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FACOLTÀ DI SCIENZE LINGUISTICHE E LETTERATURE STRANIERE
UNIVERSITÀ CATTOLICA DEL SACRO CUORE

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SOME LIFETIME EDITIONS OF SHELLEY OWNED BY RICHARD MONCKTON MILNES¹

MICHAEL ROSSINGTON
NEWCASTLE UNIVERSITY

Richard Monckton Milnes is known to students of English Romanticism mainly as editor of *Life, Letters, and Literary Remains*, of John Keats, 2 vols (London: Edward Moxon, 1858). This article addresses Milnes' interest in Percy Bysshe Shelley with reference to three lifetime editions of the poet that he owned. Two are now in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, the third in Princeton University Library. All contained between their covers Shelley's autograph and were displayed at meetings of the Philobiblon Society in the 1850s and 1860s.

Keywords: Percy Bysshe Shelley, Richard Monckton Milnes, bibliography, history of the book, manuscripts

After his stay at Milan in 1818 Shelley's spirit may be said to have lived on there, at least temporarily, through Richard Monckton Milnes (1809-1885). One of three Cambridge undergraduates chosen to assert the superiority of Shelley to Byron at the Oxford Union in November 1829 (Arthur Hallam was another), Milnes had been instrumental in the publication of the first English edition of *Adonais*². Having left Cambridge in April 1830, he joined his parents and sister a few months later in Milan where they had moved the previous year, staying until March 1831 when he left for Venice³. Milnes' Shelleyan interests later took on a continental inflection. As Stephanie Dumke showed, in 1847 he secured from Mary Shelley a fragment of holograph manuscript of *Laon and Cythna* for Karl Au-

¹ I am grateful to the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge, for electing me to a Visiting Scholarship in 2016 which enabled much of the research for this article to be undertaken. For information and advice, I thank Alexandra Ault, Charles Carter, Stephanie Coane, Brianna Cregle, Elizabeth Denlinger, Doucet Fischer, Stephen Hebron, Michael Meredith, Valentina Varinelli, Patrick Vincent, Ross Wilson, and the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford; the British Library; Cambridge University Library; the Carl H. Pforzheimer Collection of Shelley and His Circle, New York Public Library; Eton College Library; the National Library of Scotland; Newcastle University Library; Princeton University Library; the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge; and the School of English Literature, Language and Linguistics, Newcastle University. I am indebted to Nicolas Bell, Nora Crook and Gregory Hutchinson for their invaluable comments on an early draft.

² T. Wemyss Reid, *The Life, Letters, and Friendships of Richard Monckton Milnes, First Lord Houghton*, 2 vols, Cassell, London 1890³, vol. 1, pp. 77-78; P.B. Shelley, *Adonais*, Gee and Bridges, Cambridge 1829.

³ J. Pope-Hennessy, *Monckton Milnes: The Years of Promise 1809-1851*, Constable, London 1949, pp. 24, 33-34.

gust Varnhagen von Ense in Berlin⁴. Shelley's presence is also evident at meetings of the Philobiblon Society, a club Milnes founded in 1853 for "persons interested in the history, collection, or peculiarities of Books"⁵. The three of his early editions of Shelley that are the focus of this article were displayed at meetings of the Society between 1855 and 1863; there is no record of any other Shelley items being exhibited. Two are now in the Crewe Bequest (2015) at Trinity College, Cambridge, the third in the Robert H. Taylor collection at Princeton University Library. All three appear to have been particularly prized by Milnes because between their covers they bore Shelley's autograph.

