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SUBMISSIONS

This periodical is only as substantial as the material it contains: therefore, we more than welcome any contributions that members of the academic community might wish to make. Articles we would be most interested in publishing include those addressing Romantic literary studies with an especial slant on book history, textual and bibliographical studies, the literary marketplace and the publishing world, and so forth. Papers of 5–8,000 words should be submitted by the beginning of April or October in order to make the next issue, if accepted. Any of the usual electronic formats (e.g. RTF, Microsoft Word, WordPerfect, HTML) are acceptable, either by post or e-mail. Submissions should be sent to Dr Anthony Mandal, Centre for Editorial and Intertextual Research, ENCAP, Cardiff University, Humanities Building, Colum Drive, CARDIFF CF10 3EU, Wales (UK), mandal@cardiff.ac.uk.

CONTENTS



Gothic Bluebooks in the Princely Library of Corvey and Beyond <i>Angela Koch</i>	5
Archaisms in <i>The Rime of the Ancient Mariner</i> <i>Margaret F.-M. Somnez</i>	27
'The Absolute Horror of Horrors' Revised: A Bibliographical Checklist of Early-Nineteenth-Century Gothic Bluebooks <i>Angela Koch</i>	45
The Mysterious Mrs Meeke: A Biographical and Bibliographical Study <i>Roberta Magnani</i>	113



GOTHIC BLUEBOOKS IN THE PRINCELY LIBRARY OF CORVEY AND BEYOND

Angela Koch



Peut-être devrions-nous analyser ici ces Romans nouveaux, dont le sortilège et la fantasmagorie composent à-peu-près tout le mérite, en placant à leur tête le Moine, supérieur, sous tous les rapports, aux bizarres élans de la brillante imagination de Radcliffe [sic]; [...] ce genre [...] devenait le fruit indispensable de secousses révolutionnaires, dont l'Europe entière se ressentait. Pour qui connaissait tous les malheurs dont les méchants peuvent accabler les hommes, le Roman devenait aussi difficile à faire, que monotone à lire; il n'y avait point d'individu qui n'eût plus éprouvé d'infortunes en quatre ou cinq ans que n'en pouvait peindre en un siècle, le plus fameux romancier de la littérature; il fallait donc appeler l'enfer à son secours, pour se composer des titres à l'intérêt, et trouver dans le pays de chimères, a qu'on savait couramment en ne fouillant que l'histoire de l'homme dans cet âge de fer.¹

—Marquis de Sade (1800)

AS A COMMONPLACE IN LITERARY CRITICISM, the political upheaval and ensuing war experienced by this (in)famous commentator's native country at the turn of the eighteenth century are held responsible for a correlative revolutionary development in the evolution of fiction: the unprecedented rise of the Gothic novel. Whereas earlier critics have concentrated on direct representations of revolution in the genre,² more recent interpretations apply Freudian categories in order to reveal the mechanisms of Gothic: in other words, to substitute political with imaginary terrors.³ Quoting from Mrs Bonhote's *Bungay Castle* (1797)—'A novel was never intended as a vehicle for politics'—and Miss Pilkington's *The Subterranean Cavern* (1798)—'My limited education, as a female, utterly disqualifies me for forming any decided opinion respecting the political problems which are constantly discussed in my presence'—Maurice Lévy, for instance, illustrates the literary counterpart of repression in the Gothic: the renunciation of political discussion in an escapist genre.⁴

According to the mechanisms of repression in the Gothic, however, such vocalised concerns as those cited above can be regarded as rare instances of eruption from the subconscious. In Gothic fiction in general, these anxieties are sublimated within the narrative, and fear of political and social chaos finds

expression in the deliberately restricted perspective of the explained supernatural of Ann Radcliffe and her innumerable imitators. Not uncommonly, this perspective coincides with an unrestrained glorification of a vague historical past, which is itself characterised by an idealised political system grounded in feudalism. For descriptions of authentic social circumstances and their political conditions, the reader has to refer to Radcliffe's travel journal of 1795:

Rheinberg [...] is a wretched place of one dirty street, and three or four hundred mean houses, surrounded by a decayed wall that never was grand, and half filled by inhabitants whose indolence, while it is probably more to be pitied than blamed, accounts for the sullenness and wretchedness of their appearance. Not one symptom of labour, or comfort, was to be perceived in the whole town. The men seemed for the most part, to be standing at their doors, in unbuckled shoes and woollen caps.⁵

Such disaffected comments illustrate the breakdown of Radcliffe's epistemological scepticism, which typically underlies her elaborate landscape descriptions, as well as the introduction of Gothic paraphernalia in her novels. Wherever political and social terror become unbearable and can no longer be transferred to the level of the Sublime—reason in her novels being insufficiently reconstituted by the application of the explained supernatural—Radcliffe's representations of reality inevitably approach the Gothic mode of M. G. 'Monk' Lewis and the 'divine Marquis', namely in the form of horror unexplained and unexplainable. Nevertheless, in her travel journal Radcliffe does not refer exclusively to France or Germany as the source of social insecurity, but to the whole European continent:

Wealthy and commercial countries may be injured immensely by making war either for Germany or against it [...]; but Germany itself cannot be proportionately injured with them, except when it is the scene of actual violence. Englishmen, who feel, as they always must, the love of their own country much increased by the view of others, should be induced, at every step, to wish, that there may be as little political intercourse as possible [...] between the blessings of their Island and the wretchedness of the Continent.⁶

What reads like radical nationalism from the perspective of the present, shows the inevitable disturbance in a nation that distinguished itself from the Continent by its unprecedented economic progress, compared to which the continental states were still characterised by pre-industrial structures. The war between Britain and France, however, ultimately revealed that despite—or even because of—its economic backwardness, the Continent was able to cause incomparably greater damage to a country whose economy was increasingly built on intact international relationships.

As a result of the divergence between economic and political conditions in Radcliffe's England and the continental Europe, the French Revolution and

the war of 1793 provided only new fuel to an already established atmosphere of social disturbance, the cause of which is to be located in the native country of the Gothic itself. The publication rate of terror novels hinted at by Montague Summers and Robert B. Mayo indicates a cause-and-effect relationship between the rapid industrial progress, which took place in England from the 1760s onwards, and the rise of the Gothic mode in literature.⁷ Additionally, striking differences between the Gothic novel and the *roman noir* and the respective reception of both milieux in France contradict the simplifying restriction to the French Revolution as *the* political factor that precipitated the rise of the Gothic novel.⁸

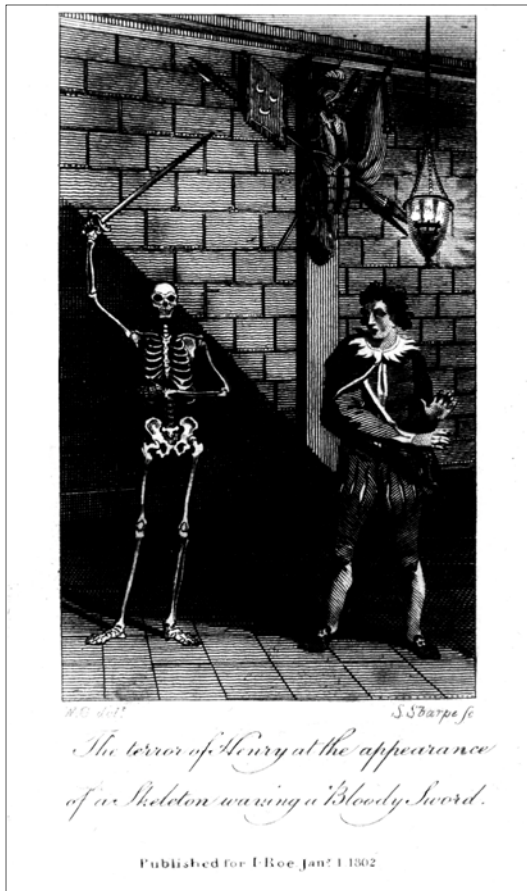


FIG. 1. FRONTISPICE TO *THE BLACK FOREST; OR THE CAVERN OF HORRORS! A GOTHIC ROMANCE* (LONDON: ANN LEMOINE / J. ROE, 1802)

literature has mainly been described in terms of production and reception.¹¹ Admittedly, some account has been taken of the fact that the changes affecting the social system in the wake of technological progress also created a new readership to consume the products of a thriving publishing industry. As far

Prior to the political upheaval in France, the English Industrial Revolution not only supplied the technological but also the ideological conditions for the unprecedented rise of popular literature around 1800. Economic progress and the destruction of extant structures resulting from it must have caused fear of changed conditions of life and unsolved social problems long before the fall of the Bastille. Horace Walpole's *Castle of Otranto*, generally regarded as the first Gothic novel in English, was published as early as 1765, to be followed in 1777 by Clara Reeve's *The Old English Baron*.⁹ Thus, it becomes necessary to turn to the parallels between the earlier novel of sensibility and the Gothic to trace escapism in the novel previous to the French Revolution.¹⁰

Until recently, the influence of the Industrial Revolution on the evolution of mass

as the Gothic novel is concerned, however, traditional critics rarely mention the profound social disturbances that are hardly ever alluded to in the works themselves, but which ultimately led to the deluge of such escapist fiction in the first place.¹² On the contrary, by disproportionately restricting the concept of the Gothic novel to a few 'acceptable' works, effort has been made to free the genre from the disreputable notion of 'mass literature'.¹³

If the entire Gothic spectrum is examined in its entirety—as is possible for the first decades of the early nineteenth century, owing to the extensive preservation of early fiction in the Princely Library of Corvey Castle near Höxter (North Rhine Westphalia)—it becomes clear that the innovative 'horror' Gothic found in writers such as M. G. Lewis's *The Monk* (1796) or C. R. Maturin's *Melmoth the Wanderer* (1820) represents only a tiny minority compared to the overwhelming 'terror' mode practised by the imitators of Ann Radcliffe. The contents of innumerable 'lesser novels' on the shelves of the Corvey Library not only illustrate that the last aim of such Gothicism was to meet high aesthetic expectations on the part of a discriminating readership, but also that the term 'Romantic' Gothic novel is somewhat misleading. Any form of 'high' Romanticism in these second- and third-rate Gothics is restricted to a few standardised landscape descriptions and the occasional appearance of a rather down-to-earth ghost.

An attempted revaluation of the Gothic in 'high' aesthetic terms not only faces the difficulty of the widespread dissemination of the Radcliffe 'terror' mode in the bulk of 'lesser novels', but also must face the fact that, in an even weaker form, identical mechanisms of terror combined with quasi-rational explanation are applied in the 'bluebooks' or 'shilling shockers'. Frederick S. Frank defines such literary forms as:

Low quality Gothic fiction denoted by its garish blue coverings or wrappers. The Gothic bluebook is a primitive paperback or ur-pulp publication, cheaply manufactured, sometimes garishly illustrated, and meant to be thrown away after being 'read to pieces.' [...] The reader of the bluebook received a single dose of Gothicism between the blue covers. Almost all of the hundreds of bluebooks published during the period are pirated abridgments of full-length Gothic novels.¹⁴

Compared with this depreciative description of the small-scale Gothics, which are occasionally to be found side by side with their fully fledged counterparts in public and academic libraries, a quite different sense is given in a contemporary comment by Thomas Medwin, as found in the biography of his friend Percy Bysshe Shelley:

Who does not know what blue books mean? but if there should be any one ignorant enough not to know what those dear darling volumes, so designated from their covers, contain, be it known, that they are or were to be bought for sixpence, and embodied stories of

haunted castles, bandits, murderers, and other grim personages—a most exciting and interesting sort of food for boys' minds.¹⁵

Disregarding the striking opposition in terms of valuation—resulting from the fact that those 'who have grown up' with the bluebooks feel inclined to treat them with leniency, whereas historical distance predisposes twentieth-century critics to adopt a rather negative view of them as degenerate Gothic novels—both definitions correlate the bluebook's physical appearance with a specific mode of contents. Around 1800, two traditions effectively merged into a new type of cheap popular literature: whereas the bluebook's size of thirty-six to seventy-two pages recalls the eighteenth century chapbook tradition, their inevitable blue covers, copperplate frontispieces, and above all their contents, derive from the late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Gothic romance. Apart from using the same Gothic paraphernalia, such as family feud, illicit love, and the intervention of supernatural powers, among some 220 items physically inspected by the author, no more or less than sixty-three proved to be adaptations of longer works. (A checklist of these follows this essay.)

In any case, the practise of condensing three-decker novels into thirty-six- or seventy-two-page duodecimos does not logically lead to the conclusion that bluebooks are degenerate Gothics in the sense that they represent an epiphenomenon of the Gothic rage. If the concept of the novel of terror is extended from the few innovative works that initiated the Gothic craze to the full range of the genre as it is preserved in the Princely Library of Corvey, Ian Watt's statement that '[i]n the shilling shockers we are enabled [...] to appreciate the absurd extent to which the Gothic vogue was carried in the declining years of its life' proves incorrect.¹⁶ In fact, a close examination of output of thirty-six- or seventy-two-page bluebooks with Gothic novels in standard form reveals that both forms represent virtually contemporaneous phenomena, peaking in the early 1800s and diminishing by the 1810s. Furthermore, in view of evidence that—as the checklist at the end of this paper indicates—the contents of three-decker Gothics and bluebooks are more or less identical, it becomes apparent that both modes of fiction must have aimed at similar expectations from their readership, with the only difference that the triple-deckers were produced for the circulating libraries and some well-to-do buyers (such as the owner of the Corvey Library), whereas the bluebooks were printed for private purchase at either sixpence or one shilling exclusively.¹⁷

Of course, it is not only long-term attempts to reevaluate the Gothic novel in the teeth of its aesthetic 'defects' that have been responsible for the general neglect of bluebooks, but also the evanescence of the tiny volumes themselves. Through consulting library catalogues and bibliographies such as Summers *Gothic Bibliography* (1940) and Frank's *The First Gothics* (1987),¹⁸ the author of this essay was able to locate the 220 titles previously mentioned in twenty national, academic, and public libraries in the UK and North America, with the twenty-first source being the private library situated in Corvey Castle with

its astonishingly complete corpus of romantic fiction. Due to their ephemeral nature it is impossible to ascertain with certainty how many bluebooks were originally published shortly after 1800, nor in what numbers they were produced. Summers does not provide any contextual evidence to substantiate his statement 'that these little bluebooks were sold in their hundreds upon hundreds for a tester apiece'.¹⁹ Admittedly, Medwin's comment quoted earlier encourages the assumption that bluebooks were so widely spread at the time as to become a universally known phenomenon. One should not forget, however, that—compared to the Gothic novel, which retained much of its early force far into the early 1810s—their actual publication dates with the high-tide about 1803–05 mark the bluebooks as a relatively short-lived phenomenon. This challenges Summers's assumption that the bluebook phenomenon might well have been an experiment practised by enterprising publishers such as Thomas Tegg or Dean & Munday, which ultimately failed owing to the fact that the circulating libraries made the full-length Gothic novel accessible to a large public.

Whereas in the past the preservation of Gothic bluebooks in national or academic libraries has depended largely on chance—pencil notes in some British Library specimen still mark them as donations from private owners—the twenty-four titles in the Corvey Library survived thanks to the indiscriminate acquisition policy of the principal collectors of Romantic fiction: Victor Amadeus, Landgrave of Hesse-Rotenburg (1779–1835) and his second wife Elise (1790–1830), both of whom were connected to the British royal family. As a bibliomaniac the Landgrave bought almost every novel in German, English, and French that was advertised from the 1790s onwards, thus turning the aristocratic family library into a universal library of contemporary fiction. Although Victor Amadeus's preferences clearly lay with the lengthy romance, the 2,500 English language fictions collected between 1790 and 1834 occasionally prove collections of tales and other forms of shorter fiction, among these *The Marvellous Magazine and Compendium of Prodigies* (1802–04). The *Marvellous Magazine* consisted of twenty-four short Gothic pieces (see Appendix I) published by various firms, most notably the 'publisher, re-publisher, printer and book-buyer' Thomas Tegg of St John's Street, later of Cheapside, who was responsible for the bulk of bluebook production shortly after 1800.²⁰

Among the colourful 'house' bindings of the fully fledged novels in Corvey, the two leather-bound volumes of the *Marvellous Magazine* with their gilded ornaments are not particularly exceptional in terms of their outward appearance. Such bindings are indicative of two salient points: firstly, the owners of the library purchased virtually every English fiction title they could acquire, regardless of mode; and secondly, that they did *not* read the bulk of their acquisition.²¹ As we do not exactly know about the Landgrave's purchase policy, except that in the field of the *belles-lettres* he bought almost every item that appeared on the literary scene, it is impossible to reconstruct why the collection includes what Frank describes as 'little flowers of evil planted by rapacious publishers across the literary scene'.²² There are two possible explanations,

which do not necessarily exclude each other: either the *Marvellous Magazine* was advertised and the Landgrave did not know what he was ordering from his German bookseller,²³ or the small-scale novels it contains enjoyed a much different reputation from the prejudiced concept of popular literature that has long prevailed in modern literary criticism.

It is hard to imagine how a bibliomaniac like the Landgrave might have responded to titles such as *Albani: Or the Murderer of his Child. Containing the Different Views of his Character, as a Libertine in Palermo, an Officer in the Spanish Service, a Planter in the Island of Cuba, and an Independent Gentleman, on his Return to Italy* (c. 1803), an adaptation of John Moore's famous Gothic novel *Zeluco* (1789). The *Marvellous Magazine's* series frontispiece that is bound with the work suggests that Victor Amadeus did not buy the titles in the form in which they first appeared, namely as single items, but that he ordered a reprinted version of the series as a whole, and indeed did not know about its contents beforehand. To the scholar, the twenty-four items included in the *Marvellous Magazine* reveal that the bluebook format embraced the whole spectrum of Gothic subgenres, from sentimental to pseudo-historical Gothic, from Robber Romanticism to orientalisised Gothic fantasy. As a whole, the contents of the small incorporated volumes tend towards a mixture of genres typical of the Gothic: what is generally to be found between their flimsy covers is a sentimental love story set against the background of a picturesque, vaguely medieval landscape, decorated with the occasional appearance of such *memento mori* as a bleeding nun or a stately knight long-supposed to be dead, recalled to the stage of life by some imminent injury to be done to a maiden orphan or a legitimate heir.

The sensational titles found among bluebooks as a whole indicates that their authors, most of whom remain anonymous, set out to meet the expectations of as large a readership as possible. In 1803 *Almagro & Claude; or Monastic Murder; Exemplified in the Dreadful Doom of an Unfortunate Nun* was published by Tegg & Castleman, while a comparatively late example in this mode is *The Midnight Groan; or, the Spectre of the Chapel: Involving an Exposure of the Horrible Secrets of the Nocturnal Assembly*, published by T. & R. Hughes in 1808.²⁴ From the prolific pen of Sarah Scudgell Wilkinson, one of the few authors whose name has come down to the present, derives a bluebook bearing the extensive title, *The Eve of St Mark; or, the Mysterious Spectre: Describing the Murder of Lady Bertha de Clifford by a Jealous and Disappointed Suitor; and Suicide of her Father: Her Singular Re-appearance after the Lapse of a Whole Century—Surprising Events in Consequence of this Marvellous Incident—Descent of the Steward of the De Clifford Family into the Vaults of Mowbray Church; Remarkable Discovery there, and the Marriage of Earl de Clifford with the Steward's Daughter, Margaret. A Romance* (London: J. Bailey, n.d.).²⁵ Corresponding to the modern blurb, the title in this and many other instances supplies a complete synopsis of the narrative, catching the eye of a public searching for sentimental at least as much as Gothic entertainment.

On the one hand, examples such as these indicate the high predictability of the bluebook plot. Apparently, readers were less interested in the ‘what?’ than in the ‘how?’ and ‘why?’ of the action, as the former category is often fully summarised on the title page. On the other hand, the authors’ ambition to satisfy the needs of Tegg’s or Bailey’s customers led to an extreme eclecticism in terms of sensational detail. Thus, in F. Legge’s *The Spectre Chief; or, the Blood-Stained Banner* (London: J. Bailey, n.d.), two Gothic villains with names of Romance origin attack a Scandinavian monastery with the quasi-German name of Risbatz. In the anonymous *Banditti of the Appennines* (London: C. Sharp, 1808), the tale’s lovers providentially escape from one gang of ferocious robbers merely to fall into the hands of another. The full title reads: *The Banditti of the Appennines; or, the Singular Adventures of Alphonsus and Adela (during the Civil Wars in Italy), with an Interesting Account of their Providential Escape from a Band of Ferocious Robbers who Infested the Mountains, at that Period, and also from Another Band, Still More Formidable, by Whom They Were Confined in a Dreadful Dungeon.*

Owing to such apparent absurdities as these, as already suggested, critics have come to regard the bluebook as a degenerate variant of the Gothic romance. The denigration of the Gothic bluebook in favour of the full-length novel is particularly apparent in a number of German academic publications, which differentiate between the ‘classical’ Gothic novel and the ‘popular’ or ‘trivial’ shilling shocker, both adjectives carrying distinctly negative



FIG. II. FRONTISPIECE TO *THE HISTORY OF ARDEN OF FEVERSHAM.*
A TRAGIC FACT OF 1550
 (LONDON: ANN LEMOINE / J. ROE, 1804)

connotations in German literary criticism.²⁶ Neither does the bluebook fare much better in America. In his primary bibliography *The First Gothics*, which supplies useful synopses of the longer novels in contrast to relatively unreliable summaries of bluebook contents, Frank notes:

While lengthy and elegant Gothics were still being written and published, a study of the Gothic types flooding the literary marketplace during the opening decades of the Nineteenth Century reveals the decline of the long Gothic as it was displaced by these shilling shockers. [...] The chapbooks represent Gothicism in its most decadent and rampant phase, bringing down upon the Gothic novel widespread critical denunciation and ridicule.²⁷

Contrary to this assumption, the material in Corvey strongly suggests that the description of the Gothic novel as 'lengthy and elegant' and the characterisation of the so-called 'shilling shocker' as degenerate result from critics' prioritisation of the triple-decker Gothic novel on its own.

As this paper has already argued, in order to arrive at the distinction of high-quality novels and low-quality shilling shockers, the majority of critical studies on the Gothic romance restrict their subject to a very limited set of innovative works published in the decade before 1800 or shortly after. Nevertheless, the vast amount of full-length Gothic novels in the Corvey Collection cannot live up to the standard of Ann Radcliffe or 'Monk' Lewis. Among the better of these novels one finds *Netley Abbey* of 1795, a Radcliffean imitation by Richard Warner, or several triple-deckers by Sarah Wilkinson, the bluebook authoress mentioned above. In contrast to these, the comparatively early work *The Animated Skeleton* (1798) is already characterised by all the properties of 'degenerate Gothicism', whereas the similarly anonymous novel, *The Avenger; or, the Sicilian Vespers* (1810), with its sensational plot of intrigue and revenge causes Frank to erroneously label the three-decker as a 'Gothic bluebook'.

On a number of occasions, the titles of Gothic novels in the Corvey Library do not differ conspicuously from the bluebook titles quoted above. Alongside Radcliffe's novels one finds works such as *The Mysterious Penitent; or, the Norman Chateau* (1800), *The Spirit of Turretville: Or, the Mysterious Resemblance* (1800), *The Castle of Eridan: Or, the Entertaining and Surprising History of the Valiant Don Alvares, and the Beautiful Eugenia, Duchess of Savoy* (1800), not to mention *Labyrinth of Corcira: Or, the Most Extraordinary and Surprising History of the Incomparable Don Fernando D'Avalo, Hereditary Prince of Salerno, and the Beautiful and Virtuous Isidora, Duchess of Catania. Together with the Surprising Events of the Countess of Lipary his Sister* (1804). Discussing the anonymous *Valombrosa; or the Venetian Nun* (1805), the *Critical Review* notes that '[w]e cannot congratulate this gentleman (for a male performance it must certainly be) on the slightest ambition to imitate that delicacy which is one of the many beauties so profusely scattered over the writings of Mrs. Radcliffe'.²⁸ Although it would take years to undertake a full survey of the Gothic material preserved

in the Corvey Library, the contents of second- and third-rate novels like these already corroborates the fact suggested by the publication dates of novels and bluebooks respectively, namely that they are not consecutive phenomena but contemporary facets of the Gothic craze.

A devaluation, however, of the Gothic novel in favour of the Gothic bluebook would mean going from one extreme to another. Despite the fact that the number of plagiarisms among the so-called 'sixpenny shockers' is definitely over-emphasised by Watt, Frank, and others, the checklist appended in Appendix II lists no less than five versions of Lewis's *Monk*. All of the four great Gothic novels by Ann Radcliffe are present, with even two different versions of *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794). Furthermore, there are condensations of Walpole's *Otranto*, Clara Reeve's *Old English Baron*, Sophia Lee's *The Recess* (1783–85), Charlotte Smith's *The Old Manor House* (1793), and Charlotte Dacre's *Zofloya* (1806). Secondary literature on the Gothic novel has long identified the first item on the list, *The Midnight Assassin: or, Confession of the Monk Rinaldi* (1802), as an adaptation of Radcliffe's *Italian* (1797). *Don Algonah; or the Sorceress of Montillo* (1802), another item included in *The Marvellous Magazine*, is a seventy-two-page version of George Walker's *The Three Spaniards* (1800), whereas *The Wandering Spirit* (1802) corresponds to Stephen Cullen's *Haunted Priory* (1794). These adaptations show that the bluebooks are in no way original; however, around two-thirds of the titles could not be traced back to original novels, tales or plays and many of them, such as those by Sarah Wilkinson, will never be.

These findings encourage the conclusion that the Gothic paraphernalia favoured in fiction around 1800 are not the property of the novel in the first place, but that bluebooks and Gothic novels are variants of the same literary tradition brought about by the preferences of a readership under the impress of political and economic change. To reconstruct this readership is difficult, if not impossible, as there is scant empirical evidence. From the biographies of Percy Shelley, Robert Southey, and Sheridan LeFanu we can deduce that in their youth they belonged to the class of bluebook readers. As the emphasis on the younger generation indicates, the bluebooks were produced specifically for those parts of the reading public who wanted to participate in the Gothic rage, but who could not to afford the comparatively expensive three-decker novels. This is most likely the reason why Varma in 1957 called the bluebooks 'poorman's gothic novels'.²⁹ This assumption presupposes, however, that the bluebook-buyer had come into contact with the Gothic novel tradition before: otherwise, the striking similarities in the outward appearance of bluebooks and Gothic novels would have been lost on the reader. And where else could he or she have come into contact with these novels other than in the circulating libraries of the time? In fact, temporal coincidences indicate that there was commensurate growth in cheap, popular literature in the form of bluebooks and in the institution of the circulating library, both symptoms of the exponential rise in book prices that occurred during the Napoleonic Wars. People who frequented the circulating library would certainly have wished to own the novels they could only borrow

there. Once these works had been reduced to thirty-six or seventy-two pages, however, readers could obtain versions at the reasonable price of sixpence or a shilling, not only in London but—as the title pages of the *Marvellous Magazine* suggest—from ‘every other bookseller in the United Kingdom’.

Nevertheless, this lack of empirical evidence generally forces commentators on popular literature to have recourse to the implied reader. As with the prejudice that the bluebooks belong to the aftermath of the Gothic vogue, there is strong evidence against another argument made by Frank et al.—namely that the bluebooks represent what has been termed the ‘horror mode’ of Gothicism. For instance, in *The First Gothics* Frank states:

the route of development taken by the Gothic novel after 1800 was down the corridor of an unrestrained supernatural and toward the absolute horror of horrors. Hasty and relentless horror became the stock-in-trade of the Gothic chapbooks and bluebooks after 1800 when the main path for Gothic fiction was mapped out by Monk Lewis, not Ann Radcliffe. These hundreds of small Gothics were the cheap and tawdry offspring of the *Schauerromantik* energies released by Lewis’ *The Monk*.³⁰

Again, as far as the Gothic novel is concerned, this argument only applies to a very limited set of works: strictly speaking, works which derive from or are inspired by either Radcliffe or Lewis. Tracing back the bluebook adaptations to their respective originals almost exclusively leads to Radcliffean imitations. The contents of these works (examples of which have been mentioned already) reveal the prevalence of the rationalised variant of the Gothic mode

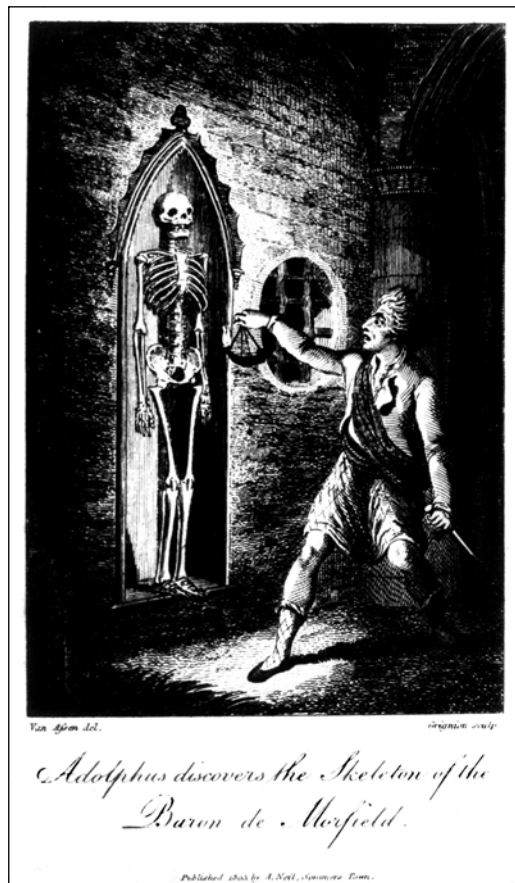



FIG. III. FRONTISPIECE TO ISAAC CROOKENDEN'S *THE SKELETON; OR, MYSTERIOUS DISCOVERY. A GOTHIC ROMANCE* (LONDON: A NEIL, 1805)

typical of the early decades of the nineteenth century, whereas novels representing the more unsettling Romantic 'horror' variant (for instance, Lewis's *Monk*) are to be regarded as rare experiments. Wherever works such as the latter have served as the quarry of prolific bluebook authors, elements of horror like torture or moral ambivalence are eliminated, a measure that conveniently contributed to the practice of cutting down the original story to the intended size of thirty-six or seventy-two pages.

As adaptations, the bluebooks belong predominantly to the so-called 'terror' mode which follows in the tradition of Ann Radcliffe, a tendency that does not apply only to the sixty-three miniature romances the originals of which have been identified in the checklist. The only explanation for the sensational frontispieces and multiple titles of these works is their need to attract potential readers. The contents of the bluebooks, however, quickly disillusion anybody who expects the 'absolute horror of horrors': quite obviously, the readership—which was attracted by the pictorial representations of skeletons and spectres—refrained from the epistemological pessimism of works like Lewis's *Monk*. In reading Isaac Crookenden's *The Skeleton; or, Mysterious Discovery* (London: A. Neil, 1805), for example, one recognises that the protagonist is less terrified by a supernatural apparition in the trembling rays of a midnight lamp, than moved by his discovery of the corpse of one of his ancestors. What remains of Gothicism in the bluebooks in general is the sentimental love story, adorned with a restricted set of Gothic paraphernalia, which never traverse the boundary between terror and horror, as defined by Radcliffe herself.³¹

Thus, in a manner similar to most of the full-length novels of the period, the Gothic in bluebooks represents an attractive alternative to the sentimental. Whereas in most cases Gothicism is reduced to a small set of comparatively harmless elements of terror adorning the action, it is the love story, handed down from the novel of sensibility, that constitutes the main plot. In this respect, the stories of the bluebooks preserved in the Corvey Library differ as little from those of the full-length Gothics and the sentimental novels to be found on the same shelf as the bindings of the respective works themselves. To the contemporary reader—whose reading habits differed as much from ours as the outward appearance of the early-nineteenth-century novels does from the literary productions of the present—they must have appeared as one coherent tradition of entertainment and recreation. 

I

BLUEBOOK TITLES IN THE CORVEY LIBRARY

(from the *Marvellous Magazine*)

The Marvellous Magazine and Compendium of Prodigies, 4 vols
(London: T. Hurst/Tegg & Castleman etc., 1802–04)

Marvellous Magazine I

1. *The Midnight Assassin: Or, Confession of the Monk Rinaldi; Containing a Complete History of His Diabolical Machinations and Unparalleled Ferocity [...]* (London: T. Hurst, 1802).
2. *Don Algonah; or the Sorceress of Montillo. A Romantic Tale* (London: T. Hurst, 1802).
3. *The Recess. A Tale of Past Times* (London: T. Hurst, 1802).
4. a) *The Wandering Spirit: Or Memoirs of the House of Morno: Including the History of Don Pinto D'Antos, a Tale of the 14th Century [...]*;
b) *Charles and Emma, or the Unfortunate Lovers* (London: Thomas Tegg & Co., 1802).
5. *The Cavern of Horrors; or, Miseries of Miranda: A Neapolitan Tale* (London: T. Tegg & Co., 1802).
6. *The Secret Oath, or Blood-Stained Dagger, a Romance* (London: Tegg & Castleman, 1802).

Marvellous Magazine II

1. *The Southern Tower; or, Conjugal Sacrifice and Retribution* (London: T. Hurst, 1802).
2. *The Veiled Picture: Or, the Mysteries of Gorgono, the Appennine Castle of Signor Androssi. A Romance of the Sixteenth Century* (London: Thomas Tegg & Co., 1802).
3. *A Tale of Mystery; or the Castle of Solitude. Containing the Dreadful Imprisonment of Count L. and the Countess Harmina, His Lady* (London: Thomas Tegg & Co., 1803).
4. a) *Domestic Misery, or the Victim of Seduction, a Pathetic Tale; Addressed to the Unprincipled Libertine.*
b) *Highland Heroism; or the Castles of Glencoe and Balloch. A Scottish Legend of the Sixteenth Century;* (London: Tegg & Castleman, 1803).
5. *Albani: Or the Murderer of His Child. Containing Different Views of His Character, as a Libertine in Palermo [...]* (London: Tegg & Castleman, 1803).
6. *Father Innocent, Abbot of the Capuchins; or, the Crimes of Cloisters* (London: Tegg & Castleman, 1803).

Marvellous Magazine III

1. *The Secret Tribunal; or, the Court of Wincellaus. A Mysterious Tale* (London: Tegg & Castleman, 1803).
2. *Koenigsmark the Robber, or, the Terror of Bohemia: In which Is Introduced, Stella, the Maniac of the Wood, a Pathetic Tale* (London: Tegg & Castleman, 1803).
3. *Phantasmagoria, or the Development of Magical Deception* (London: Tegg & Castleman, 1803).
4. *Ildefonso & Alberoni, or Tales of Horrors* (London: Tegg & Castleman, 1803).
5. *Ulric and Gustavus, or the Unhappy Swedes; a Finland Tale* (London: Tegg & Castleman, 1803).
6. *Blanche and Carlos; or the Constant Lovers: Including the Adventures of Valville and Adelaide, a Mexican Tale* (London: Tegg & Castleman, 1803).

Marvellous Magazine IV

1. *De La Mark and Constantia; or, Ancient Heroism, A Gothic Tale* (London: Tegg & Castleman, 1803).
2. *Lermos and Rosa, or the Fortunate Gipsy: An Interesting Adventure, which Really Happened in Spain, about Fourty Years Ago* (London: Tegg & Castleman, 1803).
3. *Maximilian and Selina; or, the Mysterious Abbot. A Flemish Tale* (London: Tegg & Castleman, 1804).
4. *Lewis Tyrrell, or, the Depraved Count; Including the Pathetic Adventures and Tragical End of Ella Clifford and Oscar Henry Hampden; or, the Victims of Treachery [...]* (London: Tegg & Castleman, 1804).
5.
 - a) *Matilda; or the Adventures of an Orphan, an Interesting Tale;*
 - b) *Fernando of Castile, or the Husband of Two Wives* (London: Tegg & Castleman, 1804).
6.
 - a) *The Soldier's Daughter; or the Fair Fugitive, a Pathetic Tale;*
 - b) *The Mysterious Bride, or the Statue-Spectre* (London: Tegg & Castleman, 1804).



