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1829: The Turning Point for Shelley's Reputation

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The article argues for 1829 as the year in which Percy Bysshe Shelley's reputation as a great and enduring poet is secured and for the importance of Europe and America in effecting this. This process interweaves and is concurrent with the better-documented efforts of Mary Shelley, Leigh Hunt, and the British radical underground press. Key texts here are Thomas Medwin's *Conversations of Lord Byron* (1824), Hazlitt's anthology, *Select British Poets* (1824, suppressed for copyright reasons but resold in America and plundered and diffused by French anthologists), and, crucially, Galignani's pirated *Poetical Works of Coleridge, Shelley, and Keats* (1829). During this period Shelley becomes best known in France, Italy, and Germany as the associate of Byron and as the author of *The Cenci*. His increasing visibility comes to a head in 1829, when the discovery of an unpublished Shelley poem prompts the enthusiastic claim on his behalf that "with the single exception of Lord Byron, no poet of our day has evinced a more strikingly powerful and original genius".

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In August 1822, when news came of Shelley's drowning, there was some satisfaction, the most infamous coming from the Tory newspaper *The Courier*: "Shelley, the writer of some infidel poetry, for the republication of which a man of the name of Clarke, either has been or is about to be prosecuted, is dead".[1] Unbound quires of his unsold poems were auctioned off in the following year by his bankrupt publisher, Charles Ollier. Yet in September 1829, the recently founded periodical *Athenaeum* reviewed a recent reprint of *Adonais*, opening thus: "Few such occurrences are more interesting than the gradual and steady rise of Shelley's fame. [...] he is beginning to be estimated as a great poet. We rejoice at this, for we believe him to have been one" ("Review of *Adonais*" 1829, 544). How did Shelley transit from vile wretch and unsaleable author to the cusp of recognition as a great poet within seven years?

A familiar explanatory narrative goes as follows: Mary Shelley and Leigh Hunt, Shelley's friend and champion, sedulously nurtured the image of an anodyne, seraphic figure. Together, they won over the middle classes. Courageous publishers such as Richard Carlile and William Benbow produced cheaper editions, aimed at the radical working class. Then came 1832, the year in which forty years of almost unbroken Tory government ended with the incoming reforming Whigs. Tory reviews lost their overwhelming influence. Shelley's seditious *Masque of Anarchy* was published to plaudits. Magazines serialized memoirs of him. With the Chartist movement of the late 1830s, the figure of Shelley as consciousness-raiser and inspirer of the people took off also.

The above is, of course, a broad brush account that paints over some important side-narratives, some of which have not, I believe, yet received their due attention. One is the existence of a readership for Shelley that straddles the gap between radical working class and polite middle class. Another, the topic of this article, concerns landmark publications that extended Shelley's reputation as a poet in Europe and America during the 1820s, in particular Thomas Medwin's *Conversations of Byron* (1824), William Hazlitt's *Select British Poets* (1824), and *The Poetical Works of Coleridge, Shelley, and Keats* (1829). A common element in all three is the Parisian publisher Galignani and the involvement (remote or close) of the entrepreneurial London publisher Henry Colburn, part-owner of the *Athenaeum*. Moreover, I would argue that the real tipping point in Shelley's reputation came not in 1832 but had already come three years earlier, in 1829, the year of the reprint of *Adonais*, originally published in Pisa.

During 1821-1823, the last years of Shelley's life and the year immediately succeeding it, his reputation touched a nadir. 1821 was the year of the second edition of the *Cenci*. The first edition, a small run of 250 copies, printed in Livorno in 1819 with just "Italy" given as the place of publication,[2] and distributed by Ollier in London, had almost sold out by the autumn of 1820 in spite of some virulent reviews. Believing the edition a success, Shelley had urged Ollier to bring out a second one, which Ollier unenthusiastically did in February 1821, if a "This day is published" advertisement in the conservative *St James's Chronicle* may be trusted.[3] The market was saturated, but

[1] *The Courier* no. 9616 (5 August 1822), [3], as given in W.H. Marshall, *Byron, Shelley, Hunt, and The Liberal* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1960), 83n, usually quoted in Leigh Hunt's paraphrase as "Shelley, the writer of some infidel poetry has been drowned; *now* he knows if there is a God or no" in *The Examiner* 771 (3 November 1822): 335. For Shelley's longer death notices see White 1938, 321-338.

