

Notes

Prologue

¹ John Strype, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster ... Written at First in ... 1598 by John Stow ... Now ... Brought Down from the Year 1633 ... to the Present Time*, 2 vols (1720); quoted in Ben Weinreb and Christopher Hibbert, eds, *The London Encyclopedia* (1983), p. 144.

² V. A. C. Gatrell, *The Hanging Tree: Execution and the English people, 1770-1868* (Oxford, 1994), p. 7.

³ *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, 1 May 2006; henceforth *OBP*), January 1742, Eleanor Brown (t17420115-9); London Metropolitan Archives (henceforth LMA), CLA/047/LJ/01/0784-7; CLA/047/LJ/04/109 (SM/109), Dec 1741-Oct 1742.

Introduction

¹ Thomas Brown, *Amusements Serious and Comical, Calculated for the Meridian of London* (2nd edn 1702), p. 22.

² James Dawson Burn, *The Autobiography of a Beggar Boy*, ed. with an introduction by David Vincent (1978), p. 57.

³ Henry Fielding, *An Enquiry into the Causes of the Late Increase of Robbers, etc., With some Proposals for Remedying this Growing Evil* (1751), pp. 142-3.

⁴ Robert Southey, *Letters from England* (2nd edn, 1808), i, pp. 122-3.

⁵ N. Bailey, *Dictionarium Britannicum* (1730), under gentleman.

⁶ *The Cheats of London Exposed: or The Tricks of the Town Laid Open to Both Sexes* (1770), pp. 87-8.

Chapter 1

¹ *London Evening Post*, 13-15 May 1735.

² *London Evening Post*, 22-24 May 1735.

³ *OBP*, December 1734, John Sutton (t17341204-54).

⁴ *London Evening Post*, 3-5 June 1735.

⁵ *OBP*, May 1735, John Sutton (t17350522-19).

⁶ British Library (henceforth BL), Add. MS, 27826, 'Place Papers, vol. xxxviii', fol.159.

⁷ For the trial of Catherine Hayes, see Chapter 2, 'He was None the Best of Husbands'.

⁸ *London Journal*, 30 July 1726; *Weekly Journal, Or British Gazetteer*, 30 July 1726; both quoted at 'Homosexuality in Eighteenth-Century Britain, A Source Book Compiled by Rictor Norton', <http://www.infopt.demon.co.uk>,

consulted on 1 May 2006; *OBP*, July 1726, Margaret Clap (t17260711-54), and April 1726, Gabriel Lawrence (t17260420-64).

⁹ For the warrant, see Lucy Moore, ed., *Con Men and Cutpurses: Scenes from the Hogarthian Underworld* (2000), pp. 261–2.

¹⁰ *London Journal*, 29 May 1725.

¹¹ [Daniel Defoe], *The Life of Jonathan Wilde, Thief-Taker General of Great Britain and Ireland, from his Birth to his Death* (1725).

¹² *OBP*, May 1725, Jonathan Wild (t17250513-55).

¹³ LMA, OB/SP/1774/12/036.

¹⁴ *Public Advertiser*, 20 December 1754.

¹⁵ *OBP*, September 1774, John Viner (t17740907-1).

¹⁶ *OBP*, October 1774, Edward Parker (t17741019-33).

¹⁷ *OBP*, December 1774, William Pritchard, Peter Thane, and Edward Parker (t17741207-36).

¹⁸ *OBP*, September 1742, William Bird (t17420909-37) and October 1742, William Bird (t17421013-19).

¹⁹ *OBP*, July 1735, John Dun (t17350702-36).

²⁰ *Memoirs of the Life and Times of Sir Thomas Deveil* (1748), p. 55.

²¹ *Select Trials at the Sessions-House in the Old-Bailey*, 4 vols (Dublin, 1742), iv, pp. 131–2.

²² *OBP*, July 1735, John Dun (t17350702-36); and September 1735, Patrick Gaffney and James Barthelemi (t17350911-14).

²³ Ben Weinreb and Christopher Hibbert, eds, *The London Encyclopedia* (1983), pp. 451–3.

²⁴ Sunset that evening was 6.22 pm.

²⁵ BL, Add. MS, 27825, 'Place Papers, vol. xxxvii', fol. 147.

²⁶ *The Ordinary of Newgate, His Account of the Behaviour, Confession, and Dying Words, of the Malefactors, Who were Executed at Tyburn, on Friday the 7th of June, 1745* (1745), p. 8.

