

Mason, Revd William (clergyman and poet; 1724–97): lxxiii–2 (1803), 1140.

Mathias, Thomas James (Italian scholar and author of *The Pursuits of Literature*; 1753/4–1835): lxxiii–2 (1803), 1033–4.

Milner, John, Bishop of Castabala (1752–1826): lxxiv–2 (1804), 836.

More, Hannah (novelist and writer of tracts; 1745–1833): lxxiv–1 (1804), 156.

Nichols, John (printer, man of letters, and 3rd conductor of the *GM*; 1745–1826): lxxiii–1 (1803), 84–6 (?), 186–7, 284, 288–9 (?), 379, 382 (?), 383–4 (?), 479, 480 (?), 486, 599–600; lxxiii–2 (1803), 693, 696, 792–3, 793, 794–5, 795, 891, 981–3, 987–8, 1190–1; lxxiv–1 (1804), 89–90, 276, 388–9, 389, 473–4 (?); lxxiv–2 (1804), 691–2 (?), 785 (?), 786 (?), 787 (? or John Bowyer Nichols?), 792, 979–81 (?), 982–3, 1073 (?), 1080–1, 1165–6, 1170–1 (?), 1177–8, 1249.

Nichols, John Bowyer (printer, antiquary, and 4th conductor of the *GM*; 1779–1863): lxxiv–2 (1804), 787 (? or John Nichols?).

Orme, Lieut. [William?]: lxxiv–1 (1804), facing 401 (with Thomas Prattent).

Owen, Revd John (British and Foreign Bible Society secretary; 1766–1822): lxxiv–2 (1804), 858.

Paine, Robert Treat (American judge and politician; 1731–1814): lxxiv–2 (1804), 764.

Parkes, David (schoolmaster, draftsman, and antiquary; 1763–1833): lxxiii–1 (1803), facing 613; lxxiii–2 (1803), facing 909 (fig. 3).

Pearson, Revd Edward (clergyman and controversialist; 1756–1811): lxxiii–2 (1803), 1237.

Potts, Cuthbert (surgeon; 1743–1825): lxxiii–1 (1803), 222–4; lxxiii–2 (1803), 1000–1001.

Prattent, Thomas (artist and engraver): lxxiii–2 (1803), following 804 (plates I, II), facing 1205; lxxiv–1 (1804), facing 401 (with Lieut. [William?] Orme).

Roberdeau, John Peter (playwright; bapt. 1754, d. 1815): lxxiii–1 (1803), 63.

Robinson, Mary ‘Perdita’ (actress and poet; 1756/1758?–1800): lxxiii–1 (1803), 262–3.

Rooke, Major Hayman (draftsman; 1722–1806): lxxiii–2 (1803), facing 621 (fig. 1).

Sharp, Thomas, of Coventry (antiquary and hatter; 1770–1841): lxxiii–1 (1803), 397–9 (?), facing 497 (fig. 2); lxxiii–2 (1803), 726–7 (?), 764.

Sidney, T., of Arundel: lxxiv–1 (1804), facing 201 (figs. 2, 4), 201–2; lxxiv–2 (1804), 806.

Smith, James (misc. writer; 1775–1839): lxxiii–2 (1803), 1056–7.

Smith, Thomas (Sussex antiquary; 1764–1846): lxxiii–1 (1803), facing 313; lxxiv–2 (1804), facing 1101 (figs. 1–4).

Tindal, Revd William (antiquary; 1756–1826): lxxiv–1 (1804), 202.

Trefusis, Elizabeth (poet; fl. 1808): lxxiii–1 (1803), 159, 160.

E. LORRAINE DE MONTLUZIN

doi:10.1093/notesj/gjx138

© The Author (2017). Published by Oxford University Press.

