

THE APPARITION OF MRS. VEAL TO MRS. BARGRAVE AT
CANTERBURY, 8TH OF SEPTEMBER, 1705:

TWO NEW CONTEMPORARY MANUSCRIPT ACCOUNTS

By FRANK HIGENBOTTAM

ON Saturday, 8th September, 1705, Mrs. Veal of Dover visited her friend, Mrs. Bargrave, at her house in Canterbury. On the Monday, Mrs. Bargrave learned that Mrs. Veal had died at Dover the previous Friday, twenty-four hours before her apparition at Canterbury. The story, when it got around, caused a great stir, not only locally, but also in London, as the following letter, dated October 31st, 1705, from Dr. Arbuthnott to John Flamsteed, first Astronomer Royal, shows. (This and two other letters are now published by kind permission of the present Astronomer Royal, R. van der Riet Woolley, Esq., O.B.E., Sc.D., F.R.S.) The "very great person" mentioned in the first letter was George of Denmark, Queen Anne's consort, to whom Arbuthnott was physician. Mr. P. S. Laurie suggests that Flamsteed discussed the matter "with John Arbuthnott and others, probably at a Royal Society meeting or at Garraway's coffee house".

"Wednesday october 31st

Sir,

I was askd t'other day by a very great person if I had heard any thing of the story you showd us in your letters about the apparition at Canterbury. I said I had & mentiond y^e letters that you had; and withall added that I beleive I could procure a copy of them which I beg you would do me the favour to send me by the penny post with what you know of the credit of the persons concernd. I shall not give the copy to any person but them I mention nor shall it be publishd by my allowance in doing of this you will extremely oblige.

Sir

Your Most humble Servant

Jo: Arbuthnott

direct for me
at my house in
St James's place "

In 1954, Mr. P. S. Laurie, on the staff of the Royal Observatory, wrote to say he had discovered two early contemporary accounts of the apparition in the archives of the Royal Observatory at Hurstmonceux. Owing to the fact that the Royal Observatory was then in process of

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being transferred from Greenwich to Hurstmonceaux, it was impossible to get photostats, but this year I wrote to Mr. Laurie again and he very kindly supplied copies of the two letters in question, as also of the Arbuthnott letter.

The earliest known account of the story of Mrs. Veal is a letter, signed "E.B.", from Canterbury and dated Sept. 13, 1705, *only five days after the event*. The second letter is dated Nov. 15, 1705, from Stephen Gray of Canterbury to John Flamsteed, the first Astronomer Royal, at Greenwich.

The first letter, which is transcribed here, is addressed to an unknown lady:

Dear Madam,

It is long since I gave you y^e Trouble of a Scribble, but there has happen'd such an extr. thing in y^s Town, that I can't omit giving ye Relation. About a Year ago there liv'd one Mr. Bargrave an Attorney & his Wife in Dover, he had a good Employt there, but he behav'd himself so ill in it, being Sottish & careless y^t he was put out of it. But his Wife a very good & discreet Woman. And while they liv'd there one Mr. Veale & his Sister, a Single Woman, about 33 or 34 years of age boarded wth Mrs. Bargr. She & Mrs. V. were very great Lovers. And Mrs. Bargr. had but one Child a Daughter Whom Mrs. V. lov'd extremely. Mr. V. belong'd to y^e Customes & y^e Q. gave him an higher Place, by w^{ch} he had a Good House w^{ch} belong'd to that Place & so left Mrs. Bargr. And he (viz Bargr.) being put out of his Employt. they Remov'd from Dover to Cant. & on Satterday Sept. 8 last Mrs. Bargrave being in her little house alone She heard a little kind of a Rustle (It had just struck 12 at noon) & looking towards y^e Door in came Mrs. V. wth a Wrapping Gown & held it together wth her hand to across, an handsome suit of Night Cloaths & hood & Silk handk. tyed about her neck. Mrs. Bargr. cryed Dear Madam how came you to find me in this hole, & was going to Salute her. But Mrs. V. clapp'd her down in a Chair, by w^{ch} she concluded her not willing, & so forbore. Mrs. V. told her She was going a long journey. Mrs. B. ask'd whither? but She gave no reply to that, but Said She came in haste and her Brother was at London & She always lov'd her, & She would have Mrs. B. write to her Brother & tell him She had left Gold in her Cabinett and her Father & Mother having no stone over their Grave, She would have one put on it, & She would be buryed in it, & a great deal more things of that Nature. And ask'd her of her being at London where Mrs. B. had been Since their parting at Dover & whether her husband was any better. Mrs. Bargr. reply'd he was much one. Mrs. V. reply'd She must be patient & She would be delivered in a little time. And as they had lov'd well, they should love better wⁿ they met in Hⁿ & as She Sate Mrs. V. wav'd one of her hands to & fro over her Eyes.