[2] A device often used by Italian publishers to avoid prosecution in the post-Napoleonic era, Valentina Varinelli informs me.

[3] My thanks to Bysshe Coffey for locating this advertisement.

what scuppered the 1821 *Cenci* was the publication of the first pirated edition of the previously privately circulated *Queen Mab* (1813) in May 1821. Now at last reviewers could see for themselves *why* Shelley had been deprived of his children by the Court of Chancery in 1817, *how* active his proselytizing for atheism and free love had been, and could tell their readers so. There followed something like a reviewers' blackout. *Blackwood's Magazine* explicitly stated that the periodical did not review *Cenci* because of its revolting subject. It gave *Adonais* (1821), elsewhere neglected, a scathing review ([Wilson] 1821, 93; [Croly] 1821, 696–700).

For Ollier, Shelley had been a bad investment. Already struggling, he went bankrupt in early 1823, leaving a mass of unbound stock, including several Shelley titles, four of which were sold off by auction on 11 March 1823 when Mary Shelley was still in Italy. The late Charles E. Robinson located the catalogue, and extracted the figures given below.[4] The first numeral shows the price for which each copy was sold; the next the number of copies for sale. (I have added the original prices in square brackets). The original print run of each was an estimated 500 copies, an indication of how poor the sales had been.[5]

9d.	Prometheus Unbound	288	[originally priced at 9s.]
2d.	Hellas	162	[ditto, 3s. 6d.]
5d.	Rosalind and Helen	328	[ditto, 5s.6d.]
3d.	The Cenci	390	[ditto, 4s. 6d.]

The 1821 *Cenci*, with 390 copies unsold, looks like the worst seller, though given the fact that it was a second edition, this was a kind of success. *Hellas* (1822) the last volume Shelley published, was the least worst; the Greek War of Independence appealed to British sympathies, and Ollier had cut out a seditious and blasphemous paragraph in the Preface. In July 1823, an avenue for winning posthumous readers was closed off. The *Liberal*, the periodical founded by Shelley, Byron, and Leigh Hunt in Pisa just before Shelley's death, folded after four numbers, partly owing to a concerted campaign against it by the Tory periodical press.

After Mary Shelley's return to England in August 1823, she arranged to publish her husband's posthumous poems with John Hunt, Leigh Hunt's brother and publisher of the *Liberal*, and asked Ollier to deliver to him any copies of Shelley's works still in his possession.[6] Together with a small number of bound or sewn items of the four titles given above, which Ollier had held back from the auction, there were 160 copies of *Epipsychidion*, 41 copies of *Adonais*, 15 copies of the *Revolt of Islam*, 92 copies of *History of a Six Weeks' Tour*, and 18 for the pamphlet *A Proposal for Putting Reform to the Vote*. As Ollier wrote to Mary Shelley, euphemistically, "The sale, in every instance, of Mr. Shelley's works has been very confined" (Shelley 1980–1988, 1: 401n). [7]

[4] "A Catalogue of the Miscellaneous Bound and Quire Stock of a Bookseller [etc.]", 64; no further details. I owe this information, not to my knowledge previously published, to Charles Robinson's generosity.

[5] The firm Simpkin and Marshall bought the Shelley items and made them up into a compendium volume with the title-page *Prometheus Unmasked* [sic], priced at 10s 6d (approximately £50 in modern British currency).

[6] For more details, see "Editorial Overview" to vol. 7 (Shelley 2000 —).

[7] Ollier to Mary Shelley, Bodleian MS. Abinger c. 46, fols. 126–127.