All rights reserved. For Permissions, please email: journals.permissions@oup.com  
Advance Access publication 25 October, 2017

### BRITISH TRAVELLERS IN GENEVA IN 1816: A DEMOGRAPHIC REAPPRAISAL

Recent commemorations of Lord Byron and the Shelleys’ stay in Switzerland during the so-called ‘Haunted Summer’ of 1816 have once again drawn attention to Geneva as a Grand Tour stopover with a significant colony of British visitors and expatriates.<sup>1</sup> A Protestant city republic with diplomatic, religious, and cultural ties to Great Britain, Geneva was both a transit point connecting the Simplon Pass, Chamonix, and Lyon, and a social and intellectual centre in its own right. Integrated into the Swiss Confederation in 1814, the city fast became known, in the words of John Galt, as ‘the thoroughfare of the travelling English’, with lords in whites playing cricket at Plainpalais and crowds of ‘vulgar English’ attending the city *fêtes*.<sup>2</sup> The reputedly high number of more or less fashionable Britons who passed through the town in

<sup>1</sup> Commemorations in 2016 included two Swiss exhibitions, ‘Frankenstein: Creation of Darkness’ at the Bodmer Foundation in Cologny, from 13 May to 9 October, and ‘Byron is Back!’ at Chillon Castle, Vevytaux, from 29 April to 21 August, as well as a conference at the University of Sheffield on 24–27 June entitled ‘Summer of 1816: Creativity and Turmoil’.

<sup>2</sup> John Galt, *The Life of Lord Byron*, 2nd edn (London, 1830), 219; Lady Frances Shelley, *The Diary of Lady Frances Shelley*, ed. Richard Edgcombe, 2 vols (London, 1912), I, 236. See, also, Giovanni Salucci, ‘Vue de la ville de Genève et de plein-Palais’ (1817), Bibliothèque de Genève, centre d’iconographie genevoise. For a general cultural history of the British in Geneva, see Mavis Coulson, *Southward to Geneva: 200 Years of English Travellers* (Gloucester, 1988).

1816 in particular is frequently cited as proof of a post Napoleonic 'rush' on the Continent, marked by a radical change in the social make-up of travellers.<sup>3</sup> Geneva's scholarly interest as such has extended beyond the confines of Romantic literary history, serving as a case study for the transformation from aristocratic Grand Tour to the beginnings of mass tourism.<sup>4</sup>

The general belief that Geneva in 1816 was overrun with English travellers, however, is solely based on impressionistic newspaper reports and on anecdotal evidence drawn from the many travel accounts, diaries, letters, and recollections issuing from that famous summer.<sup>5</sup> As James Buzard rightly remarks, it was a cultural perception that 'grew into a nearly self-perpetuating discourse, burgeoning without reference to demographic evidence'.<sup>6</sup> The scant facts that can be adduced from

these texts are often inconsistent, especially in regard to traveller numbers. In his journal entry of 3 July 1816, for instance, Lord Glenbervie writes that 'Among more than sixty English travellers here, there is Lord Byron, who is cut by everybody.' Lady Francis Shelley also mentions Byron in her diary entry on 20 July, but advances a much more significant figure: 'There are above 1,100 English in and near this place.'<sup>7</sup> In his letter of 12 August 1816 to Friederike Brun, finally, Karl Victor von Bonstetten, a Bernese aristocrat and regular of Coppet who met Byron on several occasions, offers a corrective to the latter number, specifying that 'They are said to be 1100 English (not true), 369 in Geneva, the double around Geneva'.<sup>8</sup>

Most chroniclers of the summer of 1816, including Engel and Ellis, have accepted Lady Shelley's higher estimate despite their awareness of Bonstetten's caveat.<sup>9</sup> No one to my knowledge has tried to adjudicate between these various estimates by looking at Geneva's residence permit registers in order to try to assess the number and social make-up of English travellers in 1816 more objectively.<sup>10</sup> In the rest of this brief article, I draw upon these documents, in which the name, origin, age, profession, and local address of foreign visitors were entered from 1814 onwards, in order to argue that the number of travellers is too often overestimated. Geneva in 1816, much like the other destinations on the Continental tour, remained the preserve of Britain's elite, whereas middle-class tourism was still very much in its infancy.