The status of Milnes' early editions of Shelley, which were among the so-called 'holy of holies' kept in a blue suitcase by his grand-daughter Mary, Duchess of Roxburghe (1915-2014), has been explained authoritatively by Nicolas Bell⁶. An insight into the contents of the Shelley family's library in the lifetime of her father, the Earl of Crewe (Milnes' son, Robert Crewe-Milnes, 1858-1945), is given in a somewhat inaccurate letter of 17 April 1937 by his Private Secretary replying to an inquiry from the American scholar David Lee Clark (1887-1956)⁷. First, there were five lifetime editions (the fourth unauthorized): *The Revolt of Islam* (C. and J. Ollier, London 1818)⁸; *Laon and Cythna* (C. and J. Ollier, London 1818)⁹; *The Cenci* (C. and J. Ollier, London 1819)¹⁰; *Queen Mab* (W. Clark, London 1821); and *St Irvyne* (J.J. Stockdale, London 1811)¹¹. The letter's claim that the inscription "The author's copy, | 1829" on the title-page of *Laon and Cythna* is "autograph" was obviously erroneous¹². However, as Nora Crook has noted, it is possible to deduce that this book was indeed Shelley's¹³. The date appears to refer to when it was originally acquired, apparently at the sale of "The Library of Percy B. Shelley" in Oxford on 26 October 1829¹⁴. While his piratical *Queen Mab* is as yet unlocated, Milnes' copy of *Posthumous Fragments of Margaret Nicholson* (1810), not mentioned in this letter and part of the Crewe Bequest (2015), is discussed below. The letter also lists five manuscripts. Four are letters by Shelley

⁴ S. Dumke, *Rediscovered Shelley and Keats Manuscripts in Kraków*, "Keats-Shelley Journal", 63, 2014, pp. 39-57 (p. 42).

⁵ *Philobiblon Society. Bibliographical and Historical Miscellanies. Vol. I*, Whittingham, London 1854, p. 3.

⁶ N. Bell, "The holy of holies"; *Vast Book Collection Brought to the Wren*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q947Gx69wEE> (last accessed February 26, 2019).

⁷ Trinity College, Cambridge, Crewe Bequest. The letter records the addressee as "Professor D. Lee Clarke".

⁸ Crewe 116.23.

⁹ Crewe 116.22.

¹⁰ Crewe 116.34.

¹¹ Crewe 105.31.

¹² The Private Secretary's claim that the inscription "Percy Bysshe Shelley" on the title-page of the copy of *St Irvyne* (where the author is given as "A Gentleman of the University of Oxford") is "autograph" is likewise extremely doubtful.

¹³ Nora Crook (private correspondence) notes that Crewe 116.22 is one of two copies of *Laon and Cythna* in the list of contents of the Shelleys' library at Marlow now in the Pforzheimer Collection (Pfz Shelleyana 1082).

¹⁴ The sale was announced in "Jackson's Oxford Journal" for 17 and 24 October 1829.

which were subsequently sold at auction¹⁵. They are now in the Pforzheimer Collection and were published in full for the first time in 2002¹⁶. The fifth, acquired by the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge in 2019, is “An autograph poem. on two sides of quarto paper”, whose first line is “Soft be the voice & friendly that rebukes”¹⁷. This verse is not by Shelley but Henry Taylor (1800-1886), a friend of Milnes and in later life a neighbour of Jane, Lady Shelley, and Percy Florence Shelley at Bournemouth¹⁸. Taylor’s poem, addressed to Caroline Norton¹⁹, was first published under the title “Stanzas” in *The Tribute* (1837), a miscellany which Milnes helped to publish²⁰.

1. Henry Hart Milman (1791-1868), Professor of Poetry at the University of Oxford from 1821 to 1831 and Dean of St Paul’s from 1849 until his death, was a contemporary of Shelley’s at Eton who matriculated at Oxford just a few weeks after him on 25 May 1810²¹. Milman’s letter to Milnes of 2 July 1853, in which he apparently enclosed his copy of *Posthumous Fragments of Margaret Nicholson*, offers a sardonic assessment of the volume’s literary worth, though a bibliophile’s delight in its rarity:

I send you the tender strains of Peg Nicholson, from the pen of Shelley in his youth – If you do not, like a generous Philo Biblian, send me a cheque for 50 guineas for this, perhaps unique, treasure, you must Pay up for me the equivalent in your regard, and your admiration of that noble disinterestedness, which destroys my character for ever as a Book Collector – I hope that it is not an act of treason against the Club²².