Posthumous Poems (1824), the fruit of Mary Shelley's efforts, subsidized by three Shelley enthusiasts, was suppressed by Shelley's father, Sir Timothy, in August of that year, and Mary Shelley forbidden to allude to the Shelley name in public. Over three hundred copies had already sold, which was, under the circumstances, impressive. But though John Hunt could no longer sell *Posthumous Poems*, he kept on selling at the original prices the nine Shelley titles that he had received from Ollier.[8] These expensive left-overs did not fly off the shelves; the young Robert Browning was still able to slip over to Hunt's shop and buy Shelley first editions as late as 1826 (Browning 1895-1896, 2: 53).[9] In April 1829 the firm of Hunt and Clarke (John Hunt's nephew Henry and Charles Cowden Clarke), which had continued the publishing business after John Hunt retired, was declared bankrupt and the stock purchased by the publisher John Brooks.[10] A figure difficult to place, catering for both Shelley's middle-class and more proletarian readers, Brooks still had copies for sale of six of the titles in 1832, and cannily advertised them in the *Athenaeum* in August 1832 under the heading "Percy Bysshe Shelley's Works" when that journal was serializing Thomas Medwin's memoirs of Shelley.[11]

Over the period 1823–1829, the works of Shelley most commonly cited in reviews and casual mentions appear to be *Queen Mab* and, slightly surprisingly, his translation of "May-Day Night" (the "Walpurgisnacht" from Goethe's *Faust*) – two works at the extremes of the spectrum of his readership (Engelberg 1988).[12] This suggests a correlation between the number of copies of a work in circulation and the frequency of reference or citation. *Queen Mab*, with hundreds of pirated copies in print, had a clandestine and growing circulation among the radicalized working class but was also often cited to show that Shelley was a fine poet (with detestable opinions). "May-Day Night" had a *succès d'estime* among a second wave of British Germanists. It had appeared in the first number of the *Liberal*, which had a print run of 7,000 – ten to fifteen times larger than that of any other work of Shelley (Marshall 1960, 78). Undoubtedly, a sizeable proportion of this first number had remained unsold (the second number had a reduced print run of 6,000). Yet by 1824 it must necessarily have reached a wider circle of book buyers than Shelley's own volumes, and this may have translated into more readers. Moreover, Byron and Scott were the only British Romantics who during their lives and at their deaths were also celebrity authors, not only in Britain but in Europe as well, and it is as Byron's friend and associate that Shelley enters into the wider public consciousness and remains in the public mind, British, European, and transatlantic,

[8] "Publications of John and H.L. Hunt", list the following: "Adonais, 4to, sewed, 3s. 6d./The Cenci, A Tragedy; 8vo. boards, 4s. 6d./Epipsychidion, 8vo. sewed, 2s./Hellas, 8 vo., sewed, 3s. 6d./Prometheus Unbound, 8vo. boards, 9s./Proposals for Reform, 8vo. sewed, 1s.6d./Rosalind and Helen, 8vo. 5s. 6d./Revolt of Islam, 8 vo. boards, 10s 6d./Six Weeks' Tour through Switzerland, &c. foolscap, bds. 5s.". See advertisement leaves in the University of Wisconsin's copy of vol. 4 of *A Philosophical Dictionary, From the French of M. de Voltaire* (London: Hunt, 1824); digital surrogates on Hathi and Googlebooks.

[9] *Six Weeks Tour* (1817) had been first published by Thomas Hookham and *Adonais* had been printed by Niccolò Capurro in Pisa, but Ollier agreed to distribute them.

[10] Said to have Owenite sympathies; he published Robert Dale Owen's *Moral Physiology: A Brief and Plain Treatise on the Population Question* (1832), one of the earliest British books to provide contraceptive information for a wide readership.

[11] *The Athenaeum* (August 25 1832): 559 col. 2. *Hellas*, *Prometheus Unbound*, and *Putting Reform to the Vote* are not on the list, presumably having sold out. Brooks had reduced the price slightly on a few of the items.

[12] Internet databases, not available to Engelberg in 1988, would undoubtedly alter the picture. Yet an updating of Engelberg would probably still show "May-Day Night" as disproportionately prominent, considering that it was a translation.

during 1823-1829. The first number of the *Liberal* sold both because of Byron's name and the scandal surrounding his *Vision of Judgment*, also in that number.[13] It has been claimed that Byronmania hindered reception of Shelley, eclipsing him (Gardiner 2008, 29–31). But was this so? It might be more plausibly said that during the 1820s the skylark rose high perched on the eagle's back: Byron's fame furthered Shelley's and brought him to the notice of constituencies that might otherwise have been oblivious to him.