In the spring of 1814, the Austrian field marshal Count Bubna von Littitz, who headed the occupying force that had retaken Geneva after

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, James Buzard, 'The Uses of Romanticism: Byron and the Continental Tour', *Victorian Studies*, xxxv, 1 (Autumn 1991), 30–3, and Benjamin Colbert, *Shelley's Eye: Travel Writing and Aesthetic Vision* (Aldershot, 2005), 92.

<sup>4</sup> For a review article on the history of the summer of 1816, see Patrick Vincent, "'Truth of Soul's Life" or "Distorted Optics"? A Historiography of the Genevan Summer of 1816', *The Keats-Shelley Review*, xxx.2 (September 2016), 122–41. The most reliable and detailed critical accounts of Byron and the Shelleys' stay in Geneva are the following: Claire-Eliane Engel, *Byron et Shelley en Suisse et en Savoie, mai-octobre 1816* (Chambéry, 1930); Gavin de Beer, 'Meshes of the Byronic Net in Switzerland', *English Studies*, xviii (1962), 384–95; David Ellis, *Byron in Geneva: That Summer of 1816* (Liverpool, 2011). For a bibliographical review of Geneva's place in the historiography of the Grand Tour, see Michael Heafford, 'Between Grand Tour and Tourism: British Travellers to Switzerland in a Period of Transition, 1814–1860', *The Journal of Transport History*, xxvii.1 (2006), 25–47.

<sup>5</sup> The most useful sources in addition to the letters and diaries of the Byron–Shelley circle and Lady Shelley's journal include the *Gazette de Lausanne* (May–September 1816), accessible online at <<http://www.letempsarchives.ch/>>, and Karl Viktor von Bonstetten, *Briefkorrespondenzen Karl Viktor von Bonstettens und seines Kreises*, Bonstettiana XI/2: Les Cent-Jours, Pensées sur le bien public, L'été à Coppet (Göttingen, 2007), 733, 742, 761–2, 778–9, 795. On 11 June 1816, for example, the *Gazette de Lausanne* announced that foreigners keep on arriving, that many English families live in the Geneva countryside and that almost all the villas in the countryside have been rented (4). Bonstetten for his part compares the chemin de Sécheron to a London street (761). The best bibliography of primary texts on Switzerland, organized by year and itinerary, remains Gavin de Beer, *Travellers in Switzerland* (Oxford, 1949).

<sup>6</sup> Buzard, 'Byron and the Continental Tour', 32.

<sup>7</sup> Lord Glenbervie, cited in De Beer, *Travellers*, 140; Shelley, I, 231.

<sup>8</sup> Bonstetten, *Briefkorrespondenzen*, 762.

<sup>9</sup> Despite accessing Geneva's passport registers and mentioning Bonstetten's remark in a footnote, Engel repeats the number given by Lady Shelley. David Ellis in turn accepts Engel's numbers. Engel, *Byron et Shelley*, 4, Ellis, *Byron in Geneva*, 32.

<sup>10</sup> Archives de l'état de Genève, Etranger, Permis de séjour, Période 1814–1844. To the best of my knowledge, Heafford is the only person to have used this archival resource to tally travellers' numbers and social background. Yet the earliest register he found uses dates from February 1832, this despite the fact that registers at the Geneva State Archives run all the way back to 1814.

the departure of French troops, ordered a series of measures as well as the creation of a commission to regulate the presence of foreigners in the republic.<sup>11</sup> On 11 March 1816, the new cantonal authorities abandoned his complicated passport system but renewed the commission's mission and decreed that all foreign visitors, whether only passing through or staying for a period of time, had to obtain residence permits renewable every three months.<sup>12</sup> As a result of these policing regulations, a clerk began to enter detailed information on foreign visitors in registers ('registre des permis de séjour'). Records of travellers in 1816 are contained in two volumes, the first running from 1814 to 31 May 1816, with 33 entries per page, and the second, from 1 June to 30 January 1817, with five entries per page.<sup>13</sup> The vast majority of visitors in both registers, as expected, were Swiss or French, and they worked as tradesmen, artisans, including many watchmakers, and servants. More surprisingly, only 218 Britons registered in 1816 out of a total of 2415 entries, or one tenth of all visitors to Geneva, and 1 per cent of the total town population of 22,000.<sup>14</sup>

