of his tales prove his genius and mind are naturally high and bright. His songs are beautiful and mostly consist of light and airy visions of the supernatural objects, of wild though gentle reveries of the world of immortals; but his spirits are generally the mild and fair beings which haunt the pleasant green wood or the crystal spring, which drink the fragrant dew of Heaven from the lily's white blossom or the cowslip golden cup, which live in the low vale among dim purple violets or yellow primrose buds; and not the horrible monster which roars aloud in the distant and slays whole armies of men with one wave his black and silver wing. It is generally supposed that the tale of 'The Golden Lily' was written by without possessing much scientific knowledge, he was unrivalled in the justness and extent of his observations on natural objects; he knew every plant by its name, and was familiar with the history and habits of every production of the earth; he could interpret without a fault each appearance in the sky, and the varied phœnomena of heaven and earth filled him with deep emotion. He made his study and reading –room of the shadowed copse, the stream, the lake and the waterfall. Ill health and continual pain preyed upon his powers, and the solitude in which we lived, particularly on our first arrival in Italy, although congenial to his feelings, must frequently have weighted upon his spirits; those beautiful and affecting "Lines, written in dejection at Naples," were composed at such an interval: but when in health, his spirits were

Lord Charles, and that is my opinion, for the gorgeous and lofty, though light and airy magnificence of the style do not at all accord with the known disposition of his brother. There are indeed glorious descriptions of fairy palaces and bowers and arbours and trees, all seen by the wandering eyes of mortals, depicted on the sky in the solemn stillness of midnight, or hovering in high noon between earth and heaven amid the sounding of mysterious music and the voices of invisible minstrels; but what a difference between that and the 'Wandering Exile' by the Marquis of Duro. There are spirits here too but they are shrouded by cloudy ghosts who come from the regions of the dead to warn their living relatives of dangers which are near at hand. Here too are sounds, but they are strange, wild, and unearthly, and all unlike the merry music which glows clearly in 'The buoyant and youthful to an extraordinary degree.

Such was his love for nature, that every page of his poetry is associated in the minds of his friends with the loveliest scenes of the countries which he inhabited. In early life he visited the most beautiful parts of this country and Ireland. Afterwards, the Alps of Switzerland became his inspirers. "Prometheus Unbound" was written among the deserted and flower –grown ruins of Rome, and when he made his home under the Pisan hills, their roofless recesses harboured him as he composed "The Witch of Atlas," "Adonais" and "Hellas." In the wild but beautiful Bay of Spezia, the winds and waves which he loved became his playmates. His days were chiefly spent on the water; the management of his boat, its alterations and improvements, were his principal occupation. At night, when the unclouded moon shone on the calm sea,

Golden Lily.' In short, the Marquis of Duro's strains are like the soft reverberations of an Eolian harp which, as its notes alternately die and swell, raise the soul to a pitch of wild sublimity or lead it to mournful and solemn thought, and when you rise from the perusal of his works you can think of nothing else but the years of your childhood, and bright days now fled forever.

On the contrary the songs of Lord Charles resemble the glad sweet music of the dulcimer, and when you have finished reading a book of his you feel light and gay and merry as if you could tread on air.[88]

he often went alone in his little shallop to the rocky caves that bordered it, and sitting beneath their shelter wrote "The Triumph of Life," the last of his productions. The beauty but strangeness of this lonely place, the refined pleasure which he felt in the companionship of a few selected friends, our entire sequestration from the rest of the world, all contributed to render this period of his life one of continued enjoyment. I am convinced that the two months we passed there were the happiest he had ever known: his health rapidly improved, and he was never better than when I last saw him, full of spirits and joy, embark for Leghorn, that he might there welcome LEIGH HUNT to Italy. I was to have accompanied him, but illness confined me to my room, and thus put the seal on my misfortune. His vessel bore out of sight with a favourable wind,

[88] Charlotte Brontë, 'Characters of the Celebrated Men of the Present Time,' *The Professor, Tales from Angria, Emma: A Fragment,* ed. Phyllis Bentley (London: Collins, 1954), pp. 60–63.

and I remained awaiting his return by the breakers of that sea which was about to engulf him.

He spent a week at Pisa, employed in kind offices towards his friend, and enjoying with keen delight the renewal of their intercourse. He then embarked with Mr. WILLIAMS, the chosen and beloved sharer of his pleasures and of his fate, to return to us. We waited for them in vain; the sea by its restless moaning seemed to desire to inform us of what we would not learn: – but a veil may well be drawn over such misery. The real anguish of these moments transcended all the fictions that the most glowing imagination ever pourtrayed [sic]: our seclusion, the savage nature of the inhabitants of the surrounding villages, and our immediate vicinity to the troubled sea, combined to embue with strange horror our days of uncertainty. The

> truth was at last known, – a truth that made our loved and lovely Italy appear a tomb, its sky a pall. Every heart echoed the deep lament, and my only consolation was in the praise and earnest love that each voice bestowed and each countenance demonstrated for him we had lost, – not, I fondly hope, forever: his unearthly and elevated nature is a pledge of the continuation of his being, although in an altered form. Rome received his ashes; they are deposited beneath its weed –grown wall, and "the world's sole monument" is enriched by his remains ... I feel secure that the Lovers of SHELLEY'S Poetry (who know how more than any other poet of the present day every line and word he wrote is instinct with peculiar beauty) will pardon and thank me: I consecrate this volume to them.[90]

[90] Mary Shelley, 'Memoir of Percy Bysshe Shelley,' *The Poetical Works of Coleridge, Shelley, and Keats* (Paris: Galignani, 1829), pp. x – xi.

Despite the poetic characteristics of Duro, most commonly associated by critics with Lord Byron, I propose that there is stronger resemblance to Percy Bysshe Shelley, likely derived from Redding's memoir that Branwell was also probably using for his re-writing of Harriet. Charlotte's characters the Marquis of Duro and Lord Charles Wellesley both suggest similarities with Percy Shelley. Note also, in this respect, Cyrus Redding's description of Percy Shelley in the same memoir, in which he describes Percy Shelley as a 'poet of great power, he felt intensely, and his works every where display the ethereal spirit of his genius of a rare order – abstract, perhaps, but not less powerful … his theme is the high one of intellectual nature and lofty feeling … His language is *lofty*'.[91] This passage shows strong connections to the theme and language of Charlotte's description: 'His mind is of the highest order, elegant and cultivated. His genius is lofty and soaring, but he delights to dwell amongst pensive thoughts and ideas rather than to roam in the bright regions of fancy.' Both use the word 'lofty' to describe the poet, both describe the poet's 'genius.'

Mary's Percy Shelley, 'the wise, the brave, the gentle,' is a 'bright vision' living in solitude and making his home 'with the loveliest scenes of the countries which he inhabited;' Italy, the Swiss Alps, Pisa and the Bay of Spezia, whilst 'his enemies whispered in the ear of the ignorant world.' Charlotte's men have mind 'of the highest order ...delight[ing] to dwell amongst pensive thoughts and ideas.' Charlotte's Duro is 'a lonely traveller in the wilderness or the mournful song of a solitary exile ... the themes in which he most delights.' Wellesley is equally appealing in character, 'to charm and cheer every beholder. His disposition ... lively, gay, and elegant.' Like Percy Shelley, he is 'bright.' Percy and the celebrated men find their poetic inspiration within the nature around them. Whilst Percy Shelley 'made his study and reading-room ... the shadowed copse, the stream, the lake and the waterfall,' Wellesley's

[91] Ibid, p. x.

spirits' 'are generally the mild and fair beings which haunt the pleasant green wood or the crystal spring.' Percy Shelley, Mary tells us 'knew every plant by its name' and Charlotte expands on this note for her Wellesley, whose songs take inspiration from 'the lily's white blossom or the cowslip golden cup, which live in the low vale among dim purple violets or yellow primrose buds.' Both find the calm and still solitude of the dark a state in which to find poetic inspiration. Percy writes 'At night, when the unclouded moon shone on the calm sea,' Charles finds his descriptions 'depicted on the sky in the solemn stillness of midnight.'

Both pieces suggest the foreboding of an external threat which holds a shadow over the perfection of nature; readers of course knew that Percy Shelley as destined to drown. Mary's 'Preface' expresses an ominous sense of 'Ill health and continual pain preyed [which] upon his powers.' This menace is reflected by Charlotte as a more literal 'horrible monster which roars aloud in the distant,' or else, 'some wicked spirit striding over the face of troubled waters sending forth his cry from the bosom of a black and terrible cloud.' The ever –looming death of Shelley is thus predominant in both. Mary describes 'the sea... [in] its restless moaning,' how 'our immediate vicinity to the troubled sea, combined to imbue with strange horror our days of uncertainty.' The portent of the sea is suggested through Duro's songs which 'consist of grand and vivid descriptions of storms and tempests – of the wild roaring to the ocean mingling with the tremendous voice of thunder when the flashing lightening gleams.' Of all the Romantic poets – whilst it would be fair to recognise association of nature, the landscape and the image of the exile feature in the works of many, from Wordsworth to Keats – it is Percy Bysshe Shelley alone, the only poet to die from drowning, who is affiliated with the foreboding ocean, an image which continues to be exemplified in much of Mary Shelley's prose work.

Structurally, Charlotte's work parallels the technical naming of Percy Shelley's poems within the 'Preface' in references to her own Angrian poetry. Where Mary refers to the composition of 'The Witch of Atlas,' 'Adonais' and 'Hellas,' Charlotte similarly assesses the

authorship of Gondal's 'The Golden Lily' and the 'Wandering Exile'. Mary Shelley and Charlotte Brontë share also certain words linking the two passages; predominantly 'spirit,' 'beauty' and 'heaven.' Lord Charles' 'songs are beautiful,' for Shelley, 'every line and word he wrote is instinct with peculiar beauty,' his lines 'beautiful and affecting.' Mary certifies how Shelley 'could interpret without a fault each appearance in the sky, and the varied phœnomena of heaven and earth filled him with deep emotion,' in Charlotte's text we see how Wellesley imitates this inspiration. Shelley's 'appearances in the sky' may be interpreted by Charlotte as 'glorious descriptions of fairy palaces and bowers and arbours and trees, all seen by the wandering eyes of mortals, depicted on the sky ... between earth and heaven.'

The two passages carry an ethereal nuance; the verse of Percy Shelley, and Wellesley and Duro in turn, takes its author, and subsequently reader, into 'transcendent powers of intellect.' The word 'spirit' is also repeated by Charlotte, although she again furthers the word into a new concept, like the 'monster,' the 'spirit' becomes a corporal concept. For Duro, his songs consist of 'some wicked spirit striding over the face of troubled waters, or sending forth his cry from the bosom of a black and terrible cloud,' of Wellesley, 'his spirits are generally the mild and fair beings which haunt the pleasant green wood.' Mary Shelley describes how last seeing her husband he was 'full of spirits and joy.' 'The solitude ... although congenial to his feelings, must frequently have weighted upon his spirits ... when in health, his spirits were buoyant and youthful.' Through her two Angrian brothers, Charlotte appears to depict a binary figure of Mary's Percy. Percy Shelley is portrayed by Mary as a man caught in a conflict between the elation and 'beauty but strangeness' of verse and nature conflicted with the pain of the seclusion it has brought in life with 'The ungrateful world.' Charlotte's brothers each take one aspect of this paradox; Duro encompasses the darker, 'mournful' and 'solitary' side, strains which 'raise the soul to a pitch of wild sublimity or lead it to mournful and solemn thought.' Wellesley on the other hand 'mostly consists of light and airy visions'. His work makes 'you feel light and gay and merry as if you could tread

on air.' After the irony of Percy's final work 'The Triumph of Life,' Mary laments 'for him we had lost, – not, I fondly hope, forever: his unearthly and elevated nature is a pledge of the continuation of his being, although in an altered form.' Charlotte's 'Celebrated Men' concurrently considers the 'strange, wild, and unearthly,' spirits which 'are shrouded by cloudy ghosts who come from the regions of the dead to warn their living relatives of dangers which are near at hand.'

Charlotte mimics Mary Shelley's role as editor to her husband's biographical image in her juvenilia. The likelihood of Charlotte being familiar with the format of a published 'life' of a poet, and therefore imitating the structure and themes for her own Angrian characters is very plausible. The probability that she encountered this particular Preface of Percy Shelley, however, is strengthened by the various similarities I have listed: in their framework, the praise for the character, habits and talents of their protagonists. linguistically, both pieces are chiefly concerned with nature and the highly wrought sentimentalities each figure prompts. Many individual words are repeated between the two pieces; and there are identical themes of nature, landscapes, storms and spirits, and above all of poetry. Taken together, these similarities seem unlikely to be due to coincidence, and suggest Charlotte's piece be a conscious borrowing from and reworking of Percy Shelley's 'Life', as written by Mary.

From their parallel framework, themes and linguistic traces, it is likely that Charlotte read and borrowed from Mary's 'Preface' and, subsequently, the accompanying poetry of Percy Bysshe Shelley, by late 1829. Galignani's editions were relatively cheap to purchase, and whilst the usual speculations can be made as to how the Brontës acquired books, scholars support the assertion that the family had certainly encountered Percy Bysshe Shelley's poetry early on. Winnifrith and Chitham agree:

> Charlotte Brontë makes a number of references to [Percy Bysshe] Shelley. It seems likely that the children had encountered him during the early 1830s, at first perhaps in Moore's *Life of Byron*, though the poems were readily available in cheap editions and they could easily have obtained copies.[92]

Where Winnifrith and Chitham likewise recognise these Shelleyan suggestions in the Brontës' early work, supporting my proposal that the family did indeed access (if not most likely own, given the multiple links to the book in their work over a number of years) Galignani's *The Poetical Works of Coleridge, Shelley and Keats.* The advertisements for A. and W. Galignani's additional publications, which accompany the *Poetical Works,* further imply it was source behind the Shelleyan influence in the juvenilia. Advertising '*The Complete Poetical Works of Coleridge, Shelley and Keats*, the whole in One Volume,' the forerunning adverts in the volume announced, amongst other 'Splendid Editions, combining cheapness and portability,' from those such as Byron, Moore, Scott, Wordsworth or Southey. These volumes were asserted to be the 'Works of the most celebrated Poets of modern times.'[93] This phrasing is very similar to Charlotte's title 'Characters of the Celebrated Men of the Present Time.'

Incidentally, Charlotte's more diminutive 'Character of Young Soult,' the fourth chapter to Duro and Wellesley's second, demonstrates similarities to the edition's 'Memoir of Samuel Taylor Coleridge,' published within the same *Poetical Works.* Brontë's Soult is a 'great poet,' 'His features are regular and his eye is large and expressive.'[94] The memoir of

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[92] Tom Winnifrith & Edward Chitham, *Charlotte and Emily Brontë* (London: Macmillian, 1985), p. 58.
[93] Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Percy Bysshe Shelley & John Keats, *The Poetical Works of Coleridge, Shelley, and Keats* (Paris: Galignani, 1829).

[94] Charlotte Brontë, 'Character of Young Soult: Characters of the Celebrated Men of the Present Time,' *The Professor, Tales from Angria, Emma: A Fragment,* ed. Phyllis Bentley (London: Collins, 1954), p.64.

Coleridge describes how 'His person is bulky and his physiognomy is heavy, but his eye is remarkably fine.' 'In temper and disposition Coleridge is kind and amiable.'[95] For Soult, 'In his disposition he is devilish but humane and good natured.' Soult 'appears constantly labouring under a state of strong excitement occasioned by excessive drinking and gambling to which he is unfortunately very much addicted.'[96] The Galignani 'Memoir' notes Coleridge, in 1793, was 'indulging somewhat freely in the pleasures of the bottle.'[97] Gérin does not suggest a textual source for Soult, but rather sees him as the 'literary personality' of Branwell himself: 'Glimpses of the true likeness of Branwell can yet be perceived in many of his own and Charlotte's references to "Young Soult"'. Charlotte concludes her piece with reference to an understanding 'that he [Soult] is about to publish a Poem ... which is expected to be his best. He is possessed of a true genius which he has cultivated to great effort ... I believe his end will be great.'[98] The 'Memoir' for Coleridge concludes 'the author ... may see life protracted to a green old age, and yet produce works which may rival those of his departed years'.[99] The 'cultivation' of Coleridge's poetry has previously been documented in detail through the 'Memoir;' 'he had studied poetry, Kant and theology.'[100]

These proposed similarities in structure and style with the memoir of Coleridge and Charlotte's 'Character' of Soult are very like those I have identified between Shelley's

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[95] 'Memoir of Samuel Taylor Coleridge,' *The Poetical Works of Coleridge, Shelley, and Keats* (Paris: Galignani, 1829), p. xi.

[96] Charlotte Brontë, 'Character of Young Soult: Characters of the Celebrated Men of the Present Time,' *The Professor, Tales from Angria, Emma: A Fragment,* ed. Phyllis Bentley (London: Collins, 1954), p. 64.

[97] 'Memoir of Samuel Taylor Coleridge,' *The Poetical Works of Coleridge, Shelley, and Keats* (Paris: Galignani, 1829), p. vi.

[98] Charlotte Brontë, 'Character of Young Soult: Characters of the Celebrated Men of the Present Time,' *The Professor, Tales from Angria, Emma: A Fragment,* ed. Phyllis Bentley (London: Collins, 1954), p.64.

[99] 'Memoir of Samuel Taylor Coleridge,' *The Poetical Works of Coleridge, Shelley, and Keats* (Paris: Galignani, 1829), p. xi.

[100] Ibid, p. viii.

memoir and Charlotte's previous 'Character.' Through Charlotte's 'Character of Soult,' she imitates in her language words the eye, the disposition, to structure the figure of her 'Celebrated Man' Soult, who suggests many parallels to Coleridge. Of Charlotte's characterisation of Soult's drinking and gambling, Gérin remarks 'The reader is almost tempted to ask: was this written of Branwell at twelve or Branwell at thirty? So apposite is the portrait to the man.'[101] This seems odd to suggest that a thirteen year old Charlotte should have characterised her twelve year old brother as a gambling alcoholic. I rather propose that the character of Soult was modelled on a textual Coleridge as he was presented in a published 'life'; the more extensive development of the 'Character of the Marquis of Duro and Lord C. Wellesley,' suggest that it was the figure of Percy Bysshe Shelley to whom Charlotte was most drawn.

The Brontë family certainly read, in some form, the poetry of Percy Shelley, as Charlotte's Angrian tale 'Caroline Vernon,' written in 1839, references the poet, citing lines from his *Prometheus Unbound:* 'However, time is advancing and the hours – those 'wild –eyed charioteers,' as Shelley calls them – are driving on.'[102] Whilst *Blackwood's* had reviewed his work in 1820, as had *Fraser's Magazine* in 1838, the lines used by Charlotte are quoted in neither review, suggesting she must certainly have read a book of his poetry.

Gérin recognises an association between the poetry of Percy Shelley and Emily Brontë's work, although she raises the question: 'how much if anything, of [Percy Bysshe] Shelley's had Emily read.[103] Gérin notes that extracts of Shelley's poetry appeared in Medwin's 1833 *Life of Shelley* and S.C. Hall's anthology *The Book of Gems,* and whilst not referencing Galignani's *Poetical Works,* she does however consider Shelley's 1839 *Complete*

[101] Winifred Gérin, *Branwell Brontë: A Biography* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1972 [1961]), p. 44–5.

[102] Charlotte Brontë, 'Caroline Vernon,' *Tales of Angria,* ed. Heather Glen (London: Penguin, 2006), p. 383.

[103] Winifred Gérin, *Emily Brontë* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 153.

Works, detailing the 'long appreciation of Shelley' which *Fraser's Magazine* for June 1838 carried, which as subscribers the family 'had the opportunity to read.[104]' Gérin – proposing that the Brontë family likely acquired this 1839 edition of his *Poetical Works* – remarks upon the 'direct reference to Percy made by Charlotte in an unpublished novelette [Caroline Vernon] written between July and December 1839, which indicates how quickly the young Brontës had assimilated even such a work as *Prometheus.'*[105] However, my argument suggests that Charlotte and her siblings had first encountered Percy Shelley's work, and pieces such as 'Prometheus,' several years previously.