²⁷ Charles Dickens, *Sketches by Boz* (1836; Wordsworth Edition, 1999), p. 73.

²⁸ *The Ordinary of Newgate, His Account ... 7th of June 1745* (1745), pp. 8, 10; *OBP*, April 1745, Mary Cut-and-Come-Again (t17450424-31).

²⁹ *OBP*, September 1748, John Kates (t17480907-17).

³⁰ *OBP*, January 1756, William Thornton (t17560115-29).

³¹ *OBP*, July 1741, Mary Smith, alias Rouse (t17410701-13).

³² *OBP*, April 1742, Elizabeth Bennet (t17420428-11); and April 1742, Elizabeth Newbury (t17420428-12).

Chapter 2

¹ The National Archives (henceforth TNA), SP 44/87, fols 69, 76–7 (26 October 1761).

² *The Affecting Case of the Unfortunate Thomas Daniels* (1761).

³ *OBP*, September 1761, Thomas Daniels (t17610916-44).

⁴ *British Journal*, 14 May 1727.

- ⁵ For the trials of the sodomites, see Chapter 1, 'Mother Clap's Molly House'.
- ⁶ *The Ordinary of Newgate, His Account... 9th of this instant May, 1726* (1726), pp. 2–3.
- ⁷ *A Narrative of the Barbarous and Unheard of Murder of Mr John Hayes, by Catherine his Wife, Thomas Billings, and Thomas Wood, on the 1st of March at Night* (1726).
- ⁸ *A New Miscellany* (1730), pp. 34–6.
- ⁹ *OBP*, April 1726, Catherine Hayes (t17260420-42).
- ¹⁰ Charles Fearn, *Minutes of the Proceedings at the Trial of Rear Admiral Knowles, Before a Court-Martial, held on board his Majesty's Yacht the Charlotte... on the 1st of October 1748* (1750).
- ¹¹ *The Trial of Capt. Edward Clark, Commander of His Majesty's Ship the Canterbury, for the Murder of Capt. Tho. Innes, Commander of His Majesty's Ship the Warwick; in a Duel in Hyde Park* (1750), p. 11.
- ¹² *Trial of Capt. Edward Clark*, p. 9.
- ¹³ *Trial of Capt. Edward Clark*, pp. 4–5.
- ¹⁴ *Trial of Capt. Edward Clark*, p. 12.
- ¹⁵ *Trial of Capt. Edward Clark*, p. 15.
- ¹⁶ *Trial of Capt. Edward Clark*, p. 18.
- ¹⁷ *OBP*, April 1750, Edward Clark (t17500425-19).
- ¹⁸ LMA, LSP/1751/5 (July).
- ¹⁹ *OBP*, July 1751, Charles Troop (t17510703-39).
- ²⁰ Cited in George Rudé, *Paris and London in the Eighteenth Century: Studies in Popular Protest* (1970), p. 220.
- ²¹ *Spittlefields and Shoreditch in an Uproar OR the Devil to Pay with the English and Irish* [1736].
- ²² *London Evening Post*, 27–29 July 1730.
- ²³ Rudé, *Paris and London*, p. 207.
- ²⁴ *OBP*, October 1736, Robert Page, William Orman Rod, and Thomas Putrode (t17361013-5), and Robert Mickey and Joshua Hall (t17361013-6).
- ²⁵ Henry Fielding, *A Charge Delivered to the Grand Jury... the 29th of June 1749* (1749), in *An Enquiry into the Causes of the Late Increase of Robbers and Related Writings*, ed. Malvin R. Zirker (1988), p. 23.
- ²⁶ *London Evening Post*, 1–4 July 1749.
- ²⁷ *London Evening Post*, 1–4 July 1749.
- ²⁸ Henry Fielding, *A True State of the Case of Bosavern Penlez* (1749), in *Enquiry into the Causes*, ed. Zirker, pp. 55–6.
- ²⁹ LMA, MJ/SP/1749/07/096.
- ³⁰ Fielding, *True State of the Case*, p. 50.
- ³¹ Malvin R. Zirker, 'General Introduction', in *Enquiry into the Causes*, ed. Zirker, p. xl.
- ³² Peter Linebaugh, 'The Tyburn Riot Against the Surgeons' in Douglas Hay et al., eds, *Albion's Fatal Tree* (1975), p. 94, citing TNA, SP 35/29, pt 2, fol. 52.

