

**New Light on Sweeney Todd,  
Thomas Peckett Prest, James Malcolm Rymer  
and Elizabeth Caroline Grey**

This study concentrates on the earlier period of the penny dreadful: sensational fiction in penny parts written principally for the Victorian lower classes, at a time when they were flocking to the towns in search of work and prosperity. The term “penny dreadful” is used generally to apply to all such fiction, from its roots in chapbooks and the gothic novel in the 1830s, to its decline into schoolboy adventure stories up to about 1910. The term “penny blood” applies to the earlier literature discussed here, written for adults, and filled with criminal, supernatural and melodramatic events.

Before the publication of Louis James’s *Fiction for the Working Man* in 1963 the historical study of this literature had largely been carried out by collectors and amateurs, who were usually also dealers. Neither they nor James were primarily concerned with establishing a strict bibliographic record. A few of those who worked in the cheap publishing industry during the nineteenth century had contributed to a generally accepted body of information. However, much of this information was imprecise and has continually been quoted without question. Even worse, a mischievous person, probably J.P. Quaine, an Australian bookseller, invented some particularly entrancing titles, such as *The Skeleton Clutch; or, The goblet of gore* and *Sawney Bean, the Man Eater of Midlothian*, which have found their way, as genuine, via Montague Summers, into some contemporary reference works, like the *St. James Guide to Horror, Ghost & Gothic Writers*, 1998. There has been considerable disagreement in particular about ascription of significant titles, between the two most important authors, Thomas Peckett Prest and James Malcolm Rymer.

Louis James drew attention to the importance, interest and exuberance of this lower class literature, and after completing Jarndyce Catalogue 100, 1994, based on the David Laing Philips and Renier Collections, I was delighted to be asked to assist Dr Elizabeth James in completing her catalogue of the Barry Ono Collection at the British Library in 1998. Afterwards I decided to continue working to re-examine the confused available evidence to see if it were possible to disentangle the output of Prest and Rymer. No proper literary assessment can be made before a more accurate assignment of authorship.

I must acknowledge the contributions of earlier writers, however prone to error, for all have some scarce and vital information to offer. Frank Jay in *Peeps into the Past*, 1918-21, and elsewhere, made the first systematic attempt to record basic facts about bloods and the periodicals in which they were serialised. Slips he left as markers still remain in volumes in the British Library’s collection. Arthur E. Waite (1857-1942) wrote a rather supercilious account of the literature in articles in *Walford’s Antiquarian Magazine*, Vols. XI & XII, 1887, and in the 1920s recorded his researches in *The Quest for Bloods* with checklists of titles, unpublished until 1997. His findings have not yet been completely checked and assimilated, but he suggested a number of attributions which correspond with those in this essay. Barry Ono (Frederick V. Harrison) and other collectors, in articles for *The Collectors’ Miscellany* (formerly *Vanity Fair*), 1917-53, attempted to record the history of the literature and bibliographical details they had observed. Montague Summers in his *A Gothic Bibliography*, 1940, listed many penny dreadfuls, including some periodical serialisations, but his work is full of inaccuracies.

On a smaller scale, John Medcraft in *A Bibliography of the Penny Bloods of Edward Lloyd*, 1941, set out to record the complete output of the principal publisher, Edward Lloyd (1815-1890). Work has been continued by George Locke, and by another collector, Michael Holmes, to whom I am greatly indebted for helpful information. Although much more still needs to be done, it is now time to publish the results of my preliminary investigations, mostly of contemporary advertisements, to coincide with the publication of the next Jarndyce catalogue, which includes books and periodicals almost certainly from the collection of John Medcraft.

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To explain existing confusions of authorship, it has often been said that penny publication was a casual matter, and that the attributions of works on titlepages were haphazard and accidental. It is true that penny dreadfuls do sometimes bear evidence of hasty endings, poor quality printing and random illustrations, and there are piracies and works of similar title which may confuse commentators, particularly because the survival rate of this fragile literature is low, and past catalogue entries not always adequate. Earlier writers have not always had the opportunity to examine large amounts of material, and we must be particularly grateful that Barry Ono added his fine collection to that already held by the British Library.

Edward Lloyd was an enterprising publisher who as a young man recognised the growing demand for cheap literature in London. He began with penny pamphlets, and created a market for cheap serial plagiarisms of Dickens. He next published sensational fiction in penny parts, then cheap periodicals, and finally newspapers, with which he made his fortune.

Lloyd published about seventy works attributable to Prest, and fifty-five to Rymer. His publishing practice follows regular patterns, and I determined to test the chains of authorship produced by the listing of other titles on titlepages and opening parts, to see if they were consistent, and invariably separated his two major authors. Allowing for, no doubt deliberately similar titles (both wrote tales with heroines called Blanche and Phoebe, and involving merchant's daughters), and by, in addition, studying Lloyd's advertisements, it is possible to separate their works. It has also been possible to identify works republished under different titles in periodicals and in separate parts, further to refine the bibliographical listings.

### **Edward Lloyd's Advertisements**

Some of Lloyd's advertisements have been noticed by earlier writers, but extensive study has not been made, partly because of the relatively few surviving copies of his publications. Some of the relevant periodicals were in the area of the British Library stacks bombed during the last war, and the Newspaper Library at Colindale only possesses two years of an important unstamped newspaper *The Penny Sunday Times and People's Police Gazette*, with BUCOP listing no other copies.

Lloyd's advertisements fall into four categories.

1. Titles of other works attributed to an author on a titlepage or in the drophead title of the first number of a series of parts. These two places sometimes list different titles. Even if the author is not named, a string of other popular works is an assurance of known quality and an advertisement to the reader. In the past, writers have said these ascriptions are haphazard if they do not correspond with traditional ideas about authorship. Montague Summers, in particular, seems to have plumped for Prest whenever there was any doubt, and his attributions have not been sufficiently questioned. However, examination of Lloyd's ascriptions indicates that they are consistent. Especially when Prest wrote a new nautical romance care was taken to list all similar works by him, and in other cases current titles and recent successes tend to be chosen. On the titlepage of *Richard Parker; or, The mutiny at the Nore*, 1851, five other nautical titles by Prest are listed. Different current titles from those used earlier are listed on the titlepages of the 1850-51 new editions. Prest and Rymer (under his pseudonym of Malcolm J. Errym), although sometimes named, came to be widely recognised by their best known descriptors, Prest as *Author of 'Ela'*, and Rymer as *Author of 'Ada'*, and it is as such that they are listed by Lloyd among his principal authors when closing down and renaming publications.

2. Lloyd also issued advertisements on the coloured wrappers to the monthly cumulative parts of his publications, sometimes listing different titles by the same author, and sometimes a selection of current titles. Not many wrappers survive in the British Library, and further search among other copies may produce more helpful evidence. Surviving wrappers from the 1850s seem to indicate that they were stereotyped like the text and remain unchanged even in the 1861 remainder issues.