Strengthening further my argument that the Brontë family had indeed had access to Galignani's *Poetical Works*, other critics have posited a suspected, yet unidentified, early source for the poetry of both Percy Shelley and also Coleridge in the parsonage. Winnifrith and Chitham recognise elements of Coleridge within work produced around the early 1830s, particularly concerning Emily, for whom:

> Coleridge seems to play a larger part in Emily's poetic development than Charlotte's ... Emily seems to have read 'Kubla Khan' (though we have no external evidence of this), and to have been very much attracted to 'Christabel.' Perhaps the best evidence of this is her appropriation of the rare name 'Geraldine' for her obnoxious, cruel, passionate Gondal princess. The Irish reference in the name may well have been an influence with her, but Coleridge seems the most obvious source. [106]

[104] Ibid.

[105] Ibid.

[106] Tom Winnifrith, & Edward Chitham, *Charlotte and Emily Brontë* (London: Macmillian, 1989), p. 57–8.

Certainly Winnifrith and Chitham's valuation of the Brontës' early work endorses the assertion that the family had access to this edition of Shelley, Coleridge and Keats' poetical works, their noting of the 'Eolian harp' as used in Charlotte's 'Character of the Marquis of Duro and Lord C. Wellesley' is remarkable for its title being one from Coleridge's poems within the Galignani edition of *Poetical Works,* the term featuring in several of the verses from within the collection.

Winnifrith and Chitham further assess Emily and Anne's earlier poetry by drawing attention to sources also found in Galignani's *Poetical Works*; the volume having contained 'Kubla Khan' and 'Christabel,' and Shelley's 'Epipsychidion.' This likely presence of Galignani's *Poetical Works of Coleridge, Shelley and Keats* within the Haworth Parsonage by 1833 would also, of course, have provided rich source 'life' material for the figures of Percy, Mary and Harriet in Gondal and Angria.

Similarly, the sisters' very similar names and events in their juvenilia characters and stories to those of Mary Shelley's *Keepsake* tales. Most convincingly, the strongest argument for the Brontës having appropriated some of Mary Shelley's *Keepsake* tales lies in her early tale 'Ferdinando Eboli.'[107] Aside from the very similar, yet not identical name, of Gondal's guitar playing Fernando De Samara, there is a thematic similarity in the content of the narratives. Shelley's Ferdinando cuts from Adalinda 'One tress of this silken hair' to 'place it on my heart.' When Ferdinando attempts to attest his identity to Adalinda, the false Count, produces from 'his heart a locket, enclosing hair tied with a green riband.' Recognising the stolen locket, Adalinda mistakenly chooses the imposter, dooming Ferdinando to imprisonment in dungeons. Aside from the thematic traits of Gondal; the dungeons, the prisoners, escaping from captives, the freedom represented by the mountains, there exists

[107] Mary Shelley, 'Fernando Eboli', *The Keepsake* for MDCCCXXIX (London: Hurst, Chance and Co., 1828) pp. 195 –218.

the more specific detail of the locket entwined with a lock of hair. Not only do Gondal poems concerning Fernando D. Samara involve his imprisonment 'in chains and darkness,' his 'tortured limbs in dungeons bind,' but Fernando dies significantly holding Augusta's picture with 'that lock of silky hair, / Still beneath the picture twined.'

vii. A Shelleyan Quartet.

The evidence from the plentiful published material circulating in the early 1830s suggests that that the Brontës certainly had ample opportunity to read earlier narratives on Percy Shelley's life. In this chapter I have marshalled evidence to show that the siblings actively engaged with, responded to and appropriated Shelleyan narratives within Gondal and Angria. I have also proposed Galignani's *Poetical Works* as a probable additional early source text, along with materials in *Blackwood's,* for the family to encounter the Shelleys. The figures of Mary and Percy Shelley were both important, albeit in different ways, for the young Brontës. A 'paradox' of poetic talent, juxtaposed with questionable morality, Percy Shelley's tragic image informed the Brontë hero figure. The figure of Mary Shelley, a woman immersed in a community of esteemed and radical literary philosophy from birth, enjoying residence in classical Europe, writing beside poets, her sister a mistress of Byron, herself a female of equal mind to tempt philosophical Percy Shelley from his intellectually inferior wife, were the published attributes of Mary, together with her mourning of the departed Percy, which seemed to fascinate the Brontës. The tragic figure of Harriet Shelley was equally of interest, providing a model for the juvenilia's abandoned and usurped female. The evidence in this chapter offers a counterweight to the Byron paradigm that has weighed so heavily upon Brontë scholarship, which I propose suggests that the Shelleys' textual lives and works have a comparable place within the juvenilia tales to Lord Byron. I suggest here, a sustained Shelleyan narrative in both Angria and the lost Gondal texts, also strengthens the connections between the juvenilia lands. The pairings of Charlotte and Branwell, and of

Emily and Anne, both demonstrate Shelleyan borrowings, which suggests the lands, and the reading material from which they were appropriated, had the same textual sources.

The argument of this chapter also proposes that the catalyst for the often noted change of tone in the juvenilia from 1833, and which removed the writing from an early Napoleonic and African concept, was a consequence, in part, of the siblings' encounter with Shelleyan texts which Brontë scholars' loosely recognise. This engagement with the Shelleys changed the conception of the siblings' writing, as their juvenilia left behind its initial sources to consider the complexities of the Shelleyan narrative. As writers, the siblings had evidently read the poetry of Percy Shelley as well as various narratives of his life, available through Redding, Medwin, and that of Mary Shelley, or in *Blackwood's,* offering the Brontës a varied discussion to engage with and respond to. The work of the Brontës suggests an interest in the Shelleys, an admiration for Percy's work, and a curiosity for his morality.

In the following chapter I focus on the influence of a further Shelleyan source text. Leading on from Small's recognition of Emily's borrowing in *Wuthering Heights* from Mary's *The Last Man* in Chapter Four I give detailed consideration to the siblings' possible encounter with this novel, again considering the work of each sibling as work related by a communal text.

Chapter Four.
The Last Man: Placing a Source Text.

i. A Borrowed Text.

Small suggests that not only had Emily Brontë read Mary Shelley's novel *The Last Man* (1826), but that this was likely designed to feature as a recognisable connection within *Wuthering Heights* for her fellow siblings, and a wider audience familiar with the source text. As noted in my Introduction, Small proposes that 'the dying Catherine Linton's reference to her body as a "shattered prison" recall[s] [Mary] Shelley's account of the death of Raymond (a character based on Byron): "I pressed [his cloak] to my lips, . . . as if regret and endless lamentation could re–illumine the extinguished spark, or call to its shattered prison–house of flesh the liberated spirit.'[1] Had Emily indeed encountered *The Last Man* then it might be expected that her brother and sisters would likewise have had the opportunity to read the work too; as my previous chapter has shown, there are many overlaps of Shelleyan sources and characters in the quartets' juvenilia.

In this chapter I identify textual examples of not only Emily demonstrating occasions of having read and engaged with T*he Last Man*, but I provide evidence to show that Charlotte, Branwell and Anne also engaged with Mary Shelley's novel. I propose that Mary Shelley's *The Last Man*[2] is an important, unrecognised source text for the juvenilia, and the

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[1] Helen Small, 'Introduction,' *Wuthering Heights* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), ft. n. 8, p. xi.

[2] Officially published by Henry Colburn of New Burlington Street, London, the company issued two editions of *The Last Man* in 1826, with Galignani in Paris offering an unendorsed edition in the same year. Mary was not named as the author but rather referred to as 'The Author of Frankenstein,' according to Sir Timothy's restrictions. A further unendorsed 1933 edition of *The Last Man,* issued in Philadelphia, named her Mary Shelly [sic]. This unofficial American print of *The Last Man* was the last publication until 1965; the novel remaining out of print for over a century. Despite being unfavourably received by reviewers when first published, Mary's novel potentially circulated in cheap, unofficial copies in bookshops and libraries through the 1830s.
For the purposes of this study the three volume, unauthorised Galignani edition of *The Last Man,* published in 1826, is used for reference. As a cheap, accessible copy for the Brontës to potentially access, as discussed in the previous chapter, they had likely encountered the Galignani edition of Percy Shelley's poetry.

Brontës' use of it is similar to the appropriation of the *Twelve Soldiers*, as described in Chapter Two. The parallels I point to indicate that the Brontës likely accessed at least the first volume of Mary's novel. Despite some scholars claiming that the Brontë family had not read novels, or female writers in their youth, I suggest that they encountered Mary Shelley's novel around 1833.

The Last Man, reviewed locally to the Brontës in March 1826 in the *Leeds Intelligencer,*[3] deemed Shelley's novel 'a fiction as ingeniously conceived as it is gracefully told':

> THE LAST MAN. – Mrs Shelley has already given us in *Frankenstein*, the history of a miscreated monster, and now she has taken for her subject the adventure of the last survivor of the human race! The very title of this strange romance was a riddle; and, as in the wildest fiction there should be some coherence, it was not a little puzzling to imagine how the author could get rid of the solecism committed even in its announcement. The work would, of course, be an autobiography: but then for whom could it be supposed to be written, and what readers was it to expect to find? The conundrum has at length been solved by the appearance of the book, in which, by a fiction as ingeniously conceived as it is gracefully told, we are informed that the tale is a prophetic one, and has been collected from the scattered leaves of the Cumæan Sibyl, by two travellers near Naples, who ventured to explore their way into the secret and

[3] Anon, 'The Last Man', The *Leeds Intelligencer,* Thursday 2nd March, (Leeds: G. Wright, 1826).

> awful cave of the inspired damsel, whose prophecies extend even to
>
> the time of the dissolution of all things!

Despite this positive local appraisal, Mary Shelley's novel received few favourable reviews. After Byron, the 'last man' model had lost its novelty by the time Mary Shelley's critics reviewed her novel.[4] Many reviews were unkind, yet some recognised a rare talent exhibited in Shelley's poetic prose; the *Monthly Review* in 1826 ridiculed 'Mrs Shelley' for her illimitable vision, who 'true to the genius of her family, has found this breathing world and the operations and scenes which enliven it, so little worthy of her soaring fancy.'[5]

Reading backdated copies of *Blackwood's Magazine,* the Brontë family had the opportunity to be familiar with the existence of Mary's *The Last Man.* In Volume 19 for January 1826, mention of the novel was included in the pages 'Works Preparing for Publication': 'A Romance to be entitled "The Last Man," from the pen of Mrs Shelley, is in a state of considerable forwardness.'[6] In 1827 *Blackwood's* remarked of the finished work in conjunction with the current abundance of literary notions pertaining to the 'last man':

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[4] The 'last man' concept had enjoyed a short lived popularity in the 1820s due to Byron's poem 'Darkness' (1816), before becoming open to parody and ridicule. Reviewing the novel in 1826, the *Monthly Review* remarked on its recent popularity as a model, 'this idea of 'The Last Man' has already tempted the genius of more than one of our poets, and, in truth, it is a theme which appears to open a magnificent and boundless field to the imagination.' – 'Art. Xii, *The Last Man,* By the Author of Frankenstein', *The Monthly Review, Or Literary Journal,* vol. i, March (London: Hurst, Robinson and Co., 1826). Prompting the malicious tone of the Blackwood's 1827 piece, previous works on the 'last man' theme included an anonymous tale in *Blackwood's* in 1826, Thomas Campbell's 1823 poem The Last Man, or Thomas Hood's The Last Man parody poem, 1826, which accompanied *Blackwood's* remarks to Mary Shelley in January 1827. The model was likewise not original to Byron, having been previously envisioned as a futuristic concept in 1772 by W. Hooper in *Memoirs of the Year Two Thousand Five Hundred,* and by Jean-Baptiste Cousin de Grainville's *The Last Man or Omergarus and Syderia: A Romance in Futurity,* which had been translated from the French in 1806. [also St Leon]

[5] Anon, 'Art. xii. *The Last Man,* By the Author of Frankenstein', *The Monthly Review, Or Literary Journal,* vol. i, March (London: Hurst, Robinson & Co., 1826), p. 333.

[6] Anon, 'Works Preparing for Publication', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine,* no. cviii, vol. xix, January (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1826), p. 91.

> It will never be known till the last day, whether my Lord Byron or Mister Thomas Campbell was the first to select as a subject of poesie, the Last Man. It is most melancholy, even to a disposition naturally cheerful, to think on the huge mass of unmixed nonsense under which the said poor ill-used Last Man has been buried. Mr Hood, alive to the ludicrous, has viewed the Last Man in his proper light; and had the verses been published two years ago, they surely would have saved Mrs Shelley from the perpetration of her stupid cruelties.[7]

Not only would the novel have potentially been available to the Brontës' readership demographic (Branwell himself owned a 'cheap, pirated pocket-version' of Byron's *Childe Harold* [8]*)*, but social awareness of the novel and its content were evidently judged to be familiar enough to readers of the periodicals for passing references to be made in *Fraser's Magazine.* In 1834, describing the empty streets of London come the warm summer weather, *Frazer's* remarked 'At this time of year Mrs. Shelley might periodically write her last man.'[9] This suggests that even eight years after publication, *Frazer's* assumed that its readers remained familiar with the novel.

I propose that *The Last Man* offers a source text for the juvenilia which positions the Brontës' Gondal and Angria works in a literary context more substantial than their piecing together of appropriated poetry and magazines.[10] Mary Shelley's novel is – albeit of a

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[7] Anon, 'Whims and Oddities', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine,* no. cxxi, vol. xxi, January (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1827), p. 54.

[8] Christine Alexander & Jane Sellars, *The Art of the Brontës* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 20.

[9] Anon, 'Deserted London', *Fraser's Magazine,* no. lvii, vol. x, September (London: James Fraser, 1834), p. 365.

[10] '"I intend to be a warrior",' says Lord Raymond, '"a conqueror; Napoleon's name shall vail to mine"' – Mary Shelley [The Author of Frankenstein], *The Last Man,* vol. i. (Paris: A. & W. Galignani, 1826), p. 74.

higher sophistication – a literary appropriation of various source texts. Displaying the literary practice of appropriation and borrowing, Mary's novel *The Last Man* (1826), for instance, references or quotes from the works of Shakespeare, Milton's *Paradise Lost,* Petrarch's sonnets, Euripides, Homer, Ovid, Aristoso, Mozart, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Pope, Keats, Cleveland, the painter Guido Reni, and the Bible. She also quotes from Byron's *Don Juan* and *Child Harold* or Percy Bysshe Shelley's *Mask of Anarchy* or *The Cenci,* and refers to her mother Mary Wollstonecraft, as well as Gothic novelist Anne Radcliffe (1764 –1823). These aspects of *The Last Man* are greater than incidental occurrences, but rather display writing strategies which engage with source texts, identifiable to the reader from their own reading. The audience Mary had in mind was clearly one familiar with, and knowledgeable of, a wide range of high literary works, as well as demonstrating her own connections to her literary network.

Whilst no explicit reference by the Brontës to Mary Shelley or *The Last Man* has survived, and there is no record that they ever encountered the novel, nonetheless, I propose that extensive textual similarities between elements of the novel and the Brontës' juvenilia and poetry suggests that they were all acquainted with this work. Considering the juvenilia of each sibling, I now show how Branwell, Charlotte, Emily, and Anne each include textural parallels in their work to *The Last Man.*

ii. Branwell.

Branwell Brontë appears to be the first of the four siblings to have encountered *The Last Man*, or at least the first to show signs of such, within his juvenilia material. Consider the striking similarities between Branwell's *Politics of Verdopolis* (October –November, 1833) and the following extract from Volume One of *The Last Man:*

Branwell Brontë: 'The Politics of Verdopolis:'

Sir Robert Weaver Pelham was by birth an Englishman ... his father, originally poor and of no note, had raised himself by ingenuity and perseverance to vast wealth and a baronet's title, which, on his death, he bequeathed to his son. Sir Robert, who finding himself unfettered and unaware of his own great ability and knowledge, looked about for some place, some method by which to signalize himself, exert his ambition and employ his mind. But alas! England affords no feild [sic] for such. He saw that and determined to embark for the widely celebrated and magnificent regions of Africa, where he felt that his talent would find its way ... he applied himself most ardently to the study of the history and politics ... his person we have termed handsome, but extremely cold and proud. His character was like it, cautious, plausible, and even at times deceitful, always alert for politics, and well versed in their labyrinths ... [He] saw paths for

Mary Shelley: *The Last Man:*

Lord Raymond 'was the sole remnant of a noble but impoverished family. From early youth he had considered his pedigree with complacency, and bitterly lamented his want of wealth. His first wish was aggrandisement; and the means that led towards this end were secondary considerations. Haughty, yet trembling to every demonstration of respect; ambitious, but too proud to shew his ambition ... he quitted England with a vow not to return, till the good time should arrive, when she might feel the power of him she now despised.

He became an adventurer in the Greek Wars. His recklessness, courage and comprehensive genius brought him into notice ... If the acquisition of power in the shape of wealth caused this altercation, that power they should feel as an iron yoke. Power therefore was the aim of all his endeavours; aggrandisement the mark at which he forever shot. In open ambition or close intrigue, his end was the same – to attain the first station

escape where to others all seem[ed] thick rock and prison wall, and his sly, wily, according temper enabled him to worm through them with ease peculiar to himself.'[11]

in his own country ... supremely handsome, everyone admired him, of women he was the idol. He was courteous, honey –tongued – an adept in the fascinating arts ...His passions were violent; as these often obtained the mastery over him, he could not always square his conduct to the obvious line of self –interest, but self –justification at least was the paramount object with him. He looked on the structure of society as but a part of the machinery which supported the web on which his life was traced. The earth was spread out as an highway for him; the heavens built up as a canopy for him.[12]

As can be seen, Branwell's figure is very similar to Mary Shelley's in terms of his background and aims; likewise, Branwell's style and structure seem to follow that of Mary Shelley's text. Thus both male characters Sir Robert and Lord Raymond are introduced as being from 'poor' or 'impoverished' families. Sir Robert's father has 'raised himself to vast wealth,' his son seeks some 'method' to 'employ his ambition.' Like Mary Shelley's secondary figure Roland, he was 'a man of obscure birth and of immense wealth, inherited from his father who had been a manufacturer.'[13] Sir Raymond's 'first wish was aggrandisement.' Being 'too proud to

[11] Branwell Brontë, 'The Politics of Verdopolis,' *Tales of Glass Town, Angria and Gondal,* ed. Christine Alexander (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1833), pp. 359–61.

[12] Mary Shelley [The Author of Frankenstein], *The Last Man,* vol. i. (Paris: A. & W. Galignani, 1826), p. 55.

[13] Ibid, p. 75.

show his ambition' Raymond quitted England for Greece as does Robert leave England for Africa. Raymond vows 'not to return' until England might feel his 'power.' Robert will 'in secret perfect himself' until he could emerge 'the newly freed butterfly.'

Next consider the political scenes which unfold in both texts for newly introduced Raymond and Pelham. Alexander suggests that 'socially awkward and cold but clever statesman Sir Robert Peel is the [appropriated source for] newly introduced Glass Town character Sir Robert Weaver Pelham.'[14] Recognising the remarkably accurate parliamentary format of Branwell's scene, Alexander suggests as a source to the Verdopolitan Parliamentary elections, that they might have been inspired by the 1828 American elections. These broadcasted political narratives, which pre-date Branwell's writing on the Verdopolitan parliament by over a year, seem a less convincing source for his political tales: unlike in Branwell's work, the candidates, John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson, who ran for presidency in the United States had previously faced each other four years previously.[15] By contrast, I propose the influence of *The Last Man* be a more convincing source for Branwell's curious governmental knowledge, given that Mary Shelley had accurately researched her fictional Parliamentary debates first hand by applying to Byron's friend John

[14] Christine Alexander, *The Brontës: Tales of Angria and Gondal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 563.