Five years later, on 10 July 1858, “Posthumous Fragments of Margaret Nicholson edited by John Fitzvictor (P. B. Shelley). 4TO. presentation copy. Oxford. 1810”, the copy to which Milman refers, was “[a]mong [...] rare and curious books [...] shown” at a breakfast meeting of the Philobiblon Society hosted by Milnes²³. Members present on that occasion included

¹⁵ *Important Autograph Letters, Manuscripts and Music from the Richard Monckton Milnes Collection and Other Properties*, Christie’s, London, 29 June 1995, lots 366, 367 and 368, pp. 52-55.

¹⁶ Three of the letters are to Edward Fergus Graham and date from 5 June 1810, ?15-19 May 1811 and 7 June 1811; they are published in *Shelley and His Circle, 1773-1822*, 10 vols to date, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA 1961-2002, Vol. 9, D.H. Reiman – D. Devin Fischer ed., pp. 115-126, 140-168 (SC 773, SC 775, SC 776). The fourth, to Amelia Curran of 17 September 1820, is published *Ibid.*, Vol. 10, D.H. Reiman – D. Devin Fischer ed., pp. 831-844 (SC 831).

¹⁷ Add.ms.a.598.

¹⁸ U. Taylor, *Guests and Memories: Annals of a Seaside Villa*, Oxford University Press, London 1924, pp. 334-340.

¹⁹ Mrs C.W. Earle, *Memoirs and Memories*, Smith, Elder & Co., London 1911, p. 109.

²⁰ *The Tribute: A Collection of Miscellaneous Unpublished Poems by Various Authors*, Lord Northampton ed., Murray and Lindsay, London 1837, pp. 100-101, v, ix.

²¹ H. Matthew (2006, September 28), *Milman, Henry Hart (1791-1868), Historian and Dean of St Paul’s*, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-18778> (last accessed February 27, 2019); for Shelley’s matriculation on 10 April 1810, see B. Barker-Benfield, *Shelley’s Bodleian Visits*, “Bodleian Library Record”, 12, 1987, 5, pp. 381-399 (pp. 384-385).

²² Trinity College, Cambridge, Crewe Bequest.

²³ Crewe MS 17, pp. 242, 237.

Milman himself²⁴. Milnes also recorded the display at that meeting of “Hartley’s Observations on Man. 2 vols. 1810, with Shelley’s autograph notes”, another work he owned that had been acquired at the 1829 sale of Shelley’s Library in Oxford²⁵.

“POSTHUMOUS FRAGMENTS | of | Margaret Nicholson; | being Poems found amongst the papers of that | noted female who attempted the life of the King in 1786. | Edited by | JOHN FITZVICTOR” to give the pamphlet its full title, was “printed and sold” by John Munday, who partnered Henry Slatter in a printing-office on Oxford High Street. It was first advertised in the 17 November 1810 issue of Munday and Slatter’s weekly newspaper, the “Oxford University and City Herald”, as “Just published, price 2 shillings”²⁶. Shelley boasted in a letter to Edward Fergus Graham four days later, deploying a nickname for the pamphlet which Milman evidently recalled, that “Nothing is talked of at Oxford but Peg Nicholson, I have only printed 250 copies & expect a second edition soon”²⁷. Despite the author’s wishes for its success, there is scant evidence that it was much known before 1859, when the British Library acquired a copy²⁸. This makes Milman’s claim that his copy was “perhaps unique” seem not far off the mark, notwithstanding Thomas Medwin’s assertion in 1833 that “probably the copy I have is the only one existing”²⁹. Hogg, in the year that Milnes’ recent acquisition was displayed, was somewhat casual about the whereabouts of his own: “I have one copy, if not more, somewhere or other, but not at hand”³⁰. H. Buxton Forman recorded “four [...] extant” in 1886, Granniss and Wise noted six in 1923-1924, and five are “located and collated” in the most recent scholarly edition of Shelley’s earliest poetry (2000)³¹. In addition

²⁴ Crewe MS 17, p. 235.

²⁵ Crewe MS 17, p. 242. Shelley’s annotated copy of the first volume of D. Hartley, *Observations on Man, His Frame, His Duty, and His Expectations*, 2 vols, Wilkie and Robinson, London 1810⁵, now in the Pforzheimer Collection (*Pforz 557R 05), is inscribed: “Richard Monckton Milnes | the copy once in the possession of ‘Percy Bysshe Shelley’ with his autograph notes: bought at Oxford. 1829”. Milnes’ minute indicates that the second volume was lost between 1858 and the accession by the Pforzheimer of the first volume.