3. Lloyd advertised the contents of his other literary periodicals in his newspapers. In magazines like the *Penny Weekly Miscellany* are announcements of new fiction, and of gifts of the first numbers of new part publications, or of new periodicals like the *Penny Atlas*. Sometimes the correspondence columns are used for disguised puffs for other titles, and there even seem to be answers to genuine enquiries. In the Correspondence column of No.7 of *Lloyd's Weekly Miscellany and Penny Sunday Times*, [1850] in reply to an undoubtedly fictitious "father of a family" the answer is given: "Yes; LLOYD'S NEWSPAPER is the pioneer of cheap news for the people, as it is confessedly, now, the king of the weekly press. It is, and has ever been pre-eminent for priority of intelligence, and the talent of its conductors; and its circulation far exceeds that of any contemporary".

The periodicals carry announcements of the expected numbers of parts, of decisions not to reprint titles, and in the preface to Vol. III, October 1844 of *Lloyd's Penny Weekly Miscellany* that the proprietor has arranged the "entire and exclusive publication of [Rymer's] works". (The same announcement is also made later in *Reynolds's Miscellany*, whilst Thomas Frost, the chartist and radical campaigner who wrote *Ten Bloods*, declares that he refused a similar offer from Lloyd.)

4. Lloyd's newspapers are widely used to advertise his publications. The unstamped *Penny Sunday Times* and its *Companion* contain mostly fiction, referring to and listing the contents of his other periodicals. It is *Lloyd's Weekly London Newspaper*, afterwards *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, which best provides a record of his publishing output. Although not without occasional errors, it has produced a great deal of forgotten information. The newspaper lists the contents of the fiction periodicals, and, separately, announces new titles and important reprints, often publishing extracts of up to one column in length. Most important to the bibliographer of bloods is the complete list of current Lloyd publications. This seems to have been compiled and set up roughly every six months. First, part publications in progress and complete, and then titles available in volume form are listed, amounting in total length to about one column. This column remains as originally type set, and as many inches as needed are taken to fill unsold advertising space in the weekly issue. In fact at least two issues of the newspaper seem to have been printed each weekend, and two are preserved in the run in the Newspaper Library at Colindale. It seems usually the case that more outside advertisements came in at the end of the week, so that the earlier issue is likely to include more Lloyd advertisements. The British Library has only filmed the better copy, and preferably the last, so that I have not necessarily been able to see the maximum number of titles advertised over the years. However a great deal of evidence has emerged. An advertisement for Lloyd publications from a wrapper in similar style to the newspaper listing is reproduced on page 15.

If a title proved less successful or was shorter than about 20 parts, the author's name or an equivalent phrase is much less likely to appear on the titlepage, but it may well be announced in the newspaper at the commencement of publication. There are errors detectable, which must be borne in mind.

One example of advertisement error is that the obviously unsuccessful title *Helen Halsey; a tale of the Borders*, 1847, which was brought to a very abrupt end after only ten numbers of the originally projected eighteen, or later twelve, appears in the lists unnoticed for several years as *Helen Hasley*. (Lloyd once averred that he had never published an unfinished work.)

There is a slight tendency at a first announcement to credit any new work wrongly to the favoured "house" author, Rymer, as *Author of 'Ada'*. This happens with *The Old House of West Street* at its first advertisement in parts in 1844. The statement only occurs once in an advertisement, and when the volume was complete, Prest's name appears on the titlepage. This reinforces the view that Prest was jealous enough of his own output not to wish it credited to another. Similarly *Clarisse; or, The merchant's daughter*, 1847, is first announced as by the *Author of 'Ada'*, possibly in confusion with *Grace Rivers; or, The merchant's daughter*, 1843-44. *Clarisse* was written following the success of a play by Edward Stirling at the Adelphi Theatre in 1845, and most unusually, is illustrated with large portraits of the actors in character. The theatrical connection also favours an attribution to Prest who performed as a tavern singer in the fore-runners of the music halls, wrote several plays, and seems to have had quite a close working connection with the dramatist Marianne Denvil, who was associated for several years with the Pavilion Theatre.

A slightly more serious difficulty occurs with *The String of Pearls* which I will discuss below. However the majority of information is consistent and agrees with titlepage ascriptions. A combination of two such sources justifies an attribution.

I will use information from Lloyd's advertisements about a selection of works to help assign them a correct place in the bibliography of penny dreadfuls, and at the end provide a new allocation of titles between Prest and Rymer, inviting further queries, evidence and discussion.

### **Thomas Peckett Prest and James Malcolm Rymer**

As W.O.G. Lofts discovered: 'the whole history of the Lloyd's "penny bloods" seems to be riddled with misleading statements, incorrect data, pure guesswork'. Lofts began to try to establish facts about the life and work of Prest and Rymer, but he was unfortunately sidetracked into thinking that Rymer's *The Unspeakable, or The life and adventures of a stammerer*, 1855 was wholly autobiographical. Lofts' work was incomplete at his death, and I am still working to check and supplement his information.

Prest's birth date has yet to be accurately determined, although the record of his death in June 1859 places this in 1809 or 1810. Details of his life in London are sketchy. At the successful beginning of his career he shows considerable self confidence, and had his portrait drawn by J.W. Gear to be issued with *The Pickwick Songster*. His name is given in *The Penny Sunday Times* in 1840 as author of *Ela*, *Angelina*, and *Gallant Tom*, and one does not feel he would allow his works to be credited to another. There are a few hints of ill health and domestic problems referred to in Lloyd's newspapers in the early 1840s. In January 1841 there is "a severe domestic calamity, in the family of the author". I am working to identify his plays and to collect the titles of his many songs, but this research is at present incomplete, and this essay concentrates on his prose works. Lofts and Louis James have established the bare facts of Rymer's life and he emerges as a more retiring character than the more exuberant Prest. If, as is stated by Lloyd's later editor, Thomas Catling, Rymer was sometimes working on ten serials or stories at once, he can have had little time for any other activity.

### **George Augustus Sala's Account of Rymer**

In *London Up to Date* in 1894 George Augustus Sala, (1828-96), who in his youth worked as an illustrator for Edward Lloyd on the *Penny Sunday Times* and some early bloods, including *Heads of the Headless*, 1846, writes sneeringly of the poor journalist, the "penny-a-liner". This is long after the period in question and yet Sala's account of Rymer is often quoted as absolute fact. Sala writes: "A penny-a-liner whose real name I have long since forgotten, but whom we used to call 'Ada the Betrayed', for the reason that he had once written a 'penny dreadful' with the title just given, but which, after running through four successful numbers of the *Weekly Ghoul*, came to a sudden termination. The proprietor of the *Ghoul* eloped unawares to Texas, and 'Ada the Betrayed', like Lord Ullin in the ballad, was 'left lamenting'." This author obtained work at the time of the crime and trial of George Frederick and Maria Manning, 1849. "Prior to the discovery of the exciseman's corpse... he [the penny-a-liner] had been a man all tattered and torn, but so soon as the remains of poor Patrick O'Connor had been identified ... the lucky reporter blossomed into a brand-new coat of Newmarket cut. New plaid pantaloons followed, a glossy silk hat shone upon his head, Wellington boots adorned his lower extremities, and the bows of a satin necktie floated on his chest. The only thing he lacked was a waistcoat; but alas! The Mannings were hanged ere 'Ada the Betrayed' had secured that much-coveted vest, and afterwards, murders being rare, he drifted gradually into his old and normal condition of dismal seediness."