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And Mrs. B. looking Earnestly, Mrs. V. Said do you think me alter'd? Mrs. B. reply'd, She was not willing to tell her So, but Said She thought She look'd very pale. She Said my fits have alter'd me. Mrs. B. said you have one of y^e prettiest Gowns I ever Saw, & took it up & felt it & pull'd it towards her. And in their discourse Mrs. B. ask'd her to drink some Chocolate, & whether She would Eat something? Mrs. V. said if She talk'd of eating or drinking She would be gone. This put Mrs. B. in mind of sending for her Girl whom Mrs. V. had enquir'd of before so Mrs. B. ran to her next Neighbo^{rs} to get them to fetch her Child home & wⁿ she return'd she met Mrs. V. out of door in y^e street & Said to her I hope you will not go. She had Sent for her favourite. Mrs. V. Said She could not stay longer for She must go to Mr. Watson's, w^{ch} is a Gentleman intimate wth them, but a Goodway from Mrs. B. [Mrs. B.] said She would go wth her thither & went a good Way, but remembring She had Sent for her Child, She said Madam I think it not convenient to go farther wth you Now. For if Mr. B. Should come in home he would do as he used fling all out of doors but Said I'll be sure to See you a^{gn} before you go y^e journey. Mrs. V. said I can't tell whether you will or no, but be Sure to do as I desir'd you & write to my Brother, & repeated it 2 or 3 times wth a Charge. Mr. B. coming home in drink was very rude & Shut his Wife into a little Plot they have. She waited upon y^e steps hoping he would let her in again, but he fell asleep & did not & She not being willing to expose him & disturb y^e neighbourhood walk'd & Sate on y^e steps all Night. And in y^e morning when he open'd y^e door, She was so cold and had the Tooth=ach She went to bed & lay all day. But on Monday early, believing Mrs. V. was to go in y^e Stage=Coach, went to Mr Watson's & ask'd for her. But they said She had not been there nor would not believe She had been wth her, so She told them many of y^e circumstances; upon telling her they heard She was dead, w^{ch} was affirm'd (Viz) that Mrs. V. was taken not very well on Wednesday Sept. 5 but was abroad in y^e Evening & din'd abroad on y^e Thursday Sept. 6, i.e. that day Seven=night, & on Friday, Sept. 7 fell into fitts & dyed in one. And y^e next day, as I said before (viz Sept 8) was from a little after 12 to 2 wth Mrs. B. in this Town. The Clock struck 2 just as they parted. I hear this from every body that comes in. But y^e party I write this from, had it from Mrs. B's own mouth and all people speak well of her, & my Lady Coventry's Chaplain & other of y^e Clergy have been wth her and I dont find any disbelieve her. Poor Woman She is concern'd She has Spoke so much of it, w^{ch} She would not have done if She had been really dead, but She spake it at Mr. Watson's to convince y^m She had been wth her. And Mr. Watson's Daughter who had been at Dover lately Says She had such a Gown, Poor Mrs. B. says if She had known She had been dead on Saturday

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night wⁿ She was Shut out She certainly should have been distracted & is afraid She Should come to her again. But She had writ to Mr. Veale presently as She promis'd & hoped She is Satisfied but her Husband abuses her & reflects on her for discouraging wth y^e Devil.
Thursday Sept. 13 1705. Y^r Oblig'd Serv^t.
E.B.