A key text here is Thomas Medwin's *Conversations of Lord Byron*, published in the autumn of 1824 in the wake of Byron's death by Henry Colburn, who had arrangements for distribution and co-publishing with Galignani's of Paris. Medwin had stayed with the Shelleys in Pisa during the winter of 1820–1821 and again in 1821-1822. *Conversations* contains the first published memoir of Shelley, as distinct from brief eulogies giving glimpses of his personality and tastes that had appeared in Elizabeth Kent's *Flora Domestica* (1823) and *Posthumous Poems*. Though only a long footnote, and often inaccurate, it nevertheless covers the main events of Shelley's life from birth to death from the sympathetic viewpoint of someone who had been Shelley's companion in boyhood; it presents his views on revolutionizing society as the error of youth that his genius outsoared. In the text itself Byron's favorable opinions on Shelley's works are given. So, for instance, Byron says that although the subject of Shelley's *The Cenci* is horrible it is "perhaps the best tragedy modern times have produced. It is a play, – not a poem, like [Coleridge's] 'Remorse' and [Milman's] 'Fazio;' and the best proof of its merit is, that people are continually quoting it" (Medwin 1824a, 94-95), adding that it could stand comparison with the contemporaries of Shakespeare. That Medwin's work reached out to European literary figures and English expatriate communities is shown by its appendixes, which contain a letter by Byron to Stendhal and Goethe's tribute to Byron in German, accompanied by Medwin's loose translation. In the same year it was republished in two volumes in Paris by both Galignani and Baudry (in English), translated into French twice, the more estimable version being by Amédée Pichot, a prominent French novelist, historian, and translator.[14] It was translated into German, the German version being published by no less than Cotta, publisher of Goethe.[15] Byron's high opinion of *The Cenci* appears to have had some impact in France and Germany; dramatic versions of the Cenci story first appear in France, with Stendhal and Custine in the 1830s, while the first translation of Shelley's *Cenci* was into German (1837). We may fairly claim that Medwin's *Conversations* was a harbinger of Shelley's relatively high profile in Germany during the 1830s.

As for Italy, Lilla Crisafulli has described Medwin's *Conversations* as "almost unconsciously opening the way to Shelley's Italian reception" (Crisafulli 2008, 50-51); she and Daniela Cerimonia in *Leopardi and Shelley* (2015) have documented the references to Shelley made by Giuseppe Montani, contributor to *Antologia* (1821–33), the liberal monthly periodical based in Florence and edited by Giovan Pietro Vieusseux

[13] Shelley's translation was pirated as an addendum to a new edition of the illustrated 1821 *Faustus: from the German of Goethe* (London: Edward Lumley, 1832).

[14] He had produced a ten-volume French translation of Byron's poetry (1819–1821).

[15] *Les Conversations de Lord Byron, [. . .] publié en Français avec des notes. Par M. A. P.* (Paris: Ladvocat, 1824b); *Gespräche mit Lord Byron: ein Tagebuch/geführt während eines Aufenthalts zu Pisa in den Jahren 1821 und 1822* (Stuttgart and Tübingen: J.G. Cotta, 1824). Medwin's biographer, Ernest J. Lovell, Jr., estimated that at least fifteen editions had appeared by 1842, including ones in Brussels and Baltimore (Lovell 1962, 171).

and Gino Capponi. In a long review-summary of Medwin's book (1825), Shelley is referred to several times, most of his references being taken straight from Medwin, – Shelley's supposedly contributing to the perfection of *Manfred*, Shelley's "canti di viaggiatore" on the topics of Lake Como (referring to *Rosalind and Helen*) and the Euganean Hills. Montani repeats Byron's judgment about *The Cenci*,

> Una seconda poesia tragica egli scriveva in Roma, il cui titolo è *Cenci*; Byron la stimava superiore a tutte le tragedie inglesi di questo secolo, e degna de'primi posti, dopo quelle di Shakespeare. Qui in Toscana, sotto gli occhi di Byron medesimo, ei finiva la sua carriera poetica con un altro dramma, intitolato l'*Ellade o il trionfo della Grecia*, ultimamente tradotto in greco, e dedicato al suo amico Maurocordato, che Pouqueville chiama, se ben mi ricordo, il moderno Focione. (Montani 1825, 51)

This spurious subtitle, "*il trionfo della Grecia*" derives from Medwin, as does the misinformation that *Hellas* has been translated into Greek. But Montani's suggestion that *Hellas* was completed "under the eyes of Byron himself" seems to be his own embellishment, like the comparison of Mavrocordato to Phocion, the Athenian statesman and military strategist. He does not elaborate on "*Cenci*", perhaps prudently affecting ignorance of the clandestinely circulated history.