This account must be treated with great caution. Rymer certainly wrote *Ada*, which was an extremely successful work, first published in vol. I of *Lloyd's Weekly Miscellany* in 1843 and reprinted in 1846. He continued to write other penny dreadfuls, and Lloyd is reported to have paid his authors ten shillings for each weekly instalment. The Manning case certainly gets extensive coverage in *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper* in 1849, where the reporter is not named, but so do a number of other murders. Michael Holmes has identified Lloyd's separate publication about the case: *A Full Report of the Trial of Manning and his Wife...*, 1849. However the longest publication relating to the Mannings is a twenty-four sixpenny-part semi-fictionalisation entitled *The Progress of a Crime; or The authentic memoirs of Maria Manning*, which is by Robert Huish. Huish was a miscellaneous hack writer, once in holy orders, who produced two penny dreadfuls for Lloyd: *The Nun of Gnadenzell* and *Seduction*, both in 1846, and possibly others. He wrote the beekeeping column for Lloyd's *The Gardener, Florist & Agriculturist*, (1847-49), and seems likely to have been its editor from 1847-48. It is possible that Sala has confused Rymer and Huish, or that he was playfully exaggerating. Sala's slightly forced reference to the old ballad *Lord Ullin's Daughter* also adds a possible complication, in that Prest wrote a long prose version of the story in *Tales of Minstrelsy*, 1843. (A later version, before 1882, was written by Walter Viles under his pseudonym Frank Mercer.)

I have discovered that Rymer was discharged from bankruptcy in 1847, but have yet to find the details of his case, which may go as far back as the collapse of his periodical *The Queen's Magazine* in 1842. By 1849 he was heavily engaged in writing, and there is reason to think that his financial situation was more secure. Too much credence should not be given to Sala's account of such a stereotype figure. There is a similar fire-engine chaser depicted in the anonymous *Eliza Grimwood*, 1841, and also evidence of writers of bloods poking satirical fun at their fellows. There may have been a few old resentments: Thomas Frost, for example, mentions Prest but not Rymer although they were all working in the same period for the same publisher. What is certain is that Rymer left over £8,000 when he died in 1884.

### **Additional Information revealed by Lloyd's Advertisements**

**The Black Pirate, and related works.** This work and its sequel, *Florence Graham, or The pirate's daughter*, were first published by William Emans in 1839 in the octavo sixpenny part domestic romance format used for the works of Mary Bennett, Hannah Maria Jones, Catherine Ward and others. On 12th July 1846, Edward Lloyd announced that he had purchased the copyrights of a group of works including these two titles. He then published his own editions in penny numbers. *The Black Pirate* is still anonymous, but the initial advertisement states that the two works (and thus also the related *The Life of Admiral Viscount Nelson*, 1840 and *The Robber Chief*) are by T.H. Fenton. This author seems otherwise unknown. (One reference in September 1846 lists him as H.J. Fenton.) Other titles in the group are by Hannah Maria Jones, Wilhelmina Johnson, Mrs Kentish and Miss Wakefield.

**Mabel; or, The child of the battlefield.** This work, first published in 1846, has not before been part of the Prest and Rymer canon. A copy, now lost, of the 1846 edition in the British Library was attributed to a Miss Barry, and true to the practice of library cataloguers, this attribution from a major source also appears in an entry in the American *National Union Catalogue*. Perhaps the name was an early owner's signature. However when in July 1845 the first number was given away with no. 203 of the *Companion to the Penny Sunday Times*, it was said to be by the Author of *Ada, the Betrayed*, i.e. Rymer. It was still on sale complete at four shilling in 1848, and then in December 1850 it was advertised as a new romance in *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, with a column extract, nos.1/2 to be given away with no.7 of *Lloyd's Weekly Miscellany*. It is then said to be by the Author of *The Duchess*, which was currently being serialised, and is mentioned on the titlepage of that work in 1852. This is a typical example of Lloyd's practice, and the advertisements and the chain of titles confirm Rymer's authorship. A.E. Waite also makes this attribution.

**Elizabeth Caroline Grey.** It is time that the attribution to this minor conventional three-volume novelist of a string of penny dreadfuls, mostly concerning highwaymen, should be examined. Up to now the main source of information about the woman first known as "Mrs Colonel Grey", as she is listed by Allibone and in *The English Catalogue*, is found in *Notes and Queries*, 12th series, Vol. X., Jan.- June 1922, in response to a request for information from Frank Jay. Andrew de Ternant, the respondent, gives his source as W.E. Church, who was a writer on *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper* at an unspecified date. He says that Elizabeth Caroline Grey was a niece of the actress Maria Duncan, and with her unmarried sister kept a girls' school off the City Road, before going to work for Edward Lloyd as secretary and editor. He states that her husband was a reporter on the *Morning Chronicle*, and that she died between 1865 and 1869.

Modern reference works like John Sutherland's *The Longman Companion to Victorian Fiction*, 1988, have not challenged this information, apart from the inaccurate suggestion in *The Feminist Companion to Literature in English*, 1990, that the City Road was a fashionable part of London. Mrs Grey's dates are given as 1798-1869.

In 1844 the Mrs Grey, who probably had had novels published since 1828, the first anonymously, wrote a successful three-volume moral novel entitled *The Gambler's Wife*. In 1846 a penny dreadful of the same title, stated to be founded on "Dr Croft's celebrated song as sung by Henry Russell", by "the most favourite author of the day", was published by Edward Lloyd. Some later commentators, apparently without comparing the two novels, seem to have confused them, attributing the latter, and works in the consequent title chain (including *Vileroy* and *The Ordeal by Touch*) to Mrs Grey. A card in the *National Union Catalogue*, in entering both *Gambler's Wives* under her, adds a rather puzzled note to the separate edition of the penny dreadful in 1850 that it is "Not the same work as her *The Gambler's Wife, a novel*". I find it impossible to believe that as a second three-volume edition of her very successful novel was published in 1845, Mrs Grey would write a completely different work in style and tone, plot and character, with the same title, the next year. On the other hand, penny dreadful authors had always thrived on plagiarism and gamblers' wives had been a perennially popular subject for drama and art as well as prose fiction. Lloyd's 1849-50 edition of his *The Gambler's Wife* in penny numbers is advertised as by the Author of *Ada* and of *Jane Brightwell*, who is usually said to be Rymer. *Vileroy*, 1842, is also advertised as by the Author of *Ada* in 1850.

The main complication is that the complete edition of *The Gambler's Wife*, [1850], has on its titlepage 'By the Author of "The Ordeal by Touch", ...' which was the romance that had in 1846 won Lloyd's hundred guinea prize competition for a new work. It has therefore always confidently been said that Mrs Grey was the winner of this competition, which has given the attribution an apparent, but spurious, authority.