The second letter, which is transcribed here, was written by Stephen Gray of Canterbury to John Flamsteed, Astronomer Royal, in reply to a letter to Gray, dated Nov. 3, 1705, containing a series of questions, apparently inspired by the interest displayed in the affair by George of Denmark, Queen Anne's consort. Arbuthnott, in his letter to Flamsteed, particularly asks him to "send me by the penny post with what you know of the credit of the persons concernd." Flamsteed's queries can be deduced from Gray's replies, and were concerned with Mrs. Bargrave's character and religion, her seriousness, affability, and whether she had reported any previous apparitions.

For
The Reverend Mr John
Flamsteed Mathematicus
Regius at the Royal Obse=
=rvatory at Greenwich
near

London

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About the Apparition of
Mrs Veal to Mrs Bargrave
at Canterbury. 1705

CANTERBURY

9ber y^e 16th at 5 of y^e clock

Canterbury November 15 1705.

Reverend Sir

Yours of the third Instant I have Received and have according to the utmost of my ability indevoured to fullfill your Request I have not only made inquiry into Mrs Bargroves Character from Persons which were most likely to give a just account of her but have been and Conversed with her my self soe that if I have not Answerd your Querys concerning her to your satisfaction you will Impute it to my weakness and not to a want of will to serve you for indeed my temper

is very averse to Conversation yet I must strive what I Can to overcome my Inclinations when they are any wais obstructive to the obedience due to your Commands

Sir I have taken the account I have had of Mrs Bargraves character from Persons that are Esteemed Qualified in all things as you Direct from those that have known her Conversation both when she lived at Dover and here in Canterbury as well of the Clergie as others and all give her the Character of a Religious Discreet Witty and well accomplished Gentlewoman She was bred up in the Church of England her father who was Mr. Lodowick was in his life time Minister of the Church at Dover and she is seen often to frequent the Divine Servise of the Church and as she herself told me she was once beaten by her Husband for being soe silly (as he Called it) as to Receive the Sacrament this in answer to your first Query as to your second I cannot finde but she is a serious Person not given to any thing of levetiy to your third Query whether she be affable open and free or Close and Cunning in her Conversation I must Answer affirmatively that she is a Woman that knows how and when to be either but is Generally open Affable and free in her Conversation as to your fourth Query Whether she have Reported the houses wherein she has formerly lived to be Haunted and on what occation she did it she told me these were only stories Raised by her Husband and the Beans his companions that there was noe other Grounds for such Reports then this, that one Evening as she and her Husband were Walking in the Garden they saw a Woman makeing her Escape over the Wall upon which she said she thought it to be an Apparition, but they afterwards found it to be an ill Woman that was want to use that house and at an other time when her father was liveing and she with him at Dover she sitting by the fire in the evening it being almost Darke called her Maid to light a Candle but she not Coming Quickly Mrs Bargrove Rose and as she thought met with her at the Doore bid her light a Candle where at she did not come in till some time after which occationed Mrs Bargrove to say she thought it must be some aparition but says she used these Expressions only jocosly for she did not then belive there were Apparitions

Tis now become Difficult to get an account of Mrs Bargraves Relation of her Conversation with Mrs Veal Mr Veal her Brother at Dover and his Relations and friends that live here at Canterbury being willing to have it forgotten Do all they Can to stifle it but I Hapenyng to goe to a Gentlemans house whose wife I had heard was well acquainted with Mrs Bargrove at a time when she was there I acquainted him with the Designe of My comeing he soe far interceaded for me that I were the next day sent for to hear Mrs Bargrave Relate her whole story but I must own that her narative of it was soe very longe and my Memory so weak that I began to Dispear of giveing you a Tollerable

account of it had I not been assisted with a Copy of it as it was written by an ingenious Gentleman who had it from her own mouth before several Gentlemen and as far as I Can Remember tis very agreeable to what I heard her say