FIG. IV. FRONTISPIECE TO *THE SOLDIER'S DAUGHTER;*
OR, THE FAIR FUGITIVE, A PATHETIC TALE
(LONDON: TEGG & CASTLEMAN, 1804)

II
ADAPTATIONS IN BLUEBOOK FORM

ADAPTATION	ORIGINAL
<i>The Affecting History of Louisa, the Wandering Maniac, or, 'Lady of the Haystack' [...]</i> (1803)	P., L. <i>L'Inconnue, Histoire Véritable</i> (1785, trans. 1785)
<i>The Affecting History of the Dutchess of C, Who Was Confined Nine Years in a Horrid Dungeon [...]</i> (n.d.)	Genlis, Stéphanie F. de. 'Histoire de la Duchesse de C***', in <i>Adèle et Théodore</i> (1782, trans. 1783)
<i>Albani: Or the Murderer of His Child [...]</i> (1803)	Moore, John. <i>Zeluco</i> (1789)
<i>Algernon & Caroline, or the Spirit of the Spirit [...]</i> (1820)	Ashe, Thomas. <i>The Spirit of 'The Book'; or, Memoirs of Caroline, Princess of Hasburgh</i> (1811)
<i>Almagro & Claude; or Monastic Murder; Exemplified in the Dreadful Doom of an Unfortunate Nun</i> (n.d.)	Lewis, Matthew Gregory. <i>The Monk</i> (1796)
Barrett, C. F. <i>Allenrod; or, the Mysterious Freebooter</i> (1806)	Lathom, Francis. <i>The Mysterious Freebooter; or, the Days of Queen Bess</i> (1806)
<i>The Bleeding Nun of the Castle of Lindenberg; or, the History of Raymond & Agnes</i> (1823)	Lewis, Matthew Gregory. <i>The Monk</i> (1796)
<i>The Castle of Otranto, a Gothic Story</i> (1804)	Walpole, Horace. <i>The Castle of Otranto</i> (1765)
<i>The Castle of the Pyrenees; or, the Wanderer of the Alps</i> (1803)	Smith, Charlotte. 'The Interesting History of the Count de Bellegarde', in <i>Celestina</i> (1791)
<i>The Castles of Montreuil and Barre; or the Histories of the Marquis La Brun and the Baron la Marche [...]</i> (1803)	F., E. <i>The Two Castles, a Romance. Lady's Magazine</i> 28–29 (1797–98)
<i>The Cavern of Horrors; or, Miseries of Miranda</i> (1802)	Charlton, Mary. <i>The Pirate of Naples</i> (1801)
Chapman, M. <i>Marlton Abbey, or the Mystic Tomb of St. Angelo</i> (1805)	Sheriffe, Sarah <i>Correlia, or the Mystic Tomb</i> (1802)
<i>The Convent of St. Michael or the Unfortunate Emilia</i> (n.d.)	<i>The Convent of St. Michael, a Tale</i> (1803)
<i>The Convent of St. Ursula, or Incidents at Ottagro</i> (1809)	Wilkinson, Sarah Scudgell. <i>The Fugitive Countess; or, Convent of St. Ursula</i> (1807)
<i>The Convent Spectre, or Unfortunate Daughter</i> (1808)	<i>The Convent of St. Michael, a Tale</i> (1803)
<i>The Curfew; or, the Castle of Baron de Tracy</i> (1807)	Tobin, John. <i>The Curfew; a Play</i> (1807)
<i>The Daemon of Venice, an Original Romance</i> (1810)	Dacre, Charlotte. <i>Zofloya: Or, the Moor</i> (1806)
<i>Don Algonab; or the Sorceress of Montillo</i> (1802)	Walker, George. <i>The Three Spaniards</i> (1800)
[Barrington, George]. <i>Eliza, or the Unhappy Nun</i> (1803)	Barrington, George. <i>Biographical Annals of Suicide, or Horrors of Self-Murder [...]</i> (1803)
<i>Entertaining Gothic Stories; Including Raymond Castle, or, the Ungrateful Nephew [...]</i> (n.d.)	Bacon, Mr. <i>Raymond Castle, a Legendary Tale. Cabinet Magazine</i> 1 (1797)
<i>Father Innocent, Abbot of the Capuchins; or the Crimes of Cloisters</i> (1803)	Lewis, Matthew Gregory. <i>The Monk</i> (1796)

ADAPTATION	ORIGINAL
<i>Gothic Stories: Sir Bertrand's Adventures in a Ruinous Castle, [...] The Adventure James III. of Scotland Had with the Weird Sisters in the Dreadful Wood of Birnan, The Story of Raymond Castle [...]</i> (n.d.)	Aikin, Anna Laetitia. 'Sir Bertrand', in Aikin, Anna Laetitia/Aikin, John, <i>Miscellaneous Pieces in Prose</i> (1773) Musgrave, Agnes. <i>Edmund of the Forest</i> (1797) Bacon, Mr. 'Raymond Castle, a Legendary Tale'. <i>Cabinet Magazine</i> 1 (1797)
<i>The Gothic Story of Courville Castle; or the Illegitimate Son [...]</i> (1803)	F., E. <i>De Courville Castle, a Romance. Lady's Magazine</i> 26–28 (1795–97)
[Douglas, Robert?]. <i>Highland Heroism; or the Castles of Glencoe and Balloch</i> (1803)	Radcliffe, Ann. <i>The Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne</i> (1789)
<i>The History and Surprising Adventures of Joseph Pignata [...]</i> (1821)	Pignate Guiseppe. <i>Les Aventures des Joseph Pignata [...]</i> (1729, German trans. 1796, English trans. ?)
<i>The History of Arden of Feversham. A Tragic Fact of 1550</i> (1804)	<i>Arden of Feversham</i> (1592)
<i>The History of Cecilia, or the Beautiful Nun</i> (1804)	Genlis, Stéphanie de. 'Cécile', in <i>Adèle et Théodore</i> (1782, trans. 1783)
<i>The Horrible Revenge; or, the Assassin of the Solitary Castle</i> (n.d.)	Parsons, Eliza. <i>The Mysterious Warning</i> (1796)
<i>Koenigsmark the Robber; or, the Terror of Bohemia: In Which Is Included, the Affecting History of Rosenberg and Adelaide [...]</i> (n.d.)	Raspe, Rudolf Erich: unidentified (English trans. By Sarratt, John Henry, 1801/play by Lewis, Matthew Gregory 1818)
[Sarratt, John Henry?]. <i>Koenig mark the Robber, or, the Terror of Bohemia: In Which Is Introduced, Stella, the Maniac of the Wood [...]</i> (1803)	Raspe, Rudolf Erich unidentified (English trans. by Sarratt, John Henry, 1801/play by Lewis, Matthew Gregory 1818)
<i>The Life, Surprising Adventures, and Most Remarkable Escapes, of Rinaldo Rinaldini [...]</i> (1801)	Vulpus, Christian August. <i>Rinaldo Rinaldini, der Räuberhauptmann</i> (1797, trans. 1800)
<i>Lovel Castle, or the Rightful Heir Restored, a Gothic Tale [...]</i> (n.d.)	Reeve, Clara. <i>The Old English Baron</i> (1777)
<i>Manfredi, or the Mysterious Hermit</i> (n.d.)	Lansdell, Sarah Tenterden. <i>Manfredi, Baron St. Osmond</i> (1796)
<i>The Midnight Assassin: Or, Confession of the Monk Rinaldi [...]</i> (1802)	Radcliffe, Ann. <i>The Italian; or the Confessional of the Black Penitents</i> (1797)
<i>The Midnight Bell, or the Abbey of St. Francis</i> (1802)	Lathom, Francis. <i>The Midnight Bell</i> (1798)
<i>The Mysteries of Udolpho, a Romance [...]</i> (n.d.)	Radcliffe, Ann. <i>The Mysteries of Udolpho</i> (1797)
<i>The Nun; or, Memoirs of Angelique</i> (1803)	<i>The Nun. European Magazine</i> 25 (1794)
Lawler, Dennis. <i>The Old Man of the Mountain; or, Interesting History of Gorthmund the Cruel</i> (n.d.)	Tieck, Ludwig. 'Der Alte vom Berge', in <i>Der Alte vom Berge, und die Gesellschaft auf dem Lande</i> (1828, trans. 1831)
<i>The Phantasmagoria: Or, Tales of Wonder</i> (n.d.)	Tschink, Cajetan. <i>Geschichte eines Geistersehers [...]</i> (178?, trans. 1795)
<i>Phantasmagoria, or the Development of Magical Deception</i> (1803)	Tschink, Cajetan. <i>Geschichte eines Geistersehers [...]</i> (178?, trans. 1795)
<i>Rayland Hall; or, the Remarkable Adventures of Orlando Somerville</i> (1810)	Smith, Charlotte. <i>The Old Manor House</i> (1793)

ADAPTATION	ORIGINAL
<i>Raymond & Agnes; or, the Bleeding Nun of the Castle of Lindenberg</i> (n.d.)	Lewis, Matthew Gregory. <i>The Monk</i> (1796)
<i>The Recess, a Tale of Past Times</i> (1802)	Lee, Sophia. <i>The Recess; or, a Tale of Other Times</i> (1783–85)
<i>Rochester Castle; or, Gundulph's Tower</i> (1810)	Drake, Nathan. 'Sir Egbert', in <i>Literary Hours; or, Sketches Critical and Narrative</i> (1804)
<i>Romances and Gothic Tales. Containing: The Ruins of the Abbey of Fitz-Martin, [...] The Castle of Hospitality; or, the Spectre</i> (1801)	Curtis. 'The Ruins of the Abbey of Fitz-Martin'. <i>New Gleaner</i> 2 (1810) Radcliffe, Ann. 'Provençal Tale', in <i>The Mysteries of Udolpho</i> (1794)
<i>Rugantino, the Bravo of Venice</i> (n.d.)	Zschokke, Johannes Heinrich Daniel. <i>Abällino, der große Bandit</i> (1794; adaptation by M. G. Lewis 1804–05)
<i>The Secret Tribunal; or, the Court of Wineslaus</i> (1803)	Naubert, Christiane Benedicte Eugenie. <i>Hermann von Unna</i> (1788, trans. 1794)
<i>The Southern Tower; or, Conjugal Sacrifice and Retribution</i> (1802)	Radcliffe, Ann. <i>A Sicilian Romance</i> (1790)
<i>A Tale of Mystery; or the Castle of Solitude</i> (1803)	Parsons, Eliza. <i>The Mysterious Warning</i> (1796)
<i>The Tartarian Prince; or, the Stranger</i> (1804)	Gomez, Madeleine-A. de. <i>Le Prince Tartare</i> , in <i>Les Cent Nouvelles</i> (1732–39, trans. 1745)
<i>Undine; or, the Spirit of the Waters</i> (1824)	Fouqué, Friedrich Heinrich Karl de la Motte. <i>Undine</i> (1811, trans. 1818)
<i>Vancenza or the Dangers of Credulity</i> (1810)	Robinson, Mary. <i>Vancenza, or, the Dangers of Credulity</i> (1792)
<i>The Veiled Picture: Or, the Mysteries of Gorgono, the Appennine Castle of Signor Androssi</i> (1802)	Radcliffe, Ann. <i>The Mysteries of Udolpho</i> (1794)
<i>The Wandering Spirit: Or Memoirs of the House of Morno [...]</i> (1802)	Cullen, Stephen. <i>The Haunted Priory: Or, the Fortunes of the House of Rayo</i> (1794)
Wilkinson, Sarah Scudgell. <i>The Ancestress; or, Supernatural Prediction of Horror Accomplished [...]</i> (n.d.)	Grillparzer, Franz. <i>Die Abnfrau. Ein Trauerspiel in fünf Aufzügen</i> (1817, trans. 1820)
Wilkinson, Sarah Scudgell. <i>The Castle of Lindenberg; or, the History of Raymond and Agnes [...]</i> (n.d.)	Lewis, Matthew Gregory. <i>The Monk</i> (1796)
Wilkinson, Sarah Scudgell. <i>The Castle Spectre; or, Family Horror</i> (1807)	Lewis, Matthew Gregory. <i>The Castle Spectre. A Drama in Five Acts</i> (1798)
Wilkinson, Sarah Scudgell. <i>Conscience; or, the Bridal Night</i> (n.d.)	Haynes, James. <i>Conscience; or, the Bridal Night: A Tragedy, in Five Acts</i> (1821)
Wilkinson, Sarah Scudgell. <i>Inkle and Yarico; or, Love in a Cave</i> (1805)	Ligon, Richard. <i>True and Exact History of the Island of Barbados</i> (1657; note by Richard Steele in <i>The Spectator</i> 11, 1711; adaptation by Seymour, Frances 1738)
Wilkinson, Sarah Scudgell. <i>The Ruffian Boy; or the Castle of Waldemar</i> (n.d.)	Opie, Amelia Alderson. <i>The Ruffian Boy, in New Tales</i> (1813)

ADAPTATION	ORIGINAL
Wilkinson, Sarah Scudgell. <i>The White Pilgrim; or, Castle of Olival</i> [...] (n.d.)	Pixérécourt, René Guilbert de. <i>Le Pèlerin Blanc. Drama en Trois Actes</i> (1802)
<i>Wolfstein; or, the Mysterious Bandit</i> (n.d.)	Shelley, Percy Bysshe. <i>St. Irvyne; or, the Rosicrucian</i> (1811)
<i>The Wood Daemon: Or, 'The Clock Has Struck'</i> (1807)	Lewis, Matthew Gregory. <i>One O'Clock! or, the Knight and the Wood Daemon</i> (1811)

NOTES

1. Donatien Antoine François Marquis de Sade, *Idée sur les Romans*, ed. Octave Uzanne (1800; Genf: Slatkins Reprints, 1967), pp. 31–33.
2. See, e.g., Michael Sadleir, 'The Northanger Novels. A Footnote to Jane Austen', *The English Association Pamphlet* 68 (1927), pp. 4 and 7; André Breton, 'Limites non frontières du surréalisme', *Nouvelle Revue Française* 48 (1937), 208–09.
3. Cf. Ronald Paulson, *Representations of Revolution 1789–1820* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1983), pp. 8–9.
4. Maurice Lévy, *Le Roman 'gothique' Anglais 1796–1820* (Toulouse: Association des Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et de Sciences Humaines, 1968), p. 611.
5. Ann Radcliffe, *A Journey Made in the Summer of 1794 through Holland and the Western Frontier of Germany with a Return down the Rhine: To Which Are Added Observations during a Tour to the Lakes of Lancashire, Westmoreland and Cumberland* (1795; Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1975), p. 92.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 108.
7. Montague Summers, *The Gothic Quest. A History of the Gothic Novel* (1938; New York: Russell & Russell, 1964), p. 185. Robert D. Mayo, 'How Long Was Gothic Fiction in Vogue?', *Modern Language Notes* 58 (1943), 58–64.
8. A significant example is Lewis's *The Monk* (1796), which was criticised severely in England, while it was appreciated or at least treated indulgently in France. See Fernand Baldensperger, 'Le Moine de Lewis dans la littérature française', in *The English Gothic Novel. A Miscellany in Four Volumes*, ed. Thomas Meade Harwell (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik Universität Salzburg, 1986), iv: *Collateral Gothic* 2, 170–88.
9. E. J. Clery, *The Rise of Supernatural Fiction 1762–1800* (Cambridge: CUP, 1995) takes account of even earlier Gothic sources.
10. On the novel of sensibility as a precursor of the Gothic novel, see Werner Wolf, 'Schauerroman und Empfindsamkeit. Zur Beziehung zwischen *Gothic novel* und empfindsamem Roman in England', *Anglia* 10 (1989), 1–33. Rudolf Schenda points out that literary structures aiming at a recompense of social injustice have a much older history, and it is only restriction to an 'accepted' canon of primary material as the subject of literary criticism that has generally led to a neglect the works in question—*Volk ohne Buch. Studien zur Sozialgeschichte der populären Lese Stoffe 1770–1910* (1970; Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1977).
11. See e.g. Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader. A Social History of the Mass Reading Public 1800–1900* (1957; Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press, 1983).
12. André Parreaux, for instance, only very tentatively hints at a possible influence of the Industrial Revolution on the Gothic: 'And perhaps the changes due to

- the industrial revolution, which tended to make the general environment dull and drab, affected the life of ordinary people more directly than Nelson's and Bonaparte's victories'—*The Publication of 'The Monk'. A Literary Event 1796–98* (Paris: Librairie Marcel Didier, 1960), p. 36.
13. Recent exceptions to this approach include: Clery's *Rise of Supernatural Fiction*; Ed Jacobs, 'Anonymous Signatures: Circulating Libraries, Conventionality, and the Production of Gothic Romances', *ELH* 62:3 (Fall 1995), 603–29; James Watt, *Contesting the Gothic: Fiction, Genre, and Cultural Conflict, 1764–1832* (Cambridge: CUP, 1999).
 14. Frederick S. Frank, *The First Gothics. A Critical Guide to the English Gothic Novel* (New York/London: Garland Publishing, 1987), Appendix I: 'Glossary of Gothic Terms', p. 433. See also Frank's definitions of 'chapbook gothic' and 'shilling shocker'.
 15. Thomas Medwin, *The Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley* (1913; St Clair Shores, MI: Scholarly Press, 1971), pp. 24–25.
 16. William Whyte Watt, *Shilling Shockers of the Gothic School. A Study of Chapbook Gothic Romances* (1932; New York: Russell & Russell, 1967), p. 21.
 17. One of the bluebooks consulted, Charles Giberne's *The Haunted Tower; or, the Adventures of Sir Egbert de Rothsay* (London: R. Hunter, 1822), p. 3, contains a list of subscribers, whose family names hint at a readership hardly less respectable than that of the Gothic novel with the exception that aristocratic titles are to be found only in one instance.
 18. Montague Summers, *A Gothic Bibliography* ([1940]; New York: Russell & Russell, 1964).
 19. Summers, *Gothic Quest*, p. 84.
 20. Thomas Carlyle, 'Petition on the Copyright Bill', in *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, 5 vols (London: Chapman & Hall, n.d.), iv, 206–07.
 21. Interestingly, the collection lacks Lewis's *Monk*, one of the more notorious publications in the Gothic mode. Taking into consideration the Prince's otherwise indiscriminate acquisition policy, this could perhaps be taken as indicative of the fact that the contemporary readership did not universally accept unrestrained Gothicism in the shape of moral or psychological ambivalence.
 22. Frank, p. 432.
 23. 'It is probable that many of these books entered into the collection through a German bookseller from Göttingen specializing in English works, called Dr Möller'—Peter Garside, 'The English Novel in the Romantic Era', in *The English Novel 1770–1829: A Bibliographical Survey of Prose Fiction Published in the British Isles*, edd. James Raven, Peter Garside, Rainer Schöwerling, 2 vols (Oxford: OUP, 2000), II, 28.
 24. Both titles are not included in the *Marvellous Magazine*, but survived as single items, the former in the British and the Bodleian Libraries, the latter in the British Library only.
 25. Two examples of this title survive: one of them in the British Library, the other in the Bodleian Library.
 26. See e.g. Ingeborg Weber, *Der englische Schauerroman. Eine Einführung* (Munich and Zurich: Artemis-Verlag, 1983), p. 135.
 27. Frank, pp. xxvi–[xxvii].
 28. *Critical Review* 3rd ser. 4 (Mar 1805), 329.

29. Devendra P. Varma, *The Gothic Flame. Being a History of the Gothic Novel in England: Its Origin, Efflorescence, Disintegration, and Residuary Influences* (1957; New York: Russell & Russell, 1966), p. 80.
30. Frank, p. xxvi.
31. Ann Radcliffe, 'On the Supernatural in Poetry', *New Monthly Magazine* 16 (1826), 149–50.

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ARCHAISMS IN 'THE RIME OF THE ANCIENT MARINER'

Margaret J.-M. Sonmez



IN HIS WORK ON PERCY'S *RELIQUES*, Nick Groom identifies an all-important link between eighteenth-century ideas of the ancient poets and poems and the Romantic ideal of poetic genius. Both are perceived as 'natural' while, at the same time, embodying an almost supernatural spark of creativity. 'By 1757', he writes, 'Thomas Gray had raised the popular conception of the mysterious figure of "the Bard" to that of a prophetic ancient poet'.¹ In the new search for true poetry, even the most revolutionary of Romantics seemed to concur that 'though truth and falsehood bee / Neare twins, yet truth a little elder is',² with references to the authority and example of 'our elder writers' and 'the elder bards' abounding in their theoretical works.³ The link between authority and seniority, though rejected in the case of the more recent past, was argued for more strongly with regard to distant times, during which the mysterious workings of inspiration impelled writers in their productions of genius. Romantic and post-Romantic writers such as Coleridge, Keats, Tennyson, and Browning would take advantage of such associations, producing works that originated in, or appeared to originate in, 'olden days'. The origins of their stories would be semi-hidden, the original inspiration equally concealed, and the poems—and perhaps the poets themselves—would thus be endowed with something of the authority and 'canonical significance' attached to national treasures.⁴ Conversely, unpopular or unfashionable elements in the works could be ascribed, through implication, to the 'original' version.

The paradigmatic example of a poem that is both (largely) associated with an 'inspired' bardic figure and set in the mysterious past is, without doubt, Samuel Taylor Coleridge's 'Rime of the Ancient Mariner'. In this poem, all the issues mentioned above are fully operative and given a specifically Coleridgean twist. His archaisms, by which I mean all the devices employed to make the work seem to belong to the past, are used for purposes beyond mere association with the past. In fact, Coleridge's concerns with poetry in many ways run parallel to the theoretical issues arising from archaisms as used in 'The Rime of the Ancient Mariner'. It is the contention of this paper that, far from eliminating archaisms, Coleridge's textual revisions encouraged and added archaistic complexity to the

poem in order to collapse the boundaries between past and present, between inspiration, authority and text, and between poet and poem.

To this end, the main devices of archaism found in 'The Ancient Mariner' are discussed in an effort to illustrate how and why they are effective, and the paper will also show the effects of textual revisions on these archaisms through the eight versions published during Coleridge's lifetime.⁵ Analysis of the different versions, in fact, reveals very little relevant data for the last three revisions, so most of the comments below deal with the versions of 1798, 1800, 1802, 1805 and 1817.⁶

Archaism

Archaisms are metonyms for the past: by a small part of the past—a word, a grammatical formation, a spelling—we are meant to understand the invisible presence and influence of the whole. When a writer distributes archaic material throughout his work, the reader understands that the whole of that work is meant to seemingly belong to the time when such material was normally found. Metonyms work through a fairly simple system of association (unlike symbols, for instance, where overt resemblance plays no part). The metonymy of archaism is mixed with something less straightforward, however, in that it is a stylistic device involving the reader in a form of 'double perception',⁷ whereby a text from one period is perceived and identified as belonging to that time, while simultaneously its historical disguise is recognised and allowed to affect our responses to the text. It is a special case of Coleridge's 'willing suspension of disbelief' (*BL*, ch. xiv, p. 169)—and one that would hold special appeal for writers interested in conflating time through mental association, as Coleridge does in most of his poetic works. For this double perception and conflation of time zones to be effective, it is necessary that the archaisms of the text should not be too convincing: rather, they should appear to come from the past and at the same time provide signals of their own falseness.⁸ As Walter Scott implicitly acknowledged, archaism is a self-deconstructing trope.⁹

As a literary device, archaism is most often described as a somewhat superficial pretence—almost an affectation—involving poetic diction. Conventional archaic language in poetry is as unpopular today as were conventionalised poetic expressions to Wordsworth and Coleridge when the experiment of the *Lyrical Ballads* came out. It is perhaps because of this unpopularity and perceived superficiality that the subject is not much studied and given very little credit as a worthwhile addition to a text. Jack Stillinger, for instance, reacts to the inherent superficiality of archaism, and specifically of linguistic archaism, when he suggests that in 'The Ancient Mariner' 'the archaic quality [...] has probably been overstated [...] very likely, it is the [first] version's exaggerated Gothicism, rather than the outdated language, that was responsible for the *impression* of archaizing'.¹⁰ Archaizing, though, has to be impression, precisely in order to maintain the parallel existence of two or more realms of time in the

one text. It is, moreover, a far more varied and frequently used practice than is generally acknowledged.

Pervasive and consistent archaism may be identical to a form of impersonation, so in order to be effective as a time-cruncher it needs to signal its own duplicity. Ensuring that the archaisms affect only some levels of parts of the text usually does this. In this sense archaism is genuinely superficial, but such superficiality need not imply lack of theoretical depth. Archaisms are in fact a very topical part of the games texts play, acting as 'wormholes' through which the text/reader is made to enter a different time zone;¹¹ they create a form of temporal intertextuality through which the text-of-now and the text-of-then are fused or interlaced, read together but understood separately. It can have a startling effect on the perceived identity of a piece of writing, which may be seen as simultaneously the very latest literary experiment and an old, old tale from long ago.

Metonyms for the past need not manifest themselves as forms of words only: anything very old-fashioned may be used and received as an archaism: the story, the details of life given within the story, the form in which the story is told, the look of the text on the page, and so on. Reading 'The Ancient Mariner', one is conscious, from its title onwards, of its formal archaisms. It is, in fact, mostly through the effects of such associative devices that Coleridge creates the illusion of an archaic past in this poem.¹² The content of the poem is only rarely used for this purpose, and never with any historical specificity: that is to say, while some historical practices are referred to, there are no direct references to datable events or personages. Nevertheless, archaism covers a broad range of devices in this work, which include the language, the genre, the presentation of the printed text (the look of the poem), and the content of the surrounding paraphernalia. There is also a scattering of references to out-dated beliefs and practices.

It is not simply the mariner who is ancient in the poem, for if he is ancient, then his rhyme must be old too. The wedding guest of the tale may be a little younger, but whoever is meant to have written down this ballad did so a long time ago, when the language was noticeably different from that of the last years of the eighteenth century when it was first published. From internal evidence we do not know the dates of creation of the various forms of this work, nor do we know who first told it, sang it, or put it into written form; it seems in some ways to be one of those legends whose truths are all the more powerful for having origins lost in the mists of time, like ruins 'invested [...] with vague aspirations towards infinity and the past'.¹³ External evidence may convince us that it is the production of one 'S. T. Coleridge', intent upon exciting our sympathies with elements of the supernatural (*BL*, ch. XIV, p. 168), but the poem itself hides its origins. The concealment is effected mostly through multiple and contradictory time elements: the tale is distanced from its reader (and its

real creator) by more than just an ancient bard-like figure: through a number of archaising features the text declares itself to be old.

Language

The most common understanding of literary archaism in English is that of verbal archaism. It involves the inclusion of old-fashioned vocabulary like 'grey-beard loon' (l. 11), old verbal endings (*-ſt*, *-th*), and grammatical changes such as the use of defunct question and negative forms: 'wherefore stopp'st thou me?' (l. 4), 'this body dropt not down' (l. 231), and so on. These features comprise the most frequently encountered type of archaism met in our literature, generally known as 'Spenserian' archaism. Since the eighteenth century (with its attendant interest in antiquarianism), writers have sometimes added a flavour of the past with some old-looking spellings: adding an extra *-e* to the end of a word, for example, easily creates icons of the past. Scholars who discuss written archaisms employ this very device to describe the sort of falsely past world that is being evoked by most archaisms: they use expressions which rely for their meaning entirely on their spelling: Geoffrey Leech at one point refers to 'olde worlde quaintness', while W. N. Parker speaks of the 'merrie England' depicted in *Ivanhoe*.¹⁴ These expressions are used by a number of present day commentators in their descriptions of the 1798 'Ancient Mariner'. William Empson, for instance, sees Coleridge laughing at 'olde worlde sensationalism'.¹⁵

Archaisms of the Spenserian sort are found everywhere in the first printed version of 'The Ancient Mariner'. The individually archaic vocabulary items and outdated expressions are not specific in terms of the period or periods they characterise. At any rate, the general impression of pastness that is created by such words and expressions as *yea*, *i wiſt*, and *Ah wel-a-day* does not seem to be contradicted by any of the other formalities of the text, and the impressions they produce are of a period extending from Chaucer (*een* for 'eyes', *ne ... ne* for 'nor', *yeven* for 'given') to the Reformation (exclamations and oaths referring to Mary aet as metonyms for Catholicism and thence to the whole of pre-Reformation England). With the exception of a very few obscure expressions (*Pheere*, 1798: line 180; *weft*, 1798: line 83), these all belong to Leech's 'standard archaic usage': the repertoire of archaisms available to poets at any time from 1600 to 1900 and 'not based on the style of any one writer'.¹⁶ Coleridge himself had already used such archaisms in his verse, notably in his 'Lines in the Manner of Spenser' (first published 1796).

The first published version of 'The Ancient Mariner' shows an even greater incidence of old-fashioned spellings and verbal endings than of old vocabulary. Unlike old words and expressions, they aet almost purely as visual stimuli (David Hartley had claimed the essential importance of the senses in the associative faculty), leading the reader to associate what they are reading with a general image of texts from the past.¹⁷ But on closer consideration it can be seen that they too bear only a very slight resemblance to the orthographic, verbal, or

grammatical forms actually used in any one period of the past: in other words, they too belong to 'standard archaic usage'. Compared to the language used at any of the periods possibly indicated by the archaisms in this poem, they are unrealistically regular. Furthermore, there are significant internal linguistic anachronisms, with the spellings, verbal endings, and, especially, grammatical forms being chronologically contradictory.¹⁸ Analysis of these elements reveals that neither the spellings nor the verbal endings can be placed in any precise period that could coincide with the syntax of the poem, which is almost entirely late-Early-Modern, which is to say basically eighteenth-century. Archaic word forms in this poem, then, are an amalgam of marked or well-known features that characterise the language as 'old': they are at one and the same time immediately recognisable and somehow unconvincing.

In general, then, the formal aspects of the first published version (1798) provide clear and visual archaisms that stimulate the mind's association of the poem with the period of the first flowering English Literature—the period spanning the late middle ages and Renaissance. It is, indeed, as Coleridge is said to have claimed, a language 'intelligible for [the] [...] three centuries' up to 1798 ('Advertisement', *LB*, 8); but it is not identical with the English of any of those three hundred years: it merely seems like it. The poem in this respect encourages identification *with the past* and leads us at the same time to understand that it is not truly *from the past*: the allusions made by the language are to an overtly fictitious and literary past, not to a historical one, and Coleridge's readers are made consciously to suspend their disbelief.

Modern scholarship has identified in this dichotomy a good source for criticism: Empson says that 'the facetious archaisms urgently needed removing', but adds that 'we pay a heavy price for it'; Bygrave calls it 'a pastiche medieval ballad'.¹⁹ It also provides a good source for deconstruction, but our contemporaries are not the first to focus on it: critics in the late 1790s were no less alert to the internal contradictions of the language, which they saw as a grave fault. Robert Southey, in an anonymous review of October 1798, wrote: 'We are tolerantly conversant with the early English poets; and can discover no resemblance whatever, except in antiquated spelling and a few obsolete words.'²⁰ One year later, another reviewer commented that '[t]he author [...] is not correctly versed in the old language, which he undertakes to employ [...] but the ancient style is well imitated, while the antiquated words are so very few, that the latter might with advantage be entirely removed without any detriment to the effect of the Poem.'²¹ The archaisms were seen as extraneous to the story, a case of a good story but the wrong diction. The fusion of language and content that was so important to Coleridge had not yet been argued in public, and it seems that no one then, and not many scholars more recently, have been prepared to consider the archaisms as integral to the poem as creative event.²² With 'his god Wordsworth' (Charles Lamb; quoted in *LB*, xl) joining the chorus of dissent, and with a character that was always ready to believe the worst of himself and

to accommodate himself to please his friends, Coleridge set about changing the unpopular archaisms.

For the second (1800) published edition, many commentators argue that Coleridge swept away all or most of his archaisms,²³ although the more careful of them note that what was purged consisted mainly of some spellings and a few words.²⁴ Comparison of the 1798 and 1800 texts shows that Coleridge removed a number of words and expressions that had been singled out for unfriendly comment (*Broad as a weft, noises in a swound*, both criticised by the *British Critic*, and *Eftsones*).²⁵ He rewrote many, but by no means all, of the old verbal endings in their modern forms,²⁶ and de-archaised the spellings of ‘ancient’ and ‘mariner’ throughout the text, and changed the so-called archaic spelling of the exclamation *O* (without the *h*) to the standard *Oh*. *Ne* is converted to *nor* throughout, but seemingly by the printer rather than Coleridge, as this alteration was not in Coleridge’s list of corrections sent to the printer for the second edition. These, together with a few other incidental respellings are the most frequent orthographic changes found in his revisions of 1800. This, then, is what scholars are in fact referring to when they say that he discarded most of the archaisms present in the original edition.

It is not a short poem, so the spelling and morphological changes, plus the replacement or excision of certain words amount to a fair number of changes, but still only to a small proportion of the original verbal archaisms in the poem. Some of the most evident archaisms, including all of the most frequently occurring group of verbs in the poem—the auxiliaries—retained their antique forms, as did all second-person singular pronouns (*thee, thou, thy, thine*), all affirmatory expressions such as *i wiſt* and all exclamations (for example, *gramercy, wel-a-day*). These were kept in the second and all subsequent versions,²⁷ as were the old irregular verbal forms such as *clomb(e)* for *climbed*, *upriſt* for *uprose*, *whiles* for *whilst*, and the expressions *ſterte* (in ‘a gust of wind sterte up behind’; l. 198) and *gan* (as in ‘gan work the ropes’, ‘she gan stir’). The third and fourth (1802, 1805) published versions saw a few more occasional archaisms mopped up, but nothing systematic, while at the same time some new lines were added which included archaisms such as *eftsones* (in l. 12, this time). The major rewritings of 1817 and 1834 made very little difference to this level of archaism, although there is the strange case of the reappearance of one instance of the old spelling ‘marinere’ (l. 517). In fact very few formal alterations to the words are made after 1800, and almost none to the archaisms.²⁸ In short, Coleridge and his printers did not remove anything like all the verbal archaisms from the first edition. He/they removed, on my calculation, a mere nineteen percent. It remained a poem situated in an unspecified past and the language continued to be an important component in this act of situating.

Historical References

Before moving on to more complex instances of archaism, those few references that situate the Mariner's tale in an identifiable historical period should be mentioned. The period is a broad one and the allusions are indirect. Perhaps the most frequent are to Catholicism, appearing throughout the poem in exclamations and prayers to Mary and in references to confession and absolution (ll. 574–85), along with the strange, more Romantic than Catholic, 'penance' of his recurrent compulsion to tell his tale. The presence of that essential medieval component, the hermit, also sets the tale well before the Reformation. The absence of Renaissance technology is also notable if negative evidence: all three of Bacon's diagnostics of the modern age are absent, though only two could have a place in the story: the compass and gunpowder (there is no mention of the former, and the crossbow was made obsolete by early forms of the gun). More specifically, the fact that the ship was the first to enter the Pacific Ocean (l. 105) places the voyage before Magellan's 1520 discovery. No reviewers or critics objected to these historical references, which remained unchanged in all editions, with some added support from the gloss, to be mentioned later.

Genre

The genre or sub-genre of the poem is another and more theoretically loaded way in which the Rime is presented as older than it really is. In this case we are dealing with the ballad, an old-fashioned poetic sub-genre that sets up mental associations with the past in a way that is at once more pervasive and yet less specific than those stimulated by the reproduction of certain linguistic forms or by historically meaningful references. Just as the archaic language is spread throughout the poem, so the ballad form and ballad-like content of the poem continue to feed into the reader a sense of historical depth, some pervasive sense of the almost mythic power of ancient traditions and traditional tales.²⁹

This was the first poem in the *Lyrical Ballads with a Few Other Poems* of 1798. Most of the poems in this collection imply an oral past, as is inherent in both parts of the title. The oral past evoked by the majority of the poems in this volume is a relatively simply conceived past—some event involving speech that occurred in the past and is now being related or repeated in the poem. As James Treadwell has noted, 'dialogues are perhaps the most characteristic feature of [the poems]'.³⁰ 'The Ancient Mariner' is, however, the only piece in that collection to present itself as the reproduction of an older *written* tale, the older writing being itself based upon some oral original lost in time. In this sense, and when combined with its metre and construction, it conforms to present-day readers' expectations of a ballad more than do any of the other poems with which it was first published.³¹

The text type 'ballad' is defined as much by what ballads are thought to be as by what they really are. A historical understanding of these verses includes many pieces that would not now be seen as typical ballads, and that is the same of any

present day collection that claims to be comprehensive—the group, text-type, or sub-genre is very eclectic. By Coleridge's time, as now, one of the word's two principal meanings for most people was that of an old song or rhyme dealing with a simple story of adventure: long before the conception of *The Lyrical Ballads*, Coleridge himself used the term to refer to the narrative songs his sister used to sing to him and to those sung by professional singers heard from his nurse's arms.³² Traditional ballads were meant to be the products of centuries of oral transmission, unadulterated by fashions or printers. At the same time, new ballads with up-to-date social and political comment were popular, and mostly associated with towns. Ballads were the people's literature and could be used in populist movements: Groom provides an example of ballads being used to 'rally a lynch mob' in 1756, and comments that on the one hand the incendiary possibilities of the urban ballad added to the bad reputation of the sub-genre, while on the other Percy's intrusive editorialising of the ballad in a way tamed the sub-genre, fixing it as the matter of harmless antiquarian interest.³³

The eighteenth century had seen a growing interest in old and dialectal literature and the publication of several ballad collections. D'Urfey published his *Old English Ballads* between 1723 and 1727, William Thomson produced his *Orpheus Caledonius* (1725), and Ramsay his *The Evergreen* (1724) and *Tea Table Miscellany* (1724–34), while Edward Capell published *Prolusions or, Select Pieces of Antient Poetry* in 1760 and John 'Don' Bowles his *Miscellaneous Pieces of Antient English Poesie* in 1764—but this last seems to have been commercially unsuccessful. Most influential was the publication in 1765 of Bishop Percy's three-volume *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, which claimed to reproduce the mediaeval and early ballads he had come across by chance in a seventeenth-century manuscript volume (plus some others), but which in fact contained many silent alterations and additions. That such volumes and the poems they contained had been popular is witnessed by the fact that there was even a minor fashion for fake ballads, which gave rise to what Brett and Jones call 'the pseudo ballad style of the eighteenth century' (*LB*, xx). More generally, that the old and remote was popular (and money-generating) can be well enough understood when we consider that as early as the eighteenth century there was a 'tendency to cloak new ballads in an appearance of antiquity'.³⁴ Coleridge lived in the age of Chatterton's Rowley forgeries and of Macpherson's Ossianic productions (1762–63),³⁵ he himself wrote a 'spirited imitation of Ossian's poetry' in a letter to his friend Mary Evans,³⁶ and expressed great admiration for the works of both these literary impersonators. These various works, then, were what 'ballads' meant to Coleridge's generation; they were acknowledged by Wordsworth to be, in some sense, inspirational,³⁷ and the links between the contents of Percy's *Reliques* and 'The Ancient Mariner' have been more than once noted by present day scholars.³⁸ Trevor Jones notes that traditional ballads had started going out of fashion in about 1790, though efforts such as Joseph Ritson's work on *Robin Hood* (1795), the continued production of editions of Percy's *Reliques* (a fourth edition came out in 1794), and the enthusiasm for Scott's *Minstrelsy of*

the Scottish Border (1802–03), and *Lay of the Last Minstrel* (1805) indicate that fashion and popularity may not have been the same thing.³⁹

Published collections of ballads, then, strongly implied ancientness; but Coleridge shows a 'rather persistent practice of giving with one hand while taking away with the other'.⁴⁰ The second edition of this poem provided a rewriting of the title: *The Ancient Mariner: A Poet's Reverie*. Charles Lamb hated this (*LB*, 277), finding the distancing device of the subtitle, (possibly intended to provide a device to account for the poem's perceived fragmentary quality) unnecessary and demeaning to the timeless truths of poem, and most critics (e.g. *LB*, 273) assume that the new title was somehow Wordsworth's fault.⁴¹ As Lamb noted, it creates a very strange status for the poem, which is now claimed to be the rhyming rendition of some sort of a dream featuring the words of an ancient mariner, and which is also a lyrical ballad. It is reverie, rhyme, lyric and ballad: this is narrative and generic over-specification on a spectacular scale. It is also an unlikely mixture (reverie does not mix well with the public and verbal nature of ballad) that undermines the fictional past of the poem, situating the creative act at any time in the past or present, although the formal aspects of language can still act as an archaising force within the poem. This subtitle was removed in 1802, or rather an attempt to remove it was made, but due to a printer's error it was left on the half-title of the first page, so two different titles are in fact found in the 1802 and 1805 editions. 1817 saw this corrected, and the restoration of the full original title, but in modern spelling.

A related but rather different element in the creation of time-depth is that of anonymity. Ancient and traditional literature is mostly anonymous from accident or convention or, as for ballads, due to origins in an oral tradition. Since the Renaissance, authors wishing to conceal their identity have generally preferred the use of pseudonyms of varying degrees of transparency.⁴² By Coleridge's time, even this disguise was outmoded: in an article in the *Friend* of 19 October 1809 he called his an 'age of personality' in which a 'real name' is used in place of 'a bashful Philalethes or Phileleuteros' on title pages (*BL*, ch. 11, p. 23, n. 1). By his time, complete anonymity was already associated with texts from the early or pre-Renaissance period.

Even though anonymity was not conceived as an essential part of the poem (up to March of 1798 he was thinking of publishing 'The Ancient Mariner' under his own name in a volume of his own poems), it has its part to play in the distancing of the poem from the present of the reader. What eventually happened, however, was that not only was the poem published together with those of Wordsworth, but Coleridge absolutely insisted upon the volume being anonymous, though not for reasons in any way connected with archaism.⁴³ Wordsworth and Coleridge took pains to ensure the anonymity of the *Lyrical Ballads*. So worried were they that their identities may be discerned by attentive readers of the first edition that they went so far as to stop the press halfway through printing in order to replace 'Lewti', which had previously

appeared under Coleridge's name,⁴⁴ with 'The Nightingale', which had not (see *LB*, viii).

Whatever the reasons, the poem in its early printed versions was genuinely anonymous, and the main narrator was and remains for all times, of course, a completely undatable and unnamed 'ancient mariner'. Along with its ballad form, the anonymity of the first published version of 'The Rime of the Ancient Mariner' may be considered as playing a not insignificant role in the creation of an illusion of distant origins.

The Surrounding Paraphernalia

The anonymity, while being an archaising force, was in no way fraudulent. There was no Chatterton- or Walpole-like attempt to pass off the work as genuinely old.⁴⁵ In fact, those careful readers who looked at the prefatory matter before turning to the main text would find an (equally anonymous) 'Advertisement' whose second paragraph emphasises the novelty of the poems in the volume by drawing attention to the fact that they are 'experiments' and by talking about the purpose behind them and how they should be approached by the readers. The penultimate sentence of this 'Advertisement' draws attention to the existence of an unnamed living author and, specifically, to the artifice of the archaisms in the poem, saying that 'The Rime of the Ancyent Marinere was professedly written in imitation of the *style*, as well as of the spirit of the elder poets'.⁴⁶

The 'Advertisement'—which, Empson suggests, may have itself been an archaising element in the publication ('having an Argument at all came to seem tiresomely olde-worlde')⁴⁷—was included in the first two editions of the *Lyrical Ballads*. Its role in undermining the effects of archaisms in 'The Ancient Mariner' is reinforced in the second edition (1800) by the Preface, which replaced the Advertisement altogether from the third edition (1802) onwards.