It would perhaps have been equally embarrassing for Lloyd if either his secretary (if Mrs Grey held this post), or his most popular house author, had won his prize, although the published regulations made no prohibitions. The announcement of the award of the prize is continually delayed, a common trick of Lloyd's, supposedly due to the number of entries submitted. When the announcement is made in July 1846 the name of the winner is never published, although the winning work, *The Ordeal by Touch*, is used to open the new volume of *Lloyd's Entertaining Journal (incorporating the Weekly Miscellany)*. The author, referred to as "he", is said to be writing another work. This would tend to support a male winner in that Lloyd did use "authoress" for his women writers, but there is no definite proof.

I have begun to investigate the facts of the "silver fork" novelist, Mrs Colonel Grey's, life. It is now clear that Elizabeth Caroline was not her name. It seems from the *Nineteenth Century Short Title Catalogue* that in the Bodleian Library she is identified as Charlotte Elizabeth, the Hon. Mrs Edward Grey, but this must be incorrect as the latter died in 1821. Edward Grey's second wife, Elizabeth, died in 1829.

The archives of Richard Bentley the publisher show that Mrs Grey's first contract in 1839 was signed by her husband, Lieut. Colonel John Grey of the 2nd Dragoons (Royal Scots Greys). In 1816 he had married Catherine Maria Grindall, a ward in Chancery, and she was still his wife at his death in 1843, having borne seven children by 1829. She signed her second contract with Bentley in 1840 as C.M. Grey, and died in 1870 aged seventy-two. This correct name was listed by the bookseller Andrew Block in his *The English Novel, 1740-1850*, 1968, but has been disregarded in library catalogues. By the 1891 Allibone Supplement she has become Elizabeth Caroline, and I have yet to identify the source of this mistake. Her name on titlepages is usually plain Mrs Grey, with an occasional periphrasis, the most common, of course, being "Author of *The Gambler's Wife*". The Index of Wills shows that an Elizabeth Caroline Gray, who died in 1869, was a forty-one year old spinster who could not have written the early novels. It is not clear either at present how the three earliest novels, all by the same author, and published by Edward Bull, *De Lisle; or The sensitive man*, 1828, *The Trials of Life*, 1829, and *The Way of the World*, 1831, came to be ascribed to Mrs. Colonel Grey, or by Andrew Block to the Hon. Mrs. Grey.

What now seems much more likely is that there were two completely different Mrs Greys who have been confused. I am attempting to identify the nieces of Maria Duncan and investigate whether another Mrs Grey, instead of writing a string of highway-men's adventures for Lloyd, may have been his authoress Ellen T—, who wrote bloods of a more domestic character. This research is ongoing. Another difficulty here is that in America some reprints of bloods by Ellen T— and Rymer are advertised as being by the same person. This evidence can certainly be said to carry less weight, but more work is needed to examine American texts, especially to identify possible American sources for some of Lloyd's shorter tales. However it is certainly time to give Catherine Maria Grey due recognition for her remaining twenty-nine novels and tales set in the social world of which she was a member. These can be identified by their conventional publishing format and titlepage attributions. (*The opera singer's wife*, listed separately in the *Cambridge Bibliography* is merely a later edition of *Aline*.)



**Varney the Vampyre.** A final argument against any Mrs Grey as the author of the *Ordeal by Touch* chain of titles, which have been attributed to her, is that in 1846 *The Dead Man's Hollow, or, The bridal of Bodesden* is advertised as being by the Author of *The Ordeal by Touch* and of *Varney the Vampyre*. Recent editors, the last commentator being Michael Holmes, have re-examined the arguments about the authorship of the latter work, involving Prest rather than Mrs Grey, and have come down on Rymer's side. *Varney* is imbued with Rymer's talent for developing macabre and morbid subjects, and in its earlier longer version, of his talent for prolonging a successful tale by the introduction of new characters and subplots.

In his Dover edition of *Varney* in 1972, E.F. Bleiler is first to draw attention to the stylistic differences between Prest and Rymer. He had identified features which I had picked up independently before reading his essay, when scanning the microfilms of the Ono Collection. It is impossible with this type of material to assign authorship on stylistic grounds alone, but they can support an argument. Louis James remarks that *Adeline; or, The grave of the forsaken* is "written in a style that suggests Rymer in a serious mood" and if we examine the titlepage evidence, it strongly suggests that Rymer is indeed the author. Rymer's language is a little more restrained than the highly coloured melodramatic style favoured by Prest. Rymer prefers "cried" to "exclaimed". Bleiler notes how Prest desperately tries to avoid frequent use of "said" in long passages of dialogue, employing any possible synonyms, culminating in his favourite "ejaculated" and "vociferated". ("Hush!" ejaculated the almost maddened Rose Redland': *The Robber's Wife*, 1852.) These two words may help to indicate his authorship, although similarly high flown expressions are used by Pierce Egan the Younger (1814-1880).

Confirmation of Rymer's authorship of *Varney* is provided by an advertisement in *Lloyd's Weekly London Newspaper* in September 1845 stating that it is by the author of *Don Caesar de Bazan* and in 1846 it is listed as being by the author of *Stella; or, The omen of blood* (a periodical serial) and of *Ada*. The second edition wrapper of *Varney* in [1850] states that it is by the author of *Grace Rivers; or, The merchant's daughter*.

**Rymer and the Newgate Group.** This group of titles also throws light on works up to now attributed to Mrs Grey. According to the titlepages, *Newgate*, 1844-47 is by the same author as *The Apparition* and *The Night Adventurer*, 1846. *Newgate* could not be given an author because it purports to be the text of a collection of manuscripts discovered in a former butcher's offal cellar outside the old Newgate prison. This bizarre location chimes with Rymer's morbid imagination, and the work itself consists of a series of separate stories in a framework: a form successfully used by Rymer in *Manuscripts from the Diary of a Physician*, 1842 & 1847, and *Leaves from the Note-books of a Queen's Messenger*, 1848. *The Apparition* is a similar group of ghost stories told at a gathering of a group of friends, who at the conclusion are all buried beneath a burning church. *The Night Adventurer* has, like *Newgate*, a solitary narrator of a series of tales.

Prest has sometimes, following Summers, been credited with authorship of *Newgate*, but other facts argue against this. The first story in the framework is introduced on p.14 as *The Shadow of Death; or, The coffin cell* and later as *May Boyes or The shadow of death*. It concerns the adventures of Captain Hawk the highwayman, which are continued in the next story, which ends on p.186. Lloyd's separate romance *Captain Hawk; or, The shadow of death*, 1851, which mentions *May Boyes* on its part title, is a reprinting of the *Newgate* story, with significant expansion between the original chapters XII and XIII to prolong the adventures, before Hawk's trial and, much later, death, are taken from the original work. The later work has 524 pp. and the author's style is consistent throughout. *Captain Hawk*, by the chain of similar highwayman titles, links back to *The Ordeal by Touch*. All the evidence indicates that these novels are by Rymer, and they fit well with the later acknowledged works of this kind (published under the pseudonym Errym), which were highly praised by R.L. Stevenson.