Mrs Bargrave the wife of Mr Bargrave an Attourney who formerly lived in Dover now in Canterbury had when in Dover Contracted a very intimat friendship with one Mrs Veal a Maiden Gentlewoman but upon Mrs Bargraves Coming to Canterbury their Friendly Conversation had been discontinued for some time Mrs Veal died friday September 7th at Dover but visited Mrs Bargrave on Saturday the 8th She conversed with her two hours viz from 12 till 2 in the afternoon Mrs. Bargrave in the forenoon had been weeping and bewailing her self upon the account of her afflicted Condition but had Pretty well Composed herself when about 12 oclock she heard some body knock at the Door being alone She went to the Door her self to see who it was and found it to be Mrs Veal her former Friend in a Travailing Habit being very joyfull to see her asked her how she came to finde her out in that old hole to whome Mrs Veal Replied that she would find her out where ever she was then Mrs B: told her she was glad to see her but Wonderd she Came alone she being subject to fitts used not to goe but with somebody to attend her She replied that she had given her friends at her Uncle Watsons the slip then Mrs. B: asked her to Come in and offerd to salute her upon which she sat herself down in a Chair Saying she was very weary then Mrs Bargrave sat down beside her and told Mrs Veal she had been in a sad Humour just before she came in yes said Mrs V: I perceivd it by your eyes is it noe better with you and your Husband then it used to be to which Mrs. B: Replieing noe Mrs Veal there upon undertook to Comfort her by giving her hope that in a little time it wold be other wais and then fell into some Religious Discourses and Exhortations and seeing a Book lie in the Window asked Mrs. B: what Book it was she said it was a book they two had taken great delight in Reading in at Dover it was Drelincourts Discourse against the fear of Death Mrs. Veal Replied it was an exelent Book and full of truth Mrs. B. Answered she preferred it to any she had seen on that subject yes said Mrs Veal but death and Eternety are much other things then the World takes them to be Mrs Bargrave being much pleased with her friends Conversation began a Discourse on friendship and some things past of the Cause of the Decay of it in them and asked her if she had read any of Mr Norris his Works Mrs V. Replied she had read some of his letters of Divine love Mrs B. asked her if she had read a Copy of verses of his on friendship Mrs V said noe and asked Mrs B. if she had that Book who said noe but she had Written them out in an other book and wold fetch them down and shew them to her if she pleased to which she Consented and Mrs B. fetched them and offerd

them to her to Read but she Refused saying she Cold not read them but desird Mrs Bargrave to read them which she did and seemed much affected with them but told Mrs Bargrave that friendship was much better and more perfect in the other World then in this and in Discourse she spent sometime to Mrs B. great satisfaction. Mrs B asked Mrs V if she wold Drink any tea to which she Replied noe but if I Would you have noe fire to make it to which she replied that she wold sone have her fire nay said Mrs Veal if you talk of drinking I am gon. Mrs Veal Perceiving Mrs Barg: to look prety earnestly upon her indevoud to Cover her face with her hand and asked Mrs Barg: if her fits have not some what alterd her Mrs B. being fearfull of Discourgeing of her indevoud to mitigat then Mrs Veal Made as if she was Rising to be gon but sat down again and told Mrs Bargrave she had almost forgot a main thing she came to her about and that was that she being to goe a journey wold desire her tell her Brother some things from her what said Mrs B you are goeing your old jorney meaning to the Bath or Wells where she knew she was want frequently to goe to which Mrs Veal made little or noe Replie but went on to tell Mrs Bargrave what she would have her tell her Brother about a toместone saying her Brother said he would have a Tome stone made for her Mother but had not done it soe she would now have him make one large enough to Contain them both and told her of somethings she had in her Cabinet and of a Sute of Cloths which she would have given to her Cosen Mrs Margret Watson with some other things which Mrs B will relate to noen but Mrs Veals Brother Mrs B thought this might be the Effect of her Heads being Disturbed by some aproaching fit that was Coming upon her went to divert her by some Discourse about her Gown takeing it in her hand saying this is very pretty stuff Madam Mrs Veal Replied it is an old Gown I have had scourd and newly made up but you doe this to Divert me but I will not be Diverted then Mrs Bargrave would have fetched a pen and Ink that Mrs Veal might have written what she would have her Brother know but she said she could not write then Mrs B: asked her why she did not tell her Brother before she came out of Dover or tell her Unckle Watson now as one that would sooner be believed She replied noe and would not be satisfied without a promise from her to doe it which after some Reluctancy she did then Mrs Veal asked Mrs Bargrave if she knew her sister who Married a Clergieman Mr — that lives somewhere in Southwark Mrs B said it was about 20 years ago since she saw her at Dover yes sais Mrs Veal tis above 25 years since and told her that her Sister Brother and Children were now Coming to Dover and all things were Provided for them just as I were goeing my journey then Mrs Barg: asked Mrs Veal if she Would see her little Girle who was at School but she would send for her if she pleased and went out of the dore to see for a neighbour to call her but

