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# The Many Mrs. Greys: Confusion and Lies about Elizabeth Caroline Grey, Catherine Maria Grey, Maria Georgina Grey, and Others

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THERE were a number of mid-nineteenth-century British writers with the name Mrs. Grey. It is symptomatic of the confusion these authors created that a number of nineteenth-century publishers, collectors, and critics, on the one hand, and modern cataloguers, bibliographers, and scholars, on the other, regularly conflate the works of at least three Mrs. Greys under the one name. What this indicates is that the confusion over which Mrs. Grey wrote which work has existed for over one hundred and fifty years.

The editors of the third edition of *The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* (hereafter *CBEL3*),<sup>1</sup> for example, list thirty-nine works under the name “Elizabeth Caroline Grey, *née* Duncan, 1798–1869.” Although *CBEL3* has — seemingly — identified the author of these works with great precision, not only are the works of many Mrs. Greys included in the list, but Elizabeth Caroline Grey was not the author of most of the titles listed; indeed, she may not have written *any* of them. Worse still, it is quite likely that everything we know about “Elizabeth Caroline Grey” is actually the fabrication of a compulsive liar.

1. *Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature, Volume 4: 1800–1900*, ed. Joanne Shattock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), col. 924–6.

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Since modern bibliographers and cataloguers are, quite clearly and uniformly, confused as to the identity and works of the many Mrs. Greys, I have approached the biographical and bibliographical facts with some scepticism, and I explain at some length the steps I have taken in compiling the following account. And although it is sometimes difficult to separate the biographical from the bibliographical, I begin with the latter because the bibliographical evidence is more certain. Only after establishing the separate identity of each group of texts do I turn to the identity of the author(s). It is possible that I have erred somewhat as a result of this conservative approach and positivist bias, but I hope this article will, nevertheless, considerably reduce the existing confusion for scholars concerning who wrote what.<sup>2</sup>

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Sarah Josepha Hale, an American, gave a short sketch of Mrs. Grey in *Woman's Record; or, Sketches of All Distinguished Women* (1853). Without providing a single biographical fact, she characterizes her author, thus:

[Mrs. Grey is] quite a popular English authoress, whom we may term "a Triton among the minnows." She is decidedly at the head of that class of novel-writers who administer to the amusement of those who read merely for something to do. If we find nothing very new or exciting, we find nothing injurious or distasteful to the most fastidious. Her books, with respect to the moral tone, may be safely allowed to "the fair and innocent," who will believe them to be finely written. The characters are such as, in our experience in that line of writing, we have had the opportunity to see portrayed many hundreds of times. Mrs. Grey dresses them up, however, very cleverly, and presents them to the public suitably. "The Gambler's Wife," one of her early works, has enjoyed a wonderful popularity; this argues some occult merits, which we were never able to discover. In her later works there is much improvement in the style, which is now generally correct. "Aleine" is decidedly the best of her productions, where there is a very successful imitation of Mrs. Marsh; in spirit and feeling some portions of it might fairly challenge competition with "The

2. In this essay I focus largely on works of reference and union catalogues that were available to the compilers of *CBEL3* in 1999. It would not have been possible to write this article without the generous assistance of Helen Smith who not only supplied me with a copy of her *New Light on Sweeny Todd, Thomas Peckett Prest, James Malcolm Rymer and Elizabeth Caroline Grey* (London: Jarndyce Books, 2002), a pamphlet that contains essential information on the many Mrs. Greys, but also generously shared with me her unpublished research findings.

Two Old Men's Tales." The other works of Mrs. Grey, reprinted in America, are "The Duke and the Cousin," "The Belle of the Family," "The Little Wife, a Record of Matrimonial Life," "The Manœuvering Mother," "Sybil Lenard," "The Young Prima Donna," "The Baronet's Daughters," "Hyacinthe, or the Contrast," "Lena Cameron," "The Old Dower House," "Alice Seymour," and "Harry Monk."<sup>3</sup>

A number of the fourteen works mentioned by Hale do not correspond to any title published in London (a subject I will return to), but the popularity and importance of *The Gambler's Wife* in Hale's account suggest that the first Mrs. Grey who should be investigated is "The author of *The Gambler's Wife*."

MRS. GREY NO. I: THE AUTHOR OF  
"THE GAMBLER'S WIFE" (1844)

In 1844 Thomas Newby published *The Gambler's Wife: A Novel. By the Author of "The Young Prima Donna," "The Belle of the Family," "The Old Dower House," &c.* The "wonderful popularity" (in Hale's words) of this text resulted in seven more editions being published in London and New York by 1890. Like many of the works by this Mrs. Grey, *The Gambler's Wife* is a "silver-fork" novel issued in the conventional three-decker format, a publishing staple that retailed for a guinea and a half from 1821 to 1894.<sup>4</sup> As we shall see, while this Mrs. Grey is occasionally identified as such on the title-page to her works, she is more often identified only

3. Sarah Josepha Hale, *Woman's Record; or, Sketches of All Distinguished Women, from 'The Beginning' till A.D. 1850* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1853), 683, s.v. "Mrs. Grey." This sketch was shamelessly plagiarized four years later by Henry Gardiner Adams in *Cyclopaedia of Female Biography; Consisting of Sketches of All Women Who Have Been Distinguished by Great Talents, Strength of Character, Piety, Benevolence, or Moral Virtue of Any Kind, Forming a Complete Record of Womanly Excellence or Ability*, ed. H. G. Adams (London: Groombridge and Sons, 1857), 348 s.v. "Mrs. Grey." Adams claims to have "carefully revised" entries written by Hale, "verify[ing] the dates and facts," but the main difference between the entries is that all of the originality and waspish wit of Hale's sketch has been removed, as has a significant qualification — "reprinted in America" — from her final sentence (which becomes "other works of Mrs. Grey are"). *Ibid.*, iii, iv, 348.

4. Lee Erickson, *The Economy of Literary Form: English Literature and the Industrialization of Publishing, 1800–1850* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 144. "Silver-fork" novels, which were particularly popular in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, focused on the lives of the wealthy and fashionable.

by a list of (between one and four) previous publications, in the form “By the Author of . . .” Because of the popularity of *The Gambler’s Wife*, this title is the one that was most often used to identify her later works.

The obvious way of compiling a list of the works of this Mrs. Grey would be to gather together all of the works “By the Author of ‘The Gambler’s Wife’” and add to this list all of the *other* works mentioned as being by the same author as “The Gambler’s Wife” in the longer lists on the title-pages to these novels (such as, in the present example, *The Young Prima Donna* [1840], *The Belle of the Family* [1843], *The Old Dower House* [1844]). Unfortunately, not only was there more than one Mrs. Grey, there was more than one novel entitled *The Gambler’s Wife*. And, since “Mrs. Grey no. 1” was not the only author to resort to circuitous methods of identification (as “By the author of . . .”), all of the works “By the Author of ‘The Gambler’s Wife’” are *not*, in fact, by the same author.

Fortunately, the *other* “Gambler’s Wife” is quite a different work from that by “Mrs. Grey no. 1,” having been issued in 1846 in penny numbers by Edward Lloyd, the publisher of such classic “penny dreadfuls” as James Malcolm Rymer’s *Varney the Vampire, or The Feast of Blood* (1847) and *The String of Pearls* [i.e., *Sweeney Todd*] (1847–8). The full details of this 1846 “Gambler’s Wife” are: *The Gambler’s Wife; Or, Murder Will Out*. By the author of “The Ordeal by Touch”; “The Iron Mask”; “The Assassins of the Cavern”; &c. . . . (London: Edward Lloyd, 1846), 134 pages, published in seventeen illustrated eight-page parts.<sup>5</sup> This work is founded on “Dr Croft’s celebrated song as sung by Henry Russell” and is spruiked as having been written by “the most favourite author of the day.”<sup>6</sup> As we shall see, it is highly unlikely that the 1844 and 1846 “Gambler’s Wife” are by the same author.<sup>7</sup> However, without the two works at hand, scholars and cataloguers have obviously had difficulty distinguishing the two

5. Elizabeth James and Helen R. Smith, *Penny Dreadfuls and Boys’ Adventures: Barry Ono Collection of Victorian Popular Literature in the British Library* (London: British Library, 1998), 40 (no. 243). The British Library holds two copies: 12623.f.37; C.140.e.25(3). Extra details from the Yale copy [In G869 850], reported in *The National Union Catalog Pre-1956 Imprints*, vol. 218 (London: Mansell, 1972), 165 [NG 0512035]. Hereafter *NUC*.

6. Smith, *New Light on Sweeney Todd*, 15–16.

7. In an advertisement for the 1849–50 reprint of 1846 “Gambler’s Wife,” reported by Helen Smith, the author is identified as “the Author of *Ada* and of *Jane Brightwell*.” *Ibid.*, 16; see also the discussion of “Mrs. Grey, no. 3” below.

titles. And, since each book is usually referred to by its short title on the title-page of *other* works by the two authors, it is not at all surprising that the 1844 and 1846 “Gambler’s Wife,” and therefore the works of each author, have previously been confused.

The thirteen titles attributed to “the Author of ‘The Gambler’s Wife,’” are, in alphabetical order,<sup>8</sup>

*Aline: An Old Friend’s Story.* By the Author of “The Gambler’s Wife,” “Daughters,” “Sybil Lennard,” &c. &c. &c. (London: T. C. Newby, 72 Mortimer Street, Cavendish Square, 1848), 3 vols. [Bodleian Library: 48.1355 (on Google Books);<sup>9</sup> Wolff 2773].<sup>10</sup>

*The Bosom Friend: A Novel.* By the Author of “The Gambler’s Wife,” “The Young Prima Donna,” &c., &c., &c. (London: T. C. Newby, 72 Mortimer St., Cavendish Sq., 1845), 3 vols. [Bodleian Library: 45.376 (on Google Books)].<sup>11</sup>

*Cousin Harry.* By Mrs. Grey, Author of “The Gambler’s Wife,” “The Young Husband,” etc., etc. (London: Hurst and Blackett, Publishers, Successors to Henry Colburn, 13, Great Marlborough Street, 1854), 3 vols. [Bodleian Library: 249 v.512–14 (on Google Books);<sup>12</sup> Wolff 2774].

*Daughters: A Novel.* By the Author of “The Gambler’s Wife,” “Sybil Lennard,” &c. (London: T. C. Newby, 1847), 3 vols. [University of Illinois Library: 823 G8693D; extra details from *NUC*, vol. 218 (1972), 164 (NG 0512016)].

*The Gambler’s Wife: A Novel.* By the Author of “The Young Prima Donna,” “The Belle of the Family,” “The Old Dower House,” &c. (London: T.

8. In constructing this list of the works of “Mrs. Grey no. 1” I have ignored the 1846 “Gambler’s Wife” and the attributions that flow from it (these will be discussed below, under the heading “Mrs. Grey no. 3”). I have also ignored, for the present, works *edited* by “Mrs. Grey, no. 1.”

9. Vol. 1 <<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=6jAEAAAAQAAJ>>, vol. 2 <<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=-jAEAAAAQAAJ>>, vol. 3 <<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=HDEEAAAAQAAJ>>.

10. Robert Lee Wolff, *Nineteenth-Century Fiction: A Bibliographical Catalogue Based on the Collection Formed by Robert Lee Wolff*, 5 vols. (New York: Garland Publishing, 1981–6), 2:158 [nos. 2770, 2772–6]. Hereafter cited in the form “Wolff 2773.”

11. Vol. 1–3 <[http://books.google.com.au/books?id=-\\_MDAAAAQAAJ](http://books.google.com.au/books?id=-_MDAAAAQAAJ)>.

12. Vol. 1 <<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=AbQBAAAAQAAJ>>, vol. 2 <<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=DrQBAAAAQAAJ>>, vol. 3 <<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=HrQBAAAAQAAJ>>.

C. Newby, 1844), 3 vols. [University of Adelaide Library: RB 823 G839g].

*Good Society; Or, Contrasts of Character.* By Mrs. Grey, Author of "The Gambler's Wife," "Passages in the Life of a Fast Young Lady," &c. (London: Hurst and Blackett, Publishers, Successors to Henry Colburn, 13, Great Marlborough Street, 1863), 3 vols. [Bodleian Library: 250 p.1–3 (on Google Books)<sup>13</sup>].

*The Little Beauty.* By Mrs. Grey, Author of "The Gambler's Wife," "Cousin Harry," &c, &c. (London: Hurst and Blackett, Publishers, Successors to Henry Colburn, 13, Great Marlborough Street, 1860), 3 vols. [Bodleian Library: 249 v.516–18 (on Google Books)<sup>14</sup>].

*Mary Seaham: A Novel.* By Mrs. Grey, Author of "The Gambler's Wife," &c. &c. (London: Colburn and Co., Publishers, Great Marlborough Street, 1852), 3 vols. [Bodleian Library: 249 v.508–10 (on Google Books)<sup>15</sup>].

*The Old Country House: A Novel.* By the Author of *The Gambler's Wife*, *Sybil Lennard*, *Aline*, *The Rectory Guest*, &c., &c. (London: T. C. Newby, 1850), 3 vols. [Sydney University Library: RB G842 J4 1 fh].

*Passages in the Life of a Fast Young Lady.* By Mrs. Grey, Author of "The Gambler's Wife," etc. (London: Hurst and Blackett, Publishers, Successors to Henry Colburn, 13, Great Marlborough Street, 1862), 3 vols. [Bodleian Library: 250 f.95–7 (vol. 3 on Google Books)<sup>16</sup>].