²⁶ *Oxford University and City Herald*, 17 November 1810, p. 2. Shelley’s pamphlet of poems was advertised again on p. 1 of the 24 November issue.

²⁷ P.B. Shelley to E.F. Graham, 21 November 1810, *The Letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, F.L. Jones ed., 2 vols, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1964, Vol. 1, p. 22.

²⁸ C.39.h.17. The date stamp on the verso of p. 29 is “28 JU 59”, i.e. 28 June 1859. The only contemporary notices of the pamphlet of which I am aware are from within the University of Oxford: a bibliographical note dated 27 March 1811 by Philip Bliss, a Fellow of St John’s College and assistant at the Bodleian Library, in Bodleian MS. Top. Oxon. e. 51, p. 161, published in B.C. Barker-Benfield, *Shelley’s Guitar*, Bodleian Library, Oxford 1992, p. 31; and a letter by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe from Christ Church, dated 15 March 1811, published in [Lady Charlotte Bury], *Diary Illustrative of the Times of George the Fourth*, 2 vols, Colburn, London 1838, Vol. 1, pp. 58-59.

²⁹ T. Medwin, *The Shelley Papers*, Whittaker, Treacher, & Co., London 1833, p. 11; see also Id., *The Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, H. Buxton Forman ed., Oxford University Press, London 1913, p. 88.

³⁰ T.J. Hogg, *The Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, 2 vols, Moxon, London 1858, Vol. 1, p. 267. A copy of *Posthumous Fragments* with the signature “J Hogg” (i.e. Jane [Williams] Hogg, 1798-1884) on the half-title is now in the Pforzheimer Collection (*Pforz 557L 02).

³¹ H. Buxton Forman, *The Shelley Library*, Reeves and Turner, London 1886, p. 12; R.S. Granniss, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the First Editions in Book Form of the Writings of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, The Grolier Club, New York 1923, p. 13; T.J. Wise, *A Shelley Library*, Privately printed, London 1924, p. 31; *The Complete Poetry of Percy*

to Milnes' copy there is another in Cambridge, in the University Library, neglected perhaps because it is bound in a miscellany of verse pamphlets whose original compiler indexed "Nicholson M" as the author³². It carries a bemused note in pencil on its fly-title by the recipient, the playwright and clergyman James Plumptre (1771-1832): "Clare Hall, Nov^r. 21, 1810. I received this, this day, by the coach, in a parcel, which had come through London, where 2^s 2^d. had been paid out. No note accompanied it".

Unlike the copy in Cambridge University Library, the Crewe Bequest *Posthumous Fragments* is of interest precisely because the note on its fly-title – "with *the Editor's* best Comp[liments]" – is autograph. The underline apparently emphasizes Shelley's relish at masking his authorship under the name of a supposed editor "John Fitzvictor", an elaboration of the *nom de plume* he had adopted for his contributions to the volume of poems he co-authored with his sister Elizabeth – *Original Poetry; by Victor and Cazire* – which was published by John Joseph Stockdale in September 1810 and withdrawn because of a plagiarism. A somewhat guarded note in the hand of Milman is tipped in to the front endpapers:

The Posthumous Fragments of Margaret Nicholson were written by Shelley, when at Oxford. This was a Copy presented to me by him. I was then on friendly but not intimate terms with Shelley whom I occasionally saw. He afterwards fancied that I wrote an article upon his Poetry in the Quarterly Review / which was written by J. T. / now Judge / Coleridge. For this he swore deadly hatred to me, and, as far as possible, inspired his friends with the same feeling – after that time I had never any intercourse or correspondence with Shelley ["Shelley" written over "him" or possibly vice versa].

Milman had been a member of a literary coterie formed during the final year that he and Shelley were at Eton; he wrote poetry and was much interested in Southey at that time³³. This explains his recollection of being on "friendly [...] terms" with Shelley in 1810. Although there is no evidence that they communicated after Shelley was expelled from Oxford in March 1811, Milman's note to Milnes attributes the irreversible breakdown in their relationship to Shelley making known his mistaken belief that Milman had authored the hostile review of *Laon and Cythna* and *The Revolt of Islam* published in the April 1819 number of the "Quarterly Review" (which appeared in September of that year)³⁴.