³³ *The Ordinary of Newgate, His Account ... 18th of October, 1749* (1749), p. 91.

³⁴ *London Evening Post*, 17–19 October 1749.

³⁵ Zirker, 'General Introduction', in *Enquiry into the Causes*, ed. Zirker, p. xli.

³⁶ *T—t—m and V—d—t. A Collection of the Advertisements and Hand-Bills, Serious, Satyrical and Humorous, Published on Both Sides During the Election for the City and Liberty of Westminster* (Dublin, 1749), pp. 47–8.

³⁷ Cited in Nicholas Rogers, 'Aristocratic Clientage, Trade and Dependency: Popular Politics in Pre-Radical Westminster', *Past and Present* 61 (1973), p. 100.

³⁸ *The Case of the Unfortunate Bosavern Penlez* (1749), pp. 27, 39, 43, 54.

³⁹ Fielding, *A True State of the Case of Bosavern Penlez*, in *Enquiry into the Causes*, ed. Zirker, pp. 57–9.

⁴⁰ Linebaugh, 'The Tyburn Riot', pp. 89–102; Rogers, 'Aristocratic Clientage', pp. 98–100; Zirker, 'General Introduction', in *Enquiry into the Causes*, ed. Zirker, p. 1; *OBP*, September 1749, John Willson, Bosavern Pen Lez, and Benjamin Launder (t17490906-4).

⁴¹ Samuel Romilly, *Memoirs of the Life of Sir S. Romilly, Written by Himself; With a Selection from his Correspondence. Edited by his Sons* (1840), i, p. 114.

⁴² *Memoirs of the Life of Sir S. Romilly*, i, p. 115.

⁴³ *Memoirs of the Life of Sir S. Romilly*, i, p. 116.

⁴⁴ Ann Candler, *Poetical Attempts by Ann Candler; a Suffolk Cottager with a Short Narrative of Her Life* (Ipswich, 1803), p. 10.

⁴⁵ *OBP*, June 1780, James Jackson (t17800628-112).

⁴⁶ *OBP*, June 1780, Richard Hyde (t17800628-111).

⁴⁷ *OBP*, June 1780, Benjamin Bowsey (t17800628-33).

⁴⁸ Ben Weinreb and Christopher Hibbert, eds, *The London Encyclopedia* (1983), p. 546.

⁴⁹ 'The Gordon Riots', <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pathways/blackhistory/rights/gordon.htm> (4 May 2006).

⁵⁰ Quoted in Christopher Hibbert, *King Mob: The Story of Lord George Gordon and the Riots of 1780* (1959), p. 86.

⁵¹ René Huchon, *George Crabbe and His Times, 1754–1832* (1968), p. 103.

⁵² Hibbert, *King Mob*, p. 86.

⁵³ *OBP*, June 1780, Francis Mockford (t17800628-92).

⁵⁴ *Memoirs of the Life of Sir S. Romilly*, i, p. 124.

⁵⁵ *Memoirs of the Life of Sir S. Romilly*, i, p. 122.

⁵⁶ *The Autobiography of Francis Place (1771–1854)*, ed. Mary Thale (1972), p. 34.

⁵⁷ Huchon, *George Crabbe*, p. 103.

⁵⁸ BL, Add. MS, 27,825, 'Place Papers, vol. xxxvii', fol. 146.

⁵⁹ *OBP*, September 1796, William Clark (t17960914-22).

⁶⁰ Georg Forster, *Werke*, xii, *Tagebücher* (Berlin, 1973), pp. 297–8, quoted in Jan Bondeson, *The London Monster* (2000), p. 51. This book provides the most comprehensive secondary account of these events.

⁶¹ Bondeson, *Monster*, pp. 113–14.

⁶² Bondeson, *Monster*, p. 137.

⁶³ Bondeson, *Monster*, p. 162.

⁶⁴ *OBP*, July 1790, Renwick Williams (t17900708-1); and December 1790, Renwick Williams (t17901208-54).

Chapter 3

¹ *OBP*, December 1739, Elizabeth Bradshaw (t17391205-52).

² César de Saussure, *A Foreign View of England in 1725–1729: The Letters of Monsieur César De Saussure to His Family*, trans. and ed. Mme Van Muyden (1995), p. 74.

