

Year published	No. of stanzas	Publication
1750	4	<i>The Kapé lion, or Poetical Ordinary</i> (46). This early publication date refutes the possibility that the “Kitty” in the riddle is a reference to famous courtesan Kitty Fisher (1741–1767), who was nine years old in 1750. Origin story: “[W]ritten by a young gentleman on the maid setting fire to the chimney.”
1750?	4	“Song.” <i>The Bull-Finch. Being a Choice Ccollection of the Newest and Most Favourite English songs</i> (166). Origin story: “[T]he following was written on a maid’s setting fire to a chimney.” Variant: “every day a victim bleeds / to satisfy my warm desires.”
1750-1770	4	<i>A Book to Help the Young & Gay, to Pass the Tedious Hours Away. . . . Heres some in praise of blinking Cupid, and some to please ye drunkard stupid</i> [A. Pope] (84). This collection contains bawdy verse. Origin story: “[W]ritten by a young gentleman on the maid setting fire to the chimney.”
1753	4	<i>The Merry Lad: or, a Choice Collection of Songs . . . Interspersed with Several Humorous Tales, Prologues, Poems, Epilogues, Odes, Epigrams</i> [Sheffield: printed by Francis Lister] (74). Origin story: “[W]ritten by a young gentleman on the maid setting fire to the chimney.”
1757	3	<i>The London Chronicle</i> 61 (19–21 May 1757). The earliest known (to date) publication of the three stanza version, which omits the bleeding victims; I suspect that earlier instances may exist. Origin story: “[W]ritten by a lady whose maid had set the chimney on fire.”
1758	3	Ascribed to “D ___ G ___, Esq.” <i>The Gentleman’s Diary: Or, The Mathematical Repository; an Almanack</i> [Company of Stationers] (48).
1762	3	“A Riddle, Addressed to the Ladies.” <i>The Royal Magazine</i> (92). Variant: “the happy relicks of my flame.”
1763	3	“Enigma 181” “by D ___ G ___, Esq.” <i>Collection of English Almanacs for the Years 1702–1835</i> (48).
1763	4	<i>The Universal Museum, or, Gentleman’s and Ladies Polite Magazine of History, Politicks and Literature for 1763</i> (2: 662). Variant: “every day a victim bleeds / to satisfy my warm desires”
1764	4	“[B]y Mr. Garrick.” <i>The Poetical Magazine: or, The Muses Monthly Companion</i> [printed by Dryden Leach, for J. Coote] (181).
1771	4	“[B]y Mr. Garrick.” <i>The New Foundling Hospital for Wit. Being a Collection of Curious Pieces in Verse and Prose</i> . Part the fourth [printed for J. Almon, in Piccadilly] (109). Contains bawdy verse. Cited by R. W. Chapman (before digitization) as the first publication of the riddle (489n).
1772	3	Attributed to “Snowball.” <i>The Town and Country Magazine, Or, Universal Repository of Knowledge, Instruction, and Entertainment</i> [printed for A. Hamilton] (159).
1773	4	Attributed to Chesterfield. “A Riddle.” <i>Lord Chesterfield’s Witticisms: Or, the Grand Pantheon of Genius, Sentiment, and Taste. Containing, Besides All His Lordship’s Genuine Bon-mots, . . . Every Thing Lively and Spirited . . . in the Annals of the Beau Monde; . . . Prefixed are Authentic Memoirs of His</i>