To be fair, this represents twice the number of English travellers who had registered during the preceding high season from May to September 1815,<sup>15</sup> whereas only eleven visited between January and June 1816, explaining why locals and visitors alike may have felt as if Geneva was being invaded by Britons that summer.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, the list of names in the registers is clearly incomplete: at

least 30 travellers listed by Gavin de Beer or elsewhere as having visited the city in 1816 do not appear, suggesting that not everyone found it necessary to register with the authorities.<sup>17</sup> Although wives and children were usually registered individually, some, including Mary Godwin and Claire Clairmont, were left out, in their case for social decorum's sake. Last but not least, the many English servants who travelled with their fashionable employers also went unregistered and have remained invisible to history. Even if we double the above figure, however, we fall far short of the thousand British visitors estimated by Lady Shelley and repeated by most historians.

These registers not only oblige us to lower our estimate of traveller numbers. They also invite us to reassess the social background of the Britons who did make it to Geneva in 1816. Shelley and Byron, who registered respectively on 11 and 13 July,<sup>18</sup> or two months after the former's arrival in town, famously complained in their correspondence about the many 'cockney' tourists that they encountered in Geneva and elsewhere in Switzerland who undermined their sense of distinction, giving shape to the Romantic pose of anti-tourism. As noted above, this has regularly been interpreted as evidence of a paradigm shift in the history of travel away from the more socially exclusive Grand Tour to more democratic forms of tourism. According to the Geneva registers, however, the Britons passing through Geneva were almost all systematically registered as 'gentilhomme', or gentleman, making it very hard to precisely define their social origin, yet suggesting that they considered themselves at least as belonging to the polite classes. Moreover, over thirty were signed up as an Irish, Scottish, or English peer, a number

<sup>11</sup> Etienne Burgy, *Les sources imprimées de la Restauration de Genève (31 décembre 1813–8 octobre 1846): Catalogue chronologique* (Geneva, 1998), 8.

<sup>12</sup> Loi du 11 Mars et arrêté du 10 Mai 1816, *Recueil des authentiques lois et actes du gouvernement de la république et canton de Genève*, tome 2 (1816), (Genève, 1817), 167–9.

<sup>13</sup> Archives de l'état de Genève, Registre des permis de séjour, Cote Dd 2, Etrangers qui ont reçu la carte verte 1814–1816, and Dd 3, Permissions de séjour du 8 juin 1816 au 30 janvier 1817.

<sup>14</sup> Jean Picot, *Essai statistique sur le Canton de Genève*, Zurich, Orell Fussli, 1817 (Genève, 1978), 8–9.

<sup>15</sup> Archives de l'état de Genève, Etrangers, Registre des permis de séjour, Cote Dd 1, Registre du mouvement des étrangers 1815, du 1 mai au 19 septembre 1815. This register contains 2161 entries, 112 of these English, Irish, or Scottish.

<sup>16</sup> A possible result of this sharp increase was that the record keeping for British visitors became more perfunctory in the second half of 1816, with the columns on their age, place of origin, and profession often being left blank.

<sup>17</sup> They include: Mary Godwin, Claire Clairmont, Matthew Lewis, Scrope Davies, John Cam Hobhouse, Richard Sharp, John Pye Smith, Lord and Lady Jersey, Lady Dalrymple Hamilton, Lord and Lady Shelley, Henry Brougham, Lord Hugh Fortescue, Lady de Clifford, James Cockburn, Edward Copplestone, William Edward Frye, Robert Haldane, Thomas Hookham, Thomas Langton, Sir Archibald Alison, Andrew Bell, Sir Roderick Murchison, John Playfair, Adam Sedgwick, John Sheppard, Lord Teignmouth, and Hugh Williams.

<sup>18</sup> Archives de l'état de Genève, Registre des permis de séjour, Dd 3, entries 571 and 615. Claire-Eliane Engel was the first to publish these findings. See Engel, *Byron et Shelley*, appendice III.

which should probably be significantly bumped up if we add the dozen unregistered lords and ladies in de Beer's catalogue, and if we consider how many travellers are registered simply under their last name, without a title. At least seven are confirmed members of Parliament, and many more, including Lady Jersey and Lord Brougham, were distinguished members of the Whig opposition. Most tellingly, only eight indicate a profession, among them the Bristol engineer Richard Wilcox, the banker John Peter Labouchere, a governess, a school teacher, three officers, and a painter.