Riding on the strength of his association with Byron, Medwin used contacts made in 1824 in Paris and Geneva to spread knowledge about and esteem for Shelley as a man and a poet. He read an extract from the still unpublished *Julian and Maddalo* to Washington Irving. He showed his manuscript of *Conversations* to the eccentric litterateur and Byronist Sir Samuel Egerton Brydges and persuaded him to think better of Shelley (Lovell 1962, 151, 163-165). Brydges, a distant relative of Jane Austen, a founder of the Roxburghe Club and antiquarian, published in 1824 a Genevan edition of Edward Phillips's *Theatrum Poetarum Anglicanorum* (1675), short biographies by Milton's nephew of British poets up to Queen Elizabeth. Its introduction had a survey of modern poets, in which Shelley is strongly prominent. It reprinted the newly published "Stanzas Written in Dejection, Near Naples" and "Song: Rarely, rarely comest thou" (from *Posthumous Poems*). Medwin's memoir of Shelley in *Conversations* was written for Brydges, according to Ernest Lovell, and first appeared in *Theatrum Poetarum*. This had a small circulation, but a prestigious one. Brydges's championship of Shelley might have helped to repair his standing among the English expatriate community of Geneva, many of whose members well remembered Shelley's blasphemy of inscribing himself as an atheist in the inn album at Montanvert in 1816.

Another publication of 1824, though coming from one who did not admire Shelley's poems much, was Hazlitt's anthology, *Select British Poets, or New Elegant Extracts*. One section included living poets. From Shelley, Hazlitt chose extracts from *Alastor*, *Revolt of Islam*, *Rosalind and Helen* (from lines 1240 to the end), "Lines Written Among the Euganean Hills", and in their entirety, the "Dedication" to *Revolt of Islam*, "Hymn to Intellectual Beauty", Ozymandias", "An Exhortation", "Ode to the West Wind", and "To a Skylark". He disliked *The Cenci*, but gave fair coverage to Shelley's range other than the dramatic, sampling the four volumes of poetry that Shelley published from 1816 to 1820. In "West Wind" and "Skylark" he picked the two works that were to become the most anthologized Shelley poems of all. For copyright reasons the volume was suppressed before publication, yet turned up in substantial numbers in American private

libraries, including those of Longfellow and Emerson.[16] The scholar-bibliophile Payson G. Gates observed: "On this side of the Atlantic *Select British Poets* became widely known and highly regarded during the very period when the book was virtually unknown in England" (Gates 1986, 169-172),[17] Sleuthing into the reason for this, he uncovered a W. C. Hall, whose name is on the title-page as the London publisher. Hall, actually an American importer of English books during the 1820s and 1830s, bought up the print run and took it to Boston or New York.