		<i>Lordship</i> [Richard Snagg; J. Mariner] (137).
1779	3	“A Riddle” <i>Weekly Miscellany: Or, Instructive Entertainer</i> (454).
1780?	4	<i>Woman’s Wit; or, a New and Elegant Amusement for the Fair Sex. . . . A new edition, revised and corrected.</i> By a lady [printed for, and sold by the booksellers of England, Scotland, and Ireland] (37).
1784	4	<i>The New Foundling Hospital for Wit</i> (2: 182).
1785	4	Garrick, David. <i>Poetical Works, with Explanatory Notes</i> (2: 507). The editor notes that Garrick’s death “impoverished the publick stock of innocent pleasure.”
1786		“A Riddle by [Garrick].” <i>The New Foundling Hospital for Wit</i> (2: 159).
1798	3	Attributed to “Camillus.” “Arts and Popular Culture.” <i>Hampshire Chronicle</i> 6 Apr. 1789: 3+.
1794	3	No. 99. <i>A Choice Collection of Riddles, Charades, Rebusses, &c: Chiefly Original</i> by Peter Puzzlewell [E. Newbery] (66). Variant: “Kitty, a fair, but thoughtless maid.”
1797	3	<i>The Masquerade. A Collection of New Enigmas, Logogriphs, Charades, Rebusses, Queries and Transpositions</i> by T Baker, George Wilkie, I. Girtin, Champante, & Whitrow [printed for the editors by T. Baker, Southampton, & published by G. & T. Wilkie, Paternoster Row, & J. Bell, 148, Oxford Road] (31).
<p>In the nineteenth century, the riddle appeared in publications clearly designed for a general audience, for families, and for young people, most often with the “bleeding victims” stanza omitted, though the reasons for that omission must be speculative. Even the three-stanza version contains the phrases alluding to prostitution, venereal disease, and the mercury cure, as theorized by Chandler and Heydt-Stevenson. Still, the editors of these publications saw nothing objectionable in the <i>Kitty</i> riddle.</p>		
1802	3	“Enigma, for the Ladies.” <i>The Gentleman’s Diary, or Mathematical Repository for 1802</i> [London] (19). Origin story: “The late David Garrick once had the mishap of having a new and elegant suit of clothes spoiled by the dust raised by one of this class [a chimney-sweeper], and some little time after, wrote the following.” Variant: “the <i>better</i> relics of my flame” (probably just a typo).
1805	3	An Old Friend. <i>Mince Pies for Christmas: Consisting of Riddles, Charades, Rebuses, Transpositions and Queries</i> [Tabart & Company] (23).
1806	3	“LIII.” <i>A New Collection of Enigmas, Charades, Transpositions, &c.</i> [Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme; and J. Carpenter] (31).
1812	3	“Riddles, 3.” <i>The Sphinx; Or, Allegorical Lozenges. By a Descendant of Cleobulina, an Ancient Composer of Enigmas, &c.</i> [W. Darton]. Variant: “Kitty” is “Chloe.”
1814	3	“Enigma.” <i>Pour Deviner. New Enigmatical Propositions, &c: Poetry and Prose Selected from the Best Authors</i> [printed and published for the author, and sold by T. Gardiner] (79). Variant: “At length he came, propitious to my aid / I saw him mount from earth to air.”
1815		<i>Emma</i> published.
1819	3	“A Riddle” by David Garrick, Esq. <i>The Weekly Entertainer: Or, Agreeable</i>

		<i>and Instructive Repository</i> vol. 1, issue 4 (93).
1822	3	No. 47. <i>The Kaleidoscope; Or, Literary and Scientific Mirror</i> [E. Smith and Company] Vol. 2 (Jan.): 221.
1822	3	<i>Riddles, Charades, and Conundrums</i> [compiled by J. W. Jones] (73). Variant: “Kitty a fair but <i>forward</i> maid.”
1825	3	<i>The Recreative Companion; Or, the Entertaining & instructive Miscellany, Containing a New Collection of Enigmas, Charades, Rebuses, Transpositions, &c. with Their Solutions</i> [M. D’Rozario] (72).
1825	3	<i>The Minerva; Or, Literary, Entertaining, and Scientific Journal: Containing a Variety of Original and Select Articles</i> (48). Origin story: “Kitty had set the chimney on fire, in consequence of which, a sweep was called in.”
1826	3	“Enigma: We know these things to be mere trifles.” <i>The Rural Repository Devoted to Polite Literature</i> [Hudson, NY] (24).
1835	3	“112.” <i>The Fashionable Puzzler, Or, Book of Riddles: A Collection of Enigmas, Charades, Rebusses, Anagrams, Logogriphes, and Conundrums</i> [New York: J. E. Betts] (70). Variant: “Kitty” is “Delia.”
1837	3	<i>Metropolitan Magazine</i> [James Cochrane] Vol. 4: 387.
1849	3	Charades 2. <i>The Family Friend</i> . Ed. R. K. Philp (62). Variant: “Tis now for you to guess”; three stanzas given as one.
1857	3	Attributed to Sam Rogers. <i>Sharpe’s London Magazine of Entertainment and Instruction for General Reading</i> [London] Vol. 10 (Jan. 1857): 20. Unique version of the riddle (see Appendix B: Authorship). Origin story : “The Rogers’ kitchen chimney was twice on fire. On the second occasion the cook’s anxiety for the arrival of that departed victim the sweep was so ludicrously intermingled with lamentable recollections of the damage and dabs left behind him on the first, that the “lively touches” of her master’s humour were inspired, and the event honored by this playful tribute from the harmonious, and then rising and mirthful, muse of ‘Sam.’”
1857	4	“A Riddle by Garrick.” <i>Littell’s Living Age</i> (Aug. 17): 1. “Those of our readers who have ever taken ‘a basin of gruel, thin, but not too thin, with dear Mr. Woodhouse in Miss Chester’s [?!?] <i>Emma</i> , will remember his repeating ‘Kitty a fair but frozen maid,’ and his inability to recollect the following lines. It was for his sake that we copied the whole in the last number, page 322”
1858	4	Excerpt of Garrick biography. <i>The University College Magazine</i> , Vol. 1, issue 1 [Arthur Hall, Virtue, and Company] (652).
1860	3	<i>The Boy’s Own Conjuring Book: Being a Complete Handbook of Parlour-magic, Etc.</i> (376). Origin story: “Kitty had set the chimney on fire, in consequence of which a sweep was called in.”
1867	4	Excerpt of Garrick biography. <i>Little’s Living Age</i> , Vol. 94 (322). “[T]he cleverness of this trifle is shown in its throwing guessers off the scent by sending them to explore the region of <i>fades</i> , common-places about love, and flames and cupids.”
1867	4	Excerpt from Garrick’s biography. “Magazines for July.” <i>Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser</i> 2 July 1867 (3).