The fact that Byron's private physician, John William Polidori, the editor John Gifford, or the pastor and geologist William Conybeare chose not enter their profession reminds us of course of the social stigma that was still attached to working for a living. Nevertheless, the vast majority of British travellers in Geneva that summer undoubtedly belonged to the island nation's elite, and almost all seem to have been rentiers, temporarily transforming the city into a London gentleman's club, and enabling a social calendar on a par with that of Europe's capitals. In what was still a provincial town, Europe's patrician classes could enjoy a feeling of exclusivity that no doubt felt salutary after two decades of revolutionary wars, and which could only be boosted by exaggerating their numbers. As Bonstetten remarks hyperbolically to a friend in the autumn of that same year, 'I have seen all the illustrious company of the British Empire, and I made a thousand acquaintances, some liaisons and almost a few friends.'<sup>19</sup>

PATRICK VINCENT

University of Neuchâtel

doi:10.1093/notesj/gjx165

© The Author (2017). Published by Oxford University Press.

All rights reserved. For Permissions, please email: journals.permissions@oup.com  
Advance Access publication 7 October, 2017

PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY'S 'I VISIT  
THEE BUT THOU ART SADLY  
CHANGED'

THE first line of Percy Bysshe Shelley's 'I visit thee but thou art sadly changed' contains an allusion to Byron that allows for a reconsideration of this lyric blank verse fragment.<sup>1</sup> Neville Rogers first published the fragment in 1975; it was then included in *The Poems of Shelley* edited by Geoffrey Matthews and Kelvin Everest, and Michael J. Neth has recently commented on it in *The Complete Poetry of Percy Bysshe Shelley*.<sup>2</sup> There has been some disagreement over which lines in Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 10 comprise 'I visit thee'. I take the text to run from the top of p. 126 to the bottom of p. 127, and to consist of twelve lines—from 'I visit thee but thou art sadly changed' to 'which [?heap] forth sorrow'—of which ten lines are in fairly regular iambic pentameter and two lines are unfinished (ll. 10, 12). I do not think the lines on p. 128a and p. 129a relate to 'I visit thee' for four reasons: their metrical irregularity, the steadier hand of these lines, the presence of a rhyme on p. 129a, and because I agree with Neth that these later pages are early plans and drafts of stanzas for the 1817 poem *Laon and Cythna* (L&C).<sup>3</sup>

There is a range of possible dates for the composition of 'I visit thee'; those proposed run from April to late July 1817. Some more precise dates have been suggested, including late July 1817, based on calculations from the 380th stanza of L&C, which Shelley claimed to have reached in a letter to Leigh Hunt of 3 August (this is the only surviving mention of composing L&C in correspondence), and 26 April–9 May 1817, due to Shelley's proximity to Bishopsgate which has been thought to be the 'former home' addressed in the lyric.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bodleian MS. Shelley adds. e. 10, 126–27. Reproduced in *The Bodleian Shelley Manuscripts Volume XVII*, ed. S. Jones (New York, 1994), 134–6.

<sup>2</sup> *The Complete Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, ed. N. Rogers (Oxford, 1972–75), II, 371; *The Poems of Shelley*, ed. K. Everest and G. M. Matthews, et al. (London, 1989–2013), I, 571–2; *The Complete Poetry of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, ed. D. H. Reiman, N. Fraistat, et al. (Baltimore, MD, 2003–12), III, 930–1.

<sup>3</sup> *The Complete Poetry of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, III, 931.

<sup>4</sup> For a discussion of the dating see, *The Poems of Shelley*, I, 571; *The Complete Poetry of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, III, 930–1; *The Bodleian Shelley Manuscripts Volume XVII*, xiii–xiv.

<sup>19</sup> Bonstetten, *Briefkorrespondenzen*, 795.