2. The *Posthumous Fragments* was exhibited for a second time at a meeting of the Philobiblon Society hosted by Milnes on 6 June 1863, where Milman was again present³⁵. Also on display was "Shelley's Revolt of Islam. Lond. 1818. with the sheet inserted from the

Byshe Shelley, 3 vols to date, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore 2000-12, Vol. 1, D.H. Reiman – N. Fraistat ed., p. 242.

³² S721.b.77.3(12). As well as not noticing this copy, Reiman and Fraistat appear to have been unaware of another in the National Art Library at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (shelfmark: Dyce 9046).

³³ I am indebted to Michael Meredith, Librarian Emeritus of Eton College Library, for this information.

³⁴ P.B. Shelley to C. Ollier, 11 June 1821, and P.B. Shelley to Byron, 16 July 1821, *Letters*, Vol. 2, pp. 298-299, 309; "Quarterly Review", 21, 1819, 42, pp. 460-471.

³⁵ Crewe MS 18, pp. 13, 7.

Livre des Voyageurs at Chamounix, containing Shelley's autograph on the 23^d. July 1816³⁶. The "autograph", Shelley's 'observation' in Greek on "the sheet", was recorded by Milnes. It reads: "Εἰμι φιλάνθρωπος δημοκρατικός τ' ἄθεος τε" ("I am human-loving, democracy-favouring and unbelieving"). Milnes had acquired this copy of *The Revolt of Islam* at the sale on 5 May 1860 of the library of the collector John Mitford (1781-1859)³⁷. The auction catalogue confirms that the "leaf from the Journal Book kept at the Inn at Chamouny" had been inserted in the copy of *The Revolt of Islam* before it was sold³⁸. The verso of a front endpaper in Crewe 116.23 carries marks of the wax seals by which the leaf was affixed, and its folded form corresponds to the area to which it was attached. Mitford is thought to have authored an article published in April 1819 which stated, "Mr. Percy Bysshe Shelly [*sic*], a gentleman well known for extravagance of doctrine, and for his daring in their profession, even to sign himself with the title of ἄθεος in the Album at Chamouny [...]"³⁹. However, an account of the inscription had appeared several months earlier. John Taylor Coleridge's review of Leigh Hunt's *Foliage* (1818) in the January 1818 number of the "Quarterly" (published in June of that year) without identifying him directly had referred to Shelley writing "ἄθεος after his name in the album"⁴⁰. The anguish Algernon Charles Swinburne registered at having to transcribe Shelley's faulty Greek ("I copy the spelling with all due regret and horror"⁴¹) is not as important for my purposes as Swinburne being able to vouch for the authenticity of the autograph inscription, which Milnes had shown him "not later than two or three years [...] at most" after 1860, in the face of Dowden's doubt, in the first scholarly biography of Shelley, as to "[w]hether it was genuine or a forgery"⁴². In an article of 1898, the Earl of Crewe provided more details of the leaf, describing it, in terms that can now be broadly verified, as "of rough blue-gray paper, foolscap size" and as showing

³⁶ Crewe MS 18, p. 13.

³⁷ W.P. Courtney and J. Barcus (2004, September 23), *Mitford, John (1781-1859), Literary Scholar and Church of England Clergyman*, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-18856> (last accessed March 1, 2019).

³⁸ *Catalogue of the second portion, Comprising the General Library of the Late Rev. John Mitford*, Sotheby and Wilkinson, London 1860, p. 208. "£10.0.0 | M Milnes" is pencilled in the margin alongside this item in the National Library of Scotland copy of this catalogue.

³⁹ *Extract of a letter from Geneva, with Anecdotes of Lord Byron, &c.*, "The New Monthly Magazine", 1 April 1819, pp. 193-206 (pp. 194-195); an article in "Notes and Queries", 7, 3rd ser., 1865, p. 201, states that this article "has been attributed to J. Mitford".

⁴⁰ "Quarterly Review", 18, 1818, 36, pp. 324-335 (p. 329).