Far more damaging to the illusion of anonymous and timeless origins, however, are the patronising and derogatory remarks that Wordsworth made in the note added to the poem in the 1800 edition, which could hardly be ignored by any person reading the poem:

I cannot refuse myself the gratification of informing such Readers as may have been pleased with this Poem, or with any part of it, that they owe their pleasure in some sort to me; as the Author was himself very desirous that it should be suppressed. This wish had arisen from a consciousness of the defects of the Poem [...] The Poem of my Friend has indeed great defects; [...] Yet the poem contains many delicate touches of passion [...] beautiful images [...] unusual felicity of language; and the versification, though the metre is itself unfit for long poems, is harmonious and artfully varied. (*LB*, 276–77)

By now the readers had been lead to believe that the poems in the volume were, as the title page of 1800 put it 'Lyrical Ballads, by W. Wordsworth', and the

Preface attributed 'The Rime of the Ancient Mariner' to a 'friend'—though readers may, as Neil Fraistat suggests, have read this as pretence.⁴⁸

Although it might seem that the extraneous matter written by Wordsworth is diminishing some of the time-depth from Coleridge's poem that anonymity would otherwise give it, we should note that the Advertisement was included with Coleridge's consent, and that Coleridge himself, as we have already seen with the addition of the words 'a Reverie' to the title, and as was his habit with many of his poems, presents with his piece many puzzling or contradictory elements in respect of its origins. When, in 1817, the poem was finally published under Coleridge's own name, it was in the collection of his works tellingly entitled *Sibylline Leaves*. Although 'The Ancient Mariner' remained, officially at any rate, anonymous until 1817, much of the mystifying and distancing effects of the ballad form and of anonymity had been complicated by the paraphernalia surrounding the poem. Prior to the 1817 version, then, it is to elements within the poem that we must turn for explanation of its effective evocation of past times.

There is general agreement that the most important rewriting 'The Ancient Mariner' underwent was the addition, in the 1817 version, of the gloss. The textual repercussions of this are important, and its effect on the subsequent history of interpretation (or misinterpretation) of the poem has been extremely powerful and enduring and, according to some scholars (for example, Frances Ferguson) regrettable. Many others agree that the gloss is a positive addition to the meaning of the Mariner's tale or even to the meaning of the text in its entirety.⁴⁹ For our limited purposes, focusing on archaisms, we find that, just as the poem for the first time appears under Coleridge's own name, the gloss opens up a new layer of time. Not only does its presence alter the visual aspect of the text and recall 'the archetypal glosses—those in the margins of early printed editions of the Bible',⁵⁰ but it also creates another illusory level of pastness, a time after the ancient traditional (oral) origins of the ballad and its (late-medieval/early-Renaissance) written version, and before the 1817 audience. There is now an intervening (fictitious) editor, a hand that writes descriptive and interpretive comments in the margins.

This hand has been seen as imitating a seventeenth-century editor, with the imposition on earlier chaos and superstition of a rational ordering of events into an interpretable moral system of crime, punishment, and salvation. The model for this editing activity is meant to be the gloss in *Purchas' Pilgrim*, where the original unordered travellers' tales are explained and given meaning by the editor's comments, though it is very possible that it was not just *Purchas' Pilgrim*, but the appearance and issues raised by a whole cluster of editions of old or forged texts that inspired Coleridge to add his gloss: other favourites of Coleridge's include Chatterton's Rowley poems, Percy's *Reliques*, and Ossian's works, all of which were published with much authenticating paraphernalia—in the latter two cases in the form of heavily annotated editions and 'cluttered' pages.⁵¹


The explanation that the gloss impersonates a seventeenth-century editorial hand is open to question, however, because the language of the gloss can scarcely be said to belong to that time. The frequency of *-th* verbal endings is too high for such a late date, as are occasional features such as the word *fain*, the exclamation *lo!*, the expression *ever and anon*, and the belief in the ‘grace of the holy mother’. Furthermore, the gloss is typographically identical to the footnote to lines 226–27 in which the ‘voice’ of the implied ‘real’ author (that is, the Coleridge of the *Sibylline Leaves*) talks about how the line came to him during a delightful walk with his friend Wordsworth. In fact, typographically the whole poem belongs to the age of enlightenment—as, one may add, do the typically Sternean or Swiftian paratextual games played with the (earlier) Argument, the gloss, and the footnotes.⁵²

Conclusion

The words and spellings so objected to by the first reviewers are in many ways the least radical of Coleridge’s archaising devices in the poem. His revisions to this layer of archaism have been shown in this paper to involve only a small proportion of the words, and scarcely to affect the archaistic tone of the poem at all. Subsequent revisions to the printed versions can be seen as having greatly enhanced the archaism of the work, and concomitantly to have increased both the fairy-tale nature of the story and, perhaps more importantly than this, to have pushed back the implied moment of original creation of the story to ever more distant and irretrievable times in the past.

In ‘The Rime of the Ancient Mariner’, Coleridge provides a strong contrast to poems such as Wordsworth’s ‘Tintern Abbey’, in which the source of inspiration is the overt subject of the poem, by implying that, as with traditional oral literature, dreams and reveries, and such scattered utterances as the original sibylline leaves, there is no known or knowable source of the original story. Lawrence Lipking has noted that ‘the reader who had turned to the first pages of *Lyrical Ballads* [...] had been *purposely* cast adrift. *The Ancient Mariner* opens a book whose title is an oxymoron, whose author is anonymous and whose archaic language and actions, like Chatterton’s, seem to suggest a hoax.’⁵³ The story claims to be traditional and originally the matter of oral transmission (the ballad form, the mariner–narrator) before being recorded in writing by some hand of the pre-Renaissance times and then copied (at, perhaps, many removes) by a Renaissance editor (post-1520), and finally printed in up-to-date typography in 1798, with an Argument and footnotes in a late-eighteenth-century ‘voice’. Finally, however, the whole illusion of a distant oral past and complicated and unrecorded textual history is undermined from the very first appearance of this poem and through all its revisions by internal anachronisms and especially by the paraphernalia surrounding the text (or the ‘paratext’, as Genette’s terms it) in the forms of the ‘Advertisement’ (1798), the Preface (1800, 1802, 1805), and Coleridge’s footnote to lines 226–27. The archaisms are an integral part of the

poem because its temporal and authorial complexity is an essential part of its language of 'significance [...] in sense of association' (*BL*, ch. II, p. 12), to ancient truths and mysteries.

The issue of when a piece of literature was first created is close to the issue of inspiration, a question always of profound interest to writers and scholars alike. It gives rise to a multitude of fictional framing devices and narrative strategies, and can be seen as the fundamental question of much critical activity, theorising and textual bibliography. It is the focus of much if not most of both Wordsworth's and Coleridge's literary explorations, both in poetry and in prose. In their writings, we see on the one hand an effort to identify the source of creative urge and ability, and on the other hand the need for it to remain somehow mysterious: in their conclusions, both Wordsworth and Coleridge resort repeatedly to metaphors and references to mystical entities. Tellingly, perhaps, Wordsworth's entity is the 'more comprehensive soul' of the material, historical, and ultimately personal poet (1802 Preface; *LB*, 255), whereas Coleridge's lies in the multiform, ahistorical, and impersonal reflections of 'the infinite I AM' (*BL*, ch. XVI, p. 255). Placing the creative moment, the locus of original genius, in an inaccessible time, and using the ephemeral nature of oral tradition to ensure that it can only be inaccessible and impersonal, the work becomes timeless, and timelessness is akin to infinity. What truths the poem embodies, then, are timeless and perhaps infinite; this is what Coleridge idealises as 'poem'. The disappearance of the poet within the timelessness of the poetic entity is all one with his definition of the poem as the poet (and vice versa) and the strong synthesising tendencies that are found in his philosophical system. At the same time, in creating the illusion of a distant oral past, and making sure that the readers know it is an illusion, the poet has acquired 'the right and privilege of using time and space as they exist in the imagination, obedient only to the laws which the imagination acts on'.⁵⁴ 

NOTES

1. Nick Groom, *The Making of Percy's 'Reliques'* (Oxford: OUP, 1999), p. 61.
2. John Donne, 'Satyre III' (c. 1593–97), ll. 72–73.
3. 'Preface' to *Lyrical Ballads: Wordsworth and Coleridge*, edd. R. L. Brett and A. R. Jones (London: Methuen, 1963), p. 249; S. T. Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria*, ed. George Watson (1817; London: Dent, 1975), ch. XVI, p. 184. Subsequent references are to these edns, and will be indicated by the abbreviations *LB* and *BL* respectively.
4. Matthew Scott, 'The Return to Poetics—A Review—Essay', *Romanticism on the Net* 12 (Nov 1998), § 3. Online: Internet (1 Dec 2002): <<http://users.ox.ac.uk/~scato385/scott.html>>.
5. Namely, those published in 1798, 1800, 1802, 1805, 1817, 1828, 1829, and 1834. Of the eighteen separate 'versions' identified by Jack Stillinger, he admits that the printed ones are 'more important than the rest'—*Coleridge and Textual Instability: The Multiple Versions of the Major Poems* (New York and Oxford: OUP, 1994), p. 61). Steven Bygrave states that there were only six versions published in Coleridge's

- lifetime, ignoring minor changes to the 1828 and 1829 editions—*Samuel Taylor Coleridge* (Plymouth: Northcote House and the British Council, 1997; Writers and their Works series), p. 1.
6. For the sake of convenience, all line references to ‘Rime of the Ancient Mariner’ are from E. H. Coleridge (ed.), *Coleridge: Poetical Works* (Oxford: OUP, 1969).
 7. E. L. Epstein, *Language and Style* (London: Methuen, 1978), p. 5.
 8. As, indeed, all literary creations claiming to be other than literary creations (e.g. epistolary/diary novels) have to ensure that they are not confused with real letters or diaries, and so on. To adapt George Steiner’s observation, ‘we need to know a good deal more than we do about the epistemological tactics whereby a [work of literature] [...] divides itself from reality, yet, if the [writer’s] authority prove sufficient, will insinuate into reality new possibilities of order and relation’—*Extraterritorial: Papers on Literature and the Language Revolution* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972), p. 153.
 9. In his ‘Dedicatory Epistle’ to *Ivanhoe*, ed. W. M. Parker (1830; London: Dent, 1959), pp. 17–21.
 10. Stillinger, p. 61 (my emphasis).
 11. To move from the vermicular to the serpentine, we may note Coleridge’s much-quoted statement that poetry aims ‘to make those events which in real or imagined History move on a strait line, assume to our Understandings a Circular motion—the Snake with its Tail in its Mouth’—quoted in Zachary Leader, *Revision and Romantic Authorship* (Oxford: OUP, 1996), p. 54.
 12. That is to say, his use of old forms of words and expressions, and of an out-dated metre constitute the bulk of his archaism, along with other, perhaps more subtle effects of paratextual formal elements such as titles, notes and the gloss of 1817 and later.
 13. Mario Praz, ‘Introductory Essay’ to *Three Gothic Novels*, ed. Peter Fairclough (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968), p. 16.
 14. Leech, *A Linguistic Guide to English Poetry* (Burnt Mill, Harlow: Longman, 1969), pp. 13–14; Parker, Preface to *Ivanhoe*, p. v.
 15. William Empson, ‘The Rime of the Ancient Mariner’, in *Samuel Taylor Coleridge’s ‘The Rime of the Ancient Mariner’: Modern Critical Interpretations*, ed. Harold Bloom (New York: Chelsea House, 1986), p. 1.
 16. Leech, p. 13.
 17. David Hartley (1707–57), English philosopher and physician, whose *Observations of Man* (1749) introduced the theory of ‘psychological associationism’. Hartley’s ideas were fascinating to Coleridge for a few years (to the extent that Coleridge named his son Ernest Hartley, after him), especially at the time of the 1798 *Lyrical Ballads*. However, Coleridge moved away from Hartleian explanations, which he later perceived as too mechanistic soon after the *Lyrical Ballads* were published. See David Miall, ‘I See It Feelingly’, in *Coleridge’s Visionary Languages: Essays in Honour of J. B. Beer*, edd. Tim Fulford and Morton Paley (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1993), p. 153.
 18. Any period that employs spellings such as *emerauld*, *auncyent*, *yeven*, and *Marinere* would definitely display much more frequent use of ‘excrement’ final *e* and many other spellings not represented in the poem, and, most importantly, would demonstrate an irregular orthographic system, whereas in the present case there is great consistency in all spellings. In addition, in the poem we find that all second-person verbs terminate with the old *-ſ* endings whereas use of third-person *-th*

- is variable, which did not occur in the development of the modern inflexional morphology; on the contrary, *-st* was lost earlier than *-th*, and so texts in the intermediate period demonstrate a variable presence of the second-person ending while continuing to use the *-th* spelling consistently for third-person singular verbs. At the same time, the extensive use of periphrastic *do* belongs to a period later than that of the regular *-st* and *-th* verbal endings.
19. Empson, p. 23; Bygrave, p. 18. However, Richard Holmes speaks of the 'resonant archaisms of the *Mariner*'—*Coleridge's Early Visions* (London: Penguin, 1989), p. 170.
 20. In the *Critical Review*, vol. 27; quoted in *LB*, 318.
 21. In the *British Critic*, vol. 11; quoted in *LB*, 324.
 22. See, e.g., M. H. Abrams's discussion in his essay on Wordsworth and Coleridge's diction, and especially his explanation that for Coleridge, '[t]he supreme imaginative passages—the poetry of a poem—are no longer regarded as the disposition and adjustment of words [...] They are regarded as acts of the mind in which the universe of sense is created anew and made into a whole compounded of subject and object ("the idea, with the image"), by a process blending both "the natural and the artificial". And the unity [...] becomes in "poetry" a unity by organic synthesis, in which the parts lose their identity by the nature of their relation to the other parts and to the whole'—*The Correspondent Breeze: Essays on English Romanticism* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1984), p. 16.
 23. See, e.g., Alun Jones and William Tydeman, *Coleridge, 'The Ancient Mariner' and Other Poems: A Casebook* (Houndmills: Macmillan, 1973), p. 15; Leader, p. 122.
 24. Brett and Jones, while noting in their Introduction that 'the archaic spellings were all changed' (*LB*, xlii), state in their note that Coleridge made changes 'towards the removal of archaisms of vocabulary, spelling, and of quaintness of style' (*LB*, 274; my emphasis).
 25. A longer list of such excisions can be obtained from Stillinger, p. 63.
 26. *Thee*, *thou* and *-st* verbal endings, although still a part of some speakers' spoken dialect at this period, were not a part of Coleridge's; nor were *-th* spellings a usual part of his written habits, as his notebooks show (there is only one instance of a *-th* ending in the notebooks covering this period, and it is crossed out and altered in STC's hand. See *The Notebooks of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. Kathleen Coburn (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957), vol. 1: 1794–1804; entry 1.4: 'I will show ~~thou~~ you the card'.
 27. Though 'wel-a-day' (l. 139) was respelled as 'well-a-day' in 1802 and all subsequent printed versions.
 28. MS corrections and additions attributed to STC and the gloss of 1817 and subsequent editions show no great effort to avoid these sorts of archaism after the first list of corrections for the 1800 edition. There is, for instance, the case of the archaic (or possibly dialect) form *clomb* (l. 209) which appears (as *clombe*) in 1798 and 1800 and remains (respelled 'clomb') in the subsequent versions, including a MS in spite of substantial rewriting of the three stanzas surrounding it. The *OED* notes that 'From Spenser and his contemporaries *clomb* passed into later poetry, and occasionally appears in prose, especially in writers familiar with the strong clam, *clom* or *clum* in dialect use.
 29. At the same time, the use of old-fashioned language and references to the past in an equally old-fashioned sub-genre is just the sort of decorum that Coleridge

- required of 'legitimate' poetry—i.e. poetry in which the parts 'mutually support and explain each other' (*BL*, ch. XIV, p. 172).
30. 'Innovation and Strangeness; or, Dialogue and Monologue in the 1798 *Lyrical Ballads*', *Romanticism on the Net* 9 (Feb 1998), § 4. Online: Internet (1 Dec 2002): <<http://users.ox.ac.uk/~scato385/innovationsLB.html>>.
 31. Dani Zweig, *Early Child Ballads*, § 4. Online: Internet (1 Dec 2002): <http://www.pbm.com/~lindah/ballads/early_child>. 'Love', Ellen Irwin', and 'Lucy Gray', are the other poems that have ballad-like qualities in metre, and/or subject matter, but only 'The Ancient Mariner' demonstrates a combination of what has become known as ballad metre, subject matter, construction, and features of old writing. See also *LB*, xxiv–xxv.
 32. See Holmes, pp. 6 and 172.
 33. See Groom, pp. 24 and 41. By the eighteenth century, the ballad already had a poor reputation in canonical terms, the term ballad being 'half-pejorative, signifying a verse that could not sing for itself but needed to be carried by a tune' (Groom, p. 22). The contents of even non-political ballads were scarcely to the taste of the opinion-makers, either, being mostly 'eating, drinking, fornicating, singing, and killing' (p. 59).
 34. Zweig, § 11.
 35. Only one Rowley work was published in Chatterton's lifetime (in 1769), the forgeries were revealed in 1777 and 1778 and editions of the poems of 'Thomas Rowley' published in 1778 and 1782.
 36. Holmes, p. 46.
 37. 'I do not think that there is an able writer in verse of the present day who would not be proud to acknowledge his obligations to the *Reliques*; I know that it is so with my friends; and for myself I am happy on this occasion to make a public avowal of my own'—quoted in *The Cambridge History of English and American Literature*, 18 vols (1907–21), vol. 10: The Age of Johnson, 'The Literary Influence of the Middle Ages'. Online: Internet (1 Dec 2002): <<http://www.cf.ac.uk/bartleby.com/220/1014.html>>.
 38. See e.g. Bloom (ed.), p. 1; Jones and Tydeman, p. 13.
 39. See Trevor Jones, *Street Literature in Birmingham: A History of Broadside and Chapbook* (Oxford: Oxford Polytechnic, 1970), p. 9. Scott's *Last Minstrel* sold 44,000 copies in twenty-five years, thus placing itself in S. H. Steinberg's list of best-sellers—see *Five Hundred Years of Printing* (1955; 3rd edn, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974), p. 343.
 40. Frances Ferguson, 'Coleridge and the Deluded Reader: *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*', in Bloom (ed.), p. 67.
 41. If so, then he may have changed his mind. The deletion of the subtitle in the marked copy of 1800 that was used by the printer of 1802 is 'perhaps by Wordsworth'—Stillinger, p. 64.
 42. Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. Jane Lewin (Cambridge: CUP, 1997), p. 39.
 43. 'Wordsworth's name is nothing—to a large number of persons mine stinks' (quoted in Holmes, p. 188).
 44. In *The Morning Post* of 13 April 1798.
 45. Walpole's *Castle of Otranto* (1765) claimed to be a story found, in a black-letter printed text of 1529, 'in the library of an ancient catholic family in the north of

- England'—'Preface to The First Edition', in *Three Gothic Novels*, ed. Fairclough, p. 39.
46. *LB*, 8 (original emphasis).
 47. Empson, p. 24.
 48. *The Poem and the Book: Interpreting Collections of Romantic Poetry* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), p. 52. One must be careful, nevertheless, not to blame Wordsworth more than he deserves: Coleridge took on the editing of the second edition of the *Lyrical Ballads* and, one assumes, could have added his name to the title page had he so wished, and removed or insisted on alteration to Wordsworth's note. Throughout the period of this editing Coleridge was the dominant part of the friendship, being full of energy while Wordsworth was slightly depressed and lacking in energy. The issue of Wordsworth's and Coleridge's responsibility for the text as promoted by the Preface is discussed in Genette, p. 184, who says that Coleridge was 'strenuously shoved aside by his distinguished colleague' in the Preface, a view to which many scholars are pleased to subscribe, but which is probably somewhat misleading, as the situation seems to have been more complex.
 49. Stillinger, p. 72, provides a brief overview of the major critical assessments of the gloss.
 50. Ferguson, p. 66.
 51. See Groom, pp. 78–79, and 147.
 52. Coleridge's enjoyment in this sort of subterfuge is also found in his anonymous poem in the *Morning Post*, gleefully referred to and reproduced in *BL* (ch. 1, p. 15, n. 1) as a satire of the *Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, but in fact originally published in imitation of Pye—see Leader, p. 123. This playfulness is also manifested in the fake letter written to himself in *BL*, urging him to stop his philosophical review (ch. XIII, pp. 164–65).
 53. 'The Marginal Gloss', in Bloom (ed.), p. 77 (my emphasis).
 54. Elliott B. Gose, jun., who ascribes this to *Biographia Literaria*, referring perhaps to STC's definition of Fancy as 'a mode of memory emancipated from the order of time and space' (ch. XIII, p. 167)—see 'Coleridge and the Luminous Gloom: An Analysis of the "Symbolical Language" in *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*', in Bloom (ed.), p. 7.

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‘THE ABSOLUTE HORROR OF HORRORS’
REVISED
A Bibliographical Checklist of
Early-Nineteenth-Century Gothic Bluebooks

Angela Koch



I

THE FOLLOWING CHECKLIST provides bibliographical details of 217 gothic bluebooks scattered throughout twenty-one national, academic, and private libraries in the British Isles, North America, and Germany (Fürstliche Bibliothek Corvey, North Rhine Westphalia). In its present form, this report represents the first attempt at a comprehensive listing of a literary phenomenon, which Frank in his 1987 reevaluation of the full-length gothic novel describes as ‘[l]ow quality Gothic fiction denoted by its garish blue coverings or wrappers’. Frank later adds the subsequent definitions:

The Gothic bluebook is a primitive paperback or ur-pulp publication, cheaply manufactured, sometimes garishly illustrated, and meant to be thrown away after being ‘read to pieces’. [...] The reader of the bluebook received a single dose of Gothicism between the blue covers. Almost all of the hundreds of bluebooks published during the period are pirated abridgments of full-length Gothic novels [...]¹

and:

Although Mrs. Radcliffe continued to be widely read, admired, and imitated as the Nineteenth Century began, the route of development taken by the Gothic *novel* after 1800 was down the corridor of an unrestrained supernatural and toward the absolute horror of horrors. Hasty and relentless horror became the stock-in-trade of the Gothic chapbooks and bluebooks after 1800 when the main path for Gothic fiction was mapped out by Monk Lewis, not Ann Radcliffe. These hundreds of small Gothics were the cheap and tawdry offspring of the *Schauerromantik* energies released by Lewis’ *The Monk*.²

Apart from the fact that neither their blue paper covers nor their supposed 'garish' frontispieces distinguish the bluebooks in any way from the contemporary romance, the features of which are imitated in order to appeal to a readership similar to that of the gothic triple-decker, depreciative comments such as these prove wrong in two points:

1. Despite the fact that access to the Princely Library at Castle Corvey enabled me to take into consideration a wide range of gothic material, I could not identify more than sixty-three adaptations of longer works among the bluebooks. Apart from a few exceptional cases, it appears doubtful that any more of the items listed below are traceable to full-length gothic novels.
2. The sentimental and rationalised contents of the bluebooks reveal them as a reactionary mode of the gothic. In contrast to three-decker works such as M. G. Lewis's *The Monk* (1794), with their tendency towards 'horror' in the form of moral ambivalence (which themselves represent rare experiments in terms of an unrestrained use of the supernatural), horror according to Burke's definition is absent in the bluebooks.³ Whenever works of the so-called horror mode are condensed into the convenient bluebook format of thirty-six to seventy-two pages duodecimo, they are stripped of the epistemological pessimism of their antecedents. Consequently, the notion of the bluebooks as a *Romantic* narrative genre is as misleading as that of the *Romantic* gothic novel, which apart from a few standardised landscape descriptions and the occasional appearance of a rather down-to-earth ghost is determined by the expectations typical of the readership of popular literature in general: to be superficially tickled by the idea of a *something* beyond everyday experience, but at the same time to be reassured of the stability of their own concept of reality.

Misinterpretations such as those described above do not merely result from the currently incomplete attempt at a revaluation of the gothic in aesthetic terms, but in the first place from the evanescence of the bluebooks themselves. In order to identify and locate the items from the list the following sources have been used:

- ✱ *The British Library General Catalogue of Printed Books to 1975*. 360 vols (London: Clive Bingley; London, Munich, New York, Paris: K. G. Saur, 1979–88).
- ✱ *Catalogue of the Sadleir–Black Collection of Gothic Novels* (University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville).
- ✱ *The Eighteenth-Century Short-Title Catalogue. Microfiche Edition* (London: The British Library Board and ESTC/North America Inc., 1990).
- ✱ *The English Catalogue of Books. Books Issued in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland 1801–1836*, edd. Robert Alexander Peddie and Quintin Waddington (1914; rpt. New York: Kraus Reprint Corporation, 1963).

- ✱ *The National Union Catalogue. Pre-1956 Imprints.* 754 vols (London: Mansell, and Chicago: American Library Association, 1968–81).
- ✱ *Nineteenth-Century Short-Title Catalogue. Series I Phase I 1801–15,* 6 vols (Cambridge: Averro Publications, 1984).

The entries comprise standard biographical data in the following order [any reconstituted information given in the entries is indicated by square brackets]:

1. *Author* (if known); anonymous works appear under the title in alphabetical order.
2. *Full Title*; if the work described is not a first edition, an asterisk precedes the title details.
3. *Publication Details*: place, publisher's imprint as given on title page, year of publication.
4. *Physical Characteristics*: pagination, format, illustrations, preliminaries, price, etc.
5. *Locations* of depositories of the copy examined follow in red. If the bluebook belongs to one of the four bluebook series examined by the author of this report, details are also provided here (full bibliographical data of the series appear at the end of this checklist).
6. *Additional Notes*, indicated by an asterisk, supply details of Further edns and provide references to bibliographies or other secondary works on the gothic novel, which comment on the item in question.

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- ✱ Mayo, Robert D. *The English Novel in the Magazines 1740–1815. With a Catalogue of 1375 Magazine Novels and Novelettes* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962).
- ✱ Praz, Mario. *The Romantic Agony* (2nd edn, London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1970).
- ✱ Railo, Eino. *The Haunted Castle. A Study of the Elements of English Romanticism* (1927; New York: Gordon Press, 1974).

- ✂ Rogers, Deborah D. (ed.). *The Critical Response to Ann Radcliffe* (Westport, CT and London: Greenwood Press, 1994; Critical Responses to Arts and Letters, 7).
- ✂ Schöwerling, Rainer. *Chapbooks. Zur Literaturgeschichte des einfachen Lesers* (Frankfurt and Bern, and Cirencester: Peter D. Lang, 1980; Regensburger Arbeiten zur Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 18).
- ✂ Summers, Montague. *A Gothic Bibliography* (1941; New York: Russell & Russell, 1964).
- ✂ Summers, Montague. *The Gothic Quest. A History of the Gothic Novel* (1938; New York: Russell & Russell, 1964).
- ✂ Tracy, Ann Blaisdell. *The Gothic Novel 1790–1830. Plot Summaries and Index to Motifs* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1981).
- ✂ Varma, Devendra P. *The Gothic Flame. Being a History of the Gothic Novel in England: Its Origin, Efflorescence, Disintegration, and Residuary Influences* (1957; New York: Russell & Russell, 1966).
- ✂ Watt, William Whyte: *Shilling Shockers of the Gothic School. A Study of Chapbook Gothic Romances* (1932; New York: Russell & Russell, 1967).
- ✂ Weiss, Harry B. *A Books About Chapbooks. The People's Literature of Bygone Times* (1942; Hatboro, PA: Folklore Associates, 1969).

II

1. THE AFFECTING HISTORY OF LOUISA, THE WANDERING MANIAC, OR, "LADY OF THE HAY-STACK"; SO CALLED, FROM HAVING TAKEN UP HER RESIDENCE UNDER THAT SHELTER, IN THE VILLAGE OF BOURTON, NEAR BRISTOL, IN A STATE OF MELANCHOLY DERANGEMENT; AND SUPPOSED TO BE A DAUGHTER OF FRANCIS I. EMPEROR OF GERMANY. A REAL TALE OF WOE.
 London: Printed and Published by A. Neil, at the Sommers-Town Printing Office, Chalton-Street; Sold also by T. Hughes, No. 1, Stationer's Court, Paternoster-Row; and May Be Had of All Other Booksellers, 1803.
 36p. 12mo. Frontispiece. 6d.
 British Library.
 *Further edn: London: A. Neil, 1804.
 See Frank, *Firſt Gothics*, pp. 4–5.

2. THE AFFECTING HISTORY OF THE DUTCHESS OF C——, WHO WAS CONFINED NINE YEARS IN A HORRID DUNGEON UNDER GROUND, WHERE LIGHT NEVER ENTERED; A STRAW MATTRESS BEING HER ONLY RESTING-PLACE, AND BREAD AND WATER HER ONLY SUPPORT, CONVEYED

TO HER BY MEANS OF A TURNING BOX BY HER INHUMAN HUSBAND; WITH THE MANNER SHE WAS PROVIDENTIALLY DISCOVERED AND RELEASED BY HER PARENTS.

Derby: Published by Thomas Richardson; and by Hurst, Chance and Co., London, n.d.

24p. 12mo. Coloured folding frontispiece. Advertisements. 6d.

British Library.

*Further edns: London: J. Bailey, n.d.; London: Dean & Munday, n.d.; London: T. Hughes, n.d.; London: Orlando Hogdson, n.d.; London: S. Fisher, 1799, 1800, 1803; Derby: T. Richardson, [1820]; New York: W. Borradaile, 1823; New York: S. King, 1828.

See Mayo, *English Novel in the Magazines*, pp. 493, 555; Schöwerling, *Chapbooks*, p. 251.

3. ALBANI: OR THE MURDERER OF HIS CHILD. CONTAINING THE DIFFERENT VIEWS OF HIS CHARACTER, AS A LIBERTINE IN PALERMO, AN OFFICER IN THE SPANISH SERVICE, A PLANTER IN THE ISLAND OF CUBA, AND AN INDEPENDENT GENTLEMAN, ON HIS RETURN TO ITALY.

London: Printed [by T. Plummer, Seething-Lane, Tower-Street] for Tegg and Castleman, No. 122, St. John's-Street, West Smithfield; T. Hurst, Paternoster-Row; T. Brown, Edinburgh; and B. Dugdale, Dublin. And Sold by Champante & Whitrow, Aldgate; Wilmot and Hill, Borough; T. Hughes, Queen's-Head-Passage, London; J. Belcher, Birmingham; T. Troughton, Liverpool; I. Mitchell, Newcastle upon Tyne; B. Sellick, Bristol; E. Peck, York; M. Swindells, Clarke, and Co., Manchester; T. Binns, Leeds; J. Dingle, Bury St. Edmund's, and All Other Booksellers in the United Kingdom, [1803].

72p. 12mo. Frontispiece. Quotation from Dryden. [1s].

British Library, Fürstliche Bibliothek Corvey (*Marvellous Magazine*, vol. 2, item 5).

*See Frank, *First Gothics*, pp. 5–6; Mayo, *English Novel in the Magazines*, p. 450; Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 226.

4. *ALGERNON & CAROLINE, OR, THE SPIRIT OF THE SPIRIT, BEING A CONCISE ABRIDGEMENT OF THAT POPULAR AND INTERESTING WORK, THE SPIRIT OF THE BOOK, COMPRISING POLITICAL AND AMATORY MEMOIRS OF QUEEN CAROLINE, LATE PRINCESS OF HASBURGH. THE SEVENTH EDITION.

London: Printed and Published by W. Mason, 21, Clerkenwell Green, 1820.

36p. 12mo. Coloured frontispiece. 6d.

British Library.

5. ALLAN THE FREEBOOTER, OR THE WITCH OF GLENROSS; WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE SUFFERINGS OF RODERICK THE LAIRD OF GLENROSS, AND HIS BEAUTIFUL BRIDE MALVINA, DESTRUCTION OF THE PRINCELY HALL OF GLENROSS, AND MARRIAGE OF THEIR DAUGHTER HELEN TO THE FREEBOOTER.

London: Printed and Published by J. Fairburn, 110 Minorities, n.d.
36p. 12mo. Coloured, folding frontispiece: 'The Witch of Glenross Appearing to Roderick'. 6d.

British Library.

6. ALMAGRO & CLAUDE; OR MONASTIC MURDER; EXEMPLIFIED IN THE DREADFUL DOOM OF AN UNFORTUNATE NUN.

London: Printed [by T. Plummer, Seething-Lane, Tower Steet] for Tegg and Castleman, No. 122, St. John's-Street, West Smithfield; T. Hurst, Paternoster-Row; T. Brown, Edinburgh; and B. Dugdale, Dublin. And Sold by Champante & Whitrow, Aldgate; Wilmot and Hill, Borough; T. Hughes, Queen's-Head-Passage, London; J. Belcher, Birmingham; T. Troughton, Liverpool; I. Mitchell, Newcastle upon Tyne; B. Sellick, Bristol; E. Peck, York; M. Swindells, Clarke, and Co. Manchester; T. Binns, Leeds; J. Dingle, Bury St. Edmund's, and All Other Booksellers in the United Kingdom, n.d.).

40p. 12mo. Quotation from Beattie.

British Library, Bodleian Library.

*Further edn: London: Dean & Munday, 1803[?].

See Frank, *First Gothics*, pp. 6–7; Schöwerling, *Chapbooks*, p. 153; Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, pp. 98, 423; Summers, *Gothic Quest*, p. 84; Watt, *Shilling Shockers*, pp. 18–20, 51.

7. ALPHONSO AND ELINOR, OR THE MYSTERIOUS DISCOVERY.

London: Printed [by Tibson, Lambeth] for & Sold by J. Ker, No. 20, Green-Walk, Bear-Lane, Christ Church, Surry; and to Be Had of S. Tibson, at the Surry Printing-Office, Bridge-Road, Lambeth; and S. Elliott, No. 9, High Street, Shadwell, n.d.

42p. 12mo. Frontispiece bears legend: 'Is it possible that thou art Alphonso exclaimed a voice which seemed familiar to his ears'. 6d.

British Library.

*See Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 229.

8. THE HISTORY OF ARDEN OF FEVERSHAM. A TRAGIC FACT OF 1550. TO WHICH IS ADDED THE WHITE TOWER. AN HISTORIC TALE. BY JOHN CHILTON.

London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourne-Lane, for Ann Lemoine, White Rose Court, Coleman-Street, and J. Roe, Houndsditch. Sold by All the Booksellers in the United Kingdom, [1804].

34p; pp. 19–32: 'The White Tower'; pp. 33–34: 'The Two Princes'. Frontispiece bears legend: 'Alice Arden stabbing the dead body of her husband'. 4d.

British Library, Bodleian Library, Cambridge University Library (*Tell-Tale*, vol. 2, items 29–31).

*See Mayo, *English Novel in the Magazines*, p. 617.

9. THE BANDITTI OF MONTE BALDO; OR, THE LASS OF THE LAKE. A ROMANCE.

London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourne-Lane, for Ann Lemoine, White Rose Court, Coleman-Street, and J. Roe, No. 90, Houndsditch. Sold by All the Booksellers in the United Kingdom, [1805].

36p; pp. 35–36: 'The Twin Sisters'. 12mo. Frontispiece: 'Vivaldi & his Family assisting the unfortunate stranger into their cottage'. 4d.

British Library, Bodleian Library, Cambridge University Library (*Tell-Tale*, vol. 2, items 60–61).

*See Mayo, *English Novel in the Magazines*, p. 459.

10. THE BANDITTI OF THE APPENNINES; OR, THE SINGULAR ADVENTURES OF ALPHONSUS AND ADELA (DURING THE CIVIL WARS IN ITALY), WITH AN INTERESTING ACCOUNT OF THEIR PROVIDENTIAL ESCAPE FROM A BAND OF FEROCIOUS ROBBERS WHO INFESTED THE MOUNTAINS, AT THAT PERIOD, AND ALSO FROM ANOTHER BAND, STILL MORE FORMIDABLE, BY WHOM THEY WERE CONFINED IN A DREADFUL DUNGEON &C. &C.

London: Printed by J. Dean, 57, Wardour-Street, Published by C. Sharp, 39, Upper Mary-Le-Bone Street, Portland Place; and Sold by All Booksellers in the United Kingdom, 1808.

38p. 8vo. Coloured folding frontispiece. Ex libris. 6d.

Bodleian Library.

11. BARBASTAL; OR, THE MAGICIAN OF THE FOREST OF BLOODY ASH. A ROMANCE.

London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourn-Lane, for Ann Lemoine, White Rose Court, Coleman-Street, and J. Roe, No. 90, Houndsditch, [1807]

48p. 12mo. Frontispiece.

British Library, Bodleian Library (*Wild Roses*, vol. 1, item 2).

12. **BARRETT, C. F.**
 ALLANROD; OR, THE MYSTERIOUS FREEBOOTER. AN HISTORICAL TALE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. BY C. F. BARRETT, AUTHOR OF "DOUGLAS CASTLE," "THE PERILOUS CAVERN," &C.
 London: Printed and Published by A. Neil, at the Sommers-Town Printing Office, 30, Chalton Street, and 448, Strand; Sold also by T. Hughes, Stationer's Court, Paternoster Row and May Be Had of All Other Booksellers, [1806].
 38p. 12mo. Frontispiece bears legend: 'A figure, in black armour, stood between Allanrod and his intended bride'. Quotation from Shakespeare.
 Harvard College Library.
13. **[BARRETT, C. F.]**
 THE BLACK CASTLE; OR THE SPECTRE OF THE FOREST. AN HISTORICAL ROMANCE. AND THE FATE OF ISABELLA; OR; SACRIFICE TO SUPERSTITION.
 London: Printed and Sold by Dean & Munday, 35, Threadneedle Street, n.d.
 36p; pp. 27–36: 'Story of Isabella'. 12mo. Frontispiece bears legend: 'A tremendous Crash shook the Forest to its Centre & the Spirit of Ravia appeared before her astonished Husband'. 6d.
 British Library.
 *Further edns: London: S. Fisher, 1800; London: S. Fisher [1803]; New York: J. Swaine, n.d.
 See Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 247.
14. **[BARRETT, C. F.]**
 THE CORSICAN PIRATE: OR, THE GRAND MASTER OF MALTA. A NEAPOLITAN ROMANCE.
 London: Printed [by R. Lindsay, Portpool Lane] for T. Hughes, Stationers' Court; Champante and Co. Aldgate; Tegg and Co. Warwick Lane; N. and J. Muggeridge, and Willmot and Co. Borough, [1803].
 36p; pp. 34–36: 'A Chinese Tale'. 12mo. Frontispiece bears legend: 'Then drawing his hanger he rushed on the astonish'd Bruno d'Agaccio'. 6d.
 British Library.
15. **[BARRETT, C. F.]**
 DOUGLAS CASTLE; OR, THE CELL OF MYSTERY. A SCOTTISH TALE.
 London: Printed and Published by A. Neil, at the Somers-Town Printing Office, 30, Chalton Street; and May Be Had of All Other Booksellers, 1803.

38p. 8vo. Frontispiece bears legend: 'Soon after the very form of the murdered Dunbar stood before the astonished Percy'. Quotation from Shakespeare. 6d.

University of Virginia Library, National Library of Scotland.

*See Frank, *First Gothics*, pp.19–20; Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 300.

16. [BARRETT, C. F.]
 THE LONDON APPRENTICE; OR, SINGULAR ADVENTURES OF HENRY AND ZELIMA. AN HISTORICAL TALE. BY THE AUTHOR OF "DOUGLAS CASTLE," &C.
 London: Printed and Published by A. Neil, At the Sommers-Town Printing Office, 30, Chalton Street; and May Be Had of All Other Booksellers, 1805.
 38p. 12mo. Frontispiece bears legend: 'He thrust his arms down their throats, and plucked forth their hearts'. Dedication. 6d.
 British Library.
17. [BARRETT, C. F.]
 MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS, OR THE ROYAL CAPTIVE OF FOTHERINGAY CASTLE: A SCOTTISH LEGENDARY TALE, FOUNDED ON THE HISTORY AND MANNERS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.
 London: Printed for Tegg and Castleman, No. 23, Warwick-Square, Paternoster-Row; Champante and Whitrow, Aldgate; T. Hughes, Paternoster-Row; Willmot and Hill, Borough; N. Rollason, Coventry; J. Belcher, Birmingham; B. Sellick, Bristol; T. Troughton, Liverpool; J. Mitchell, Newcastle; T. Brown, North Street, Edinburgh; E. Peck, Lower Ousegate, York; T. Binns, Leeds; J. Dingle, Bury St. Edmund's; T. Brown, Bath; B. Dugdale, Dublin; M. Swindels, Manchester; J. Booth, Norwich; Collins and Fellows, Salisbury; and G. Wilkins, Derby, n.d.
 36p; pp. 30–36: 'Parental Avarice, the Source of Filial Misery'. 12mo.
 British Library, National Library of Scotland.
 *Further edn: London: Tegg & Castleman, 1803.
18. BARRETT, C. F.
 THE ROUND TOWER, OR THE MYSTERIOUS WITNESS: AN IRISH LEGENDARY TALE OF THE SIXTH CENTURY. BY C. F. BARRETT, AUTHOR OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS, &C.
 London: Printed [by J. H. Hart, 23, Warwick-Square] for Tegg and Castleman, No. 23, Warwick-Square; and Sold by Tho. Hurst, Paternoster, Row; T. Ostell, Ave-Maria Lane; Champante and Whitrow, Aldgate; Wilmot and Hill, Borough; and T. Hughes, Queen's-Head-Passage, 1803.

