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Abstract
Throughout the nineteenth century, just as Voltaire's Candide was regularly printed with a spurious sequel, so it was the custom to print Defoe's Roxana with a long continuation, amounting to nearly a quarter of the total length of the volume, dealing with Roxana's journey to Holland with her Dutch husband and her later years and death there. This was done in the Hazlitt, the Bohn, the Tegg, and the Aitken editions, and even in the Maynadier edition of 1903.

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The "Lost" Continuation of Defoe's *Roxana*

P.N. Furbank and W.R. Owens

Throughout the nineteenth century, just as Voltaire's *Candide* was regularly printed with a spurious sequel, so it was the custom to print Defoe's *Roxana* with a long continuation, amounting to nearly a quarter of the total length of the volume, dealing with Roxana's journey to Holland with her Dutch husband and her later years and death there. This was done in the Hazlitt, the Bohn, the Tegg, and the Aitken editions, and even in the Maynadier edition of 1903.

The continuation in question was first reprinted by William Hazlitt the Younger in his *Works of Daniel De Foe* (1840), where, after the concluding words of Defoe's text ("my repentance seemed to be the only consequence of my misery, as my misery was of my crime"), a footnote reads:

> The work, as originally published by De Foe in 1724, ends in this manner. The continuation of Roxana's life, which follows, was first printed in 1745, with a long explanation as to the author. It is impossible at this distance of time to say by whom it was written, but the style certainly bears a strong resemblance to that of De Foe.[1]

This information is repeated in the Bohn, Tegg, Aitken, and Maynadier editions. Hazlitt, however, in his preface, adds a further comment:

1 *The Works of Daniel De Foe, with a Memoir of His Life and Writings*, ed. William Hazlitt, 3 vols (London: John Clements, 1840), 1:109.

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In the second edition, De Foe was persuaded by his friend, Southern, to leave out the whole of the story relating to Roxana's daughter Susannah; who, suspecting her relationship, contrived various expedients to throw herself in her mother's way, until she at length succeeded, and accomplished her ruin. Southern's objection, certainly a very curious one, rested upon the supposition, that the daughter's history was imaginary, whilst the rest of the story was founded upon fact. Whatever foundation there may be for this tradition, it is certain that most of the subsequent editions of the book contain the story, and it is one of the finest-wrought pictures in the work.[2]

Both the footnote and this prefatory comment require a great deal of unpicking; indeed they are strands in a whole web of misunderstandings.

The late Spiro Peterson devoted his PhD thesis to "*Roxana* and Its Eighteenth-Century Sequels."[3] It is a very fine piece of work, resourceful and far-reaching in its discussion of the *Roxana* continuations as a piece of literary history, but it turned greatly on the fact that the all-important edition of 1745, which Hazlitt mentions in his footnote and from which he supposedly drew his text (including the continuation), seemed to be lost, so that it had to be reconstructed by inference. Peterson submitted his thesis in 1953. Twenty years or so later a copy of a 1745 edition turned up at the Newberry Library in Chicago, with results perplexing for Peterson. For though the Newberry edition contains a continuation, this differs markedly at certain points from the Hazlitt one, introducing one or two quite new incidents and dropping others. Nor did the edition supply "a long explanation as to the author."

Did this mean that there was another 1745 edition, still to be found? Or did Hazlitt's words need to be understood in some different manner? Peterson remained puzzled by the problem, but we are in a position to answer at least the most important question: which text did Hazlitt actually use? We can also, we believe, throw some light on the complicated muddle, involving William Godwin, Charles Lamb, and Walter Wilson, which surrounds the "Hazlitt" continuation.

First, however, we must supply a little bibliographical detail. There were at least six different eighteenth-century continuations of *Roxana*. The first in date that we know of, a long one, comes in a quarto edition published

2 Hazlitt, 1:iv.

3 See Spiro Peterson, "Defoe's *Roxana* and Its Eighteenth-Century Sequels: A Critical and Bibliographical Study," unpublished PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 1953