**Prest and the 'Hebrew Maiden' Group.** This connecting chain of titles must be considered in relation to Prest's output. I originally followed John Medcraft in assigning *The Hebrew Maiden*, 1841, a plagiarism of Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe*, to Rymer, but further research has made me revise this opinion. Lloyd's practice seems to have been, like that of G.W.M. Reynolds later, when employing a writer on two serials simultaneously, to set up two chains of authorship attributions implying that two writers were at work. This large group of titles remains for many years separate from the works published under Prest's name, which are easily connected with those published as by the Author of *Ela*. Perhaps a slight question remains, and I indicate these titles in Prest's list below. A.E. Waite states confidently that *The Hebrew Maiden* is by Prest, giving no proof. However Prest's authorship is supported by certain facts. He established himself as a writer of fiction for Lloyd with his Dickensian plagiarisms. These suggest that he is a likely author of the early, similarly rather crude blood versions of *Fatherless Fanny* and *The Hebrew Maiden*. Later two other plagiarisms originally published under the pseudonym of J.H. Hainsforth (plagiarising W.H. Ainsworth), *A Legend of the Tower of London* and *A Legend of Old Saint Paul's*, join works assigned to this author on titlepages.

*The Hebrew Maiden's* 1841 titlepage inclusion of *Tales of the Drama*, (1837-42), also suggests Prest as author. The very early and similar *Penny Play Book*, 1836 is identified as his on the titlepage of *Tales of Enchantment*, 1836, and two later *Dramatic Tales* appear over his name in *The Penny Sunday Times*, which also reprints material from *Tales of the Drama*. Both Prest and Rymer use the plots of contemporary plays as sources for their romances, and other dramatists are mentioned as authors of bloods, but Prest's background is more firmly connected with the theatre.

It is not however until some of the titles in this chain are being reprinted round about 1850, and with the publication of *The Robber's Wife*, 1849, that the attributed titles include some from the "Ela" list. The titlepage of *The Robber's Wife* lists *Ernestine de Lacy* (which had the subtitle "The robber's foundling") as by the Author of *The Hebrew Maiden*, and *The Death Grasp* is also listed at this time. Prest was still alive and wrong attributions involving him were corrected. *The Death Grasp* was published under his name in 1844, and the texts of titles in this group also have many of his characteristic stylistic features.

**Sweeney Todd and The String of Pearls.** Perhaps the new light thrown on the publishing history of this work, and on the creation of the genre's best known character, Sweeney Todd, is the most interesting result of this research. *The String of Pearls*, 1846, features his earliest appearance, although most modern writers are perhaps more familiar with the later, completely re-written and cruder, *Sweeney Todd, the Demon Barber of Fleet Street* published by Charles Fox in about 1878.

Two additional appearances of the supposed sole source of this tale in *The Tell-tale*, 1824, as "A terrific story of the Rue de la Harpe, at Paris" have been identified. *The Tell-tale* was reissued in 1841, nearer in time to the penny dreadful version. Also there is another unrecorded verbatim printing of the episode, excluding the surrounding framework device of a letter to the Editor which questions its truth, as the first item of all in *The New Wonderful and Entertaining Magazine* in 1825, where it is given a new title: *The Murderous Barber*. This draws more attention to a likely subject for a dramatic tale. Louis James points out that Tom Pinch in *Martin Chuzzlewit* in 1843-44 hopes he will not be turned into meat pies. Dickens may have read a periodical source, but further investigation is desirable into folk legends, like the tale of the Scots cannibal Sawney Beane, which may have influenced the penny dreadful.

I have now discovered that there was an intermediate stage between the early, supposedly French, source and the fully fledged blood. Volume II, no.97 of *Lloyd's Penny Atlas*, which is undated, but is from either September or October 1844, contains an anonymous short story entitled *Joddrel, the Barber; or Mystery unravelled*, which reveals the gradual development of the English tale. The barber, Lewis Joddrel, of French and Irish parentage, plies his trade in Bishopsgate, not Fleet Street. His neighbours become suspicious of his apparent prosperity and think that some of his clients do not emerge from his premises. Their efforts to prove this take almost as long as the painfully prolonged investigations in the later blood. The bodies are eventually discovered in a cupboard with stakes driven through their heads. There are no cellars or pies.

An earlier story in the same periodical features a mysterious descending bed designed for unwary travellers. Further search can now be made for other contemporary source material including the origin of the name Sweeney Todd itself.

It was principally *The String of Pearls* which inspired this research project. So firmly was the idea entrenched in the writings of most commentators that this work was by Prest, that I found it hard to believe the Lloyd advertisement printed on the wrappers of *Phoebe; or, The miller's maid*, [1852], and indeed the chain of works on that titlepage. I have tried to show that Lloyd's advertisements and chains are consistent and these statements of attribution to Rymer prompted me to re-examine all the evidence.

On reading *The String of Pearls* in its first serialisation in *The People's Periodical and Family Library*, 1846-47, one is immediately struck, with its more matter-of-fact tone, that it does not feel like a work by Prest. This has traditionally been explained by the statement that the tale was originally begun by George Macfarren, and taken over by Prest when Macfarren's sight or health became too bad for him to continue. All early commentators, including James, have reprinted these earlier statements although James merely states that Prest is the most likely author. This is partly because Frank Jay wrongly dated the 1850 enlarged edition to 1842, and also misdated the performance of George Dibdin Pitt's play of the same title to 1842. This led to discussions about whether the melodrama specialist, Pitt, was the real creator of Sweeney Todd.

An examination of the facts tells a very different story. The first appearance of the blood, in its earlier, shorter form, was its serialisation in eighteen instalments in *The People's Periodical* between November 1846 and March 1847, and the dramatised version by Dibdin Pitt was first performed at the Britannia Theatre, Hoxton, on 22nd February, 1847. Pitt did not create Sweeney Todd, but his characterisation in the part could possibly have influenced the composition of the expanded version of the story. In 1851 the first separate edition was published by Lloyd in an enlarged form. George Macfarren the Elder, dramatist, librettist, and scene painter died in 1843. He is said to have written penny fiction, but accounts by surviving witnesses like Thomas Catling and James Bertram of hasty preparations of bloods for publication, suggest that this is far too much in advance for Macfarren to have written the first part of a work issued in 1846. It is possible that *Joddrel, the Barber* might have been his story, but that too appeared after his death, and it reads more like the later author's first attempt to make a credible English version of the French source.

There is no evidence that Macfarren's son, Sir George Alexander Macfarren, the composer and music critic, ever wrote any fiction. He did lose his sight by about 1860, but went on producing rather stolid essays and lectures on music for the rest of his life. It will probably be impossible ever to prove what, if any, connection George Macfarren had with this story, but, as the illustration shows, it was advertised by Lloyd as being by Rymer, and a similar statement is made in Lloyd's *The Gardener, Florist and Agriculturist* in March 1849. These statements also make sense of the attribution of the American version: *Sweeney Todd: or, The ruffian barber*, ca.1853, to Captain Merry, which is another anagram of Rymer. Rymer's invention of the offal cellar as the setting for the beginning of *Newgate* may have in part suggested the account of Todd and Mrs Lovett's bloody trade in *The String of Pearls*. Another small unnoticed fact is that the literary miscellany column in *Lloyd's Weekly London Newspaper* from no. 8, the first issue under that title, 1843, is headed "Pearls for stringing", although this was a popular image.