[15] See David Waldstreicher, "The Birth of Modern Politics: Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams, and the Election of 1828,' *Journal of the Early Republic,* Winter 2010, Vol. 30, Issue 4.
Whilst Branwell could have read of the election in periodicals or newspapers, the disparaging narrative they offered was very different to Branwell's work, offering little to admire in the apparently unappealing candidates. *The Leeds Intelligencer* described the election where Jackson is the man of the mob … Adams is a cunning, doublt-faced jockey' – Anon, 'The Probable Result of the American Election', *Leeds Intelligencer,* 31st January (Leeds: G. Wright, 1828). In *Blackwood's,* a further similarly derogatory piece entitled 'Domestic Manners of the Americans' considered there was little to induce 'men of education and refinement to select the United States as the sphere of their observation.' Describing a meal with Kentucky flat –boat men, there was a 'total want of all the usual courtesies of the table … strange uncouth phrases and pronunciation; the loathsome spitting … the frightful manner of feeding with their knives … soon forced us to feel we were not surrounded by generals, colonels, and majors … The little conversation was entirely political, and the respective claims of Adams and Jackson to the presidency were argued with more oaths and more vehemence than it has ever been my lot to hear.' – Anon, 'Domestic Manners of the Americans,' *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine,* no. cxciv, vol. xxxi, May (Edinburgh, William Blackwood, 1832), p. 837.

Cam Hobhouse, an MP, for a visitor's ticket.[16] Consider Branwell's extract with scenes from Volume I of *The Last Man*:

Branwell Brontë, 'The Politics of Verdopolis':

Thomas Babbicombe Morley ... his loud and trumpet toned voice soon commanded attention ... his overpowering voice, his readiness in speaking, the distinct arrangement of his ideas, and the eloquence, the weight, the sparkling antithesis of every sentence carried him on ... Ellrington joined his powerful voice to the roar of applause that raged from hustings to the horizon, mingled through at length with hissing, riot and fighting ... he reprobated the disgraceful listlessness of that people in so long enduring their iron yoke ... still held their chains and slavery ... Sir Robert Pelham came forth. His fine figure, gentlemanly address and finely toned voice received its due attention. He entered on his speech without hesitation, but with an affection of modesty, in calm, dignified, well –balanced language, finely tuned glossed, smoothly

Mary Shelley, *The Last Man:*

The half extinct spirit of royalty roused itself in the minds of men; and they, willing slaves, self –constituted subjects were ready to bend their necks to the yoke ... Ryland arose to speak ... As he spoke, every heart swelled with pride ... Ryland's fervour increased – his eyes lighted up – his voice assumed the tone of passion ... After his motion had been seconded, Lord Raymond rose, – his countenance bland, his voice softly melodious, his manner soothing, his grace and sweetness came like the mild breathing of a flute, after the loud organ –like voice of his adversary ... I can ill record the flow of language and graceful turns of expression, the wit and easy raillery that gave vigour and influence to his speech. His manner, timid at first, became firm – his changeful face was lit up to superhuman brilliancy; his voice various

[16] Morton D. Paley, 'Introduction', *The Last Man* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998 [1994]), p. viii.

> reasoned argument, unmoved features and statue –like attitude. The consequence was that, on his speech being finished, though everyman present stood convinced of his hollowness, insincerity and political trickery, yet charmed by this plausibility, gentlemanliness and ability. The sense of the meeting did most certainly run toward him.[17]

> as music, was like that enchanting. Raymond, gay and exulting, retired to dream of his future kingdom.[18]

Both extracts introduce a stronger, louder character who is superseded by a more charming, charismatic speaker, with stylistic and linguistic parallels in the structure and theme of the characters of Shelley's Lord Raymond, and Brontë's newly introduced Sir Robert Pelham. Note the mirroring of the subjects bending their 'necks to the yoke' or held in a 'iron yoke,' and as depicted as 'slaves' or held in 'slavery' in 'chains'. Previously in *The Last Man,* when Raymond is still in Greece, he worries his newly acquired wealth in England might form power as 'an iron yoke'[19], an identical term to Branwell's. Both pieces use a metaphorical description of voices as instruments where Lord Raymond's is as 'the mild breathing of a flute, after the loud organ–like voice of his adversary,' 'his votive various as music', whilst Thomas Babbicombe Morley has a 'loud and trumpet toned voice' before Pelham's 'finely tuned' argument. The men have both 'charmed' or 'enchanted' their audience.

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[17] Branwell Brontë, 'The Politics of Verdopolis', *Tales of Glass Town, Angria and Gondal,* ed. Christine Alexander (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 365–7.

[18] Mary Shelley [The Author of Frankenstein], *The Last Man,* (Paris: A. & W. Galignani, 1826), vol. i, p. 80.

[19] Ibid, p. 48.

The parallel framework of the narratives both alternate between a love story and masculine political scene: the male figures Raymond and Pelham are introduced, the political scene is set, Mary's Raymond meets Perdita, and Branwell's Pelham meets Mary, the parliamentary debate takes place, there is then a proposal of marriage before both texts move into depicting a wider social network. All of these parallels in combination point to Branwell having read at least Volume One of *The Last Man.*

iii. Charlotte.

Charlotte likewise, demonstrates instances in her chapter 'The History of Angria iii, Passing Events'[20] of appropriating the same material from *The Last Man* as her brother. Whilst much in the same method as that used by Branwell, Charlotte's passages create a very different focus in the appropriation of the same extracts. Where Branwell's abstract was focused upon the male figures and political scenes, Charlotte's Angrian tale focuses on the female figures. Consider the following excerpts of Charlotte Brontë's heroine Mina Laury, mistress of Zamora, at her cottage, and Mary's Perdita, sister of Adrian, as he visits her at her cottage:

Charlotte Brontë, 'History of Angria, vol. iii':	Mary Shelley, *The Last Man:*
The Cross of Rivaulx! Is that a name familiar to my readers? I rather think not. Listen, then. It is a green delightful, and quiet place, half way between Angria and the foot	I had never before been in the neighbourhood of Windsor; the fertility and beauty of the country around now struck me with admiration, which increased as I approached the antique wood. The ruins of

[20] The first part of the manuscript, detailed here, is dated April 21st 1836 and signed C. Brontë. The following section of the manuscript is dated April 29th 1836.
Charlotte and Branwell composed 'The History of Angria' as a collective work between the two of them. The majority of volumes are by Branwell, but a couple were written by his sister. Whilst Charlotte's contributions have more focus on her 'Angrian beauties'; her women characters and their relationships with Zamorna, Branwell's work is heavily concentrated on the politics of his male characters. His 'History of Angria iv, Events Proceeding the Angrian Revolution' (May 1836) for example, opens with an 'adjoin' of the leaders' names and fractions.

of Sydenham hills, under the frown of Hawkscliffe on the edge of its royal forest. You see a fair house whose sash windows are set in ivy grown thick and kept in trim order. Over the front door there is a little modern porch of trellis –work, all the summer covered with a succession of verdant leaves and pink rose globes, buds and full blown blossoms. Within this in fine weather the door is constantly open and reveals a noble passage, almost a Hall, terminating in a staircase of low white steps, traced up the middle by a brilliant carpet. There are no decided grounds laid out about the Cross of Rivaulx, but a lawn –like greenness surrounds it, and the last remnants of Hawkscliffe shade it in the form of many wild rose trees and a few lofty elms. You look in vain for anything like a wall and gate to shut it in – the only landmark consists in an old Obelisk with moss and wild –flowers at its base and a half –obliterated crucifix sculptured on its side. Well, this is no very presuming place, but on a June evening, not seldom have I seen a figure whom every eye in Angria might recognise stride out of the majestic oaks which had grown, flourished, and decayed during the process of centuries, marked where the limits of the forest once reached, while the shattered palings and neglected underwood shewed that this part was deserted for the younger plantations, which owed their birth to the beginning of the nineteenth century, and now stood in the pride of maturity. Perdita's humble dwelling was situated on the skirts of the most ancient portion; before it was stretched Bishopsgate Heath, which towards the east appeared interminable, and was bounded to the west by Chapel Wood and the grove of Virginia Water. Behind, the cottage was sheltered by the venerable fathers of the forest, under which the deer came to graze, and which for the most part hollow and decayed, formed fantastic groups that contrasted with the regular beauty of the younger trees. These, the offspring of a later period, stood erect and seemed ready to advance fearlessly into coming time; while those out worn stragglers, blasted and broke, clung to each

> domestic gloom of that little hall and stand in pleasant leisure under the porch whose flowers and leaves were disturbed by the contact of his curls. Though in a sequestered spot the cross of Rivaulx is not one of Zamorna's secret howffs [sic (houses)] he'll let any –body come there that choses. It is but a lodge to the mighty towers of Hawscliffe, which being five miles buried in the chase are of less convenient access. The day is breezeless, quite still and warm, the sun, far declined, for afternoon is just melting into the evening, sheds a deep amber light. A cheerful air surrounds the mansion, whose windows are up, its door as usual hospitably apart; and the broad passage reverberates with a lively conversational hum from the rooms which open into it.[21]

> other, their boughs sighing as the wind buffeted them – a weather –beaten crew.
>
> A light railing surrounded the garden of the cottage, which, low –roofed, seemed to submit to the majesty of nature, and cower amidst the venerable remains of forgotten time. Flowers, the children of the spring, adorned her garden and casements; in the midst of lowliness there was an air of elegance which spoke the graceful taste of the inmate. With a beating heart I entered the enclosure; as I stood at the entrance, I heard her voice, melodious as it had ever been, which before I saw her assured me of her welfare.[22]

Both Perdita and Mina live in cottages with Royal connections, both cottages are in forests, both are by ancient obelisks or trees, both are decorated in flowers. Whilst Perdita's residence has 'a light railing surrounding the garden of the cottage,' at Mina's home 'You

[21] Charlotte Brontë, 'History of Angria iii,' *The Miscellaneous and Unpublished Writings of Charlotte and Patrick Branwell Brontë,* vol. i, ed. Basil Blackwell (Oxford: Shakespeare Head, 1939), p. 132–3.

[22] Mary Shelley [The Author of Frankenstein], *The Last Man,* vol. i. (Paris: A. & W. Galignani, 1826), p. 50–1.

look in vain for anything like a wall or gate to shut it in'; Charlotte possibly using the fencing motif to suggest the liberation of the cottage, building on Mary's description of the railing being 'light'. The arrangement of the texts – forests, flowers, ancient remains, fences – presents a structural parallel; additionally, the style and themes of the extracts are very comparable. As the writing continues Mina and Perdita are introduced inside their residences:

Charlotte Brontë, 'History of Angria, vol. iii':

It was a fine girl dressed in rich black satin, with ornaments like those of a bandit's wife, in which a whole fortune seemed to have been expended, but no wonder for they had doubtless been the gift of a King! In her ears (she was not to refined for the barbaric magnificence of earrings) hung two long clear drops, red as fire and suffused with a purple rint [sic (glint?)], that showed them to be true oriental ruby. Bright delicate links of gold circled her neck again and again; and a cross of gems lay on her breast, the centre stone of which was a locket, enclosing a ringlet of dark –brown hair. With that little soft curl she would not have parted for a kingdom. It had been severed from the head of the Lord's

Mary Shelley, *The Last Man:*

A moment more and Perdita appeared; she stood before me in the fresh bloom of youthful womanhood, different from and yet the same as the mountain girl I had left. Her eyes could not be deeper than they were in childhood, nor her countenance more expressive; but the expression was changed and improved; intelligence sat on her brow; when she smiled her face was embellished by the softest sensibility, and her low, modulated voice seemed turned by love. Her person was formed in the most feminine portions; she was not tall, but her mountain life had given freedom to her motions, so that her

> anointed. Warner's eyes were fixed with interest on Miss Laury as she stood over him, a model of beautiful vigour and glowing health, a kind of military erectness in her form, so elegantly built, and in the manner which her neck sprung from her exquisite bust and was placed with graceful uprightness on her falling shoulders. Her waist too falling in behind, and her fine slender foot supporting her in a regulated position, plainly indicated familiarity from her childhood with the sergeant's drill.[23]

> light step scarce made her foot–fall heard as she tript across the hall to meet me.[24]

The parallel between *The Last Man* and Angria continues as the reader learns how Perdita's cottage is 'part of Adrian's gift'; Mina's cottage is similarly one of Zamorna (also called Adrian's) houses; the ornaments she wears have 'doubtless been the gift of a king.' As Perdita's brother Lionel narrates: 'Perdita appeared; she stood before me in the fresh bloom of youthful womanhood.' Likewise, 'Miss Laury as she stood over him, a model of beautiful vigour and glowing health.' For Perdita 'intelligence sat on her brow; when she smiled her face was embellished by the softest sensibility', whilst Mina is 'so sagacious, clever and earnest in all she said and did.'

Mary and Charlotte additionally reflect back to how the women's characters have been informed by experiences in their youth. Although Perdita and Mina have come from

[23] Charlotte Brontë, 'History of Angria iii,' *The Miscellaneous and Unpublished Writings of Charlotte and Patrick Branwell Brontë,* vol. i, ed. Basil Blackwell (Oxford: Shakespeare Head, 1939), p. 132 –3.

[24] Mary Shelley [The Author of Frankenstein], *The Last Man,* vol. i. (Paris: A. & W. Galignani, 1826), p. 51.

different backgrounds, that their childhood has sculpted who they have grown to be is apparent in both texts. Where Mina 'has a kind of military erectness in her form, so elegantly built...her fine slender foot, supporting her in a regulated position, plainly indicated familiarity from her childhood with the sergeant's drill,' her parallel Perdita 'the mountain girl' is 'formed in the most feminine proportions...her mountain life had given her freedom to her motions so that her light step scarce made her foot fall heard.' Structurally there is a matching noting of 'form,' 'motion/position' and 'foot', that is, reference to their feet, and their poise and dress. Mina is dressed in satin, gems and links of gold which encircled her neck; Perdita is similarly clothed in finery provided by her lover: 'she gazed on her reflected image; her light and graceful dress, the jewels that studded her hair, and encircled her beauteous arms and neck, her small feet shod in satin, her profuse and glossy tresses'.[25]

Moreover in Charlotte's tale, Mina Laury's ardent devotion to Zamorna is comparable to that of *The Last Man's* Perdita, as well as Evadne's fervent dedication to Raymond. As Raymond fights in Greece, both Perdita and Evadne follow him to his military camps, as does Mina follow Zamorna to dangerous battle fronts to live with him in his garrison. The women's passions for Zamorna and Raymond are mirrored in their devoted declarations:

> Mina smiled. 'I am resolved,' said she. 'My master himself shall not force me to leave him … I've nothing else to exist for; I've no other interest in life. Just to stand by His Grace, watch him, and anticipate his wishes … To wait on him when he is sick or wounded … To breathe if I can my own inexhaustible health and energy into him … To do all that, sir, is to fulfil the destiny I was born to. I know I am no

[25] Mary Shelley [The Author of Frankenstein], *The Last Man,* vol. i. (Paris: A. & W. Galignani, 1826), p. 190.

> repute amongst society at large, because I have devoted myself so wholly to one man. And I know that he even seldom troubles himself to think of what I do; and has never and can never appreciate the unusual feelings of subservience, the total self –sacrifice I offer at his shrine.'[26]

Correspondingly Mary's Perdita passionately tells her brother Verney of her similar devotion:

> You cannot understand what woman's love is. In days of happiness I have often repeated to myself, with a grateful heart and exulting spirit, all that Raymond sacrificed for me. I was a poor, uneducated, unbefriended, mountain girl, raised from nothingness by him. All that I possessed of the luxuries of life came from him. He gave me an illustrious name and noble station; the world's respect reflected from his own glory: all his joined to his own undying love, inspired me with sensations towards him, akin to those with which we regard the Giver of life. I gave him love only. I devoted myself to him: imperfect creature that I was, I took myself to task, that I might become worthy of him … that the fruit of my exertions might be his happiness. I took no merit to myself for this. He deserved it all – all labour, all devotion, all sacrifice; I would have toiled up a scaleless Alp, to pluck a flower that would please him. I was ready to quit you

[26] Charlotte Brontë, 'History of Angria, iii,' *The Miscellaneous and Unpublished Writings of Charlotte and Patrick Branwell Brontë,* vol. i., ed. Basil Blackwell (Oxford: Shakespeare Head, 1939), p. 134.

> all, my beloved and gifted companions, and to live only with him, for him.[27]

Additionally, Evadne, who is found dying by Verney, has been 'driven by hopeless love and vacant hopes' to follow Raymond in the same sacrificial devotion. Like Mina, Perdita and Evadne do not have the sole devotion of Raymond. He has relationships with other women, and ultimately puts his wife Perdita aside. Similarly Zamorna is married – indeed he is married three times: Mina never becomes his wife, but this does not detract from the heroine's love and devotion for him. Brontë scholars have proposed no source material for these various themes and structures in Charlotte's early Angrian tales other than Moore's *Life of Byron.*

As solitary pieces, Charlotte and Branwell's extracts seem to have very little relationship; Charlotte's extract is focused upon the feminine elements of a countryside cottage, and beautiful women who entertain powerful and unfaithful men, whilst Branwell's piece concentrates upon masculine political scenes. However, the presence of *The Last Man* arguably unites the two; moreover, these proposed Shelleyan influences within Angria become more compelling when the name 'Adrian' is introduced. It is possible that Charlotte borrowed the name 'Adrian' within her Angrian tales from Mary Shelley's Adrian, along with appropriate traits from his character. Charlotte's hero – her original 'Wellington' figure – took on many guises, first as the father, then moving into a second generation of two sons, which included Arthur Augustus Adrian Wellesley, the Marquis of Douro, who was ultimately Zamorna.[28] Accruing a wealth of titles and names, Arthur Augustus Adrian Wellesley, Marquis of Douro, there are however occurrences within the

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[27] Mary Shelley [The Author of Frankenstein], *The Last Man,* vol. i. (Paris: A. & W. Galignani, 1826), p. 204.

[28] Christine Alexander, '*Glossary* of the Main Characters and Places in the Glass Town and Angrian Saga,' *The Brontës: Tales of Angria and Gondal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

tales where Zamorna himself is called simply 'Adrian.' To offer a gauge on the rarity of the name 'Adrian,' the 1841 National Census[29] for England lists only one single Adrian in the entire Yorkshire district. Here, in the juvenilia's inclusion of this unusual name, I propose, lies further evidence for *The Last Man* being reworked into the construction of Angria. Not only does 'Adrian' by 1834 become one of Zamorna's many names, but the name rises to higher importance as Angria's latest capital city is called Adrianopolis; a new capital under construction in *The Spell,* where Zamorna 'might be seen walking & actively superintending the labours of the toiling workmen, now directing the construction of an arch, now craning up of some vast block of stone or marble '.[30] Brontë scholars have not offered any possible source for the inclusion of the name 'Adrian', despite it being widely acknowledged by critics that borrowed figures from their reading material are typically a source behind the names of Brontë characters.

Additionally in Charlotte's work, a solitary mention within her juvenilia *Tales of the Islanders* (1829) of air balloon flight suggests a wider social and literary context for its author's understanding of the phenomenon. The prevalent references to balloon flight in newspapers and magazines available to Charlotte, alongside literary reference in poetry or novels, implies a familiarity with this balloon narrative.[31] Although only a minor, and hitherto

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[29] Although there were National Censuses taken in the three previous decades, these tended to statistical rather than specific.

[30] Charlotte Brontë, 'The Spell', *Tales of Glass Town, Angria and Gondal,* ed. Christine Alexander (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p.70.

[31] [footnote too long] The *Leeds Intelligencer* and *Blackwoods Magazine,* carried this widespread commentary. The *Intelligencer* followed a narrative for over a decade which charted the exploits of aeronauts Mr Green and Mr Graham: 'Mr Green, the aeronaut, made his sixty –fourth ascent from the Pack Horse Yard, Huddersfield, on Friday afternoon last. – The day was very fine, and everything very favourable, and the balloon ascended in a beautiful steady manner…' – Anon, *Leeds Intelligencer*, Thursday 9 October (Leeds: G. Wright, 1825). In 1833, the paper remarked 'The balloon mania appears to be extending itself all over the country, on Wednesday, Mr. Graham ascended in this magnificent balloon from Cheltenham … BALLOONS. The French are as deeply bitten with this.' – Anon, 'Domestic Intelligence,' *Leeds Intelligencer*, Thursday 2 October (Leeds: G. Wright, 1833). Additionally, the fashions for August, declared the *Intelligencer,* are a 'Dress of blue over a satin slip the same colour, balloon printings surround the boarder.' – Anon, 'Fashions for August,' *Leeds Intelligencer,* Thursday 4 August (Leeds: G. Wright, 1825). A poem in *Blackwood's Magazine* correspondingly carried familiar reference to aeronaut Blanchard: 'On the day that poor Blanchard's

largely critically overlooked, passage, Charlotte's fragment describes her characters taking balloon ride. This extract provokes curiosity, given that there is no surviving prior, nor any further mention, of balloons in the Brontë juvenilia:

> …we ordered a balloon, the which when it was brought we got into & then steered our way through the air towards Strathfieldsay. When we had there arrived, we took up 'Blood an 'ounds' & the gamekeeper & then went quick –way to the island.