³ Andrea McKenzie, “‘This death some strong and stout hearted man doth choose’: The practice of *peine forte et dure* in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England”, *Law and History Review*, 23 (June 2005), p. 283.

⁴ Gerald Howson, *Thief-taker General: The Rise and Fall of Jonathan Wild* (1970), p. 313.

⁵ *The Ordinary of Newgate, His Account ... 8th of February 1720–21* (1721), pp. 4–5.

⁶ *The Ordinary of Newgate, His Account ... 8th of February 1720–21*, p. 5.

⁷ *The Ordinary of Newgate, His Account ... 8th of February 1720–21*, p. 5.

⁸ *The Ordinary of Newgate, His Account ... 8th of February 1720–21*, pp. 2–3.

⁹ McKenzie, “‘This death some strong and stout hearted man doth choose’”; Andrea McKenzie, ‘Martyrs in Low Life? Dying “Game” in Augustan England’, *Journal of British Studies*, 42 (2003), pp. 167–205.

¹⁰ *OBP*, January 1721, William Spigget alias Spiggot, Thomas Phillips alias Cross, and William Heater (t17210113-43).

¹¹ LMA, Repertories of the Court of Aldermen, cxxix, pp. 368, 376–7 (29 September and 7 October 1725).

¹² *OBP*, April 1725, Susan Grimes (t17250407-66).

¹³ *London Evening Post*, 3–6 February 1733.

¹⁴ LMA, City Sessions Papers, February 1733.

¹⁵ *London Magazine*, 8–10 February 1733, pp. 95–6.

¹⁶ Amy Masciola, “‘I can see by the woman’s features that she is capable of any wickedness’: Images of Sarah Malcolm in Court Records and Popular Literature”, conference paper presented at ‘Tales from the Old Bailey: Writing a New History from Below’, University of Hertfordshire, 5 July 2004.

¹⁷ *The Ordinary of Newgate, His Account ... 5th of this instant March, 1733* (1733), p. 16.

¹⁸ *A True Copy of the Paper, Delivered the Night before her Execution by Sarah Malcolm to the Rev. Mr Piddington* (1733).

¹⁹ *London Magazine*, 10 February 1733, p. 96.

²⁰ *The Ordinary of Newgate, His Account ... 5th of this instant March, 1733*, pp. 22–3.

²¹ John Ireland, *Hogarth Illustrated* (1806), ii, p. 313.

²² Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People: England 1727–1783* (Oxford, 1989), p. 31.

²³ Henry Fielding, *Amelia* (Dublin, 1752), i, p. 31. For Hayes's trial, see Chapter 2, Crimes of Blood.

²⁴ *OBP*, February 1733, Sarah Malcolm (t17330221-52).

²⁵ *OBP*, September 1771, Ann Thomas, Elizabeth Ward and Thomas Ward (t17710911-85).

²⁶ John Howard, *The State of the Prisons in England and Wales, with Preliminary Observations, and an Account of Some Foreign Prisons* (1777), p. 193.

²⁷ James Boswell, *Life of Samuel Johnson* (1791; 1979), ed. Christopher Hibbert, p. 146, 20 October 1769.

²⁸ *OBP*, October 1769, Joseph Baretta (t17691018-9).

²⁹ *OBP*, October 1746, George Taylor and Mary Robinson (t17461015-20).

³⁰ J.M. Beattie, 'Scales of Justice: Defence Counsel and the English Criminal Trial in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', *Law and History Review*, 9 (1991), p. 264, n. 54.

³¹ John Beattie, 'Garrow for the Defence', *History Today*, 41 (February 1991), p. 51; John H. Langbein, *The Origins of Adversary Criminal Trial* (Oxford, 2003), p. 315.

³² *OBP*, September 1788, Joseph Barney (t17880910-67); January 1789, William Eversal and John Hathaway (t17890114-19); and May 1793, William Roberts (t17930529-43).

³³ Thomas Hague, *A Letter to William Garrow, Esq., in which the Conduct of Counsel in the Cross-Examination of Witnesses, and Commenting on their Testimony, is Fully Discussed, and the Licentiousness of the Bar Exposed* [c. 1808], p. 45.

³⁴ *OBP*, September 1791, George Dingler (t17910914-1); Langbein, *Origins of Adversary Criminal Trial*, p. 265.

³⁵ Samuel Johnson, *An Account of the Life of Mr Richard Savage* (1744), pp. 35–6.