*The Rectory Guest: A Novel.* By the Author of "The Gambler's Wife." (London: Thomas Cautley Newby, 1849), 3 vols. [British Library: 12621.d.20; extra details from a copy for sale by Tiger Books, Canterbury, UK].

*Sybil Lennard: A Novel.* By the Author of "The Young Prima Donna," "The Belle of the Family" and "The Gambler's Wife," etc. (London:

13. Vol. 1 <<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=Ue4BAAAAQAAJ>>, vol. 2 <<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=Uu4BAAAAQAAJ>>, vol. 3 <<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=U-4BAAAAQAAJ>>.

14. Vol. 1 <<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=TbQBAAAAQAAJ>>, vol. 2 <<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=Y7QBAAAAQAAJ>>, vol. 3 <<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=g7QBAAAAQAAJ>>.

15. Vol. 1–3 <<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=U7sBAAAAQAAJ>>.

16. Vol. 3 <<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=LsYBAAAAQAAJ>>.

T. C. Newby, 72 Mortimer St., Cavendish Sq., 1846), 3 vols. [Bodleian Library: 46.944 (on Google Books)<sup>17</sup>].

*The Young Husband*. By Mrs. Grey, Author of “The Gambler’s Wife,” “Mary Seaham,” etc., etc. (London: Hurst and Blackett, Publishers, Successors to Henry Colburn, 13, Great Marlborough Street, 1854), 3 vols. [Bodleian Library: 249 v.509–11 (on Google Books)<sup>18</sup>].

Three works are mentioned on the title-pages of the above thirteen titles, among works also “by the Author of ‘The Gambler’s Wife’”; these are

*The Belle of the Family: Or, The Jointure. A Novel*. By the author of “The Young Prima Donna,” “The Little Wife,” &c. &c. (London: T. C. Newby, 65 Mortimer St., Cavendish Sq., 1843), 3 vols. [Bodleian Library: 43.328 (on Google Books)<sup>19</sup>].

*The Old Dower House: A Tale of Bygone Days*. By the author of “The Young Prima Donna,” “The Belle of the Family,” &c, &c, &c. (London: T. C. Newby, 1844), 3 vols. [University of Illinois Library: 823 G8600; extra details from *NUC*, vol. 218 (1972), 166 (NG 0512067)].

*The Young Prima Donna: A Romance of the Opera*. By Mrs. Grey. Author of “The Duke.” (London: Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street, 1840), 3 vols. [Bodleian Library: 40.526 (on Google Books)<sup>20</sup>].

Two more works are mentioned here for the first time, among works also by the author *The Belle of the Family*, *The Old Dower House*, etc.; these are

*The Duke: A Novel*. By Mrs. Grey (London: Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street, 1839), 3 vols. [Bodleian Library: 39.434 (on Google Books)<sup>21</sup>].

*The Little Wife; and The Baronet’s Daughter*. By Mrs. Grey, Author of “The Young Prima Donna,” and “The Duke.” (London: Saunders and Otley, Conduit Street. 1841), 3 vols. [Bodleian Library: 41.292 (on Google Books)<sup>22</sup>].

17. Vol. 1–3 <<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=PTgEAAAQAAJ>>.

18. Vol. 3 <<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=m70BAAAQAAJ>>.

19. Vol. 1–3 <<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=ctsDAAAQAAJ>>.

20. Vol. 1–3 <<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=VecDAAAQAAJ>>.

21. Vol. 1–3 <[http://books.google.com.au/books?id=\\_XkEAAAQAAJ](http://books.google.com.au/books?id=_XkEAAAQAAJ)>.

22. Vol. 1–3 <<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=pHp5Oo8JcgIC>>.

Finally, three more texts can be added to the above eighteen by virtue of the attributions that appear for the first time on the second London editions of *Hyacinthe; Or, The Contrast* (1835; repr. 1845) and *Lion-Hearted: A Novel* (1864; repr. 1864). *Hyacinthe* was first published as “By the Authoress of “Alice Seymour,” but the second edition expands this to “By Mrs. Grey, Author of ‘Alice Seymour,’ ‘The Belle of the Family,’ ‘The Gambler’s Wife.’” Similarly, *Lion-Hearted* was first published anonymously, but a second edition appeared soon afterward with the attribution “By the author of ‘The Gambler’s Wife,’ etc.” added to it. These attributions allow us to add<sup>23</sup>

*Alice Seymour: A Tale*. (London: J. Hatchard and Son, 187, Piccadilly, 1831). [Bodleian Library: 31.96 (on Google Books);<sup>24</sup> Wolff 2772].

*Hyacinthe; Or, The Contrast*. By Mrs. Grey, Author of “Alice Seymour,” “The Belle of the Family,” “The Gambler’s Wife.” (London: T. C. Newby, 72, Mortimer Street, 1845). [Bodleian Library: 45.375 (on Google Books);<sup>25</sup> Wolff 2775].

*Lion-Hearted*. By the author of “The Gambler’s Wife,” etc. Second Edition (London: Sampson Low, Son, and Marston, 1864), 2 vols. [Bodleian Library: 250 u.26–7].

The twenty-one works listed above — which I take to be the complete works of “Mrs. Grey, no. 1” — were published between 1831 and 1864 by T. C. Newby (ten titles); Hurst and Blackett (five); Richard Bentley (two); Colburn and Comany (one); J. Hatchard and Son (one); Sampson Low, Son and Marston (one), and Saunders and Otley (one). Twelve of the twenty-one titles name the author in the form “Mrs. Grey” (including this author’s first and last work, and a fairly even scattering of works in between). In chronological order the complete list of works by “Mrs. Grey, no. 1” is, therefore:

23. According to *The English Novel, 1830–1836*, the *Literary Gazette*, no. 936 (27 December 1834): 871, lists “Changes and Chances [*sic*], by the Author of ‘Alice Seymour.’” *Changes and Chances: A Domestic Story* (1835) is actually by Elizabeth Strutt (fl. 1805–63). See Peter Garside et al., *The English Novel, 1830–1836: A Bibliographical Survey of Fiction Published in the British Isles* (26 January, 2006), <<http://www.cf.ac.uk/encap/corvey/1830s/>>, accessed 1 May 2008, which notes (under no. 1835:102) “the implied attribution to Elizabeth Caroline Grey is apparently mistaken.”

24. <<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=llGuXr2JEIoC>>.



- 1831: *Alice Seymour. A Tale.*  
1835: *Hyacinthe; Or, The Contrast.*  
1839: *The Duke: A Novel.*  
1840: *The Young Prima Donna: A Romance of the Opera.*  
1841: *The Little Wife; and The Baronet's Daughter.*  
1843: *The Belle of the Family: Or, The Jointure: A Novel.*  
1844: *The Gambler's Wife: A Novel.*  
1844: *The Old Dower House: A Tale of Bygone Days.*  
1845: *The Bosom Friend: A Novel.*  
1846: *Sybil Lennard: A Novel.*  
1847: *Daughters: A Novel.*  
1848: *Aline: An Old Friend's Story.*  
1849: *The Rectory Guest: A Novel.*  
1850: *The Old Country House: A Novel.*  
1852: *Mary Seaham: A Novel.*  
1854: *Cousin Harry.*  
1854: *The Young Husband.*  
1860: *The Little Beauty.*  
1862: *Passages in the Life of a Fast Young Lady.*  
1863: *Good Society; Or, Contrasts of Character.*  
1864: *Lion-Hearted: A Novel.*

In addition to the twenty-one titles by “Mrs. Grey no. 1” are five that are “Edited by Mrs. Grey,” “Edited by the Author of “The Gambler’s Wife,”” or which can be attributed to the author(s) or works that made their “début under the chaperonage of” this Mrs. Grey.<sup>26</sup> The three that are edited by “Mrs. Grey no. 1” are

*The Gipsy's Daughter: A Tale.* Edited by the Author of “The Gambler’s Wife,” “Sybil Lennard,” “The Old Country House.” (London: Thomas Cautley Newby, 1852), 2 vols. [Sydney University Library: RB G842 J2 1 fh].

*Two Hearts: A Tale.* Edited by Mrs. Grey, Author of “The Gambler’s Wife,” “Cousin Harry,” &c. &c. (London: Hurst and Blackett, Pub-

25. <<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=DvcDAAAQAAJ>>.

26. Unsigned review of *One of the Family; Or, The Ladies: A Novel* (1861) in *The Athenæum*, no. 1748 (27 April 1861): 559: “This novel makes its début under the chaperonage of one of our most popular authors; but there is small danger of rivalry between Mrs. Grey’s adopted child and the offspring of her own imagination.”

lishers, Successors to Henry Colburn, 13, Great Marlborough Street, 1858). [Bodleian Library: 249 v.515 (on Google Books)<sup>27</sup>].

*One of the Family; Or, The Ladies. A Novel.* Edited by Mrs. Grey. Author of "The Little Beauty," &c. (London: J. Skeet, 1861), 2 vols. [Bodleian Library: 250 b.171-2 (extra details from the publisher's advertisement, *The Athenæum*, no. 1748 (27 April 1861), 549)].

Two works can be added to these three, which are either "By the author of 'The Gipsy's Daughter'" or a "Sequel to The Gipsy's Daughter"; these are *Sibyl's Little Daughter, A Sequel to The Gipsy's Daughter*. By A. M. Grey (London: Thomas Cautley Newby, 1854), 2 vols. [Bodleian Library: 249 v.519-20 (vol. 1 on Google Books);<sup>28</sup> Wolff 2770].

*The Autobiography of Frank, The Happiest Little Dog that ever Lived.* By the author of "The Gipsy's Daughter." (London: Darton and Co., [1861]). [College of William and Mary Library, Williamsburg: PZ10.3.G869 A; extra details from *NUC*, vol. 218 (1972), 163 (NG 0512005)].

There is no claim of common authorship between the first three titles, so it is possible that A. M. Grey, who is named as the author of *Sibyl's Little Daughter*, wrote only *The Gipsy's Daughter, Sibyl's Little Daughter* and *The Autobiography of Frank*, and that another author was responsible for either *Two Hearts, A Tale* and *One of the Family*, or that another two authors were responsible for these works. Nevertheless, as we shall see, all five works edited by "Mrs. Grey, no. 1" have been attributed to her.<sup>29</sup>

Six of the fourteen works mentioned in Hale's sketch of Mrs. Grey are not in my list of works by, or edited by, "Mrs. Grey, no. 1": "The Duke and The Cousin," "The Little Wife, a Record of Matrimonial Life," "The Manuvering Mother," "The Baronet's Daughters," "Lena Cameron" and "Harry Monk." Of these six, only one is actually a false attribution, because, as I have already mentioned, Hale has used the titles of Mrs. Grey's works as they appeared in American editions (which differ somewhat from the British editions) and, in one case, split a two-part

27. Vol. 1 <<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=NbQBAAAAQAAJ>>.

28. Vol. 1 <<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=oLQBAAAAQAAJ>>.

29. William Cushing lists A. M. Grey as the author of *The Gipsy's Daughter* (1852), and Mrs. Elizabeth Caroline Grey as the editor. William Cushing, *Anonyms: A Dictionary of Revealed Authorship* (Cambridge, MA: William Cushing, 1889), 270.

title (*The Baronet's Daughters and Harry Monk*) into two separate works. This mixture of reliable attributions, ghosts, and false attributions is typical of almost all of the reference works that have attempted to enumerate the novels of Mrs. Grey.

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In order to identify the many Mrs. Greys whose works have been conflated, I will need to discuss each of the main reference works and catalogues, concentrating on the attributions rather than the varying names used, before turning to “Mrs. Grey, no. 2,” and “Mrs. Grey no. 3.” Readers who skip forward to the end of this section will find a summary of the “progress” that was made in reference works between 1851 and 2000.

Thomas Hodgson's *The London Catalogue of Books... 1816 to 1851* (1851) lists fifteen works under the title “Mrs. Grey.”<sup>30</sup> Of these, only one is not by “Mrs. Grey, no. 1”: *Thoughts on Self-Culture, Addressed to Women*, by Maria G. Grey and her sister Emily Shirreff (1850). Maria Georgina Grey, *née* Shirreff (1816–1906) was a British educationalist who had a close relationship with her older sister Emily Anne Eliza Shirreff (1814–97).<sup>31</sup> Together they wrote two works, separately over a dozen.

The six works in Hale's sketch of Mrs. Grey (1853) that are not in my list of twenty-one genuine titles have already been mentioned. These are *The Duke and The Cousin* (Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson and Brothers, [c. 1850]), which is a reprint of *The Duke: A Novel* (1839), the drop-titles and running titles of which are “The Duke and The Cousin”; *The Little Wife, A Record of Matrimonial Life* (Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson, [c. 1850]), which is a reprint of the first story from *The Little Wife and the Baronet's Daughters* (1841); *The Baronet's Daughters; and Harry Monk. Complete in One Volume* (Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson, [c. 1850]), which is a reprint of the second story in *The Little Wife and the Baronet's Daughters* (1841), i.e., “The Baronet's Daughters”; *Lena Cameron; Or, The Four Sisters* (Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson, [c. 1850]), which is a reprint of

30. Thomas Hodgson, *The London Catalogue of Books Published in Great Britain. With Their Sizes, Prices and Publisher's Names. 1816 to 1851* (London: Thomas Hodgson, 1851), 231–2, s.v. “Mrs. Grey.”

31. Philippa Levine, “Maria Georgina Grey (1816–1906),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); online <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33571>>, accessed 23 April 2008. See below under “Mrs. Grey, no. 2” and Illus. 1 for the Shirreff family tree.

