

# Notes for Century of Deception

## Prologue

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- Naval prize money: see *Prosecuting Fraud in the Metropolis, 1760-1820*, Cerian Charlotte Griffiths, 2017: [https://livrepository.liverpool.ac.uk/3012313/1/201042524\\_Sep2017.pdf](https://livrepository.liverpool.ac.uk/3012313/1/201042524_Sep2017.pdf) (accessed July, 2021).
- State lotteries: *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 34, No. 2 (June, 1991), 'The Abolition of the English State Lotteries', James Raven, p. 371 and *A History of English Lotteries*, John Ashton, London, 1893, pp. 86-7.
- 'an infamous and fraudulent undertaking': *Cobbett's Parliamentary History of England*, Vol. VIII, 1722-1733, London, 1811, p. 87.
- William Dodd: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [hereafter known as *ODNB*], Dodd, William (1729-1777).

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- *The Prophecie of Mother Shipton: The Prophecie of Mother Shipton In the Raigne of King Henry the Eighth*, London, 1641

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- The Boy of Bilson: The two pamphlets relating to this case are *The Boy of Bilson: Or, A True Discovery*, London, 1622; and *The Second Part of the Boy of Bilson: Or, A True and Particular Relation of the Impostor*, London, 1698.
- 'rags, thred, straw, crooked pinnes': *The Boy of Bilson*, p. 55.
- Jone Cocke: *Ibid*, p. 60. Over time this name seems to have morphed into Jane Clarke – see *Four Centuries of Witch-Beliefs*, R. Trevor Davies, London: Methuen, 1947, p. 78 and *Crimen Exceptum: The English Witch Prosecution in Context*, Gregory J Durston, Hampshire, 2019, p. 175. This error seems to have started with *A History of Witchcraft in England from 1558 to 1718*, Wallace Notestein, Washington, 1911, p. 141 which uses the name 'Jane Clarke', citing *The Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft*, John Webster, London, 1677, p. 274 as the source. However Webster actually uses the name Jone Cocke.
- Hogarth features the Bilson Boy in his print *Credulity, Superstition and Fanaticism. A Medley, Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, Vol. II, June 1689 To 1733*, Frederic George Stephens, 1873, no. 1785, pp. 644-8. This was published on 15 March, 1762.
- First daily newspaper: It was the failure to renew in 1695 the Licensing of the Press Act which allowed newspapers to flourish.
- Two London theatres: *The London Stage 1660-1800, Part 2, 1700-1729*, Emmett L Avery, Southern Illinois University Press, 1960, p. xvii.
- William Hogarth: *Hogarth, A Life and a World*, Jenny Uglow, London, 1997, p. 84.
- 'perpetual testimonies of English credulity': *An Essay on the Force of Imagination in Pregnant Women*, London, 1772, p. 5.
- The phrase 'English Credulity' originated in 1749: the first instance I have come across the expression is in the print *English Credulity; or Ye're all Bottled*, 5 March 1749. See *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, Vol. III, Part I*, no. 3022, pp. 737-8.

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- 'modern instance of English Credulity': *The Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, 3 June 1776.
- 'Advantage of English Credulity': *The Public Advertiser*, 7 November 1777.
- 'English Credulity': *Old England, or, The National Gazette*, 4 January 1752.
- 'A pretty strong instance of English credulity' and 'a wonderful creature': *London Chronicle*, 7-9 November 1782.
- 'for some time past lived upon English Credulity': *The World*, 6 March 1788.
- 'titles of Marquis, Comte, Vicomte and Chevalier' and 'to prey on English credulity': *The Morning Chronicle, and London Advertiser*, 20 July 1786. The article went on to say that 'A Frenchman's title should caution people against him'.
- 'one great pack of fools': From the print 'The New Mode of Picking Pockets', *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires, Vol. VI, 1784-1792*, Mary Dorothy George, 1938, no. 6652, pp. 166-7. Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, Call Number: PC 1 - 6652-X, published August, 1784.
- 'Foreigners have repeatedly laughed at the English for their credulity': *The World*, 3 January 1794. Another paper, *The Whitehall Evening Post: Or, London Intelligencer*, 13-16 September 1794, wrote: 'ENGLISH CREDULITY, in the affair of the Bottle Conjuror, and a thousand other tales, have been frequently laughed at by foreigners and natives.'
- 'The lower class of people' and 'believe the grossest absurdities': *The Gentleman's Magazine*, November, 1751, p. 503.
- 'Particularly the Londoners' and 'a much greater share of gross credulity': *The Imposture Detected; or, The Mystery and Iniquity of Elizabeth Canning's Story, Displayed*, London, 1753, p. 2.
- 'Credulity is a part of the English character': *The Ladies History of England*, Charlotte Cowley, London, 1780, p. 508.
- 'no people are more credulous than the English in swallowing': *Town & Country Magazine*, September 1775, p. 484.
- 'hold which credulity retained on the national character': *England and the English in the Eighteenth Century*, William Connor Sydney, In Two Volumes, Volume I, London, 1891, p. 263. This is the only retrospective view; all the other quotes about credulity come from the 18th century.
- 'authentic': *Deception and Detection in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, Jack Lynch, Oxford: Ashgate Publishing, 2008, pp. 1-2 shows a tabulated table of the increase in use of the word 'authentic' in book titles through each decade of the 18th century. The word crops up in the titles of books referred to in later chapters, most notably in *An Authentic*,

*Candid, and Circumstantial Narrative, of the Astonishing Transactions at Stockwell* in chapter 8; and *An Authentic Account of the Shaksperian Manuscripts, &c.*, by William-Henry Ireland in chapter 10.