³⁶ Johnson, *Savage*, p. 36.

³⁷ Johnson, *Savage*, p. 37.

³⁸ Johnson, *Savage*, p. 38.

³⁹ Johnson, *Savage*, p. 39.

⁴⁰ Johnson, *Savage*, pp. 39–40.

⁴¹ Johnson, *Savage*, p. 40.

⁴² [Charles Beckingham and Thomas Cooke (?)], *The Life of Mr. Richard Savage* (1727), pp. 23–4.

⁴³ [Beckingham and Cooke], *Life*, pp. 25–8.

⁴⁴ Johnson, *Savage*, p. 45.

⁴⁵ *OBP*, December 1727, Richard Savage, James Gregory and William Merchant (t17271206-24).

⁴⁶ *OBP*, April 1732, Edward Wentland alias Winkland (t17320419-9).

Chapter 4

- ¹ *The City Cheat Discovered, or, a New Coffee House Song* (1691), Pepys Ballads, 5.102, consulted at http://emc.english.vcsb.edu/ballad_project on 10 May 2006.
- ² *OBP*, January 1725, Ann Hussey (t17250115-21).
- ³ *OBP*, January 1727, Elizabeth Roberts alias Bustock (t17270113-11).
- ⁴ *OBP*, January 1726, Phillis Noble (t17260114-5).
- ⁵ *OBP*, August 1726, Isabel Lucky and Sarah Jones (t17260831-27).
- ⁶ *OBP*, August 1725, Susan Brockway and Mary Gardner (t17250827-2).
- ⁷ *OBP*, December 1718, John Bowes and Hugh Ryly (t17181205-24).
- ⁸ *OBP*, July 1732, Thomas Gordon (t17320705-30).
- ⁹ *A Complete History of James Maclaine, the Gentleman Highwayman* (1750), p. 5.
- ¹⁰ *The Ordinary of Newgate, His Account ... 3 October, 1750* (1750), p. 87, *OBP*, October 1750 (oa17501003).
- ¹¹ *Complete History of James Maclaine*, p. 21.
- ¹² *Ordinary of Newgate, His Account ... 3 October, 1750*, p. 88.
- ¹³ *Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, ed. W. S. Lewis, 48 vols (London, New Haven, and Oxford, 1937-1983), xiii, p. 23, xl, pp. 63-5.
- ¹⁴ *Whitehall Evening Post*, 26-28 July 1750.
- ¹⁵ *Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, xx, pp. 168-9.
- ¹⁶ *Gentleman's Magazine*, 20 (1750), p. 390.
- ¹⁷ *A Genuine Account of the Life and Actions of James Maclaine, Highwayman* [1750?], p. 22.
- ¹⁸ *Genuine Account of the Life and Actions of James Maclaine*, p. 12.
- ¹⁹ *Genuine Account of the Life and Actions of James Maclaine*, p. 14; *Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, xx, p. 188.
- ²⁰ *Genuine Account of the Life and Actions of James Maclaine*, pp. 11, 13; *Complete History of James Maclaine*, p. 52.
- ²¹ *Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, xx, p. 199.
- ²² *Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, xx, p. 188.
- ²³ *Ordinary of Newgate, His Account ... 3 October, 1750*, pp. 85, 88.
- ²⁴ *Public Advertiser*, 29 February and 1 March 1764.
- ²⁵ *The Malefactor's Register; or the Newgate and Tyburn Calendar*, 5 vols (1779), iii, p. 276.
- ²⁶ *OBP*, September 1750, James Maclean (t17500912-22).
- ²⁷ Daniel Defoe, *The History and Remarkable Life of the Truly Honourable Col. Jacque, Commonly Called Col. Jack* (1722; Oxford, 1970), p. 9.
- ²⁸ *OBP*, August 1730, Charles Cornet alias Cornish (t17300828-45).
- ²⁹ *OBP*, February 1731, Andrew Noland and John Allright (t17310224-19).
- ³⁰ *OBP*, February 1731, Malachy Southy and George Beal (t17310224-31).
- ³¹ *OBP*, April 1732, Henry Whitesides and George Scott (t17320419-22).
- ³² *OBP*, June 1731, Edward Perkins (t17310602-9), and July 1734, John Fossey (t17340710-38).