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balloon was o'erset, A Briton and a Frenchman together I met'. – Anon, 'Promenade de Tivoli: Air, the Sprig of Shillelah, &c.,' *Blackwoods Edinburgh Magazine*, vol. xvii, no. xcix, April (Edinburgh, William Blackwood, 1825), p. 416.

This local narrative detailed balloon flights, at times with a comedic edge:

> I should say that Mr Jeffrey being ambitious of notice, conceived the scheme of going up in a balloon – that the machine was constructed of the proper material, a light silk, and not uneasily ornamented; but that unfortunately there was a deficiency of gas, so that the *globus ærostaticus* as never sufficiently inflated. The cords, however, were cut, and the enterprising voyager began to ascend. By and by, getting entangled somehow or other by the foot, there he hung with his head downwards, while the balloon cleared the roofs of the houses, but could make no approximation to the lowest strata of clouds. Finally Mr Jeffrey got released, and he and his balloon came to the earth almost together, and without any serious hurt to the æronaut, but the vehicle was irremediably injured, and in all probability will never be able to reach the chimney top. – Anon, 'Notes Ambroianae No. xii,' *Blackwoods Edinburgh Magazine*, vol. xvi, no. lxxxi, October (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1823), p. 502.

Similarly, in 1820, *Blackwood's* had reported:

> We believe that Blackwood and Baldwin were the first periodical works that ever went up in a balloon. Young Sadler took us up. When about 4000 feet above the earth, the balloon remained stationary, and the intrepid aeronaut threw Baldwin out. The balloon in nine seconds, gained 3000 feet of ascent. It penetrated a thunder –cloud, and Mr Sadler, junior, let us gently skip overboard. As if so much gas had been allowed to escape, the balloon descended with great rapidity, and the aeronaut had a narrow escape. Mr Sadler was of opinion that but for us, he could not have ascended with Baldwin. Perhaps no periodical but ourselves ever went down in a diving bell? – Anon, 'An Hour's Tete -a-Tete with the Public,' *Blackwoods Edinburgh Magazine*, vol. viii, No. xliii, October (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1820), p. 88.

The periodicals offered pragmatic dialogue for the potential practical uses, both practised and envisioned, for air balloons. In terms of arctic exploration, balloons, *Blackwoods* demonstrated, were being used to create maps and negotiate otherwise inaccessible landscapes; 'Heidelberg has procured the most accurate maps of the regions within our polar circles, together with tables of the curvature of the earth to the hundredth part of an inch.' – Anon, 'A Visit to the Lunar Sphere,' *Blackwoods Edinburgh Magazine*, vol. viii, no. xlvi, November (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1820), p. 127.

> We alighted in the grounds about the school.[32]

References to balloon travel in literary works were not widespread at this time; current newspapers and magazines offered only occasional reports on the development of balloon orienteering.[33] Yet Charlotte's extract remains distinct from the verses of Romantic poetry available to her, or the pioneering experiments of aeronauts found in the popular press. In her fictional prose, Charlotte's characters take a balloon as commonplace transport. The Brontë children were certainly familiar with *The Arabian Nights,* within which fictive incidents in the tales likely acquainted Charlotte with imaginary flight. Prince Ahmed owns a carpet which 'not withstanding its common appearance, whoever sits on this carpet, as I do now, and wishes to be transported into any particular place, however distant it may be, will

[32] Charlotte Brontë, 'Tales of the Islanders,' *Tales of Glass Town, Angria and Gondal,* ed. Christine Alexander (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), vol. ii, ch. ii, p. 20.

[33] Foreseeing an innovative future, the practicalities of balloon transportation, in contrast to horse drawn carriages or ships, were proposed in *Blackwood's*. 'My dear friend,' wrote Pringle, within his published correspondence:

> We have at last reached London, after a stormy passage of seven days. The accommodation in the smacks looks extremely inviting in part, and in fine weather, I doubt not, is comfortable, even at sea, but in February, and in such visitations of the powers of the air as we have endured, a balloon must be a far better vehicle than all the vessels that have been constructed for passengers since the time of Noah. In the first place, the waves of the atmosphere cannot be so dangerous as those of the ocean; being but 'thin air;' and I am sure they are not so disagreeable; then the speed of the balloon is so much greater, and it would puzzle professor Leslie to demonstrate that its motions are unsteady; besides, who ever heard of seasickness in a balloon? – Pringle, Andrew, 'The Ayrshire Lectures, or The Correspondence of the Pringle Family,' Letter iv, 'Andrew Pringle Esq. Advocate to the Rev. Charles Snodgrass', *Blackwoods Edinburgh Magazine*, no. xxxix, vol. vii, June (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1820), p.266.

Additionally a reader of *The Intelligencer* wrote a letter which genuinely suggested balloon flight as a resolution to local Yorkshire transport problems. 'Mr Editor,' proposed the reader, 'The long-continued system of waste and blundering, practiced on this road calls more loudly than ever for instant redress. A steam-boat or balloon will ere long be the only practicable conveyance for travellers in this direction' – Anon, 'Local Intelligence: Leeds and Harrogate Road,' *Leeds Intelligencer*, Thursday 20th February (Leeds: G. Wright, 1823).

instantly find himself there.'[34] Charlotte's tale, however, seems to borrow more from practical balloon flight than the purely imaginative carpet offered in *The Arabian Nights.*

Possibly the most comparable contemporary work to Charlotte's tale are the references to balloon flight in *The Last Man* when Verney takes a flight as standard transportation in the twenty-first century. Whilst balloons, as in Glass Town, have not replaced horses and carriages, they offer an alternative conveyance, faster and undeviating, to traverse the vast landscape:

> 'And I go today,' I [Lionel Verney] cried; 'this very hour I will engage a sailing balloon; I shall be there in forty-eight hours at furthest, perhaps in less, if the wind is fair …' Everything favoured my journey. The balloon rose about half a mile from the earth, and with a favourable wind it hurried through the air, its feathered vans cleaving the un –opposing atmosphere. Notwithstanding the melancholy object of my journey, my spirits were exhilarated by reviving hope, by the swift motion of the airy pinnacle, and the balmy visitation of the summer air. The pilot hardly moved the plumed steerage, and the slender mechanism of the wings, wide un-furled, gave forth a murmuring noise, soothing to the sense. Plain and hill, stream and corn-field were discernible below, while we unimpeded sped on swift and secure, as a wild swan in his spring-tide flight. The machine obeyed the slightest motion of the helm; and, the wind blowing steadily, there was no obstacle to our course.[35]

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[34] Antoine Garland, 'The History of Prince Ahmed and the Fairy Pari–Banou,' *The Arabian Nights*, trans. Forster, Edward (London: William Miller, 1810), vol. v, p. 326.

[35] Mary Shelley [The Author of Frankenstein], *The Last Man,* vol. i. (Paris: A. & W. Galignani, 1826), pp. 64-65.

Later Mary's hero Raymond likewise determines to take a balloon to escape the life he wants to leave behind. Mary's balloon demonstrates a practical solution to travel rapidly over land and sea; 'For a long time he [Raymond] was obstinate. He would embark in a balloon; he would sail for a distant quarter of the world, where his name and humiliation were unknown.'[36] Verney marvels at the wonder of balloons, much in similarity with the awe shown by the Romantic poets:[37]

[36] Ibid, p. 87.

[37] Romantic poets by 1820 had engaged with the concept of balloon flight; the wonder of man flying through the skies was an image which a number of writers, all available to the Brontës by 1829, took inspiration from. William Wordsworth, in his tale in verse, *Peter Bell* (1819 – written 1798) presented the yearning for balloon flight in the Prologue:

'There's something in a flying horse,
And something in a balloon,
But through the clouds I'll never float
Until I have a little boat'
– Wordsworth, William. 'To Southey Esq.,' *Peter Bell: A Tale in Verse.* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1819), p. iv.

Likewise, Byron featured the marvel of air balloons in *Don Juan* (1819)*:*

'He thought about himself and the whole Earth,
Of Man the wonderful, and of the Stars,
And how the deuce they ever could have birth;
And then he thought of Earthquakes, and of Wars,
Of Air –balloons, and of the many bars
To perfect Knowledge of the boundless Skies.'
– Byron, George Gordon, *Don Juan* (London: John Murray,1819), canto i, stanza xcii.

Byron's vision perceives the sensation of air balloons, expanding the limits of human potential into the skies, their magnitude equal to eternal and unfathomable earthquakes and stars. Balloons conveyed, in literary perceptions, a current and emotive image through which to expand sensation. Using this motif, Percy Shelley's earlier sonnet of 1811 –13, *To a Balloon, Laden with Knowledge* has perhaps a more multifaceted interpretation:

Bright ball of flame that through the gloom of even
Silently takest thine etherial way
And with surpassing glory dimm'st each ray
Twinkling amid the dark blue Depths of Heaven:
Unlike the Fire thou bearest, soon shalt thou
Fade like a meteor in surrounding gloom
Whilst that, unquenchable is doomed to glow –
A watch light by the patriot's lonely tomb,
A ray of courage to the opprest and poor,
A spark, though gleaming on the hovel's hearth,
Which through the tyrant's gilded domes shall roar,
A beacon in the darkness of the Earth,
A Sun which o'er the renovated scene
Shall dart like Truth where Falshood yet has been.

> Such was the power of man over the elements; a power long sought, and lately won; yet foretold in by –gone time by the prince of poets, whose verses I quoted much to the astonishment of my pilot, when I told him how many hundred years ago they had been written: –
> Oh! human wit, thou can't invent much ill,
> Thou searchest strange arts: who would think by skill,
> An heavy man like a light bird should stray,
> And through the empty heavens find a way?'[38]

Quoting from William Shakespeare's *Poems on Several Occasions,* Mary evokes the same lyrical magnificence for balloon flight, admiring the lineage of human desire for flight and the feat of man. Her later reference to balloons advances this wonder at man's achievement, much like Wordsworth's claim that imaginative faculties might be aroused by scientific attainment. Verney laments the end of the human race and the authority man has commanded over the elements:

> Farewell to the giant powers of man, – to knowledge that could pilot the deep –drawing bark through the opposing waters of shoreless ocean, – to science that directed the silken balloon through the pathless air, – to the power that could put a barrier to

– Percy Shelley Bysshe, 'To a balloon, laden with knowledge,' *Shelley's Selected Poetry and Prose,* Reiman, Donald H. & Fraistat, Neil, eds. (London: Norton, 2002 [1977]), p. 4.

[38] Mary Shelley, *The Last Man* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 70 –71.

> mighty waves, and set in motion wheels, and beams, and vast machinery, that could divide rocks of granite or marble, and make the mountains plain![39]

Mary's prose, rather than being purely scientific in focus offered a new perspective on the landscape, one removed from social and historical dislocations, which sought to arouse the faculties of her readers to wonder at the achievements of man beside the marvel of nature.

To return to Charlotte Brontë's fragment, whilst her extract might seem bland in comparison to the Romantic works associated with balloon flight, a passage immediately following the description of the flight departs from that rudimentary style, hinting that Brontë likewise found a fascination in the power of nature and the winds which man could traverse:

> We alighted in the grounds about the school and, on casting our eyes towards the myrtle grove, we saw the stately place rising in its magnificence from the green trees which grew thickly around & towering in silent grandeur over that isle, which [was] rightly named a dream, for never but in the visions of the night has the eye of man beheld such gorgeous beauty, such wild magnificence, as is in this fairy land, & never, but in the imaginings of his heart, has his ear heard such musick [sic] as that which proceeds from the giant's harp, hid from sight amid those trees. Listen! There is a faint sound, like the voice of a dying swan, but now a stronger breeze sweeps through the strin and the music is rising. Hark how it swells! What grand in that wild note! But the wind roars louder.

[39] Ibid, p. 321.

> I now heard the muttering of distant thunder: it is drawing nearer & nearer, & the tunes of the harp & swelling till all at once, amidst the roaring of thunder & the howling of the wind, it peels out such awful wildness, such unearthly grandeur, that you are tempted to believe it is the voice of spirits speak, 'This is the storm.'[40]

Brontë's excerpt evokes a comparable wonder at the achievements of man, in this instance moving to the beauty of architecture and the power of the wind; like Mary, Charlotte juxtaposes human accomplishment beside the wonder of nature. Charlotte's piece evokes music, as does Mary's mention the 'murmuring' noise of the wings, 'soothing to the sense.' Both writers command an infusion of the senses; both evoke swans in the sense of flight. Charlotte here seems to draw on established Romantic themes in her tale, experimenting with the blend of human achievement and its place alongside emotive nature, echoing the romantic poets in general and, more particularly, Mary Shelley in her fiction.

iv. Emily.

After considering the parallels between *The Last Man* and Branwell and Charlotte's Angrian tales, I now consider if these textual parallels can be similarly recognised in Emily and Anne's Gondal work. Given Branwell's juvenilia, 1833 is the date I propose that the siblings encountered *The Last Man.* It is also a period marked by notable change in the juvenilia. (Emily and Anne split from the collective quartet as Charlotte and Branwell began Angria;Gondal was first mentioned in 1834). I propose that the introduction of the textual Shelley' (as discussed in Chapter Three), coupled with encountering Mary's *The Last Man,*

[40] Charlotte Brontë, 'Tales of the Islanders,' *Tales of Glass Town, Angria and Gondal,* ed. Christine Alexander (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 20.

may have influenced this change. Whilst the Gondal prose work has not survived, Emily and Anne's corresponding poetry hints at its contents. Emily later divided her poetry into Gondal and non–Gondal poems, which suggests that years after they had been written she had later attempted to remove her poems from their Gondal context for publication.

Returning to Small's recognition of the textual similarity of the term 'shattered –prison' featuring in both *Wuthering Heights* and *The Last Man,* and despite the novels being separated in publication by twenty-five years, Emily apparently borrowed from Mary's work in her novel. Either she was confident her readers may retain familiarity with a book not seen for two decades, or, more likely, this suggests the possibility that the novel had been a source text well known in Emily's childhood which had stayed with her, and continued to influence her adult work, regardless if she expected her readers to recognise it or not. Unlike Charlotte's borrowing of the name Adrian, there is no evidence of names from *The Last Man* being used in Gondal*,* yet there are many thematic parallels in the use of wild mountain children, prisoners in dungeons, woods, and parkland. Whilst these were commonplace motifs in literature at the time, the specific ways which these are used point to the use of *The Last Man.* Furthermore, Emily's interest in the formation of a man's personality, as ultimately displayed in Heathcliff, is anticipated in her poem from May 1845, 'A.E. [Alexander Elbë] and R.C, Heavy hangs the raindrop,' also called 'Child of Light.'[41] Alexander affirms the similarities to Heathcliff in Emily's poem: 'The contrasted children [in 'Child of Light'] prefigure Heathcliff and Catherine, and Hareton and Cathy in *Wuthering Heights'.*[42] Alexander notes the line 'unblessed of Heaven': 'like Heathcliff, the desolate child is as unregenerate as the landscape he inhabits; without 'kindred kindness' he is destined to a

[41] Untitled, first line substituted. The poem is often titled 'Child of Light' by scholars in reference to a later line. R.C. does not appear in any other remaining Gondal poems and the gender of the figure is unspecified.

[42] Christine Alexander, 'Explanatory Notes, *'Tales of Angria and Gondal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 588.

grim fate.'[43] However, I argue that 'Child of Light' itself had a prior source, namely *The Last Man.* Emily's poem works as a two-part piece, a before and after, textually corresponding, I suggest, to Mary Shelley's depiction of the first meeting of Verney and Adrian in the second chapter of *The Last Man*:

Child of Light – Emily Brontë.	*The Last Man* – Mary Shelley.
Heavy hangs the raindrop From the burdened spray; Heavy broods the damp mist On Uplands far away; Heavy looms the dull sky, Heavy rolls the sea – And heavy beats the young heart Beneath that lonely Tree – Never has a blue streak Cleft the clouds since morn – Never has his grim Fate Smiled since he was born – Frowning on the infant, Shadowing childhood's joy; Guardian angel knows not That melancholy boy. Day is passing swiftly Its sad and sombre prime; Youth is fast invading	My [Lionel Verney's] first real knowledge of myself was as an unprotected orphan among the valleys and fells of Cumberland … There was a freedom in it, a companionship with nature, and a reckless loneliness; but these, romantic as they were, did not accord with the love of action and desire of human sympathy, characteristic of youth. Neither the care of my flock, nor the change of the seasons, were sufficient to tame my eager spirit; my out –door life and unemployed time were the temptations that led me early into lawless habits … I was rough as the elements, and unlearned as the animals I tended … I was tall and athletic; I was practiced to feats of strength, and inured to the inclemency of the elements. My skin was embrowned by the sun; my step was

[43]Ibid.

Sterner manhood's time –
All the flowers are praying
For the sun before they close
And he prays too, unknowing,
That the sunless human rose!
Blossoms that the westwind
Has never wooed to blow
Scentless are your petals,
Your dew as cold as snow.
Soul, where kindred kindness
No early promise woke
Barren is your beauty
As weed upon the rock –
Whither, Brothers, wither,
You were vainly given –
Earth reserves no blessing
For the unblessed of Heaven!
Child of Delight! with sunbright hair
And seablue, sea –deep eyes
Spirit of Bliss, what brings thee here
Beneath these sullen skies?
Thou shouldest live in eternal spring
Where endless day is never dim
Why, seraph has thy erring wing
Bourne thee down to weep with him?

firm with conscious power. I feared no man, and loved none … I stood on the brink of manhood; passions, strong as the trees of a forest, had already taken root within me, and were about to shadow with their noxious overgrowth, my path of life … placing myself with my back against a tree … My garments were torn … my hair was matted … my whole appearance was haggard and squalid. Tall and muscular as I was in form, I must have looked like the merest ruffian that ever trod the earth … He came up the while; and his appearance blew aside, with gentle western breath, my cloudy wrath: a tall, slim, fair boy, with a physiognomy expressive of the excess of sensibility and refinement stood before me; the morning sunbeams tinged with gold his silken hair, and spread light and glory all over his beaming countenance … As he spoke, I felt subject to him; and all boasted pride and strength were subdued by the honeyed accents of this blue –eyed boy … and then, quite overcome, I wept aloud … I was born anew; my soul threw off the

'Ah, not from heaven am I descended
And I do not come to mingle tears
But sweet is day though with shadows blended
And though clouded, sweet are youthful years ·
'I, the image of light and gladness
Saw and pitied that mournful boy
I swore to take his gloomy sadness
And give to him my beamy joy –
'Heavy and dark the night is closing
Heavy and dark may its binding be
Better for all from grief reposing
And better for all who watch like me –
'Guardian angel, for he lack no longer;
Evil fortune he need not fear;
Fate is strong but love is stronger
And more unsleeping than angel's care

burthen of past sin, to commence a new career in innocence and love. [45]

Thematically both pieces describe the hopeless loneliness of the isolated 'melancholy boy' in terms of the harsh nature around him, before introducing a glowing figure of light who brings care and redemption. Like Verney 'among the valleys and fells of Cumberland,' Emily's child is in 'Uplands far away,' the 'noxious overgrowth' reflecting 'weed upon the rock;' the 'unprotected orphan' or 'guardian angel knows not' defining the loneliness of the isolated figure. There are also linguistic parallels: note 'beneath the lonely tree' and 'my back against

[44] Emily Brontë, 'A.E. and R.C.' or 'Child of Delight!' *Tales of Glass Town, Angria and Gondal,* ed. Christine Alexander, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 423 –5. Written 28th May, 1845.