Rymer's imagination is more powerful than Prest's and his later tales experiment successfully with new formats, like the story begun from near its ending, retracing the action before a powerful climax, as in *The Oath*, and *The Secretary*. The beginning of *The Oath*, also published as *Brentwood of Brentwood*, with the villain regaining consciousness screwed down in a coffin in the crypt of St Paul's Cathedral, is a fine example of his morbid power. The extension of *The String of Pearls* detailing Sweeney Todd's escape from Newgate prison, recapture and execution, is typical of Rymer's work.

There is one unfortunate error in the Lloyd advertisements for this work which has been used to cast doubt on the statement of authorship. In *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper* between 11th February and August 1849 the part publication is listed as by the "Authoress of *Ada*". Unfortunately only a separately published form of this advertisement was seen by A.E. Waite, who draws the wrong conclusion, that the title is "found in the only leaflet list of publications by Lloyd which can be presumed to survive to this day. The story is described as by the authoress of 'Ada the Betrayed' which puts an end to the rumour that the latter was by James Rymer". As I have said, the lists of titles seem to have been kept in standing type, and the item immediately above *The String Pearls* at this time was a work by "the Authoress of *Rose Sommerville*" (i.e. Ellen T—). The repetition of "Authoress" is a familiar type of compositor's error. On 5th August 1849 the listing reverts to the "Author of *Ada*".

## Conclusion

So far my research has suggested a considerable reassignment of authorship, supported by more confident ascriptions from titlepage and advertisement evidence and some consideration of style. There is much work to be done on the lives and circumstances of Prest and Rymer. The identity of Elizabeth Caroline Grey remains elusive. I have so far listed sixty-five songs by Prest in addition to those interpolated in the bloods, and am working to identify all his plays and their performance history. It is becoming clear that, like Lloyd who republished old works under new titles, Prest was adept at recycling earlier material and turning his bloods into plays and vice versa. It may be possible to trace Rymer's career and output in later life more fully.

It is also possible that new discoveries will challenge statements in this essay. I would be grateful to receive any comments or information. I would also be particularly glad to be informed of the location of runs or copies of Lloyd's *Penny Sunday Times* and its *Companion* to supplement the incomplete holdings of the British Library's Newspaper Library at Colindale.

The most interesting, even startling, suggestion to come from this research is that the two most famous anti-heroes of this genre, Varney the Vampyre and Sweeney Todd are the creation of one man, James Malcolm Rymer. He went on to refine his considerable narrative skills in the exciting and competent adventure stories, like *A Mystery in Scarlet*, which delighted Robert Louis Stevenson, and now deserves proper re-assessment as a writer.

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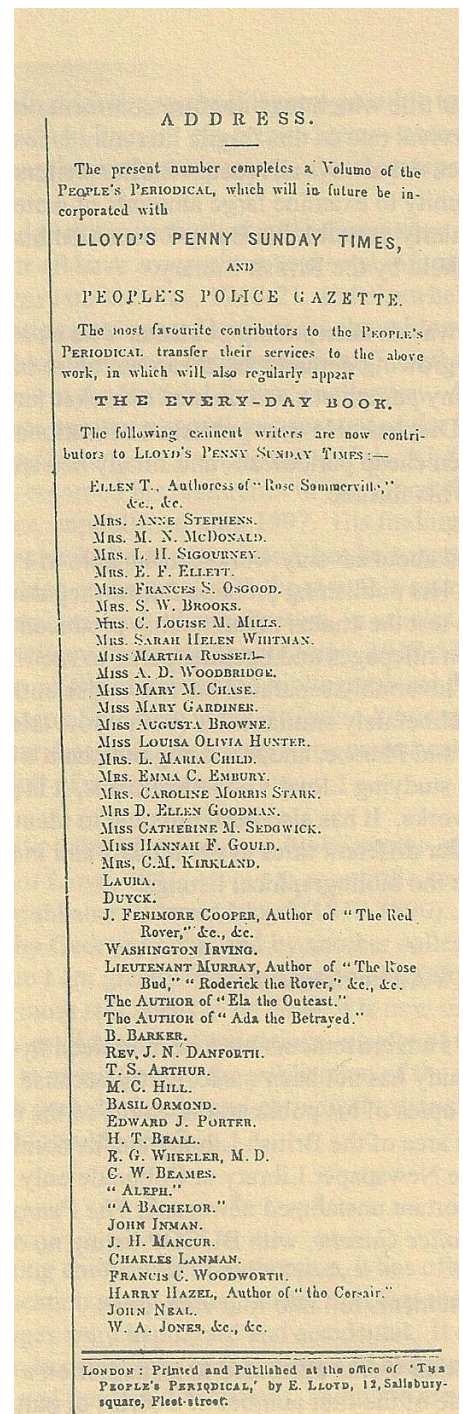
## Periodicals published by Edward Lloyd

(Years and issues seen only)

*The Family Journal*, 1848 (part only)  
*The Gardener, Florist & Agriculturist*, 1847-49  
*The Ladies' Journal*, 1847  
*Lloyd's Companion to the Penny Sunday Times*, 1841-47  
 (imperfect)  
*Lloyd's Entertaining Journal*, 1844-47  
*Lloyd's Family Portfolio*, 1845-46  
*Lloyd's Illustrated London Newspaper (Lloyd's Weekly  
 London Newspaper, Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper)*, 1842-50  
*Lloyd's Monthly (Weekly) Volume*, 1845-47  
*Lloyd's Penny Atlas*, 1843-45  
*Lloyd's Penny Weekly Miscellany of Romance and General  
 Interest*, 1843-46  
*Lloyd's Weekly Miscellany (Lloyd's Weekly Miscellany and  
 Penny Sunday Times)*, 1850-52  
*Penny Sunday Times & People's Police Gazette*, 1840-42  
*The People's Periodical and Family Library*, 1846-47

### Other Periodicals

*The Halfpenny Gazette*, 1861-65  
*The Illuminated Magazine*, 1843-45 (Partly reprinted in  
*The Illustrated Family Journal*, 1845-46)  
*The London Miscellany*, 1857-58 & 1866-67  
*The Queen's Magazine*, 1842  
*Reynolds's Magazine (Reynolds's Miscellany)*, 1846-67  
*Vanity Fair*, afterwards *Collector's Miscellany*, 1917-53





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## **List of Titles by Prest and Rymer: work in progress**

This list includes longer works of prose fiction and works edited by Prest and Rymer, both separately published and only found in periodicals. The date given is that of the earliest serialisation or the beginning of part publication as far as can be determined. Uncertain dates are in square brackets; additional information, including alternative titles, is in round brackets.