36p. 12mo. Frontispiece.

University of Virginia Library.

*See Frank, *First Gothics*, pp. 19–20.

19. [BARRINGTON, George].

ELIZA, OR THE UNHAPPY NUN: EXEMPLIFYING THE UNLIMITED TYRANNY EXERCISED BY THE ABBOTS AND ABBESSES OVER THE ILL-FATED VICTIMS OF THEIR MALICE IN THE GLOOMY RECESSES OF A CONVENT. INCLUDING THE ADVENTURES OF CLEMENTINA, OR THE CONSTANT LOVERS, A TRUE AND AFFECTING TALE.

London: Printed [by J. H. Hart, Warwick-Square] for Tegg and Castleman, No. 23, Warwick-Square: and Sold by Thomas Hughes, Stationers-court, [1803].

[35p]: pp. 73–83: ‘A Remarkable Suicide Impelled by Constant Love’; pp. 83–94: ‘Suicide through Oppression’; pp. 94–105: ‘Suicide through Distress’; pp. 105–107: ‘Suicide through Depravity’ [incorrectly paginated]. 12mo. Frontispiece. Quotation from Mother St Clare. Handwritten note: ‘George Barrington’. 6d.

University of Virginia Library, Library of Congress.

*See Frank, *First Gothics*, pp. 22–23.

20. BEACON PRIORY; OR, MEMOIRS OF THE ROCKALBA FAMILY. INCLUDING THE MELANCHOLY DEATHS OF THE EARL OF RUSPORT AND SOPHIA, COUNTESS OF ROCKALBA. ALSO, THE HISTORY OF MADELINE, DAUGHTER OF THE PRINCES [*sic*] OF THE BLOOD ROYAL OF THE HOUSE OF STUART.

London: Printed and Sold by Langley and Belch, 173, Borough, High Street, 1810.

32p. 8vo. Coloured frontispiece bears legend: ‘Welcome, welcome once more to thy native home and the hospitable shores of Britain exclaimed the Venerable Earl of Rockalba to his son Adolphus’.

Cleveland Public Library.

21. BEECH, G.

THE HISTORY AND SURPRISING ADVENTURES OF JOSEPH PIGNATA; WHO, WITH SEVERAL OTHERS, WAS CONFINED IN THE DUNGEONS OF THE HOLY INQUISITION, FOR A SUSPECTED CRIME; THE DREADFUL SUFFERINGS AND TORTURES THEY UNDERWENT. PIGNATA ESCAPES; H[IS] PERIL[IO]US ADVENTURES AND DISTERSS THROUGH HUNGER AND FATIGUE, TILL THE EXECUTION OF THE WRETCH, THROUGH WHOM HE HAD BEEN IMPRISONED: BEING A COLLECTION OF THE GREATEST SERIES OF MIS-

FORTUNES THAT EVER BEFEL ON [*sic*] MAN. TRANSL. FROM THE GERMAN OF KOTZEBUE, BY G. BEECH.

London: Printed and Sold by Dean and Munday, Threadneedle-Street, [1821].

26p. 12mo. Coloured frontispiece bears legend: 'Pignata & his guide climbing the Rock after their escape from the inquisition'. 6d.

Cleveland Public Library.

*See Mayo, *English Novel in the Magazines*, p. 516.

22. [BELMONT, Harvey].

THE AVENGER, OR, MYSTERIOUS ASSASSIN. A TERRIFIC TALE.

London: Printed and Sold by Dean and Munday, Threadneedle-Street, n.d.

34p. 12mo. Coloured folding frontispiece. Quotation from Sir John Dorset. 6d.

British Library.

*Further edn: London: Dean & Munday, [1822].

23. THE BLACK FOREST; OR THE CAVERN OF HORRORS! A GOTHIC ROMANCE. TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN.

London: 'Printed [by J. Bonsor, Salisbury Square] for Ann Lemoine, White Rose Cot. Coleman St. and Sold by T. Hurst, Paternoster-Row, [1802].

40p. 12mo. Frontispiece bears legend: 'The terror of Henry at the appearance of a Skeleton waving a Bloody Sword'. 6d.

University of Virginia Library, Yale University Library.

*See Summers, *Gothic Quest*, p. 83; Watt, *Shilling Shockers*, pp. 15, 23, 46, 51, 52, 54.

24. THE BLACK VALLEY; OR, THE CASTLE OF ROSENBERG. A ROMANCE.

London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourne-Lane, for Ann Lemoine, White-Rose Court, Coleman-Street, and Sold by T. Hurst, Paternoster-Row, 1801.

48p; pp. 46–48: 'The Maid of the Inn'. 12mo. Frontispiece bears legend: 'Lindorf to shelter himself from a violent Storm enters the Dreadful Black Valley'. Quotation from *Arden of Feversham*. 9d.

British Library (*English Nights Entertainments*, vol. 2, item 1).

*Further edns: London: Ann Lemoine and J. Roe, n.d.; London: Ann Lemoine and J. Roe, 1803.

See Frank, *First Gothics*, pp. 29–30.

25. **BLANCHE AND CARLOS; OR THE CONSTANT LOVERS: INCLUDING THE ADVENTURES OF VALVILLE AND ADELAIDE, A MEXICAN TALE.**
 London: Printed [by T. Plummer, Seething-Lane] for Tegg and Castleman, No. 23, Warwick-Square, Paternoster-Row; Champante and Whitrow, Aldgate; B. Crosby and Co. and T. Hughes, Paternoster-Row; Howard and Evans, Long-Lane; Willmot and Hill, Borough; J. Belcher, Birmingham; B. Sellick, Bristol; J. Mitchell, Newcastle; T. Brown, North Street, Edinburgh; E. Peck, Lower Ousegate, York; T. Binns, Leeds; J. Dingle, Bury St. Edmund's; B. Dugdale, and M. Keene, Dublin; Bull, Waterford; M. Swindels, Manchester; J. Booth, Norwich; and G. Wilkins, Derby, [1803].
 72p. 12mo. Frontispiece. Quotation from Swift. [1s].
 British Library, Fürstliche Bibliothek Corvey (*Marvellous Magazine*, vol. 3, item 6).
 *See Mayo, *English Novel in the Magazines*, p. 462.
26. **THE BLOOD-RED KNIGHT; OR, TREACHEROUS MINSTREL. A ROMANCE.**
 London: Printed and Sold by J. Bailey, 116, Chancery Lane, n.d.).
 28p. 8vo. Coloured frontispiece: 'When they were suddenly attacked by a number of armed Robbers from behind the trees, Albert & Egbert, fought like lions, already had many of their assailants fallen beneath their ponderous stroke when—'. 6d.
 British Library.
27. **THE BLOOD-STAINED MANTLE; OR, A SISTER'S REVENGE. A LEGENDARY TALE.**
 London: Printed by and for Hodgson & Co. No 10, Newgate-Street, n.d.).
 24p; pp. 21–24: 'The Deserters'. 8vo. Coloured folding frontispiece. 6d.
 British Library.
 *Further edn: Manchester and Durham: A. Heywood, n.d.
28. **THE BLOODY HAND, OR, THE FATAL CUP: A TALE OF HORROR! IN THE COURSE OF WHICH IS DESCRIBED THE TERRIBLE DUNGEONS AND CELLS IN THE PRISONS OF BUONAPARTE.**
 London: Published by Stevens and Co. Circulating Library, Borough Road; and Kemmish and Son, King Street, Borough, and Sold by All Booksellers, n.d.
 24p. 12mo. Frontispiece bears legend: 'Maria with the Fatal Cup escaping from the Convent, and received by the Marquis Beaufois'. 6d.
 British Library.

*See Frank, *First Gothics*, pp. 31–32; Tracy, *Gothic Novel*, p. 19; Watt, *Shilling Shockers*, pp. 11–12.

29. THE BRAVO OF PERTH; OR, VOORN THE TIGER. CONSISTING OF THE UNCOMMON ADVENTURES, AND ESCAPES, OF A BOLD AND RESOLUTE SCOTCH OUTLAW OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.
London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourn-Lane, for J. Roe, No. 38, Chiswell Street, Finsbury Square, and Ann Lemoine, White Rose Court, Coleman Street. Sold by All the Booksellers in the United Kingdom, [1809].
36p. 12mo. Frontispiece. 4d.
British Library.
30. CANTERBURY TALES. CONTAINING THE GREAT DEVIL'S TALE; OR, THE CASTLE OF MORBANO. THE OLD ABBEY TALE; OR, VILLAGE TERRORS. THE BRITISH SAILOR'S TALE. AND THE KNIGHT'S TALE.
London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourne-Lane, for Ann Lemoine, White-Rose Court, Coleman-Street, and Sold by T. Hurst, Paternoster-Row, 1802.
42p; pp. [5]–17: 'The Great Devil's Tale. By C. F. Barrett'; pp. [18]–27: 'The Old Abbey Tale. By Dr. Drake'; pp. 27–40: 'The British Sailor's Tale'; pp. 41–42: 'The Knight's Tale'; p. 42: Advertisement. 12mo. Frontispiece. 6d.
British Library.
31. THE CAPTIVE PRINCE; OR, LOVE AND MADNESS. AN HEROICAL TALE OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.
London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourn-Lane, for Ann Lemoine, White Rose Court, Coleman-Street, and J. Roe, No. 90, Houndsditch, [1807].
48p; p. 48: 'The Maid of Toro. By Walter Scott, Esq.'. 12mo. Frontispiece.
British Library, Bodleian Library (Wild Roses, vol. 2, item 4).
32. THE CASTLE DE ALBANI; OR, THE USURPER PUNISHED: INCLUDING THE MEMOIRS OF THE COUNTESS ST. ALVA, AND HER DAUGHTER ISABELLA. AN ORIGNIAL ROMANCE.
London: Printed and Published by John Arliss, 87, Bartholomew Close, n.d.
38p. 12mo.
Cleveland Public Library.

33. THE CASTLE OF ALVIDARO; OR, THE SPANISH QUARREL. A ROMANCE.
London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourn-Lane, for J. Roe, No. 38, Chiswell Street, Finsbury Squire; and Ann Lemoine, White Rose Court, Coleman Street. Sold by All the Booksellers in the United Kingdom, [1809].
36p. 12mo. Coloured frontispiece. 6d.
Cleveland Public Library.
34. THE CASTLE OF MURILLO, A SPANISH TALE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.
Edinburgh: Published by Oliver & Boyd, High Street, n.d..
34p. 12mo. Frontispiece. Quotation from Cobbett. 6d.
University of Virginia Library.
35. THE CASTLE OF SAVINA; OR, THE IRISHMAN IN ITALY. A TALE.
London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourn-Lane, for Ann Lemoine, White Rose Court, Coleman-Street, and J. Roe, No. 90, Houndsditch, [1807].
60p. 12mo. Frontispiece.
British Library, Bodleian Library (Wild Roses, vol. 1, item 1).
*See Mayo, *English Novel in the Magazines*, p. 465.
36. THE CASTLE OF ST. BERNARD, OR THE CAPTIVE OF THE WATCH TOWER. IN WHICH IS ILLUSTRATED THE FATAL EFFECTS OF MISPLACED LOVE AND THE ERRORS OF CREDULITY. TO WHICH IS ADDED, THE TWIN BROTHERS OF MEZZORANIA. A MEZZORANIAN TALE.
London: Printed and Sold by Langley and Belch 173, Borough, High-Street, n.d.
32p; pp. 28–32: ‘The Twin Brothers of Mezzorania’. 8vo. Coloured frontispiece.
British Library.
*See Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 266.
37. THE CASTLE OF ST. GERALD, OR THE FATAL VOW.
London: Published and Sold by J. Ker, No. 4, Greek-Street, Soho Square; and to Be Had of most Booksellers in Town and Country, n.d.
34p; pp. 33–34: ‘The Value of Time’. 12mo. Frontispiece. 6d.
University of Virginia Library.
*See Frank, *First Gothics*, pp. 44–45.

38. THE CASTLE OF THE PYRENEES; OR, THE WANDERER OF THE ALPS. AN HISTORIC TALE.
 London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourne-Lane, for Ann Lemoine, White Rose Court, Coleman Street, and J. Roe, No. 90, Houndsditch. Sold by All the Booksellers in the United Kingdom, [1803].
 36p. 12mo. Frontispiece. Handwritten note: 'The gift of Mrs Davies to Sarah Chandler 1816'. [4d.].
 British Library, Bodleian Library, Cambridge University Library (*Tell-Tale*, vol. 1, item 6).
 *See Mayo, *English Novel in the Magazines*, pp. 465, 534.
39. THE CASTLES OF MONTREUIL AND BARRE; OR THE HISTORIES OF THE MARQUIS LA BRUN AND THE BARON LA MARCHE, THE LATE INHABITANTS AND PROPRIETORS OF THE TWO CASTLES. A GOTHIC STORY. FROM THE LADY'S MAGAZINE.
 London: Printed in St. John's Lane, Clerkenwell, by S. Fisher, and Sold Wholesale and Retail, at No. 30, Warwick Lane, Paternoster Row, [1803].
 38p. 12mo. Frontispiece bears legend: 'Pierre de la Motte approached, and beheld a Youth staunching the blood of his wounded Companion'.
 British Library.
 *Further edns: London: W. Mason, n.d.; London: S. Fisher, 1799.
 See Frank, *First Gothics*, p. 46–47; Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 269.
40. *THE CAVERN OF HORRORS; OR, MISERIES OF MIRANDA: A NEAPOLITAN TALE. THE THIRD EDITION, CORRECTED.
 London: Printed by W. S. Betham, Furnival's-Inn Court, Holborn, for T. Tegg and Co., No. 122, St. John Street, West Smithfield; T. Hurst, Paternoster Row; B. Crosby & Co., Stationers' Court, [1802],
 72p. 12mo. Frontispiece. Quotation from Potter's *Aeschylus*. [1s].
 British Library, Fürstliche Bibliothek Corvey (*Marvellous Magazine*, vol. 1, item 5).
 *Further edns: London: Tegg & Castleman, n.d.; London: T. Hurst, 1802; London: Dean & Munday, [1813].
 See Frank, *First Gothics*, pp. 48–49; Mayo, *English Novel in the Magazines*, p. 466; Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 270; Tracy, *Gothic Novel*, p. 29; Varma, *Gothic Flame*, pp. 188–89; Watt, *Shilling Shockers*, pp. 15, 34, 52, 53.

41. **CHAMBERLAIN, Frederic.**
LUCRETIA; OR, THE ROBBERS OF THE HYRCANEAN FOREST. A ROMANCE.
 London: Printed, and Published, by J. Lee, No. 24, Half Moon Street, Bishopsgate: and Sold by All the Booksellers, n.d.
 30p; pp. 20–30: ‘The Libertine. Written by Himself, in Prison. 12mo. Frontispiece bears legend: ‘Lucretia rescued from the Embraces of the Robber, by her Father’. 6d.
 University of Virginia Library.
 *See Frank, *First Gothics*, pp. 49–50.
42. **THE CHILDREN OF THE PRIORY; OR, WARS OF OLD. AN HISTORICAL ROMANCE.**
 London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourne-Lane, for Ann Lemoine, White-Rose Court, Coleman-Street, and Sold by T. Hurst, Paternoster-Row, 1802.
 46p. 12mo. Frontispiece bears legend: ‘Edmund prevented by the Hermit from falling on his own Sword’. Quotation from Shakespeare. 9d.
 British Library (*English Nights Entertainments*, vol. 2, item 6).
43. **CLAIRVILLE CASTLE; OR, THE HISTORY OF ALBERT & EMMA. WITH THE DEATH OF THE USURPER MORENZI.**
 London: Printed [by A. Kemmish, King-Street, Borough] for, and Sold by J. Ker, No. 90, High Holborn. Sold also by Wilmott and Hill, 50, Borough; Perks, Stationer, 21, St. Martin’s Lane; T. Elliot, High-Street, Shadwell; Barfoot, Norton-Falgate; Dixon, Rochester; T. Evans, 79, Long-Lane; Howard and Evans, 42, Long-Lane, West-Smithfield; Kemmish, 17, King-Street, Borough; Neil, 448, Strand; and Champante and Whitrow, Jury Street, Aldgate, n.d.
 38p; pp. [34]–38: ‘Ogus & Cara Khan, or the Force of Love. 8vo. Frontispiece bears legend: ‘Bernard and Emma taking farewell of their Cottage to escape the snares of Morenzi. 6d.
 British Library.
 *Further edn: London: A. Kemmish, n.d.
 See Frank, *First Gothics*, pp. 54–55.
44. **THE CONVENT OF ST. MICHAEL OR THE UNFORTUNATE EMILIA.**
 London: Printed and Published by Burkett and Plumpton, 15, Greenhill’s-Rents, St. John-Street, and Sold by All Booksellers in Town and Country, n.d.
 36p. 12mo.
 Cleveland Public Library.

45. THE CONVENT OF ST. URSULA, OR, INCIDENTS AT OTTAGRO. AN ITALIAN ROMANCE.
 London: Printed and Published By John Arliss, No. 87, Batholomew Close, [1809].
 40p. 12mo. Frontispiece.
[University of Virginia Library](#).
 *See Frank, *First Gothics*, pp. 56–57; Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 283.
46. THE CONVENT SPECTRE, OR UNFORTUNATE DAUGHTER.
 London: Printed for T. and R. Hughes, Ludgate Street, 1808.
 36p. 12mo. Frontispiece. Quotation from Shakespeare.
[University of Virginia Library](#).
 *See Frank, *First Gothics*, pp. 57–58; Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 283; Summers, *Gothic Quest*, p. 83.
47. CRONSTADT CASTLE; OR, THE MYSTERIOUS VISITOR. AN ORIGINAL ROMANCE.
 Surry: Printed by A. Kemmish, 17, King-Street, Borough—for and Published by J. Ker, 40, London Road, near the Elephant and Castle, Southwark—Sold also by Hughes, Stationer's Court—N. and J. Muggeridge, Borough; Wilmott and Hill, 50, Borough; A. Kemmish, King-Street, Borough; Perks, Stationer, 12. St. Martin's Lane; Elliott, High-Street, Shadwell; Barfoot, Norton-Falgate; Dixon, Rochester; Hodgson, 20, Strand; T. Evans, 79, Long-Lane, West-Smithfield, &c., [1803].
 38p; pp. [34]–38: The Unfortunate Victim. 12mo. 6d.
[University of Virginia Library](#), [Library of Congress](#).
 *See Frank, *First Gothics*, pp. 63–64.
48. [CROOKENDEN, Isaac].
 BERTHINIA; OR THE FAIR SPANIARD. A ROMANCE. TO WHICH IS ADDED, BY THE SAME AUTHOR, AZA; OR THE CAPTIVE BRIDE. A GERMAN TALE.
 London: Printed and Sold by S. Fisher, No. 10, St. John's Lane, Clerkenwell; also Sold by T. Hurst, No. 32, Paternoster Row, [1802].
 48p; pp. 41–48: 'Aza; or the Captive Bride'. 12mo. Frontispiece bears legend: 'Bernthinia rescued from the villainous attempts of Mondford, by the timely assistance of the Marquis'. 6d.
[British Library](#), [Cambridge University Library](#).
 *Further edn: London: S. Fisher, 1802.
 See Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 32.

49. **CROOKENDEN, Isaac.**
 FATAL SECRETS; OR, ETHERLINDA DE SALMONI. A SICILIAN STORY. BY ISAAC CROOKENDEN, AUTHOR OF THE MYSTERIOUS MURDER, &C. &C.
 London: Printed and Published, by J. Lee, Half-Moon-Street, Bishopsgate Without: and Sold by All the Booksellers, 1806.
 36p. 12mo. Frontispiece. Quotation from Dr Young. Dedication. Preface to the series *Romantic Library*.
Duke University Library (Durham, NC).
 *See Frank, *First Gothics*, p. 66; Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 319; Tracy, *Gothic Novel*, pp. 30–31.
50. [**CROOKENDEN, Isaac**]
 HORRIBLE REVENGE; OR, THE MONSTER OF ITALY!! A ROMANCE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. ALSO, HOPELESS LOVE, AN INTERESTING TALE.
 London: Printed and Sold by R. Harrild, 1812.
 36p; pp. 29–36: ‘Hopeless Love’. 12mo. Quotation from Dr Young’s *Revenge*.
Cleveland Public Library.
 *Further edn: London: R. Harrild, 1808.
 See Frank, *First Gothics*, p. 67; Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, pp. 576, 606; Tracy, *Gothic Novel*, p. 31.
51. [**CROOKENDEN, Isaac**].
 THE ITALIAN BANDITTI; OR THE SECRET HISTORY OF HENRY AND MATILDA: A ROMANCE.
 London: Printed and Published by R. Harrild, n.d.
 36p. 12mo. Frontispiece.
University of Virginia Library, Harvard College Library.
 *Further edn: London: R. Harrild, 1811.
 See Frank, *First Gothics*, pp. 67–68; Rogers, *Critical Response to Ann Radcliffe*, p. xxxiv; Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, pp. 32, 371; Tracy, *Gothic Novel*, p. 31.
52. **CROOKENDEN, Isaac.**
 THE MYSTERIOUS MURDER; OR, THE USURPER OF NAPLES. AN ORIGINAL ROMANCE. TO WHICH IS PREFIXED, THE NOCTURNAL ASSASSIN; OR, SPANISH JEALOUSY. BY ISAAC CROOKENDEN, AUTHOR OF FATAL SECRETS &C.
 London: Printed and Published by J. Lee, 24, Half-Moon-Street, Bishopsgate Without; and Sold by All the Booksellers, [1806].
 36p; pp. 29–36: ‘The Nocturnal Assassin; or, Spanish Jealousy’. 12mo. Frontispiece. Quotation from Shakespeare.

University of Virginia Library.

*See Frank, *First Gothics*, pp. 66–67; Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 576; Tracy, *Gothic Novel*, p. 31.

53. **CROOKENDEN, Isaac.**
 ROMANTIC TALES. THE REVENGEFUL TURK: OR MYSTIC CAVERN. THE DISTRESSED NUN: OR SUFFERINGS OF HERSELIA DI BRINDOLI OF FLORENCE. AND THE VINDICTIVE MONK: OR FATAL RING. WRITTEN BY ISAAC CROOKENDEN, AUTHOR OF THE FAIR SPANIARD, &C.
 London: Printed and Sold by S. Fisher, No. 10, St. John's Lane, Clerkenwell; also Sold by T. Hurst, No. 32, Paternoster Row, [1802].
 46p; pp. [3]–22: 'The Revengeful Turk'; pp. 23–38: 'The Distressed Nun'; pp. 39–46: 'The Vindictive Monk'. 12mo. Frontispiece bears legend: '“Eternal Powers!” exclaimed Henri, “it is my long lost and anxiously sought Herselia!”'
 British Library.
 *Further edn: London: S. Fisher, n.d.
 See Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, pp. 32, 477; Tracy, *Gothic Novel*, pp. 32–33.
54. **CROOKENDEN, Isaac.**
 THE SKELETON; OR, MYSTERIOUS DISCOVERY. A GOTHIC ROMANCE. BY ISAAC CROOKENDEN, LATE ASSISTANT AT MR. ALLEN'S ACADEMY, CHICHESTER.
 London: Printed and Published by A. Neil, at the Sommers Town Printing Office, No. 30, Chalton Street; and Sold by All Other Booksellers, 1805.
 38p. 12mo. Frontispiece bears legend: 'Adolphus discovers the Skeleton of the Baron de Morfield'. Quotation from Akenside. Preface. 6d.
 University of Virginia Library, Library of Congress.
 *See Frank, *First Gothics*, pp. 65–66; Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 507; Tracy, *Gothic Novel*, p. 33.
55. [**CROOKENDEN, Isaac**].
 THE SPECTRE OF THE TURRET: OR GUOLTO CASTLE. A ROMANCE.
 London: Printed and Sold by R. Harrild, 20, Great Eastcheap, n.d.
 32p. 8vo. Coloured frontispiece. Quotation from Shakespeare.
 British Library.
 *See Frank, *First Gothics*, pp. 68–69; Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, pp. 32, 512; Tracy, *Gothic Novel*, p. 33.

56. **CROOKENDEN, Isaac.**
 THE STORY OF MORELLA DE ALTO; OR THE CRIMES OF SCORPINO DEVELOPED. WRITTEN BY ISAAC CROOKENDEN, AUTHOR OF THE FAIR SPANIARD, ROMANTIC TALES, &C.
 London: Printed in St. John's Lane, Clerkenwell, by S. Fisher, and Sold at No. 30, Warwick Lane, Newgate Street; May also Be Had of All Other Booksellers, in Town and Country, n.d.
 24p. 8vo. Frontispiece bears legend: 'No Signora, neither the Marquis, nor your Mother, shall ever know that you are in this Castle'.
British Library.
 *Further edn: London: S. Fisher, 1804.
 See Frank, *First Gothics*, pp. 62–63; Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 515; Tracy, *Gothic Novels*, p. 33.
57. THE CURFEW; OR, THE CASTLE OF BARON DE TRACY.
 London: Printed for T. & R. Hughes, 35, Ludgate-Hill, Corner of Stationers [*sic*] Court, 1807.
 40p. 12mo. Coloured frontispiece bears legend: 'The Barons [*sic*] daughter, seized by the Banditti. Quotation from Fitzharding.
British Library, Trinity College (Dublin) Library.
58. THE DAEMON OF VENICE, AN ORIGINAL ROMANCE. BY A LADY [i.e. Charlotte Dacre].
 London: [Printed by Plummer and Brewis, Love-Lane, Eastcheap and] Published by Thos. Tegg, III, Cheapside, 1810.
 28p. 12mo. Frontispiece bears legend: 'Jacques stabbing Lenardi'.
Princeton University Library, New Jersey.
 *See Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 289; Summers, *Gothic Quest*, p. 84.
59. DE LA MARK AND CONSTANTIA; OR, ANCIENT HEROISM, A GOTHIC TALE.
 London: Printed [by T. Plummer, Seething-Lane] for Tegg and Castleman, No. 23, Warwick-Square, Paternoster-Row; Champante and Whitrow, Aldgate; T. Hughes, Paternoster-Row; Willmot and Hill, Borough; N. Rollason, Coventry; J. Belcher, Birmingham; B. Sellick, Bristol; T. Troughton, Liverpool; J. Mitchell, Newcastle; T. Brown, North-Street, Edinburgh; E. Peck, Lower Ousegate, York; T. Binns, Leeds; J. Dingle, Bury St. Edmund's; T. Brown, Bath; B. Dugdale, Dublin; M. Swindels, Manchester; J. Booth, Norwich; Collins and Fellows, Salisbury; and G. Wilkins, Derby, [1803].
 72p. 12mo. Frontispiece. [1s].

British Library, Fürstliche Bibliothek Corvey (*Marvellous Magazine*, vol. 4, item 1).

*See Frank, *First Gothics*, pp. 91–92; Mayo, *English Novel in the Magazines*, p. 478.

60. DOMESTIC MISERY, OR THE VICTIM OF SEDUCTION, A PATHETIC TALE; ADDRESSED TO THE UNPRINCIPLED LIBERTINE.

London: Printed [by T. Plummer, Seething-Lane, Tower-Street] for Tegg and Castleman, No. 122, St. John's-Street, West Smithfield; T. Hurst, Paternoster-Row; T. Brown, Edinburgh; and B. Dugdale, Dublin. And Sold by Champante & Whitrow, Aldgate; Wilmot and Hill, Borough; T. Hughes, Queen's-Head-Passage, London; J. Belcher, Birmingham; T. Troughton, Liverpool; I. Mitchell, Newcastle upon Tyne; B. Sellick, Bristol; E. Peck, York; M. Swindells, Clarke, and Co., Manchester; T. Binns, Leeds; J. Dingle, Bury St. Edmund's, and All Other Booksellers in the United Kingdom, [1803].

36p. 12mo. Frontispiece. Quotation from Virgil. 36p. 12mo. [1s].

British Library, Fürstliche Bibliothek Corvey (*Marvellous Magazine*, vol. 2, item 4).

*Bound to this without title page: *Highland Heroism; or the Castles of Glencoe and Balloch. A Scottish Legend of the Sixteenth Century* (London: Tegg & Castleman, 1803). 36p. 12mo.

Further edns: London: Dean & Munday, n.d.; London: J. Ker, n.d.; On single edition of *Highland Heroism*, see item 60.

See Brauchli, *Der englische Schauerroman*, pp. 216–17, 229; Mayo, *English Novel in the Magazines*, pp. 481, 507.

61. *DON ALGONAH; OR THE SORCERESS OF MONTILLO. A ROMANTIC TALE. SECOND EDITION.

London: Printed [by J. Cundee, Ivy-Lane] for T. Hurst, No. 32, and Sold by J. Wallis, No. 46, Paternoster-Row; C. Chapple, Pall-Mall; T. Dean, Newgate-Street; J. Dingle, Bury; T. Gibbons, Bath; T. Richards, and W. Gray, Plymouth; and Messrs. Clarke and Co. Manchester, and Harrod and Turner, Nottingham, [1802].

71p. 12mo. Frontispiece. Quotation from Caractacus. [1s.].

British Library, Fürstliche Bibliothek Corvey (*Marvellous Magazine*, vol. 1, item 2).

*Further edn: London: Tegg & Castleman, [1803].

See Brauchli, *Der englische Schauerroman*, pp. 32, 33, 35, 37, 46, 214–15, 225, 232, 244; Frank, *First Gothics*, pp. 94–95; Mayo, *English Novel in the Magazines*, p. 481; Watt, *Shilling Shockers*, pp. 12, 27–29, 34, 40, 43, 45, 47, 52, 53, 54.

62. [?DOUGLAS, Robert].
HIGHLAND HEROISM; OR THE CASTLES OF GLENCOE AND BALLOCH. A SCOTTISH TALE, OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. BY ROBERT DOUGLAS, THE PRESENT LAIRD OF GLENCOE.
London: Printed [by J. Galton, 11, Eastcheap] for Tegg and Castleman, at the Eccentric Book Warehouse, No. 122, St. John's Street, West Smithfield; and Sold by Champante and Whitrow, Aldgate; Willmot and Hill, Borough; and T. Hughes, Queen's-Head Passage, Paternoster-Row, [1803].
36p. 12mo. Frontispiece. 6d.
British Library.
63. DUNCAN; OR, THE SHADE OF GERTRUDE. A CALEDONIAN TALE.
London: Printed [by Neil, Chalton-Street, Sommers Town, and No. 448, Strand] for and Sold by J. Ker, Publisher and Stationer, No. 90, High Holborn; Sold also by A. Neil, 448, Strand; T. Hughes, Stationers'-Court; M. & J. Muggeridge, and Wilmott & Hill, Borough; Perks, 21, St. Martin's Lane; S. Elliott, High-Street, Shadwell; Barfoot, Norton Falgate; Dixon, Rochester; T. Evans, 79, and Howard & Evans, Long-Lane, West Smithfield, n.d.
40p. 12mo. Frontispiece bears legend: 'Lord Pevensey sacrificing the Thane of Fife in his jealous rage'. 6d.
British Library, Cambridge University Library.
64. THE EASTERN TURRET; OR, ORPHAN OF NAVONA. A ROMANCE.
London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourne-Lane, for Ann Lemoine, White Rose Court, Coleman-Street, and J. Roe, Houndsditch. Sold by All the Booksellers in the United Kingdom, [1804].
[34]p; pp. 28–[34]: 'The Life of an Authoress, Written by Herself'. 12mo. Frontispiece: 'Adolphus murdered by his Brother Oswald in the Forest'. 4d.
British Library, Bodleian Library, Cambridge University Library (Tall-Tale, vol. 4, items 56–57).
*See Mayo, *English Novel in the Magazines*, p. 484.
65. EDMUND AND ALBINA; OR, GOTHIC TIMES. A ROMANCE.
London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourne-Lane, for Ann Lemoine, White-Rose Court, Coleman-Street, and Sold by T. Hurst, Paternoster-Row, 1801.

48p. 12mo. Frontispiece bears legend: 'Albina rescued from the Ruffians'.
Quotation from Shakespeare. 9d.

British Library (*English Nights Entertainments*, vol. 2. item 5).

*Further edn: London: J. Ker, 1801.

See Frank, *First Gothics*, p. 99, Watt, *Shilling Shockers*, pp. 32, 40, 53.

66. ENTERTAINING GOTHIC STORIES; INCLUDING RAYMOND CASTLE, OR, THE UNGRATEFUL NEPHEW; ADELA, OR, THE RUINS OF THE HOUSE OF ALBERT; FITZALAN, AND THE USURPER FITZURBAN; VILDAC, OR, THE HORRID DISCOVERY; AND HENRY, OR, THE PORTRAIT OF MARY.

London: Printed and Published by W. Mason, 21, Clerkenwell Green, n.d.

36p; pp. [3]–15: 'Raymond Castle'; pp. 15–22: 'Adela', pp. 22–32: 'Fitzalan'; pp. 33–35: 'Vildac'; p. 36: 'Henry'. 12mo. Advertisements. 6d.

British Library.

*See Mayo, *English Novel in the Magazines*, p. 577.

67. THE EXTRAORDINARY LIFE AND ADVENTURES OF ROBIN HOOD, CAPTAIN OF THE ROBBERS OF SHERWOOD FOREST. INTERSPERSED WITH THE HISTORY OF LITTLE JOHN AND HIS MERRY MEN ALL.

London: Printed and Sold by Dean and Munday, Threadneedle-Street, n.d.

32p. 8vo. Frontispiece. 6d.

British Library, Cleveland Public Library.

68. FATAL CURIOSITY; OR, THE INTERESTING HISTORY OF EDGAR WILMOT.

London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourne-Lane, for Ann Lemoine, White Rose Court, Coleman-Street, and J. Roe, No. 90, Houndsditch. Sold by All the Booksellers in the United Kingdom, [1805].

36p; pp. 26–36: 'The Fair Circassian'. Frontispiece. 12mo. 3d.

Cleveland Public Library.

69. FATAL JEALOUSY; OR BLOOD WILL HAVE BLOOD! CONTAINING THE HISTORY OF COUNT ALMAGRO AND DUKE ALPHONSO; THEIR COMBAT IN THE DREADFUL TOURNAMENT, AND THE DEATH OF THE BEAUTIFUL BELLARMINÉ, THROUGH THE ARTIFICE OF SOPHRONIA, HER RIVAL.

London: Printed [by Lewis and Hamblin, Printers, Paternoster-Row] for T. and R. Hughes, 35, Ludgate-Hill, Corner of Stationers-Court, 1807.

40p. 12mo. Frontispiece.

University of Virginia Library, New York Public Library.

*See Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 319; Weiss, *Book About Chapbooks*, p. 53.

70. FATAL VOWS, OR THE FALSE MONK, A ROMANCE.
London: Printed [by Plummer, Seething Lane] for Thomas Tegg, III, Cheapside, 1810.
28p; pp. 25–28: ‘The History of Rinaldo’. 12mo. Coloured frontispiece bears legend: ‘Rinaldo binding Montavoli by an Oath’. 6d.
University of Virginia Library.
See Frank, *First Gothics*, p. 103; Tracy, *Gothic Novel*, pp. 50–51.
71. FATHER INNOCENT, ABBOT OF THE CAPUCHINS; OR, THE CRIMES OF CLOISTERS.
London: Printed [by T. Plummer, Seething-Lane] for Tegg and Castleman, at the Eccentric Book Warehouse, No. 122, St. John’s Street, West Smithfield, J. Belcher, Birmingham; B. Sellick, Bristol; T. Troughton, Liverpool; J. Mitchell, Newcastle; C. Brown, North Street, Edinburgh; E. Peck, Lower Ousegate, York; T. Binns, Leeds; J. Dingle, Bury St. Edmund’s; T. Brown, Bath; B. Dugdale, Dublin; M. Swindels, Manchester; J. Raw and J. Bush, Ipswich; J. Booth, Norwich; and Collins and Fellows, Salisbury; and G. Wilkins, Derby, [1803].
72p. 12mo. Frontispiece. Quotation from Prior. [1s].
British Library, Fürstliche Bibliothek Corvey (Marvellous Magazine, vol. 3, item 6).
*See Brauchli, *Der englische Schauerroman*, pp. 216–17, 237; Mayo, *English Novel in the Magazines*, pp. 368, 493; Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, pp. 98, 422; Summers, *Gothic Quest*, p. 84.
72. FEUDAL DAYS; OR, THE NOBLE OUTLAW. AN HISTORICAL ROMANCE, OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.
London: Printed and Sold by J. Bailey, 116, Chancery Lane, n.d.
26p. Folding frontispiece. Quotation from Beattie. Advertisements. 6d.
University of Virginia Library, New York Public Library.
*See Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 324.
73. [?GENLIS, *Stéphanie-Félicité de*].
THE OLD CASTLE; OR THE FORTY KNIGHTS AND THE FAIR PENITENT. A ROMANCE BY MADAME GENLIS.
London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourn-Lane, for J. Roe, No. 38 Chiswell Street, Finsbury Square, and Ann Lemoine, White Rose Court, Coleman Street. Sold by All the Booksellers in the United Kingdom, n.d.
36p. 12mo. Frontispiece. Handwritten note: ‘Brulart de Genlis’. 4d.

British Library.

74. [GIBERNE, Charles].
 THE HAUNTED TOWER; OR, THE ADVENTURES OF SIR
 EGBERT DE ROTHSAY.
 London: Printed for R. Hunter, No. 27, St. Paul's Churchyard, 1822.
 24p; pp. 21–24: List of subscribers. 12mo. Frontispiece bears legend: 'The
 Vassals of Baron Fitz Edmund about to Take Sir Egbert to the Dungeon'.
 Handwritten note: 'By Charles Giberne'.
 British Library.
 *See Brauchli, *Der englische Schauerroman*, pp. 216–17, 230; Summers,
Gothic Bibliography, p. 348.
75. GLENWAR, THE SCOTTISH BANDIT. A TALE OF FORMER
 TIMES. BY AN ETONIAN.
 London: Printed and Sold by Dean & Munday, Threadneedle-Street,
 n.d.).
 28p. 8vo. Coloured frontispiece bears legend: 'The astonishment of Lord
 Dacres at finding Glenwar the Scottish Bandit in his Tent'. 6d.
 British Library.
 *See Frank, *First Gothics*, pp. 114–15; Summers, *Gothic Quest*, p. 341.
76. *GOTHIC LEGENDS. A TALE OF MYSTERY. SECOND EDI-
 TION.
 London: Printed and Sold by A. Seale, 1802.
 42p. 12mo. Frontispiece.
 University of Virginia Library, Library of Congress, Yale University
 Library.
 *See Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 343.
77. GOTHIC STORIES. SIR BERTRAND'S ADVENTURES IN A
 RUINOUS CASTLE: THE STORY OF FITZALAN: THE ADVEN-
 TURE JAMES III. OF SCOTLAND HAD WITH THE WEIRD
 SISTERS, IN THE DREADFUL WOOD OF BIRNAN: THE STORY
 OF RAYMOND CASTLE: VILDAC; OR THE HORRID DISCOV-
 ERY: HENRY; OR THE PROTRAIT OF MARY: AND THE RUIN
 OF THE HOUSE OF ALBERT.
 London: Printed and Sold by S. Fisher, No. 10, St. John's Lane, Clerk-
 enwell; May also Be Had of All Other Booksellers and News-Venders,
 in Town and Country, n.d.
 42p; pp. 5–8: 'The Story of Sir Bertrand. By Mrs. Barbould'; pp. 8–16:
 'The Story of Fitzalan. From the Monthly Visitor'; pp. 16–22: 'Story of the
 Weird Sisters. A Scottish Tale, from Edmund of the Forest'; pp. 22–31:
 'Story of Raymond Castle. By Mr. Bacon. From the Monthly Cabinet';

pp. 31–37: ‘Ruin of the House of Albert. From Ryan’s Reliques of Genious’; p. 37: ‘The Portrait of Mary’; pp. 38–40: ‘The Horrid Discovery’; pp. 40–42: ‘The Desolate Castle’. 12mo. 6d.