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by Elizabeth Applebee in 1740 under the title *The Fortunate Mistress; Or, A History Of the Life And Vast Variety of Fortunes Of Mademoiselle de Beleau*. It elaborately develops the "Quaker" theme and includes a sixty-page theft from Eliza Haywood's *The British Recluse*. Next comes the continuation in the 1745 "Newberry" edition mentioned above, an octavo published by C. Whitefield, under the title *The Life and Adventures of Roxana, the Fortunate Mistress; or, Most Unhappy Wife*.[4] In a duodecimo edition published by J. Hodges, H. Slater, F. Noble, and J. Rowlands in 1750, under the title *Roxana: Or, The Fortunate Mistress. Being A History Of The Life and Vast Variety of Fortunes of Mademoiselle de Beleau*, there is a very short continuation, three paragraphs in length. A quarto edition published by H. Owen and C. Sympson in 1755 under the title *The Life And Adventures of Roxana, The Fortunate Mistress; Or, Most Unhappy Wife* contains a continuation closely related to the Hazlitt one but including large swatches of travel material borrowed from later editions of Defoe's *Tour thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain*. In 1775 Francis Noble published a greatly garbled and rewritten version of *Roxana* under the title *The History of Mademoiselle de Beleau; Or, The New Roxana, the Fortunate Mistress: Afterwards Countess of Wintselsheim*, and this contained a sentimental continuation with a happy ending.

In addition to these, however, there was an edition, including a lengthy continuation, by J. Cooke in Paternoster Row, published in 1765 under the title of *The Life and Adventures of Roxana, the Fortunate Mistress; and Most Unhappy Wife*. Cooke also brought out a two-volume edition, from the same typesetting, which, though undated, there is good reason to think appeared after his one-volume edition.[5] The copy of this undated two-volume edition in the National Library of Scotland once belonged to Walter Wilson and contains his bookplate; and examination shows that it is the text on which Hazlitt, who was a friend of Wilson's and received much help from him, used for the continuation in his edition.

4 It is to be noticed that, according to Defoe's biographer Walter Wilson in his *Memoirs of the Life and Times of Daniel De Foe*, 3 vols (London: Hurst, Chance and Co., 1830), there was an edition under this title published in 1735 (3:527), though no extant copy is now known, and it is not clear whether Wilson had actually seen a copy himself. The possibility cannot be ruled out that, if this edition is not a ghost, it included a continuation.

5 The two-volume edition contains six additional leaves of plates, and in inserting one of them two pages of text (pp. 67 and 68) were inadvertently omitted. Also, a portion of text on pp. 342 and 343 of the one-volume edition is abridged to accommodate the introduction of the second title-page in the two-volume edition (the pagination of which is continuous, though erratic in places over the two volumes).

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So why did Hazlitt say his continuation was first published in 1745? And why do none of these continuations give "a long explanation as to the author"? To explain this, we shall have to trace a rather complicated muddle.

We have William Godwin's word for it that he read *Roxana* as a boy (that is to say, presumably, in the 1760s) and was powerfully affected by it, especially by the pursuit and persecution of Roxana by her daughter. One may make a guess that Defoe's novel was a major influence on *Caleb Williams*, in which a similar theme is so prominent; but at all events, when in 1807 Godwin published his tragedy *Faulkener* he specifically and circumstantially mentioned his debt to Defoe.

> The following Tragedy is founded upon an incident in a novel commonly said to be written by Daniel Defoe, and entitled *Roxana, or the Fortunate Mistress*. Of this novel there are three editions. The first, published in 1724, breaks off somewhat abruptly, and does not contain the incident which I have employed. The second was printed in 1745, and is the only complete one. Mr. Noble, a bookseller, in Holborn, a well known publisher of new trash, and of old novels new vamped, about forty years ago, printed a third edition after his manner in 1775, in which nearly every thing that is excellent and interesting in the original is carefully suppressed. The reader therefore who should have the curiosity to compare my fabric with the materials from which it is composed, can only satisfy himself by consulting the edition of 1745.
>
> One curious circumstance attending this piece of fictitious history is that Defoe died in 1731, fourteen years before the publication of the complete edition. Is he therefore the true author of the additional part? Or may not the whole book, though usually imputed to him, be the production of some other writer? No light is to be derived on these points from any thing attendant on the perfect edition. The style certainly bears a most striking resemblance to that of the unquestioned productions of Defoe.
>
> The incident on which my production is founded, made a strong impression on my fancy when a boy, and always rendered the book which contains it, though otherwise coarsely written, somewhat a favourite with me. The terror of a guilty mind, haunted with mysterious fears of retribution, has seldom been more powerfully delineated.[6]

As this makes plain, Godwin had also later got hold of Francis Noble's *History of Mademoiselle de Beleau* (1775), the preface to which contains an extraordinary rigmarole about a revised version of the novel. In this preface, the elderly Defoe relates how the dramatist Richard Southerne paid him a visit in his house in Islington and rebuked him severely for causing the heroine of *Roxana* to do something so unnatural as to disown