[45] Mary Shelley [The Author of Frankenstein], *The Last Man,* vol. i (Paris: A. & W. Galignani, 1826), p. 32.

the tree;' the 'blue –eyed boy' or child with 'sea blue, sea-deep eyes; the 'westwind' and the 'western breath.' Most significantly, Emily's 'Child of Delight! With sunbright hair', has strong linguistic similarities to Adrian for whom 'the morning sunbeams tinged with gold his silken hair, and spread light and glory all over his beaming countenance.' Scholars have attempted to define Emily's 'Child of Light,' often being confused when defining the gender or relationship of the two figures. Gérin proposes the child of light to be 'a radiant girl-child … an obvious early prototype of Catherine Earnshaw'.[46] Alexander likewise observes that 'the gender of the fair –hired child who plays a redemptive role in the second part is not obvious.'[47] Visick asserts 'It seems safe to assume, then, that A.E. is the boy and R.C. the girl … a dark boy is rescued from some kind of misery by a fair girl.'[48] The uncertainty amongst critics, coupled with a tendency to explain Emily's verse in terms of *Wuthering Heights,* is resolved if we consider *The Last Man* as a possible source text for Emily's Gondal poems.

Even though the majority of Gondal material has not survived, many Brontë scholars have nonetheless suggested parallels between *Wuthering Heights* and Gondal, proposing that Emily drew from her juvenilia material to form her novel. Chithampresents a chronology of how *Wuthering Heights* may have been transplanted from the Gondal characters: 'Geraldine from Gondal merged with Catherine'[49] and 'The Emperor Julius must have been transformed into Heathcliff'.[50] Visick's *Genesis of Wuthering Heights* likewise perceives a parallel between the two.[51] Alexander similarly proposes that 'The relationship between the

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[46] Winifred Gérin, *Emily Brontë: A Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 216.

[47] Christine Alexander, 'Explanatory Notes,' *Tales of Glass Town, Angria and Gondal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 588.

[48] Mary Visick, *The Genesis of Wuthering Heights* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965 [1958]), p. 19 –20.

[49] Edward Chitham, *The Birth of Wuthering Heights* (London: Palgrave Macmillian, 1998), p. 109.

[50] Ibid, p. 113.

[51] See Mary Visick, *The Genesis of Wuthering Heights* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1965 [1958]).

two is inescapable ... we find similar themes, associations, and images which strongly suggest the novel grew out of the saga.'[52] Drabble deliberates this 'riddle:'

> Fannie Ratchford believes that the Juvenilia are the clue to the 'riddle' of *Wuthering Heights.* But for others, the riddle is posed all the more forcefully. How did the creator of the melodramatic, romantic, essentially adolescent and derivative tales of languishing prisoners, exiled princes, ruthless queens and abandoned orphans manage to write a solid, elegant, original, beautifully constructed and firmly Yorkshire novel like *Wuthering Heights*? How did she struggle free of the trappings of Gothic horror and German romance?[53]

Analyses such as this however seem contradictory, Drabble having previously clarified that there is very little remaining of Emily's pre-*Wuthering Heights* work. In this respect how could we know the content and form of the preparatory prose work of Emily and Anne which predated their eventual novels? Whilst my study does not attempt to speculate on the presence of *The Last Man* in Gondal, nor the foundations of *Wuthering Heights* in her earlier work, textually Emily's poetry certainly suggests similarities to Mary's novel, indicating that, as with Charlotte and Branwell, Emily had encountered and was familiar with the text.

A variety of minor sources have been suggested by critics for *Wuthering Heights.* Pykett, for one, denounces a 'mythologising of the novel's origins … as the fortuitous conjunction of nature and intense visionary experience.'[54] Rather, she suggests, 'The tale of

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[52] Christine Alexander, 'Introduction,' *Tales of Glass Town, Angria and Gondal* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. xli.

[53] Margaret Drabble, 'Introduction,' *Wuthering Heights* (London: Everyman, 2000 [1978]), p. xxiii.

[54] Lyn Pykett, *Women Writers: Emily Brontë* (Maryland: Barnes & Nobel, 1989), p. 72.

"The Bridegroom of Barna," published in Blackwood's in 1840 … has a very similar plot to *Wuthering Heights,* and concerns the star-crossed love of the children of rival families … like Catherine and Heathcliff, united only in death when they are finally hurried in a single grave.'[55] Davies credits 'Hewish [who] has compiled a reliable list of books known to have been available and believed to have influenced her [Emily's] art, from Scott's novels, especially *Old Mortality* and *The Black Dwarf,* to Wordsworth, Byron, Coleridge, [Percy] Shelley'.[56] These occasional fragments, whilst having minor similarities offer little to place Emily's novel in a wider literary context. As Pykett further considers; '*Wuthering Heights* has proved impossible to categorise, and continues to confront its readers with an alarming sense of disorientation'.[57] Following the hints offered by Small, I propose that *The Last Man* may be a significant influence on *Wuthering Heights* which places Emily's work within a solid literary source.

The image offered by Emily Brontë and Mary Shelley by Small's recognition that Catherine's body as a 'shattered prison',[58] done so by association with Raymond's body as a 'shattered prison–house,'[59] implies that the soul trapped within the body. The soul consequently is the spirit or essence of, for example Raymond and Catherine, which is, or has been, held in the physical world by the confines of their body. Death is therefore the change of state by which the soul is subsequently able to escape from the broken body and released from the physical world into a transcendent realm where it finds freedom. Inhabiting this

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[55] Ibid, p. 73.

[56] Stevie Davies, *Emily Brontë: Heretic* (London: Women's Press, 1994), p. 46.

[57] Lyn Pykett, *Women Writers: Emily Brontë* (Maryland: Barnes & Nobel, 1989), p. 74.

[58] '"And," added she, musingly, "the thing that irks me most is this shattered prison, after all. I'm tired, tired of being enclosed here. I'm wearying to escape into that glorious world, and to be always there; not seeing it dimly through tears, and yearning for it through the walls of an aching heart; but really with it, and in it."' – Emily Brontë, *Wuthering Heights,* ed. Helen Small (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009 [1995]), p. 141.

[59] 'as if regret and endless lamentation could re –illuminate the extinguished spark, or call to its shattered prison –house of flesh the liberated spirit.' – Mary Shelley [The Author of Frankenstein], *The Last Man,* vol. ii. (Paris: A. & W. Galignani, 1826), p. 60.

spiritual space, the souls of Catherine and Raymond are present to Heathcliff and Perdita who remain in the corporal state. This image offers comparison between *The Last Man* and *Wuthering Heights* in their image of the 'soul,' the image of 'death' and the physical state of the 'body.' Alternatively, Clayton positions Emily Brontë, not with Mary, but with Percy Shelley, proposing; 'Both poets found the same image for the absolute of love: "How beyond refuge I am thine," wrote [Percy]Shelley. "Ah me! I am not thine; I am a part of thee" [*Epipsychidion*, lines 51 –3] – which Emily Brontë equalled with Catherine Earnshaw's declaration: "Whatever our souls are made of, his and mine are the same … Nelly, I *am* Heathcliff."[60]

Many Brontë critics have proposed 'Epipsychidion' as the foundation text for the metaphysical love of Catherine and Heathcliff, so much so that Shelley's poem has become the established scholarly source for this aspect of *Wuthering Heights.* The first to propose the early recognition was Chadwick in 1914:

> [Percy] Shelley appealed to her [Emily], and the love between Heathcliff and Cathy soars to the same heights that [Percy] Shelley attains in *Epipsychidion* – verses addressed to Emilia V. (or Emily as he calls her later) in a convent.
>
> 'How beyond refuge I am thins. Ah me!
> I am not thine: I am part of *thee*.'
>
> Compare this with Cathy's vehement: 'I *am* Heathcliff.'
>
> 'He's more myself than I am.'
>
> And again, [Percy] Shelley foreshadows the absolute unity of spirit between Heathcliff and Cathy in his verses to Emilia.

[60] Jay Clayton, *Romantic Vision and the Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 161 –2.

'We shall become the same, we shall be one

Spirit within two frames.'[61]

This comparison has been considered by most subsequent scholars[62] who recognise a relevance in *Epipsychidion* to *Wuthering Heights.* Emily Brontë's novel, Stoneman notes, 'is widely read as an instance of Shelleyan mirror-like Romantic love.'[63]

I propose however that Emily Brontë's transcendent twin-soul imagery may therefore borrow, not primarily from Percy Shelley, but rather from his wife Mary, who nevertheless shares the same themes and images as partaken from her husband's work. Take Perdita's assertion '"for we are said to have two souls, he [Raymond] was my better soul, to which the other was a perpetual slave."'[64] This concept is very similar to Catherine's '"I shall love mine [Heathcliff] yet; and take him with me – he's in my soul"',[65] Heathcliff's ' "oh God! would *you* like to live with your soul in the grave?"'[66] and his anguished, '"I cannot live without my soul!"'[67] Perdita's assertions of the soul in terms of herself and Raymond, are paralleled in Heathcliff and Catherine's union of souls. The souls of both couples are joined not only through love, but in a transcendent state with binds them together in death; the

[61] Ellis H. Chadwick, *In the Footsteps of the Brontës* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011 [1914]), p. 340.

[62] See, for example, Winifred Gérin, Edward Chitham, Tom Winnifrith, P. Stoneman and F.B. Pinion.

[63] Patsy Stoneman, *Brontë Transformations: The Cultural Dissemination of Jane Eyre and Wuthering Heights* (London: Prentice Hall/Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1996), p.61.

[64] Mary Shelley [The Author of Frankenstein], *The Last Man,* vol. i. (Paris: A. & W. Galignani, 1826), p. 204.

[65] Emily Brontë, *Wuthering Heights,* ed. Helen Small (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009 [1995]), p. 141.

[66] Ibid, p. 142.

[67] Ibid, p. 148.

wrench of existing in the bodily state whilst their other half is in a non-physical condition drives the emotive agony of both Perdita and Heathcliff.

There are additionally further linguistic and thematic similarities. Perdita declares: '"To have him once more in my arms, to see him, however changed, is all I desire."'[68] Comparatively, Heathcliff proclaims '"I'll have her in my arms again! … Do you suppose I dread any change of that sort?"' [69] Note the replication of the terms having them 'in their arms' and 'change'. In both concept and linguistically the speeches are very similar. Further to the imagery of the soul, Mary and Emily's novels both follow the same thematic reactions to the division caused by death, in which neither Catherine nor Raymond is perceived to truly 'die.' Again, Clayton finds similarity in this detail with Percy Shelley, suggesting 'In *Wuthering Heights* and in *Adonais,* each author proposed death as a figure for a union that knows no bar,'[70] but this concept is likewise strong in Mary's *The Last Man*.

The idea engaged both Mary and Percy Shelley. As Verney observes of Perdita; 'True, she looked forward to another life; true, the burning spirit of love seemed to her unextinguishable throughout eternity.'[71] Similarly, Heathcliff looks forward to his death which should reunite his soul once again with Cathy's, where they will live together in a transcendent state: 'To –day, I am within sight of my heaven'.[72] In addition, both Heathcliff and Perdita conceive that the departed Catherine and Raymond prevail in the landscapes where they lived and died. Heathcliff asks:

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[68] Mary Shelley [The Author of Frankenstein], *The Last Man,* vol. ii. (Paris: A. & W. Galignani, 1826), p. 55.

[69] Emily Brontë, *Wuthering Heights,* ed. Helen Small (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009 [1995]), p. 257.

[70] Jay Clayton, *Romantic Vision and the Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 174.

[71] Mary Shelley [The Author of Frankenstein], *The Last Man,* vol. ii. (Paris: A. & W. Galignani, 1826), p. 62.

[72] Emily Brontë, *Wuthering Heights,* ed. Helen Small (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009 [1995]), p. 292.

> for what is not connected with her to me? and what does not recall her? I cannot look down on this floor, but her features are shaped on the flags! In every cloud, in every tree – filling the air at night, and caught by glimpses in every object by day, I am surrounded with her image! … The entire world is a dreadful collection of memoranda that she did exist, and that I have lost her![73]

Mary Shelley offers a corresponding image to Perdita's impression of the departed Raymond:

> ...even the inanimate dust appears to partake of the spirit of beauty which hallows this region. Lionel, he sleeps there; that is the grave of Raymond, he whom in my youth I first loved; whom my heart accompanied in days of separation and anger; to whom I am now joined forever. Never, mark me, never will I leave this spot. Methinks his spirit remains here as well as that dust, which, uncommunicable though it be, is more precious in its nothingness than aught else widowed earth clasps to her sorrowing bosom. The myrtle bushes, the thyme, the little cyclamen, which peeps from the fissures of the rock, all the produce of the place, bear affinity to him; the light that invests the hills participates in his essence, and sky and mountains, sea and valley, are imbued by the presence of his spirit. I will live and die here! [74]

[73] Ibid, p. 288.
[74] Mary Shelley [The Author of Frankenstein], *The Last Man,* vol. ii. (Paris: A. & W. Galignani, 1826), p. 65.

As with Perdita who 'thinks his [Raymond's] spirit remains here … uncommunicable', Heathcliff shares the belief that Cathy still exists in spirit:

> When I sat in the house with Hareton, it seemed that on going out I should meet her; when I walked on the moors I should meet her coming in. When I went from home! I hastened to return: she must be somewhere at the Heights, I was certain! And when I slept in her chamber – I was beaten out of that – I couldn't lie there; for the moment I closed my eyes, she was either outside the window, or sliding back the panels, or entering the room, or resting her darling head on the same pillow as she did when a child. And I must open my lids to see. And so I opened and closed them a hundred times a –night – to be always disappointed![75]

As with Raymond, Cathy's spirit does not communicate, but its presence is there in the space she once inhabited, perceivable to Heathcliff and in turn, Perdita.

In addition, concerning the physical burying of the body, and its subsequent decay, both Heathcliff and Perdita desire to be buried in the same grave as Cathy and Raymond. Both novels parallel the suggestion of a further corporeal union by which the bodies can decay together, juxtaposed with the spiritual reunion of the souls through the release of death. Perdita declares '"I care not, so that one grave hold Raymond and his Perdita"',[76] as does Heathcliff profess '"I bribed the sexton to pull it [the side of the coffin] away, when I'm

[75] Emily Brontë, *Wuthering Heights,* ed. Helen Small (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009 [1995]), p. 257.

[76] Mary Shelley [The Author of Frankenstein], *The Last Man,* vol. ii. (Paris: A. & W. Galignani, 1826), p. 55.

laid there, and slide mine out too"'.[77] Raymond has previously declared: '"Even if I die before you, my Perdita, treasure up my ashes till yours may mingle with mine … I may feel that my inanimate dust mingles with yours, and thus have a companion in decay."'[78] Likewise, Nelly asks Heathcliff, '"If she [Cathy] had been dissolved into earth, or worse, what would you have dreamt of then?"…"Of dissolving with her, and being more happy still!" he answered.'[79]

Alternative to a corporeal state and the physical want to hold the deceased body, or to be buried in a shared grave, Heathcliff and Perdita hold to a transcendent belief that death is only a change; if they too die then their souls can be reunited with Cathy and Raymond's in a subsequent celestial state. Heathcliff declares to Nelly, 'there is a strange change approaching'.[80] This 'change' can therefore be seen as Heathcliff's yearning to soon change from a corporeal form into the spiritual. Heathcliff declares, 'And yet I cannot continue in this condition! … I have a single wish, and my whole being and faculties are yearning to attain it. They have yearned towards it so long, and so unwaveringly, that I'm convinced it *will* be reached – and *soon* – because it has devoured my existence – I'm swallowed in the anticipation of its fulfilment."[81] Concurrently, Perdita perceives death as a 'change,' telling Lionel ' "death be a mere change of state … I can consent to drag out the miserable days which I still must live … until the hour arrives when I may share his happier dwelling."'[82] Like Heathcliff, she lives only to anticipate a further state in which she will be

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[77] Emily Brontë, *Wuthering Heights,* ed. Helen Small (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009 [1995]), p. 255.

[78] Mary Shelley [The Author of Frankenstein], *The Last Man,* vol. ii. (Paris: A. & W. Galignani, 1826), p. 5.

[79] Emily Brontë, *Wuthering Heights,* ed. Helen Small (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009 [1995]), p. 255.

[80] Ibid, p. 287.

[81] Emily Brontë, *Wuthering Heights,* ed. Helen Small (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009 [1995]), pp. 288 –9.

[82] Mary Shelley [The Author of Frankenstein] *The Last Man,* vol. ii. (Paris: A. & W. Galignani, 1826), p. 66.

reunited with Raymond. Once removed from the landscape where she believes Raymond's soul remains, Perdita ends her life through suicide to be reunified with him. Likewise, Heathcliff's death gives the impression of suicide through starvation,[83] due to the desire to be reunited with Cathy.

When considered alongside *The Last Man,* in *Wuthering Heights,* we find parallel themes of corporeal and transcendent states in terms of lovers who are united in their identical souls, depicting the emotions and distress of the partner left behind after the death of their other half; emotions which often hover in madness. Both Mary Shelley and Emily Brontë use the imagery of the physical body and the grave, alongside the transcendent state of the soul. The depiction of the love of Heathcliff and Cathy, and Perdita and Raymond is similar both thematically and structurally, to the extent that, although the gender models are reversed, Shelley's Perdita and Raymond offer literary characters which correspond to Heathcliff and Cathy.

Several sources have been proposed by scholars for Heathcliff. A number of critics have noted the Brontë family tale of 'Welsh Bundy,' a cuckoo-in-the-nest stowaway child found by the Brontës great-great-grandfather; or, as Small proposes, 'Heathcliff's nearest literary antecedent is Byron, as Charlotte Brontë implicitly acknowledged when she echoed *The Giaour* in her 'Editor's Preface.' Heathcliff has also been noted by critics to incorporate elements of Milton's Satan, and there may be further debts to 'Black Douglas' in the late medieval ballad of 'Chevy Chase … to Walter Scott's characterisation of Black Douglas in *The Lady of the Lake* (1810) and of Thorncliff in *Rob Roy* (1817).'[84] Small, in addition, considers the possibility that Branwell may have brought back from Liverpool reports of Irish

[83] Nelly Dean assesses Doctor 'Kenneth was perplexed to pronounce of what disorder the master died. I concealed the fact of his having swallowed nothing for four days'. Emily Brontë, *Wuthering Heights,* ed. Helen Small (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009 [1995]), p. 299.

[84] Helen Small, 'Explanatory Notes' in Emily Brontë, *Wuthering Heights* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009 [1995]), p. 325.

foundlings or castaways. Indeed Eagleton models the source for Heathcliff as a likely Irish immigrant, as typically found on the streets of Liverpool.[85] Gérin has proposed perhaps the most credible source for Emily's Heathcliff, that of a local tale which circulated at the Law Hill school where Emily taught, of Jack Straw, a 'cuckoo-in-the-nest' who was taken in and subsequently supplanted the rightful heirs of the family before building the house which would eventually become Law Hill school.[86] Tales such as this add to the fragments which may have built Heathcliff, but, as Gérin recognises:

> The similarities in incident and character between *Wuthering Heights* and the novels of Emily's immediate predecessors and contemporaries are nevertheless only isolated phenomena: the general character of her book is quite different. One must look to her own knowledge of life, however limited it may have been, for anything like an adequate comprehension of *Wuthering Heights.*[87]

I argue however that a more credible model for Heathcliff, one in line with the influence of *The Last Man,* already noted, is that of Mary Shelley's Lionel Verney. Heathcliff is, I propose, in part an appropriation of Lionel Verney. As with Heathcliff, *The Last Man* begins with Lionel Verney, orphaned and a wild boy of the mountains:

> I was rough as the elements, and unlearned as the animals I tendered. I often compared myself to them, and finding that my chief superiority consisted in power, I soon persuaded myself that it

[85] Eagleton, Terry, *Heathcliff and the Great Hunger* (London: Verso, 1995), p. 19.