That, however, was not the end of the story. Neil Fraistat has noted the significance of a French publication, *The Living Poets of England* (1827), which follows Hazlitt's selection but with the addition of "A Summer Evening Church-Yard, Lechlade" and unobjectionable extracts from *Queen Mab*. This publication has a variety of title pages specifying singly and in combination Galignani, Louis-Claude Baudry, and Bobée and Hingray as publishers, Galignani and Baudry being experts in getting around international copyright law. Again, the chief markets for this work were expatriate English-speaking communities in France, Italy and Germany. The second volume of this edition prefaced the Shelley selection with a well-informed and judicious memoir by Amédée Pichot, reproduced from his earlier sketch of Shelley in *Historical and Literary Tour of a Foreigner in England and Scotland* (1825). Another anthology based on Hazlitt's selection was published under the title *The British Poets of the Nineteenth Century* and published in Frankfurt (1827) and by Baudry and others in Paris. This dropped any appraisal of Shelley and reduced his items to five: the *Alastor* and "Euganean Hills", extract, the "Dedication" to the *Revolt of Islam* and "Ode to the West Wind", with "Love's Philosophy" now added. During 1824–29, then, four of the items chosen by Hazlitt had become the core of a European and American Shelley canon. We may conjecture that the attraction of *Rosalind and Helen* and "Euganean Hills" lay in their description of Italian scenery and, in the case of the "Euganean Hills", its rhapsodic tribute to Byron, in which Shelley says, in effect, that if Venice becomes a despotism, let it sink into the sea to be remembered only as the place where Byron sought refuge from an ungrateful native land, as Arquà is remembered as the site of Petrarch's dwelling and tomb. After the various permutations of Hazlitt's anthology went out of print, the fortunes of *Rosalind and Helen* and "Euganean Hills" began to wane too. Strangely, the latter was omitted from the *Beauties of Shelley*. Though far from forgotten (it was included in *Palgrave's Golden Treasury*), it remained oddly neglected until the early 1970s.[18]

Two important extensions of Shelley's readership into Europe and America occurred in 1828. The first was Leigh Hunt's *Lord Byron and some of his Contemporaries*. This played off a miserly and selfish Byron (for which portrait Hunt was duly attacked) against a chivalrous and generous Shelley. Hunt's book was published by the omnipresent Colburn and republished that year by both Galignani and by Carey, Lea, and Blanchard in Philadelphia. The second was the Christmas gift-book annual, *The Keepsake for MCCCXXIX*, a relative newcomer to the field. In that year it surpassed all its rivals (*Forget Me Not*, the *Bijou*, *Friendship's Offering*, and so on) in lavishness of production and prestige of its contributors, who included Scott, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Moore, Hemans, Landon and both Shelleys. It contained Mary Shelley's first forays into

[16] It was reissued in 1825 by Thomas Tegg without the living poets and retitled *Select Poets of Great Britain*.

[17] The New York Public Library and Stanford University Library Copies are available on Hathi and Googlebooks, respectively.

[18] The above paragraph is based on the research of Neil Fraistat, which is found in 2000 — (2025).

smuggling unpublished Shelley material past the eye of her father-in-law: Shelley's essay "On Love" and two lyric fragments, "The Aziola" and "Summer and Winter". Published *ca.* November 1828, this *Keepsake* sold nearly 20,000 copies in less than a month (Feldman 2006, 23). The annual had distributors in Europe and America.[19] The engravings and the contributions by Scott were probably its chief selling points, but the Shelley contributions were noticed. An anonymous translation of "On Love" was published in Milan in 1829, the first Shelley work translated into Italian, antedating by a year Damaso Pareto's better-known 1830 Genoa translation of *Adonais* (Cerimonia 2015, pt. 3, chap. 3).[20] The Romantic poet Jules Le Fèvre's collection *Confidences* (1833) contains the Lamartine-ish poem "Inspirations du soir" with the plangent line "Laisser l'aziola, pleurant dans la feuillée [...]" Another poem in *Confidences*, "Causerie nocturne", takes the opening lines of "Summer and Winter" as its epigraph. All references to the *aziola* originate solely with the Shelleys (the word being really *assiolo*) – a strong indication that Le Fèvre had encountered these poems via the *Keepsake* (Le Fèvre 1833, 35, 68),[21] which proved to be the forerunner of other periodicals eager to publish Shelley's unreleased poetry.

We have now arrived at the crucial year 1829, at which point a number of events occur that indicate Shelley's growing status, particularly among a new generation of readers. In 1829 the *Edinburgh Literary Journal* announced the discovery of an autograph MS of an unknown poem, *The Wandering Jew* (1809-1811), extracts from which it laid before its readership, confident that no literary curiosity could be more valuable than "an unpublished work by the author of the Cenci" (not, be it noted, *Prometheus Unbound*). For, "with the single exception of Lord Byron, no poet of our day has evinced a more strikingly powerful and original genius than Shelley, – indeed, in so far as originality is concerned, he is probably entitled to claim precedency even of Lord Byron" ("The Poet Shelley" 1829, [43]).[22]