British Library.

*Further edns: London: T. Hurst, 1799; London: S. Fisher, 1799; London: S. Fisher, 1800.

See Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 343; Watt, *Shilling Shockers*, pp. 25, 27, 42, 52, 53.

78. GOTHIC STORIES. THE ENCHANTED CASTLE, A FRAGMENT: GLANVILLE, A ROMANCE: ETHELBERT; OR THE PHANTOM OF THE CASTLE, A TALE OF HORROR: MARY, A FRAGMENT: THE MYSTERIOUS VISION; OR PERFIDY PUNISHED: AND THE UNFORTUNATE SPANIARD, A TALE.
London: Printed and Sold by S. Bailey, No. 50, Bishopsgate Within, n.d.

36p; pp. 5–9: ‘Enchanted Castle’; pp. 9–20: ‘Glanville’; pp. 20–27: ‘Story of Ethelbert’; pp. 27–28: ‘Mary. A Fragment’; pp. 28–34: ‘Mysterious Vision’; pp. 34–36: ‘The Unfortunate Spaniard’. 12mo. Frontispiece bears legend: ‘The Murdered Warrior, or the Marquis de Montral’. 6d.

University of Virginia Library.

79. THE GOTHIC STORY OF COURVILLE CASTLE; OR THE ILLEGITIMATE SON, VICTIM OF PREJUDICE AND PASSION. OWING TO THE EARLY IMPRESSIONS INCULCATED WITH UNREMITTING ASSIDUITY BY AN IMPLACABLE MOTHER; WHOSE RESENTMENT TO HER HUSBAND EXCITED HER SON TO ENVY, USURPATION, AND MURDER; BUT RETRIBUTIVE JUSTICE AT LENGTH RESTORES THE RIGHT HEIR TO HIS LAWFUL POSSESSIONS. TO WHICH IS ADDED THE ENGLISH EARL; OR THE HISTORY OF ROBERT FITZWALTER. FROM THE LADY’S MAGAZINE.

London: Printed and Sold by S. Fisher, No. 10, St. John’s Lane, Clerkenwell: also Sold by T. Hurst, No. 32, Paternoster Row; and Wilmott and Hill, No. 50, High Street, Borough, 1801.

48p; pp. 36–48: ‘Robert Fitzwalter’. 12mo. Frontispiece: ‘Alphonso Startled at the Appearance of a Figure Holding a Rusty Dagger in One Hand, & a Human Skull in the Other’.

British Library, Bodleian Library.

*Further edns: London: W. Mason, n.d.; London: S. Fisher, n.d.; London: S. Fisher, 1804.

See Frank, *First Gothics*, p. 119; Mayo, *English Novel in the Magazines*, p. 478; Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 343.

80. [GROSSETT, Emelia].
 THE MONASTERY OF ST. MARY; OR, THE WHITE MAID OF AVENEL.
 London: Printed and Published by J. Bailey, 116, Chancery Lane, n.d.
 24p. 12mo. Coloured frontispiece bears legend: 'Looking round he beheld the black volume so often mentioned lay unconsumed amidst the intensity of fire, which seemed of force sufficient to melt adamant. The White Lady paused for a moment, then said, in her usual tone. "Here lies the volume thou boldly hast sought, Touch it, and take it, 't will dearly be bought."' ' 6d.
 University of Virginia Library.
 *See Frank, *First Gothics*, p. 128.
81. THE HAUNTED CASTLE; OR, THE CHILD OF MISFORTUNE. A GOTHIC TALE.
 London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourne-Lane, for Ann Lemoine, White-Rose Court, Coleman-Street, and Sold by T. Hurst, Paternoster-Row, 1801.
 48p; pp. 47–48: 'Ivar and Matilda'. 12mo. Frontispiece. Quotation from Shakespeare. 9d.
 British Library (*English Nights Entertainments*, vol. 2, item 2).
 *Further edn: London: Ann Lemoine and J. Roe, n.d.
 See Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 348.
82. [HEALEY, Miss].
 HENRY SINCLAIR, OR THE GHOSTS OF HAVERFORD HALL.
 London: Printed and Sold, by Dean & Munday, 35. Threadneedle Street, n.d.
 30p. 12mo. Coloured frontispiece bears legend: 'Overcome with terror, the Lady Euphrasia fainted in the armes of her beloved Henry'.
 British Library.
83. HENGIST & MANSFORD; OR THE MYSTERIES OF THE CASTLE. AN ORIGINAL ROMANCE.
 London: Printed and Sold by Harrild and Billing, at the Bluecoat-Boy Printing Office, Bermondsey; Sold also by T. Hughes, Bookseller, Queen's-Head Passage, Paternoster Row; Wilmott and Hill, Borough; and Barfoot, 27, Norton Falgate, Shoreditch, n.d.
 36p. 12mo. Frontispiece. 6d.
 British Library.

84. THE HERMIT OF THE GROVE; OR, THE FATAL EFFECTS OF GAMING. A TALE, ALAS! TOO TRUE.
London: 'Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourne-Lane, for Ann Lemoine, White Rose Court, Coleman-Street, and J. Roe, Houndsditch. Sold by All the Booksellers in the United Kingdoms, [1804].
36p. 12mo. Frontispiece bears legend: 'The dreadful rencounter in the garden in which De Loure shoots his Father'. 4d.
British Library, Bodleian Library, Cambridge University Library (Tall-Tale, vol. 3, item 33).
*See Mayo, *English Novel in the Magazines*, p. 506.
85. THE HERMIT OF THE LAKES; OR, THE REVENGEFUL BROTHER. A TALE OF TRUTH.
London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourn-Lane, for Ann Lemoine, White Rose Court, Coleman-Street, and J. Roe, No. 90, Houndsditch, [1807].
60p. 12mo. Frontispiece.
British Library, Bodleian Library (Wild Roses, vol. 2, item 1).
*Further edn: London: Orlando Hodgson, n.d., as *The Hermit of Windermere, or, a Brother's Vengeance*.
86. HORATIO AND CAMILLA; OR, THE NUNS OF ST. MARY. A TALE OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.
London: Printed for T. Hughes, Stationers'-Court, by J. D. Dewick, Aldergate-Street, [1804].
34p. 12mo. Frontispiece. 6d.
British Library.
*See Frank, *First Gothics*, p. 156; Watt, *Shilling Shockers*, pp. 40, 43, 53.
87. THE HORRIBLE REVENGE; OR, THE ASSASSIN OF THE SOLITARY CASTLE.
London: J. Fairburn, 14, Commercial Place, City Road, near Finsbury Square, n.d.
24p. 12mo. Coloured frontispiece. 6d.
British Library.
*Further edn: London: J. Fairburn, 1828.
See Frank, *First Gothics*, pp. 156–57; Schöwerling, *Chapbooks*, p. 153.
88. THE HORRORS OF THE SECLUDED CASTLE, OR VIRTUE TRIUMPHANT: CONTAINING AN INTERESTING NARRATIVE OF THE CAPTIVITY OF ANNA, THE FAIR ORPHAN: INCLUDING ALSO AN ACCOUNT OF MANY IMPORTANT CIRCUMSTANCES THAT OCCURRED DURING HER CONFINEMENT. FOUNDED PARTLY ON FACT.

London: Printed [by B. Clarke, Well-Street, Cripplegate] for T. & R. Hughes, 35, Ludgate-Street, 1807.

38p. 12mo. Frontispiece.

University of Texas Library, Austin; University of Virginia Library.

*See Frank, *First Gothics*, pp. 157–58.

89. ILDEFONZO & ALBERONI, OR TALES OF HORRORS.

London: Printed [by T. Plummer, Seething-Lane] for Tegg and Castleman, No. 23, Warwick-Square, Paternoster-Row; Champante and Whitrow, Aldgate; T. Hughes, Paternoster-Row; Willmot and Hill, Borough; N. Rollason, Coventry; J. Belcher, Birmingham; B. Sellick, Bristol; T. Troughton, Liverpool; J. Mitchell, Newcastle; T. Brown, North Street, Edinburgh; E. Peck, Lower Ousegate, York; T. Binns, Leeds; J. Dingle, Bury St. Edmund's; T. Brown, Bath; B. Dugdale, Dublin; M. Swindels, Manchester; J. Booth, Norwich; Collins and Fellows, Salisbury; and G. Wilkins, Derby, [1803].

72p. 12mo. Frontispiece. [1s].

British Library, Fürstliche Bibliothek Corvey (*Marvellous Magazine*, vol. 3, item 4).

*See Frank, *First Gothics*, pp. 164–65; Mayo, *English Novel in the Magazines*, p. 531.

90. THE INVISIBLE RING; OR, THE WATER MONSTER, AND FIRE SPECTRE. A ROMANTIC TALE. FOUNDED ON THE POPULAR AQUATIC MELODRAMA, AS PERFORMED WITH UNIVERSAL APPLAUSE AT SADLER'S WELLS.

London: Printed by T. Maiden for Ann Lemoine, and J. Roe, [1806].

36p. 12mo. Frontispiece.

University of Virginia Library.

*See Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 367.

91. KILVERSTONE CASTLE OR THE HEIR RESTORED. A GOTHIC STORY.

London: Printed for Ann Lemoine, White Rose Cot., Coleman St. and Sold by T. Hurst, Paternoster Row [1799].

38p; pp. 34–36: 'Edmund and Albina. A Fragment'. 12mo. Frontispiece bears legend: 'Sword Met with Sword, and in the Bosom of Ironside, the Horrid Steel Was Plunged!'. 6d.

British Library.

*Further edn: London: Ann Lemoine, [1799?].

See Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 380.

92. THE KNIGHT OF THE BROOM FLOWER; OR, HORRORS OF THE PRIORY. A ROMANCE. TO WHICH IS ADDED, WARRINGTON GRANGE; OR, VICTIMS OF TREACHERY. A TALE.

London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourne-Lane, for Ann Lemoine, White Rose Court, Coleman-Street, and J. Roe, Houndsditch. Sold by All the Booksellers in the United Kingdom, [1804].

36p; pp. 24–36: ‘Warrington Grange; or, the Victims of Treachery’. 12mo. Frontispiece: ‘Albertus takes the child from the dead Almeria and strangles it’. 4d.

British Library, Bodleian Library, Cambridge University Library (*Tell-Tale*, vol. 4, items 52–53).

*See Mayo, *English Novel in the Magazines*, pp. 538, 616.

93. [LAWLER, Dennis].
MIDNIGHT SPELLS! OR, THE SPIRIT OF ST. OSMOND. A ROMANCE.

London: Printed and Published by A. Neil, At the Sommers-Town Printing-Office, Chalton-Street; and may be had of All Other Booksellers, [1804].

38p. 12mo. Frontispiece bears legend: ‘Now is the Day of Retribution’. Quotation from Shakespeare. 6d.

British Library, Bodleian Library.

94. [LAWLER, Dennis].
THE OLD MAN OF THE MOUNTAIN: OR, INTERESTING HISTORY OF GORTHMUND THE CRUEL. A TALE OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

London: Printed and Published by A. Neil, At the Sommers-Town Printing Office, 30, Chalton Street; and Sold by All Other Booksellers, n.d.

38p. 12mo. Frontispiece bears legend: ‘Monserrat rescuing Adela from the rude embrace of Gothmond [*sic*]’. 6d.

Yale University Library.

95. [LEGGE, F.].
THE SPECTRE CHIEF; OR, THE BLOOD-STAINED BANNER. AN ANCIENT ROMANCE. AND BARON FITZALAN, A BARONIAL ROMANCE.

London: Printed and Published by J. Bailey, 116, Chancery Lane, n.d.

24p; pp. 16–24: ‘Fitzalan’. 12mo. Coloured frontispiece bears legend: ‘Aballino placed his Hand upon the Shoulder of the false Priest, and felt the Armour which his clothing but slightly concealed. “Then all is over”, exclaimed he, “the Vision is fulfilled, but I am not unprepared”’. Quotation from Shakespeare. 6d.

Yale University Library.

*Further edn: London: J. Bailey, [1800?].

See Frank, *First Gothics*, p. 206; Summers, *Gothic Quest*, pp. 95, 511; Tracy, *Gothic Novel*, pp. 98–99.

96. [LEINSTEIN, Madame].
THE FATAL SCARF; OR, A SISTER'S VENGEANCE; A LEGEND OF CUTH-IONOR.
London: Printed and Sold by Dean and Munday, Threadneedle-Street, n.d.
26p; pp. [23]–26: 'The Deserters'. 12mo. Coloured folding frontispiece. 6d.
British Library.
*Further edn: London: Dean & Munday, [1800?].
See Schöwerling, *Chapbooks*, p. 153.
97. LERMOS AND ROSA, OR THE FORTUNATE GIPSEY: AN INTERESTING ADVENTURE, WHICH REALLY HAPPENED IN SPAIN, ABOUT FOURTY YEARS AGO.
London: Printed [by T. Plummer, Seething-Lane] for Tegg and Castleman, No. 23, Warwick-Square, Paternoster-Row; Champante and Whitrow, Aldgate; T. Hughes, Stationer's-Court; Willmot and Hill, Borough; N. Rollason, Coventry; J. Belcher, Birmingham; B. Sellick, Bristol; T. Troughton, Liverpool; J. Mitchell, Newcastle; T. Brown, North-Street, Edinburgh; E. Peck, Lower Ousegate, York; T. Binns, Leeds; J. Dingle, Bury St. Edmund's; T. Brown, Bath; B. Dugdale, Dublin; M. Swindels, Manchester; J. Booth, Norwich; Collins and Fellows, Salisbury; and G. Wilkins, Derby, [1803].
72p. 12mo. Frontispiece. [1s].
British Library, Fürstliche Bibliothek Corvey (*Marvellous Magazine*, vol. 4, item 2).
*See Mayo, *English Novel in the Magazines*, p. 539.
98. [?LEWIS, Matthew Gregory].
THE BLEEDING NUN OF THE CASTLE OF LINDENBERG; OR, THE HISTORY OF RAYMOND & AGNES. BY THE AUTHOR OF THE CASTLE SPECTRE.
London: Printed by and for Hodgson & Co. No. 10, Newgate-Street, [1823].
24p. 8vo. Coloured folding frontispiece. 6d.
British Library.
*See Schöwerling, *Chapbooks*, p. 153.

99. ?LEWIS, Matthew Gregory.
 KOENIGSMARK THE ROBBER; OR, THE TERROR OF BOHEMIA: IN WHICH IS INCLUDED, THE AFFECTING HISTORY OF ROSENBERG AND ADELAIDE, AND THEIR ORPHAN DAUGHTER. BY M. G. LEWIS, ESQ. M. P. AUTHOR OF "THE MONK," "RAYMOND AND AGNES," "BRAVO OF VENICE", &C.
 London: Printed and Sold by Dean and Munday, Threadneedle-Street, n.d.
 38p. 12mo. Coloured frontispiece bears legend: 'Königsmark the Robber wounded and taken prisoner by Theodore in the Forest of Bohemia'. 6d.
 British Library.
100. ?LEWIS, Matthew Gregory.
 RAYMOND & AGNES; OR, THE BLEEDING NUN OF THE CASTLE OF LINDENBERG. BY THE LATE M. G. LEWIS, ESQ., AUTHOR OF THE CASTLE SPECTRE.
 London: Printed and Sold by Dean and Munday, Threadneedle-Street, n.d.
 38p. 12mo. Coloured folding frontispiece. 6d.
 British Library.
 *Further edns: London: S. Fisher, [1799]; London: S. Fisher, [1803].
 See Schöwerling, *Chapbooks*, p. 153; Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, pp. 97, 422; Summers, *Gothic Quest*, p. 84.
101. ?LEWIS, Matthew Gregory.
 RUGANTINO, THE BRAVO OF VENICE. BY M. G. LEWIS, M. P., AUTHOR OF "THE MONK," "RAYMOND AND AGNES," &C.
 London: Printed and Sold by Dean and Munday, Threadneedle-Street, n.d.
 30p. 12mo. Coloured frontispiece bears legend: 'Flodardo & Rosabella surprised by the Doge'. 6d.
 British Library.
 *Further edns: London: Dean & Munday, 1823; Durham: G. Walker, 1837.
 See Schöwerling, *Chapbooks*, p. 208; Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 253.
102. ?LEWIS, Matthew Gregory.
 THE WOOD DAEMON OR "THE CLOCK HAS STRUCK," A GRAND ROMANTIC MELODRAMA, IN THREE ACTS [IN PROSE]. WRITTEN BY M. G. LEWIS, ESQ. AS IT IS PERFORMED AT THE THEATRE ROYAL, DRURY LANE.

London: Printed [by Burton, Fetter Lane] for J. Scales, No. 26, Green Walk, Holland Street, Blackfriars' Road: Sold by Champante and Co. Aldgate; Wilmott and Hill, Borough: and All Other Booksellers, [1807].

24p. 12mo. Frontispiece bears legend: 'The Wood Daemon and Leolyn'. 6d.

University of Virginia Library.

*See Frank, *First Gothics*, pp. 212–13; Railo, *Haunted Castle*, pp. 124–25; Tracy, *Gothic Novel*, p. 106.

103. LEWIS TYRRELL, OR, THE DEPRAVED COUNT; INCLUDING THE PATHETIC ADVENTURES AND TRAGICAL END OF ELLA CLIFFORD AND OSCAR HENRY HAMPDEN; OR, THE VICTIMS OF TREACHERY. AN ENGLISH TALE OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

London: Printed [by T. Plummer, Seething-Lane] for Tegg and Castleman, No. 23, Warwick-Square, Paternoster-Row; Champante and Whitrow, Aldgate; T. Hughes, Stationer's-Court; Willmot and Hill, Borough; N. Rollason, Coventry; J. Belcher, Birmingham; B. Sellick, Bristol; T. Troughton, Liverpool; J. Mitchell, Newcastle; T. Brown, North-Street, Edinburgh; E. Peck, Lower Ousegate, York; T. Binns, Leeds; J. Dingle, Bury St. Edmund's; T. Brown, Bath; B. Dugdale, Dublin; M. Swindels, Manchester; J. Booth, Norwich; Collins and Fellows, Salisbury; and G. Wilkins, Derby, [1804].

72p. 12mo. Frontispiece. Quotation from Richard Steele: 'Fragment from the Runick'. [1s].

British Library, Fürstliche Bibliothek Corvey (*Marvellous Magazine*, vol. 4, item 4).

*Further edn: London: Dean & Munday, n.d.

See Frank, *First Gothics*, pp. 214–15; Mayo, *English Novel in the Magazines*, p. 542; Watt, *Shilling Shockers*, pp. 14, 34, 52, 53.

104. THE LIFE, SURPRISING ADVENTURES, AND MOST REMARKABLE ESCAPES OF RINALDO RINALDINI, CAPTAIN OR A BANDITTI OF ROBBERS.

London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourne-Lane, for Ann Lemoine, White-Rose Court, Coleman-Street, and Sold by T. Hurst, Paternoster-Row, 1801.

47p. 12mo. Frontispiece bears legend: 'The Ghost of Rosalia, appearing to Rinaldo in his Cave'. 9d.

British Library (*English Nights Entertainments*, vol. 2, item 3).

105. LIVONIA OF VENICE; OR, THE WIFE OF SEVEN HUSBANDS. A REMARKABLE TALE.
London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourn-Lane, for Ann Lemoine, White Rose Court, Coleman-Street, and J. Roe, No. 90, Houndsditch, [1807].
60p; pp. 50–60: ‘Madeline of Brittany. An Ancient Tale’. 12mo. Frontispiece. Handwritten note: ‘Mary Huntrock’. 1s.
British Library, Bodleian Library (Wild Roses, vol. 2, item 3).
106. LOVEL CASTLE, OR THE RIGHTFUL HEIR RESTORED, A GOTHIC TALE; NARRATING HOW A YOUNG MAN, THE SUPPOSED SON OF A PEASANT, BY A TRAIN OF UNPARALLELED CIRCUMSTANCES, NOT ONLY DISCOVERS WHO WERE HIS REAL PARENTS, BUT THAT THEY CAME TO UNTIMELY DEATHS, WITH HIS ADVENTURES IN AN HAUNTED APARTMENT, DISCOVERY OF THE FATAL CLOSET, AND APPEARANCE OF THE GHOST OF HIS MURDERED FATHER, RELATING, ALSO, HOW THE MURDERER WAS BROUGHT TO JUSTICE, WITH HIS CONFESSION, AND THE RESTORATION OF THE INJURED ORPHAN TO HIS TITLE AND ESTATES.
London: Printed and Published by W. Mason, 21, Clerkenwell Green, n.d.
36p. 12mo. Frontispiece. 6d.
British Library.
*Further edn: London: Dean & Munday, 1818.
See Frank, *First Gothics*, p. 216; Schöwerling, *Chapbooks*, p. 153; Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 450; Summers, *Gothic Quest*, pp. 84, 188; Watt, *Shilling Shockers*, pp. 16–19, 24, 51.
107. MANFREDI, OR THE MYSTERIOUS HERMIT. AN INTERESTING AND ORIGINAL ROMANCE.
London: Published by J. Stevens, 10, Borough Road, Southwark [and Printed by Ann Kemmish, Borough], n.d.
30p. 12mo. Coloured frontispiece bears legend: ‘Manfredi rescuing Olivia from the Flames’. 6d.
British Library, Cleveland Public Library.
108. MARSHALL, William.
THE CASTLE OF OTRANTO, A GOTHIC STORY. TRANSLATED BY WILLIAM MARSHALL, ESQ. FROM THE ORIGINAL ITALIAN OF ONUPHRIO MURALTO, CANON OF THE CHURCH OF ST. NICHOLAS, AT OTRANTO.
London: Printed for T. Hughes, No. 1, Stationer’s Court, by T. Plummer, Seething-Lane, 1804.

36p. 12mo. Frontispiece. Quotation from Horaz.

British Library.

*Further edns: London: T. Hughes, n.d.; London: T. Hughes, 1810.

See Schöwerling, *Chapbooks*, p. 152.

109. MATILDA; OR THE ADVENTURES OF AN ORPHAN, AN INTERESTING TALE.

London: Printed [by T. Plummer, Seething-Lane] for Tegg and Castleman, No. 23, Warwick-Square, Paternoster-Row; Champante and Whitrow, Aldgate; T. Hughes, Stationer’s-Court; Willmot and Hill, Borough; N. Rollason, Coventry; J. Belcher, Birmingham; B. Sellick, Bristol; T. Troughton, Liverpool; J. Mitchell, Newcastle; T. Brown, North-Street, Edinburgh; E. Peck, Lower Ousegate, York; T. Binns, Leeds; J. Dingle, Bury St. Edmund’s; T. Brown, Bath; B. Dugdale, Dublin; M. Swindels, Manchester; J. Booth, Norwich; Collins and Fellows, Salisbury; and G. Wilkins, Derby, [1804].

72p. 12mo. Frontispiece. Quotation from Pomfret.

British Library, Fürstliche Bibliothek Corvey (*Marvellous Magazine*, vol. 4, item 5).

*Bound to this without title page: *Fernando of Castile, or the Husband of Two Wives* (London: Tegg & Castleman, 1804). 36p; pp. 22–36: ‘Friburgh Castle, or the Wife of Two Husbands’. 12mo. [1s].

See Brauchli, *Der englische Schauerroman*, pp. 216–17, 244, 246; Mayo, *English Novel in the Magazines*, pp. 494, 499, 551; Watt, *Shilling Shockers*, p. 13.

110. MAXIMILIAN AND SELINA; OR, THE MYSTERIOUS ABBOT. A FLEMISH TALE.

London: Printed [by T. Plummer, Seething-Lane] for Tegg and Castleman, No. 23, Warwick-Square, Paternoster-Row; Champante and Whitrow, Aldgate; T. Hughes, Stationer’s-Court; Willmot and Hill, Borough; N. Rollason, Coventry; J. Belcher, Birmingham; B. Sellick, Bristol; T. Troughton, Liverpool; J. Mitchell, Newcastle; T. Brown, North-Street, Edinburgh; E. Peck, Lower Ousegate, York; T. Binns, Leeds; J. Dingle, Bury St. Edmund’s; T. Brown, Bath; B. Dugdale, Dublin; M. Swindels, Manchester; J. Booth, Norwich; Collins and Fellows, Salisbury; and G. Wilkins, Derby, [1804].

72p. 12mo. Frontispiece. [1s].

British Library, Fürstliche Bibliothek Corvey (*Marvellous Magazine*, vol. 4, item 3).

*See Frank, *First Gothics*, pp. 233–34; Mayo, *English Novel in the Magazines*, p. 551; Watt, *Shilling Shockers*, pp. 15–16, 53.

- III. *THE MIDNIGHT ASSASSIN: OR, CONFESSION OF THE MONK RINALDI; CONTAINING A COMPLETE HISTORY OF HIS DIABOLICAL MACHINATIONS AND UNPARALLELED FEROCITY. TOGETHER WITH A CIRCUMSTANTIAL ACCOUNT OF THAT SCOURGE OF MANKIND THE INQUISITION; WITH THE MANNER OF BRINGING TO TRIAL THOSE UNFORTUNATE BEINGS WHO ARE AT ITS DISPOSAL. THE SECOND EDITION.

London: Printed [by T. Plummer, Seething-Lane] for T. Hurst, No. 32, Paternoster-Row; and Sold by J. Wallis, and T. Hughes, Paternoster-Row, C. Chapple, Pall-Mall; T. Dean, Newgate-Street; J. Dingle, Bury; T. Gibbons, Bath; Mr. Richards, and Mr. Gray, Plymouth; Messrs. Clarke and Co. Manchester; & Harrod and Turner, Nottingham, [1802].

72p. 12mo. Frontispiece. Quotation from *Mysterious Mother*. [1s].

British Library, Fürstliche Bibliothek Corvey (*Marvellous Magazine*, vol. 1, item 1).

*Further edns: London: William Gilbert, [1802]; London: Tegg & Castleman, [1802]; London: Dean & Munday, n.d.; London: Dean & Munday, [1814].

See Frank, *First Gothics*, pp. 242–43; Mayo: *English Novel in the Magazines*, pp. 369, 422, 556; Schöwerling, *Chapbooks*, p. 153; Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 135; Summers, *Gothic Quest*, p. 84; Watt, *Shilling Shockers*, pp. 2, 17–18, 19.

- III.2. THE MIDNIGHT BELL, OR THE ABBEY OF ST. FRANCIS. AN ORIGINAL ROMANCE. BY THE AUTHORESS OF ALPHONSO AND ELINOR; THREE GHOSTS OF THE FOREST, &C.

London: Printed [by A. Kemmish, King-Street, Borough] for, & Sold by J. Ker, 34, Great Surrey-Street, Blackfriars Road; Hughes, Stationer's Court; N. & J. Muggeridge, Borough; S. Elliot, Shadwell; Willmot and Hill, Borough; Dixon, Bookseller and Stationer, Rochester; J. Barfoot, 27, Norton-Falgate; and A. Kemmish, Printer, 17, King-Street, Borough, [1802].

40p. 12mo. Coloured frontispiece bears legend: 'Just as she approached the Tomb, the same mysterious form issued from thence and slowly glided by her'. 6d.

Harvard College Library.

- III.3. THE MIDNIGHT GROAN; OR, THE SPECTRE OF THE CHAPEL: INVOLVING AN EXPOSURE OF THE HORRIBLE SECRETS OF THE NOCTURNAL ASSEMBLY. A GOTHIC ROMANCE.

London: Printed for T. & R. Hughes, 35, Ludgate-Street, 1808.

36p; pp. 27–36: 'The Story of Kais and Leila'. 12mo. Frontispiece bears legend: 'And as Horatio gazed the beauteous features vanished and presented to view a perfect skeleton'. Quotation from Aaron Hill.

British Library.

*See Frank, *First Gothics*, pp. 243–44; Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 413; Tracy, *Gothic Novel*, pp. 117–18.

114. MIDNIGHT HORRORS, OR THE BANDIT'S DAUGHTER. AN ORIGINAL ROMANCE.

London: Printed & Sold by Dean & Munday, 35, Threadneedle Street, n.d.

54p. 12mo. Coloured frontispiece bears legend: 'But ere she could reach him a tall figure wrapt in a loose robe glided between, which the Signor no sooner perceived then bounding forward'.

British Library.

*Further edn: New York: Borradaile, 1823.

See Schöwerling, *Chapbooks*, p. 153; Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 413; Summers, *Gothic Quest*, p. 83; Watt, *Shilling Shockers*, p. 13.

115. THE MIDNIGHT HOUR; OR, THE FATAL FRIENDSHIP. A SIMPLE TALE.

London: 'Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourn-Lane, for Ann Lemoine, White Rose Court, Coleman-Street, and J. Roe, No. 90, Houndsditch', [1808].

60p; pp. 54–60: 'The Ghost. A Tale'. 12mo. Frontispiece. 6d.

British Library, Bodleian Library (*Wild Roses*, vol. 2. item 5).

*Further edn: London: Ann Lemoine and J. Roe, n.d.

See Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 414.

116. THE MIDNIGHT MONITOR; OR, SOLEMN WARNINGS FROM THE INVISIBLE WORLD; BEING AUTHENTIC NARRATIVES OF THE WONDERFUL INTERPOSITION OF DIVINE PROVIDENCE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF HORRID MURDERS; INFLUCTION OF IMMEDIATE AND AWFUL PUNISHMENTS, AND OTHER REMARKABLE AND TRULY ASTONISHING EVENTS BY THE VISIBLE APPEARANCE OF GHOSTS! SPIRITS! & APPARITIONS! TO WHICH ARE SUBJOINED, INSTANCES OF ALARMING AND PORTENTIOUS DREAMS, VISIONS, TRANCES AND TERRIFIC SENSATIONS, WITH THEIR REALIZATION AND OTHER NOCTURNAL PRODIGIES. THE WHOLE COLLECTED FROM SOURCES OF UNDOUBTED VERACITY, AND INDISPUTABLE AUTHORITIES ANNEXED TO EACH NARRATIVE.

London: Published by Champante and Whitrow, Jewry-Street, and J. Young, Printer, and Wholesale Bookseller, Christmas-Street, Bristol, n.d.

40p. Quotation from Blair. Preface.

University of Virginia Library.

*See Frank, *First Gothics*, p. 244.

117. [?MITCHELL, John].
THE FEMALE PILGRIM, OR DESERTED WIFE. BY THE
AUTHOR OF "THE MIDNIGHT HORRORS."—"SPECTRE
MOTHER," &C.
London: Printed and Sold by Dean and Munday, 35, Threadneedle-Street,
n.d.
36p. 12mo. 6d.
Cleveland Public Library.
118. [?MITCHELL, John].
THE SPECTRE MOTHER OR THE HAUNTED TOWER. BY THE
AUTHOR OF MIDNIGHT HORRORS, FEMALE PILGRIM &C.
London: Printed and Sold by Dean and Munday, 35, Threadneedle Street,
[1820].
30p. 12mo. Frontispiece bears legend: 'The Spectre Mother then turning
to Angela, with one hand raised toward Heaven'.
Cleveland Public Library.
*Further edn: London: Dean & Munday, [1800?].
See Brauchli, *Der englische Schauerroman*, p. 220–21, 230, 235; Frank,
First Gothics, p. 377; Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 512.
119. THE MONKS OF CLUNY; OR, CASTLE-ACRE MONASTERY.
AN HISTORICAL TALE.
London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourn-Lane, for Ann Lemoine,
White Rose Court, Coleman-Street, and J. Roe, No. 90, Houndsditch,
[1807].
60pp; pp. 56–57: 'The Fisherman. A Poem'; pp. [57]–60: 'Wulfhard and
Hestritha. A Romance'. 12mo. Frontispiece.
British Library, Bodleian Library (*Wild Roses*, vol. 1, item 6).
*See Frank, *First Gothics*, pp. 246–47; Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*,
pp. 246–47.
120. THE MYSTERIES OF UDOLPHO, A ROMANCE, FOUNDED ON
FACTS; COMPRISING THE ADVENTURES & MISFORTUNES
OF EMILY ST. AUBERT, WHO, BEING LEFT AN ORPHAN, WAS
PLACED UNDER THE CARE OF AN UNFEELING AUNT, WHO
TREATED HER WITH THE GREATEST UNKINDNESS; HER

ATTACHMENT TO MONSR. VALANCOURT, AND THE PARTICULAR CIRCUMSTANCES THAT SO LONG PREVENTED THEIR UNION; HER CONFINEMENT & ADVENTURES IN THE CASTLE OF UDOLPHO; THE ATTEMPT OF COUNT MORANO TO FORCIBLY CARRY HER OFF, AND OBTAIN POSSESSION OF HER INHERITANCE; AND HOW SHE ESCAPED FROM THENCE THROUGH THE BRAVERY OF LUDOVICO, SERVANT OF COUNT DE VILLEFORT. TO WHICH IS ADDED, ADOLPHUS AND LOUISA, OR, THE FATAL ATTACHMENT, A TALE OF TRUTH.

London: Printed and Published by W. Mason, 21, Clerkenwell Green, n.d.

36p; pp. 27–36: 'Adolphus and Louisa'. Frontispiece. 6d.

University of Virginia Library.

121. THE MYSTERIOUS BRAVO; OR, THE SHRINE OF ST. ALSTICE. A CALEDONIAN LEGEND.

London: Printed and Sold by J. Bailey, Chancery Lane, n.d.

26p. 12mo. Coloured frontispiece bears legend: 'The Mysterious Bravo instantly caught the arm of the Baron, and dragging him with irresistible force towards the Niche in which the Lamp stood, wrested the Dagger from his grasp'. Advertisements. Handwritten note: 'Desirée Wilton'. 6d.

Harvard College Library.

122. THE MYSTERIOUS FOUNDLING: OR, THE HEIR RESTORED. IN WHICH IS INCLUDED, THE ADVENTURES OF A MISANTROPHE.

London: Printed by Langley and Co. 173, Borough, and High-Street, Rochester, n.d.

40p. 12mo. Frontispiece.

New York Public Library.

123. THE MYSTERIOUS OMEN, OR AWFUL RETRIBUTION, AN ORIGINAL ROMANCE, INCLUDING THE CRIMES OF COUNT CARAFFA, THE MURDERER, AND THE ADVENTURES OF HIS SON LEONARDI, THE BANDITTI CAPTAIN.

London: Printed by R. Harrild, 20, Great Eastcheap, 1812.

39p. 12mo. Coloured frontispiece bears legend: 'A man entered the room, clad in a warlike manner; he approached Adeliza: she shrieked and fainted'.

British Library.

*See Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 438; Summers, *Gothic Quest*, p. 83.

124. THE MYSTERIOUS PILGRIM; OR, FATAL DUPLICITY. AN ITALIAN ROMANCE. TO WHICH IS ADDED THE HIBERNIAN MENDICANT. A TALE.
London: Printed and Sold by Langley and Bruce, 1810.
32p. 8vo. Coloured frontispiece.
[University of Virginia Library](#).
*See Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 438.
125. THE MYSTERIOUS SPANIARD; OR, THE RUINS OF ST. LUKE'S ABBEY. A ROMANCE.
London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourn-Lane, for Ann Lemoine, White Rose Court, Coleman-Street, and J. Roe, No. 90, Houndsditch, [1807].
60p; pp. 52–60: 'Little Dominick; or, the Welsh Schoolmaster. By Miss Edgeworth'. 12mo. Frontispiece.
[British Library](#), [Bodleian Library](#) (*Wild Roses*, vol. 1, item 3).
126. THE MYSTERIOUS STRANGER; OR, SORROWS OF A NATURAL DAUGHTER: BEING THE AFFECTING HISTORY OF CATHARINE MOWBRAY, WHO, WHILE AN INFANT, IS LEFT AT THE DOOR OF HER AUNT, THE COUNTESS DE LA CLARE. SHE IS BROUGHT UP BY HER BENEVOLENT RELATION, AND HER INTERESTING ADVENTURES UNTIL THE DISCOVERY OF HER FATHER.
London: Printed and Published by Dean and Munday, Threadneedle-Street, n.d.
38p. 12mo. Coloured frontispiece bears legend: ' "Follow me," said the Abbot, "and do not speak a word or that moment is your last" '. 6d.
[Cleveland Public Library](#).
*Further edn: New York: W. Borradaile, 1823.
127. THE MYSTERY OF THE BLACK CONVENT. AN INTERESTING SPANISH TALE OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.
London: Printed and Published by A. Neil, at the Sommers-Town Printing Office, 30, Chalton Street, and 448, Strand; Sold also by T. Hughes, Ludgate Hill, and by All Other Booksellers, n.d.
36p; p. 36: Advertisement. 12mo. 6d.
[University of Virginia Library](#).
*See Frank, *First Gothics*, p. 261; Weiss, *Book About Chapbooks*, pp. 54–55.

128. THE MYSTIC TOWER, OR VILLAINY PUNISHED. A ROMANCE.
 London: Printed [by W. Clindon, 48, Rupert-Street, Coventry Street] for Kaygill, at his Circulating Library, Upp.-Rathbone Place; Mace, New Round-Court, Strand; and Adcock, Charles-Street, Fitzroy-Square; and May Be Had of All Other Booksellers in Town or Country, n.d.
 42p. 12mo. Frontispiece. Quotation from Shakespeare. 6d.
 British Library.
 *See Frank, *First Gothics*, p. 262; Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 441; Summers, *Gothic Quest*, p. 367.
129. THE NUN; OR, MEMOIRS OF ANGELIQUE; AN INTERESTING TALE. ALSO THE ADVENTURES OF HENRY DE MONTMORENCY; A TALE. TO WHICH IS ADDED THE SURPRISING LIFE OF MRS. DHOLSON.
 London: Printed [by T. Plummer, Seething-Lane] for Tegg and Castleman, Eccentric Book Warehouse, No. 122, St. John's Street, West Smithfield, [1803].
 36p; pp. 18–24: 'Henry de Montmorency. A Tale'; pp. 25–36: 'Narrative of Mrs. Dholson, a True Story'. 12mo. Frontispiece.
 British Library.
 *See Mayo, *English Novel in the Magazines*, pp. 565–66.
130. THE ORPHAN OF THE ALPS; OR THE VICTIM OF DUPLICITY.
 Chester: Printed by W. C. Jones, 1806.
 36p. 12mo. Quotation from De Montford.
 British Library.
131. THE ORPHAN OF THE CASTLE; OR, THE HAUNTED TOWER. A GOTHIC STORY.
 London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourne-Lane, for Ann Lemoine, White-Rose-Court, Coleman-Street, and Sold by T. Hurst, Paternoster-Row, [1803].
 44p; pp. 28–44: 'The Heir of the Castle. An Historic Tale'. 12mo. Frontispiece. Quotation from Lee. 6d.
 British Library.
 *Further edns: London: Dean & Munday, n.d.; New York: S. King, 1821; New York: W. Borradaile, 1823 as *The Orphan of the Castle; a Gothic Tale; or, the Surprising History and Vicissitudes of Allan Fitz-Robert*.