[86] Winifred Gérin, *Emily Brontë: A Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), pp. 220–1.

[87] Ibid, p. 220.

> was in power only that I was inferior to the chiefest potentates of the earth. Thus untaught in refined philosophy, and pursued by a restless feeling of degradation from my true station in society, I wandered among the hills of civilised England as uncouth a savage as the wolf –bred founder of old Rome.[88]

Similarly, Nelly describes Heathcliff on his first arrival at the Heights 'a dirty, ragged, black –haired child'.[89] On the death of old Mr Earnshaw, Hindley returns and drives Heathcliff from the company of the family to be one of the servants. Nelly observes 'He bore his degradation pretty well at first, because Cathy taught him what she learnt, and worked or played with him in the fields. They both promised to grow up as rude as savages.'[90] Note that both Verney and Heathcliff feel resentment that their rightful inheritance has been denied them. By this denial, both experience 'degradation' as farmhands or servants, both are described as 'savages.' In the romantic emblem of a mountain child, both grow up unfettered in the landscapes around them. Whilst the 'mountain', or 'foundling child' were common motifs at the time, Emily likely had Verney in mind due to the specific way she uses the figure to explore the way in which the child's personality is formed by the environment and figures around them, whilst textually corresponding to Mary's version.

Mary Shelley's Lionel Verney begins his adolescence in a manner parallel to that of Heathcliff, as Verney proclaimed:

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[88] Mary Shelley [The Author of Frankenstein], *The Last Man,* vol. i. (Paris: A. & W. Galignani, 1826), p. 9.

[89] Emily Brontë, *Wuthering Heights,* ed. Helen Small (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009 [1995]), p. 31.

[90] Ibid, p. 40.

> Bread and water did not tame my blood, nor solitary confinement inspire me with gentle thoughts. I was angry, impatient, miserable; my only happy hours were those during which I devised schemes of revenge … Thus years passed on; and years only added fresh love of freedom, and contempt for all that was not as wild and rude as myself. At the age of sixteen I had shot up in appearance to man's estate; I was tall and athletic; I was practiced to feats of strength, and inured to the inclemency of the elements. My skin was embrowned by the sun; my step was firm with conscious power. I feared no man, and loved none. In after life I looked back with wonder to what I then was; how utterly worthless I should have become if I had pursued my lawless career. My life was like that of an animal, and my mind was in danger of degenerating into that which informs brute nature … passions, strong as the trees of a forest, had already taken root within me, and were about to shadow with their noxious growth, my path of life. … I, an outcast, with none to lead or drive me forward, paused. The old began to point at me as an example, the young to wonder at me being distinct from themselves; I hated them, and began, last and worst degradation, to hate myself. I clung to my ferocious habits. Yet half despised them; I continued my war against civilisation, and yet entertained a wish to belong to it.[91]

Compare with Emily Brontë's assessment of Heathcliff at the same age, as told by Nelly:

[91] Mary Shelley [The Author of Frankenstein], *The Last Man,* vol. i. (Paris: A. & W. Galignani, 1826), p. 16.

> He had reached the age of sixteen then, I think, and without having bad features or being deficient in intellect, he contrived to convey an impression of inward and outward repulsiveness that his present aspect retains no traces of.
>
> In the first place, he had, by that time, lost the benefit of his early education: continual hard work, begun soon and concluded late, had extinguished any curiosity he once possessed in pursuit of knowledge, and any love for books or learning. His childhood's sense of superiority, instilled into him by the favours of old Mr. Earnshaw, was faded away. He struggled long to keep up an equality with Catherine in her studies and yielded with poignant though silent regret: but, he yielded completely; and there was no prevailing on him to take a step in the way of moving upward, when he found he must, necessarily, sink beneath his former level. Then personal appearance sympathised with mental deterioration; he acquired a slouching gait, and ignoble look; his naturally reserved disposition was exaggerated into an almost idiotic excess of unsociable moroseness; and he took a grim pleasure, apparently, in exciting the aversion rather than the esteem of his few acquaintance.[92]

From these extracts we can discern both Heathcliff and Lionel are outcasts in their society. They have both acquired a hatred for their associates. When Heathcliff is at Thrushcross Grange, like Lionel, 'the old point to him as example,' Mrs Linton asserting him to be '"A

[92] Emily Brontë, *Wuthering Heights,* ed. Helen Small (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009 [1995]), pp. 59–60.

wicked boy, at all events … and quite unfit for a decent house! Did you notice his language, Linton? I'm shocked my children should have heard it,"' Mr Linton affirming '"would it not be a kindness to the country to hang him at once, before he shows his nature in acts, as well as features?"'[93] At Thrushcross, Heathcliff is, similarly to Lionel, 'wondered at by the young as being dissimilar to themselves,' Isabella lisps '"Frightful thing! Put him in the cellar papa."'[94] In subsequent years, books and learning become integral to Lionel's advance, just as their absence is shown to dehumanise Heathcliff. Verney acknowledges 'I now began to be human' through 'Poetry and its creations, philosophy and its researches and classifications,' distinguishing the importance of 'the intellectual and moral nature of man from that which characterises animals.'[95]

Comparatively, in *Wuthering Heights,* whilst Heathcliff is not offered the chance to read books, by the second generation Catherine Linton teaches the comparably untamed Hareton to read. Intentionally moulded by Heathcliff in revenge for his father Hindley, Hareton is 'gold put to the use of paving stones',[96] yet Catherine Linton is later described as reading with her cousin, now 'respectably dressed … His handsome features glow[ing] with pleasure'.[97] Similarly to *The Last Man,* book-learning in *Wuthering Heights* positively improves a character. The difference which begins to emerge between Lionel and Heathcliff, in which Lionel reforms form his wild youth as a savage – marked by what I term a 'child of light' moment, as from Emily's poem – marks the catalyst for the transformation from degraded savage who is intent on revenge, to a transformation. This is shown both in

[93] Ibid, pp. 43–4.

[94] Ibid, p. 43.

[95] Mary Shelley [The Author of Frankenstein], *The Last Man,* vol. i. (Paris: A. & W. Galignani, 1826), p. 16.

[96] Emily Brontë, *Wuthering Heights,* ed. Helen Small (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009 [1995]), p.193.

[97] Ibid, 273.

physical appearance and in mind set of character, once a due inheritance is received and they are accepted into their rightful place in society. For Lionel this moment occurs with meeting Adrian, who bestows on him the inheritance of their father's friendship: '"We were born to be friends to each other; and though ill fortune has divided us, will you not acknowledge the hereditary bond of friendship which I trust will hereafter unite us?"'[98] After this moment Lionel looks 'back to my restless desires and painful struggles with my fellow beings as to a troubled dream, and felt myself as much changed as if I had transmigrated into another form, whose fresh sensorium and mechanism of nerves had altered the reflection of the apparent universe in the mirror of mind.'[99]

In *Wuthering Heights* Emily Brontë offers a parallel 'child of light' moment for Heathcliff. In *The Last Man* Lionel had trespassed upon Adrian's land, declaring 'He shall find I can feel my injuries; he shall learn to dread my revenge!'[100] Captured by Adrian's gatekeepers, Lionel was brought before Adrian. His 'garments were torn … my hair was matted … I must have looked like, what indeed I was, the merest ruffian that ever trod the earth.'[101] Like Lionel, Heathcliff trespasses upon Edgar Linton's land and is captured by Mr Linton's men, his appearance similar to Lionel's after creeping 'through a broken hedge … looks like an out-and-outer… the villain scowls so plainly in his face'.[102] Nelly Earnshaw describes him as wearing 'clothes, which had seen three months' service in mire and dust, and his thick uncombed hair.'[103] Brought before the Lintons, Edgar recognises Cathy for

[98] Mary Shelley [The Author of Frankenstein], *The Last Man,* vol. i. (Paris: A. & W. Galignani, 1826), p. 27.

[99] Ibid, p. 36.

[100] Ibid, p. 22.

[101] Ibid, p. 26.

[102] Emily Brontë, *Wuthering Heights,* Helen Small, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009 [1995]), p. 41.

[103] Ibid, pp. 46–47.

Catherine Earnshaw, yet where the inheritance of Heathcliff (of his namesake, at the desire of his benefactor old Mr Earnshaw, to be recognised as brother to Cathy and Hindley, rather than servant at the Heights) has the potential to be endorsed by the Linton family, Heathcliff is rejected. Mr Linton quickly identifies Heathcliff: 'I declare he is that strange acquisition my late neighbour made in his journey to Liverpool' after acknowledging there is 'culpable carelessness' in Hindley Earnshaw.[104]

Rather than take Heathcliff in alongside Cathy as her equal, and as Earnshaw's assumed son, instead Heathcliff is 'ordered to take off' and is expelled by the Lintons from Thrushcross Grange. In a comparable moment, Mary's Lionel finds that Adrian, in contrast, 'formed the plan of bestowing on them all the advantages his rank made him rich to afford. When he found me, a vagabond shepherd of the hills, a poacher, a savage, still his kindness did not fail.'[105] From this moment Lionel was able to 'become wise and good … born anew; my soul threw off the burden of past sin, to commence a new career in innocence and love.'[106] As Heathcliff acknowledges, this moment instead marks his rejection: '"I would have been there too, but they had not the manners to ask me to stay."'[107]

I suggest that, through a familiarity with *The Last Man,* Emily borrowed the figure of Verney, and subsequently addressed the questions which were posed in Mary Shelley's novel as to what his character might have become were he left as a wild savage of the hills, filled with revenge, and rejected by his potential benefactor. Emily re-writes Heathcliff as an alternative model to Verney who does not have the 'child of light' moment, later exploring through Hareton how Heathcliff might have turned out otherwise, had he encountered a

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[104] Ibid, p. 44.

[105] Mary Shelley [The Author of Frankenstein], *The Last Man,* vol. i. (Paris: A. & W. Galignani, 1826), p. 33.

[106] Ibid, p. 32.

[107] Emily Brontë, *Wuthering Heights,* ed. Helen Small (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009 [1995]), p. 41.

different education. As Chitham stresses, 'The biographer cannot explain *Wuthering Heights.* The process of using the novel to understand the life, and the life to understand the novel, can easily become circular.'[108] I propose however that *Wuthering Heights* can be positioned in a solid literary context when considered with Mary Shelley's novel as *The Last Man* provides an additional source text to Byron for which Emily as responding to, both by considering the figure and formation of Heathcliff, and the ethereal love story.

v. Anne.

As with her siblings, there is evidence in Anne's poems too of the influence of *The Last Man*, like Emily particularly by the characters of Lionel and his sister Perdita. Consider, for instance, Anne's poem 'The North Wind' (1838). Mary Shelley describes her protagonist Verney as:

> an unprotected orphan among the hills and fells of Cumberland ... There was a freedom in it, a companionship with nature, and a reckless loneliness ... I wandered the hills of civilized England as uncouth as the wolf –bred founder of Ancient Rome ... exposed to the north, the snow lay in crevices the summer through ... I sought the hills; a west wind swept them, and the stars glittered above.[109]

Anne's poem deals with the same themes:

> I have passed over thy own mountains dear,

[108] Edward Chitham, *A Life of Emily Brontë* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), p. 214.
[109] Mary Shelley [The Author of Frankenstein], *The Last Man,* vol. i. (Paris: A. & W. Galignani, 1826), p. 31.

Thy northern mountains – and they are still free,

Still lonely, wild, majestic, bleak, and drear,

And stern, and lovely, as they used to be,

When thou a young enthusiast,

As wild and free as they,

O'er rocks and glens and snowy heights,

Didst often love to stray ...

And I have howled in caverns wild,

Where thou a joyous mountain child[110]

Anne Brontë depicts the romance of the mountain child, the freedom and the wildness of the landscape, the snow, the winds and the howling wolves, just as Lionel is identified with the wildness of the 'wolf-bred' Roman Romulus.[111] The themes of the poetry suggest that both Emily and Anne borrowed the same narrative of Verney and his sister Perdita in Gondal. Anne's motifs, given her siblings' work and the verbal similarities with her poems and Mary's novel, suggest *The Last Man* was likely a borrowed source in Gondal. Verney is imprisoned a number of times for poaching and trespass, and crucially must prepare to leave his country and never return, lamenting, in the poetic prose of *The Last Man,* the deaths of his companions with the elaborate funeral of his wife Idris. All of these elements are recurring in Gondal as the poems lament the departure from Gondal on 'a desolate sea.'

As the protagonist of Mary's novel, Verney is the predominant voice. *The Last Man's* characters, like Percy Shelley, drown, and the ongoing civil war in contemporary Greece is represented in the novel's political narrative, just as the Gondal war continues until the end

[110] Anne Brontë, 'The North Wind,' *Tales of Angria and Gondal,* ed. Christine Alexander (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 456.

[111] Classical legend credits Romulus as the founder of ancient Rome. He and his twin brother Remus, as mythology has it, were raised by wolves.

to define the conflicts and passions of Emily and Anne's world. The sea is a repeated theme, with many of, especially the male, Gondal characters sailing away from their homeland or drowning, with ill-fated characters like *The Last Man's* ill-omened Adrian and Raymond.[112] Early in the novel, the Byronical Adrian has Verney observe: 'Are you weary of life, O Adrian, that you must thus play with danger?'[113] Adrian, several years later, declares, shortly before his death in battle: 'It matters little why or wherefore I am affected, no power can avert the stroke, and the shadow of Fate's uplifted hand already darkens me.'[114] The Shelleyan Adrian likewise, in initial chapters of *The Last Man,* foreshadows his fate by drowning; ' "My soul is a fading spark, my nature frail as a spent wave" … The spirit of life seemed to linger in his form, as a dying flame on an altar flickers on the embers of an accepted sacrifice.'[115] *The Last Man* is dominated by a narrative lamenting the departed and dead, one which was for Mary Shelley, rooted in real life.

The constant pinning for lost lovers is replicated in Anne's poetry. Volume I charted the origins of Perdita from her childhood, her love for Raymond, marriage, birth of their daughter and subsequent abandonment. The many aspects of Perdita's situation are paralleled in Anne's poetry through the voice of Alexandra. Where Perdita is abandoned by her husband Raymond, the subsequent changes that take place in her character, and the impact of this abandonment on their daughter Clara, are sorrowfully observed by her brother Lionel. Anne's central heroine Alexandrina likewise has a sister Eliza, sometimes called Flora, with a daughter who have been abandoned by the father. Consider, for

[112] As Mary Shelley's professed 'faint portraits, Adrian, like Lord Byron who died from illness whilst preparing his armies in Greece, dies in battle in Greece. Adrian, like Percy Shelley who drowned taking his boat out in a storm, dies a 'watery death.'

[113] Mary Shelley [The Author of Frankenstein], *The Last Man,* in vol. i. (Paris: A. & W. Galignani, 1826), p. 109.

[114] Ibid, p. 103.

[115] Ibid, p. 32.

instance, a series of Anne's poems, written in the voice of Alexandrina Zenobia, all five written through 1838. In 'The Captive's Dream' Alexandrina has a dream of her absent lover; 'Methought I saw him but I knew him not; / He was so changed from what he used to be'.[116] Similarly in Anne's 'The Parting,' as observed by Alexandrina Zenobia, the hero (Lord Algernon) leaves his wife Flora: 'onward hastily he steered, / And into the forest disappeared. … And the years will still keep rolling on, / But they beloved lord is gone. / His absence thou shalt deeply mourn, / And never smile on his return.'[117]

Anne's poem 'The lady of Alzerno's hall,' again told by Alexandrina of her sister Eliza, is also highly suggestive of Perdita:

'The lady of Alzerno's hall,
Is waiting for her lord,
The black-bird's song the cuckoo's call,
No joy to her afford,
She smiles not at the summer's sun,
Nor at the winter's blast,
She mourns that she is still alone,
Though three long years have passed.
I knew her when her eye was bright,
I knew her when her step was light,
And blithesome as a mountain doe's,
And when her cheek was like the rose,
And when her voice was full and free,
And when her smile was sweet to see.

[116] Anne Brontë, 'The Captive's Dream,' *Tales of Angria and Gondal,* ed. Christine Alexander (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 454 –5.

[117] Ibid, 'The Parting,' pp. 457–9.

But now the lustre of her eye,

So dimmed with many a tear;

Her footstep's elasticity,

Is tamed with grief and fear …

For three years she has waited there,

Still hoping for her lord's return,

But vainly she may hope and fear,

And vainly watch and weep and mourn,

She may wait him till her hairs are grey,

And she may wear her life away,

But to his Lady and his home,

Her noble Lord will never come.'[118]

In these two poems,[119] Alexander proposes, 'The influence of Scott is reflected in both the subject and form of this Ballad; and there is also a suggestion of Tennyson's 'Lady of Shallot.' However, compared with extracts describing Perdita from *The Last Man* there are textual similarities between Anne and Mary. Shelley's prose follows the transit of Perdita, as narrated by her brother, from wild mountain child to falling in love with and marrying Raymond, and finally being abandoned by him; first pining his desertion whilst she waits for him for years, and afterwards mourning his death. In the first volume of *The Last Man* – from

[118] Anne Brontë, 'The lady of Alzerno's hall,' *Tales of Angria and Gondal,* ed. Christine Alexander (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 454 –5. Untitled, first line substituted.

[119] 'The Parting,' dated 9th July 1838, and 'Lady of Alzerno's hall' (first line), dated 9th July 1838, appear as separate in the manuscript and published editions, 'they are essentially one, grouped under a signal title at the head of the first poem, and a single Gondal signature at the end of the second poem.' Christine Alexander. 'Explanatory Notes,' *Tales of Angria and Gondal.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 594.

the same extract as previously discussed in relation to Charlotte's 'History of Angria.'[120] Verney describes Perdita as a 'mountain girl' with a 'light-step',[121] as does Anne's poem describe that the lady's 'step was light/And blithesome as the mountain doe's. Perdita has a 'fresh bloom,' 'when she smiled her face was embellished by the softest sensibility' similar to Anne's 'her cheek was like the rose', 'her smile was sweet to see'.[122] Both focus on the image of flowers and the figure's smile. Again, the linguistic repetition between Anne's poem and Mary's extract is remarkable for the short pieces having several parallels in both their language and themes.

Likewise, Perdita is described by her in her letter to Lord Raymond, after his desertion: Perdita writes of a future without him of 'my soul, inextricably linked to this perishable frame, become lethargic and cold, even as this sensitive mechanism shall loose its youthful elasticity? Then, with lack-lustre eyes, grey hairs, and wrinkled brow'.[123] Note the repetition, as in Anne's poem, of 'Her footstep's *elasticity,* Is tamed with grief and fear';' 'the *lustre* of her eye, So dimmed with many a tear', and 'She may wait him till her hairs are *grey'.* In such short extracts the linguistic and thematic similarity is remarkable and suggests a significant relationship between Mary Shelley's and Anne Brontë's female figures. It is interesting to note that all sisters were engaged with the same character of Perdita, and borrow her image both linguistically and thematically for their new work.

Anne's poem also has a narrator in Alexandrina, observing the changes in Eliza, like Verney observing his sister Perdita. Where Anne's poem appears to present in retrospect

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[120] Charlotte Brontë, 'History of Angria iii,' *The Miscellaneous and Unpublished Writings of Charlotte and Patrick Branwell Brontë,* vol. i, ed. Basil Blackwell (Oxford: Shakespeare Head, 1939), ch. 4, f.n. 551, p. 132–3.

[121] Mary Shelley [The Author of Frankenstein], *The Last Man,* in vol. i. (Paris: A. & W. Galignani, 1826), p. 51.

[122] Ibid.

[123] Ibid, p. 202.

memories of what the lady was once like before her pinning changed her as she waits for her Lord, Mary Shelley's prose identically follows the changes in Perdita as she waits for the return of the unfaithful Lord Raymond. Like Anne's pair of poems, which as companion pieces make up 'The Parting,' the prophetic tone is reflective of Perdita who asks Raymond 'when shall I see you again! and when I see ye, shall I still be the beloved and joyous Perdita, or shall I, heart –broken and lost, wander among your groves, the ghost of what I am!'[124] Anne's fated 'The Parting' likewise ponders 'Thou canst not tell the weight of woe, / That lies in store for thee.'[125]

Furthermore, Anne's 'Verses to a Child' is deeply reminiscent in theme of Perdita and her daughter Clara, who have been abandoned by Raymond:

O raise those eyes to me again
And smile again so joyously,
And fear not love, it was not pain
Nor grief that drew these tears from me;
Beloved child thou canst not tell,
The thoughts that in my bosome swell
When e're I look on thee!
Thou knowst not that a glance of thine,
Can bring back long departed years
And that thy blue eyes' magic shine
Can overflow my own with tears,
And that each feature soft and fair,
And every curl of golden hair,

[124] Ibid, p. 128.