*Daughters: A Novel* (1847), “Lena Cameron” being a character in that novel; and “Harry Monk,” which is *The Baronet’s Daughters; and Harry Monk. Complete in One Volume*, just mentioned. The one false attribution is *The Manoeuvring Mother. By the Author of the “History of a Flirt”* (London: Colburn, 1842), in three volumes, which is actually by Lady Charlotte Susan Maria Bury, *née* Campbell (1775–1861), but Hale is not at fault in listing this book, because the (false) attribution is made by the publisher on the title-page (as we shall see).<sup>32</sup>

Our author next appears in S. Austin Allibone’s *Critical Dictionary of English Literature, and British and American Authors Living and Deceased* (1858), which enumerates seventeen items under the name “Mrs. Colonel Grey.”<sup>33</sup> All of these are genuine, appearing among the twenty-one works of “Mrs. Grey no. 1” above, although one is only *edited* by Mrs. Grey; three do not appear in Hodgson’s *London Catalogue of Books*.<sup>34</sup> More than two decades later Samuel Halkett and John Laing’s *Dictionary of the Anonymous and Pseudonymous Literature of Great Britain* (1882–8)<sup>35</sup> includes seven entries for “Mrs. E. C. Grey” (expanded to “Elizabeth C. Grey” in the index), two entries for “Mrs. Grey” (grouped with “Elizabeth C. Grey” in the index) and one for the “Hon. Mrs. Grey.”<sup>36</sup> Two of the works attributed to “Mrs. E. C. Grey” are for works by “Mrs. Grey no. 3”;<sup>37</sup> the remaining eight items, listed under these three different names, are works by “Mrs. Grey, no. 1.” All of these titles

32. G. C. Boase, “Lady Charlotte Susan Maria Bury (1775–1861),” revised by Pam Perkins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), online <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4147>>, accessed 23 April 2008.

33. S. Austin Allibone, *A Critical Dictionary of English Literature, and British and American Authors Living and Deceased*. 3 vols. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Company, 1858–71), 1:740, s.v. “Mrs. Colonel Grey.”

34. *Mary Seaham, The Young Husband and Two Hearts*.

35. Samuel Halkett and John Laing, *A Dictionary of the Anonymous and Pseudonymous Literature of Great Britain*, 4 vols. (Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1882–8).

36. “Mrs. E. C. Grey”: *Alice Seymour, Aline, De Lisle, The Old Country House, The Old Dower House, Sybil Lennard, The Trials of Life*. “Mrs. Grey”: *The Belle of the Family, Hyacinthe*. “Hon. Mrs. Grey”: *The Bosom Friend*. See Halkett and Laing, *A Dictionary of the Anonymous and Pseudonymous Literature of Great Britain*, vol. 1, col. 66, 67, 567, vol. 3, col. 1808, 1809, 2531; vol. 1, col. 223, vol. 2, col. 1195, vol. 4, col. 2652; and vol. 1, col. 250.

37. *De Lisle and The Trials of Life*.

had previously appeared under the name “Mrs. Grey” in reference works, but the fragmentation of our author’s name is new.<sup>38</sup>

Halkett and Laing were almost immediately followed by the *British Museum General Catalogue* (1881–1900; hereafter *BM Catalogue*), which reached “Mrs. Elizabeth Caroline Grey” in 1888, and its *Supplement* (1900–5) in 1902.<sup>39</sup> All but three of the thirty-nine entries in the *BM Catalogue* are works by “Mrs. Grey, no. 1” or edited by her (*The Autobiography of Frank and Sibyl’s Little Daughter* are listed as being by Elizabeth Caroline Grey rather than A. M. Grey; the one work by “Mrs. Grey no. 3” will be discussed below).<sup>40</sup> The *BM Catalogue* was the first reference work to give the full name of this author, but it made up for this by mistakenly listing a “Mrs. Elizabeth Seaham Grey” as the author of the 1884 reprint of *Mary Seaham* (1852), the first edition of which is listed only a few inches above it, in the sequence for “Mrs. Elizabeth Caroline Grey.”<sup>41</sup>

William Cushing’s *Anonyms: A Dictionary of Revealed Authorship* (1889) contains sixteen entries for works attributed to “Mrs. Elizabeth Caroline Grey.”<sup>42</sup> These entries conflate the works of four separate authors but nevertheless include twelve of the fifteen works “Mrs. Grey, no. 1” did issue anonymously. Cushing’s *Dictionary* — probably indebted to the *BM Catalogue* — adds four titles missed by Halkett and Laing and suggests an alternative author for another.<sup>43</sup> In the entry for *The*

38. See the Appendix for a complete list of the many Mrs. Greys mentioned — and the many forms each name has taken in the reference works cited in this essay.

39. “Great Britain–Griepfir,” *British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books* (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1888), cols. 362–3; “Goodhart–Gyürky,” *British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books: Supplement* (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1902), col. 229.

40. *The Autobiography of Frank* is by the author of *The Gipsy’s Daughter*. Although the *BM Catalogue* lists the latter as “Edited by...Mrs. E. C. G.” a few inches below, *The Autobiography of Frank* is listed as “By Mrs. E. C. G.”

41. *BM Catalogue* (1888), col. 263, s.v. “Mrs. Elizabeth Seaham Grey.”

42. There is no index to Cushing’s *Anonyms*, so it is not clear whether the sixteen entries traced are all that he included. However, no other title is attributed to Mrs. Grey by Cushing that is either known to be by Mrs. Grey or has been attributed to her.

43. Cushing adds *The Autobiography of Frank, Daughters, The Gipsy’s Daughter, Lion-Hearted; A Novel*. He also attributes *De Lisle; Or, The Distrustful Man* to Anna Maria Hall (née Fielding), then adds “or” Elizabeth Caroline Grey. See *Anonyms*, 53, 163, 270, 385; 165 and 86.

*Bosom Friend: A Novel* (1845) — which appeared under the name “Hon. Mrs. Grey” in Halkett and Laing’s *Dictionary* in 1882 — Cushing describes the author as the “wife of Colonel Grey.” Cushing’s entries for *The Autobiography of Frank* and *The Gipsy’s Daughter* follow the *BM Catalogue* in listing under “Mrs. Grey, no. 1” works that she edited, or works by the authors of works that she edited. Although *The Autobiography of Frank* is by the author of *The Gipsy’s Daughter*, only the former is attributed to “A. M. Grey.”<sup>44</sup> The remaining attributions fall into the two groups. These works are examined below, under the headings “Mrs. Grey no. 2” and “Mrs. Grey no. 3.”

John Forster-Kirk’s *Supplement to Allibone’s Critical Dictionary of English Literature, and British and American Authors* (1891)<sup>45</sup> adds eight items to Allibone’s list, five of which are genuine — meaning, they are actually the work of “Mrs. Grey, no. 1” — although one is a duplicate (an American reprint under a new title).<sup>46</sup> The other three are works that “Mrs. Grey, no. 1” edited, or other works by the authors she edited.<sup>47</sup> Although only two of Forster-Kirk’s additions appear in either Halkett and Laing’s *Dictionary* or Cushing’s *Anonyms*, they all appear in the *BM Catalogue*, suggesting the latter was his source for the extra items. Forster-Kirk was not consistent, however, and missed two items in the *BM Catalogue* not listed by Allibone.<sup>48</sup>

A “New and Enlarged Edition” of Halkett and Laing’s *Dictionary* (1926–34) adds four genuine titles to the eight listed in 1882–8, but the

44. This is despite the fact that Cushing makes a point of separately naming the author of *The Gipsy’s Daughter*, “A. M. Grey,” and the editor, “Elizabeth Caroline Grey.” See *Anonyms*, 53, 270.

45. John Forster-Kirk, *A Supplement to Allibone’s Critical Dictionary of English Literature, and British and American Authors*. 2 vols. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Company, 1891), 1:720, s.v. “Mrs. Elizabeth Caroline Grey.”

46. The duplicate title is *The Opera Singer’s Wife* (1861), which is a reprint of *Aline: An Old Friend’s Story* (1848), no. 2 in Allibone’s list. See Smith, *New Light on Sweeny Todd*, 19.

47. *Sibyl’s Little Daughter, One of the Family* and *The Autobiography of Frank*.

48. *The Gipsy’s Daughter* and *Lion-Hearted; A Novel*. Allibone lists three titles not in the *BM Catalogue* (*Aline, The Rectory Guest* and *The Young Prima Donna*), so Allibone and Forster-Kirk lists more titles (24 of 26) between them than the *BM Catalogue*. See *A Critical Dictionary of English Literature*, 1:740 and *A Supplement to Allibone’s Critical Dictionary of English Literature*, 1:720.

additions were a step backwards for scholarship.<sup>49</sup> One of the four new titles was not first published anonymously — it was only republished anonymously<sup>50</sup> — consequently, this list of *Anonymous and Pseudonymous Literature* is actually a less complete list than that published by Cushing forty years earlier. Of the three new titles remaining, only one is not in Cushing's *Anonyms*, and this title is one of three that do not appear in the index. As a result of this oversight, no one searching for works by this author would find Halkett and Laing's sole claim to our attention: *The Rectory Guest*. Turning to the listings as a whole: eighteen<sup>51</sup> titles are attributed to "Elizabeth Caroline Grey," but the individual entries use *eight* versions of this name: "Mrs. Elizabeth Caroline Grey" (ten examples), "Hon. Mrs. Elizabeth Caroline Grey" (one), "Miss Elizabeth Caroline Grey" (one), "Mrs. Elizabeth C — Grey" (one), "Mrs. Elizabeth C. Grey" (two), "Mrs. E. C. Grey" (one), "Mrs. E. C. Grey?" (one), and "Mrs. Elizabeth Caroline Greig" (one). The last of these is obviously a typo, while "Miss" Elizabeth Caroline Grey's *Tour to the Sepulchres of Etruria in 1839* (1840) is actually the work of Elizabeth Caroline Gray, *née* Johnstone (1800–87), wife of Rev. John Hamilton Gray, and thus "Mrs. Hamilton Gray" on the title-pages of later editions of her *Tour*.<sup>52</sup> In addition to twelve genuine items, therefore, this "New and Enlarged Edition" lists six other works, by four different authors. Like the *BM Catalogue*, it lists works by A. M. Grey under "Mrs. Grey, no. 1." The four works by "Mrs. Grey no. 2" and "Mrs. Grey no. 3" will be discussed below.

In the same year that the "New and Enlarged Edition" of Halkett and Laing's *Dictionary* began publication, Charles A. Stonehill, Andrew Block and H. Winthrop Stonehill released *Anonyma and Pseudonyma* (1926). This dictionary contains only five entries for two anonymous

49. Samuel Halkett and John Laing, *A Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous English Literature*, New and Enlarged Edition, ed. James Kennedy, W. A. Smith, and A. F. Johnson, 7 vols. (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1926–34).

50. *Ibid.*, 3.373, s.v. *Lion-Hearted*, citing the second edition.

51. Only fifteen appear in the index; missing are *ibid.*, 5.39 (*The Rectory Guest*), 403 (*Sybil Lennard*), and 6.97 (*The Trials of Life*).

52. Her name also appears as "Elizabeth Caroline Johnstone Gray"; she wrote *Emperors of Rome from Augustus to Constantine* (1850), *The Empire and the Church, from Constantine to Charlemagne* (1857), and *History of Rome for Young Persons* (1858) and contributed to her husband's *Autobiography of a Scotch Country Gentleman, the Rev. John Hamilton Gray, of Carntyne, with a Supplemental Memoir of His Later Years* (1868).

works and three pseudonyms attributed to “Mrs. Grey, no. 1” but manages to include in these five entries three different forms of the one name (“Mrs. E. C. Grey,” “Mrs. Elizabeth C. Grey,” and “Hon. Mrs. E. C. Grey”) and the works of two different authors!<sup>53</sup> Andrew Block’s solo contribution was only a modest improvement on this group effort. He listed eighteen items under the name “Elizabeth Caroline Grey” in his catalogue *The English Novel, 1740–1850* (1939), only thirteen of which are by “Mrs. Grey no. 1.”<sup>54</sup>

Block’s “New and Revised” edition of *The English Novel, 1740–1850* (1961) made significant changes to his 1939 entry.<sup>55</sup> The thirteen items by “Mrs. Grey no. 1” now appear under the name “Catherine Maria Grey” (a name not encountered before, even in Halkett and Laing’s *Dictionary*), but the five items *not* by “Mrs. Grey no. 1” previously mixed in with her works, have been removed. Three of these titles now appear under “Hon. Mrs. Grey,” two are re-assigned to “John Duncan (?)” and one, not previously listed, appears under “Elizabeth Caroline Grey.”<sup>56</sup> (These works are examined below, under the headings “Mrs. Grey no. 2” and “Mrs. Grey no. 3.”) There is no explanation for these changes, and Block’s 1961 list of sources is unchanged from 1939.

We now reach the first, most influential, and — for many decades — *only* scholar to examine the works and identity of Mrs. Grey: Montague Summers.<sup>57</sup> The biographical part of Summers’s *A Gothic Bibliography* (1941) will be examined at some length below; for now we are only interested in his bibliography. Only twenty-two of the thirty-seven items he lists under the name “Mrs. Elizabeth Caroline Grey, *née* Duncan, 1798–1869,”

53. Charles A. Stonehill, Andrew Block, and H. Winthrop Stonehill, *Anonyma and Pseudonyma*, 2nd ed. 4 vols. (1926; repr. London: C. A. Stonehill, 1927), vol. 1, cols. 40, 122, 135, 193; vol. 2, col. 397.