In 1829 John Brooks, as well as buying up Shelley remainders, openly published, without prosecution, an expensive *Queen Mab* with a stylish engraved title page, costing 9 shillings (the modern equivalent of about £42), printed from the original first edition, using a copy owned by William Maddocks, land agent for Albion House, Marlow, the Shelley's residence between March 1817 and February 1818. How had Maddocks come by this copy? A change of scene to Oxford and to another significant event of 1829: Shelley's library sale. Shelley had left for Italy in March 1818, owing Maddocks money and leaving a large part of his books in charge of Peacock. Peacock moved to London to pursue a career in 1819, placing them in Maddocks's safekeeping. In 1821, Maddocks seized the books in discharge of the debt; neither Shelley nor, later, Mary Shelley had the money to pay it. Unmoved by pleas and threats, Maddocks kept the books, and eventually sold them to a shady Oxford dealer named Wise, an unlicensed bookseller

[19] The *Keepsake* (1827–1856) was published in London, and at various times in its history also in Paris, Frankfurt, Leipzig, Berlin, New York, and Philadelphia, though perhaps this was not true of the 1829 number. I have handled an 1833 *Keepsake* published in Frankfurt, but nothing earlier.

[20] See Cerimonia 2006, pt. 3, chap. 3; "Dell'amore (frammento di Shelley)", *L'eco: Giornale di scienze, lettere, arti, commercio e teatri* (11 March 1829): 117-118 (reprinted twice in the 1830s); *Adone, nella morte di Giovanni Keats, autore dell'Endimione, Iperione ec. Elegìa di Percy Bishe Shelley*, trans. L.A. Damaso Pareto (Genoa: Pellas, 1830); Luigi Leone, review of the foregoing in *Antologia* 38 (June 1830): 125–126.

[21] The spelling probably originated in the Shelleys' mishearing of *assiolo*, the small scops owl. Le Fèvre could have found it in the Galignani *Poetical Works of Coleridge, Keats, and Shelley* (1829) but several other epigraphs in *Confidences* are taken from *Keepsake* authors such as Landon.

[22] Shelley 2000 —, I: 189-207 for more details of the textual history of this poem.

operating just outside the city centre. However, he is known to have kept some items back, including an 1813 *Queen Mab* (Shelley 2000 —, 2: 515).[23]

Wise auctioned off the books in the autumn of 1829, just after the new Oxford academic year had begun. The sale notice appeared on 17 October and 24 October 1829 in *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, a newspaper that covered affairs of the university and the city. (Below the notice is another for the sale of "Prime Dairy Stock, Capital Horses and Colts") Shelley's library is only part of a "Collection of 4000 books" in the auction, but is billed as the main draw: "Books, including the LIBRARY of PERCY B. SHELLEY, Esq., THE FRIEND OF LORD BYRON. TO BE SOLD BY AUCTION, At WISE's Room, in St. Clement's, Oxford, on Monday the 26th of October, and on the five following days [. . .]". The advertisement promises "many choice Editions of Classic Authors" and lists some of the highlights, one of which actually can be traced back to Shelley's ownership during the Marlow period.[24] It says that a catalogue is available. (None has been found). 1829 was a well-chosen year and Oxford a well-chosen city in which to sell off a cache of dubiously acquired Shelley books: its advantages included an obscure bookdealer; undergraduates building up private libraries; booksellers (more respectable than Wise) for whom the classical editions would be especially attractive.