[125] Anne Brontë, 'The Parting,' *Tales of Angria and Gondal,* ed. Christine Alexander (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 458.

Some sweet remembrance bears.

… He was they sire: thou merry child.

Like thee he spoke, like thee he smiled,

Like thee he used to play.

O those were calm and happy days,

We loved each other fondly then

But human love too soon decays,

And ours can never bloom again.

I never thought to see the day,

When Florian's[126] friendship would decay,

Like those of colder men. [127]

As Mary Shelley's Clara, the daughter of Raymond, Anne's Flora resembles her father: 'Some sweet remembrance bears.' The memories which Flora prompts are through both physical resemblance and memories of the love between her parents in the past. Similarly, Verney remarks to Perdita: 'Do you remember in her infancy, with what transportation you beheld Clara, recognising in her the united being of yourself and Raymond; joying to view in this living temple a manifestation of your eternal loves.'[128] Perdita sometimes 'hung over her child, tracing her resemblance to her father … she marked in the features of her little girl, the same smile of beauty that often irradiated Raymond's countenance.'[129] For Verney towards

[126] Oddly, the male name Florian had been written in replacement of the erased female name 'Mary' in Anne's manuscript.

[127] Anne Brontë, 'Verses to a Child,' *Tales of Angria and Gondal,* Christine Alexander, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 461–2.

[128] Mary Shelley [The Author of Frankenstein], *The Last Man,* vol. ii. (Paris: A. & W. Galignani, 1826), p. 57.

[129] Ibid, p. 143.

the end of the novel, he is cheered by Clara's 'deep blue eyes.' Verney likewise, to remember his wife Idris, evokes their son Evelyn who 'most dearly recalled her to me', and Idris' brother Adrian in whom 'I saw at least a part of her spirit alive again in her brother; … I enshrined her memory in Adrian's form.'[130]

There are also discernible parallels to Perdita in Anne's 1840 poem 'A Fragment.' Like Perdita, by Chapter 9 in Part I of *The Last Man,* Anne's Olivia Vernon masks a broken heart before her guests:

'A Fragment,' Anne Bronte:

And for those little simple airs –
I love to play them o'er –
So much I dare not promise now
To play them never more."
I answered and it was enough
They turned them to depart
They could not read my secret thoughts
Nor see my throbbing heart …
And yet my comrades marked it not
My voice was still the same
They saw me smile and o'er my face –
No signs of sadness came

The Last Man, Mary Shelley:

They shall behold the antipodes of what is real – for I will appear to live – while I am – dead." It required all her self-command, to supress the gush of tears self-pity caused at this idea. After many struggles, she succeeded, and turned to join the company.

All her efforts were now directed to the dissembling her internal conflict. She had to play the part of a courteous hostess; to attend to all; to shine the focus of enjoyment and grace. She had to do this, while in deep woe she sighed for loneliness … Everyone marked her exhilaration of spirits; as all actions appear graceful in the eye of rank, her guests surrounded her applauding, … At length the

[130] Ibid, p. 204.
This concept is reflected in Emily's *Wuthering Heights;* Isabella Linton tells Heathcliff 'Now that she's [Catherine's] dead, I see her in Hindley; Hindley has exactly her eyes.' Emily Brontë, *Wuthering Heights,* ed. Helen Small (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009 [1995]), p. 160.

They little knew my hidden thoughts
And they will never know
The anguish of my drooping heart
The bitter aching woe![131]

rooms began to thin. Mocking her own desires, she rallied her guests on their early departure. … "All proceeds, changes and dies, except the sense of misery in my bursting heart.[132]

Both Olivia and Perdita have to 'play the part' of the hostess to their guests whilst they both hide their 'drooping', 'aching' or 'throbbing' heart. The evidence from these extracts suggests that Anne's Alexandrina Zenobia, along with aspects of her sister Eliza Hibernia or Flora, and later Olivia Vernon, are borrowed from different periods in Perdita's story. I do not deny the influence of Walter Scott or Lord Byron, but argue for the compelling presence of an additional source text in Gondal, Mary Shelley's *The Last Man*. Whilst *The Last Man* does not define nor dominate Gondal, I propose Anne and Emily's poetry to have thematic and linguistic parallels with Mary's novel, particularly by their considered borrowings from the characters of Perdita and Verney.

vi. Parallel Texts.

I have argued above for a series of parallels between the Brontë juvenilia and elements of *The Last Man.* The *Monthly Review* (1826) analysed *The Last Man* in an unsigned review, which although taking a predominantly derogatory attitude towards the novel, concluding it was 'a decided failure', nonetheless summarised the innovative nature of Mary's fantastical world and the unorthodox philosophy she had learnt through her coterie and upbringing:

[131] Anne Brontë, 'A Fragment,' *Tales of Angria and Gondal,* ed. Christine Alexander (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 464–5.

[132] Mary Shelley [The Author of Frankenstein], *The Last Man,* vol. iii. (Paris: A. & W. Galignani, 1826), p. 191.

> She [Mary Shelley] once more ventures to create a world of her own, to people it with beings modelled by her own hand, and to govern it by laws drawn from the visionary theories which she has been so long taught to admire as the perfection of wisdom. She seems herself to belong to a sphere different from that which we are conversant. Her imagination appears to delight in inventions which have no foundation in ordinary occurrences, and no charm for the common sympathies of mankind ... if Mrs Shelley is to be set down amongst our popular writers, she will owe her good fortune to the boldness of her departure for all the acknowledged canons of inventive literature; for the whole course of her ambition has been to portray monsters which could have existed only in her own conceptions, and to involve them in scenes and events which are wholly unparalleled by any thing that the world has yet witnessed.[133]

Mary Shelley had created a comparable – if not more sophisticated – fantasy kingdom to the Brontë family's own, set in the northern landscape of England. Her characters were Kings, Queens and leaders, moving in a web of romantic and political intrigue, within which, regardless of the consequent plague, reflected current military conflicts, similarly to Angria and Gondal. As Mary had modeled, Branwell brought his characters and scenery from Africa, not to the nearby fells of Cumbria where *The Last Man* began, but to the similar adjacent hills of Yorkshire in which the Brontës lived.

[133] Anon, 'Art. xii. *The Last Man,* By the Author of Frankenstein', *The Monthly Review, Or Literary Journal,* Vol. i, March, (London: Hurst Robinson, 1826), pp. 333–5.

The textual parallels in the Brontë juvenilia with Mary's T*he Last Man* – be they thematic, structural, or linguistic borrowings in language or names – demonstrate how the siblings, whether for Angria or Gondal, were borrowing from a communal text. Along with the published presence of Mary Shelley's figure, as considered in Chapter Three, the family similarly engaged with her novel. The argument of this chapter proposes that the catalyst for the often noted change of tone in the juvenilia from 1833, and which removed the writing from an early Napoleonic and African concept, was a further consequence, along with the narrative of the textual Shelleys, as discussed in Chapter Three, of the siblings' encounter with *The Last Man*. As writers, I argue here that the siblings demonstrate a sustained thematic, linguistic, and at times structural influence, in both Angria and the lost Gondal texts, which again strengthens the connections between the juvenilia lands. The pairings of Charlotte and Branwell, and of Emily and Anne, as supported by Small's initial observation, suggests the juvenilia contained common material which derived from Shelley's novel. Whilst seemingly their writing on its own is seemingly unconnected, positioning *The Last Man* as a source text suggests that their individual work – taking for example the character of Perdita – is connected by a mutual source.

Conclusion.

i. The Shelleyan Brontës.

This dissertation has paid concentrated attention to the presence of Percy and Mary Shelley within the Brontë's juvenilia. Whilst to date there has been no single, systematic exploration of this Shelleyan presence, I have considered the variety of critical references which associate the textual Shelleys with the Brontës. In bringing these fragmented scholarly recognitions together my thesis confirms the hints about a Shelleyan presence that these isolated studies raise, showing that the Brontës' engagement with the Shelleys has been more pervasive and significant than hitherto realised.

In Chapter One I detailed the presence of the textual Shelleys within the reading material accessible to the Brontës. Building upon the Brontës as readers, in Chapter Two I considered the siblings as writers, looking at how they appropriated a source text into a new text within their juvenilia, and explaining how these borrowings take the form of direct quotations, or, more often, of structural, linguistic, and thematic parallels. In the remaining chapters I gave examples of what I term this 'textual presence' of the Shelleys in the work of the Brontës. Building on Small's suggestions [1], my thesis has proposed further borrowings from the Shelleys, both in the juvenilia and in *Wuthering Heights,* with Chapter Four focusing upon the Brontë's appropriation of *The Last Man.* Whilst Small only discussed Emily's work, I have offered a consideration of the writing practices all four siblings, showing that Charlotte, Branwell, Emily and Anne engaged with the Shelleys. Emily's 'references to Romantic poetry and prose', Small proposes, 'are rarely as obvious as Mary Shelley's.'[2] Emily, Small notes, 'alludes to', gives 'reminiscence', or 'briefly evokes' these 'references' which are not necessarily obvious or easy to place in relation to a source

[1] Helen Small 'Introduction,' Emily Brontë, *Wuthering Heights,* ed. Helen Small (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. xi.

[2] Ibid.

text. Yet, by firstly considering textual sources which the siblings had access to, and by then considering the sibling's juvenilia as a collective alongside this available material, a source's influence on the juvenilia becomes readily apparent.

In relation to the work of Chitham and Winfrith, my research confirms their suggestions concerning the presence of Percy Shelley's poetry and his figure as a character within Emily's juvenilia.[3] My thesis has aimed to provide the provide the 'proof' Chitham views as 'impossible'; and it has, moreover, offered a strong Shelleyan connection for Branwell and Charlotte, where in Chapter Three, I placed Percy and Mary Shelley and Harriet Westbrook as models for juvenilia characters in Angria. I have also sought to counter those critics who assert that the Brontës did not engage with female writers or read novels in their youth. Gérin, for instance, claims that 'It may be doubted if she [Emily] read any novels other than Scott's and those serialised in *Blackwood's* during her impressionable girlhood'[4]; likewise Robinson[5] and Gordon[6] remark that the family would have had no access to the Shelleys. Not only does my thesis contradict the views of these scholars, but also critics such as Alexander who have also missed this considerable influence, in part, I suggest, because attention to Byron has eclipsed recognition of other presences. Mary Shelley has not been recognised in relation to the Brontës, yet she offers a female lineage as a female novelist for three major female novelists beside male influences such as Byron and Scott.

ii. Periodical Culture.

[3] Edward Chitham, *A Life of Emily Brontë* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), pp.133–34.

[4] Winifred Gérin, *Emily Brontë* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 214.

[5] A. Mary F. Robinson, 'The Origin of Wuthering Heights,' *Wuthering Heights: An Anthology of Criticism,* ed. Alastair Everitt (London: Frank Cass, 1967), p. 12.

[6] Lyndall Gordon *Charlotte Brontë: A Passionate Life* (Hachette Digital, 2009 [1994]).

My thesis has paid more attention to the Brontës' engagement with periodical culture than earlier critics, demonstrating the importance of looking at the newspapers and periodicals to which they might have had access. Not considering the juvenilia as the product of a writing circle, nor positioning it within the periodical culture, removes the work from the context it was written in. Whilst central Brontë critics of the juvenilia such as Alexander, Ratchford, Spark, Thormählen, Gérin and Winnifrith and Chitham do consider the influence of *Blackwood's* and *Fraser's.* Thormählen, for instance, notes that 'the Brontës' education in print culture began with the study of *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* and *Fraser's Magazine';* they 'modelled themselves on the male writers they found in the pages of *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* and imitated the format and style of its pages. They played at print culture'.[7] Nonetheless a thorough attention to periodical culture and context has been neglected by Brontë scholars. The digital resources on nineteenth–century periodical culture which are now available make this type of research far more manageable; the digitally catalogued copies of such periodical publications have made my own research, which is able to give specific focus to a certain area in the juvenilia, more accessible.

This methodological approach is important, as huge attention has been given to periodical culture amongst scholars of nineteenth–century literary history. 'Because of our familiarity with the written word at the end of the twentieth century,' recognises Powell, 'we frequently forget the magnitude of its power in the nineteenth. We often nod in the direction of literary influences, but in reality, we imagine they are only props to the great, natural abilities and experimental factors of a person's life.' This being so, Brontë critics might frequently 'nod' to the influence of *Blackwood's* and *Fraser's,* noting that the family received local newspapers regularly, but very little in-depth concentration has been given

[7] Marianne Thormählen, *The Brontës in Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 151 & 103.

to the materials in these publications alongside their specific textual presence within the juvenilia. As Delafield identifies, texts were 'interacting directly with the material and cultural frameworks which shaped the responses of the … readers.'[8] She recognises that 'different forms of periodical content are never self-contained or isolated; instead they constantly point beyond themselves, either to other articles in the same periodical or to pieces published in rival journals'.[9] Acknowledging the texts which the siblings had available to them, alongside positioning the Brontës within a wider publishing context, enables the identification of borrowings which were expected to be recognised by their readers. As Collini comments, 'it is an excerpt whose full intelligibility depends upon a fairly intimate acquaintance with the larger cultural conversation from which it is taken.'[10] Bakhtin agrees that 'we imagine the work as a rejoinder in a given dialogue, whose style is determined by its interrelationship with other rejoinders in the same dialogue (the totality of the conversation).'[11]

Indeed, the position of the Brontës as writers is regularly viewed by scholars as being isolated and enclosed within the walls of the parsonage. However, if the family are considered primarily as readers, as acknowledged by Brake, Bell, and Finkelstein, then this 'regular engagement with an individual periodical … [makes] the nineteenth century reader part of a clearly definable, and defining, textual community'.[12] The Brontës were not isolated in their juvenilia but were rather responding to, and interacting with, what they

[8] Catherine Delafield, *Serialisation and the Novel in Mid-Victorian Magazines* (London: Routledge, 2016), p. 1.

[9] Ibid, pp. 2–3.

[10] Stephen Collini, *Public Moralists: Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain: 1850–1930* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 56.

[11] Mikhail Bakhtin, 'Discourse in the Novel,' *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays,* ed. Michael Holquist (Austin, 1981), p. 274.

[12] Laurel Brake, Bill Bell, & David Finkelstein, *Nineteenth–century Media and the Construction of Identities* (Hampshire: Palgrave, 2000), p. 3.

were reading. A Romantic writer's 'technique of epigraphic quotations', proposes North, 'created landscapes in which biographer, poets and readers could meet'.[13] 'The identity of the reader' however, emphasise Brake, Bell, and Finkelstein, 'is not the unity it is often imagined, but rather the product of a complex set of negotiations and exchanges'.[14] As readers, the Brontës' textual response is not typically defined by a singular text, theme, or literary figure, but is rather a multifarious response to their reading; I see their works as active texts which hint at links to a wider textual complexity of contemporary publication, much of it formed by periodicals.

Writing circles, such as that of the group on the shores of Lake Geneva, offer an analogy for how, like the common practice of Romantic coteries, the Brontës worked as a writing circle; their work relating to one another's whilst drawing from mutual sources. The Shelleys, Byron and their friend Polidori, for instance, began with the source suggestion of Byron's to write something in imitation of German ghost stories, the source text from which the new work is influenced is the same starting point for each writer in the circle. Source texts, which they had consciously engaged with and borrowed from to write new texts, contained recognisable references within the intimacy of the writing circle, whilst offering associations for a wider network of readers who were also potentially familiar with them. The Brontës and Shelleys are similar in the contents and contexts of their work, and this allows us to recognise something in the Brontë social context which we might otherwise have overlooked.

When considering the work of the Brontë siblings, I have demonstrated how Charlotte, Branwell, Emily and Anne are better considered as a writing unit, rather than as individuals. 'It is the fact that they were such an extraordinarily close family that is the key

[13] Julian North, 'Intertextual Sociability in Victorian Lives of the Romantic Poets: Thomas DeQuincey's Lake Reminiscences and Edward John Trelawny's "Recollections of the Last Days of Shelley and Byron,"' *Life Writing,* vol. 14, Issue 12 (June 2017), pp. 155–169.

[14] Laurel Brake, Bill Bell, & David Finkelstein, *Nineteenth–century Media and the Construction of Identities* (Hampshire: Palgrave, 2000), p. 4.

to their achievements,' concurs Barker. 'Taking one of them out of context creates the sort of imbalance and distortion of facts that has added considerably to the Brontë legend.' [15]

The Brontës were, as I have demonstrated, a product of their print culture, rather than the isolated, naïve figures they have been popularly assumed to be. Considering the siblings in relation to their print culture, the Brontës are positioned as readers, actively engaged with the publishing market and its narratives. As adults they were writing for an income, vigilant to the financial possibilities of publication. Branwell wrote to his friend Leyland – in apparent contempt for the novel as opposed to his preference for poetry – that 'in the present state of the publishing and reading world a Novel is the most saleable article, so that where ten pounds would be offered for a work [of poetry] the production of which would require the utmost stretch of a man's intellect – two hundred pounds would be a refused offer for three volumes whose composition would require the smoking of a cigar and the humming of a tune.'[16] Even so, and despite his disdain for novelists, Branwell attempted to write an unfinished novel in 1845,[17] implying that his eventual aim in writing was publication, literary success and financial gain, rather than writing purely for pleasure. Nevertheless, Branwell never abandoned his desire to be, above all, a poet, and this partly successful aspiration remained embedded in its juvenile Angrian origins.

Taken out of context, the Brontës' work can be wrongly placed, for instance, scholars may apply Byronic connotations when the intended allusion was Shelleyan. Birzer criticises Dry for her 'outrageous example' of 'building upon evidence that the Brontë family read Shakespeare'. 'Dry posits', Birzer notes, that in *Wuthering Heights,* Katheryn and Petruchio from *King Lear* are 'sources for Catherine and Heathcliff, substantiating her

[15] Juliet Barker. *The Brontës*. (London: Phoenix, 1995 [1994]), p. xviii.

[16] Francis Leyland, A Complete Transcript of the Leyland Manuscripts, eds. Symington, Alex J. & C. W. Hatfield (Privately printed, 1925), p. 19.

[17] See Victor Neufeldt, 'Introduction,' *The Works of Patrick Branwell Brontë*, iii vols. (New York: Garland, 1999), p. xix.

claim with "Katheryn is called 'wonderful forward,' Catherine 'dreadfully wayward'".[18] This example demonstrates how slight textual similarities should not necessarily be considered as evidence of textual borrowing. As with Small's example of the Shelleys however, 'unquiet slumber' and 'shattered prison' are strengthened by there being more than one borrowing. For instance, my recognition that Branwell's character Harriet, of whom he cites, 'I am convinced that her mind was of the highest order but rendered useless through want of training to the right,[19], is a response to Redding's her 'fate hung heavily on the mind of her husband, who felt deep self-reproach that he had not selected a female of higher order of intellect,' [20] is strengthened by further examples in his work of references to similar sources, along with his sisters' work demonstrating the same borrowings from mutual sources.

iii. The Novels.

My study does not purport to replace nor devalue other acknowledged sources, such as the works of Byron or Scott, within the Brontë juvenilia; I rather propose the additional, yet currently less recognised, significance of Shelleyan influence alongside those already established. The Shelleys are rarely considered as important figures in the Brontë sphere. This raises the question as to why the Shelleys are not more commonly noted in scholarship, especially given their close affinity to Byron, and more intriguingly why there is no recorded evidence of their presence in the Brontës' writing, given the strong published narrative about them available to the family.

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[18] Deborah McDonald Birzer, 'Christian Love and the "World Within" in *Wuthering Heights,* in Emily Brontë, *Wuthering Heights* (San Francisco, Ignatius Press, 2008), p. 379.