6 William Godwin, preface to *Faulkener: a Tragedy* (London: Richard Phillips, 1807), pp. v–vi.

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her own children. Taking this rebuke to heart, the preface continues, Defoe revised the novel, and this revised version (it is implied) is the one now presented to the world by Francis Noble.[7]

It is a remarkably unlikely story, but Godwin, despite his scorn for Noble, seems to have swallowed it, or at least allowed it to linger in his mind, and this was also the case with his friend Charles Lamb. Lamb, a great devotee of Defoe, acted as literary adviser to Defoe's biographer Walter Wilson, and in a letter to Wilson of 16 December 1822 he repeats the Richard Southerne legend: "he [Defoe] left out the best part of it [*Roxana*] in subsequent editions from a foolish hypercriticism of his friend, Southerne." In a later letter to Wilson (24 February 1823) he specifically mentions the Noble edition:

> It was at your house I saw an edition of *Roxana*, the preface to which stated that the author had left out that part of it which related to Roxana's daughter persisting in imagining herself to be so, in spite of her mother's denial, from certain hints she had picked up, and throwing herself continually in her mother's way ... and that it was by advice of Southern, who objected to the circumstances as being untrue, when the rest of the story was founded in fact. ... You should have the edition (if you have not parted with it), for I saw it never but at your place at the Mews' Gate, nor did I then read it to compare it with my own; only I know the daughter's curiosity is the best part of my *Roxana*.[8]

It is probable that Godwin and Lamb were also aware that *Roxana* commonly came out with a continuation, and both the "Hazlitt" continuation and the 1755 one contain further episodes concerning the daughter, who pursues Roxana to Holland. This is another possible source of confusion. At all events, fairly plainly (and rather pardonably) the two friends seem to have got into a muddle. As we know, the powerful and haunting portion of Defoe's novel concerned with the daughter's pursuit and persecution of Roxana, which must be what originally captured Godwin's imagination, is already present in the first edition of 1724. However, under the influence of the Noble volume, they assumed that this part had at some point been excised by Defoe and that there was only one edition in which it could be found.

What could perhaps further have encouraged muddle, it is worth remarking, is the fact that Defoe's text has, as it were, two conclusions.

7 See further our article "Defoe and Francis Noble," *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 4 (1992), 301–13.

8 E.V. Lucas, the editor of Lamb's letters, got caught up in the muddle, adding as a footnote to Lamb's letter: "Defoe's *Roxana*, first edition, does not, as a matter of fact, contain the episode of the daughter which Lamb so much admired." *The Letters of Charles and Mary Lamb* (1935), 2:372.

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We are shown Roxana safely married to her Dutch husband and established in Holland (where, though ennobled as a Countess, she finds herself gnawed by pangs of conscience over her scandalous past); but then the novel back-tracks ("I must now go back to another Scene, and join it to this End of my Story, which will compleat all my Concern with *England*"),[9] and there follows a further account of Roxana's last days in England, with the memorable sequence concerning her avenging daughter.

That the muddle grew and expanded may be seen if we reread what Godwin wrote in his preface to *Faulkener*. For he asserts there that the only perfect edition of Defoe's novel, containing the part about the daughter, was the "second" edition, "printed in 1745." He must therefore have interpreted the Noble preface as implying that Defoe deleted the part about the daughter while the work was still in manuscript. But on this basis, of course, it would become a question how there ever came to be a "complete" edition which included it.

As to why he specified the date 1745, the answer is not clear, but it is perhaps not too difficult to explain. There was in fact, as we know, an edition in 1745, and he, or more probably the bibliophile Charles Lamb, may well have assumed, without reading it, that this must be the precious "complete" edition they remembered once to have read.

The next stage in the story concerns Walter Wilson. In his *Memoirs of the Life and Times of Daniel De Foe*, published in 1830, one meets the same words that we quoted earlier from Hazlitt's preface to his edition of 1840, about Defoe having been "persuaded by his friend Southerne to leave out the whole of the story relating to Roxana's daughter," and about there appearing in 1745 "a new impression in 12mo, with a continuation of Roxana's life from the place where it was broken off by De Foe."[10] (Indeed Hazlitt made it plain in his preface that he was quoting Wilson's words.) Wilson, however, in contrast to Godwin, says—what indeed would have been more reasonable—that it was the second edition, not the first, which left out the part about Roxana's daughter (though he does not clearly indicate which he regarded as being the second edition). He says he gained his knowledge of Southerne's intervention from an informant, by which it is reasonable to suppose that he means his adviser Charles Lamb.