looking back saw Mrs Veal was come to the Door then said Mrs Barg: then you will be goeing yes sais Mrs Veal I cannot stay says Mrs B: I hope you doe not goe out of town to night noe says Mrs V: I am goeing to My Uncle Capt: Watsons and shall be there till Monday Morning and asked Mrs Barga: if she would not goe with her she said noe she could not goe withe her because her Husband was not at home but Would Come to Morrow and see her before she went her journey but would walk a little way with her which she did and then they Parted and Mrs Bargrave saw Mrs Veal goeing towards Captain Watsons house for several Rods and then before she went into her own house stept into a neighbours whoe asked her what made her look soe Cheirfull Mrs Bargrave Replied that she had had 2 hours Conversation with an old friend of hers which was come to Renew her friendship next day in the evening she went to Capt: Watsons to enquire for Mrs Veal but they said she had not been there when she came home her Husband told her that her old friend Mrs Veal was dead she said nothing to him till next Morning then asked him how he knew it telling him what had hapened being greatly surprised went again to Captain Watsons and Described her Gown which Mr Watsons Daughter knew to be one which Mrs Veal was want to wear but this not satisfieing her she went to the Party that brough the news to Canterbury whoe told her that Mrs Veal died on fryday in the afternoon and that her brother and sister was coming into Dover as the Bell was Ringing for her there is this farther observable that the next neighbours maid as she was at work in the yard heard Somebody talking very Pleasantly with Mrs Bargrave and when she came in told her Mrs soe who said Mrs Bargraves Husband does not use to be soe pleasant with her upon which the Maid said noe that it was both Womens voices she heard but was not near enough to Distinguish their words

This Sir is the substance of Mrs Bargraves Relation most of the sober men of our Citty doe believe it but there are some that doe not their Cheif Objections are that Mrs Bargrave mentions some things in the Cabenet that Mr Veal when he opened it Cold not find there though he opened it in the Preasance of several persons whom he called as Wittnesses and tis likewise said that noebody saw Mrs Bargrave in the street at that time when she sais she walked with her Mrs Veal and its Reported of Mrs Bargave that she is want to Report the Houses wherein she has lived to be Haunted as you have heard how far this is true you have heard in part already heard but I have Received a Full information of this chatter then Mrs Veals Modesty would permitt her to give me though Consonant Enough to what she told me. Mr Bargrave one day Rid a Hunting with some Gentlemen and when they had done towards night went to a Publick House about 9 miles from Canterbury where he Got Drunk and lay there not only that night but