⁴¹ A.C. Swinburne, *Notes on the Text of Shelley*, "Fortnightly Review", 5, n.s., 1869, pp. 539-561 (p. 543). Gregory Hutchinson (private correspondence) has provided the following, correct rendition of Shelley's inscription (including accents): "Εἰμι φιλάνθρωπος δημοκρατικός τ' ἄθεός τε". In his transcription in Crewe MS 18, p. 13, Milnes underlined Shelley's actual error, an omega instead of an omicron as the fourth letter of the third word.

⁴² A.C. Swinburne to E. Dowden, 2 June 1886, *The Swinburne Letters*, C.Y. Lang ed., 6 vols, Yale University Press, New Haven, CT 1962, Vol. 5, p. 145; E. Dowden, *The Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, 2 vols, Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., London 1886, Vol. 2, p. 30n. See also Swinburne to Dowden, 29 November 1886, *Swinburne Letters*, Vol. 5, p. 178.

evidence of having been cut from a book, as a word or two is missing from each line on the inner margin. It is ruled by hand into vertical divisions headed respectively “jours, mois, noms des voyageurs, lieu de naissance et profession, d’où ils viennent, ou ils sont dirigé, observations”⁴³.

The leaf was the subject of essays published in 1938 and 1958 by Gavin de Beer whose correspondence with Lord Crewe’s Private Secretary and with Mary, Duchess of Roxburghe, between 1937 and 1965 survives in the Crewe Bequest⁴⁴. De Beer’s claim that “under the date July 23 1816, written in Shelley’s hand, are the names of ‘Percy B. Shelley’, ‘Mad. M.W.G.’ [Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin], and ‘Mad. J.C.’ [Jane Clairmont] which last entry is so heavily scratched out in ink as to be decipherable only to anyone knowing what to look for” seems to have been accepted hitherto⁴⁵.

The only image of the relevant portion of the leaf publicly available before 2016 (so far as I am aware) was the one reproduced in de Beer’s 1958 article, “By courtesy of the Marchioness of Crewe”⁴⁶. Access to the original album leaf (an image of the recto of which may be found on p. 141⁴⁷) allows evidence of the extent of Shelley’s autograph to be examined afresh. Comparison of fifteen different words and the letters of which they are composed in the album leaf inscription with the same words and letters in a sample of manuscripts from summer 1816 in the hands of Percy Shelley and Mary Godwin (as she then was), suggests that it was Mary who wrote “Percy B. Shelley”, “London” and “Sussex”, and “England” in the columns headed “nom des voyageurs”, “lieu de naissance et profession”, and “d’où ils viennent”, while Percy wrote “L’Enfer” alongside Mary’s name in the column headed “ou ils sont dirigés”. The question of who wrote “L’Enfer” alongside Percy’s name in the same column is difficult to determine. The hand seems to be neither Percy’s nor Mary’s but is similar to that of an entry for 26 July further down the page, written by Claire Clairmont, which begins with the name “[?P]heoffteiyque [?Tuoniriale]”, whose birthplace appears to be Iceland⁴⁸. While Percy’s Greek inscription is entered in the final column (“observa-

⁴³ Earl of Crewe, *A Leaf from an Inn Album*, “Literature”, 1, 1898, 11, pp. 336-337 (p. 336). Only just visible in the top left hand corner of the recto of the leaf, where the leaf was cut from the album, is the last letter of the word that heads the first column: “année”. Some of the headings are not entirely clear but the penultimate one is almost certainly “dirigés”, not, as Crewe has it, “dirigé”.

⁴⁴ G. de Beer, *The Atheist: An Incident at Chamonix*, in *On Shelley*, E. Blunden ed., Oxford University Press, London 1938, pp. 35-54; Id., *An ‘Atheist’ in the Alps*, “Keats-Shelley Memorial Bulletin”, 9, 1958, pp. 1-15; Trinity College, Cambridge, Crewe Bequest. There is no reason to doubt de Beer’s statement that the visitor’s book from which this leaf was removed was “almost certainly” that of the Hôtel de Londres (*An ‘Atheist’*, p. 10). From there, on 22 July, Shelley wrote a letter to Byron (see *Shelley and His Circle*, Vol. 4, K.N. Cameron ed., pp. 722-726 (SC 336)), and began one to Peacock (see *Letters*, Vol. 1, pp. 495-502).