54. Andrew Block, *The English Novel, 1740–1850: A Catalogue Including Prose Romances, Short Stories, and Translations of Foreign Fiction* (London: Grafton and Company, 1939), 94–5.

55. Andrew Block, *The English Novel, 1740–1850: A Catalogue Including Prose Romances, Short Stories, and Translations of Foreign Fiction*, New and Revised Edition (London: Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1961), 91.

56. Block, *The English Novel, 1740–1850* (1961), 64, 91.

57. Montague Summers, *A Gothic Bibliography* (London: Fortune Press, 1941), author entry: 52–4; title entries: 228, 237, 239, 245, 250–1, 287, 290, 291, 300, 301, 334, 337, 340, 342, 363, 368–9, 388, 389, 404, 449, 452, 453, 457, 475, 502, 521, 537, 538, 547, 553, 564, 565.



are actually by “Mrs. Grey, no. 1.” (Summers is, however, the first author to offer dates for Elizabeth Caroline Grey.) Summers dismisses the separate authorship of the five works edited by “Mrs. Grey, no. 1,” or written by the authors that this Mrs. Grey seemingly edited, attributing them all to “Mrs. Elizabeth Caroline Grey.”<sup>58</sup> He also includes three works by “Mrs. Grey, no. 2,” and seven works by “Mrs. Grey, no. 3.” Although the thirty-seven items listed by Summer are, in fact, the work of four different authors, his list has the virtue of appearing to be comprehensive, and seems to have been influential for this reason alone.

After Summers only three library catalogues need to be considered: the *BM Catalogue* of 1959–66, the *National Union Catalog Pre-1956 Imprints* (1968–81; hereafter *NUC*) and the *Nineteenth Century Short Title Catalogue* (1986–95; hereafter *NSTC*). The first of these is quickly dealt with. The *BM Catalogue* of 1959–66 added four entries under “Mrs. Elizabeth Caroline Grey,” to make a total of forty-three, with cross-references to this entry from “Mrs. A. M. Grey, Author of ‘The Gambler’s Wife.’”<sup>59</sup> Of these new entries, two are by “Mrs. Grey no. 1,” and two are by “Mrs. Grey no. 2.”

In 1972 the *NUC* reproduced eighty-one catalogue cards under “Mrs. Elizabeth Caroline Grey,” with cross-references from “Mrs. Grey,” “Mrs. A. M. Grey” and “Elizabeth Caroline (Duncan) Grey.”<sup>60</sup> In 1981 four more cards appeared in the *Supplement to the National Union Catalog* (1980–1).<sup>61</sup> Twenty-three of the eighty-five cards, almost one quarter of them, are for works not by “Mrs. Grey, no. 1,” and, not surprisingly, half of the others (thirty-two of sixty one) are for American editions of Mrs. Grey’s works, editions that often appeared under different titles to the original London editions. Under “Elizabeth Caroline Grey,” the *NUC*

58. Summers, *A Gothic Bibliography*, 239, 340 (“Rather, written by...”), 452–3 (“Rather, written by...”), 502, 538.

59. *British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books to 1955. Compact Edition* (1959–66; repr. New York: Readex Microprint, 1967), s.v. “Mrs. Elizabeth Caroline Grey.” This edition perpetuates the cataloguing error for the 1884 reprint of *Mary Seaham* (1852), and continues to list A. M. Grey’s *The Autobiography of Frank and Sibyl’s Little Daughter* as being by “Elizabeth Caroline Grey.” See *ibid.*, s.v. “Mrs. Elizabeth Seaham Grey.”

60. *National Union Catalog Pre-1956 Imprints*, vol. 218 (London: Mansell, 1972), 151, 163–7 (NG 0512001–84).

61. *A Supplement to the National Union Catalog*, vol. 731 (London: Mansell, 1981), 16 (NSG 0053988–91).

includes the works of at least *ten* separate authors, each responsible for many works. The *NUC* is, therefore, by far the least reliable of all the works of reference mentioned thus far.<sup>62</sup> By combining the wisdom and ignorance of cataloguers from across the United States, the *NUC* encourages the unwary to create further confusion and misattributions.

Foremost among the American editions is a series of eighteen volumes published with the series title “Petersons’ Edition of Mrs. Grey’s Novels” (c. 1850) by T. B. Peterson and Brothers in Philadelphia.<sup>63</sup> Four of the Petersons’ editions differ in title and content from the original editions<sup>64</sup> — as we have seen from the discussion of Hale’s 1853 account of Mrs. Grey, above — but these variations do not count as attributions, nor have they provided evidence for other attributions. Unfortunately for bibliographers and cataloguers, however, Peterson also included three works not by “Mrs. Grey, no. 1” in his “Edition of Mrs. Grey’s Novels”: Lady Bury’s *The Manoeuvring Mother* (1842) and *The Flirt; Or, Passages in the Life of a Fashionable Young Lady* (i.e., *The History of a Flirt* [1840]), and Maria Georgina Grey and Emily Shirreff’s *Passion and Principle: A Novel* (1853). Because of the attributions of Peterson, other titles by Maria Georgina Grey and “By the Author of” *The Manoeuvring Mother* and *The History of a Flirt* — such as *A Marriage in High Life* (1828) and *The Wilfulness of Woman* (1844) — appear in the *NUC* entry with the works of “Mrs. Grey no. 1.”<sup>65</sup>

62. Although Halkett and Laing used eight names for “Mrs. Grey no. 1,” they did, nevertheless, limit themselves to conflating the works of just three authors.

63. The volumes published by T. B. Peterson and Brothers of Philadelphia are all undated. The title-page of *Lena Cameron* provides the following list: “Petersons’ Edition of Mrs. Grey’s Novels. Containing [1] Cousin Harry, [2] Gipsy’s Daughter, [3] Lena Cameron, [4] Belle of the Family, [5] Sybil Lennard, [6] Duke and Cousin, [7] The Little Wife, [8] Manoeuvring Mother, [9] Baronet’s Daughters, [10] Little Beauty, [11] Young Prima Donna, [12] Old Dower House, [13] Hyacinthe, [14] Alice Seymour, [15] Mary Seaham, [16] Passion and Principle, [17] The Flirt, [18] Good Society.” Many volumes include the statement “Complete in One Volume.” See the collections held at IU [823 G8693] and NjP [3762.984.1845].

64. These four works are (following the numbering from the previous note): (3) “Lena Cameron,” which is *Daughters, A Novel* (1847); (6) “Duke and Cousin,” which is *The Duke* (1839); (7) “The Little Wife”; and (9) “Baronet’s Daughters,” which includes one story each from *The Little Wife and the Baronet’s Daughters* (1841).

65. For works by Lady Bury attributed to Mrs. Grey, see *NUC* (1972), 164 [NG 05120024–6], 165, 166 [NG 05120057]. *NUC* directs the reader to Bury (for *The*

Other American publishers, particularly those in New York, also issued works by other authors with the attribution “By Mrs. Grey,” and these also ended up bound in collections of the “Works” or “Select Works” of Mrs. Grey.<sup>66</sup> In 1849 William H. Graham issued “*Ada and Elfine; Or, The Two Nieces*, By Mrs. Grey” and “*Fanny Thornton; Or, Marriage a Lottery*, By Mrs. Grey,” while H. Long and Brother issued “*Mabel Carrington; Or, Love and Pride*, By Mrs. Grey.” These appear to be Jane Vaughan Pinkney’s *Lady Granard’s Nieces: A Novel* (London: T. C. Newby, 1848), a story about Ada and Elfine Harolde;<sup>67</sup> Frances Milton Trollope’s *The Lottery of Marriage: A Novel* (London: Henry Colburn, 1849), a story in which Fanny Thornton is jilted by Mr. Augustus at the instigation of the “intriguing” Lady de Laurie and her daughter Cassandra;<sup>68</sup> and *Mabel Carrington: A Novel* (London: T. C. Newby, 1849), by “McGauran” (or “MacGauran”) — all very recent publications. In the 1860s a few of these New York editions reappeared under slightly different titles but with the same attribution to Mrs. Grey on the title-pages, causing further confusion: *Fanny Thornton; Or, Marriage a Lottery* was republished by Garrett and Company as *Marriage, a Lottery* (186?); and *Mabel Carrington; Or, Love and Pride* was republished by F. A. Brady as *Love and Pride* (1865?).<sup>69</sup>

Two cards from the New York Public Library attribute works by Harriet Maria Yorick Smythies (*née* Gordon; c. 1816–83) and Lady Harriet Anne Shank Scott (1819–94) to Mrs. Grey, although it is not at all clear why. These are Smythies’s *Match-Making; Or, Family Manœuvres: A Novel* (i.e., *The Matchmaker: A Novel* [1842]) and Scott’s *The Old Love*

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*Wilfulness of Woman*) but provides a card for *Passion and Principle: A Novel*. See also IU [823 G8693], where *The Wilfulness of Woman* is the second novel in vol. 2.

66. The “Works” and “Selected Works” of Mrs. Grey — both of which are binder’s titles — are held at the University of Illinois and Princeton University, respectively. See IU [823 G8693] and NjP [3762.984.1845].

67. *Lady Granard’s Nieces* was issued anonymously by the publisher favored by “Mrs. Grey, no. 1.” This is, perhaps, what led William H. Graham to guess that she was the author. The review in *The New Monthly Magazine and Humourist* 84, no. 3 (1848): 408–9, provides details of the plot.

68. The review in *The New Monthly Magazine and Humourist* 86, no. 2 (1849): 261–2, provides details of the plot.

69. See Appendix for a full list of titles attributed to the many Mrs. Greys that are mentioned in this essay.

and the New (i.e., *Percy; Or, The Old Love and the New* [1848]), which, to compound the error, are attributed to the wrong author, as well as to only a single author.<sup>70</sup> The first of these works continues to be attributed to Grey in the New York Public Library catalogue and, possibly as a consequence, elsewhere.<sup>71</sup> The remaining works, those by “Mrs. Grey no. 2” and “Mrs. Grey no. 3,” will be considered below.

*NSTC* has forty-four entries under the heading “Mrs. Elizabeth Caroline Grey.”<sup>72</sup> Readers are cautioned that the author’s name also appears as “Charlotte Elizabeth Grey” and, at the Bodleian Library, the “Hon. Mrs. Elizabeth Grey,” but there are, in fact, five separate authors included in the *NSTC* under this name. Only twenty-six of the forty-four entries are for works by, or edited by, “Mrs. Grey no. 1.” Although *NSTC* is a union catalogue, like *NUC*, scholars might have expected a more accurate survey of the works of the many Mrs. Greys, if only because the *NSTC* is largely based on the holdings of copyright libraries from within the country in which the works of all of the Mrs. Greys were first published (and published at a time when copyright libraries actually received copies of all new publications directly from publishers as they were released).

None of the attributions, or confusions caused by the reprinting of works under altered titles, are new to *NSTC*. It seems that Harvard University is responsible for reporting, and hence the listing of, Pinkney’s *Ada and Elfine*, Trollope’s *Fanny Thornton* and *Marriage: A Lottery* (different editions of the same work), and Lady Bury’s *The Manoeuvring Mother* and *The Wilfulness of Woman*.<sup>73</sup> Once again *Aline* and *The Opera Singer’s Wife* are separately listed (as in *NUC*), though they are editions

70. *NUC* (1972), 166 (NG 05120062, “With this is bound her: The old love and the new. New York, [186?]” and NG 05120069, “Bound with her: Match-making; or, Family manoeuvres. New York, [186?]”).

71. The State University of New York, Binghamton Library, holds a copy of this edition of *Match-Making* and also attributes it to Mrs. Grey. However, the Binghamton Library copy is not listed on the *NUC* card. See *ibid.*

72. *Nineteenth Century Short Title Catalogue, Series II, Phase I: 1816–1870*, vol. 2 (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Averro Publishing Ltd, 1990), 327–9 (2G22131–74). Hereafter cited as *NSTC*.

73. *NSTC* (1990), 327 (2G22131, only library), 328 (2G22145, only library; 2G22156, only library; 2G22155, “main entry at H”; 2G22171, “ascribed to this author at H”).

of the same work. Once again also, the remaining entries for works not by “Mrs. Grey no. 1” fall into two groups, which will be considered below.

We have now reached the point at which we started: *CBEL3* (1999). As stated, thirty-nine works are listed under the name “Elizabeth Caroline Grey,” eighteen of which are not by “Mrs. Grey no. 1.” This list includes every single work listed by Summers in 1941 — surely, no coincidence — and the two that it adds to Summers’s list are among the twelve works that are by “Mrs. Grey no. 2” and “Mrs. Grey no. 3.”<sup>74</sup>

What should be clear from this account of the score of reference works issued over one hundred and fifty years is that although the list of works genuinely by “Mrs. Grey no. 1” eventually grew, the variety of names applied to this author, and the number of works mistakenly attributed to her, grew far more rapidly. (See Appendix 1 for a complete list of both.) The growing list of false attributions ran parallel to a growing list of authors swallowed up under the rapidly multiplying and fragmenting “Mrs. Grey.” So, for example, while *The London Catalogue of Books* (1851) lists fourteen genuine works among fifteen titles, and all of these under “Mrs. Grey,” Halkett and Laing’s *Dictionary* (1926–34) lists thirteen genuine items among eighteen titles, but these appear under *eight* versions of this author’s name, and the *NUC* (1972, 1981) includes the works of at least *ten* separate authors in its eighty-five entries for “Mrs. Grey no. 1.”