- ‘taste’: *Ibid*, p. 51 shows Samuel Johnson’s scepticism towards the word.

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- The concept of false memories was commented on by Johnson: *The Life of Samuel Johnson*, James Boswell, in Eight Volumes, Vol. I, London, 1885, p. 317: ‘It is observable, that, having been told of this operation, I always imagined that I remembered it, but I laid the scene in the wrong house. Such confusions of memory I suspect to be common.’
- Four suggestions of 19th century hoaxers: *Notes & Queries*, 9th Series, Volume 3, 1899.

### Chapter One: ‘Lately Arrived from Formosa’

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- ‘Lately Arrived from Formosa’ title: *The Spectator*, 16 March 1711. Actual quote is ‘*lately arrived from Formosa*’.
- ‘the best man he had ever known’ and ‘sit with him at an alehouse’: *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D. including a Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides by James Boswell, Esq. A New Edition with Numerous Additions and Notes* by John Wilson Croker. In Five Volumes. Vol. IV, London, 1831, p. 172.
- George Psalmanazar birth date comes from *ODNB*, Psalmanazar, George (1679–1763).
- Brought up in Southern France: *Memoirs of \*\*\*. Commonly known by the Name of George Psalmanazar; A Reputed Native of Formosa*, Written by himself In order to be published after his Death, London, 1764 [hereafter known as *Memoirs*], pp. i-ii. An advert included in the book states: ‘From circumstances however there is little reason to doubt, but that he was a native of France: indeed he spoke the French language so well, beyond what is usual when attained by grammar or travel only, that we do not question to say, He was a Frenchman. His pronunciation had a spice of the Gascon accent, and in that provincial dialect he was so masterly, that none but those born in the country could equal, none though born there could excel him.’

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- Catholic and 500 miles: *Memoirs*, p. 71: ‘As for my parents and relations they were Roman Catholics.’
- ‘uncommon genius for languages’: *Memoirs*, p. 73.
- Avignon as a tutor: *Memoirs*, p. 104.
- Sexual overtures: *Memoirs*, p. 108: ‘she was a sprightly lady, and her spouse somewhat heavy, though not old, I soon found by her behaviour, and her parting beds with him soon after my coming, that she would have been better pleased I had transferred my care from them [her sons] to her.’
- His dismissal: *Memoirs*, p. 111.

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- ‘pity and admiration’: *Memoirs*, p. 113.
- Success of his deception: *Memoirs*, pp. 116-20.
- Wooed by his cousin: *Memoirs*, p. 123.
- ‘by no means to stay longer than a year from her, unless I could convince her that it was very much to my advantage’: *Memoirs*, p. 123.
- Foreign pronunciation: *Memoirs*, p. 132.
- Going to low countries: *Memoirs*, p. 140.

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- ‘fertile fancy to work upon’: *Memoirs*, p. 136.
- Pretending to be Japanese: *Memoirs*, p. 138.
- A forged Irish certificate: *Memoirs*, pp. 138-9.
- Avoiding punishment: *Memoirs*, p. 147.
- Arriving at Cologne: *Memoirs*, p. 142.
- Calling himself Salmanazar: *Memoirs*, p. 169. The King was actually called Shalmaneser, from *King James Bible*, 2 Kings, Chapter 17, Verse 3.
- ‘desirous of being admired and taken notice of’: *Memoirs*, p. 174. On p. 219 of the *Memoirs* Innes told him he should pretend to be older as he seemed too young to be as knowledgeable as he was about Formosa.
- Arriving in Sluis in Holland: *Memoirs*, p. 175.
- Innes befriending: *Memoirs*, pp. 178-9.
- Conversion: *Memoirs*, p. 179.
- Desire to leave the army: *Memoirs*, p. 181.
- ‘What a consummate wretch must this Innes have been! Psalmanazar himself was an honest man in comparison’: *The Monthly Review; or, Literary Journal*, vol. 32, December 1764, p. 445.

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- Sentences from right to left: *Memoirs*, p. 136.
- Translate a passage from Cicero: *Memoirs*, pp. 184-5.
- ‘learned gentlemen’ and ‘ministers’: *Memoirs*, p. 183.
- ‘an abominable piece of irreligion’: *Memoirs*, p. 183.
- ‘to Oxford, to teach the Formosan language to a set of gentlemen’: *Memoirs*, p. 192.

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- Sceptical clergymen: *Memoirs*, p. 194.