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some days after his Wife hearing where he was went after him to see if she could get him home (for she is very Carefull of him not withstanding his severity to her) it hapened she Came at a time when her Husband was in the Companie of a Hore they were it seems together in the House of Eas Mrs Bargrave when she Came in asked for her Husband they told her he was without in the Garden whither she went the Hore it seems saw her and for fear of being Discoverd Fled Imediatly and before she was got over the Wall Mrs Bargrave saw her and when her Husband Came to her told him that she had seen somewhat getting over the wall which she thought was an Apparition which he seemd willing to belive being Glad of the oportunity of soe Pretty a Delusion to Conceal his Rogery and this Mr B. has been heard to Relate him self longe before the Aparition of Mrs Veal to Mrs Bargrave upon the whole Consideration of all Circumstances I Cannot say those that doe not believe Mrs Bargraves Relation to be true are altogether without Reason yet I think the Arguments for the truth of it are of much Greater validety then those against it and am Inclined to believe that Mrs Bargrave did Realy Converse with the Apparition of her Deceased friend but shall leave you Sir to Consider and weigh the Arguments for the Credebility or incredebility of it and to determine as you in your Incomparably more mature judgment shall think fit to. I asked Mrs Bargrave if she were willing to take her oath of her Relation of this her Conversation with Mrs Veal She Answerd not without the Consent of Mr Veal and that it should be before the ArchBishop of Canterbury and some others of the Cheif Ministers of State then I told her it Would as soon be Credited if it were Geven before 2 justices of the Peace She Replied she did not Care whether it were beleft or not she knew it to be true and her Word was as Good as her Oath and added that it was noe Article of Our faith we may be saved without it besides those that will not believe the Scriptures will not believe her upon her oath and that she has no advantage by it but a great Deal of Trouble by multitudes of People coming to her or sending for her allmost dayly soe that she has had little rest since.

Sir This is all that I Can Collect that may either Confirme or Contradict the Credebility of Mrs Veals Apparition to Mrs Bargrave I could have wished the task had been on others that was more Capable of it and then you might have had a more satisfactory account then I fear this will be to you.

This time of the year we are in the Greatest Hurry of our business soe that I have very little time and am soe fatiged that I Can Make but few astronomical observations I doe now and then get time to make a few hasty observations of the spots in the sun and shall observe some of the Eclipses of jupiters Satelites that hapen in Convenient times but I will assure you Sir tis not without Some Regret that I must tell you

I am afraid I shall not have soe many as you may Expect and therefore would not have you soe far Depend on my observations as not to get what you Can observed by others though I [shall] endeavour to Serve you in all things to the very Extremety of my Power

Sir
your most Humble Servant
Stephen Gray

Stephen Gray is described in the *Dictionary of National Biography* as an electrician and a pensioner of the Charterhouse in London. His experiments in electricity are given in some detail. It will be noticed from his letter to Flamsteed that he was also making astronomical observations for Flamsteed. Stephen Gray was appointed a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1732 and died on 25th February, 1736. No trace of his birth can be found in the Canterbury parish registers, but the Freeman's Rolls contain an entry which may refer to our Stephen Gray:

“ City Chamberlain's Accounts, 30 June, 1692.

“ Item the same day and year Stephen Gray of this City Dyer was admitted & sworn to be a Freeman of this City And because he was the Son of Matthias Gray late of this City Dyer deceased who was a Freeman of this City at the time of the birth of the said Stephen paid Nothing according to the Custom in that behalf. 00-00-00 ”

Gray in his letter to Flamsteed (page 3, lines 46-47) wrote: “ This time of the year we are in the Greatest Hurry of our business soe that I have very little time and am soe fatigued that I Can Make but few Astronomical observations . . . ” This would seem to indicate that he was in business of some kind, and as no one could trade in Canterbury unless he was a freeman, the probability is that he was the dyer referred to above.

Mr. Laurie informs me that there are seventeen letters from Stephen Gray to John Flamsteed in the Royal Observatory records at Hurstmonceux. Gray also made several communications from Canterbury to the Royal Society:

“ Observations on some Parhelii seen at CANTERBURY, Feb. 26, 1699, by Mr. STEPHEN GRAY.” *Phil. Trans.*, xxi, 126.

“ A Letter from Mr. Gray concerning an unusual Parhelion and Halo seen at Canterbury, May 4, 1699, with a plate.” *Phil. Trans.*, xxii, 535.

“ Observations on the Fossils of RECOULVER CLIFF, by STEPHEN GRAY.” *Phil. Trans.*, xxii, 762.

The first two communications are summarized by Hasted in his *History of Kent*, iv, 434 (1st ed. folio, 1799).