132. OSWICK, THE BOLD OUTLAW. A TALE OF THE EIGHTH CENTURY.
London: Printed by J. D. Dewick, 46, Barbican, for T. Hughes, 35, Ludgate-Street, 1810.
36p. 12mo. Frontispiece bears legend: 'They beheld Blight standing over the mangled body of Egbert: his countenance betrayed the violent emotions of his mind—agitated by remorse'.
British Library.
*Further edn: T. Hughes, 1810.
133. PARENTAL MURDER; OR, THE BROTHERS, AN INTERESTING ROMANCE IN WHICH VIRTUE AND VILLAINY ARE CONTRASTED, AND FOLLOWED BY REWARD AND RETRIBUTION.
London: Printed [by Lewis & Hamblin] for T. and R. Hughes, 1807.
40p. Frontispiece.
University of Virginia Library, New York Public Library.
*See Frank, *First Gothics*, pp. 270–71; Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 457.
134. THE PEASANT BOY; OR, THE EVENTS OF DE COURCY CASTLE. TO WHICH IS ADDED, CELESTINA. A TALE.
London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourne-Lane, for Ann Lemoine, White Rose Court, Coleman-Street, and J. Roe, Houndsditch. Sold by All the Booksellers in the United Kingdom, [1805].
36p; pp. 24–36: 'Celestina'. 12mo. Frontispiece bears legend: 'Old Francis and Emeline in the Forest'. 4d.
British Library, Bodleian Library, Cambridge University Library (*Tell Tale*, vol. 2, items 67–68).
*See Mayo, *English Novel in the Magazines*, p. 570.
135. THE PHANTASMAGORIA: OR, TALES OF WONDER.
Portsea: Printed and Published by James Williams, Queen Street, Sold by Most Respectable Booksellers in Town and Country, n.d.
38p. 12mo. 6d.
Cleveland Public Library.
136. PHANTASMAGORIA, OR THE DEVELOPMENT OF MAGICAL DECEPTION.
London: Printed [by T. Plummer, Seething-Lane] for Tegg and Castleman, No. 23, Warwick-Square, Paternoster-Row; Champante and Whitrow, Aldgate; T. Hughes, Paternoster-Row; Willmot and Hill, Borough; N. Rollason, Coventry; J. Belcher, Birmingham; B. Sellick, Bristol; T. Troughton, Liverpool; J. Mitchell, Newcastle; T. Brown, North Street,

Edinburgh; E. Peck, Lower Ousegate, York; T. Binns, Leeds; J. Dingle, Bury St. Edmund's; T. Brown, Bath; B. Dugdale, Dublin; M. Swindels, Manchester; J. Booth, Norwich; Collins and Fellows, Salisbury; and G. Wilkins, Derby, [1803].

72p. 12mo. Frontispiece. Quotation from *Macbeth*. [1s].

British Library, Fürstliche Bibliothek Corvey (*Marvellous Magazine*, vol. 3, item 3).

*See Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 441; Mayo, *English Novel in the Magazines*, p. 571.

137. THE PRINCE OF THE ASSASSINS; OR, THE CRUEL SARACENS.

London: Printed and Sold for J. J. Mackenzie, No. 16, White-Horse-Yard, Dury-Lane; and Sold by W. Harris and S. Elliott, Booksellers, High-Street, Shadwell; by J. Norris, 8, Moor-Street, Soho, 1804.

48p. 12mo. Frontispiece. 6d.

British Library.

*See Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 468.

138. THE PRIORY OF ALBA AND THE CASTLE ON THE CLIFFS, A ROMANCE OF ANCIENT TIMES; IN WHICH IS DESCRIBED THE AFFECTING HISTORY OF HORATIA, THE ONLY DAUGHTER OF THE COUNT OTTAGIO, AND THE ADVENTURES OF THE BRAVE LEANDER.

London: Printed and Published by J. Bailey, n.d.

24p. 12mo.

University of Virginia Library.

*See Frank, *The First Gothics*, p. 292.

139. THE PROPHETIC NUPTIALS, OR, THE FATAL SIX AND THE HAPPY SEVENTH. A ROMANCE OF INTENSE INTEREST.

London: Printed for T. Hughes, Broadway, Ludgate Hill, n.d.

24p. 12mo. Frontispiece bears legend: 'The Necromancer showing the young Widow the likeness of her future Husband'. 6d.

British Library.

*Further edn: London: Orlando Hodgson, n.d.

140. THE PROPHETIC WARNING; OR, THE CASTLE OF LINDENDORFF. AN ORIGINAL ROMANCE. BY A YOUNG GENTLEMAN OF NOTE.

Southwark: Printed by Ann Kemmish, 17, King-Street, Borough, for and Sold by J. Ker, 40, London-Road, near the Elephant and Castle, Southwark. Sold also by T. Hughes, Stationers' Court; Wilmott and Hill, Borough; Kemmish, King-Street Borough; Barfoot, Norton-Falgate;

Perks, 12, St. Martin's Lane; Dixon, Rochester; Hodgson, 20, Strand; T. Evans, Long-Lane, Smithfield, &c., &c., n.d.
38p; pp. 35–38: 'Rinaldo and Adeline; or the Ghost of St. Cyril'. 12mo. Frontispiece bears legend: 'The spirit of the Marchioness warning Edwin, and Mathilda of her Brother Alfreds [*sic*] treachery. 6d.

British Library.

*Further edn: London: J. Ker, 1800.

See Frank, *First Gothics*, p. 295; Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 470.

141. RAYLAND HALL; OR, THE REMARKABLE ADVENTURES OF ORLANDO SOMERVILLE. AN ORIGINAL STORY.

London: Printed and Published by John Arliss, No. 87, Bartholomew Close, [1810].

40p. 12mo. Frontispiece.

University of Virginia Library.

*See Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, pp. 451, 472; *Gothic Quest*, p. 84.

142. *THE RECESS. A TALE OF PAST TIMES. ORIGINALLY WRITTEN BY MISS LEE. THIRD EDITION.

London: Printed [by J. H. Hart, Warwick-Square] for T. Hurst, No. 32, Paternoster, Row; and Sold by J. Wallis, and T. Hughes, Paternoster-Row, C. Chapple, Pall-Mall; T. Dean, Newgate-Street; J. Dingle, Bury; T. Gibbons, Bath; T. Richards, and W. Gray, Plymouth; Messrs. Clarke and Co. Manchester; and Harrod and Turner, Nottingham, [1802].

72p. 12mo. Frontispiece. [1s].

British Library, Fürstliche Bibliothek Corvey (*Marvellous Magazine*, vol. 1, item 3).

*Further edns: London: T. Hurst, 1802; Portsea: J. Williams, n.d.

See Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 474; Mayo, *English Novel in the Magazines*, p. 577.

143. THE RECLUSE OF THE WOODS; OR, THE GENEROUS WARRIOR. A GOTHIC ROMANCE.

London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourn-Lane, for J. Roe, No. 38, Chiswell Street, Finsbury Square, and Ann Lemoine, White Rose Court, Coleman Street. Sold by All the Booksellers in the United Kingdom, [1809].

36p. 12mo. Frontispiece.

University of Virginia Library, Princeton University Library.

*See Frank, *First Gothics*, pp. 307–08; Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 475.

144. [RIDER, Frances Mary].
 THE CAVE OF DESTINY; OR, THE ENCHANTRESS OF THE
 FOREST OF FONTAINEBLEAU.
 London: Printed & Published by J. Lee, 24, Half Moon Street, Bish-
 opsgate Without, and Sold by the Booksellers and Stationers, n.d.
 [28]p (unpaginated). 12mo. Coloured frontispiece: 'The Ruffian throwing
 Madame Villdemane over the Balcony of the Chateau into the River'.
 Quotation from *Macbeth*. 6d.
 British Library.
145. THE RIVAL KNIGHTS; OR, THE FORTUNATE WOODLANDER:
 A FRENCH ROMANCE.
 London: Printed and Published by J. Lee, 24, Half Moon Street, Bish-
 opsgate Without, n.d.
 38p; pp. 31–38: 'Amelia, or, the Perfidious Husband'. 12mo. Frontispiece
 bears legend: ' "Stop," said he, "Whoever thou art, the fright that Lady
 is in, shews the violence thou intendest" '. 6d.
 University of Virginia Library.
 *See Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 480.
146. THE ROBBERS OF THE FOREST; OR, THE UNFORTUNATE
 PRINCESS. AN INTERESTING ROMANCE. TO WHICH IS
 ADDED, THE TRUE STORY OF THE LADY OF THE ROCK.
 London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourne-Lane, for Ann Lemoine,
 White Rose Court, Coleman Street, and J. Roe, No. 90, Houndsditch.
 Sold by All the Booksellers in the United Kingdom, [1805].
 30p; pp. 29–30: 'The Lady of the Rock; on which Mr. Holcroft Has
 Founded his Celebrated Melo-Drama'. 18mo. Frontispiece bears legend:
 'Thibault and the Princess stopt by the Robbers'. 4d.
 British Library, Bodleian Library, Cambridge University Library (*Tell
 Tale*, vol. 5, items 69–70).
 *See Mayo, *English Novel in the Magazines*, p. 581.
147. [ROBINSON, Mary].
 VANCENZA OR THE DANGERS OF CREDULITY. BY MRS.
 ROBINSON.
 London: T. Tegg, 1810).
 28p. 12mo.
 Cleveland Public Library.
 See Summers, *Gothic Quest*, p. 84.

148. ROCHESTER CASTLE; OR, GUNDULPH'S TOWER. A GOTHIC TALE.
 London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourn-Lane, for J. Roe, No. 38 Chiswell Street, Finsbury Square, and Ann Lemoine, White Rose Court, Coleman Street. Sold by All the Booksellers in the United Kingdom, [1810].
 36p. 12mo. Frontispiece. Handwritten note: 'Drake (Nathan)'.
 British Library.
149. ROMANCES AND GOTHIC TALES. CONTAINING: THE RUINS OF THE ABBEY OF FITZMARTIN. THE BLEEDING NUN OF ST. CATHARINE'S. THE CASTLE ON THE BEACH; OR, A SEA-SIDE STORY. THE MYSTERIOUS MONK; OR, THE CAVE OF BLOOD. COURTNEY CASTLE; OR, THE ROBBER'S CAVERN. THE CASTLE OF HOSPITALITY; OR, THE SPECTRE.
 London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourne-Lane, for Ann Lemoine, White-Rose Court, Coleman-Street, and Sold by T. Hurst, Paternoster-Row, 1801.
 48p; pp. [3]-13: 'The Ruins of the Abbey of Fitz-Martin'; pp. 13-20: 'The Bleeding Nun of St. Catherine's'; pp. 21-24: 'The Castle on the Beach; or, a Sea-Side Story'; pp. 25-37: 'The Mysterious Monk; or, the Cave of Blood. A Fragment'; pp. 38-44: 'Courtney Castle; or, the Robber's Cavern'; pp. 45-48: 'The Castle of Hospitality; or, the Spectre'. 12mo. Frontispiece bears legend: 'Castle on the Beach. Aspasia attempting to escape from the flames'. 9d.
 British Library (*English Nights Entertainments*, vol. 2, item 4).
 *See Mayo, *English Novel in the Magazines*, p. 583.
150. ROSSE CASTLE; OR, THE VINDICTIVE THANE: INCLUDING THE SINGULAR ADVENTURES OF REGINALD HAMILTON AND THE LADY ISABELLA. TO WHICH IS ADDED, SECRET ENEMIES; OR, VIRTUE'S TRIUMPH: INTRODUCING THE EXTRAORDINARY LIFE AND ACTIONS OF COUNTS GOMAND AND VABEZZI, THE SECRET CHIEFTAINS OF THE BANDITTI OF THE FOREST.
 London: Printed by W. Lewis, St. John's-Square; for T. Hughes, 35, Ludgate-Street, 1814.
 36p. 12mo. Coloured frontispiece bears legend: 'Malvon conducting the Lady Isabella through the Vaults to a supposed Asylum from her enemies [*sic*]'.
 British Library, Bodleian Library.

151. THE ROUND TOWER; OR, THE MYSTERY. A ROMANTIC TALE. TO WHICH IS ADDED, THE NOBLE GENOESE. A TALE.

London: Printed by T. Maiden, for Ann Lemoine, White Rose Court, Coleman-Street, and J. Roe, No. 90, Houndsditch. Sold by All the Booksellers in the United Kingdoms, [1803].

36p; pp. 25–36: 'The Noble Genoese'. 24mo. Frontispiece bears legend: 'The death of Old Siegendorf'. 4d.

British Library, National Library of Scotland.

152. [RYDER, Frances Mary]. CORDELIA, OR, THE HEIRESS OF RAYMOND CASTLE, A ROMANCE.

London: Printed for T. and R. Hughes, 35, Ludgate-Street, By J. D. Dewick, Aldersgate-Street, 1807.

36p; pp. 31–36: 'Henry Fitzowen. A Gothic Tale'. 12mo. Frontispiece bears legend: 'The Death of Archibald'. Quotation from Shakespeare.

University of Texas Library, Austin.

*Further edns: Philadelphia: W. M'Carthy, 1813; Watertown: Knowlton & Rice, 1830.

See Weiss, *Book About Chapbooks*, p. 54.

153. ?SARRATT, John Henry. KOENIGSMARK THE ROBBER, OR, THE TERROR OF BOHEMIA: IN WHICH IS INTRODUCED, STELLA, THE MANIAC OF THE WOOD, A PATHETIC TALE. BY H. J. SARRETT [...]

London: Printed [by T. Plummer, Seething-Lane] for Tegg and Castleman, Eccentric Book Warehouse, No. 122. St. John's Street, West Smithfield, Champante and Whitrow, Aldgate; T. Hughes, Paternoster-Row; N. Rollason, Coventry; J. Belcher, Birmingham; B. Sellick, Bristol; T. Troughton, Liverpool; J. Mitchell, Newcastle; T. Brown, North Street, Edinburgh; E. Peck, Lower Ousegate, York; T. Binns, Leeds; J. Dingle, Bury St. Edmund's; T. Brown, Bath; B. Dugdale, Dublin; M. Swindels, Manchester; J. Raw and J. Bush, Ipswich; J. Booth, Norwich; and Collins and Fellows, Salisbury; and G. Wilkins, Derby, [1803].

80p. 12mo. Frontispiece. Quotation from Ossian. [1s].

British Library, Fürstliche Bibliothek Corvey (*Marvellous Magazine*, vol. 3, item 2).

*Further edn: London: Tegg & Castleman, 1801.

See Brauchli, *Der englische Schauerroman*, pp. 239, 241, 246; Mayo, *English Novel in the Magazines*, p. 538; Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 175.

154. THE SECRET OATH, OR BLOOD-STAINED DAGGER, A ROMANCE.

London: Printed [by J. H. Hart, Warwick-Square, Newgate-Street] for Tegg and Castleman, No. 122, St.-John's-Street, West Smithfield; and Sold by Tho. Hurst, Paternoster-Row; T. Ostell, Ave-Maria-Lane; Champante and Whitrow, Aldgate; Wilmot and Hill, Borough; and T. Hughes, Queen's-Head-Passage, [1802].

72p; pp. 69–72: 'Frederic Staun; or, the Revenge of Disappointment'. 12mo. Frontispiece. Quotation from Shakespeare. [1s].

British Library, Fürstliche Bibliothek Corvey (*Marvellous Magazine*, vol. 1, item 6).

*Further edns: London: T. Hurst, [1802]; London: Tegg & Castleman, [1802].

See Frank, *First Gothics*, p. 340; Mayo, *English Novel in the Magazines*, p. 585; Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 499; Summers, *Gothic Quest*, p. 83; Varma, *Gothic Flame*, p. 188; Watt, *Shilling Shockers*, pp. 15, 37, 53.

155. THE SECRET TRIBUNAL; OR, THE COURT OF WINCESLAUS. A MYSTERIOUS TALE.

London: Printed [by T. Plummer, Seething-Lane] for Tegg and Castleman, Eccentric Book Warehouse, No. 122, St. John's Street, West Smithfield, Champante and Whitrow, Aldgate; T. Hughes, Paternoster-Row; N. Rollason, Coventry; J. Belcher, Birmingham; B. Sellick, Bristol; T. Troughton, Liverpool; J. Mitchell, Newcastle; T. Brown, North Street, Edinburgh; E. Peck, Lower Ousegate, York; T. Binns, Leeds; J. Dingle, Bury St. Edmund's; T. Brown, Bath; B. Dugdale, Dublin; M. Swindels, Manchester; J. Raw and J. Bush, Ipswich; J. Booth, Norwich; and Collins and Fellows, Salisbury; and G. Wilkins, Derby, [1803].

72p. 12mo. Frontispiece. Quotation from Blair. [1s].

British Library, Fürstliche Bibliothek Corvey (*Marvellous Magazine*, vol. 3, item 1).

*See Frank, *First Gothics*, pp. 340–41; Mayo, *English Novel in the Magazines*, p. 585.

156. SHREWSBURY CASTLE; OR, HUBERT & ELLINOR. A TALE OF ANCIENT TIMES.

London: Printed and Sold by Dean & Munday, 35, Threadneedle-Street, n.d.

28p. 12mo. Frontispiece. 6d.

Cleveland Public Library.

157. SHREWTZER CASTLE; OR, THE PERFIDIOUS BROTHER. A GERMAN ROMANCE. INCLUDING THE PATHETIC TALE OF EDMUND'S GHOST.
 London: Printed and Published by A. Neil, at the Sommers-Town Printing-Office, Chalten-Street; and May Be Had of All Other Booksellers, 1802.
 66p; pp. 36–42: 'Edmund's Ghost'. 12mo. Frontispiece bears legend: 'The old man lifted up his eyes, embraced his son, and pointed to the female'. Preface. 1s.
 Cambridge University Library, University of Virginia Library.
 *See Frank, *First Gothics*, pp. 354–55; Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 502.
158. THE SICILIAN PIRATE; OR THE PILLAR OF MYSTERY. A TERRIFIC ROMANCE. FORMING THE SINGULAR LIFE AND ADVENTURES OF ADELMORN; WHO, AFTER SELLING HIMSELF TO THE DEVIL, AT THE INSTIGATION OF A LAPLAND WIZZARD, BECOMES A NOTORIOUS PIRATE, AND, BY HIS DEPREDATIONS AND CRUELITIES, RENDERS HIMSELF THE TERROR OF THE NORTHERN PARTS OF EUROPE. AT LENGTH THE WIZZARD'S PREDICTION IS FULFILLED, AND HE ENDS HIS DAYS OVERWHELMED WITH ANGUISH AND DESPAIR.
 London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourne-Lane, for Ann Lemoine, White-Rose-Court, Coleman-Street, and J. Roe, No. 90, Houndsditch. Sold by All the Booksellers in the United Kingdoms, [1804].
 38p; pp. 27–38: 'Augustus and Rosabella. By John Chilton'. 12mo. Frontispiece bears legend: 'Adelmorn warned of his approaching fate by the Ghost of Juliana'. 6d.
 Huntington Library, CA.
 *Further edns: London: Ann Lemoine and J. Roe, 1800; New York: E. Duyckink, 1815.
 See Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 503; Summers, *Gothic Quest*, p. 83.
159. SIR MALCOLM THE BRAVE, OR, ISABELLA'S GHOST. A SCOTTISH LEGEND.
 London: Printed, by C. and W. Galabin, Ingram-Court, for M. Tuck, Ciculating Library, near the Adam and Eve, Peckham; and Sold by Champante and Whitrow, Aldgate; J. Cleverly, No. 6, Barbican; Kerr, No. 36, Blackfriers [*sic*]-Road; T. Evans, Long-Lane, Smithfield; and All Other Booksellers in Town and Country, n.d.
 44p. 12mo. Frontispiece. 6d.
 British Library, Bodleian Library.

160. THE SOLDIER'S DAUGHTER; OR THE FAIR FUGITIVE, A PATHETIC TALE.

London: Printed [by T. Plummer, Seething-Lane] for Tegg and Castleman, No. 111, Cheapside; Champante and Whitrow, Aldgate; T. Hughes, Stationer's-Court; J. Belcher, Birmingham; B. Sellick, Bristol; T. Troughton, Liverpool; Wilace and Spence, York; T. Binns, Leeds; J. Dingle, Bury St. Edmund's; T. Brown, Bath; B. Dugdale, Dublin; M. Swindels, Manchester; J. Booth, Norwich; and G. Wilkins, Derby, [1804].

36p; pp. 34–36: 'Fatal Extravagance, a Pathetic Tale'. 12mo. Frontispiece.

British Library, Fürstliche Bibliothek Corvey (*Marvellous Magazine*, vol. 4, item 6).

*Bound to this without title page: *The Mysterious Bride, or the Statue-Spectre* (London: Tegg & Castleman, 1804). 36p; pp. 32–36: 'The Knights of the Sun'. 12mo. Frontispiece. [1s].

Further edns: Single edition of *Mysterious Bride*, London: T. Hughes, [1800].

See Frank, *First Gothics*, pp. 259–60; Mayo, *English Novel in the Magazines*, p. 562; Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 436.

161. SOMERSET CASTLE; OR, THE FATHER AND DAUGHTER. A TRAGIC TALE. TO WHICH IS ADDED, GHOST AND NO GHOST; OR, THE DUNGEON.

London: T. Maiden for Ann Lemoine and J. Roe, [1804].

38p. 12mo. Frontispiece.

University of Virginia Library, Yale University Library.

*See Frank, *First Gothics*, pp. 374–75; Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 509.

162. THE SOUTHERN TOWER; OR, CONJUGAL SACRIFICE AND RETRIBUTION.

London: Printed [by T. Plummer, Seething-Lane, Tower-Street] for T. Hurst, No. 32, Paternoster-Row; and Sold by J. Wallis, and T. Hughes, Paternoster-Row; C. Chapple, Pall-Mall; T. Dean, Newgate-Street; J. Dingle, Bury; T. Gibbons, Bath; T. Richards, and W. Gray, Plymouth; Messrs. Clarke and Co. Manchester; & Harrod and Turner, Nottingham, [1802].

72p. 12mo. Frontispiece [not in Corvey copy]. Quotation from Rousseau. [1s].

British Library, Fürstliche Bibliothek Corvey (*Marvellous Magazine*, vol. 2, item 1).

*See Brauchli, *Der englische Schauerroman*, pp. 220–21, 230; Frank, *First Gothics*, pp. 376–77; Mayo, *English Novel in the Magazines*, p. 594; Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 510.

163. A TALE OF MYSTERY; OR THE CASTLE OF SOLITUDE. CONTAINING THE DREADFUL IMPRISONMENT OF COUNT L. AND THE COUNTESS HARMINA, HIS LADY.

London: Printed [by T. Plummer, Seething-Lane, Tower-Street] for Thomas Tegg and Co. No. 122, St. John's-Street, West Smithfield; T. Hurst, Paternoster-Row; T. Brown, Edinburgh; and B. Dugdale, Dublin. And Sold by Champante & Whitrow, Aldgate; Wilmot and Hill, Borough; T. Hughes, Queen's-Head-Passage, London; J. Dingle, Bury; T. Gibbons, Bath; T. Lamb, T. Matthews, and Messrs Cowley and Richardson; Bristol; Messrs. Clarke & Co. M. Swindale, and J. Reddish, Manchester; N. Rollaston, Coventry; T. Richards and W. Gray, Plymouth; Harrod and Turner, Nottingham; T. Binns, Leeds; T. Newling and M. Wood, Shrewsbury; W. Troughton and W. Jones, Liverpool; J. Legg, Gosport; T. Crooks, Rotherham; J. Belsher, Birmingham; and Every Other Bookseller in England, Scotland and Ireland, [1803].

72p. 12mo. Frontispiece. Quotation from *Hamlet*. [1s].

British Library, Fürstliche Bibliothek Corvey (*Marvellous Magazine*, vol. 2, item 3).

*Further edns: London: J. Ker, n.d.; London: Tegg & Co., 1802.

See Brauchli, *Der englische Schauerroman*, pp. 222–23, 225, 229, 242; Frank, *First Gothics*, pp. 388–89; Mayo, *English Novel in the Magazines*, p. 603; Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 523; Watt, *Shilling Shockers*, pp. 23, 25, 52, 38, 53.

164. TALES OF SUPERSTITION: OR RELATIONS OF APPARITIONS. CONTAINING THE STORY OF HENRY BELL, APPARITION OF SIR JOHN OWEN, THE DANISH WITCHES, &C.

London: Printed for Tegg & Castleman, [1803].

35p. Coloured folding frontispiece.

University of Virginia Library, Library of Congress.

*See Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 524.

165. TALES OF TERROR! OR, MORE GHOSTS. FORMING A COMPLETE PHANTASMAGORIA.

London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourne-Lane, for Ann Lemoine, White-Rose Court, Coleman-Street, and Sold by T. Hurst, Paternoster-Row, 1802.

36pp. 12mo. 6d.

British Library.

166. THE TARTARIAN PRINCE; OR, THE STRANGER. AN HISTORIC TALE.
 London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourne-Lane, for Ann Lemoine, White Rose Court, Coleman-Street, and J. Roe, Houndsditch. Sold by All the Booksellers in the United Kingdom, [1804].
 36p. 12mo. Frontispiece: 'Tamuri saved from the fury of the Tiger by the Stranger'. 4d.
 British Library, Bodleian Library, Cambridge University Library (*Tell-Tale*, vol. 2, item 28).
 *See Mayo, *English Novel in the Magazines*, p. 604.
167. THE THREE GHOSTS OF THE FOREST, A TALE OF HORROR. AN ORIGINAL ROMANCE.
 London: Printed by D. N. Shury, Berwick Street, Soho; for, and Sold by J. Ker, No. 2, Green Walk, Bear Lane, Christ Church, Surry; also Sold by T. Hughes, Paternoster Row; N. and J. Muggeridge, Borough; and S. Elliot, High Street, Shadwell, 1803.
 36p; pp. 34–36: 'The Miraculous Preservation of Androcles'. 12mo. Frontispiece.
 British Library.
 *See Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 534; Tracy, *Gothic Novel*, pp. 179–80.
168. THE TOMB OF AURORA; OR, THE MYSTERIOUS SUMMONS. A ROMANCE.
 London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourn-Lane, for Ann Lemoine, White Rose Court, Coleman-Street, and J. Roe, No. 90, Houndsditch, [1807].
 48p; pp. 28–48: 'The Prisoner; or, the Fortress of Howlitz. A German Tale'. 12mo. Frontispiece.
 British Library, Bodleian Library (*Wild Roses*, vol. 1, items 4–5).
 *See Frank, *First Gothics*, pp. 391–92; Mayo, *English Novel in the Magazines*; Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 558.
169. THE TREACHEROUS DANISH KNIGHT; OR, THE BORDER LORDS, AND THE WHITE PLUME. A BEAUTIFUL AND ORIGINAL ROMANCE. INCLUDING THE AFFECTING TALE OF EDITH THE FORESTER.
 London: Published by Stevens and Co. Borough Road; and Sold by T. Hughes, Ludgate Hill; Champante and Whitrow, Aldgate; and All Other Booksellers in Town and Country, n.d.
 32p. 8vo. Frontispiece: 'Edith and Guthred in the Forest'. 6d.
 Cleveland Public Library.
 *See Weiss, *Book About Chapbooks*, p. 53.

170. TWELVE O'CLOCK; OR, THE THREE ROBBERS. A ROMANCE.
 London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourn-Lane, for Ann Lemoine, White Rose Court, Coleman-Street, and J. Roe, No. 90, Houndsditch, [1807].
 47p; pp. 40–44: 'Almeto and Carena. A Pathetic Tale'; p. 45: 'Extraordinary Anecdote'; pp. 46–47: 'The Pilgrim'. 12mo. Frontispiece.
 British Library, Bodleian Library (*Wild Roses*, vol. 1, item 7).
 *See Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 558.
171. ULRIC AND GUSTAVUS, OR THE UNHAPPY SWEDES; A FINLAND TALE.
 London: Printed [by T. Plummer, Seething-Lane] for Tegg and Castleman, No. 23, Warwick-Square, Paternoster-Row; Champante and Whitrow, Aldgate; T. Hughes, Paternoster-Row; Willmot and Hill, Borough; N. Rollason, Coventry; J. Belcher, Birmingham; B. Sellick, Bristol; T. Troughton, Liverpool; J. Mitchell, Newcastle; T. Brown, North Street, Edinburgh; E. Peck, Lower Ousegate, York; T. Binns, Leeds; J. Dingle, Bury St. Edmund's; T. Brown, Bath; B. Dugdale, Dublin; M. Swindels, Manchester; J. Booth, Norwich; Collins and Fellows, Salisbury; and G. Wilkins, Derby, [1803].
 72p. 12mo. Frontispiece. Quotation from Sterne. [1s].
 British Library, Fürstliche Bibliothek Corvey (*Marvellous Magazine*, vol. 3, item 5).
 *Further edn: Portsea: James Williams, n.d.
 See Mayo, *English Novel in the Magazines*, p. 610.
172. UNDINE; OR, THE SPIRIT OF THE WATERS. A CELEBRATED ROMANTIC STORY. BY THE BARON DE LA MOTTE-FOQUE [*sic*], OF GERMANY.
 London: Printed by and for William Cole, 10, Newgate-Street, [1824].
 24p. 12mo. Coloured folding frontispiece. Preface. 6d.
 British Library.
173. THE VEILED PICTURE: OR, THE MYSTERIES OF GORGONO, THE APPENNINE CASTLE OF SIGNOR ANDROSSI. A ROMANCE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.
 London: Printed [by T. Plummer, Seething-Lane, Tower-Street] for Thomas Tegg and Co., Fenchurch-Buildings; T. Hurst, Paternoster-Row; T. Brown, Edinburgh; and B. Dugdale, Dublin. And Sold by Champante & Whitrow, Aldgate; Wilmot and Hill, Borough; T. Hughes, Queen's-Head-Passage, London; J. Dingle, Bury; T. Gibbons, Bath; T. Lamb, T. Matthews, and Messrs Cowley and Richardson; Bristol; Messrs. Clarke & Co. M. Swindale, and J. Reddish, Manchester; N. Rollaston, Coventry;

T. Richards and W. Gray, Plymouth; Harrod and Turner, Nottingham; T. Binns, Leeds; T. Newling and M. Wood, Shrewsbury; W. Troughton and W. Jones, Liverpool; J. Legg, Gosport; T. Crooks, Rotherham; J. Belsher, Birmingham; and every other Bookseller in England, Scotland and Ireland, [1802].

72p. 12mo. Frontispiece. Quotation from Shakespeares *Julius Caesar*. [1s].

British Library, Fürstliche Bibliothek Corvey (*Marvellous Magazine*, vol. 2, item 2).

*See Brauchli, *Der englische Schauerroman*, pp. 222–23, 225, 229, 244; Mayo, *English Novel in the Magazines*, pp. 368, 613; Rogers, *Critical Response to Ann Radcliffe*, p. xxx; Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 135.

174. THE VILLAGE MAID; OR, THE INTERESTING ADVENTURES OF MONTSIRANT.

London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourn-Lane, for J. Roe, No. 38 Chiswell Street, Finsbury Square, and Ann Lemoine, White Rose Court, Coleman Street. Sold by All the Booksellers in the United Kingdoms, [1804].

36p; pp. 35–36: ‘The Twin Sisters’. 12mo. Frontispiece bears legend: ‘The Cacique shewing the three heaps of emeralds and rubies to Montsirant’. 4d.

British Library, Bodleian Library, Cambridge University Library (*Tell-Tale*, vol. 3, item 38).

*See Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 548; Mayo, *English Novel in the Magazines*, p. 614.

175. VINCENT, Henry.
THE IRISH ASSASSIN; OR, THE MISFORTUNES OF THE FAMILY OF O’DONNELL. BY HENRY VINCENT, ESQ.

Glasgow: Printed for the Booksellers, n.d.

24p. 12mo. Coloured frontispiece.

British Library.

*Further edn: London: T. Tegg, n.d.

See Schöwerling, *Chapbooks*, p. 152; Summers, *Gothic Quest*, p. 83; Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, pp. 207, 367; Weiss, *Chapbooks*, p. 406.

176. VINCENT, James.
THE CASTLE OF THE APPENNINES, A ROMANCE. BY JAMES VINCENT ESQR.

London: Printed by Thomas Tegg, No III, Cheapside, n.d.

22p. 12mo. Coloured frontispiece. Handwritten note: ‘Amy H. Burnett, December 1812—26th’. 6d.

British Library.

*See Summers, *Gothic Quest*, p. 83.

177. *THE WANDERING SPIRIT: OR MEMOIRS OF THE HOUSE OF MORNO: INCLUDING THE HISTORY OF DON PINTO D'ANTOS, A TALE OF THE 14TH CENTURY: ALSO CHARLES AND EMMA, &C. THE THIRD EDITION, CORRECTED AND ENLARGED.

London: Printed [by J. H. Hart, Warwick-Square] for Thomas Tegg and Co. 6, Fenchurch Buildings, and T. Hurst, 32, Paternoster-Row; and Sold by J. Wallis, 46, Paternoster-Row; C. Chapple, Pall-Mall; T. Dean, Newgate-Street; J. Dingle, Bury; T. Gibbons, Bath; T. Richards, Plymouth; and Messrs. Clark and Co. Manchester, [1802]).

36p. 12mo. Frontispiece. Quotation from *Hamlet*.

British Library, Fürstliche Bibliothek Corvey (*Marvellous Magazine*, vol. 1, item 4).

*Bound to this without title page: *Charles and Emma, or the Unfortunate Lovers*, 36p; pp. 10–14: 'The Three Suicides'; pp. 15–22: 'Suicide of Frederic'; pp. 22–33: 'Jeanette and Ubaldo, an Interesting Story'; pp. 33–36: 'Female Heroism (a Real Fact, Related by Meissner)'. 12mo. [1s].

Further edn: London: T. Hurst, 1802.

See Frank, *First Gothics*, p. 405; Mayo, *English Novel in the Magazines*, p. 615; Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 552; Watt, *Shilling Shockers*, pp. 16, 29–30, 41, 44, 53, 54.

178. [WATKINS, Lucy]. ROMANO CASTLE; OR, THE BANDITTI OF THE FOREST. A ROMANCE.

London: Printed and Sold by S. Bailey, 35, Threadneedle-Street, [1818]. 36p. 12mo. Frontispiece bears legend: 'Alphonso fainting with Terror on perceiving the Spectre, with the Bloody Mantle, advancing towards him'.

University of Michigan Library.

Further edn: London: Dean & Munday, n.d., as *Romano Castle: or, the Horrors of the Forest*.

*See Frank, *First Gothics*, pp. 407–08; Summers, *Gothic Quest*, p. 83; Watt, *Shilling Shockers*, p. 13.

179. THE WELCH COTTAGE; OR, ADVENTURES OF BELINDA BEAUMONT. A TALE.

London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourne-Lane, for Ann Lemoine, White Rose Court, Coleman-Street, and J. Roe, Houndsditch. Sold by All the Booksellers in the United Kingdom, [1805].

36p. 12mo. Frontispiece: 'Glendore & his Servant Killed by the Robbers'. 4d.

British Library, Bodleian Library, Cambridge University Library (*Tell-Tale*, vol. 5, item 58).

180. THE WHITE CASTLE; OR THE ISLAND OF SOLITUDE. A GOTHIC ROMANCE. TO WHICH IS ADDED THE CABINET; OR, FATAL CURIOSITY. AN ARABIAN ROMANCE.
 London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourne-Lane, for Ann Lemoine, White Rose Court, Coleman-Street, and J. Roe, Houndsditch. Sold by All the Booksellers in the United Kingdom, [1803].
 36p; pp. 21–34: ‘The Cabinet; or, Fatal Curiosity’; pp. 35–36: ‘The Murderer. A Romance’. 12mo. Frontispiece: ‘The surprise of Abdallah on discovering the Island of Solitude’. 4d.
 British Library, Bodleian Library, Cambridge University Library (*Tell-Tale*, vol. 1, items 1–2).
 *Further edn: London: Ann Lemoine and J. Roe, n.d.
 See Mayo, *English Novel in the Magazines*, pp. 463, 617.
181. [WILKINSON, Sarah Scudgell].
 ALBERT OF WERDENDORFF; OR, THE MIDNIGHT EMBRACE. A ROMANCE. FROM THE GERMAN. TO WHICH IS ADDED THE DANGER OF PLEASURES.
 Newcastle: Printed by M. Angus & Son, Side, Where Is Always Kept on Sale, a Choice of Extensive Assortment of Histories, Songs, Children’s Story Books, School Books, &c. &c., n.d.
 24p; pp. 23–24: ‘The Danger of Pleasures’. 8vo.
 British Library, Bodleian Library.
182. [WILKINSON, Sarah Scudgell].
 THE ANCESTRESS; OR, SUPERNATURAL PREDICTION OF HORROR ACCOMPLISHED: BEING THE HISTORY OF THE FATAL LOVES OF JANOMIR AND BERTHA, AND THE EXTINCTION OF THE HOUSE OF ESCHEN. TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN OF GILLPARZER’S [*sic*] CELEBRATED AND HIGHLY POPULAR TALE OF THE ANCESTRESS [in prose].
 London: Printed and Sold by J. Bailey, 116, Chancery Lane, n.d.
 24p. 12mo. Coloured frontispiece bears legend: ‘Conviction immediately struck her, that the Stranger had saved her Life; she questioned him, and Found that he had been reduced to the desparate effort of shooting the Horse as the only, and that a faint probability, of saving the beautiful Bertha from the dreadful Precipice’. 6d.
 University of Michigan Library.

183. [WILKINSON, Sarah Scudgell].
ARTHUR AND ELLINOR; OR, THE FATAL EFFECTS OF FEUDAL QUARRELS: A ROMANCE.
London: Printed and Published, by J. Lee, No. 24, Half Moon Street, Bishopsgate. And Sold by All the Booksellers, n.d.
34p; p. 34: 'The Hermit. By Dr. Beattie'. 12mo. 6d.
[New York Public Library.](#)
184. [WILKINSON, Sarah Scudgell].
THE CASTLE OF LINDENBERG; OR, THE HISTORY OF RAYMOND AND AGNES; INCLUDING RAYMOND'S ADVENTURES WITH THE BANDITTI IN THE FOREST OF ROSENWALD, AND HIS BEING HAUNTED BY THE SPECTRE OF THE BLEEDING NUN. A SPANISH TALE. ABRIDGED FROM THE CELEBRATED NOVEL OF THE MONK, WRITTEN BY THE LATE G. M. [*sic*] LEWIS, ESQ.
London: Printed & Published by J. Bailey, Chancery Lane, n.d.
6op. 12mo. Coloured frontispiece bears legend: 'Raymond was unarmed, but desperation gave him Herculean strength; he sprang upon the treacherous wretch, and with both hands firmly grasped him. The surprise of the action caused Baptiste to drop the dagger, which was seized by Margaretta, who immediately plunged it into the villains heart'. Quotation from *The Monk*. 1s.
[British Library.](#)
185. WILKINSON, Sarah [Scudgell].
THE CASTLE OF MONTABINO; OR THE ORPHAN SISTERS: AN ORIGINAL ROMANCE. BY SARAH WILKINSON, AUTHORESS OF THE GOTHIC CELL, BELFONT PRIORY, LILLY OF NAVARRE, NUNS OF ST. MARY, &C. &C.
London: Printed and Sold by S. Bailey, 35, Threadneedle Street, [1809].
36p. 12mo. Frontispiece. 6d.
[British Library.](#)
*Further edns: London: Dean & Munday, n.d.; London: Dean & Munday, 1810.
See Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, pp. 263, 592; Frank, *First Gothics*, pp. 417–18.
186. WILKINSON, Sarah [Scudgell].
THE CASTLE OF ORAVILLA; OR, THE UNNATURAL GUARDIANS. BY SARAH WILKINSON, AUTHORESS OF THE FUGITIVE COUNTESS, &C.
London: Printed and Sold by Dean and Munday, 35, Threadneedle Street, n.d.

36p. 12mo. Frontispiece bears legend: 'Victoria Discovering Alphonso in the Cells of Oravilla Castle'. 6d.

Cleveland Public Library.

*See Watt, *Shilling Shockers*, p. 13.