- His strange diet: *Memoirs*, p. 194.
- Dangerous voyage: *Memoirs*, p. 194-5.
- 'dreadful shipwreck' of his 'soul': *Memoirs*, p. 195.
- Landing at Harwick: *Memoirs*, p. 195.
- Translated *The Jesuits' Intrigues*: Entry in *Universal Historical Dictionary*, Volume 1, George Crabbe, 1825, under Compton, Henry (Ecc.)
- 'with great humanity': *Memoirs*, p. 195.
- 'if there was the least Suspicion of his being a Cheat': *The History of the Works of the Learned*, April 1704, p. 245.

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- 'with his usual candour and generosity' and 'deserved to have been condemned to the flames': *Memoirs*, p. 214.
- 'the town was hot in expectation': *Memoirs*, p. 217.
- Two months to write it: *Memoirs*, p. 217.
- 'one might have imagined ... fellow as I was': *Memoirs*, p. 215-6
- 'should be wholly new and surprising' and 'should in most particulars clash with all the accounts other writers had given of it': *Memoirs*, p. 217.
- Full title is *An Historical and Geographical Description of Formosa*. By George Psalmanaazaar, a Native of the said Island, now in London, London, 1704 [hereafter known as *Historical*, 1704 to distinguish it from the second edition, *Historical*, 1705].
- 1704: *The History of the Works of the Learned* reviewed it in their issue of April 1704.
- Father de Rode: *Historical*, 1704, p. 4.
- Exploring the world: *Historical*, 1704, p. 8.
- 'Judicious and Honest Guide': *Historical*, 1704, p. 36.
- 'the Church of England': *Historical*, 1704, p. 37.
- 'the Errors and Superstitions of my Pagan Religion': *Historical*, 1704, p. 37.

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- Emperor Meryaandanoo: *Historical*, 1704, p. 150. According to an article by Takau Shimada, entitled 'Where are Meryaandanoo, Chazadijn and Tampousama Derived from?' p. 32, (see <https://core.ac.uk/reader/71784360>, accessed July 2021) Meryaandanoo is a derivation from Mary, Anne and Danoo, which itself derives from dono, a way of addressing a Prince.
- Enforced old laws: *Historical*, 1704, p. 161.
- King and Queen ... 'Country Bumpkin': *Historical*, 1704, pp. 224 & 230.
- 'some Letters gutturally as the *Formosans* do': *Historical*, 1704, p. 266
- Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments: *Historical*, 1704, pp. 271 and 273-6.
- Burnt alive: *Historical*, 1704, p. 163.
- Adulterers: *Historical*, 1704, p. 163.
- Dogs tearing body to pieces. *Historical*, 1704, p. 166.
- 'a profound Peace': *Historical*, 1704, p. 166.
- Sublime God: *Historical*, 1704, p. 168.
- 18,000 boys sacrificed: *Historical*, 1704, p. 176 [misnumbered as p. 178].

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- Plucking out their hearts: *Historical*, 1704, p. 176.
- bride aged ten to fifteen, *Historical*, 1704, p. 218.
- 'improbabilities': *Memoirs*, p. 217.
- Second edition: *An Historical and Geographical Description of Formosa, by George Psalmanaazaar, a Native of the said Island, now in London. The Second Edition corrected, with many large and useful Additions, particularly a new Preface clearly answering every thing that has been objected against the Author and the Book*, London, 1705 [hereafter known as *Historical*, 1705.]
- 'avarice of the proprietor': *Memoirs*, p. 220.
- Published 1705: Advertised in *The London Gazette*, 28 June, 1705.
- Psalmanazar was urged to make 'such alterations and vindications' that 'promote the sale, and satisfy at once the curiosity of the public': *Memoirs*, p. 220.
- Legal to kill spouse: *Historical*, 1705, p. 18.
- Eating heart: *Historical*, 1705, p. 72.
- Eating human flesh: *Historical*, 1705, p. 112.
- Worshipping devils: *Historical*, 1705, pp. 61-3.

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- 'unmerciful Criticks have rais'd against me and the Book': *Historical*, 1705, 1st page of 2nd Preface.

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- Saving sons from sacrifice: *Historical*, 1705, pp. 27-8.
- Sacrificing daughters: *Historical*, 1705, p. 29.
- Writing 2nd Edition: *Memoirs*, p. 226.
- Sent by Bishop of London: *Memoirs*, p. 221.
- Church music: *Memoirs*, p. 223.
- All night working: *Memoirs*, p. 224.

- 'kind of gravity, which I was not willing to part with': *Memoirs*, p. 225.
- Gout in Formosa: *Historical*, 1704, p. 253.
- 'good-natured and charitable disposition': *Memoirs*, p. 200.