In July, 1706, Daniel Defoe published his now famous pamphlet

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A True Relation of the Apparition of one Mrs. Veal, the next day after her death, to one Mrs. Bargrave, at Canterbury, the 8th of September, 1705. Which Apparition recommends the Perusal of Drelincourt's Book of Consolations against the Fears of Death. This subsequently appeared as the preface to Drelincourt's book and the latter ran into many editions. For a long time it was believed that this was a clever piece of journalistic fiction "summoning up a ghost from the grave to bear witness in favour of a halting body of divinity" (as Sir Walter Scott put it). But later researches of scholars have definitely established that Mrs. Veal and Mrs. Bargrave were real persons and that contemporary accounts of the apparition were in existence before Defoe wrote his pamphlet.

Mr. P. S. Laurie has kindly added the following note on Defoe. "One certainly infers that Defoe's story is a first-hand statement of fact, in spite of it being pointed out that he did not appear to have visited Canterbury until years after these events (*vide Gardiner's Literary tradition of Canterbury*).

"It must be remembered that at this period Defoe (often under *noms de guerre*, e.g. Alex Goldsmith and Claude Guillot) was laying the foundations of a first-class intelligence service throughout the country. Under the patronage of and pressure from Robert Harley (1661-1724, Chancellor; later 1st Earl of Oxford), he was gathering information on social conditions and public feeling towards the Tory government. From his letters to Harley it appears that he made contacts in as many towns as possible: his agent in Canterbury was probably one Fenner.

"On Nov. 6, 1705, he returned to London from a protracted and successful espionage tour of the southwestern counties and it is therefore not impossible that news of the Bargrave affair was awaiting him on his arrival. It is therefore by no means impossible that he visited Canterbury during the next week or ten days. If he did not make an immediate trip to Canterbury, he certainly had ample time to do so before being sent off to Scotland as a spy in connection with the Act of Union (*vide Letters of Daniel Defoe*, ed. G. H. Healey, Clarendon Press, 1955)."

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1705, Sept. 8. Mrs. Veal appeared to Mrs. Bargrave at Canterbury.

VERSIONS OF THE STORY OF THE APPARITION

1. 1705, Sept. 13 Letter from an anonymous (beyond the initials "E.B.") citizen of Canterbury. (Royal Observatory, Hurstmonceux.)
2. 1705, Oct. 9 Letter from I. Lukyn to her aunt. (Contemporary copy, Royal Museum, Canterbury.)

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3. 1705, Nov. 15 Letter from Stephen Gray of Canterbury to John Flamsteed, the first Astronomer Royal, at Greenwich. (Royal Observatory, Hurstmonceaux.)
4. 1705, Dec. 24 No. 14 of *The Loyal Post: with Foreign and Inland Intelligence*. (New York Public Library.) (Gives the first printed account of the apparition. See items 20 and 22 below.)
5. 1706, July 5 Daniel Defoe. *A True Relation of the Apparition of one Mrs. Veal, the next day after her death, to one Mrs. Bargrave, the 8th of September, 1705. Which Apparition recommends the Perusal of Drelincourt's Book of Consolations against the Fears of Death*. London, B. Bragg, 1706.
6. 1714, May 21 MS. notes recording an interview with Mrs. Bargrave on 21 May, 1714 (found by Aitken in an issue of Defoe's pamphlet *A True Relation*). See item 10 below.
7. 1720 Still another version prefaced John Spavan's 1720 condensation of Drelincourt. See item 18 below.
8. 1722 An account, not published until 1766, was written by a Rev. Mr. Payne and (according to the publisher) based on an interview with Mrs. Bargrave in 1722. See item 18 below. This appeared as a preface to a new translation by John Bromwich of Drelincourt's *Christian's Consolations against the Fears of Death*. London, T. Luckman, 1766.

ARTICLES ON THE APPARITION OF MRS. VEAL

9. 1821 *The Miscellaneous Prose Works of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.* (Edinburgh, 1834), iv, 268, 304-12.
10. 1895 Aitken, George A. "Defoe's 'Apparition of Mrs. Veal'." *Nineteenth Century*, xxxvii (1895), 95-100, and republished in his edition of Defoe's *Romances and Narratives*, xv, pp. xiv-xvii. (See item 6 above.)
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