So the source of Hazlitt's statements about the history of *Roxana*, false in quite a number of particulars, but repeated faithfully by later

9 Daniel Defoe, *Roxana*, ed. David Blewett (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1982), p. 311.
10 Wilson, *Memoirs of the Life and Times of Daniel De Foe*, 3:526–27.

nineteenth-century editors, seems clearly indicated: it was a chain of errors going back to Godwin, via Charles Lamb and Walter Wilson. It is a wonderful little imbroglio and, among other things, another proof of the extraordinary influence of Francis Noble, and his nefarious editions, on the reception of Defoe.

It remains to establish the place of the "Hazlitt" continuation among the series of *Roxana* continuations—not altogether an easy task. We may leave out of account the 1740 ("Quaker") continuation and the Francis Noble one of 1775, since they were unique and left no succession, and also the very brief 1750 one, and will concentrate on the other three continuations, which are interrelated. A fact of importance is that, though the 1745 (Whitefield), 1755 (Owen and Sympson), and 1765 (Cooke/Hazlitt) editions are broadly similar, two incidents, present in the 1755 and 1765 editions, are lacking in the 1745 one. They both come in the earlier part, which deals with Roxana and her husband's journey to Dover. One of them is a little scene at an inn on Shooter's Hill, when some gentlemen invite Roxana to look through their pocket-telescope and she refuses to believe that what she is seeing through it is London. The other is Roxana's alarming discovery that her daughter knows of her plan to leave England and has been on the road in front of her, making inquiries about her. It is relevant to say that the second of these incidents is a valuable addition to the 1745 version, the corresponding pages in which are very tedious and mainly concerned with the couple's meals and dealings with innkeepers. Thus, in this respect, the 1755 edition could be said to be an improvement on the 1745—though only in this respect, for in general, considering its vast quantity of irrelevancy and padding, it must be rated a disaster.

Accordingly the "best" version of this continuation must be said to be the one produced for Cooke in 1765, the editor of which has kept the one real improvement introduced in the Owen and Sympson edition of 1755 and has prudently excised all the rest of that edition's rambling interpolations, together with several further, and dispensable, passages surviving from the 1745 one. This "Cooke" continuation was the one reprinted by Hazlitt, although everything he said about it from a bibliographical point of view was false.

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Appendix

A Checklist of Eighteenth-Century Editions of *Roxana*

1

The fortunate mistress: or, a history of the life and vast variety of fortunes of Mademoiselle de Beleau, afterwards call'd the Countess de Wintselsheim, in Germany. Being the person known by the name of the Lady Roxana, in the time of King Charles II. London: Printed for T. Warner; W. Meadows; W. Pepper; S. Harding; and T. Edlin. 1724.

The first edition, and the only one to be published in Defoe's lifetime.

[2]

[*The life and adventures of Roxana, the fortunate mistress, or most unhappy wife.* 1735.]

Known only from a reference in Walter Wilson's *Memoirs of the Life and Times of Daniel De Foe* (1830), 3:527.

3

Die glückliche Maitresse, Oder Lebens-Beschreibung und mancherley seltsame Glüchs-Fälle der Mademoiselle de Beleau, Welche hernach die Gräfin von Wintselsheim in Teutschland genennet wurde: Dem beygefüget die Geheime Geschichte der schönen Vanella, Wahrhafftige Begebenheit. Aus dem Englischen ins Teutsche übersetzt. Cöln, 1736.

Translation of first edition (and includes *The Secret History of the Beautiful Vanella*).

4

The fortunate mistress: or, a history of the life and vast variety of fortunes of Mademoiselle de Beleau, afterwards call'd the Countess de Wintselsheim, in Germany. Being the person known by the name of the Lady Roxana, in the time of King Charles II. London: Printed by E. Applebee. And to be had of the news-carriers. 1740.

An edition in thirty-seven numbers. Includes "Quaker" continuation and large borrowing from Eliza Haywood's *The British Recluse.*

5

The fortunate mistress: or, a history of the life and vast variety of fortunes, of Mademoiselle de Beleau, afterwards call'd, the Countess de Wintselsheim, in Germany. Being the person known by the name of the Lady Roxana, in the time of King Charles II. London: Printed by G. Buckeridge. 1740.