MRS. GREY NO. 2: THE AUTHOR OF  
“DE LISLE; OR, THE DISTRUSTFUL MAN” (1828)

“Mrs. Grey no. 2” was the author of three books, none of which contains any evidence concerning the identity of the author. These are

*De Lisle; Or, The Distrustful Man* (London: Edward Bull, Holles Street, 1828), 3 vols. [*Database of British Fiction*: 1828A044;<sup>75</sup> Wolff 2772]

74. The online union catalogues that have become so important since 2000 — especially OCLC *WorldCat* and COPAC — seem to be at least as unreliable as *NUC* and *NSTC*, and for similar reasons. Although I have used these catalogues heavily in compiling the present account, a detailed examination of their errors and false attributions is beyond the scope of this essay.

75. Peter Garside, Jacqueline Belanger, and Sharon Ragaz, *British Fiction, 1800–1829: A Database of Production, Circulation, and Reception* (2004), <<http://www.british-fiction.cf.ac.uk/>>, accessed 1 May 2008. Hereafter the *Database of British Fiction*.

*The Trials of Life*. By the Author of "De Lisle" (London: Edward Bull, Holles Street, 1829), 3 vols. [*Database of British Fiction*: 1829A042]

*The Way of the World*. By the Author of "De Lisle" (London: Edward Bull, Holles Street, 1831), 3 vols. [*The English Novel*: 1831:34]

Reviews of *De Lisle* used the (default) masculine pronoun,<sup>76</sup> but when *The Trials of Life* appeared in the following year, either the personal pronoun is avoided or the female pronoun is used.<sup>77</sup> A lengthy and glowing review in the *Times* reveals that "[t]he authoress is said to be a lady very nearly connected with a distinguished Peer," noting that "[h]er works are as fashionable as can be desired, and this for a very natural reason, — because she speaks in the tone of the only society she knows."<sup>78</sup> The identity of the author, the fashionable female "very nearly connected with a distinguished Peer," first appears in *The London Catalogue of Books* (1851) as "the Hon. Mrs. Grey."

The "Hon. Mrs. Grey," *née* Shirreff, married Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. William Grey, brother of Charles Grey (1764–1845), later Second Earl Grey, the Prime Minister (1830–4), and undoubtedly "a distinguished Peer." The brother of this Mrs. Grey was Rear-Admiral William Henry Shirreff (1785–1847), father of the authors Maria Georgina and Emily Shirreff, mentioned above in connection with their *Thoughts on Self-Culture, Addressed to Women* (1850). Maria Georgina married her own cousin, the son of this "Hon. Mrs. Grey," making Maria Georgina both her niece and her daughter-in-law. Since both women were married to men named William, the elder to Colonel William, the younger to William Thomas, they were both likely to be addressed as "Mrs. William Grey." It seems that the two women attempted to avoid confusion

76. The *Database of British Fiction* quotes the *Star* newspaper (22 January 1828): 1: "if, as is understood, it be the first attempt of the author, [this work] will go far towards establishing his reputation in the literary world" and *La Belle Assemblée*, 3rd ser., 7 (February 1828): 81–2: "The writer...is, we apprehend, young and inexperienced — evidently, however, he is in possession of considerable talent." See the *Database of British Fiction*, 1828A044.

77. Avoided in *La Belle Assemblée*, 3rd ser. 8 (December 1828): 277; explicitly avoided in *The Monthly Review*, n.s. 9 (December 1828): 489–503: "We can find no possible excuse for the writer of this tale, whether young or old, male or female, for thus employing talents which deserve a more healthy occupation" (*ibid.*, 500). See the *Database of British Fiction*, 1828A042.

78. The *Times*, no. 13756 (21 November 1828), 3 columns C–D. Not quoted in the *Database of British Fiction*, 1828A042.

by scrupulously maintaining the names the “Hon. Mrs. Grey” or the “Hon. Mrs. Wm. Grey” (for the elder) and “Mrs. William Grey” (for the younger).<sup>79</sup> Despite these efforts, each has been confused with the other, and both with “Mrs. Grey, no. 1”!<sup>80</sup> (See Illus. 1 for the family tree of the three authors.)

The only modern authority to follow *The London Catalogue of Books* attribution is Block (1961). Halkett and Laing’s *Dictionary* (1882–8) attributed *De Lisle* and *The Trials of Life* to Elizabeth Caroline Grey,<sup>81</sup> an attribution repeated by Cushing in 1889 (though Cushing provides a second possible author for *De Lisle*),<sup>82</sup> and by Halkett and Laing’s *Dictionary* (1926–34).<sup>83</sup> In 1939 Block first added *The Way of the World* to the works of this author,<sup>84</sup> before changing the attribution of all three titles from Elizabeth Caroline Grey to Hon. Mrs. Grey in 1961, as stated.<sup>85</sup> Until at least 1967<sup>86</sup> the attribution of the British Library copies of *De Lisle* and *The Trials of Life* mirrored that in Halkett and Laing’s *Dictionary*, although the online catalogue now attributes them, without explanation, to Catherine Maria Grey.<sup>87</sup> However, other important reference

79. The 1853 edition of *Passion and Principle: A Novel* was credited to “Mrs. William Grey and Miss Emily Shirref.” See University of Queensland Library: CENG PR4728.G65P3.

80. John Sutherland, *The Stanford Companion to Victorian Fiction* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989), 264, identifies “Mrs. Colonel Grey” (1798–1869) as the author of *Good Society; Or, Contrasts of Character* (1863) and *Love’s Sacrifice: A Novel*, Mrs. William Grey (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1867), 3 vols. (NSTC: 2G22324). This conflation of “Mrs. Grey, no. 1” and Maria Georgina Grey is repeated in *At the Circulating Library: A Database of Victorian Fiction, 1837–1901*, ed. Troy J. Bassett (2008) <<http://www.victorianresearch.org/atcl/>>, accessed 1 May 2008.

81. Halkett and Laing, *A Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous English Literature* (1882–8), 1.567, 4.2652.

82. Cushing, *Anonyms*, 684, 165, the other author mentioned is Anna Maria Hall (née Fielding).

83. Halkett and Laing, *A Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous English Literature* (1926–34), 2.13, 6.97.

84. Block, *The English Novel, 1740–1850* (1939), 94–5.

85. Block, *The English Novel, 1740–1850* (1961), 91.

86. *British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books to 1955*, compact edition (New York: Readex Microprint Corp., 1967), s.v. “Mrs. Elizabeth Caroline Grey.”

87. The British Library “Integrated Catalogue” (online <<http://catalogue.bl.uk>>) has entries for *De Lisle* by Elizabeth C. Grey and *The T[rials]. of Life* by Catherine Maria Grey; an author search retrieves entries for *The Belle of the Family* (1843),

works, such as Peter Garside et al.'s *The English Novel 1770–1829* (2000), persist with the Elizabeth Caroline Grey attribution.<sup>88</sup>

MRS. GREY NO. 3: THE AUTHOR OF  
“THE ORDEAL BY TOUCH” (C. 1846)

“Mrs. Grey no. 3” is the author of the *other* “Gambler’s Wife” mentioned at the start of this essay, the 1846 “Gambler’s Wife” by the author of “The Ordeal by Touch,” “The Iron Mask,” “The Assassins of the Cavern,” etc. Like the works of “Mrs. Grey no. 2,” none of these publications contains any evidence concerning the identity of the author. These titles were all published by Edward Lloyd; some first appeared in serial form in his periodicals before being part-published in penny numbers, while others appeared in parts only. Since few copies survive, it is difficult to find reliable information concerning the dates of publication of these works, when and where they were first serialized, or the number of parts they were published in. Consequently, the following list is of part-publications only, listed in alphabetical order (the chronology being uncertain). It is also, for reasons to be explained shortly, only a partial list.

“The Assassins of the Cavern. A Romance” (London: E. Lloyd, [c. 1847]).<sup>89</sup>

*Claude Duval, The Dashing Highway-Man: A Tale of the Road.* By the author of “Paul Clifford.” (London: E. Lloyd, [c. 1854]), in 202 numbers. [James and Smith 241].<sup>90</sup>

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*The Rectory Guest* (1849), three editions of *The Young Prima Donna* (1840, 1854, 1877) and *Two Hearts: A Tale* (1858).

88. *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: Oxford University Press, 2000), 2.665 (no. 1828:45), 684 (no. 1829:40).

89. “The Assassins of the Cavern: A Romance” appears to have been issued as a serial only. It was published, without attribution of any description, in *Lloyd’s Entertaining Journal*, N.S., no. 1–8 (3 April–22 May 1847): 1–4, 28–9, 33–7, 55–8, 71–4, 84–8, 102–6, 118–23. See Steve Holland’s bibliography of James Malcolm Rymer posted on the Yahoo! Group, “Bloods and Dime Novels,” 19 December 2002 <<http://groups.yahoo.com/group/BloodsandDimeNovels/message/1017>>, accessed 1 May 2008.

90. James and Smith, *Penny Dreadfuls and Boys’ Adventures*, 40–1 (nos. 241–7). Hereafter cited in the form “James and Smith 241.”



*The Dream of a Life. A Romance.* By the author of “The Ordeal by Touch,” “Gentleman Jack,” &c. &c. (London: E. Lloyd, [c. 1843]), in 16 numbers. [James and Smith 242].

*The Gambler’s Wife; Or, Murder Will Out.* By the author of “The Ordeal by Touch,” “The Iron Mask,” “The Assassins of the Cavern,” &c.... (London: Edward Lloyd, 1846), in 17 numbers. [James and Smith 243].

*Gentleman Jack; or, Life on the Road: A Romance of Interest, Abounding in Hair-Breadth Escapes of the Most Exciting Character.* By the author of “Paul Clifford” (London: E. Lloyd, 1852), in 205 numbers. [James and Smith 244].

*The Iron Mask: A Romance.* By the Author of the Prize Romance of “The Ordeal by Touch” (London: E. Lloyd, 1847).<sup>91</sup>

*Jane Brightwell; or, The Beggar’s Petition: A Romance* (London: E. Lloyd, 1848), in 49 numbers. [British Library: 12621.g.14].

*The Ordeal by Touch: A Romance* (London: E. Lloyd, [c. 1846]), in 12 numbers. [James and Smith 245].

*Paul Clifford; or Hurrah For The Road: A Romance of Old Times.* By the Author of “Gentleman Jack,” “Claude Duval,” “Tom King” (London; E. Lloyd, 1852–3), in 162 numbers. [Bodleian Library: Pettingell 91, Pettingell 129].

*The Life and Adventures of Tom King, the Highwayman.* By the Author of “Paul Clifford,” “Captain Hawk,” “Claude Duval” &c. (London: E. Lloyd, 1851), in 58 numbers.<sup>92</sup> [British Library: 12624.f.22].

91. “The Iron Mask. A Romance” was first serialized in Lloyd’s *Entertaining Weekly Miscellany*, 31 October 1846–27 March 1847 before being “[i]ssued in numbers, E. Lloyd. 1848.” See Summers, *A Gothic Bibliography* (1941), 368–9. No copy can be located on WorldCat or COPAC.

92. Arthur Edward Waite states “no one has spoken or heard” of this title “at any time”; Ayresome Johns cites J. Medcraft’s 1945 description of *Tom King: The Bold Highwayman* as “[o]ne of the scarcest of the Lloyds,” of which “only one copy [is] believed to exist.” See Arthur Edward Waite, *The Quest for Bloods: A Study of the Victorian Penny Dreadful by A. E. Waite*, ed. Ayresome Johns ([London]: Printed for Private Circulation, 1997), 64 n34, citing *A Bibliography of the Penny Bloods of Edward Lloyd* (Dundee: Privately Printed, 1945). Jay also mentions this work under the title *Tom King: Life and Adventures of the Highwayman* (London: Lloyd, 1852), in 51 numbers. See Frank Jay, “Peeps into the Past,” *The London Journal* 10 May 1919; repr. in *Peeps into the Past* (London: Spare Moments Office, [1918–21]); repr. online by Justin Gilbert as *Peeps into the Past; Being a History of Oldtime Periodicals*,

*Vileroy; Or, The Horrors of Zindorf Castle. A Romance of Chivalry* (London: E. Lloyd, [1842]), in 52 numbers. [James and Smith 246]

The confusion of the 1844 and 1846 “Gambler’s Wife” resulted in the attribution, in the *BM Catalogue*, of both *The Gambler’s Wife* and *The Ordeal by Touch* to Elizabeth Caroline Grey as early as 1888,<sup>93</sup> attributions that were picked up by Cushing in the following year.<sup>94</sup> Doubtless, this group of attributions would have gradually expanded — as it did for “Mrs. Grey, no. 1” — but the process of accumulation was interrupted by Frank Jay. In May 1919 Jay attributed *Gentleman Jack, Ordeal by Touch* and *The Dream of a Life* to “Mrs. E. C. Grey” in his column in *The London Journal*.<sup>95</sup> Seemingly not satisfied with his own attribution, on 18 March 1922 he asked the readers of *Notes and Queries* for information concerning the authorship of eleven “penny dreadfuls,” among which are *The Gambler’s Wife, Gentleman Jack, Paul Clifford, and Claude Duval*.<sup>96</sup> Most of what is known, and all that is now disputed, concerning Elizabeth Caroline Grey appeared in the exchange that occurred within the pages of *Notes and Queries* in the following months.