⁴⁵ G. de Beer, *An ‘Atheist’*, p. 9. Nicolas Bell (private correspondence) notes that the cancelled entry for Claire appears to read “Mad. C.C.”, not “Mad. J.C.”.

⁴⁶ G. de Beer, *An ‘Atheist’*, photograph facing p. 8; for recent print reproductions, see: *Frankenstein: créé des ténèbres*, D. Spurr – N. Ducimetière ed., Gallimard/Fondation Martin Bodmer, Paris/Cologne 2016, pp. 172-173.

⁴⁷ This image is reproduced with the kind permission of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge.

⁴⁸ The rest of the entry reads: “Geneve. | Constantinople. | These mountains are molehills compared with those of my native country & the landlord is nothing after the one of Grenbergh”. De Beer reads the name as “The-

tions”), it seems to have been intended both to answer the question of his “profession” required by a previous column-heading, and perhaps, in “*αθεος*”, to respond to the word “methodist” after an entry in the same column further up the leaf. In sum, while, as Milnes noted, the leaf does contain “Shelley’s autograph”, the inscription “Percy B. Shelley” does not seem to be his.

3. The copy of the first edition of *Adonais* once owned by Milnes and now in the Robert H. Taylor Collection at Princeton University Library is known principally for containing an untitled holograph fair copy of Shelley’s poem beginning “Swifter far than summer’s flight”⁴⁹. This manuscript formed the basis of the text of the lyric published by Forman in 1877⁵⁰. The only other writings in the pages of the volume have been described by Donald H. Reiman as “corrections to the text of *Adonais*”⁵¹. They take the form of alterations in ink to the seventh line and the final line of Stanza 12 and appear to be autograph⁵². Milnes had acquired this volume by 1855 since it was displayed at a meeting of the Philobiblon Society on 10 November that year: “*Adonais*. Pisa. with types of Didot. 1821. With an autograph poem by Shelley”⁵³. An inscription on a bookplate on the front paste-down by Milnes’ relation Charles Milnes Gaskell (1842-1919) records him buying it from “L^d Houghton” – Milnes had been created Baron Houghton in 1863⁵⁴ – on 9 December 1879. Milnes Gaskell was proposed by Milnes as a member of the Philobiblon Society a few months later⁵⁵. Milnes’ note, tipped in to the front endpaper, provides some information about the volume’s provenance:

offteiygne” (ignoring the word beneath), and her nationality as “Irlandoise” (*An ‘Atheist’*, p. 11). Marion Kingston Stocking, accepting de Beer’s “Theoffteiygne”, suggests it was Clairmont’s “attempt to duplicate Shelley’s ‘Theossteique la soeur’ (a French version of the Greek for ‘hating God’)” inscribed in a visitor’s book in another Alpine location, the hut on Monteners (*The Clairmont Correspondence: Letters of Claire Clairmont, Charles Clairmont, and Fanny Imlay Godwin, 1808-1879*, M. Kingston Stocking ed., 2 vols, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore 1995, Vol. 1, p. 53n; for the inscription at Monteners, see de Beer, *An ‘Atheist’*, p. 5). However, the first letter of the forename may be “P”, rather than “T”, and the word beneath, apparently in the same hand, a surname. The second letter of the next column-entry is unclear but the content of the “observations” column may make “Islandoise” more likely than “Irlandoise”.

⁴⁹ (HSVR) RHT 19th-427, Robert H. Taylor collection of English and American literature, Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

⁵⁰ P.B. Shelley, *The Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, H. Buxton Forman ed., 4 vols, Reeves and Turner, London 1876-77, Vol. 4, p. 83n; Trinity College, Cambridge, H. Buxton Forman to Lord Houghton, 12 March 1876, Houghton 8²⁰⁰.

⁵¹ *Fair-Copy Manuscripts of Shelley’s Poems in European and American Libraries*, D.H. Reiman – M. O’Neill ed., Garland, New York 1997, p. 360.