1867	4	Excerpt from Garrick’s biography. <i>Every Saturday, A Journal of Choice Reading</i> 3 Aug. 1867 (142).
1867	4	Excerpt from Garrick biography. “An Actors’ Strike.” <i>Dublin University Magazine</i> 70:415 (91).
1868	4	<i>The Life of D. Garrick; from Original Family Papers, and Numerous Published and Unpublished Sources</i> . This biography by Percy Hetherington Fitzgerald was re-issued in 1899 and was excerpted in periodicals.
1875	3	“Canter XXXIV.” <i>More Puniana, Or, Thoughts Wise and Other-why’s: A New Collection of the Best Riddles, Conundrums, Jokes, Sells, &c.</i> [Chatto & Windus] (214). Variant: “Kitty” is “Mary.” “The Reader will greatly add to the effect of this conundrum if he will SHOUT the answer at the TOP of his voice.” Accompanied by illustration of the cupid and the chimney sweep, no illustration of prostitutes or diseased men seeking a cure.
1891	n/a	In a short story, “Sixteen and Sixty,” a girl asks her aunt, “who was Kitty, a fair but frozen maid?” The aunt answers, “Indeed, my dear, you must ask good Mr. Woodhouse.” The aunt has no qualms about referring her niece to the novel. “Sixteen and Sixty,” by Anna H. Drury, <i>The Monthly Packet of Evening Readings for Younger Members of the English Church</i> Vol. II, no. 12 (Dec. 1891).
1885	0	T. W. H. (1885, Aug 15). “Women and Men.: Kerenhappuch.” <i>Harper’s Bazaar</i> 18 (522); reprinted in <i>Women and Men</i> [Harper & Brothers] 1888. Thomas Wentworth Higginson referenced the first line of the poem in a book of essays. Higginson was a Unitarian minister, a feminist, and a prominent abolitionist and was likely not alluding to prostitutes when he wrote to his genteel readers that the name “Kitty” has more old-fashioned charm when spelled with a “y,” and not an “ie.” His reference to just the one line suggests that he knew his audience would know the riddle.
1888	3	“The ‘Puzzledom’ Watch, &c. Competition.” <i>The British Boys’ Paper</i> , vol. I, no. 40 (1 Dec. 1888): 640. Again, it’s unlikely that the editors of the <i>British Boys’ Paper</i> thought that a riddle about venereal disease was appropriate for schoolboys. In the following issue the solution is revealed to be “chimney-sweep.”
1891	2	“Who, When, and Where: Answers to September Questions.” “Mr. Woodhouse’s riddle in Miss Austin’s Emma.” <i>Monthly Packet of Evening Readings for Younger Members of the English Church</i> [J. and C. Mozley] (116). Correspondents wrote in to discuss the riddle in reference to Mr. Woodhouse. “One correspondent ascribe[d] it to Sheridan.”
1897	4	<i>Curiosities of a Scots Charta Chest, 1600–1800</i> by Margaret Alice Forbes and Alexander Dick [London: Brown] (325). Unique version attributed to “Lady Ann.” See <i>Appendix B: Authorship</i> .
By the latter part of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, the riddle was being referenced in relation to Mr. Woodhouse.		
1901	0	Rowland Grey references the <i>Kitty</i> riddle without showing the slightest awareness that he’s quoting a filthy poem.
1905	1	The <i>Kitty</i> riddle is referenced in Alfred Russel Wallace’s <i>My Life: A Record of Events and Opinions</i> . No reference to the poem being bawdy. It is given as an

		example of a “custom common in my youth, but which has now wholly passed away” (10).
1906	4	Correspondence, <i>The Gentleman’s Magazine</i> (408). A correspondent to the <i>Gentleman’s Magazine</i> references Alfred Russel Wallace’s memoir. He does not know the author of the riddle, nor its solution, but knows it is the riddle quoted by “dear old” Mr. Woodhouse.
1914		<i>The Church Quarterly Review</i> , a religious publication references the poem—no hint that the poem is about venereal disease. “Article IV—Jane Austen.” “Nor is the early Eighteenth century quite overlooked, for does not Mrs. Elton quote Gray’s ‘Elegy,’ and is not ‘Kitty a fair but frozen maid,’ which poor Mr. Woodhouse strove so hard to remember, from the pen of David Garrick” (105).
1969	4	Helen Storm Corsa suggests in an article in <i>Literature and Psychology</i> that Emma is the “frozen maid,” and the riddle represents the marriage theme of the novel. In other words, her psychological interpretation is that the poem is about love and marriage, not venereal disease.