A month after the sale, on 26 November 1829, a famous debate at the Oxford University Union Debating Society took place: who was the greater poet, Byron or Shelley? It was brokered between the president of the Oxford Union and two members of the Cambridge "Apostles Club", Shelley enthusiasts, Arthur Hallam and Richard Monckton Milnes, the ones who been the moving spirits behind the republication of *Adonais* earlier that year. Another, Thomas Sunderland, joined them. In this debate, each university favoured the poet who was not its alumnus, Byron having gone to Cambridge and Shelley to Oxford. The debate was attended by over 120 people, including a future prime minister of Britain, and long remembered by participants, one of whom reminisced: "The Cambridge oratory came in like a flood into a mill-pond. Both Monckton Milnes and Arthur Hallam took us aback by the boldness and freedom of their manner. But I remember the effect of Sunderland's declamation and action to this day. [. . .] we cowered like birds and ran like sheep". Notwithstanding the passion of the Cambridge contingent, an Oxford man came up with a knockdown argument that won the debate: if Shelley were a greater poet than Byron more people would have read him (Allen 2010, 50-51). The defeat, however, was an honorable one. Milnes, and probably Hallam, returned to Cambridge with books that had belonged to Shelley, two of which have been traced back to their acquisition in Oxford in 1829, one containing Shelley's marginalia. Both had stayed in Oxford for a few days, where they would have had an opportunity to hear of and find remnants of the recent sale of "Shelley's Library". Others regretted not having done the same: John Bourne, a Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, a friend of Thomas Lovell Beddoes and of Thomas Forbes Kelsall, two of the three financial sponsors of *Posthumous Poems* back in 1824, wrote to the latter on 23 May 1830: "I was not aware of Shelley's Library being sold. Had I known of it I w[d] certainly have endeavoured to procure a book with a specimen of his writing, & w[d] have done the like for you with very great pleasure" (Donner 1935, 21). The episode not only pinpoints

[23] Having tested the waters, Brooks later (1832) published a cheap edition costing 2s.6d, aimed at a less exclusive readership.

[24] The list of Shelley's books left with Maddocks survives and is now in the Pforheimer Collection, New York Public Library (Pforz. Shelleyana 1082). This list (edited by me with an introduction and annotations) is in preparation for publication on Romantic Circles (http://romantic-circles.org).

the start of Shelley bibliophilia but also shows that Shelley had a following in both Universities, including the one from which he was expelled.

But the most significant event of 1829 for Shelley's afterlife was the first true collected edition not only of Shelley but also of Keats: the Galignani *Poetical Works of Coleridge, Shelley, and Keats*, for which Hazlitt-based anthologies had prepared the ground. The editor was Cyrus Redding, who had edited *Galignani's Messenger* in Paris (1815-1818), briefly a Paris correspondent (1815) for Leigh and John Hunt's *Examiner*, and the de facto editor of the Henry Colburn-owned *New Monthly Magazine*. It was no ordinary pirate edition. Mary Shelley cooperated with Redding. The Shelley of the frontispiece vignette, the first portrait of Shelley to appear in print, was based on a pencil sketch by her and initiated the unerasable image of Shelley as an androgynous, even girlish, youth with an opennecked shirt and unruly hair. Redding's memoir was largely a compilation, culled from Medwin and Leigh Hunt, and reprinting Mary Shelley's scarce Preface to *Posthumous Poems*, but it provided details that could only have originated from her, such as that she and Shelley had married "at the solicitation of her father" ([Redding] 1829a, vi) She sent Shelley's corrections for *Prometheus Unbound* and *Adonais* and a suppressed stanza for *Hellas*; she later used it as the base for much of her 1839 edition of Shelley's collected poems. It was well printed, though in small type in a double column. As Messrs Galignani claimed in their prefatorial notice: "[T]he present edition . . . is infinitely more perfect than any of those published in London; as they have been favoured, from private sources, with many original productions of these esteemed writers". It was the first edition of Shelley's poems to be stereotyped, an indication of an expected large and steady sale, evidently realized. In America, in what appears to be a piracy of a piracy, the Galignani edition was reset in facsimile, re-stereotyped, and sold by at least four different Philadelphia publishers between 1831 and 1847 until superseded by authorized editions of all three authors by the end of the 1840s. Copies found their way back to Britain, though it could not legally be sold there.[25]

The Galignani edition had other effects. The inclusion of Coleridge (the most eminent of the three poets in 1829) brought together under one cover two masterpieces of translation of German drama into English: Coleridge's *Wallenstein* and Shelley's *Scenes from the Faust of Goethe*. It is the point where Shelley and Keats become inseparably yoked. Its wide diffusion has been credited with putting their graves in the Cimitero Acattolico on the itinerary of visitors to Rome – a phenomenon that became noticeable in the 1830s (Stanley-Price 2000, 3). It also marks Shelley's emergence in the public consciousness as something more and other than the friend of Byron.

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[25] An estimate of the number of copies circulated has not been attempted, but WorldCat shows print copies in public and university libraries all over Europe.

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