⁵² The alterations to ll. 106 and 108 result in “And, as a dying meteor stains a wreath | Of moonlight vapour, which the cold night clips, | It flushed through his pale limbs, and past to its eclipse” being changed to “Which like a dying meteor through a wreath | Of moonlight vapour, which the cold night clips, | Flushed through his pallid limbs, and past to its eclipse”.

⁵³ Crewe MS 17, p. 123.

⁵⁴ R. Davenport-Hines, (2006, May 25), *Milnes, Richard Monckton, first Baron Houghton (1809-1885), Author and Politician*, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-18794> (last accessed February 27, 2019).

⁵⁵ Crewe MS 19, p. 56.

Dec. 9^c
1879.

My dear Gaskell.

I believe this copy of the *Adonais* to be 'unique'. I know of no other with Shelley's Autograph.

It came direct from Italy into the Library of Sir David Dundas from whose hands it passed into mine.

I am glad that it shall form part of your interesting library.

I remain,
Y aff. cousin
Houghton.

In the only transcription of this note previously published, Reiman read "his friend [?Dawkins]" instead of "Sir David Dundas", which led him to speculate that the volume's previous owner may have been Edward Dawkins, "His Majesty's Secretary of Legation at the Court of Florence"⁵⁶. The interest of Dundas (1799-1877) in such a book is unsurprising. A lawyer and later Liberal Member of Parliament, Dundas went to Christ Church in 1816 (taking his BA in 1820 and MA in 1822), and has been described as "[a]n accomplished scholar" who "brought together a fine library"⁵⁷. Some of his circle knew Shelley's friend Thomas Love Peacock and correspondence between Dundas and Milnes from 1841 to 1864 survives⁵⁸. The phrase "[i]t came direct from Italy" finds some echoes in Forman's account two years previously – which drew openly on Milnes' testimony – of the origins of the first English edition of *Adonais*: "Lord Houghton tells me that, when at Cambridge, he and Arthur Hallam (who brought a copy of the Pisa edition from Italy), and one or two others, resolved to get it reprinted"⁵⁹. I have not been able to establish when and how this Princeton *Adonais* "came direct from Italy" and whether through Dundas himself or via someone else. Nor indeed are its whereabouts certain between whenever "Swifter far than summer's flight" was inscribed in the volume (probably between late January and June 1822 rather than "about mid-July 1821", as Reiman states), and Shelley's death⁶⁰.

⁵⁶ *Fair-Copy Manuscripts*, pp. 362-363; "Journals of the House of Commons", 71, 1816-17, p. 967.

⁵⁷ G. Goodwin and H. Matthew (2008, January 03), *Dundas, Sir David (1799-1877), Politician*, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-8248> (last accessed February 27, 2019).

⁵⁸ Lord Broughton to T.L. Peacock, 31 October 1851, *The Letters of Thomas Love Peacock*, N.A. Joukovsky ed., 2 vols, Clarendon Press, Oxford 2001, Vol. 2, p. 339n; Trinity College, Cambridge, Houghton 7¹⁹⁰⁻³ and Houghton CB122¹.

⁵⁹ P.B. Shelley, *Poetical Works*, Vol. 3, p. [5]n.

⁶⁰ *Fair-Copy Manuscripts*, p. 361.

The Shelley material in the Crewe Bequest (2015) and the copy of *Adonais* formerly owned by Milnes at Princeton lead one to conclude that he must have known much about the history of Shelley's text over the course of his life. He came upon Shelley in the mid to late 1820s just as the poet was reaching new audiences through unauthorised posthumous printings and met, or corresponded with, some who had known him. As well as contributing to the publication of the 1829 edition of *Adonais* and to Forman's edition of 1876-77, he was consulted by Mary Shelley in 1838 about the publication of *Queen Mab* as she prepared the first of her collected editions of her husband's poetry⁶¹. Further evidence of Milnes' knowledge of the ways in which Shelley's writings were published in his lifetime, and of their nineteenth-century textual afterlives, will no doubt emerge in the years ahead.

⁶¹ M. Shelley to E. Moxon, 12 December 1838, *The Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, B.T. Bennett ed., 3 vols, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore 1980-88, Vol. 2, p. 303.

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