187. [WILKINSON, Sarah Scudgell].
THE CASTLE SPECTRE; OR, FAMILY HORRORS: A GOTHIC STORY.
London: Printed [by Bewick and Clarke] for T. & R. Hughes, 35, Ludgate-Street, 1807.
38p. 12mo. Coloured frontispiece bears legend: 'Gertrude Rising from the Rubbish before the Castle'.
University of Virginia Library, Columbia University Library.
*Further edn: London: J. Bailey, n.d., as *The Castle Spectre. An Ancient Baronial Romance*.
See Frank, *First Gothics*, pp. 415–16; Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 268; Summers, *Gothic Quest*, p. 256.
188. [WILKINSON, Sarah Scudgell].
THE CHATEAU DE MONTVILLE; OR, THE GOLDEN CROSS. AN ORIGINAL ROMANCE.
London: Printed [by M. Allen, Paternoster Row] for T. Hughes, Queen's-Head-Passage, Paternoster-Row; Champante & Co. Aldgate; Messrs. Muggeridge, and Wilmot & Co. Borough, and Tegg & Castleman, St. John-Street, [1803].
42p. 12mo. Frontispiece bears legend: 'There lies thy Father, Unhappy Girl'. 6d.
British Library.
*See Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 273.
189. WILKINSON, Sarah Scudgell.
CONSCIENCE; OR, THE BRIDAL NIGHT. AN INTERESTING VENETIAN TALE; POUTRAYING THE UNFORTUNATE FATE OF LORENZO AND ELMIRA. WRITTEN AND ARRANGED FROM THE CELEBRATED TRAGEDY OF J. HAYNES, ESQ. BY SARAH SCUDGELL WILKINSON.
London: Printed and Sold by Dean and Munday, Threadneedle-Street, n.d.
34p. 12mo. Coloured folding frontispiece. 6d.
British Library.
*Further edn: London: Hodgson & Co, [1824], as *The Force of Conscience; or, Tragical End of Lorenzo and Elmira on their Bridal Night!*

190. [WILKINSON, Sarah Scudgell].
THE DEFORMED MENDICANT, OR, ENGLISH EXILES. BE-
ING THE HISTORY OF SIR EVERARD MORTIMER, AND HIS
DAUGHTER MARGARET. AN HISTORICAL LEGEND OF THE
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.
London: Printed and Published by R. Harrild, 20, Great Eastcheap,
n.d.
32p; pp. 30–32: 'Ethelgar'. 12mo. Frontispiece.
[University of Minnesota Library.](#)
191. [WILKINSON, Sarah Scudgell].
THE EVE OF ST. MARK; OR, THE MYSTERIOUS SPECTRE:
DESCRIBING THE MURDER OF LADY BERTHA DE CLIFFORD
BY A JEALOUS AND DISAPPOINTED SUITOR; AND SUICIDE
OF HER FATHER: HER SINGULAR RE-APPEARANCE AFTER
THE LAPSE OF A WHOLE CENTURY—SURPRISING EVENTS
IN CONSEQUENCE OF THIS MARVELLOUS INCIDENT—DE-
SCENT OF THE STEWARD OF THE DE CLIFFORD FAMILY
INTO THE VAULTS OF MOWBRAY CHURCH; REMARKABLE
DISCOVERY THERE, AND THE MARRIAGE OF EARL DE CLIF-
FORD WITH THE STEWARD'S DAUGHTER, MARGARET. A
ROMANCE.
London: Printed and Published by J. Bailey, 116, Chancery-Lane, n.d.
28p. 12mo. Coloured frontispiece. 6d.
[British Library, Bodleian Library.](#)
192. [WILKINSON, Sarah Scudgell].
THE FOUNDLING OF THE FOREST; OR, ADVENTURES OF
FERNANDO AND CECILIA.
London: Printed by T. Maiden, for Ann Lemoine, and J. Roe, n.d.
36p; pp. 32–36: 'The Riches of Croesus'.
[University of Virginia Library.](#)
193. [WILKINSON, Sarah Scudgell].
INKLE AND YARICO; OR, LOVE IN A CAVE. AN INTEREST-
ING TALE.
London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherboune-Lane, for Ann Lemoine,
White Rose Court, Coleman Street, and J. Roe, No. 90, Houndsditch.
Sold by All the Booksellers in the United Kingdom, [1805].
36p; pp. 27–34: 'The Dreamer Awakened'; p. 35: 'An Address to Eng-
land, on her Nelson's Death. Written by W. T. Fitzgerald, Esq.'. 12mo.
Frontispiece. 3d.
[University of Virginia Library.](#)

*See Frank, *First Gothics*, p. 412; Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 365.

194. [WILKINSON, Sarah Scudgell].
 IVY CASTLE; OR, THE EVE OF ST. AGNES. A MODERN TALE.
 FOUNDED ON FACTS IN HIGH LIFE.
 London: Printed and Sold by Dean & Munday, Threadneedle-Street,
 n.d.
 30p. 12mo. Coloured folding frontispiece. 6d.
 British Library.
 *Further edns: London: Hogdson & Co., n.d.; New York: Borradaile,
 1824.
195. WILKINSON, Sarah [Scudgell].
 THE KNIGHTS OF CALATRAVA; OR DAYS OF CHIVALRY. BY
 SARAH WILKINSON, AUTHORESS OF THE ROMANCE OF
 THE ABBEY, &C, &C.
 London: Printed by Williams, 35, Chancery-Lane, for B. Mace, No.
 23, New Round-Court, Strand; and Sold by All the Booksellers in the
 United Kingdoms, 1804.
 36p. 24mo. Frontispiece bears legend: 'The Anxiety of the Duke for the
 Life of Alphonso'. 4d.
 Harvard College Library.
 *See Frank, *First Gothics*, pp. 411–12; Tracy, *Gothic Novel*, p. 187.
196. WILKINSON, Sarah [Scudgell].
 THE LILLY OF NAVARRE, OR, BANDITTI OF THE FOREST.
 AN ORIGINAL ROMANCE. BY SARAH WILKINSON AUTHOR-
 ESS OF "THE CHATEAU DE MONTVILLE," "JOHN BULL,"
 "GOTHIC CELL," "MONKCLIFFE ABBEY" &C.
 London: Printed [by J. Cranwell, Long-Lane] for J. Ker, No. 2, Green-
 Walk, Bear-Lane, Christ-Church, Surry. Sold also by T. Hughes, Station-
 ers [*sic*]-Court, Ludgate-Street; N. and J. Muggeridge, Borough; and S.
 Elliott, High-Street, Shadwell, [1804].
 38p. 12mo. Frontispiece. 6d.
 British Library.
 *See Brauchli, *Der englische Schauerroman*, pp. 208–09, 238, 241, 259.
197. [WILKINSON, Sarah Scudgell].
 LISSETTE OF SAVOY; OR, THE FAIR MAID OF THE MOUN-
 TAINS. AN INTERESTING TALE. TO WHICH IS ADDED,
 ETHELRED AND LIDANIA; OR, THE SACRIFICE OF WODEN.
 A SAXON TALE.
 London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourne-Lane, for Ann Lemoine,
 White Rose Court, Coleman-Street, and J. Roe, Houndsditch. Sold by
 All the Booksellers in the United Kingdoms, [1804].

36p; pp. 22–29: 'Ethelred & Lidania; or, the Sacrifice to Woden'; pp. 30–36: 'Augustus; or, the Benevolent Rambler'. 12mo. Frontispiece bears legend: 'Lisette after recovering from a fainting fit discovers her husband has stabbed himself'. 4d.

British Library, Bodleian Library, Cambridge University Library (*Tell-Tale*, vol. 3, items 39–41).

*See Mayo, *English Novel in the Magazines*, p. 546.

198. [WILKINSON, Sarah Scudgell].

LORD GOWEN; OR, THE FORESTER'S DAUGHTER: AN HISTORICAL ROMANCE OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY. TO WHICH IS ADDED THE BARONS OF OLD. AN HISTORIC TALE.

London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourne-Lane, for Ann Lemoine, White Rose Court, Coleman-Street, and J. Roe, Houndsditch. Sold by All the Booksellers in the United Kingdoms, [1803].

36p; pp. 17–36: 'The Barons of Old. By the Late T. Bellamy'. 12mo. Frontispiece: 'The Discovery of Lord Gowen in the Forest'. 4d.

British Library, Bodleian Library, Cambridge University Library (*Tell-Tale*, vol. 1, items 10–11).

*See Mayo, *English Novel in the Magazines*, p. 459, 546.

199. [WILKINSON, Sarah Scudgell].

THE MAID OF LOCHLIN; OR, NORTHERN MYSTERIES. A SCOTTISH ROMANCE.

London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourne-Lane, for Ann Lemoine, White Rose Court, Coleman-Street, and J. Roe, Houndsditch. Sold by All the Booksellers in the United Kingdom, [1804].

36p; pp. 29–36: 'The Shipwreck'. 12mo. Frontispiece bears legend: 'Agandecca warning Fingal of his Danger'. Handwritten note: 'Miss Brown'. 4d.

British Library, Bodleian Library, Cambridge University Library (*Tell-Tale*, vol. 4, items 48–49).

*See Mayo, *English Novel in the Magazines*, p. 549.

200. [WILKINSON, Sarah Scudgell].

THE MAID OF SICILY; OR, THE LADY OF THE TOMB.

London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourne-Lane, for Ann Lemoine, White Rose Court, Coleman-Street, and J. Roe, No. 90, Houndsditch. Sold by All the Booksellers in the United Kingdom, [1805].

36p; pp. 27–36: 'The Two Travellers. A Fragment'. 12mo. Frontispiece. 6d.

Cleveland Public Library.

*Further edn: Newcastle: M. Angus & Son, n.d.

201. [WILKINSON, Sarah Scudgell].
 THE MAID OF THE OCEAN; OR, THE PRINCE OF PERSIA. AN
 AQUATIC ROMANCE. TO WHICH IS ADDED, ORLANDO; OR,
 THE KNIGHT OF THE MOON. A ROMANCE.
 London: Printed for J. Roe, 38, Chiswell Street; and Anne Lemoine,
 White Rose Court, Coleman Street. Sold by All the Booksellers in the
 United Kingdom, [1804].
 36p; pp. 14–36: ‘Orlando; or, the Knight of the Moon’. 12mo. Frontis-
 piece bears legend: ‘Abudah protected from the dagger of Lafronte, by
 the Spirit of Bathilda’. 4d.
 Cornell University, Ithaca, NY.
202. [WILKINSON, Sarah Scudgell].
 MONKCLIFFE ABBEY, A TALE OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.
 TO WHICH IS ADDED, LOPEZ AND ARANTHE; OR, THE
 SUICIDE. BY THE SAME AUTHOR.
 London: Printed [by W. Glindon, Rupert-Street, Hay-Market] for
 Kaygill, at his Circulating Library, Upper Rathbone-Place; Mace, New
 Round-Court, Strand; Adcock, Charles-Street, Fitzroy-Square; and May
 Be Had of All Other Booksellers in Town and Country, n.d.
 42p; pp. 22–35: ‘Lopez and Aranthe; or, the Suicide’; pp. [36]–42: ‘Abbey
 of Clunedale. A Tale’. 12mo. Frontispiece. 6d.
 British Library, Bodleian Library.
 *See Frank, *First Gothics*, p. 413.
203. [WILKINSON, Sarah Scudgell].
 THE MYSTERIES OF THE CASTLE DEL CARMO; INCLUDING
 THE MEMOIRS OF LAURA WOODLAND, THE INTERESTING
 PENITENT.
 London: Printed and Published by R. Harrild, 20, Great Eastcheap,
 n.d.
 36p. 12mo. Frontispiece bears legend: ‘Adulterous liar, Receive the reward
 of thy unlawful Love’. Quotation from Juvenal.
 New York Public Library.
204. [WILKINSON, Sarah Scudgell].
 PRIORY OF ST. CLAIR, OR SPECTRE OF THE MURDERED
 NUN. A GOTHIC TALE.
 London: Printed and Sold by R. Harrild, No. 20, Great Eastcheap,
 1811.
 35p. 12mo. Quotation from Lewis.
 British Library, Cleveland Public Library.
 *See Brauchli, *Der englische Schauerroman*, pp. 210–11, 259; Schöwerling,

Chapbooks, p. 153; Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, pp. 468–69; Summers, *Gothic Quest*, p. 84; Praz, *Romantic Agony*, p. 115.

205. [WILKINSON, Sarah Scudgell].
THE RUFFIAN BOY; OR, THE CASTLE OF WALDEMAR. A VENETIAN TALE.
London: Printed and Sold by J. Bailey, n.d.
24p. 12mo. Coloured frontispiece.
University of Virginia Library, Harvard College Library, Yale University Library.
*See Frank, *First Gothics*, pp. 421–22.
206. [WILKINSON, Sarah Scudgell].
THE SORCERER'S PALACE; OR, THE PRINCESS OF SINADONE. BEING THE ROMANTIC ADVENTURES OF A KNIGHT OF THE ROUND TABLE.
London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourne-Lane, for Ann Lemoine, White Rose Court, Coleman Street, and J. Roe, No. 90, Houndsditch. Sold by All the Booksellers in the United Kingdom, [1805].
36p; pp. 33–36: 'The Negro of Sensibility'. 24mo. Frontispiece.
British Library, Bodleian Library, Cambridge University Library (*Tell-Tale*, vol. 2, item 78).
*See Mayo, *English Novel in the Magazines*, p. 594.
207. [WILKINSON, Sarah Scudgell].
THE SPECTRE; OR, THE RUINS OF BELFONT PRIORY.
London: Printed by A. Kemmish, 17, King-Street, Borough—for and Sold by J. Ker, 34, Great Surrey-Street, Blackfriars Road. Also Sold by T. Hughes, Stationer's Court; N. and J. Muggeridge, Borough; A. Kemmish, King-Street, Borough; and S. Elliot, High-Street, Shadwell, n.d.
40p; pp. 31–35: 'Eugenia; or, the Carnival of Venice'; pp. 36–40: 'The Treacherous Lover; or, the Fatal Effects of Deception'. 8vo. Frontispiece. Quotation from Blaine. 6d.
British Library.
208. [WILKINSON, Sarah Scudgell].
THE SUBTERRANEAN PASSAGE; OR, GOTHIC CELL. A ROMANCE.
London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourne-Lane, for Ann Lemoine, White-Rose-Court, Coleman-Street, and J. Roe, No. 93, Houndsditch, [1803].
36p; pp. 30–36: 'The Pilgrim'. 12mo. Frontispiece bears legend: 'One of the ruffians placed her on his horse, and rode off across the forest'. 6d.
Yale University Library.

*See Frank, *First Gothics*, p. 411; Lévy, *Roman Gothique Anglais*, p. 623; Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 517.

209. [WILKINSON, Sarah Scudgell].
THE TRAVELLERS; OR, PRINCE OF CHINA. AN INTERESTING STORY. FOUNDED ON THE POPULAR OPERATIC DRAMA, PERFORMING AT THE THEATRE-ROYAL, DRURY-LANE.
London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherboune-Lane, for Ann Lemoine, White Rose Court, Coleman Street, and J. Roe, No. 90, Houndsditch. Sold by All the Booksellers in the United Kingdom, [1806].
36p; pp. 27–36: ‘The Effects of Beneficence’. 12mo. Frontispiece.
[University of Virginia Library.](#)
210. [WILKINSON, Sarah Scudgell].
THE WHITE COTTAGE OF THE VALLEY; OR THE MYSTERIOUS HUSBAND: AN ORIGINAL, INTERESTING ROMANCE.
London: Printed and Published by R. Harrild, n.d.
24p. 12mo. Frontispiece.
[University of Virginia, Library; University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.](#)
211. WILKINSON, Sarah Scudgell.
THE WHITE PILGRIM; OR, CASTLE OF OLIVAL: AN INTERESTING AND AFFECTING TALE, FOUNDED ON SINGULAR FACTS. TRANSLATED FROM THAT HIGHLY-POPULAR FRENCH NOVEL LE PELERIN BLANC, BY SARAH SCUDGELL WILKINSON.
London: Printed and Sold by Dean and Munday, Threadneedle Street, n.d.
30p. 12mo. Frontispiece. 6d.
[University of Virginia Library.](#)
212. [WILKINSON, Sarah Scudgell].
THE WIFE OF TWO HUSBANDS. TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH DRAMA, AND FORMED INTO AN INTERESTING STORY.
London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourn-Lane, for Ann Lemoine, White Rose Court, Coleman-Street, and J. Roe, Houndsditch. Sold by All the Booksellers in the United Kingdom, [1804].
36p; pp. 32–36: ‘The Natural Son’. 18mo. Frontispiece bears legend: ‘Fritz stabbed by Walter as he passes the tree’. Handwritten note: ‘Laetitia Inys’s Book 1808’. 4d.
[British Library, Bodleian Library, Cambridge University Library \(*Tell-Tale*, vol. 2, item 17\).](#)

*See Mayo, *English Novel in the Magazines*, p. 618; Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 557.

213. **WILKINSON, Sarah [Scudgell].**
 ZITTAW THE CRUEL; OR THE WOODMAN'S DAUGHTER;
 A POLISH ROMANCE. BY SARAH WILKINSON, AUTHOR OF
 DEEDS OF HORROR, &C..
 London: Printed by Wards & Betham, Furnival's-Inn Court, Holborn,
 for B. Mace, 23, New Round-Court, Strand; and Sold by All the Book-
 sellers in the United Kingdom, n.d.
 36p. 12mo. Frontispiece bears legend: 'Zittaw gaining the Affections of
 Amelia Perowitz'.
 University of Virginia Library, Harvard College Library.
 *See Frank, *First Gothics*, pp. 422–23; Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*,
 p. 567; Tracy, *Gothic Novel*, pp. 189–90.
214. **WILLIAM OF THE WOOD; OR, THE ROYAL FUGITIVES. AN
 INTERESTING TALE.**
 London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourne-Lane, for Ann Lemoine,
 White Rose Court, Coleman-Street, and J. Roe, Houndsditch. Sold by
 All the Booksellers in the United Kingdom, [1804].
 36p; pp. 35–36: 'Generosity'. 12mo. Frontispiece bears legend: 'William
 & Jane receiving the Hermits [*sic*] blessing'. 4d.
 British Library, Bodleian Library, Cambridge University Library (*Tell-
 Tale*, vol. 2, items 50–51), National Library of Scotland.
 *See Mayo, *English Novel in the Magazines*, p. 618.
215. **THE WILTSHIRE SPECTRE. A TALE.**
 London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourn-Lane, for Ann Lemoine,
 White Rose Court, Coleman-Street, and J. Roe, No. 90, Houndsditch,
 [1808].
 47p; pp. 25–45: 'The Forest of Lindensdorf; or, the Woodcutter's Daughter.
 A German Romance'; pp. 46–47: 'The Sailor's Return'. 12mo. Frontis-
 piece.
 British Library, Bodleian Library (*Wild Roses*, vol. 2, items 6–7).
216. **THE WITCH OF RONA; OR, THE MAGIC SPELL. A RO-
 MANCE.**
 London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourn-Lane, for J. Roe, No. 38
 Chiswell Street, Finsbury Square, and Ann Lemoine, White Rose Court,
 Coleman Street. Sold by All the Booksellers in the United Kingdom,
 [1810].
 36p; pp. 35–36: 'The Eastern Bird Catcher and the Scholars'; p. 36: 'A
 Singular Dispute'. 12mo. Frontispiece. 4d.

British Library.

217. WOLFSTEIN; OR, THE MYSTERIOUS BANDIT. A TERRIFIC ROMANCE. TO WHICH IS ADDED, THE BRONZE STATUE. A PATHETIC TALE.
 London: Printed & Published by J. Bailey 116, Chancery-Lane, [1800].
 28p; pp. 20–28: ‘The Bronze Statue’. Quotation from Ossian. 6d.
 University of Virginia Library.
 *See Frank, *First Gothics*, pp. 424–25; Summers, *Gothic Bibliography*, p. 561.

BLUEBOOK SERIES

ENGLISH NIGHTS ENTERTAINMENTS. CONSISTING OF A SELECTION OF HISTORIES, ADVENTURES, LIVES, &C. BY THE MOST CELEBRATED AUTHORS.

London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourne-Lane, for Ann Lemoine, White-Rose Court, Coleman-Street, and Sold by T. Hurst, Paternoster-Row, 1802.
 2 vols: vol. 2.

British Library.

THE MARVELLOUS MAGAZINE AND COMPENDIUM OF PRODIGES.

London: Printed for T. Hurst, 32, Paternoster Row [and others], 1802–04.
 4 vols.

British Library, Fürstliche Bibliothek Corvey.

THE TELL-TALE; OR, UNIVERSAL MUSEUM. CONSISTING OF A SERIES OF INTERESTING ADVENTURES, VOYAGES, HISTORIES, LIVES, TALES, AND ROMANCES.

London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourne-Lane, for Ann Lemoine, White Rose Court, Coleman-Street, and J. Roe, Houndsditch. Sold by All the Booksellers in the United Kingdom, 1803–05.
 5 vols.

British Library, Bodleian Library, Cambridge University Library.

WILD ROSES; OR, COTTAGE TALES. INNOCENT AND INSTRUCTIVE. WITH FINE ENGRAVINGS.

London: Printed by T. Maiden, Sherbourn-Lane, for Ann Lemoine, White Rose Court, Coleman-Street, and J. Roe, No. 90, Houndsditch, 1807–08.
 2 vols.

British Library.



NOTES

1. Frederick S. Frank, *The First Gothics. A Critical Guide to the English Gothic Novel* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1987), p. 433.
2. *Ibid.*, p. xxvi.
3. Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry Into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful*, ed. Adam Phillips (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 36–37.

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THE MYSTERIOUS MRS MEEKE

A Biographical and Bibliographical Study

Roberta Magnani



I

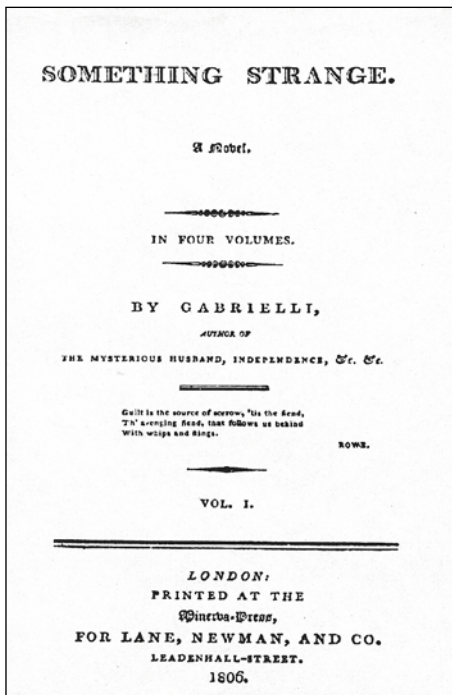
IN HIS ESSAY 'THE ENGLISH NOVEL IN THE ROMANTIC ERA', Peter Garside introduces the obscure and remarkably prolific figure of Mrs Meeke in the following terms:

Mary Meeke is almost as productive [as Scott] with 19 works in 70 volumes, all published between 1800 and 1823. Moreover, if four translated works by Meeke (in 13 volumes) are added, then her overall output exceeds Scott, the margin becoming wider still if seven novels of hers written before 1800 also enter into calculations.¹

The acknowledgement of Mrs Meeke's exceptional productivity raises a number of problematic issues concerning her works and her life, especially as she appears to have published her novels under three different authorial guises, namely, 'Mrs Meeke', anonymously, or under the pseudonym 'Gabielli'. This report sets out to investigate the affinities and similarities among the three chains of writing produced under these different rubrics in order to assess the hypothesis of a unified authorship. An attempt is also made to ascertain the real identity (or identities) of the author, while assessing possible underlying motives that might have led to editorial and authorial choices. More particularly, by focusing on details such as full titles as on title pages, advertisements, and narrative patterns, this study aims to supply a base for further enquiries and research.

A Biographical Survey

Various biographical dictionaries state that Mrs Meeke may have been married to the Revd Francis Meeke, whose wife died in October 1816 at Johnson Hall, Staffordshire.² This hypothesis may be confirmed by the evidence given by C. H. and Thompson Cooper in *Notes and Queries* (3rd ser. 2 (July–Dec 1862), 229), where the clergyman is described as a scholar (BA, Christ's College, Cambridge, 1773; MA, 1776) who published a volume of poems in 1782. The possibility that Mary Meeke had access to her husband's library and a culturally stimulating environment may encourage the assumption that she was related to a well-read man. The author also seems to have founded her respectability



upon her marital status rather than her own name, which is always concealed, as if her husband's social position could guarantee the moral and artistic value of her works more effectively than if they issued from the pen of an autonomous and independent female self. Indeed, her Christian name never appears on the title pages of her novels, and in an issue of *Notes and Queries* (2nd ser. 7 (Feb 1856), 133–34), where a certain 'H. M. T.' enquires about her real identity, she is referred to her simply as 'Mrs Meeke'.

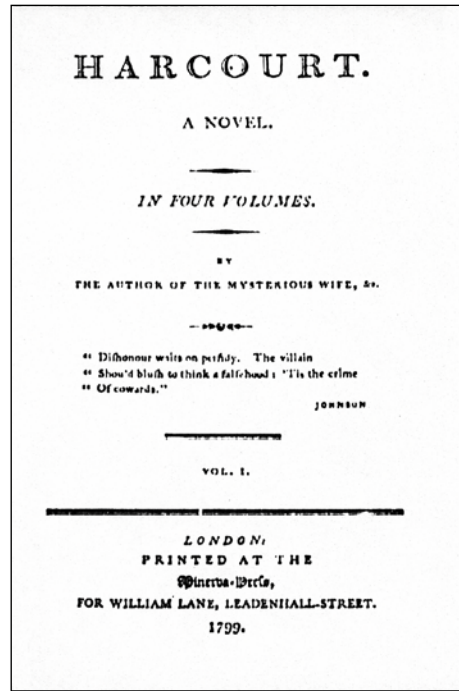
The author's range of reading is evidenced in her references to European writers, in particular to Miguel de Cervantes and his *Don Quixote* (1605), whose famous quest is compared to the hero's ambitious project

in *What Shall Be, Shall Be* (item 26; 1, 7).³ In *The Veiled Protectress* (item 25; v, 236) Mrs Meeke also quotes from Madame de Cottin, the French author of the novel *Elisabeth, ou les exiles de Sibérie* which she translated in 1807. Meeke's activity as a translator from French and German involves an overall output of six works comprising correspondences, poems, and novels, and revealing her mastery over foreign languages and literatures.⁴ In conclusion, despite her cultural and literary interests, and the Reverend Meeke's scholarly education, her husband's identity remains difficult to establish, and her biography is still incomplete and problematic.

The Threefold Authorship

Evidence of the link between fiction published as 'by Mrs Meeke' and works by Gabrielli is provided in a nineteenth-century document which testifies to the widespread acceptance of the pseudonymous nature of the 'Gabrielli' designation: that is, that 'Gabrielli' does in fact mean 'Mrs Meeke'.⁵ Furthermore, advertisements and title pages constitute a cogent proof of the homogeneity of the three sets of fiction. Multiple instances of connection between these works can be found, yet some cases appear to be particularly significant and revealing.⁶ Specifically, the novel *Harcourt* (item 7 in checklist below), published anonymously in 1799, constitutes the paradigmatic example of their convergence into a unique authorship. The relationship between this text and the novels published under the pseudonym Gabrielli is stated three times. Firstly,

its full title states that it is 'by the Author of *The Mysterious Wife* [item 3]', which was published pseudonymously in 1797; moreover, *Harcourt* is advertised at the end of Volume 1 of *Mysterious Husband* (item 9) by Gabrielli, under 'Works by the Same Author'; and it appears in the title of the pseudonymous novel *Stratagems Defeated* (item 21), which is presented as 'by the Author of [...] *Harcourt*'. Secondly, *Harcourt* is also connected to the anonymous *Anecdotes of the Altamont Family* (item 8), within which an advertisement defines it as a 'Work by the Same Author'. Finally, in being signalled as the novelist who wrote *Harcourt* (item 7) at the end of Volume 2 of *Which is the Man?* (item 10), Mrs Meeke is revealed to be involved in this plural authorial chain.⁷



A further element indicating reciprocity and affinity can be found in the coincidence and reiteration of narrative patterns within the three authorial acknowledgements. Gothic tropes and didactic concerns are prevalent in and help characterise the repetitive and contrived plots of the whole body of Mrs Meeke's novels. The theme of the abandoned child, whose virtuous life and fine education are finally rewarded with the improvement or restoration of his rank, and his social and economic status, is reprocessed in a variety of shapes. For instance, in *Stratagems Defeated* (item 21), which was published as 'by Gabrielli' in 1811, the hero Edgar Mortimer, a remarkably clever and handsome young man, brought up by a despotic preceptor, finally marries a peeress. In the anonymous *Harcourt* (item 7), a similar motif is interwoven with the trope of the grand tour of Europe and the journey to exotic places. The reader is here presented with the improbable encounter of a merchant with his long-lost grandson and son, who has become a noble and whose merit and sufferings have been rewarded with a 'miraculous return'. In *Ellesmere* (item 6), Meeke diversifies this trope by introducing the figure of an orphan who, despite the discovery of his aristocratic origin, refuses to improve his social station, as this could not increase the complete happiness of his marriage. The device of an enigma involving origins, or a hidden identity whose final recognition builds up the narrative tension, is relevant to all the three chains of fiction, an element of mystery being explicitly highlighted in the titles (*The Mysterious Wife* and *Mysterious Husband* by Gabrielli, items 3 and 9; *There Is a Secret, Find It*

out!”, item 19; *The Veiled Protectress, or the Mysterious Mother*, item 25, by Mrs Meeke; and the anonymous *The Wonder of the Village*, item 17). Similarly, the attention of the reader is attracted by means of an alluring reference to unusual and elaborate events (*Something Strange*, item 18, and *Stratagems Defeated*, item 21, by Gabrielli; the anonymous *Something Odd!*, item 16; and *The Old Wife and Young Husband* by Mrs Meeke, item 15).

As a whole, analysis of the full range novels seems to substantiate the theory of a unified authorship, that is, a single individual underlying the three authorial descriptors. Accepting this, it is possible to confirm that fiction connected to Meeke exceeds the output of any other contemporary author, Sir Walter Scott included: her overall production consists of 26 novels in 95 volumes published between 1795 and 1823, exceeding Scott, who wrote 22 novels in 71 volumes during the first two decades of the nineteenth century.⁸ Furthermore, if *The Parent's Offering to a Good Child*, Meeke's only book for children (in one volume), is added, and six translated works (in 18 volumes) also enter into calculation, her bibliography expands to thirty-three items in 114 volumes. As Figure 1 (below) displays, the predominant nomenclature found is Mrs Meeke, with fifteen novels in 53 volumes, plus one book of juvenile fiction in one volume, followed by Gabrielli with six novels in 24 volumes, with finally the anonymous fiction consisting of five novels in 18 volumes.

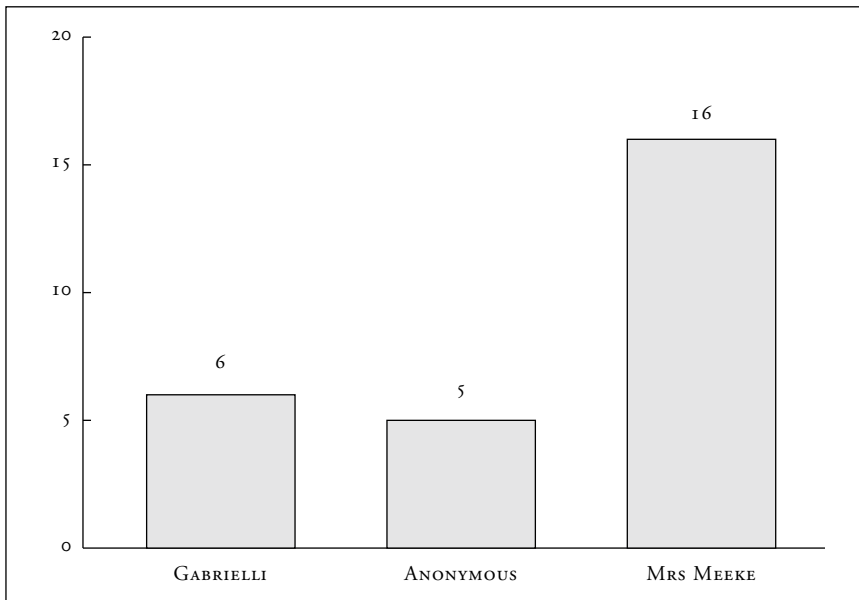
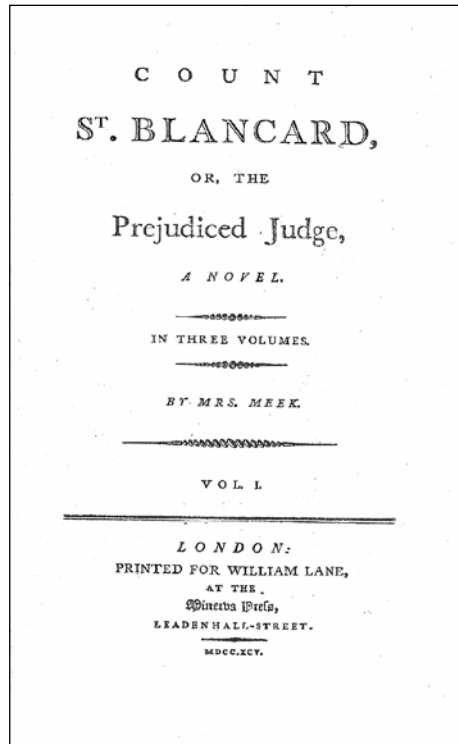


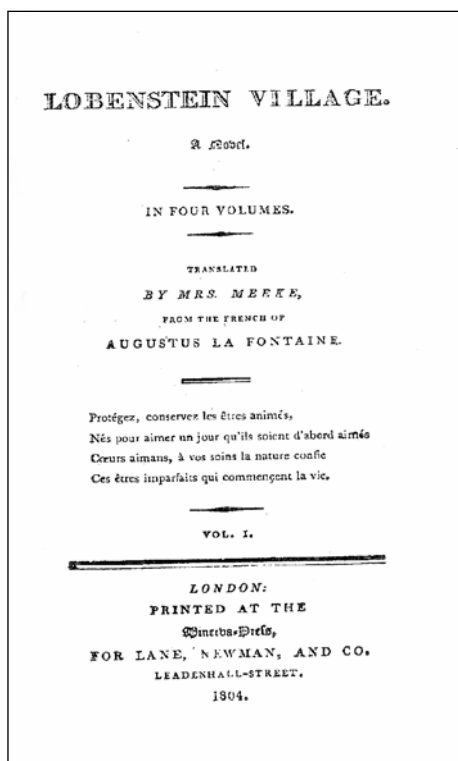
FIG. 1. NUMBER OF NOVELS AND JUVENILE FICTION PUBLISHED UNDER THE THREE AUTHORIAL DESCRIPTORS

Having ascertained the likelihood that the same Mrs Meeke underlies the threefold authorship, one fundamental question remains unanswered: namely, what might be the editorial and authorial reasons that led the novelist to publish this work under three different names? The chief motive appears to be self-censorship and a need for protection against criticism. When Mrs Meeke published her first two novels, apparently using her own name, she received appreciative comments in contemporary reviews. *The Count St Blancard* (item 1) is described as an 'entertaining and well-connected story' in the *Critical Review* (2nd ser. 15 (Nov 1795), 342), and *The Abbey of Clugny* (item 2) is considered to be 'superior to its predecessor' by the *Monthly Review* (n.s. 19 (Apr 1796), 453). The same positive reception of

her first works also characterises the reception of some subsequent publications. In particular, *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (item 3), which inaugurated the Gabrielli set of fiction, was welcome as 'entertaining'; yet at the same time the excessive and unnecessary length of the plot is perhaps ominously hinted at: 'there are symptoms of a desire of prolonging the anxieties of the husband; merely to eke out four volumes' (*Critical Review* 2nd ser. 23 (June 1798), 232–33).

The criticism of the repetitiveness and the contrivance of the narrative patterns might well have encouraged the need to differentiate her novels through a multiple chain of writing, and it could be argued that this met for a time with a measure of success.⁹ The author herself seems aware of the 'danger of borrowing some of the expressions of our contemporary authors' (*Independence* by Gabrielli, item 11; 1, 23). Although her fear of being accused of plagiarism is apparent, Meeke displays a specific knowledge of the taste of the public, and produces 'fashionable novels' (*Literary Journal* 3 (1 May 1804), 491, on *Amazement* by Mrs Meeke; item 13), especially under the Italianate pseudonym of 'Gabrielli', which was probably inspired by the outstanding success of Ann Radcliffe's *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794), one of the masterpieces of Gothic fiction.¹⁰ If the pseudonymous novels mainly indulge in Gothic tropes and intriguing plots, the 'Mrs'-pattern focuses on poetic justice and the celebration of morality, which endow her fiction with a didactic function. In *Conscience* (item 23), published under her own name in 1814, Meeke affirms that '[i]n real history, events are





of a mixed nature, and often happen alike to the worthless and the deserving; but in works of fiction, we think vice ought to be punished, and virtue rewarded' (IV, 246). This dualistic approach discloses her anxieties as a female writer, whose acknowledgement as a credible artist was denied and obscured by a general disbelief in the aesthetic value of women's writing, and by a forced subservience to publishers that she records in *Midnight Weddings* (item 12; I, 2). 'Female scribblers', 'impudent female writer[s]': this is how women novelists are portrayed in *The Old Wife and Young Husband* by Mrs Meeke (item 15; III, 247 and 249).

Meeke's consciousness of the rules of the print industry sustains the speculation that the threefold authorship may be an editorial

strategy, or 'game' to avoid the increasing hostility of the reviewers towards 'over-productive' women novelists, and to renegotiate and appropriate the coercive rules of the market. Even if the connections and similarities within the three authorial threads of fiction and the author's concerns about women writers do permit us to identify the mysterious novelist with an individual female artist, it is still problematic to ascertain her real identity and 'proper name'. To give one example of the difficulties involved, is it plausible to argue that four of the 'second-rate' works of Reverend Meeke's wife were released posthumously? And if this is the case, we must ask: who had such an interest in publishing her work?

II

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE WORKS OF MRS MEEKE

This bibliography includes all the works by Mary Meeke. Many of the items included in the checklist below have been viewed directly thanks to their presence in the Corvey Microfiche Edition (CME); when this has not been possible, the novels have been consulted at other libraries. Meeke's production has been divided into two sections: a bibliography of her original fiction, 1795–1825, and a list of her translations. A survey of works wrongly attributed to Meeke has also been included in order to clarify their authorship.

Each entry lists the full title as on title page, followed by a line giving place of publication, publisher's imprint information, and year of publication. This is followed by details concerning volumes and pagination, plus format. After this the source of the copy examined is given, with CME number or library pressmark as appropriate. In the Notes field details are given selectively about material such as prefaces, dedications, further editions, translations into foreign languages, and (especially) advertisements. Comments are also supplied where links between different items are apparent. This, finally, followed is by quotations from all the reviews of Mrs Meeke's works: they represent the whole review, unless otherwise indicated (e.g. by ellipses).

ABBREVIATIONS

Blakey	Dorothy Blakey, <i>The Minerva Press, 1790–1820</i> (London: Bibliographical Society, 1939).
BL	British Library.
BLPC	British Library Public Catalogue (online).
CME	Corvey Microfiche Edition.
CtY	Sterling Library, Yale University.
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography (on CD-ROM)</i> .
ECB	R. A. Peddie and Quintin Waddington (eds), <i>The English Catalogue of Books, 1801–1836</i> (London, 1914; New York: Kraus Reprint, 1963).
<i>English Novel</i>	Peter Garside, James Raven and Rainer Schöwerling (eds), <i>The English Novel 1770–1829: A Bibliographical Survey of Prose Fiction Published in the British Isles</i> , 2 vols (Oxford: OUP, 2000).
FC	Virginia Blain, Isobel Grundy, and Patricia Clements (eds), <i>The Feminist Companion to Literature in English</i> (London: Yale University Press, 1990).
n.d.	not dated.
NSTC	<i>Nineteenth-Century Short-Title Catalogue</i> [1801–70], 61 vols (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Averro Publications, 1984–95); CD-ROM (1996).
OCLC	Online Computer Library Center, Inc.
<i>Oxford Guide</i>	Shattock, Joanne, <i>The Oxford Guide to British Women Writers</i> (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).
n.s.	new series.
unn.	unnumbered.