- ³³ *OBP*, July 1731, Edward Perkins (t17310714-14).
- ³⁴ *OBP*, December 1731, Joseph Paterson alias Paternoster and Joseph Darvan (t17311208-26).
- ³⁵ *OBP*, December 1731, Joseph Paterson alias Peterson alias Paternoster and Joseph Darvan (t17311208-26, t17311208-27 and t17311208-74).
- ³⁶ *OBP*, May 1732, John Crotch alias Yarmouth (t17320525-22).
- ³⁷ *OBP*, January 1731, Thomas Coleman alias John Haynes (t17310115-59), and May 1739, Thomas Coleman (t17390502-42).
- ³⁸ Daniel Defoe, *Some Considerations upon Street-Walkers* (1726); quoted in Sean Shesgreen, *Images of the Outcast: The Urban Poor in the Cries of London* (Manchester, 2002), pp. 114–15.
- ³⁹ Quoted in Ruth McClure, *Coram's Children: The London Foundling Hospital in the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven, Connecticut, 1981), p. 19.
- ⁴⁰ Quoted in Hoh-Cheung and Lorna H. Mui, *Shops and Shopkeeping in Eighteenth-Century England* (1989), p. 222.
- ⁴¹ *A Warning for House Keepers, or, A Discovery of all Sorts of Thieves and Robbers* (1676), pp. 6–7.
- ⁴² *OBP*, September 1790, Mary Hudson and Hannah Hobbs (t17900915-36).
- ⁴³ *An Authentic Account of the Late Unfortunate Doctor William Dodd* (Rochester, 1777), p. 16.
- ⁴⁴ *Authentic Account of the Late Unfortunate Doctor William Dodd*, p. 16.
- ⁴⁵ *A Full and Circumstantial Account of the Trial of the Reverend Doctor Dodd* (1777), pp. 41, 55.
- ⁴⁶ *The Letters of Samuel Johnson*, ed. R. W. Chapman, 3 vols (Oxford, 1952), ii, p. 180 (no. 524). See also John J. Burke, Jr., 'Crime and Punishment in 1777: The Execution of Dr William Dodd and its Impact upon his Contemporaries', in W. B. Thesing, ed., *Executions and the British Experience from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century* (1990), pp. 59–75.
- ⁴⁷ *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, 17 May 1777.
- ⁴⁸ Gerald Howson, *The Macaroni Parson* (1973), pp. 178–9.
- ⁴⁹ *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, 17 May 1777.
- ⁵⁰ BL, Add. MS, 24419, fol. 6 (16 May 1777).
- ⁵¹ Philip Rawlings, 'William Dodd', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (<http://www.oxforddnb.com>, 12 February 2006).
- ⁵² John Hawkins, *The Life of Samuel Johnson* (1787), pp. 528–9.
- ⁵³ *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, 28 June 1777; *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, 28 June 1777.
- ⁵⁴ *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, 28 June 1777.
- ⁵⁵ *Authentic Account of the Late Unfortunate Doctor William Dodd*, pp. 25, 27; *OBP*, February 1777, William Dodd (t17770219-1) and May 1777, William Dodd (o17770514-1).

Chapter 5

¹ *OBP*, August 1786, punishment summary (s17860830-1).

² BL, Add. MS, 27826, 'Place Papers, vol. xxxviii', Manners and Morals, ii, fol. 97.

³ *OBP*, October 1751, Alexander Byrne, James Mallone and Terence McCane (t17511016-13).

⁴ *The Ordinary of Newgate's Account ... 2 July 1752* (1752), *OBP*, July 1752 (oa17520702); *The Ordinary of Newgate's Account ... 23 March 1752* (1752), *OBP*, March 1752 (oa17520323); *The Ordinary of Newgate's Account ... 11th of November 1751* (1751), *OBP*, November 1751 (oa17511111); *OBP*, January 1752, Michael Magennis (t17520116-28); and June 1752, supplementary material (o17520625-2).

⁵ *The Life and Infamous Actions of that Perjured Villain John Waller* (1732), pp. 7, 10, 29.

⁶ *OBP*, January 1730, James Dalton (t17300116-13).

⁷ *OBP*, April 1730, James Dalton (t17300408-61).

⁸ *OBP*, October 1731, Charles Knowles and Sarah Harper (t17311013-47).

⁹ *Infamous Actions*, p. 21.

¹⁰ *Infamous Actions*, p. 29.

¹¹ *Infamous Actions*, p. 30.