### **Thomas Peckett Prest**

*Items marked # are part of The Hebrew Maiden group.*

The Adventures of Valentine Vaux. By Timothy Portwine 1840  
Agnes the Unknown; or, The beggar's secret 1849  
Almira's Curse; or The Black Tower of Bransdorf 1847  
Angelina; or, The mystery of St Mark's Abbey 1840  
Anselmo the Accursed! Or, The skeleton hand 1841  
Barnaby Rudge. By Bos [1841?]  
Ben Bolt; or The perils of a sailor ca.1850  
Black-eyed Susan, or The sailor's bride, by E.F. Marriott 1840  
#Blanche Heriot; or The Chertsey curfew 1842  
#Blanche Langdale, the outlaw's bride 1847  
The Blighted Heart; or, The Old Priory ruins 1848  
The Brigand, or The mountain chief 1849  
The British Pocket Vocalist; ed. by Prest 1836  
The Calendar of Horrors; ed. by Prest 1835  
#Clarisse; or, The merchant's daughter 1845  
#The Convict 1846  
The Death Grasp, or A father's curse 1841  
The Death Ship; or, The pirate's bride and the maniac of the deep 1846  
Dramatic Tales 1842  
Ela, the Outcast; or, The gipsy of Rosemary Dell 1840  
Emily Fitzormond, or, The deserted one 1841  
Ernestine de Lacy; or The robber's foundling 1840  
Ethelinde, or The fatal vow 1848  
Evelina the Pauper's Child; or Poverty, crime and sorrow  
(Evelina the orphan pauper girl) 1847  
#Fatherless Fanny; or, The mysterious orphan 1840  
Florence, or The wild mountain maid 1843  
Florian the Dumb Boy, or, The heiress of Virandola 1843  
The Fund of Amusement; compiled by Prest 1856/57  
Gallant Tom 1840  
Geraldine; or, The secret assassins of the Old Stone Cross 1844  
Gertrude of the Rock, or, The mysterious hermit 1842  
#Gilbert Copley, the Reprobate 1844  
Gilderoy; or, The freebooter of Scotland 1850  
(Originally part of Tales of minstrelsy)  
The Gipsy Boy: a romance of the woods and the wilds 1846  
Grace Walton; or, The wanderers of the heath 1857



#The Harvest Home. A domestic romance 1848  
 The Hebrew Maiden; or, The lost diamond 1840  
 #The Highland Watch Tower, or The sons of Glenalvon 1842  
 The Horrors of War; ed. by Prest 1836  
 Jack Junk; or, The tar for all weathers 1849  
 #The Jew and the Foundling 1847  
 #Jonathan Bradford, or The murder at the roadside inn 1850  
 # Kathleen; or, The secret marriage 1842  
 #A Legend of Old St Paul's. By J.H. Hainsforth (W.H. Ainsforth) 1841  
 # A Legend of the Tower of London. By J.H. Hainsforth 1840  
 The Life and Adventures of Oliver Twiss, the Workhouse Boy  
 (Life and History of Oliver Twiss) 1839  
 The Life of Douglas Jerrold. By T.P.P. 1857  
 The Lives of the Most Notorious Highwaymen, Footpads, etc. 1836  
 The London Singer's Magazine, and Reciter's Album,  
 see The Singer's Penny Magazine  
 #The Lone Cottage; or, Who's the stranger? 1845  
 #Luke Somerton; or, The English renegade 1844  
 The Magazine of Curiosity and Wonder; ed. by Prest 1835  
 The Maniac Father; or, The victim of seduction 1841  
 #Marianne the Child of Charity 1845  
 Mariette; or, The forger's wife and the child of destiny 1844  
 Martha Willis; or The maid, the profligate and the felon 1843  
 Mary Clifford; or The foundling apprentice girl 1841  
 #May Grayson; or Love and treachery 1842  
 The Miller and his Men; or, The secret robbers of Bohemia 1852  
 The Miser of Shoreditch; or, The curse of avarice 1855  
 Mister Humfries' Clock. Bos maker 1840  
 My Poll and My Partner Joe [ca.1852]  
 The New Historical Notebook; ed. by Prest 1836  
 (Continued as The Horrors of War)  
 Nickelas Nickelbery. By Bos 1838  
 #The Ocean Child; or The lost vessel 1846  
 The Old House of West Street; or, London in the last century 1844  
 #Paul the Reckless; or The fugitive's doom 1845  
 The Penny Pickwick 1837  
 The Penny Play Book; or, Library of dramatic romance 1836  
 The Pickwick Comic Almanack for 1838 (Reprinted in The Humourist)  
 Pickwick in America 1838  
 The Pickwick Songster  
 (probably edited, and containing many songs by Prest) 1837  
 The Play Book, see The Penny Play Book  
 Poor Little Jack, by E.F. Marriott 1840  
 The Post-humorous Notes of the Pickwickian Club  
 see The Penny Pickwick  
 Poverty; or, Mary Graham 1843  
 Richard Parker; or, The mutiny at the Nore 1850  
 The Robber's Foundling see Ernestine de Lacy  
 #The Robber's Wife 1849

Rosalie, or The vagrant's daughter 1842  
 The Royal Twins; or The sisters of mystery 1848  
 Sam Weller's Budget of Recitations; ed. by Prest 1838  
 (Reprinted in The New Budget of Recitations, 1854)  
 Schamyl; or, The wild woman of Circassia 1856  
 The Singer's Penny Magazine and Reciter's Album;  
 vol.1 ed. by Prest [1834?]  
 The Sketch-book by Bos 1837  
 The Smuggler King; or The foundling of the wreck 1843  
 #Susan Hoply (Susan Hopely) 1841  
 Tales and Legends of Other Days 1840  
 Tales of Enchantment; or, The book of fairies 1836  
 Tales of Minstrelsy 1843  
 #Tales of the Drama 1837-42; (2nd series) 1848  
 #Temptation, or The mysterious casket 1844  
 #Therese, or The orphan of Geneva 1843  
 #Treachery; or, The modern Iago 1844  
 Valentine Vaux see The Adventures of Valentine Vaux  
 Vice and its Victim, or Phoebe the peasant's daughter [1854?]  
 Vocal Comic Annual for 1838  
 The Weekly Penny Comic Magazine; ed. by Prest 1832  
 The Wife's Dream, or, A profligate's lesson 1849  
 #The Wife's Secret; or, The cavalier and the roundhead  
 (The Wife's Secret. A romance) 1850

*Possibly by Prest:*

The Flying Dutchman, or The demon ship 1839  
 Posthumous Papers of the Cadgers' Club 1838

**James Malcolm Rymer**

Ada the Betrayed 1842  
 Adele; or The robbers of the New Forest 1844  
 Adeline; or The grave of the forsaken 1842  
 Adventures by Night see The Night Adventurer  
 Alice Home; or The revenge of the blighted one 1843  
 Annie Hatton; or, The golden mist 1866  
 Annie Rushton; or, A flaw in the diamond 1849  
 The Apparition 1846  
 The Appointed Hour; a romance of Venice 1848  
 The Assassins of the Cavern 1847  
 The Black Mantle; or, The murder at the Old Ferry 1845  
 The Black Monk; or, The secret of the Grey Turret 1843  
 Blanche; or The mystery of the doomed house 1841 (as Moreton... 1846)  
 Brentwood of Brentwood; or, The oath 1845 (as The Oath... 1846)  
 The Bridal Ring; or, The maiden's sacrifice 1850  
 Captain Hawk; or, The shadow of death 1850