An edition in seventy-four numbers.

6

Roxana: or, the fortunate mistress. Being a history of the life and vast variety of fortunes of Mademoiselle de Beleau. London: Printed for H. Slater; F. Noble; J. Rowlands; T. Wright; J. Duncan. 1742.

A reprint of the first edition.

7

[Title unknown.] London: Printed for R. Crusoe, junior, and may be had of all the persons who serve newspapers and subscription books. 1742.

Known only from a reference in Wilson, 3:527. He provides the imprint information, and comments "It has some rude wood cuts."

8

The life and adventures of Roxana, the fortunate mistress: or, most unhappy wife. Containing, the vast variety of fortunes that attended her thro' the several stages of life. Of her advancement to the greatest heighth of riches and honour; and afterwards falling into the most melancholy scenes of misery and distress, which continued to her death. With several curious reflections and entertaining particulars. London: Printed for C. Whitefield. 1745.

Includes lengthy new continuation.

9

The life and adventures of Roxana the fortunate mistress or most unhappy wife. Containing, the vast variety of fortunes that attended her thro' the several stages of life. Of her advancement to the greatest heighth of riches and honour; and afterwards falling into the most melancholy scenes of misery and distress, which continued to her death. With several curious reflections, and entertaining particulars. London. Printed for C. Whitefield. 1749.

Issued in nineteen numbers.

10

Roxana: or, the fortunate mistress. Being a history of the life and vast variety of fortunes of Mademoiselle de Beleau. The second edition, revised and corrected. London: Printed for J. Hodges; H. Slater; F. Noble; J. Rowlands. 1750.

Includes very brief continuation, related to the one in the 1745 edition.

11

The life and adventures of Roxana, the fortunate mistress; or, most unhappy wife. Containing, I. An account of her birth in France, in 1683. II. Her marriage in London with a brewer, who ran out his estate, and left her in a destitute condition with five children [and so on, listing VI such topics in two columns]. *Embellished with curious copper plates.* London: Printed for H. Owen; and C. Sympson. 1755.

Includes long continuation related to the one in the 1745 edition but with large additions from Defoe's *Tour*. The main text is divided, for the first time, into twenty-two chapters.

12

The life and adventures of Roxana, the fortunate mistress; or, most unhappy wife. Containing [I–VI topics]. Dublin: Printed by Alexander M'Culloh. 1756.

An abridged serial reprint of the 1755 edition.

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13

The life and adventures of Roxana, the fortunate mistress; and most unhappy wife. A work full of surprising incidents, and calculated equally to entertain and instruct. Containing, [list of I–VI topics]. London: Printed for J. Cooke. 1765.

With a continuation related to the one in the 1745 edition, but which includes two important changes and additions made in the 1755 edition. This 1765 text was the source for the continuation reprinted in Hazlitt's edition of 1840, though he worked from the two-volume edition of it listed below.

14

The life and adventures of Roxana, the fortunate mistress; and most uhnappy [sic] wife. A work full of surprising incidents, and calculated equally to entertain and instruct. Adorned with a curious set of copper-plate cuts, elegantly engraved from original designs. Containing, [list of I–VI topics]. *Vol. I.* London. Printed for J. Cooke [n.d.].

An edition in two volumes, with pagination consecutive (though erratic) over both. The title-page of vol. 2 corrects the misspelling of "unhappy." Although undated, this was almost certainly published after the 1765 one-volume edition.

15

The life and adventures of Roxana, the fortunate mistress; or, most unhappy wife. In three parts. Containing, [list of I–VI topics]. *Adorned with a curious print of Roxana, in her Turkish dress.* London. Printed for S. Crowder, and S. Gamidge, in Worcester. 1765.

An abridgment of the 1755 edition.

16

The life and adventures of Roxana, the fortunate mistress; or, most unhappy wife. Containing, [list of I–VI topics]. *Adorned with a curious print of Roxana in her Turkish dress.* London: Printed by C. Sympson. 1774.

An abridgment of the 1755 edition.

17

The history of Mademoiselle de Beleau; or, the new Roxana, the fortunate mistress: afterwards Countess of Wintselsheim. Published by Mr. Daniel De Foe. And from papers found, since his decease, it appears was greatly altered by himself; and from the said papers, the present work is produced. London: Printed for the editor; and sold by F. Noble, and T. Lowndes. 1775.

Highly garbled and rewritten, and includes a new continuation.

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