\* \* \*

On 8 April Albert Hall replied to Jay’s query: “I have always understood that ‘Gentleman Jack’ was written by a lady, viz., Mrs. Elizabeth Caroline Grey, who wrote ‘The Ordeal by Touch,’ ‘The Dream of a Life,’ and several other penny shockers published by E. Lloyd during the period in question.”<sup>97</sup> Hall notes the lack of information available concerning Grey:

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*Journals and Books* (7 January 2007) <<http://www.geocities.com/justingilb/texts/PEEPS.htm>>, accessed 1 May 2008.

93. *BM Catalogue* (1888), s.v. “Mrs. Elizabeth Caroline Grey,” “Gambler,” and “Ordeal.”

94. Cushing, *Anonyms*, 262, 482.

95. Jay writes: “Prest is generally credited as being the author [of *Gentleman Jack*], but as far as my researches go, he was not..., for a lady of the name of Mrs. E. C. Grey wrote it. She was also the author of “Ordeal by Touch,” 1847, and “The Dream of a Life,” a romance, 1847. Both published by Lloyd.” Jay, “Peeps into the Past” for 19 April 1919.

96. Frank Jay, “Early Victorian Literature,” *Notes and Queries*, 12th ser., 10 (18 March 1922): 210.

97. Albert Hall, “Replies. Early Victorian Literature,” *Notes and Queries*, 12th ser., 10 (8 April 1922): 274.

“I have not been able to find any mention of her beyond a short list of works under her name in the British Museum Library, where neither ‘Gentleman Jack’ nor [‘Villroy; Or,] The Horrors of Zendorf Castle’ are mentioned.”<sup>98</sup> Jay expressed his regret on 29 April that no further information had been forthcoming, explaining that he had already attributed *Gentleman Jack* to Grey in 1919 “based upon the announcement of another penny dreadful published by Lloyd, entitled ‘The Dream of a Life,’ a romance by the author of ‘The Ordeal by Touch,’ ‘Gentleman Jack,’ &c., &c., and this must stand until fresh evidence proves otherwise.”<sup>99</sup>

On 13 May Andrew de Ternant of Brixton reported “very important” information (this is Jay’s assessment<sup>100</sup>) from the “late Mr W. E. Church... a writer on *Lloyd’s Weekly News*” concerning Mrs. Grey:

Mrs. Elizabeth Caroline Grey (*née* Duncan), authoress of “The Ordeal by Touch,” “The Dream of a Life,” &c., before her tales were accepted for publication by Edward Lloyd, kept a school for girls with her unmarried sister in a side street of [sic] the City Road. She was for some years a general secretary and editress of Lloyd’s publications, and subsequently became a contributor to *The London Journal* and other similar periodicals. She died (Mr. Church said) between 1865–69. Her husband was a reporter on *The Morning Chronicle*. Mr. Church said he never made any attempt to shine as a novelist, but it was generally understood he greatly assisted his wife in the composition of her tales of the more masculine type. Mrs. Grey’s nephew, Mr. Duncan, was a well-known reporter on London newspapers, and his son Walter, a free-lance reporter, who died about 1904, by a curious coincidence lived some time in Duncan’s Buildings, Holborn. Mrs. Grey was also the niece of Miss Duncan, a celebrated actress of the early years of the nineteenth century, who was the mother of Duncan Davison, the musical publisher near Hanover Square, and W. J. Davison, editor of *The Municipal World* and musical critic of *The Times*.<sup>101</sup>

98. *Ibid.*

99. Frank Jay, “[Replies.] Early Victorian Literature,” *Notes and Queries*, 12th ser., 10 (29 April 1922): 332.

100. Frank Jay, “Replies. Early Victorian Literature,” *Notes and Queries*, 12th ser., 10 (13 May 1922): 374. Jay later stated that the Ternant/Church material “throws considerable light upon the subjects in question” and would be “of great interest and value if published.” Frank Jay, “[Replies.] Early Victorian Literature,” *Notes and Queries*, 12th ser., 10 (27 May 1922): 417–18.

101. Andrew de Ternant, “Replies. Early Victorian Literature,” *Notes and Queries*, 12th ser., 10 (13 May 1922): 372–4. William Edward Church, Hon. Secretary of the Urban Club, is known only for the few essays he published concerning William Makepeace Thackeray.

Unfortunately for us, de Ternant (1860–1937) was a compulsive liar, whose fabrications concerning Claude Debussy, published in various musical journals, “were the zenith of an otherwise unremarkable career.”<sup>102</sup> In “pompous and self-satisfied prose” he purported “to supplement generally known events with interesting details...[t]hese details were, alternatively, quite specific (as in precise words uttered and the conclusions drawn), vague (as regards when, where, and how the meeting took place).”<sup>103</sup> Although “all the people mentioned in [de Ternant’s] accounts were dead” his “assured and detailed reminiscences were persuasive” and “had a decent pedigree — they had appeared in a respectable publication and had undergone a modicum of editorial scrutiny.”<sup>104</sup> He also held back information, “waiting to be contacted by researches rather than flooding the market with details. He played the part of the kindly oldster, recording for posterity his conversations with [great men].”<sup>105</sup>

De Ternant’s information concerning Elizabeth Caroline Grey is of precisely the same character as his better-known fabrications: his article provides a trickle of plausible but unverifiable information, published in a respectable journal, represented as the second-hand recollections of a dead man. He has even reused the story of a planned, but unrealized, biography by his source to support his own recollections.<sup>106</sup> His account

102. James F. Penrose, “Inventing Claude Debussy,” *New Criterion* 20, no. 10 (June 2002): 46. Penrose quotes, but does not cite, Léon Vallas, “César Franck in England,” *Music and Letters* 28, no. 4 (October 1947): 417–18. See also Edward Lockspeiser, “New Literature on Debussy,” *Music and Letters* 40, no. 2 (April 1959): 140–9, esp. 142.

103. Penrose, “Inventing Claude Debussy,” 43.

104. *Ibid.*, 44.

105. *Ibid.*

106. In 1922 he wrote that Mr. Church “often said during the year 1887 he had collected an abundance of material for a series of articles on the popular anonymous cheap fiction of Queen Victoria’s reign, but there were two fatal objections to the scheme”; two years later: “Debussy once said to me that every professional musician should write an ‘autobiography’ and that when he reached the age of sixty, he would himself commence one.... Debussy, unfortunately, did not reach the age of sixty.” See de Ternant, “Replies. Early Victorian Literature” (13 May 1922): 372; Andrew de Ternant, “Debussy and Brahms,” *The Musical Times* 65 [No. 977] (1 July 1924): 608.

was repeated and slightly expanded by Summers (1941)<sup>107</sup> and has since found its way into such reputable dictionaries of biography as John Sutherland's *Stanford Companion to Victorian Fiction* (1989) and Virginia Blain, Patricia Clements, and Isobel Grundy's *Feminist Companion to Literature in English* (1990).<sup>108</sup>

Although de Ternant has not previously been exposed as the *inventor* of information concerning Elizabeth Caroline Grey, the small numbers of people who have examined his claims have not treated them with the respect afforded them by Jay. In the 1920s Arthur Edward Waite wrote that he was "not...convinced about the claims."<sup>109</sup> And, as Helen Smith observed in 2002, whether Mrs. Grey was Lloyd's secretary, one of his popular house authors, or both, it would have been "equally embarrassing" for him that she should also be the winner of his one hundred-guinea-prize, as de Ternant claims.<sup>110</sup>

The identification of Mrs. Grey as the winner of Lloyd's one-hundred-guinea prize for a new work has given a "spurious authority" to the attribution (to Grey) of the works by the author of *The Ordeal by Touch*.<sup>111</sup> In fact, the name of the winner of this prize was never published. After continual delays, "supposedly due to the number of entries submitted," the prize was awarded in July 1846, and the winning work was used to open a new volume of *Lloyd's Entertaining Journal*.<sup>112</sup> Lloyd's silence about the identity of his prize-winning author *may* have been — as Smith suggests — the result of his desire to conceal the fact that the

107. Summers, *A Gothic Bibliography*, 52–3, adds six lines about the performances of "Miss Duncan, a favourite actress of the earlier years of the eighteenth [*sic*] century," and three lines concerning the final years of Mrs. Grey (who "died in 1869, being seventy-one years old. She appears to have been in comfortable circumstances after an industrious and active life").

108. Sutherland, *The Stanford Companion*, 264; Virginia Blain, Patricia Clements, and Isobel Grundy, eds., *The Feminist Companion to Literature in English* (London: Batsford, 1990), 461.

109. Arthur Edward Waite's study of "Penny Dreadfuls" was compiled in the 1920s but not published until 1997. Waite clearly followed the exchange in *Notes and Queries* closely, citing both Albert Hall's 8 April and Andrew de Ternant's 13 May reply to Jay's query. See Waite, *The Quest for Bloods*, 40, 64 n30.

110. Smith, *New Light on Sweeney Todd*, 16.

111. *Ibid.*

112. *Ibid.*

prize was awarded in-house (or even that the prize itself was a ruse, which could only be maintained by “awarding” it in-house), but most of Lloyd’s publications were issued anonymously, and so this fact alone is unremarkable.

As stated above, the attribution of works “by the author of *The Ordeal by Touch*” to Mrs. Grey was first made by Jay in 1919. Jay does not provide any evidence whatsoever for his claim, stating only that:

Prest is generally credited as being the author [of *Gentleman Jack*], but as far as my researches go, he was not...for a lady of the name of Mrs. E. C. Grey wrote it. She was also the author of “Ordeal by Touch,” 1847, and “The Dream of a Life,” a romance, 1847. Both published by Lloyd.<sup>113</sup>

This vague reference to “researches” is not very convincing,<sup>114</sup> and three years later Jay was clearly still looking for evidence. Albert Hall’s 1922 statement, that he has “always understood that ‘Gentleman Jack’ was written by a lady, viz., Mrs. Elizabeth Caroline Grey,” is also just that, a statement. No evidence is provided, and he may be indebted to Jay for his belief that Grey was the author. The claims made by de Ternant are not only worthless but also render suspect the statements of all who followed him, because they were made in a high-profile journal<sup>115</sup> and were widely disseminated shortly after his death (in Summers’s *A Gothic Bibliography*).

All that is known for certain is that the author of *The Ordeal by Touch* is referred to as “he” by Lloyd<sup>116</sup> and that the advertisements for both *Vileroy, or, The Horrors of Zindorf Castle* (1842) and *The Gambler’s Wife*;

113. Jay, “Peeps into the Past” for 19 April 1919.

114. In 1922, Jay expanded very slightly on this 1919 statement, saying that he “based [his claim] upon the announcement of another penny dreadful published by Lloyd...and this must stand until fresh evidence proves otherwise.” It is not clear whether the announcement in question stated unambiguously “this novel is by Elizabeth Caroline Grey,” or “Mrs. Grey,” or “the author of” a work that identified (in Jay’s mind) the writer as Elizabeth Caroline Grey. Without this specific information, Jay’s claim is of no value. Jay, “[Replies.] Early Victorian Literature” (29 April 1922): 332.

115. Although he was sceptical of the claims made by de Ternant, it is clear that Waite was aware of them almost immediately. See Waite, *The Quest for Bloods*, 40, 64 n30.

116. Ibid. Smith notes that Lloyd “did use ‘authoress’ for his women writers” but that the use of a male pronoun in this instance does not constitute “definite proof” concerning the sex of the author.

*Or, Murder Will Out* (1849–50) — both by the author of *The Ordeal by Touch* — attribute these works to the author of *Ada the Betrayed* and *Jane Brightwell*, who is usually understood to be James Malcolm Rymer (1814–84). *The Gambler's Wife; Or, Murder Will Out* is also described as being by “the most popular author of the day,” a description that seems to fit Rymer better than the de Ternant’s Mrs. Grey.<sup>117</sup>

The critic is left with four possibilities: the attributions (reported by Smith) in Lloyd’s advertisements for *Vileroy* and *The Gambler's Wife* are accurate, in which case (1) the complete list of works presently attributed to Rymer (including seventy novels and over fifty serials)<sup>118</sup> should be transferred from Rymer to Mrs. Grey; or (2) transferred from Mrs. Grey to Rymer; or (3) the attributions are accidental errors; or (4) they are intentional (false) attributions, representing a post hoc attempt by Lloyd to boost sales by transferring the authorship of an anonymous work to a successful author.

In the absence of compelling evidence to accept the Jay attributions, I am forced to reject the identification of Elizabeth Caroline Grey as the author of either the short list of works “by the author of *The Ordeal by Touch*” (given above) or the long list of works that ultimately flows from this attribution (given by Steve Holland in his bibliography of Rymer).

The biographical claims made by de Ternant are, strictly speaking, irrelevant once the attribution of any work to a “Mrs. Grey, no. 3” has been rejected. But, just as the works of the many Mrs. Greys have been confused, so have the identities of the authors. It will be necessary, therefore, to examine de Ternant’s claims concerning Elizabeth Caroline Grey before turning to the more important question of what we know about the many Mrs. Greys and how we are to distinguish them from one another.

117. *Ibid.*

118. Holland, “James Malcolm Rymer” (2002): “Novels published anonymously” (59 items, including 3, 19, 20), “Novels as Malcolm J. Errym” (7), “Novels as Septimus R. Urban” (3), “Novels as Bertha Thorne Bishop” (1), “Serials” (55); “Claude Duval series” (28). My citation of Holland is not an endorsement of all of his attributions (some of the attributions remain contentious) but an indication of the scale of the flow-on attributions that would result from accepting every claim of common authorship. Holland includes all eight items from my short list of works attributed to “Mrs. Grey, no. 3”: see “Novels published anonymously” (nos. 3, 13, 19, 20, 42, 44 and 45) and “Serials” (no. 20). See also the list of 122 titles that Smith attributes to Rymer (*New Light on Sweeney Todd*, 32–6).