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- 'inclined to drinking nor gaming': *Memoirs*, p. 161.
- 'a youth of so much sense and learning for his years, so seemingly free from ambition and other vices, could be abandoned enough to be guilty of such abominable an imposture and impiety': *Memoirs*, pp. 200-1.
- 'ready and retentive memory': *Memoirs*, p. 75.
- 'inadvertently in conversation': *Memoirs*, p. 218.
- 'could never be persuaded to lessen it': *Memoirs*, p. 218.
- Formosa was part of Japan: *Historical*, 1704, pp. vii-x, citing a debate at the Royal Society with Father Jean de Fontenay on 2 February 1704.
- 'I seldom found myself at a loss for a quick answer': *Memoirs*, p. 138.
- 'very fair': *Memoirs*, p. 197.
- 'looked like a young Dutchman': *Exoticism in the Enlightenment*, Edited by G S Rousseau & Roy Porter, MUP, 1990, p. 200. The note cites the minutes of the Royal Society, 11 May, 1703, British Library Add. MS. 4223, f. 24.

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- Kept inside: *Memoirs*, p. 197.
- The Englishman in Formosa reprisal is told as an anecdote in *New Joe Miller; or the Tickler*, Vol. II, Second Edition, London, 1802, pp. 160-1.
- 'idiom and pronunciation were so mixed and blended': *Memoirs*, p. 198.
- 'very short' and 'I never heard of a distinguish'd time from Day and Night': *Historical*, 1705, 2nd Preface.

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- Thirty-seven: *Historical*, 1705, 2nd Preface, Object 18: 'Whensoever (says *Candidius*) a Woman under the Age of 37 finds her self with Child, she must send for one of the Priestesses (Men he says have no share in divine Offices) who lays the breeding Woman upon the skins of wild Beasts, and then jumps and dances upon her Belly till she miscarrieth.' In a later book which Psalmanazar contributed to, he seemed to suggest that they had to be over the age of 37 to have children. *A Complete System of Geography: A Complete System of Geography. Being a Description of All the Countries, Islands, Cities, Chief Towns, Harbours, Lakes and Rivers, Mountains, Mines &c. of the Known World*, In Two Volumes. Vol. II, Emanuel Bowen, London, 1747, p. 251: 'nor are the Women suffered to bring forth Children till after the 37th Year of their Age: If they are found pregnant before that time, the Juibus or Priestesses are sent for (for they have no Priests in this Island, according to our Author;) and there, by dint of jumping and stamping upon her Belly, make her cast forth her Fruit.'
- 'a more barbarous Custom than what I affirm of the humane Sacrifices': *Historical*, 1705, 2nd Preface, Object 18.
- Dr James Pound anecdote: Cited in *The Pretended Asian: George Psalmanazar's Eighteenth-century Formosan Hoax*, Michael Keevak, Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2004, pp. 32-3.
- 'many persons of ingenuity and learning' and 'it must be a real language, and no counterfeit, much less invented by such as stripling as Psalmanazar': *The Gentleman's Magazine*, January, 1765, p. 9.

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- Formosan version of the Lord's Prayer: Cited in *The Pretended Asian*, p. 88. It appeared in Benjamin Schulze's *Orientalisch-und Occidentalischer Sprachmeister*, Leipzig, 1748.
- 'that all the learned of Europe, though they suspected, could not detect': *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, Edited by W S Lewis, Yale University Press: <http://images.library.yale.edu/hwcorrespondence/> [hereafter known as *Walpole*, accessed July 2021], 23 May 1778, Vol. 16, p. 131.
- 'good Christian': Cited in *The Pretended Asian*, p. 33. Keevak references *The Great Formosan Impostor* by Frederick Foley for the relevant correspondence.
- 'free-thinkers': *Memoirs*, p. 228.
- 'their supposed disregard for Christianity': *The Monthly Review; or, Literary Journal*, Vol. 32, December 1764, p. 447.
- 'Various have been the Opinions of Men about this Gentleman, some looking upon him as an impostor': *The History of the Works of the Learned*, Volume 6, April 1704, p. 244.
- 'still taken to be a Cheat in London': *Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne*, Vol. I, July 4, 1705 - March 19, 1707, Edited by C E Doble, Oxford, 1885, p. 17, Entry on 28 July 1705.
- Letters to John Locke as early as February 1704 show amusement at Psalmanazar's claims. Citing 'one who says he comes from Formosa' and 'I could make you very merry with what I have heard': *The Correspondence of John Locke*, Edited by E S De Beer. In Eight Volumes, Volume Eight, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989, p. 216, Sir Hans Sloane to Locke, 26 February 1704.
- 'Rogue': *Ibid*, p. 305 Anthony Collins to Locke, 27 May 1704.
- 'account lately given of it by Mr George Psalmanasaar': *Exoticism in the Enlightenment*, Edited by G S Rousseau & Roy Porter, MUP, 1990, p. 208. Minutes on 13 June 1705. The original reference came from *The Great Formosan Impostor*, Frederick Foley, p. 20. I contacted the Royal Society and they were unable to find the relevant minutes – although they did find the letters written by Mr Griffith (Refs EL/N1/80 and EL/N1/81 in the Royal Society Archive).