Christine, or The two husbands 1851  
 Claude Duval: the ladies' highwayman 1849  
 (Set in the reign of George III)  
 The Compact; or, First and last 1844  
 The Court Page. By Lady Clara Cavendish 1861  
 Cousin Cecil, or The wheel of fortune 1850  
 The Dark Woman, or The days of the Prince Regent  
 (The Dark Woman, or Plot and passion) 1861  
 The Dead Man's Hollow, or The bridal of Bodesden 1846  
 The Deceiver's Doom; or, The cousins 1848  
 Destiny; or The legend of Cranbrook Chase 1844  
 The Divorce; a tale of fashionable life. By Lady Clara Cavendish 1859  
 The Doge's Daughter 1860  
 The Doge's Treasure, or The Senator's revenge! 1842  
 Don Caesar de Bazan 1844  
 Dorinda; or The miser's will 1851  
 The Dream of a Life 1846  
 The Duchess 1850  
 Edith Heron; or, The earl and the countess 1862  
 Edith the Captive; or, The robbers of Epping Forest 1860  
 The Fallen Star. By Lady Clara Cavendish 1859  
 Family secrets; or A page from life's volume 1845  
 Felicia, or, The tempter and his victim 1843  
 The First False Step; or, The path of crime 1845  
 A Flaw in the Diamond see Annie Rushton  
 The Gambler's Wife 1846  
 Gentleman Jack 1848  
 George Barrington; or, Life in London a hundred years ago 1862  
 Gold; or, The stranger of the wreck 1847  
 The Golden Forfeit: an episode of the Regency 1852  
 The Golden Heart: a domestic story for Christmas 1864  
 Grace Rivers; or The merchant's daughter 1843  
 Heads and Hearts, or My brother the colonel 1850  
 Holly Bush Hall; or, The track in the snow 1859  
 The Incendiaries; or, The haunted manor 1859  
 The Iron Mask 1846  
 Jane Brightwell; or, The beggar's petition 1843  
 Jane Shore, or London in the reign of Edward IV 1842 (incomplete), 1845  
 Jessie Arnold, or The murder at the Old Well 1844  
 Kate Chudleigh; or, The Duchess of Kingston 1864  
 The Knightriders [1890] (An abridgment of Gentleman Jack)  
 The Lady in Black, or The widow and the wife 1845  
 The Life and Adventures of Tom King 1850  
 The Life Raft: a tale of the sea 1858  
 Lloyd's Weekly Miscellany; ed. by Rymer 1849-52  
 The London Miscellany; ed. by Rymer 1857-58, 1866-67  
 Lost in the World 1866  
 Love; or, The thread of destiny 1844

Love and Matrimony 1849  
 Love and Mystery; or, Married and single 1849  
 The Love Child; or, The little heroine 1845  
 Love the Leveller; or Fenella's fortune 1861  
 The Lover's Fate; or The vision of the Raven Tower 1842  
 Mabel, or The child of the battlefield 1845  
 Manuscripts from the Diary of a Physician 1842; (2nd series) 1847  
 The Marquis of Dalewood [1890] (?)  
 The Marriage of Mystery. By Lady Clara Cavendish 1863  
 May Boyes and the Shadow of Death (Part of Newgate) 1846  
 (See also Captain Hawk)  
 May Dudley; or, The white mask 1863  
 Mazeppa; or, The wild horse of the Ukraine 1848  
 The Miller's Maid, see Phoebe  
 Miranda; or The heiress of the Grange 1844  
 Moreton, or, The doomed house 1846 (as Blanche ... 1841)  
 Morris Courtley 1858 (as The Secretary ... 1848)  
 The Mysterious Lover 1845 (in Lloyd's Family Portfolio)  
 A Mystery in Scarlet 1866  
 Newgate: a romance 1846  
 The Night Adventurer; or, The palaces and dungeons of the heart 1846  
 Nightshade; or Claude Duval the dashing highwayman  
 (Set in the reign of George II)  
 The Oath, or The buried treasure 1846 (as Brentwood of Brentwood 1845)  
 The Octoroon, see Zoe  
 The Ordeal by Touch 1846  
 Paul Clifford; or, Hurrah for the road 1850  
 Paul's Perils [1890] (An abridgment of Paul Clifford)  
 Pedlar's Acre; or The wife of seven husbands 1848  
 Phoebe, the Miller's Maid 1841  
 The Poisoner; or The perils of matrimony (Part of Newgate) 1847  
 The Queen's Magazine; ed. by Rymer 1842  
 Rankley Grange [1891] (An abridgment of Miranda)  
 Redcrape: a tale of the highway 1866  
 Retribution; or, The murder at the Old Dyke 1846  
 The Rivals; or, The spectre of the hall 1845  
 Rupert the Fugitive; or, The will-forger 1862  
 Sea Drift; or, The smugglers of the Channel 1863  
 (Possibly as Sea Spray, or, The smugglers of the Channel  
 by Rear Admiral Spencer N. Hawke, 1866)  
 Secret Service: a tale of the sea 1861  
 The Secretary, or Circumstantial evidence 1848 (as Morris Courtley 1858)  
 The Sepoys; or, Highland Jessie 1858  
 The Shadow; or, The wife's devotion 1860  
 The Snowdrift 1858  
 The Spectre of the Hall see The Rivals  
 Stella; or, The omen of the grave (Stella; or The omen of blood) 1843  
 The String of Pearls; or, The barber of Fleet Street 1846

Tales of the Times, from the note-book of a lawyer 1846 (?)  
 The Tempter 1859 (Not the same as Felicia or, The tempter ... 1843)  
 The Treasures of St Mark 1860  
 True Blue; or, Sharks upon the shore 1859  
 The Unspeakable, or The life and adventures of a stammerer 1855  
 Vanderdecken; or, The flying Dutchman 1850  
 Varney the Vampyre; or, The feast of blood 1845  
 Vileroy 1841  
 The White Slave: a romance for the nineteenth century 1844  
 The Widow Mortimer; or, The marriage in the dark 1847  
 Will o' the Wisp 1858  
 The Wizard of the Knoll 1848 (?)  
 The Woman of the World. By Lady Clara Cavendish 1858  
 Woman's Life; or, The trials of the heart 1844  
 The Wreckers; a tale of the sea 1858  
 (The Wreckers; a story of the coast is by Edwin F. Roberts)  
 The Young Shipwright 1860  
 Zoe, the Octoroon; or, Life in Louisiana 1862

*Possibly by Rymer:*

The Lady Godiva; or, Peeping Tom of Coventry 1849  
 Townsend (Townshend) the Runner