¹² Edward Umfreville, *Lex Coronatoria: Or, the Office and Duty of Coroners*, 2 vols. (1761), i, p. 43.

¹³ *London Evening Post*, 7–10 October 1732.

¹⁴ TNA, 'Bills of Sheriff's Craving', E197/33, fol. 337.

¹⁵ BL, Add. MS, 27826, 'Place Papers, vol. xxxviii', Manners and Morals, ii, fols. 173–5.

¹⁶ [Thomas Talfourd], 'Brief Observations on the Punishment of the Pillory', in *The Pamphleteer: Respectfully Dedicated to both Houses of Punishment* (1814), p. 548.

¹⁷ *OBP*, May 1732, John Waller (t17320525-69); May 1732, punishment summary (s17320525-1); and September 1732, Edward Dalton, Richard Griffith alias Sergeant and William Belt alias Worrel (t17320906-69).

¹⁸ *OBP*, September 1783, Thomas Limpus (t17830910-41). For a fuller treatment of Limpus's career, see Emma Christopher, 'Steal a handkerchief, see the world: The trans-oceanic voyaging of Thomas Limpus', ANU EPress – Different Modes of Trans-National History, http://epress.anu.edu.au/cw/pdf/cw_part2.pdf (consulted on 17 May 2006).

¹⁹ *OBP*, September 1783, Charles Keeling (t17830910-20).

²⁰ A. Roger Ekirch, 'Great Britain's Secret Convict Trade to America, 1783–1784', *American Historical Review*, 89, 5 (Dec., 1984), pp. 1285–91.

²¹ Edward Miles Riley, ed., *The Journal of John Harrower: An Indentured Servant in the Colony of Virginia, 1773–1776* (Williamsburg, Virginia, 1963), pp. 24–5.

²² *OBP*, September 1780, David Hart (t17800913-34); January 1782, David Hart (t17820109-62); February 1783, Charles Stokes, David Hart and Philip Gibson (t17830226-5); and April 1783, David Hart (t17830430-65).

²³ Carl Winslow, 'Sussex Smugglers' in Douglas Hay et al., eds, *Albion's Fatal Tree: Crime and Society in Eighteenth-Century England* (1975), pp. 119-66.

²⁴ *OBP*, April 1783, John Mills (t17830430-70).

²⁵ Ekirch, 'Secret Convict Trade'.

²⁶ Quoted in Emma Christopher, 'Steal a handkerchief', p. 84.

²⁷ *OBP*, September 1783, supplementary material (s17830910-1).

²⁸ BL, Add. MS, 27828, 'Place Papers, vol. xl', Manners and Morals, iv, fol. 119.

²⁹ *The Times*, 27 March 1789 and 13 April 1789.

³⁰ *The Times*, 6 June 1789.

³¹ Tim Flannery, ed., *The Life and Adventures of John Nicol, Mariner* (1822; Melbourne, 1997), p. 119.

³² *OBP*, October 1787, Mary wife of William Burgess (t17871024-30); February 1788, Martha Cutler, Sarah Cowden and Sarah Storer (t17880227-25); April 1789, supplementary material: Sarah Cowden and Eleanor Kirvan otherwise Caravan (o17890422-1); June 1789, supplementary material: Martha Cutler, Sarah Cowden, Sarah Storer, Sarah Mills, Jane Tyler and Mary Burgess (o17890603-1); September 1789, supplementary material (s17890909-1); September 1792, Mary Burgess (t17920912-18); October 1792, Sarah Cowden (t17921031-7); October 1792, punishment summary (s17921031-1); and June 1794, supplementary material (o17940604-2). See also Lynn MacKay, 'Refusing the Royal Pardon: London Capital Convicts and the Reactions of the Courts and Press, 1789', *London Journal*, 28, 2 (2003), pp. 21-40; and Siân Rees, *The Floating Brothel: The Extraordinary True Story of an Eighteenth-Century Ship and its Cargo of Female Convicts* (2001).

³³ Quoted by J. M. Beattie, *Crime and the Courts in England 1660-1800* (Princeton, 1986), p. 575.

³⁴ *OBP*, February 1799, William Harper (t17990220-57).

³⁵ *OBP*, February 1799, John Tate and John Connaway otherwise Irish Jack (t17990220-56).

³⁶ *OBP*, May 1799, Elizabeth Willoughby (t17990508-53).