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- Promoted to chaplain-general: *Memoirs*, p. 187.
- Innes extracting money: This wouldn't be the last time Innes was involved in nefarious activities. Reverend Dr Archibald Campbell of St Andrew's wrote *An Inquiry into the original of Moral Virtue*, Edinburgh, 1733. He gave the

manuscript to Innes who ‘published it with his own name to it; and before the imposition was discovered, obtained considerable promotion, as a reward of his merit.’ Cited in *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D. including a Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* by James Boswell, Esq. A New Edition with Numerous Additions and Notes by John Wilson Croker. In Two Volumes. Vol. II, New York, 1833, p. 156.

- ‘had an almost insurmountable propensity to wine and women’: *Memoirs*, p. 227.
- ‘any real scruple at, or fair Objection against’ and ‘divers Reports spread abroad to his prejudice’ and ‘false and slanderous’: *The Daily Courant*, 26 April 1706. Reference to these advertisements as being in the *London Gazzette*, were made in *Memoirs*, p. 202
- Another advertisement: *The Daily Courant*, 18 May 1706.
- Monsieur d’Amalvy’s tract: Mentioned on p. 291 of *Historical*, 1705 [pages at end not numbered]. The actual tract was Isaac d’Amalvi, *Eclaircissemens necessaires pour bien entendre ce que le Sr. NFDBR die être arrivé a l’Ecluse en FlAndrés, par rapport à la conversion de Mr. George Psalmanaazaar, Japonais, dans son livre intitulé, “Description de l’isle Formosa”*, The Hague, 1706, cited in footnote 11, p. 126 of *The Pretended Asian*, Michael Keevak.
- ‘so few here in England’: *An Enquiry into the Objections against George Psalmanaazaar of Formosa. To which is added, George Psalmanaazaar’s Answer to Mons. D’Amalvy of Sluice*, London [n/d], p. 59

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- 18 July 1707: *The Daily Courant*, 18 July 1707, states ‘This day is published’. It is not clear whether this booklet was written by Psalmanazar himself or by his supporters or a combination of both.
- February another pamphlet: Publication of *A Dialogue between a Japonese and a Formosan, About some Points of The Religion of the Time*, By G P–m–r, London: Bernard Lintott, 1707. *Post Boy*, 4 February 1707 advert stated it would appear ‘in few days’ time; *The Daily Courant*, 25 February 1707 announced it was ‘lately publish’d’. Both *An Enquiry* and *A Dialogue* continued to be advertised for several months after publication. *A Dialogue* advertisement appears in *The Daily Courant*, 14 June 1707. *An Enquiry* is advertised in *The Daily Courant*, 24 September 1707.
- ‘I had the mortification to find’ and ‘that my fabulous account was as much discredited by the greatest part of the world as ever’: *Memoirs* pp. 202-3.
- ‘mis-spent in a course of the most shameful idleness, vanity and extravagance’: *Memoirs*, p. 231.
- Falling into debt: *Memoirs*, p. 234, ‘often run me into debt’.
- ‘according to the right Japan way’: *The British Apollo*, 17 December 1708.
- ‘White Formosan Work’: *Memoirs*, p. 235. *The British Apollo* advertisement describes it as ‘white Enamell’d Work’ with no mention of Formosa.
- Too high a price: *Memoirs*, pp. 235-6.
- dried up: It is noteworthy that six years later *An Historical and Geographical Description of Formosa* is still being offered for sale, suggesting that some still considered his story of consequence, see *The Post Boy*, 13-15 March 1717.
- ‘Scene wherein Thyestes eats his own Children, is to be performed by the famous Mr Psalmanazar, lately arrived from Formosa’: *The Spectator*, 16 March 1711. ‘On the first day of April will be performed at the Play-house in the Hay-market an Opera call’d The Cruelty of Atreus. N.B. The Scene wherein Thyestes eats his own Children, is to be performed by the famous Mr Psalmanazar, lately arrived from Formosa: The whole Supper being set to Kettle-drums’.
- Teaching modern languages, tutoring: *Memoirs*, pp. 237 & 239
- Clerk to a Regiment: *Memoirs*, p. 240.
- Painting fans: *Memoirs*, p. 246.
- Translating books: *Memoirs*, p. 249.
- Learning Hebrew: *Memoirs*, p. 250.
- Still believed he was a Formosan: *Memoirs*, p. 247.
- Found religion: *Memoirs*, pp. 258-9.

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- Palmer history of printing: *Memoirs*, p. 289. Its full title was: *The General History of Printing, from its first invention in the City of Mentz, to its first progress and propagation thro’ the most celebrated cities in Europe, particularly, its introduction, rise, and progress here in England*, Samuel Palmer, London, 1732.
- *An Universal History, From The Earliest Account of Time: An Universal History, From The Earliest Account of Time. Compiled from Original Authors*, London, 1747. The last volume is titled *The Modern Part of an Universal History, from the Earliest Account of Time. Compiled from Original Writers*, Vol. XLIV, and Last, London, 1766.
- *A Complete System of Geography: A Complete System of Geography. Being a Description of All the Countries, Islands, Cities, Chief Towns, Harbours, Lakes and Rivers, Mountains, Mines &c. of the Known World*, In Two Volumes. Emanuel Bowen, London, 1747.
- ‘the falsehood and imposture of my former account of that island’: *Memoirs*, p. 339.
- ‘now gives us Leave to assure the World, that the greatest Part of that Account was fabulous’ and ‘upon serious Examination, this will be found to deserve as little Credit, as that of our pretended *Formosan*’: *A Complete System of Geography*, Vol. II, p. 251.