A. Mrs Meeke's Original Fiction, 1795–1825

Below is included the entire corpus of Mrs Meeke's original fiction, as already recorded in condensed form in *The English Novel, 1770–1829: A Bibliographical Survey of Prose Fiction Published in the British Isles*, edd. Peter Garside, James

Raven and Rainer Schöwering, 2 vols (Oxford: OUP, 2000). The entries in this section have been divided into three main groups highlighted by different colours: black pertains to works by Mrs Meeke, blue signals works 'by Gabrielli', while red refers to works published anonymously.

1. **COUNT ST. BLANCARD, OR, THE PREJUDICED JUDGE, A NOVEL. IN THREE VOLUMES. BY MRS. MEEK [sic].**

London: Printed for William Lane, at the Minerva Press, Leadenhall-Street, 1795.

I 211p, ill.; II 228p; III 210p. 12mo.

BL Cup.403.i.6.

Critical Review 2nd ser. 15 (Nov 1795), 342: 'This novel, we are informed in the concluding page, is a translation from the French. The story turns upon the prejudices of high birth,—prejudices which in France no longer exist [...] The Count of St Blancard is, in other respects, an entertaining and well-connected story, and may agreeably beguile a leisure hour.'

Monthly Review n.s 18 (Oct 1795), 228–29 [Charles Burney, jun.]: 'This work is avowedly a translation from the French. It is probably the labour of some industrious emigrée; as the French idiom predominates, and some errors of the press are discoverable. The story is well chosen, and is divested of the immorality, party, and levity, which are too frequently found in the lighter productions of French writers.—To those who seek amusement in tracing the former manners of France, we may recommend this little work. It may divert a solitary hour, without endangering youth or disgusting age.'

2. **THE ABBEY OF CLUGNY. A NOVEL. BY MRS. MEEKE, AUTHOR OF COUNT ST. BLANCARD. IN THREE VOLUMES.**

London: Printed for William Lane, at the Minerva-Press, Leadenhall-Street, 1796.

I 218p; II 223p; III 199p. 12mo.

BL C.122.e.30.

Critical Review 2nd ser. 16 (Apr 1796), 473: 'The Abbey of Clugny, without having any claim to originality, is superior to the common class of novels.—The incidents are well connected and interesting,—the style, if not elegant, is unaffected,—many of the observations are sensible and judicious. The story is not broken in upon by tiresome and impertinent episodes, so common with inferior novelists, always tending to weaken, if not destroy, the effect of the principal action.'

Monthly Review n.s. 19 (Apr 1796), 453 [Charles Burney, jun.]: 'This work is certainly far superior to its predecessor mentioned in the title: but the inaccuracies of the printer are too numerous not to demand loud reprehension [...] The story of this novel is told with ease and vivacity. Ghosts are in the fashion: and, as we were entertained by the spectre

which haunts this sacred retirement, we cannot blame the fair writer for following the mode.'

3. **THE MYSTERIOUS WIFE. A NOVEL, IN FOUR VOLUMES. BY GABRIELLI.**

London: Printed for William Lane, at the Minerva-Press, Leadenhall-Street, 1797.

I ii, 299p; II 280p; III 267; IV 299p. 12mo.

Corvey CME 3-628-45085-3.

Notes. Dedication to Mrs Arthur Young, signed by 'The Author'.

Critical Review 2nd ser. 23 (June 1798), 232–33: 'The hero of this novel, Henry Westhorpe, meets a lady at the Spa, of whom he becomes enamoured, although he can procure no information respecting her. While he is almost despairing on this account, she sends him a letter informing him that he has won her heart, and that he may receive her hand on particular conditions. He is to remain with her a fortnight; they are then to separate; he is not to divulge his marriage or the name by which she was married, or desire to follow or see her, without her permission; and she is to gratify him with supplies of money. By the advice of a friend, he accepts this offer; and, after the marriage and limited cohabitation, they separate. The uneasiness and dangers occasioned by his passing as a bachelor, and his fruitless attempts to obtain a sight of his wife, form the incidents of the remaining volumes. If the reader should not be disgusted at this original absurdity, he will not be displeased to follow Henry through all his adventures. They are written in a very entertaining manner; and although there are symptoms of a desire of prolonging the anxieties of the husband; merely to eke out four volumes, yet we question whether many of the ordinary readers of novels will complain of the length. The portrait of Sir William Cleveland is not ill drawn. It is more natural than the characters of captain Grey and some other intruders upon the main story.' *Monthly Mirror* 6 (July 1798), 34: 'The main incident of this novel is highly improbable; but the strange conduct of the lady who submits to a marriage with a man who had become enamoured of her, provided that he will be satisfied with a *fortnight's cohabitation*, excites the reader's curiosity so forcibly, that he feels a perpetual irritation to get at the secret. The suspense is artfully managed, and, of course, the attention is kept alive to the end.'

4. **PALMIRA AND ERMANCE. A NOVEL, IN THREE VOLUMES. BY MRS. MEEKE, AUTHOR OF COUNT ST. BLANCARD.**

London: Printed for William Lane, at the Minerva-Press, Leadenhall-Street, 1797.

I 248p; II 248p; III 255p. 12mo.

Corvey CME 3-628-45129-9.

Critical Review 2nd ser. 24 (Oct 1798), 236–37: ‘Innocent entertainment, without any fixed purpose of the moral kind, appears to be the object of this novel. The characters, principally those of France under the old government, are drawn with spirit. The dialogue is lively; and the incidents of the first and second volumes are interesting. The character of a fop, partly on the English and partly on the French plan, is well sustained, and is exposed to just contempt. In the third volume the story is unnecessarily spun out; but, upon the whole, this is one of the most amusing of the second-rate novels.’

5. **THE SICILIAN. A NOVEL. IN FOUR VOLUMES. BY THE AUTHOR OF THE MYSTERIOUS WIFE.**

London: Printed at the Minerva-Press, for William Lane, Leadenhall-Street, 1798.

I 351p; II 344p; III 218p; IV 237p. 12mo.

BL Cup.403.i.9.

Notes. This novel is indirectly attributed to Gabrielli, since the title states: ‘by the Author of *The Mysterious Wife*’ (3) which latter is by Gabrielli. It is also advertised at the end of vol. I of *Mysterious Husband* (9), published as by Gabrielli, under ‘Works by the Same Author’.

Critical Review 2nd ser. 25 (Feb 1799), 234: ‘The author of this production discovers some ability in detailing the incidents, and draws some of his characters in natural and lively colours; but he wearies the reader by prolonging the work after the *denouement* has taken place, when no expectation remains to be gratified. The fourth volume is altogether useless.’

6. **ELLESMERE. A NOVEL. IN FOUR VOLUMES. BY MRS. MEEKE, AUTHOR OF THE ABBEY OF CLUGNY, COUNT ST. BLANCARD, &C.**

London: Printed at the Minerva-Press, for William Lane, Leadenhall-Street, 1799.

I 238p; II 260p; III 292p; IV 310p. 12mo.

Corvey CME 3-628-45126-4.

7. **HARCOURT. A NOVEL. IN FOUR VOLUMES. BY THE AUTHOR OF THE MYSTERIOUS WIFE, &C.**

London: Printed at the Minerva-Press, for William Lane, Leadenhall-Street, 1799.

I 356p; II 338p; III 288p; IV 352p. 12mo.

Corvey CME 3-628-45049-7.

Notes. The attribution of this novel to ‘the Author of *The Mysterious Wife*’ (3), its advertisement at the end of vol. I of *Mysterious Husband* (9), under ‘Works by the Same Author’, and the title page of *Stratagem Defeated* (21) (‘by the Author of [...] *Harcourt*’) identify the

writer with Gabrielli, and, indirectly, with the anonymous author of *The Sicilian* (5). This novel is also advertised at the end of vol. 1 of *Anecdotes of the Altamont Family* (8), published anonymously, where it is referred to as a 'Work by the Same Author': the text of the review which appeared in CR is quoted as part of the advertisement. Furthermore, it is advertised as a work 'by the Same Author' at the end of vol. 2 of *Which Is the Man?* (10) by Mrs Meeke.

Critical Review 2nd ser. 29 (May 1800), 116: 'The principal character is that of a spirited, generous, and virtuous young man, who, after appearing at first as an outcast, obtains great wealth, and the honours of Nobility.—The character of Sir Archibald Mackenzie and his wife are well drawn; the conversations introduced are lively and entertaining; and a degree of interest is excited by the narrative.'

8. **ANECDOTES OF THE ALTAMONT FAMILY. A NOVEL. IN FOUR VOLUMES BY THE AUTHOR OF THE SICILIAN, &C.**

London: Printed at the Minerva-Press, for William Lane, Leadenhall-Street, 1800.

I 250p; II 266p; III 306p; IV 365p. 12mo.

Corvey CME 3-628-47059-5.

Notes. This novel can be attributed to Mrs Meeke, as it is advertised at the end of vol.1 of *Midnight Weddings* (12), as a work 'by the Same Author', and the author of *Which Is the man?* (10) is defined as 'Author of Anecdotes of the Altamont Family' in the title page. It can also be linked to the anonymous author of *The Sicilian* (5), cited in the title. Moreover, it refers indirectly to Gabrielli, since *The Sicilian* and *The Mysterious Wife* (3), published as by Gabrielli, can be attributed to the same writer (cf. Notes to *The Sicilian*).

9. **MYSTERIOUS HUSBAND. A NOVEL. IN FOUR VOLUMES. BY GABRIELLI, AUTHOR OF THE MYSTERIOUS WIFE, &C. &C.**

London: Printed at the Minerva-Press, for William Lane, Leadenhall-Street, 1801.

I 286p; II 273p; III 297p; IV 298p. 12mo.

Corvey CME 3-628-47882-0.

Notes. French trans., 1804.

Critical Review 2nd ser. 33 (Nov 1801), 353: 'In a series of events, both upon the continent and in England, is narrated the history of lord Clarendon and his family; and it is related with sufficient interest to keep alive the curiosity of the reader. But the author has given countenance to a circumstance which deserves the severest reprehension—the elopement of the ladies Elmira and Idamia, at the suggestions of a stranger. Not content with making Tancred turn out, at last, a lord, as is the custom of

modern story-tellers, our author outstrips them all, and *dubs* him a *prince*. But let not this good luck induce our fair young country-women to be guilty of the like indiscretion; for it is a thousand to one, that, instead of making them princesses, it would lead them towards the direct and almost certain road to infamy and ruin.’

10. **WHICH IS THE MAN? A NOVEL. IN FOUR VOLUMES. BY MRS. MEEKE, AUTHOR OF ANECDOTES OF THE ALTAMONT FAMILY, ELLESMERE, &C.**

London: Printed at the Minerva-Press, for William Lane, Leadenhall-Street, 1801.

I 275p, ill.; II 271p; III 288p; IV 256p. 12mo.

Corvey CME 3-628-48052-3.

Notes. The title of this novel indicates that the anonymous author of the novel *Anecdotes of the Altamont Family* (8) is Mrs Meeke (‘Author of Anecdotes of the Altamont Family’). For indirect links with Gabrielli, see *Anecdotes of the Altamont Family*.

Critical Review 2nd ser. 32 (Aug 1801), 469: ‘If dukes and duchesses, marquises and marchionesses, ever read books of this description, they will most likely vouchsafe to give an hour to the perusal of the present performance, because in it they will meet with but few personages of less consequence than themselves: and if any of them should have conceived that their elevated rank renders the study of English grammar beneath their notice, they will here also be accommodated in that particular. We are mortified to find the abodes of our youthful years deserving so bad a character.

‘“Our public schools” says Mrs. Meeke, “are mere hot-beds for the encouragement of vice and dissipation, which flourish in still greater perfection at college; and as for the grand tour, *why*, half those who undertake it return greater fools than they set out”.

‘If the author, in the multiplicity of her sapience, has struck out a plan to supersede this system of instruction, according to which we confess we had the misfortune to be educated, *why*, she ought to make it public, in pity to the rising generation.’

11. **INDEPENDENCE. A NOVEL. IN FOUR VOLUMES. BY GABRIELLI, AUTHOR OF THE MYSTERIOUS HUSBAND, &C.**

London: Printed at the Minerva-Press, for Lane and Newman, Leadenhall-Street, 1802.

I 280p; II 237p; III 272p; IV 264p. 12mo.

Corvey CME 3-628-47846-4.

Critical Review 2nd ser. 37 (Feb 1803), 237: ‘The principal circumstance in this novel is, that the hero acts, for a series of years, the mountebank, and then turns out to be a peer. The performance, in general, deserves

as much praise as is due to most works of this nature; for the narrative is not without interest, though at times a little too prolix. If we were to find any fault, it would be, that Egbert Irwan had not been left as he was found; for he certainly is a superior genius, as a Flemish rope-dancer: but there is nothing worth commending about him, as a British marquis.’ *New Annual Register* 23 (1802), 322: ‘Independence; by Gabrielli;” the hero of which is by turns mountebank, a rope-dancer, and an English peer, without any pretensions to the latter rank of society, or any pre-eminent dexterity for either of the former.’

12. **MIDNIGHT WEDDINGS. A NOVEL. IN THREE VOLUMES. BY MRS. MEEKE, AUTHOR OF ANECDOTES OF THE ALTAMONT FAMILY, ELLESMERE, &C. &C.**

London: Printed at the Minerva-Press, for William Lane, Leadenhall-Street, 1802.

I 297p; II 298p; III 319p. 12mo.

Corvey CME 3-628-48209-7.

Notes. Blakey (p. 335) refers to a 2nd edn of the novel published in 1814. OCLC 6933074 gives French trans., as *Les mariages nocturnes, ou Octave et la famille Browning* (Paris: Chez G. C. Hubert, 1820), ‘par Mistriss Meek [*sic*], traduit de l’anglais sur la seconde édition’.

13. **AMAZEMENT. A NOVEL. IN THREE VOLUMES. BY MRS. MEEKE, AUTHOR OF ELLESMERE, MIDNIGHT WEDDINGS, &C.**

London: Printed at the Minerva-Press, for Lane, Newman, and Co. Leadenhall-Street, 1804.

I 276p; II 279p; III 274p. 12mo.

Corvey CME 3-628-48206-2.

Literary Journal 3 (1 May 1804), 491: ‘We are indeed once a little amazed at several of our fashionable novels, but experience has taught us to be amazed at nothing. It was *amazing* how people could set down and write such *amazing* nonsense, and still more *amazing* that any body should read it This is a tedious story spun out in a lagging feeble style to three volumes, and the singularity of the title only adds to the disappointment at the dulness of the story. It is perhaps but justice, however, to say that this is not the worst of the kind, and if the authoress had confined the story to one third of its present size, it might have been *tolerably* interesting.’

14. **THE NINE DAYS' WONDER. A NOVEL. IN THREE VOLUMES. BY MRS. MEEKE, AUTHOR OF THE OLD WIFE AND YOUNG HUSBAND, AMAZEMENT, &C. &C.**

London: Printed at the Minerva-Press, for Lane, Newman, and Co. Leadenhall-Street, 1804.

I 284p; II 269p; III 251p. 12mo.

Corvey (CME 3-628-48210-0).

Imperial Review 3 (1804), 601: 'It is easy to predict, that this wonder will very soon be forgotten.'

Literary Journal 4 (Oct 1804), 435: 'This is an indifferently good story wrought up in such a manner that it may be read with some interest. Though it abounds with common place remarks, and is not very elegant in point of style, yet some of the characters are well drawn and supported, and the work upon the whole may afford entertainment to those who delight in such compositions.'

15. **THE OLD WIFE AND YOUNG HUSBAND. A NOVEL. IN THREE VOLUMES. BY MRS. MEEKE, AUTHOR OF ELLESMERE, PALMIRA AND ERMANCE, &C.**

London: Printed at the Minerva-Press, for Lane, Newman, and Co. Leadenhall-Street, 1804.

I 264p; II 280p; III 277p. 12mo.

Corvey CME 3-628-48211-9.

Literary Journal 3 (16 May 1804), 550: 'This novel is written with more spirit than the generality of those that come from the same pen. The characters are for the most part well drawn, and the work contains nothing unnatural or repugnant to good morals.'

16. **SOMETHING ODD! A NOVEL. IN THREE VOLUMES.**

London: Printed at the Minerva-Press, for Lane, Newman, and Co. Leadenhall-Street, 1804.

I vii, 286p; II 273p; III 278p. 12mo.

Corvey CME 3-628-48654-8.

Notes. At the end of vol. 3 of this novel *The Old Wife and Young Husband* (15) by Mrs Meeke is advertised as 'BY THE SAME AUTHOR'.

Something Odd! can thus be attributed to Mrs Meeke.

Critical Review 3rd ser. 3 (Oct 1804), 238: 'It is 'something odd' that a man of talents, either from a plan not well matured, or abilities mis-directed, should have failed so much in the conduct of the fable, as to render his work tedious, notwithstanding some splendid passages and well-managed scenes. The whole is not very interesting. We catch a glance too early at the events; and the catastrophe is so hurried and indistinct, that at last we gain little more information than we had in the beginning. The character of Mr. Jacque, which at his first appearance

is attractive, soon loses all its interest, from the subsequent events and the conclusion. ‘Something odd’ it certainly is: we wish we could style the work, something excellent.’

Literary Journal 3 (1 May 1804), 491: ‘The title of this book, is to be sure *something odd*, as is generally the case with those books which have nothing else to recommend them. But the story is not odd, for unfortunately dullness accompanied by pertness and profanity is in these days, far from being strange. Yet this stupid composition contains some reflections against religion, and this is the only advantage which it possesses, for the folly of the story must leave an impression in favour of every thing against which its wretch efforts are directed. This piece of dullness might on this principle therefore be recommended as an antidote, were it not too well ascertained that the readers of novels are in general no less silly than the writers.’

Monthly Mirror 3 (Nov 1804), 320: ‘Why a bad novel should be called “Something odd”, is something strange; and unless this sorry work should meet with a good sale, any clear right to its present title will not appear.’

17. **THE WONDER OF THE VILLAGE. A NOVEL. IN THREE VOLUMES.**

London: Printed at the Minerva-Press, for Lane, Newman, and Co. Leadenhall-Street, 1805.

I 263p; II 222p; III 230p. 12mo.

Corvey CME 3-628-48978-4.

Notes. Introductory note (unn.) states: ‘It is with gratitude we express our thanks to an unknown Correspondent for the outlines and plan on which this Novel has been formed. It was accompanied by a Note, signifying that they were found among the papers of a Lady deceased, whose Executors presented them gratuitously to the Proprietors of the Minerva Office’. The novel is attributed to Mrs Meeke in the title page of “*There Is a Secret, Find It out!*” (19): ‘by Mrs. Meeke, Author of [...] Wonder of the Village’.

18. **SOMETHING STRANGE. A NOVEL. IN FOUR VOLUMES. BY GABRIELLI, AUTHOR OF THE MYSTERIOUS HUSBAND, INDEPENDENCE, &C. &C.**

London: Printed at the Minerva-Press, for Lane, Newman, and Co. Leadenhall-Street, 1806.

I 280p; II 324p; III 332p; IV 353p. 12mo.

Corvey CME 3-628-47884-7.

Literary Journal n.s. 2 (Aug 1806), 218: ‘The person who chose this title seems to have understood the taste of the multitude. Let them have something strange, and they will never enquire whether it be in

the smallest degree consonant to nature or common sense. Certainly there are some strange things here, and such as we can scarcely believe to have happened. But upon the whole, the work is better than we at first expected. It is written with some spirit and humour, and will not suffer by a comparison with most of the novels of the day.'

19. **"THERE IS A SECRET, FIND IT OUT!" A NOVEL. IN FOUR VOLUMES. BY MRS. MEEKE, AUTHOR OF AMAZEMENT, OLD WIFE AND YOUNG HUSBAND, WONDER OF THE VILLAGE, &C. &C.**
 London: Printed at the Minerva-Press, for Lane, Newman, and Co. Leadenhall-Street, 1808.
 I 330p; II 372p; III 384p; IV 379p. 12mo.
 Corvey CME 3-628-48018-3.
20. **LANGHTON PRIORY. A NOVEL. IN FOUR VOLUMES. BY GABRIELLI, AUTHOR OF MYSTERIOUS WIFE, MYSTERIOUS HUSBAND, &C. &C.**
 London: Printed at the Minerva-Press, for Lane, Newman, and Co. Leadenhall-Street, 1809.
 I 299p; II 316p; III 330p; IV 340p. 12mo.
 Corvey CME 3-628-47845-6.
21. **STRATAGEMS DEFEATED. A NOVEL. IN FOUR VOLUMES. BY GABRIELLI, AUTHOR OF LANGHTON PRIORY; MYSTERIOUS WIFE; MYSTERIOUS HUSBAND; HARCOURT, &C.**
 London: Printed at the Minerva-Press, for A.K. Newman and Co. (Successors to Lane, Newman, & Co.) Leadenhall-Street, 1811.
 I 348p; II 379p; III 379p; IV 370p. 12mo.
 Corvey CME 3-628-47858-8.
22. **MATRIMONY, THE HEIGHT OF BLISS, OR THE EXTREME OF MYSERY. A NOVEL. IN FOUR VOLUMES. BY MRS. MEEKE, AUTHOR OF "THERE IS A SECRET," FIND IT OUT! OLD WIFE AND YOUNG HUSBAND, &C.**
 London: Printed at the Minerva-Press, for A.K. Newman and Co. Leadenhall-Street, 1812.
 I 240p; II 244p; III 240p; IV 264p. 12mo.
 Corvey CME 3-628-48264-X.
23. **CONSCIENCE. A NOVEL. IN FOUR VOLUMES. BY MRS. MEEKE, AUTHOR OF MATRIMONY, MIDNIGHT WEDDINGS, NINE DAYS' WONDER, THE TALE OF MYSTERY, &C. &C.**

London: Printed at the Minerva-Press, for A.K. Newman and Co. Leadenhall-Street, 1814.

I 312p; II 267p; III 264p; IV 247p. 12mo.

Corvey CME 3-628-48207-0.

Notes. The title of this novel refers to one of Meeke's translations, *A Tale of Mystery* (1803).

24. **THE SPANISH CAMPAIGN; OR THE JEW. A NOVEL. IN THREE VOLUMES. BY MRS. MEEKE, AUTHOR OF CONSCIENCE, MATRIMONY, MIDNIGHT WEDDINGS, NINE DAYS' WONDER, TALE OF MYSTERY, &C. &C.**

London: Printed at the Minerva-Press, for A.K. Newman and Co. Leadenhall-Street, 1815.

I 209p; II 202p; III 244p. 12mo.

Corvey CME 3-628-48263-1.

Notes. The title of this novel refers to one of Meeke's translations, *A Tale of Mystery* (1803).

25. **THE VEILED PROTECTRESS; OR, THE MYSTERIOUS MOTHER. A NOVEL. IN FIVE VOLUMES. BY MRS. MEEKE, AUTHOR OF MATRIMONY, NINE DAYS' WONDER, OLD WIFE AND YOUNG HUSBAND, SPANISH CAMPAIGN, CONSCIENCE, THERE IS A SECRET! ELLESMERE, &C. &C.**

London: Printed at the Minerva-Press, for A.K. Newman and Co. Leadenhall-Street, 1819.

I 257p; II 280p; III 263p; IV 240p; V 240p. 12mo.

Corvey CME 3-628-47960-6.

26. **WHAT SHALL BE, SHALL BE. A NOVEL. IN FOUR VOLUMES. BY MRS. MEEKE, AUTHOR OF THE VEILED PROTECTRESS; OLD WIFE AND YOUNG HUSBAND; THERE IS A SECRET! FIND IT OUT; WHICH IS THE MAN? THE SPANISH CAMPAIGN, &C.**

London: Printed for A.K. Newman and Co. Leadenhall-Street, 1823.

I 270p; II 315p; III 295p; IV 316p. 12mo.

Corvey CME 3-628-48051-5.

27. **THE PARENT'S OFFERING TO A GOOD CHILD: A COLLECTION OF INTER[E]STING TALES. BY MRS. MEEKE. EMBELLISHED WITH FOURTEEN HANDSOMELY COLOURED ENGRAVINGS.**

London: Dean and Munday, Threadneedle Street and A.K. Newman and Co., Leadenhall-Street, n.d.

35p, ill. 12mo.

BL 1608/2930.

Notes. BLPC dates c.1825; FC mentions a posthumous children's story-book published in ?1825. OCLC 31426426 describes *The birthday present; or, Pleasing tales of amusement and instruction ... by Mrs. Meeke*' (London: A. K. Newman and Co., n.d.). Details of pagination and illustrations, however, indicate that this and the above item are probably variant version or different editions of the same text.

B. Mrs Meeke's Translations

Below are listed the translations by Mrs Meeke. An edition of every work has been viewed at the British Library in London, except for *Julien* (3 in the checklist below) which has been examined in the Corvey Microfiche Edition (CME).

1. **A TALE OF MYSTERY, OR CELINA. A NOVEL. IN FOUR VOLUMES. ALTERED FROM THE FRENCH OF DUCRAY-DUMINIL, BY MRS. MEEKE, AUTHOR OF WHICH IS THE MAN, THE SICILIAN, &C. &C.**

London: Printed at the Minerva Press, for Lane and Newman, Leadenhall-Street, 1803.

I 278p; II 323p; III 312p; IV 327p. 12mo.

BL 1607/2020.

Notes. Translation of *Cœlina, ou l'enfant du mystère* (Paris, 1798), by François-Guillaume Ducray-Dumenil.

2. **LOBENSTEIN VILLAGE. A NOVEL. IN FOUR VOLUMES. TRANSLATED BY MRS. MEEKE, FROM THE FRENCH OF AUGUSTUS LA FONTAINE.**

London: Printed at the Minerva-Press, for Lane and Newman, Leadenhall-Street, 1804.

I 270p; II 292p; III 276p; IV 266p. 12mo.

BL 1607/1867.

Notes. Translation of *Le Village de Lobenstein, ou le nouvel enfant trouvé* (Genève et Paris, 1802), by August Heinrich Julius Lafontaine, itself a translation of the original German title, *Theodor, oder Kultur und Humanität* (Berlin, 1802).

Literary Journal 3 (1 May 1804), 487–89: 'The abuse which the moralist has bestowed upon novels in general, has of late years been so often repeated by the critic, that this class of literature has fallen into disrepute. The modern novel, however, occupies a very considerable station in the field of literature; and some of our first writers have exerted their talents, laudably, in its composition. Whatever tends to sooth the mind when depressed, or to relieve attention, when wearied by intense application,

deserves the gratitude of man. But the mob of writers yearly employed on this mode of composition, and the facility with which so many volumes of the most wretched trash are annually given to the public, have occasioned a strong prejudice against novels in general, which that species of composition, when undertaken by competent writers, is very far from deserving. To select from the crowd those deserving of attention, is an arduous task; and it is not to be wondered at, that some few deserving of a better fate are left wholly unnoticed.

The novel before us, however, possesses considerable merit, with frequent inequalities. The whole of the first volume deserves our praise with but little qualification. Mrs *Meeke's* translation, though in general good, has been made with too much haste; which the reader will discover in a variety of instances.

Augustus la Fontaine lays the principal scene of this novel at a village in Germany, and chuses the orphan, Theodore, as his hero. The characters introduced are few and simple. The Philosopher and scholar *Lindner*; his sister *Sabina*, who marries the eccentric *Baron de Senk*, whose whole attention is given to the construction of clocks; their son *Augustus de Senk*; *Theodore* the orphan, protected and educated by *Lindner*. In the same village, at the great manorial house, are the *Baron*, but principally the *Baroness de Lindner*, her lovely daughter *Eloisa*; the son and heir *Emilius*; his tutor *Eraſt*: an interesting stranger who purchases a small estate near *Lindner*, and calls himself *Schall*; and the bailiff of the village *Gobel*, an unprincipled miser, with an excellent daughter *Mary*. These form the leading characters; and are all drawn with much originality, and well preserved. The benevolence of *Lindner*, and his blind attachment for the ancients, are well contrasted with the mechanic genius of *Senk*.

The second volume, after the first 40 pages, falls off considerably, as if an inferior author had taken up the pen: it however rises again towards the close of that volume; and the narrative then proceeds with a considerable increase of interest and humour. In the beginning of the second volume, (page 28) *Senk* forms an admirable counterpart to the eccentric *Darwin*, in his *Loves of the Plants*: after a classical discussion between *Lindner* and *Schall*, the following conversation succeeds:

“*Senk*, could however neither talk, nor think of anything else; and the following day, when he saw *Schall*, he reverted to this said clock of flowers, enquiring whether there had ever had been such a thing. “Undoubtedly,” replied *Schall*, “for I have seen one.” “Where, where?” exclaimed the enraptured *Senk*. At the court of *Buffon's*, the famous French naturalist, and which keeps time to the greatest nicety;” entering into several details respecting this said uncommon time-piece, which induced *Senk* to hurry home to examine all the flowers his garden produced, when he found many which opened and shut at particular times; and has *Schall* had a great variety, he requested he would select any he

thought would contribute to the completion of his time-piece. *Senk* was therefore busily employed for some time in transplanting and arranging his flowers, till he nearly brought his scheme to bear; though *Lindner* still gave the preference to his hour-glass, as it told him time of day without going out in the sun or rain. "But have you then no relish for the beauties of Nature?" said *Senk*, "only come and see my collection.—There," have reached the bed allotted to his time-piece, "There, I knew we should be here to a second; these sweet flowers will never deceive us respecting the time. This one opens precisely at noon; the next no less punctually at one; and so on till evening, though I shall not be able to bring my clock to perfection this year, but next summer it shall rival the *Count de Buffon's*."

"The same idea is afterwards pursued with equal humour at page 117:—" *Senk* had by this time nearly completed his botanical clock, of which he was more proud than of many much more ingenious performances; the idea was so novel, he conceived, and so little understood, though by no means denoted the time of day so regularly as he could have wished. This afforded *Lindner* and *Sabina* an opportunity of rallying him, which, though meant, and done in jest, frequently hurt his feelings, which were particularly alive to the most harmless attack upon any of his favourite pursuits. Frequently, therefore, would he tell *Sabina*, that she ought to rejoice at his having so succeeded in rendering even flowers of the greatest national utility; because if she wished to breakfast precisely at nine, she had only to examine the *Spiral Goat's beard*, which opened its leaves exactly at that hour. "That flower," he continued, "may be absolutely dependent upon even to a second—indeed I now even regulate all my clocks by it; and I have desired the clerk to consult it before he rings the bell for church. If I had but the trefoil-grass, which is a native of the South Sea Islands, and whose leaves have been remarked to wave precisely at twelve o'clock at noon, I should be quite set up. But do not fancy it is my partiality for every thing that bears any resemblance to clocks, that has rendered me so fond of flowers, as they are of the greatest utility in many other respects, besides denoting the time, which you must allow is no small merit; but the *Jerusalem* rose, for example, will tell you immediately whether a room is damp, and of course is of considerable utility to travellers; and when your brother pres out his eyes over his Greek authors, I have only to say, *Lay by your books; such or such a plant, has closed its leaves, therefore evening approaches*.—Of course, you must agree, *Sabina*, that it is almost necessary to study botany, which daily affords the naturalist the most interesting discoveries." "If it does but increase your pleasures, my dear *Senk*," interrupted *Sabina*, "I shall be perfectly happy; and the first wish of my heart will be gratified; and since you say the spiral *goat's-beard* is so much to be depended upon, I

will never in future sit down to breakfast without first asking it the time of day.”

‘We admire the pleasant satire which these passages contain against one of the leading *hobby horses* of the day, both on the continent and in our own country. Our botanical enthusiasts have of late increased rapidly, and trifled most ingeniously and poetically: and we have often wondered that a subject pregnant with so much humour, and aptness, has not been heightened by the pen of a *Reynolds*, or the genius of Charlotte Smith; whose knowledge of botany would enable her to form an excellent romance on the leading follies of our botanists.

‘The third and fourth volumes are by no means inferior to the first; though we observe the same faults and errors in the language of the translator. The unexpected deliverance of *Mary Gobel* from the cottage in Silesia, by *Theodore*, and the adjoining wildness of the forest scenery, are well described. The history of the mother of *Theodore*, occupies the greater portion of the fourth volume, and seems to be the part to which our author has paid his greatest attention.—Yet some of the sentiments savour of the French school; and both *Julia* and *Eloisa de Rosbane*, often astonished us with principles that could only be approved in the circles of Paris.’

3. JULIEN; OR, MY FATHER’S HOUSE. A NOVEL, ALTERED FROM THE FRENCH OF DUCRAY-DUMINIL, BY MRS. MEEKE. IN FOUR VOLUMES. TO WHICH IS ADDED, ELIZABETH, OR THE EXILES OF SIBERIA, A TALE, FOUNDED ON FACTS, FROM THE FRENCH OF MADAME DE COTTIN.

London: Lane, Newman, 1807.

I 254p; II 287p; III 324p; IV 309p. 12mo.

Corvey CME 3-628-48208-9.

Notes. Translation of *Jules, ou le toit paternel* (Paris: 1806), by François-Guillaume Ducray-Dumenil. *Julien* finishes on vol. 4, p. 41, and is followed by the translation of another work, by Sophie Ristaud Cottin, *Élisabeth*, which was published separately in the same year (see 5 below). The tale proper is preceded by ‘The Author’s Preface’ (pp. [iii]–vi) and starts at p. [79].

4. THE UNPUBLISHED CORRESPONDENCE OF MADAME DU DEFFAND, WITH D’ALEMBERT, MONTESQUIEU, THE PRESIDENT HENAUT, THE DUCHESS DU MAINE, MESDAMES DE STAAL, DE CHOISEUL, THE MARQUIS D’ARGENS, THE CHEVALIER D’AYDIE, &C. FOLLOWED BY THE LETTERS OF VOLTAIRE TO MADAME DU DEFFAND. TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL FRENCH, BY MRS. MEEKE. IN TWO VOLUMES.

London: Printed at the Minerva Press, for A. K. Newman & Co.,
Leadenhall Street, 1810.

I iii, 412p; II 368p. 8vo.

BL 1454.i.9.

Notes. Prefaced by 'The French Booksellers' Address to the Public' (pp. i–iii) and 'Historical details respecting Madame du Deffand' (pp. 5–20).

5. **ELIZABETH; OR, THE EXILES OF SIBERIA. A TALE, FOUNDED ON FACTS. FROM THE FRENCH OF MADAME DE COTTIN, BY MRS. MEEKE.**

London: Printed at the Minerva Press, for Lane, Newman, and Co.
Leadenhall-Street, 1807.

vi, 237p. 12mo.

CtY Hfd29.602m.

Notes. Translation of *Élisabeth, ou les exiles de Sibérie* (Paris: 1806), by Sophie Ristaud Cottin. Multiple subsequent edns. Among these, BL 1507/344 carries the 1814 imprint of 'B. and R. Crosby and Co., Stationer's Court; Ludgate Hill'.

6. **THE MESSIAH: FROM THE GERMAN OF KLOPSTOCK. THE FIRST SIXTEEN BOOKS BY MRS. COLLYER, AND THE THREE LAST BY MRS. MEEKE. TO WHICH IS PREFIXED, AN INTRODUCTION ON DIVINE POETRY. IN TWO VOLUMES.**

London: For J. Walker; J. Johnson and Co.; J. Richardson; R. Faulder and Son; F. C. and J. Rivington; Vernor, Hood, and Sharpe; R. Lea; J. Nunn; J. Cuthell; E. Jeffery; A. K. Newman and Co.; Lackington, Allen, and Co.; Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown; Cadell and Davies; Wilkie and Robinson; J. Booker; Black, Parry, and Kingsbury; Sherwood, Neely, and Jones; J. Asperne; R. Scholey; and J. Harris, 1811.

I xii, 244p, ill.; II 328p., ill. 24mo.


BL (11522.bb.5).

Notes. Prose translation of Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock's *Der Messiah*, 4 vols (1748–73), originally written in verse, with the first part of the work translated into prose by Mary Collyer in 1763, and completed by her husband, Joseph Collyer. Each vol. contains frontispiece and engraved t.p., which reads 'The Messiah, a Sacred Poem from the German of Klopstock'. Prefatory essay 'On Divine Poetry' occupies pp. [iii]–xii of vol. 1. The work is divided into nineteen 'Books', each of which is prefaced by a one-page 'Argument'. The narrative proper concludes on vol. 2, p. 314, and is followed by an untitled note, which states: 'In the original, there is another book; but even Klopstock himself has not numbered it, therefore he does not seem to include it

in his poem, the action of which ceases here, as the concluding book is divided into different hymns, and into choruses of angels, who invite each other to sing. [...] The principal merit of this concluding book consists in the variety of rhyme, and of the versification; and this would be wholly lost in a prose translation, which has but very feebly, in the foregoing four books, followed the original text.' This is followed by 'Explanatory Notes' to Books XVI–XIX, occupying pp. [317]–328. Printer's marks (versos of t.ps.) in both vols. and colophon in vol. 2 of Lane, Darling, & Co. Leadenhall Street. BL copy examined contains owner's signature, 'C. J. Ellwin', dated 1839.

C. Spurious Works Attributed to Mrs Meeke

Below are listed spurious works attributed to Mrs Meeke (for which bibliographical details have not been recorded).

1. **MURRAY HOUSE. "A PLAIN UNVARNISHED TALE." IN THREE VOLUMES. BY MRS. PARSONS, AUTHOR OF ERRORS OF EDUCATION, WOMAN AS SHE SHOULD BE, MYSTERIOUS WARNING, GIRL OF THE MOUNTAIN, THE PEASANT OF ARDENNE FOREST, THE VALLEY OF ST. GOTHARD, THE MISER AND HIS FAMILY, MYSTERIOUS VISIT, &C &C.**
 Brentford: Printed by and for P. Norbury, 1804.
 CME 3-628-48398-0.
Notes. Attributed to Mrs Meeke by DNB, ECB. *English Novel* 1804: 54 specifies that this novel is to be attributed to Eliza Parsons, as the title page explicitly acknowledges.
2. **ELLEN; THE HEIRESS OF THE CASTLE. IN THREE VOLUMES. BY MRS. PILKINGTON.**
 London: Printed by E. Thomas, Golden-Lane, Barbican; for B. Crosby, and Co. Stationers'-Court, Ludgate Street, 1807.
 CME 3-628-48443-X.
Notes. Attributed to Mrs Meeke by DNB and *Oxford Guide*. The title page attributes the novel to Mrs Pilkington, not to Mrs Meeke.
3. **THE MONKS AND THE ROBBERS; A TALE OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY. IN TWO VOLUMES.**
 London: Printed for John Robinson, 25, Paternoster-Row, 1808.
 CME 3-628-48266-6.
Notes. Attributed to Mrs Meeke by the Corvey Collection Catalogue (CME 3-628-48266-6). 

NOTES

1. Peter Garside, 'The English Novel in the Romantic Era', in *The English Novel 1770–1829: A Bibliographical Survey of Prose Fiction Published in the British Isles*, ed. Peter Garside, James Raven, and Rainer Schöwerling, 2 vols (Oxford: OUP, 2000), II, 64.
2. *The Dictionary of British and American Women Writers*, vol. 116, *British Romantic Writers 1789–1832*, ed. Bradford K. Mudge (Detroit: Gale Research, 1992); *The Feminist Companion to Literature in English*, ed. Virginia Blain et al. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990); *The Oxford Guide to British Women Writers* ed. Joanne Shattock (Oxford: OUP, 1993), and *The Dictionary of National Biography* all affirm that Mrs Meeke was perhaps the Revd Meeke's wife.
3. The number of the item refers to the checklist of Mrs Meeke's original fiction at the end of this essay.
4. For a checklist of Mrs. Meeke's translations, see the bibliography at the end of this essay.
5. *Notes and Queries*, 2nd ser. 7 (Feb 1856), 133–34. The writer misspells Gabrielli: 'Mrs. Meeke, alias Gabrielle'.
6. For a survey of the links between the three chains of writing, see also Montague Summers, *A Gothic Bibliography* ([1940]; London: The Fortune Press, 1969), pp. 47–48.
7. In the *Notes* field of Section A of the Bibliography (checklist of Meeke's original fiction) of this study, all the connections among the three chains of writing are specified.
8. Garside, et al., II, 64: table 4.
9. *Ibid.*, II, 65.
10. *The Oxford Guide to British Women Writers* states that the hypothesis that this pseudonym may be her maiden name, and thus indicate her Italian origins, is apparently groundless.

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