[19] Patrick Branwell Brontë, 'The Life of feild [sic] Marshal the Right Honourable Alexander Percy, vol. ii,' *The Works of Patrick Branwell Brontë,* vol. ii, ed. Victor Neufeldt A. (London: Garland Publishing, 1999), p. 154.

[20] Mary Shelley, 'Memoir of Percy Bysshe Shelley,' *The Poetical Works of Coleridge, Shelley, and Keats* (Paris: A. and W. Galignani, 1829), p. vi.

By the 1850's, after the publication of *Jane Eyre,* it is apparent from Charlotte's new literary contacts that her new associates sought to edify her. Firstly Charlotte's biographer and friend, Elizabeth Gaskell was astutely aware of the precarious reputation of female writers in the 1850s. 'One thing is pretty clear,' Gaskell wrote to her friend, Lady Kay Shuttleworth, '*Women*, must give up living an artist's life, if home duties are to be paramount'.[21] 'The difference between Miss Brontë and me,' continued Gaskell, 'is that she puts all her naughtiness into her books, and I put all my goodness … Still it is easy to talk and arrange another person's life for them'.[22] From her letters, Gaskell's concern was to strictly guard and protect her available narrative as a woman novelist. Charlotte's friends Ellen Nussey and Mary Taylor were both called upon by Gaskell to offer accounts of Charlotte for her *Life,* Ellen offering her letters from Charlotte for Gaskell for use in the biography. Gaskell's intention for *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* was in many ways to protect and reform Charlotte's publicised image, doing this to such an extent that Charlotte's father and husband, Rev. Brontë and Mr Nicholls, thought Gaskell to be untruthful and inaccurate. It is extremely unlikely Gaskell would have included reference to the Shelleys' in the 'Life,' indeed even Byron was not mentioned.

After the publication of *Jane Eyre,* Charlotte's publisher W. S. Williams recommended books and contacts to widen Charlotte's experience and develop her knowledge of the current publication environment, according to what was appropriate for women novelists in the 1850s.[23] Charlotte's letters reveal her new friendships with fellow female novelists Elizabeth Gaskell and Harriet Martineau. They also show how new

[21] Elizabeth Gaskell to Lady Kay-Shuttleworth, April 7th, 1853, as published in J. A. V. Chapple & A. Pollard, eds., *The Letters of Mrs Gaskell* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1966), no. 68, p. 228.

[22] Ibid, p. 229.

[23] William Smith Williams (1800–1875) was the joint owner of Smith, Elder and Co. See Charlotte Brontë to W. S. Williams, 25th October, 1850, *The Letters of Charlotte Brontë,* ed. Margaret Smith, vol. ii, 1848–1851 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 488.

acquaintances, such as Lewes, lent books to her.[24] In 1850, whilst Charlotte was being introduced to her contemporary women writers, Mary Shelley was still alive. Mary had however spent many years battling against the blemishes of her personal life, perhaps representing the very figure of the woman novelist Gaskell was so vigilant to avoid.

This implication of Mary Shelley being a significant source for the sisters redefines their position in literature, being as they had opportunity to write from an early female source. A literary relationship between the Shelleys and the Brontës has never been satisfactorily considered by critics, yet Mary Shelley was a proximate contemporary woman writer to the Brontë sisters, with whom, given their reading, they were familiar. Southey replied to Charlotte Brontë in 1837 in no uncertain terms that 'Literature cannot be the business of a woman's life: and it ought not to be.'[25] Whilst critics have placed Shakespeare, Scott, Byron, et al, scholars have not offered the example of a *woman* writer for the Brontës. The juvenilia, which had been sourced from the surrounding print culture, had offered plentiful examples of male poets for Branwell; Brake, Bell, and Finkelstein noting 'the periodical as a male orientated space'.[26] Indeed most Brontë scholars place Byron as a major influence and important model for the sister's later novel writing. As previously discussed, Elfenbien asserts that male poet Byron offered a literary lineage for many women writers of the nineteenth century: 'female writers as Felicia Humans, Caroline Lamb, Mary Shelley, and Charlotte Brontë, … reproduced the Byronic hero in their writing not merely as an object of desire but as a figure for themselves as authors.'[27]

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[24] Ibid, p. 518.

[25] Robert Southey to Charlotte Brontë, March 1837 as published in Wise, T. J. & Symington, J. A. *The Lives, Friendships and Correspondence of the Brontë Family* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, Shakespeare Head Press, 1932), i, p. 155.

[26] Laurel Brake, Bill Bell, & David Finkelstein, *Nineteenth–century Media and the Construction of Identities* (Hampshire: Palgrave, 2000), p. 5.

[27] Andrew Elfenbien, *Byron and the Victorians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004 [1995]), p. 65.

Bloom positions the 'Brontë genre' as being 'deeply influenced both by Byron's poetry and his myth and personality.'[28] The attention critics have given to identifying Byronic sources for the Brontës' heroes and heroines, as exemplified in the work of Gilbert and Gubar, has meant that the possibility of a female literary influence, or of a woman writer providing the Brontës with inspiration, has been largely overlooked.

The evidence in my study suggests that the Brontë sisters did have before them the early example of Mary Shelley, and understanding her significance for the sisters' early writing, changes the way we view their position in literary history. In terms of the Brontës, their periodical culture has demonstrated that not only would the sisters have had access to Mary's novels, but should also have been able to read about her life, including her role as editor to her husband and parents' lives and work.

iv. A Female Heritage.

Appreciating how the Brontë sisters could have been influenced by Mary Shelley changes the way that their work, and specifically their novels, might be read. Mary Shelley was part of a central line of female authorship, her mother being Mary Wollstonecraft, a writer whose two novels and works on women's rights specifically focused upon the position of women's lives in society. The Brontës' writing by and about women – for instance, in novels such as *Agnes Grey and Jane Eyre* – takes on a new significance when it can be identified that from a young age the sisters were familiar with one woman writer, and could access a narrative in the periodicals which recognised another, that is, Wollstonecraft. Seen in this context, strong heroines such as Jane Eyre and Helen Huntingdon may be more the product of a female, than male, writing tradition, shaped by the position and experiences of women like Wollstonecraft and Mary Shelley, rather than men such as Byron.

[28] Harold Bloom, *Bloom's Modern Critical Interpretations: Charlotte Brontë's Jane Eyre* (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 2007), p. 1.

Using the writing framework which I have set up for the Brontës in Chapter Two, further research could to be undertaken to explore a potential Shelleyan connection in the sisters' novels. My thesis has offered a framework the siblings' collective writing practice that may be explored to expand, or reposition, our understanding of their novels. Placing the sisters' novels in the contexts they were written in, rather than by dates of publication, they might be viewed as collective trios written at corresponding times; firstly *The Professor, Wuthering Heights* and *Agnes Grey,* and secondly *Jane Eyre, The Tenant of Wildfell Hall,* and Emily's lost novel, all of which were written or being written before their first novel (*Jane Eyre*) was published. Similarly to the juvenilia, an exploration could be made to identify any Shelleyan textual borrowings within the novels, and by viewing them as trios, identify any unrecognised corresponding themes and connections between the works.

Many Brontë critics look to details of the sisters' biography to explain what happens in their novels, yet my study of their juvenilia has shown that drawing on personal experience was not typical in their pre–novel work. Rather I showed how the juvenilia borrows from and responds to particular source texts, a practice which, I suggest, is also highly likely to have informed their novel-writing. A line for future research would therefore be to re-consider the novels as works intended to be recognised, at least in part, as responding to a literary network which drew from a specifically female lineage. For example, *Jane Eyre* might be seen as Charlotte's response to the Shelleys, one where Jane's refusal to accompany the married Rochester to the Continent, and Rochester's attempts to save his wife from her death in a fire, are Charlotte's appropriation of the Shelleyan biography. In this more principled rewriting, Mary and Percy do not commit adultery and elope, Percy attempts to heroically save his wife Harriet when she is dying, despite her 'inferior mind', and they are rewarded with an eventual orthodox marriage.

Positioning the further possible textual presence of Mary Wollstonecraft in the Brontë novels, by using the Shelleyan framework from this study, would locate their exploration of women's education, marriage and employment, as a response to her work.[29] For instance, Anne's *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall* has been critically considered to have 'remarkable similarity' to Wollstonecraft's *Vindication.*[30] Langland remarks that Anne's 'representation of domestic abuse in *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall* recalls Wollstonecraft's *Maria.'*[31] Likewise Franklin notes similarities with Anne's second novel to Wollstonecraft's work, recognising how 'Anne stages a Wollstonecraftian argument', and that 'Wollstonecraft's unfinished novel [Maria] … [has a] similar theme.'[32] Whilst no scholar has asserted that the Brontës certainly read Wollstonecraft's work, as with the Shelleys, she was certainly available to them. Where scholars note similarities between her work and Anne's *Tenant of Wildfell Hall* in the similar narratives between the unfinished novel *Maria* – where a wife is trapped in an abusive and loveless marriage – the same writing model as I have applied to the Shelleys might be applied to Wollstonecraft. The sisters' later novels, *Wildfell Hall,* and also *Jane Eyre* and *Villette,* all follow themes of a woman's position in society. Further work might be done to place the availability of a Wollstonecraftian narrative to the Brontës, exploring the possibility of their later novels being informed by and responding to Mary Wollstonecraft.

The periodical culture has shown a narrative for the Brontës that offers a different contextual approach to understanding the juvenilia; work which was not isolated or self-

[29] Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication on the Rights of Woman* (1792) argued for the importance of a woman's education and equality, the unfinished novel *Maria: or, The Wrongs of Women* (1798) is similar in theme to some of the Brontë novels, exploring madness, as in *Jane Eyre,* and abusive husbands, as in *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall*.

[30] Elizabeth Langland, *Anne Brontë: The Other One* (New Jersey: Barnes & Noble, 1989), p. 39.

[31] Ibid, pp. 39 - 41.

[32] Caroline Franklin, *The Female Romantics: Nineteenth-century Women Novelists and Byronism* (Oxon: Routledge, 2013), p. 130.

contained, but was shaped within a cultural framework. The Shelleys have demonstrated a narrative that we might otherwise have missed. The extent to which the family were imitative writers reveals a female line of authorising; borrowing from source texts which offered the lives and works of woman writers. The Brontës' practice as derivative writers offers important textual hints, divining enough clues for an overlooked line of both female and Shelleyan heritage.

Appendix I.
Chronology.

Shelley.		Brontë.
Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin born at Somers Town, first child of William Godwin and second daughter to Mary Wollstonecraft. Wollstonecraft dies 10 days after the birth of her daughter of puerperal fever.	1797	Patrick Brontë is running his own school in Ireland, he claims to have been just 16 on its founding.
Godwin marries his 'widowed' neighbour Mary Jane Clairmont bringing her children Jane 'Claire' and Charles into the Godwin household.	1801	Patrick Brontë is an undergraduate student at St. John's College, Cambridge.
Mary meets Percy for the first time at the Godwin household in Skinner Street.	1812	Patrick Brontë marries Maria Branwell.
Mary and Percy elope to the continent, taking Claire with them, travelling through France, Switzerland and Germany.	1814	First child of Patrick and Maria, Maria Brontë born.
After returning to England, Mary and Percy's first daughter is born but dies a few days later.	1815 Battle of Waterloo.	Elizabeth Brontë born.
William Shelley born. Percy, Mary and Claire travel to Geneva to meet Lord Byron at Villa Diodati. *Frankenstein* is begun. Suicide of Mary's half-sister Fanny Imlay, and of Percy's wife, Harriet Westbrook. Percy and Mary marry.	1816 Byron's poem 'Darkness' published.	Charlotte Brontë born.
Allegra (Alba) Byron born. Clara Shelley born. *History of a Six Weeks Tour* published.	1817	Patrick Branwell Brontë born.

The Shelleys leave for Italy. *Frankenstein* published anonymously. Clara Shelley dies.	1818 Byron's *Child Harolde* published.	Emily Jane Brontë born.
William Shelley dies. Percy Florence Shelley born.	1819 Byron's *Don Juan* published.	
Prometheus Unbound by Percy Bysshe Shelley published.	1820	Anne Brontë born. The family move to Haworth Parsonage.
The Shelleys move to Pisa to be near Byron, with Edward and Jane Williams.	1821 Napoleon dies. Keats dies.	The Brontës' mother Maria dies. Her sister Elizabeth Branwell comes to live with the family.
Percy Shelley and Edward Williams drown off the Gulf of Spezia.	1822	
Valperga published. Mary returns to London.	1823	
Percy Shelley's *Posthumous Poems* is published but quickly withdrawn under the orders of Sir Timothy.	1824 Byron dies in Greece.	Charlotte and Emily at Cowan Bridge school.
	1825	The Brontë sisters are withdrawn from school. Maria and Elizabeth die from cholera.
The Last Man published in two editions by Henry Colburn, and one edition by Galignani. Percy's eldest son Charles Shelley dies. Mary's son Percy Florence becomes heir to the Shelley estate.	1826	Branwell receives the twelve soldiers from Rev. Brontë and the early juvenilia begins. Charlotte writes first known juvenilia 'play' 'The Young Men.'
	1827	Tales 'Our Fellows' and 'Islanders' written.
Mary's *Keepsake* tale 'Ferdinando Eboli' published.	1828	

	Wellington becomes Prime Minister.	
Galignani's *Poetical Works of Coleridge, Shelley and Keats* published, carrying Cyrus' Redding's 'Memoir' and Mary Shelley's 'Preface.' Mary begins writing for Dionysus Lardner's *Cabinet Encyclopaedia.*	1829	Charlotte writes 'History of the Year.' Branwell begins 'Branwell's Blackwood's Magazine,' changed to 'Young Men's Magazine' by Charlotte. Charlotte writes 'Celebrated Men of the Present Time.'
Perkin Warbeck published. Mary reviews Godwin's *Cloudsley* for *Blackwood's Magazine.*	1830 George IV dies. Accession of William IV.	
New edition of *Frankenstein* names Mary Shelley as author.	1831 Ross discovers the North Pole.	Charlotte leaves for the Misses Woolers' school at Roe Head.
Mary's *Keepsake* tales 'The Brother and Sister' and 'The Invisible Girl' published.	1832 Moore's *Life of Byron* published. Scott dies.	Standard date given for the Brontës acquiring Moore's *Life of Byron.* Mr Driver's loan of *Blackwood's* ceases. Aunt Branwell subscribes the family to *Fraser's Magazine.* Charlotte returns to Haworth to teach Emily and Anne.
Thomas Medwin's *Life of Shelley* published. *The Last Man* is issued by American publishers Carey, Lea & Blanchard in Philadelphia. It is not published again until 1965.	1833	Emily and Anne split from the collective Glass Town. Angria and Gondal begin to emerge. First mention of Mina Laury and the creation of heroine Mary Percy. Branwell writes 'The Politics of Verdopolis.'
Lodore published. Portrait of Godwin in *Fraser's '*Gallery of Literary Characters.'	1834	First reference to Gondal. Charlotte writes 'High Life in Verdopolis,' 'The Spell,' and 'The Scrap Book.' Branwell writes 'The Wood is Rising' and 'The Life of Alexander Percy.' Adrian is featured as one of Zamorna's names.

		Emily and Anne write their first surviving diary note.
Fraser's Magazine reviews *Lodore* with extracts.	1835	Charlotte returns to Roe Head as teacher, Emily as pupil. Anne soon replaces Emily.
William Godwin dies.	1836	Emily's first recorded poem. Charlotte and Branwell write 'History of Angria.' Charlotte writes to Poet Laureate Robert Southey who replies "Literature cannot be the business of a woman's life: and it ought not to be."
Falkner published.	1837 William IV dies. Accession of Victoria.	Anne returns home ill from Roe Head. Branwell writes to Wordsworth with no reply.
Percy Shelley's four volume *Poetical Works* published with autobiographical preface.	1839	Charlotte writes 'Caroline Vernon,' referencing Percy Shelley by name.
Mary takes a continental tour with Percy Florence and his friends.	1840 Marriage of Victoria and Albert.	Anne becomes governess to the Ingram Family. Branwell is appointed Assistant Clerk at Sowerby Bridge Railway Station. Charlotte's attempts to write a novel titled 'Messrs Percy and West'.
	1841	Publication of Branwell's first poem in the Halifax Guardian. Branwell is appointed Clerk in Charge at Luddenden Foot Station, Hebden Bridge. Charlotte sends a fair copy of the opening chapters of her novel to Hartley Coleridge. Death of curate William Weightman from cholera.
Mary takes a further continental tour.	1842	Charlotte and Emily leave Haworth for the Pensionnat Heger in Brussels. Branwell is dismissed from his post for deficits in the station accounts.

		Aunt Elizabeth Branwell dies. Charlotte and Emily return home.
	1843	Charlotte returns to Brussels as pupil-teacher. Emily stays behind as parsonage housekeeper.
Rambles in Germany and Italy published. Sir Timothy Shelley dies, Percy Florence inherits the baronetcy.	1844	Charlotte returns home from Brussels. A circular is sent out advertising for pupils at a planned school in the parsonage – not a single application is received.
	1845	Arthur Bell Nicholls appointed Curate at Haworth. Branwell is dismissed from his post as tutor at Throp Green for an affair with Mrs Robinson. Emily writes 'Child of Light.' Charlotte 'accidently lighted' upon Emily's manuscript poetry. Emily and Anne write their last surviving diary note.
Mary finishes writing for Dionysus Lardner's *Cabinet Encyclopaedia.*	1846	'Poems' by Currer, Ellis & Acton Bell published.
	1847	*Wuthering Heights*, *Agnes Grey* and *Jane Eyre* published. Emily and Anne's novels may have been written up to two years before Charlotte's, her corresponding work *The Professor* having been refused.
	1848	Charlotte and Anne travel to London to reveal their identity as separate women writers. *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall* published. Branwell Brontë dies in September from tuberculosis, intensified by alcohol, opium and laudanum addiction. Emily Brontë dies from tuberculosis in December.
	1849	Anne Brontë dies from tuberculosis in May at Scarborough. *Shirley* is published.

	1850 Wordsworth dies.	Charlotte edits the revised edition of *Wuthering Heights* with 'Biographical Notice' and 'Editor's Preface.'
Mary Shelley dies in London from a brain tumour in February.	1851	
	1852 Wellington dies.	
	1853	*Villette* is published. Elizabeth Gaskell visits Charlotte in Haworth.
	1854	Charlotte marries Haworth curate Arthur Bell Nicholls.
	1855	Charlotte Brontë dies from hyperemesis gravidarum in pregnancy in March.
	1857	*The Life of Charlotte Brontë* by Elizabeth Gaskell published. Charlotte's first novel *The Professor* is published posthumously with 'Introductory Note' by Arthur Bell Nicholls.
	1860 Byron's wife dies.	
	1867	Rev. Patrick Brontë dies. Auction of Brontë household items and books at Haworth Parsonage.
	1895	Clement Shorter visits Arthur Bell Nicholls in Ireland and acquires, then sells on at auction, some Brontë letters and manuscripts.
	1906	Arthur Bell Nicholls dies of bronchitis.
	1907	Nicholl's widow Mary Bell begins to auction surviving Brontë memorabilia.

Appendix II.
Plates.



Fig. i.
Percy Bysshe Shelley. (1819)
By William Holl Sr. or William Holl Jr., after Amelia Curran, stipple and line engraving.
National Portrait Gallery, D6851.



Fig. ii.
'King of Angria, Duke of Zamorna & Marquis of Douro.' (c.1834)
By Charlotte Brontë, monochrome, black watercolour and sepia.
Mrs Eleanor Lang, Dundas, Ontario, Canada.



Fig. iii.
Northangerland, Alexander Percy Esq. (c.1835).
By Branwell Brontë, pen and ink.
The Brotherton Collection, Leeds University Library, BC MS 19c.
Brontë/02/01/17.



Fig. iv.
Lord George Gordon Byron (1816).
By Henry Hopper Meyer, published by T. Cadell and W. Davies, after George Henry Harlow, stipple engraving.
National Portrait Gallery, D1158.

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