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- Posthumous publication: *A Complete System of Geography*, Vol. II, p. 251: ‘and that he designs to leave behind him a faithful Account of that unhappy Step, and other Particulars of his Life leading to it, to be published after his Death; when there will be less Reason to suspect him of having disguised or palliated the Truth’.
- Piety: *The Life of Samuel Johnson*, James Boswell, London: Charles Dilly, 1799, p. 536: ‘I should as soon think of contradicting a Bishop’.

- 'regular': *The Works of Samuel Johnson, LL.D. with an Essay on his Life and Genius*, Arthur Murphy, In Two Volumes, II, New York, 1837, Prayers & Meditations, 1 June, 1770, p. 684.
- 'he was afraid to mention even China': *The Life of Samuel Johnson*, James Boswell, Notes by John Wilson Croker, London: John Murray, 1831, Volume IV, p. 173.
- Psalmanazar died on 3 May 1763 aged 84: *The Public Advertiser*, 11 May 1763.
- 'a beastly Fellow'; 'lived on raw Meat, just as it came from the Butcher's' and 'took a monstrous deal of Snuff': *The Public Advertiser*, 20 September 1763.
- Will and Sarah Rewalling: *Memoirs*, pp. 1-9.
- Memoirs first on sale: *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 25 January 1765. The *Memoirs* are dated 1764.
- Second edition: *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 13 May 1765.
- April 1766: *The Public Advertiser*, 4 April 1766.
- 'the author would be far out of the influence of any sinister motives that might induce him to deviate from the truth': *Memoirs*, p. 6.

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- 'carrying his delicacy very far indeed!': *The Monthly Review; or, Literary Journal*, Vol. 32, November 1764, p. 369.
- 'a faithful account of every thing I could recollect': *Memoirs*, p. 14.
- *A Modest Proposal: A Modest Proposal for Preventing the Children of Poor People from Being a Burden to their Parents or Country*, Dr Swift, Dublin: S Harding, 1729, p. 12. According to the book, after a young person was put to death in Formosa, the carcass was sold 'to Persons of Quality, as a prime Dainty'. Swift refers to him as 'the famous Sallmanaazor'.

## Chapter Two: 'But a Trifle'

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- 'But a Trifle' title: *Predictions for the Year, 1708* by Isaac Bickerstaff, p. 5: 'but a Trifle'.

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- First almanac: *Astrology and the Popular Press, English Almanacs, 1500-1800*, Bernard Capp, London: Faber & Faber, 1979, p. 26. Much of the analysis about astrology, and many of the subsequent quotes from sundry almanacs, come from this book [hereafter known as *Capp*]; and also from *Prophecy and Power: Astrology in Early England*, Patrick Curry, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989.
- Forty-eight pages: 'The Bickerstaff Caper', W K Thomas, *The Dalhousie Review*, Vol. 49, No. 3, 1969, p. 346.
- John Partridge: Sources about John Partridge included *ODNB*, Partridge, John (1644–1715); 'The Early Life of John Partridge', George P Mayhew, *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, Vol. 1, No. 3, Summer, 1961, pp. 31-42; The Wits vs John Partridge, Astrologer, William Alfred Eddy, *Studies in Philology*, Vol. 29, No. 1, January 1932, pp. 29-40; Tom Brown and Partridge the Astrologer, William A Eddy, *Modern Philology*, Vol. 28, No. 2, November 1930, pp. 163-8.

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- Death of a King in 1688: *Mene Tekel, Being An Astrological Judgment On the Great and Wonderful Year 1688*, John Partridge, 1688, pp. 5 & 15. He wrote, that there will be an 'alteration in the Government by the death of the then King, Prince, &c.' And later, in the same pamphlet, he expected 'the death of some great man' for the month of October 1688. The latter quote can also be found in *Annus Mirabilis or Strange and Wonderful Predictions and Observations Gathered out of Mr. J. Partridges Almanack 1688*, London, 1689, p. 17.
- 'Civil Death' and 'worse than Death': *The Second Part of Mene Tekel: Treating of the Year MDCLXXXIX*, John Partridge, London, 1689, pp. [A4-5] 'I find some peevish People', Partridge wrote, 'are apt to exclaim against Astrology, because the late King did not dye in October or November, 1688.' He admitted that 'I did think he would have died' but just because he didn't 'is no Injury to Astrology'. In any event James II's exile 'is so like Death', that it is 'indeed a Civil Death', an event 'worse than Death'. For those who don't believe in astrology, even if King James had actually died in October 1688, then they would have 'said it was predicted by chance'. Partridge's reasoning is a variation on the phrase attributed to the 13th century Italian theologian Thomas Aquinas: 'To one who has faith, no explanation is necessary; to one without faith, no explanation is possible.'
- 'the stars incline, but do not compel': *Capp*, p. 35. The phrase Lilly used was *non cogunt*.