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De Ternant makes over one dozen separate claims in his 204-word account of Mrs. Grey. The most important, the first and sixth, are that the maiden name of Elizabeth Caroline Grey was Duncan and that she died “between 1865–69.” None of the works that mention Elizabeth Caroline Grey before de Ternant’s 1922 account provides these details, and it has not been possible to confirm them.<sup>119</sup> Summers, however, seems to have identified a suitable candidate, because he states that Elizabeth Caroline Grey, *née* Duncan, “died in 1869, being seventy-one years old. She appears to have been in comfortable circumstances after an industrious and active life.” Summers does not provide any evidence for this claim, one of the very few additions he made to de Ternant’s account; but if his source provides support for Elizabeth Caroline Grey’s maiden name, as well as for her date of death, he does not mention it. All subsequent authorities are, therefore, indebted to both de Ternant and Summers, the former for Mrs. Grey’s maiden name, the latter for her dates of birth and death.

De Ternant’s third and ninth through thirteenth claims concern the Duncans, Mrs. Grey’s (supposed) blood relations: her sister, nephew (and his son), and aunt (and her sons). A number of these were real people who are easily identified. Starting at the end: the putative aunt is Maria Rebecca Davison, *née* Duncan (c. 1780–1858), “a celebrated actress of the early years of the nineteenth century,” as claimed.<sup>120</sup> Maria was the daughter of the actors Timothy Duncan (c. 1750–1801) and Mrs. Duncan, *née* Legg (c. 1760–1801).<sup>121</sup> Joseph Knight reports that Maria

119. Helen Smith has identified in the Index of Wills an Elizabeth Caroline Gray who died in 1869 at 41 (and therefore was born c. 1828 and “could not have written the early novels” (*New Light on Sweeney Todd*, 17). There is an International Genealogical Index (IGI) record for the marriage of an Elizabeth Duncan and a William Grey on 13 May 1804, Chester Le Street, Durham. FamilySearch™ v5.0, citing Batch no. M000581, Sheet no. 00, Source Call no. 0091090, Printout Call no. 6904989, <<http://www.familysearch.org/>>, accessed 1 May 2008. Although, as Smith states, Duncan and Gray are quite common names, this is the only couple with the necessary first and last names to appear on the IGI between 1790 and 1880. Smith, private correspondence, 12 May 2008.

120. Joseph Knight, “Maria Rebecca Davison (1780x83–1858),” revised by J. Gilliland, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); online <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7304>>, accessed 15 May 2008.

121. Philip H. Highfill Jr., Kalman A. Burnim, and Edward A. Langhans, *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers and other*



and her husband James “had two sons, the elder being James William Davison (1813–85), music critic of *The Times*.”<sup>122</sup> An obituary for William Duncan Davison (1815–1903) describes him as both the brother of James William and “for many years in business as a music-publisher [and]...formerly the proprietor of the now defunct *Musical World*,”<sup>123</sup> all of which accords with de Ternant’s account. The nephew is harder to identify, but his son may be the “Walter D. Duncan, Reporter,” who wrote to *The Times* in 1891.<sup>124</sup>

For de Ternant’s account to be true Elizabeth Caroline Duncan must have been the daughter of Maria’s brother (if Elizabeth was the daughter of Maria’s sister, they would not share a last name). However, none of the biographical accounts of Maria (or her parents), or the sources they rely on, mention any siblings for Maria, an omission that suggests that Maria was an only child (or, less likely, that no biographer was interested in her siblings or that she was successful in hiding the existence of any siblings).<sup>125</sup>

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*Stage Personnel in London, 1660–1800*, 16 vols. (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1982), 4:503–4.

122. John Warrack, “James William Davison (1813–85),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004); online <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7301>>, accessed 15 May 2008.

123. “Obituary: William Duncan Davison,” *The Musical Times*, 44 [no. 720] (1 February 1903), 124: “With regret we place on record the death of Mr. William Duncan Davison, brother of the late Mr. J. W. Davison, the distinguished music critic of *The Times*. Mr. Duncan Davison, who had reached the age of eighty-eight, passed away at 49, St Charles’s Square, North Kensington, on the 14th ult. He was for many years in business as a music-publisher [and]...formerly the proprietor of the now defunct *Musical World*.”

124. Walter D. Duncan, “To the Editor of The Times,” *Times*, no. 33449, Wednesday, 7 October 1891, 8, col. B (signed “Walter D. Duncan, Reporter, 172 Fleet Street”).

125. See Knight, “Maria Rebecca Davison” (2004), citing Leigh Hunt, *Critical Essays on the Performers of the London Theatres* (London: J. Hunt, 1807), 170–8; Thomas Gilliland, *The Dramatic Mirror: Containing the History of the Stage from the Earliest Period to the Present Time*, 2 vols. (London: C. Chappel, 1808), 2:736–9; *The Biography of the British Stage* (London: Sherwood, Jones, and Company, 1824), 44–6; *Oxberry’s Dramatic Biography, Histrionic Anecdotes*, 4 vols. (London: George Virtue, 1825), 1:51–7; Mrs. C. Baron-Wilson, *Our Actresses; Or, Glances at Stage Favourites, Past and Present*, 2 vols. (London: Smith, Elder and Company, 1844), 1:167–88 (esp. 168, 187–8); J. W. Cole, *The Life and Theatrical Times of Charles Kean*, 2 vols. (1859; repr. London: Richard Bentley, 1860), 2:257–9; Mrs. N. Crosland

Mrs. Grey's sister is not named by de Ternant, and the school she is supposed to have kept with her, "in a side street of [sic] the City Road" before 1842, cannot be identified.<sup>126</sup> Smith has identified schoolmistresses named Sarah Duncan in 1841 (East St, Lambeth), Mrs. S. Duncan in 1848 (28 East St, Walworth Road) and an Eliz. M. Gray in 1851 (Walworth), among others, but Duncan and Gray are quite common names and teaching was not an uncommon occupation for literate women.<sup>127</sup> It is possible that de Ternant had in mind the North London Collegiate School for Ladies in Camden Road, which Maria Georgina Grey and her sister Emily Shireff supported. As Smith notes, Camden Road is not too distant from City Road and the areas have a similar character.<sup>128</sup> However, there is no independent evidence that connects a Mrs. Grey and Duncan (or two Mrs. Duncans) with a school in London.

De Ternant's seventh and eighth claims concern her husband, that he "was a reporter on *The Morning Chronicle*" and that, though not a novelist, "he greatly assisted his wife" in her writing. There is no evidence for either claim. De Ternant's second and fifth claims, that Mrs. Grey was the author of *The Ordeal by Touch* and that she was "a contributor to *The London Journal* and other similar periodicals" are the two that demand the closest attention, but there is simply no evidence to support either of them.

My conclusion, after a close examination of each of de Ternant's claims, is that he invented the connection between "Elizabeth Caroline Grey" and Maria Rebecca Davison, *née* Duncan, and that all of the details he offered concerning Elizabeth Caroline Grey (including her date of death) and the occupation of her sister and husband are also fabrications. If Summers managed to find a Mrs. Grey who died in 1869, which would seem to confirm de Ternant's vague "1865–69," I think it highly unlikely that this

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[Camilla Toulmin], *Landmarks of a Literary Life, 1820–1892* (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Company, 1893); Frederic Boase, *Modern English Biography*, 6 vols. (London: Frank Cass, 1892–1921), 1.833; William Davenport Adams, *A Dictionary of the Drama*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1904), 436. See also Warrack, "James William Davison" (2004), Highfill Jr. et al., *A Biographical Dictionary* (1982).

126. De Ternant, "Replies. Early Victorian Literature," 373, specifies that she "kept a school...before her tales were accepted for publication by Edward Lloyd," the earliest of which can be dated to 1842.

127. Smith, private correspondence, 12 May 2008.

128. Smith, private correspondence, 3 November 2009.

person was actually named Elizabeth Caroline Grey, *née* Duncan, that she was a writer, or that she was the author of *The Ordeal by Touch*.

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We may now return, briefly, to the point at which Jay and de Ternant interrupted this account of the attribution of works by “Mrs. Grey, no. 3.” Jay asked for information concerning eleven titles, but did not specify an author for any of them. Albert Hall singled out *Gentleman Jack*, *The Ordeal by Touch*, and *The Dream of a Life* as being by Elizabeth Caroline Grey, but provides enough information about these works to add *Vile-roy, or, The Horrors of Zindorf Castle*.<sup>129</sup> De Ternant does not actually add any titles to this list, and most of the other contributions in the pages of *Notes and Queries* do not concern Elizabeth Caroline Grey.<sup>130</sup> Halkett and Laing’s *Dictionary* (1926–34) cites the *Notes and Queries* discussion for its attribution of *Gentleman Jack* and *Paul Clifford*, but ignores the attribution to Elizabeth Caroline Grey, opting instead for an even more questionable attribution to Edward Viles.<sup>131</sup> Elsewhere Halkett and Laing repeat the two attributions that they had previously adopted from the *BM Catalogue* (of *The Gambler’s Wife* and *The Ordeal by Touch*).

129. Albert Hall, “Replies. Early Victorian Literature,” *Notes and Queries*, 12th ser., 10 (8 April 1922): 274.

130. There is an exchange between “J. B.” and Jay, for instance, concerning *Gentleman Jack* and “Cavendish,” which Jay dismissed as the result of the confusion of two similar titles. J. B., “Replies. Early Victorian Literature,” *Notes and Queries*, 12th ser., 10 (8 April 1922): 274–5, Frank Jay, “Early Victorian Literature,” *Notes and Queries*, 12th ser., 10 (29 April 1922): 332–3.

131. Halkett and Laing, *A Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous English Literature* (1926–34), 2.367, 4.314, citing “*N & Q.*, 1922, p. 374.” The reference is to a letter from Frank Jay in which he states “if he [John Frederick Smith] was really the author of ‘Black Bess’ he may also have been the author of ‘Gentleman Jack,’ ‘Claude Duval,’ ‘Paul Clifford,’ and ‘Tom King,’ all of which are in question.” Jay also writes “I believe there are some of Edward Vile’s descendants alive who might throw some light upon the matter,” referring to whether J. S. Smith actually wrote the stories that the *BM Catalogue* attributes to Vile. Jay does not suggest that Vile was the author of Smith’s works, just points out that the opposite suggestion (Smith wrote one of Vile’s works) implies that Smith may have written more/all of them. It is not clear why Halkett and Laing latched onto this comment, with its hint of an attribution, and ignored the letter Jay is responding to, and the unambiguous attributions elsewhere in this exchange. See Frank Jay, “Early Victorian Literature,” *Notes and Queries*, 12th ser., 10 (13 May 1922): 374.

The next important contribution was that by Summers in 1941, when he attributed six of the works of “Mrs. Grey, no. 3” to Elizabeth Caroline Grey: *The Dream of a Life*, *The Gambler’s Wife*, *Gentleman Jack*, *The Iron Mask*, *The Ordeal by Touch*, and *Vileroy*. In 1961 Block ignored almost all of Summers’s attributions. After moving all of the works previously listed under Elizabeth Caroline Grey to Catherine Maria Grey, Block placed just one work by “Mrs. Grey, no. 3” under the former name on Summers’s authority (*Vileroy*).<sup>132</sup> Elsewhere he listed two others (*The Gambler’s Wife* and *The Ordeal by Touch*) under “John Duncan,” with no authority or explanation.<sup>133</sup> In contrast, the continuation of Halkett and Laing by Dennis Rhodes and Anna Simoni accepted all of the attributions by Summers for works not previously listed (*The Dream of a Life*, *The Iron Mask*, and *Vileroy*).<sup>134</sup> The major union catalogues, *NUC* (1972) and *NSTC* (1990), followed Summers, listing all of the works by contributing institutions under Elizabeth Caroline Grey,<sup>135</sup> adding *Claude Duval* and *Paul Clifford* to the titles listed by Summers.

The 1998 catalogue of the Barry Ono collection in the British Library prepared by Elizabeth James and Helen Smith includes five of the six titles listed by Summers (excluding *The Iron Mask*, but adding *Claude Duval*), citing — and preferring — his attributions to those of experts such as John Medcraft.<sup>136</sup> In the following year *CBEL3* included all of the “Mrs. Grey, no. 3” titles in *NSTC*, along with one flow-on attribution, “The Assassins of the Cavern. A Romance,” which is mentioned on the title-page of *The Gambler’s Wife*. *CBEL3* has, therefore, the dubious honor of including the largest number of works (eight) by “Mrs. Grey, no. 3” listed under the name Elizabeth Caroline Grey.

132. Block, *The English Novel, 1740–1850* (1961), 91.

133. *Ibid.*, 64.

134. Dennis Rhodes and Anna Simoni, *Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous English Literature*, vol. 9 (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1962), 82, 156, 357.

135. *NUC* (1972), 164 [NG 0512018], 165 [NG 0512035, NG 0512037], 166 [NG 0512076, NG 0512077]; *NSTC* (1990), 327 [2G22137], 328 [2G22147, 2G22162, 2G22164, 2G22165, 2G22170].

136. Medcraft, *A Bibliography of the Penny Bloods of Edward Lloyd*, attributes *Vileroy* to T. P. Prest, but James and Smith dismiss this attribution. See James and Smith, no. 246.

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All that now remains is to consider what we actually know concerning the many Mrs. Greys. Working backwards, we have seen that “Mrs. Grey no. 3” seems to be a ghost — a fabrication that subsumes some of the works of Rymer — while “Mrs. Grey no. 2” seems to be Maria Grey, *née* Shirreff (1782–1857).