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- 'News from France; good enough if it prove true, though perhaps all may not be of my opinion': Cited in 'The Bickerstaff Caper', p. 347: Another example is: 'The end of this month, or beginning of the next, will undoubtedly give Violence and violent Actions, and perhaps private murder and such like, &c.'
- 'Why not an ecclesiastical person, or lawyer, promoted to great honour?': Cited in *Capp*, p. 35.
- John Gadbury: Partridge accused Gadbury of being a papist, pimp, plotter and philanderer, as well as accusing him of murdering his mistress's husband.
- 'wished them so': Cited in *Capp*, p. 36.
- 'wicked people' and 'deluded me': Cited in *Capp*, p. 36.
- George Parker: Parker was a staunch Tory, high church and against the war. Partridge had called him an 'Impudent Jacobite Conjuror' when the latter epithet referred to raising up spirits; and at a time when supporting the Stuart line was extremely dangerous. He also resorted to more personal insults, accusing Parker of abusing his ex-wife and mocking his bankruptcy.

- ‘the Troubler of Europe’: Parker’s *Ephemeris For the Year of our Lord 1708*, George Parker, London, 1708, p. 5. Also p. 7 for the destruction of shipping. Some of Parker’s criticisms could be accused of nit-picking. When Admiral of the Fleet, Sir Cloudesley Shovell, lost his life, along with some 2,000 sailors, off the Scilly Isles in October 1707, Parker said it wasn’t due to the storms that Partridge had predicted but ‘their own Neglect’, p. 8.

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- ‘a Ring to prevent Cuckoldom, very useful for all married Persons’: *A Comical View of the Transactions That will happen in the Cities of London & Westminster*, ascribed to Silvester Partridge. Republished in *The Works of Mr Thomas Brown in Prose and Verse*, London, 1707, p. 50. Other citations are: ‘If rainy, few Nightwalkers in Cheapside and Fleetstreet’ (p. 44); ‘Great jangling of Bells all over the City from Eight to Nine’ (p. 45); and “Ministers Preach against Sins, but the People still Practice it” (p. 49).
- Jonathan Swift: Information about Jonathan Swift came from a number of sources, including the *ODNB*, Swift, Jonathan (1667-1645); The Introduction to *Jonathan Swift: English Political Writings 1711-1714*, Edited by Bertrand A Goldgar and Ian Gadd, Cambridge University Press, 2008; ‘Politics and History’, David Oakleaf; and ‘Swift and religion’, Marcus Walsh from *The Cambridge Companion to Jonathan Swift*, Edited by Christopher Fox, Cambridge University Press, 2003; *Jonathan Swift: Parodies, Hoaxes, Mock Treatises*, Edited by Valerie Rumbold, Cambridge University Press, 2013; and ‘Burying the fanatic Partridge: Swift’s Holy Week hoax’, Valerie Rumbold, *Politics and Literature in the Age of Swift: English and Irish Perspectives*, Edited by Claude Rawson, Cambridge University Press, 2010. Valerie Rumbold was kind enough to correspond with me over some queries that I had.

#### Page 40

- ‘On the Glorious Union of the Two Kingdoms’: *Merlins Liberatus: Being an Almanack For the Year of our Blessed Saviour’s Incarnation 1708*, John Partridge, London [nd], pp. [6-7]. Parts of this poem are redacted in the almanac.
- ‘but not on a sudden’: *Ibid*, p. 19: Other citations are for the month of February: ‘rather have no Peace than not to have a durable one’ (p. 11). In March he postulated the likelihood of more blood being spilt because of ‘some Divisions in the Councils of those Countries’ (p. 13) involved in the war.

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- Partridge relishing debate: Partridge’s 1697 almanac had even gone so far as to list notorious cheats, including many of his fellow practitioners
- *Predictions for the Year 1708* by Isaac Bickerstaff: Full title is *Predictions for the Year, 1708*. Wherein the Month and Day of the Month are set down, the Persons named, and the great Actions and Events of next Year particularly related, as they will come to pass. *Written to prevent the People of England from being farther impos’d on by vulgar Almanack-makers*. By ISAAC BICKERSTAFF, Esq; Sold by John Morphew near Stationers-Hall, 1708 [hereafter known as *Predictions*, 1708].
- The name Bickerstaff: An editorial note written during Swift’s lifetime purported to convey Swift’s own explanation ‘that the Author, when he had writ the following Paper, and being at a Loss what Name to prefix to it; passing through Long-Acre, observed a sign over a House where a Locksmith dealt, and found the Name *Bickerstaff* written under it: Which being a Name somewhat uncommon, he chose to call himself *Isaac Bickerstaff*.’ Cited in ‘The Bickerstaff Caper’, p. 349. It has also been suggested (p. 350) that he chose Isaac, as the Hebrew original means to ‘laughter’; and ‘Bickerstaff’ combines a skirmish (to bicker) whilst simultaneously beating someone with a stick. If this was true, it was a literary paradox that no-one, at least publicly, unravelled at the time
- Face value: Certainly there is no hint of any irony in *The Dublin Intelligence* for 14 February, 1708 where it was advertised as ‘*The Predictions of Isaac Bickerstaff Esq; for the Year 1708. Shewing the most remarkable Events that shall happen in Europe, the Month, Day and hour of the Death of Several Potentates, &c.*’