The first work of “Mrs. Grey, no. 1,” *Alice Seymour: A Tale* (1831), contains a dedication in which she urges her children (presumably female) to model themselves on her heroine.<sup>137</sup> The dedication is signed “Your affectionate Mother, The Authoress.” The conclusion to this novel contains an intrusion, for which the author apologizes, in which she names “my own dear Mary” as having been “accused of fostering the weakness of an enthusiastic love of animals, among which her pony ranks supreme.”<sup>138</sup> The only other work by this Mrs. Grey to contain any personal information whatever is *Sibyl’s Little Daughter* (1854), the sequel to *The Gipsy’s Daughter* (1852), both of which are “Edited by the author of....” As we have seen, *Sibyl’s Little Daughter* is attributed on the title-page to “A. M. Grey.” The “Introductory Preface” to this work is signed “A. M. G. Great Malvern, Nov. 28th, 1854”<sup>139</sup> (Great Malvern is a town in Worcestershire). Until 2002, these few details, and the bibliography

137. “My dear Children, You have often urged me to write something for your amusement, and I have endeavoured to satisfy your wishes... Do not consider my heroine too perfect a model for your imitation... In the fervent hope of seeing all the virtues and perfections of Alice Seymour reflected in you, my dear children... Your affectionate Mother, The Authoress.” See “Dedication,” *Alice Seymour: A Tale* (1831), iii–iv.

138. The author offers a summary of the “future life” of her heroine in the concluding chapter. “Having surrounded my interesting and virtuous heroine with every blessing,” she writes, “I am now about to take my leave of her. However, I must not forget one little addition; which, trivial and misplaced as it may appear to some, will I know be a matter of great interest to others of my readers — my own dear Mary in particular, who is accused of fostering the weakness...” etc. See “Conclusion,” *Alice Seymour: A Tale* (1831), 229.

139. “It can now only be said, that those, who may have honoured Zora, and other youthful dramatis personae, by their attention, may soon meet with them again — no longer children, but acting their respective parts, as full grown heroes [sic] and heroines in a Tale which will shortly be presented to the public, entitled [‘]The Lilly and the Rose.’ A. M. G. Great Malvern, Nov. 28th, 1854.” See “Introductory Preface,” *Sibyl’s Little Daughter: A Sequel to The Gipsy’s Daughter*. By A. M. Grey, vol. 1 (London: Thomas Cautley Newby, 1854), 2.

of twenty-one works given above, is all that is known for certain of “Mrs. Grey no. 1.”

In 2002, however, Helen Smith revealed that “Mrs. Grey, no. 1” is Catherine Maria Grey, *née* Grindall (1798–1870), that this Mrs. Grey was a ward in Chancery, that in 1816 she married Lieutenant Colonel John Grey (d. 1843) of the 2nd Dragoons (Royal Scots Greys), and that she had seven children by 1829.<sup>140</sup> Smith explains that, in 1839, Catherine Maria Grey’s first contract with Richard Bentley (for *The Duke: A Novel*) was signed by her husband, but in the following year her second contract (for *The Young Prima Donna*) was signed by her.<sup>141</sup> One of the seven children mentioned on Colonel Grey’s army record<sup>142</sup> is an Anna Maria Grey, who was born 25 August 1823. It seems likely that this daughter is the author of *Sibyl’s Little Daughter* etc. — i.e., “A. M. Grey.”

It is a sobering fact that, among all the works of reference reviewed in this essay, the *only* one to correctly identify “Mrs. Grey, no. 1” is the 1961 edition of Andrew Block’s *The English Novel*. However, Block provides no evidence whatsoever for his attribution and we are given no reason to trust this attribution over all the others outlined above.

#### APPENDIX

#### Works Mentioned in This Essay (with Their Various Titles) that Have Been Attributed to the Many Mrs. Greys

<i>Variations on Grey</i>	<i>First Authority</i>
Mrs. Grey (=CMG)	Hodgson (1851)
Hon. Mrs. Grey (=MG)	H&L (1882–8)
Hon. Mrs. Edward Grey (=CMG)	NSTC (1990)
Mrs. Colonel Grey (=CMG?)	Allibone (1858)
<i>Variations on Elizabeth Grey</i>	<i>Authority</i>
Hon. Mrs. Elizabeth Grey	NSTC (1990)
<i>Variations on Elizabeth Caroline Grey</i>	<i>Authority</i>
E. C. Grey	NSTC (1990)
Mrs. E. C. Grey	H&L (1882–8)

140. Smith, *New Light on Sweeney Todd*, 17.

141. *Ibid.*

142. Anna Maria Grey was born 25 August 1823 in the Parish of Gosforth, Northumberland. Smith, private correspondence, 3 November 2009, quoting Colonel Grey’s army record (National Archives, Kew, WO 25/782, 82–83).

Hon. Mrs. E. C. Grey	Stonehill (1926)
Elizabeth C. Grey	H&L (1882–8)
Mrs. Elizabeth C. Grey	H&L (1926)
Mrs. Elizabeth C — Grey	H&L (1926)
Elizabeth Caroline Grey	Block (1939)
Elizabeth Caroline Grey, 1798–1869	NUC (1972)
Miss Elizabeth Caroline Grey	H&L (1926–34)
Mrs. Elizabeth Caroline Grey	<i>BM Catalogue</i> (1888)
Mrs. Elizabeth Caroline Grey: wife of Colonel Grey	Cushing (1889)
Hon. Mrs. Elizabeth Caroline Grey	H&L (1926)
<i>Variations on Elizabeth Caroline Grey, née Duncan</i>	<i>Authority</i>
Elizabeth Caroline Grey, <i>née</i> Duncan, 1798–1869	Summers (1941)
Elizabeth Caroline (Duncan) Grey (=CMG)	NUC (1972)
Mrs. Colonel {Elizabeth Caroline} ( <i>née</i> Duncan, 1798–1869)	Sutherland (1989)
<i>Other Mrs. Greys</i>	<i>Authority</i>
A. M. Grey	H&L (1926)
Mrs. A. M. Grey	NUC (1972)
Catherine Maria Grey	Block (1961)
Charlotte Elizabeth Grey	NSTC (1990)
<i>errors</i>	<i>Authority</i>
Mrs. Elizabeth Seaham Grey	<i>BM Catalogue</i> (1888)
Mrs. Elizabeth Caroline Greig	H&L (1926)
<i>Title of work</i>	<i>Author</i>
<i>Ada and Elfine; Or, The Two Nieces</i> (1849)	JVP
<i>Alice Seymour: A Tale</i> (1831)	CMG
<i>Aline: An Old Friend's Story</i> (1848)	CMG
<i>The Assassins of the Cavern: A Romance</i> (1847)	JMR?
<i>The Autobiography of Frank, the Happiest Little Dog that Ever Lived</i> (1861)	AMG?
<i>The Baronet's Daughters; and Harry Monk</i> (c. 1850) (=the second story from <i>The Little Wife and the Baronet's Daughters</i> [1841])	CMG
<i>The Belle of the Family: Or, The Jointure: A Novel</i> (1843)	CMG
<i>The Bosom Friend: A Novel</i> (1845)	CMG
<i>Chances and Changes: A Domestic Story</i> (1835)	ES
<i>Claude Duval, The Dashing Highway-Man: A Tale of the Road</i> (c. 1854)	JMR?
<i>Cousin Harry</i> (1854)	CMG
<i>Daughters: A Novel</i> (1847)	CMG
<i>De Lisle; Or, The Distrustful Man</i> (1828)	MG
<i>The Dream of a Life: A Romance</i> (c. 1843)	JMR?
<i>The Duke: A Novel</i> (1839)	CMG
<i>The Duke and The Cousin</i> (c. 1850) (= <i>The Duke: A Novel</i> [1839])	CMG

- Fanny Thornton; Or, Marriage a Lottery* (1849) (= *The Lottery of Marriage: A Novel* [1849]) FMT
- The Flirt; Or, Passages in the Life of a Fashionable Young Lady* ([1862])  
(= *The History of a Flirt* [1840]) CSMB
- The Gambler's Wife: A Novel* (1844) CMG
- The Gambler's Wife; Or, Murder Will Out* (1846) JMR?
- Gentleman Jack; or, Life on the Road* (1852) JMR?
- The Gipsy's Daughter: A Tale* (1852) AMG, editor
- Good Society; Or, Contrasts of Character* (1863) CMG
- Harry Monk (= *The Baronet's Daughters; and Harry Monk* [c. 1850]  
= the second story from *The Little Wife and the Baronet's Daughters* [1841]) CMG
- The History of a Flirt* (1840) CSMB
- Hyacinthe; Or, The Contrast* (1835) CMG
- The Iron Mask. A Romance* (1847) JMR?
- Jane Brightwell; Or, The Beggar's Petition: A Romance* (1848) JMR?
- Lady Granard's Nieces: A Novel* (1848) (= *Ada and Elfine; Or, The Two Nieces* [1849]) JVP
- Lena Cameron; Or, The Four Sisters* (c. 1850) (= *Daughters: A Novel* [1847]) CMG
- The Life and Adventures of Tom King, the Highwayman* (1851) JMR?
- Lion-Hearted: A Novel* (1864) CMG
- The Little Beauty* (1860) CMG
- The Little Wife, A Record of Matrimonial Life* (c. 1850) (= the first story  
from *The Little Wife and the Baronet's Daughters* [1841]) CMG
- The Little Wife; and The Baronet's Daughter* (1841) CMG
- The Lottery of Marriage: A Novel* (1849) FMT
- Love and Pride* ([1865?]) (= *Mabel Carrington: A Novel* [1849]) McG
- Love's Sacrifice: A Novel* (1867) MGG
- Mabel Carrington: A Novel* (1849) McG
- Mabel Carrington; Or, Love and Pride* (1849) (= *Mabel Carrington: A Novel* [1849]) McG
- The Manoeuvring Mother* (1842) CSMB
- Marriage a Lottery* ([186?]) (= *A Marriage in High Life* [1828]) FMT
- A Marriage in High Life* (1828) CSMB
- Mary Seaham: A Novel* (1852) CMG
- Match-Making; Or, Family Manœuvres: A Novel* (186?) (= *The Matchmaker: A Novel* [1842]) HMYS
- The Matchmaker: A Novel* (1842) HMYS
- The Old Country House: A Novel* (1850) CMG
- The Old Dower House: A Tale of Bygone Days* (1844) CMG
- The Old Love and the New* ([186?]) (= *Percy; Or, The Old Love and the New* [1848]) HAAS



<i>One of the Family; Or, The Ladies: A Novel</i> (1861)	AMG? ed. CMG
<i>The Opera Singer's Wife</i> (c. 1860) (= <i>Aline: An Old Friend's Story</i> [1848])	CMG
<i>The Ordeal by Touch: A Romance</i> (c. 1846)	JMR?
<i>Passages in the Life of a Fast Young Lady</i> (1862)	CMG
<i>Passion and Principle: A Novel</i> (1853)	MGG and EAES
<i>Paul Clifford; or Hurrah For The Road: A Romance of Old Times</i> (1852–3)	JMR?
<i>Percy; Or, The Old Love and the New</i> (1848)	HAAS
<i>The Rectory Guest: A Novel</i> (1849)	CMG
<i>Sybil Lennard: A Novel</i> (1846)	CMG
<i>Sibyl's Little Daughter: A Sequel to The Gipsy's Daughter</i> (1854)	AMG ed. CMG
<i>Thoughts on Self-Culture, Addressed to Women</i> (1850)	MGG and EAES
<i>Tour to the Sepulchres of Etruria in 1839</i> (1840)	ECG
<i>The Trials of Life</i> (1829)	MG
<i>Two Hearts, A Tale</i> (1858)	AMG? ed. CMG
<i>Vileroy, or, The Horrors of Zindorf Castle A Romance of Chivalry</i> (1842)	JMR?
<i>The Way of the World</i> (1831)	MG
<i>The Wilfulness of Woman</i> (1844)	CSMB
<i>The Young Husband</i> (1854)	CMG
<i>The Young Prima Donna: A Romance of the Opera</i> (1840)	CMG

**Key**

AMG	Anna Maria Grey (b. 1823), i.e., “A. M. Grey”
CMG	Catherine Maria Grey, <i>née</i> Grindall (1798–1870), i.e., “Mrs. Grey, no. 1”
CSMB	Lady Charlotte Susan Maria Bury, <i>née</i> Campbell (1775–1861)
EAES	Emily Anne Eliza Shirreff (1814–97)
ECG	Elizabeth Caroline Gray, <i>née</i> Johnstone (1800–87)
ES	Elizabeth Strutt (fl. 1805–63)
FMT	Frances Milton Trollope (1780–1863)
HASS	Lady Harriet Anne Shank Scott (1819–94)
HMYS	Harriet Maria Yorick Smythies, <i>née</i> Gordon (c. 1816–83)
McG	“McGauran” or “MacGauran” (fl. 1844–54)
MG	Maria Grey, <i>née</i> Shirreff (1782–1857), i.e., “Mrs. Grey, no. 2” (=“Hon. Mrs. Grey”)
MGG	Maria Georgina Grey, <i>née</i> Shirreff (1816–1906) (=“Mrs. William Grey”)
JHG	John Hamilton Gray (d. 1867)
JMR	James Malcolm Rymer (1814–84), i.e., “Mrs. Grey, no. 3”
JVP	Jane Vaughan Pinkney (fl. 1848–53)