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- Planetary influence: Even the reliable comet was under attack. *Miscellaneous Reflections, Occasion’d by the Comet which appear’d In December 1680*, Mr Bayle, London, 1708, p. 27. The author poured plenty of wit and ridicule on astrological predictions that were made in its wake. He wrote that any prognostications based on a comet were ‘extremely ridiculous’, going on to proclaim that there was ‘never any thing so chimerical as Astrology’ and ‘never so great a Scandal upon human Nature’.

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- ‘the sickliest Season of the Year’: *Predictions*, 1708, p. 3: ‘*This Month a certain great Person with be threatened with Death or Sickness*’, even though ‘no Month passes without the Death of some Person of Note’; and ‘the Almanack-maker has the liberty of chusing the sickliest Season of the Year where he may fix his Prediction.’
- ‘*God preserve King William from all his open and secret Enemies*’: *Predictions*, 1708, p. 3: ‘if the King should happen to have died, the Astrologer plainly foretold it; otherwise it passes but for the pious Ejaculations of a Loyal Subject.’
- Venereal disease: *Predictions*, 1708, p. 3: ‘*Advertisements about Pills and Drink for the Veneral Disease.*’
- Forecasts to friends: *Predictions*, 1708, p. 3: ‘All which I shewed to some Friends many Months before they happened...and there they found my Predictions true in every Article, except one or two.’
- Cheat if he fails: *Predictions*, 1708, p. 4: ‘hoot me for a Cheat and Impostor if I fail in any single Particular of Moment.’
- Matter-of-factly predict them: *Predictions*, 1708, p. 4: He intoned that he would ‘talk more sparingly of Home Affairs’, as ‘it would be dangerous to my Person’ to disclose ‘Secrets of State’. But of smaller matters that were ‘not of publick Consequence’ and ‘the most signal Events abroad’, he would ‘Predict them in plain Terms’.
- Stars only incline: *Predictions*, 1708, p. 4: ‘the Stars do only *incline*, and not *force*, the Actions or Wills of Men.’
- Overcoming planetary influence: *Predictions*, 1708, p. 4: He cannot be absolutely certain that ‘the Events will follow exactly as I predict them’. This he contended is because man’s free will can overcome ‘the Influence of an over-ruling

Planet'. He acknowledged that 'the great Events of the World' were dependent on 'Numbers of Men'; and they can't all be expected to behave in the same way.

#### Page 44

- 'natural year' and 'the Sun enters into Aries': *Predictions*, 1708, p. 5.
- 'but a Trifle' and 'of a raging Fever': *Predictions*, 1708, p. 5: 'It relates to Partridge the Almanack-maker; I have consulted the Star of his Nativity by my own Rules, and find he will infallibly dye upon the 29th of March next, about Eleven at Night, of a raging Fever.'
- 'a Tertian Ague and Fever': *Merlins Liberatus: Being an Almanack For the Year of our Blessed Saviour's Incarnation 1708*, John Partridge, London [nd], p. [15]. As usual, Partridge had covered himself by wishing 'it may not prove a Malignant Fever'.
- 'thousands': *An answer To Bickerstaff. Some reflections upon Mr Bickerstaff's predictions for the year MDCCVIII*. By a Person of Quality. 'I doubt not but some thousands of these papers are carefully preserved by as many persons, to confront with the events, and try whether the astrologer exactly keeps the day and hour.' 'I believe it is no small mortification to this gentleman astrologer, as well as his bookseller, to find their piece, which they sent out in a tolerable print and paper, immediately seized on by three or four interloping printers of Grub-street, the title stuffed with an abstract of the whole matter, together with the standard epithets of *strange* and *wonderful*, the price brought down a full half, which was but a penny in its prime, and bawled about by hawkers of the inferior class, with the concluding cadence of "A halfpenny a piece!"'

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- 30 March: *The Daily Courant*, 30 March 1708.
- *The Black Life of John Gadbury*: Full title is *Nebulo Anglicanus: Or, The First Part of the Black Life of John Gadbury*, J. Partridge, London, 1693.
- *The Whipper Whipp'd*: Full title is *Flagitiosus Mercurius Flagellatus, Or, the Whipper Whipp'd: Being an Answer to a Scurrilous Invective. Written by George Parker in His Almanack for MDCXCVII*, John Partridge, 1697.
- 'odd': *Mr Partridge's Answer*, p. 4: 'However it looks something odd, that the Stars can find no body else to kill all over Christendom, but a Poor Almanack-maker.'

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- 'sparingly of Home Affairs': *Predictions*, 1708, p. 4.
- Frivolous: *Predictions*, 1708, p. 5. 'On the 14th, a great Peer of this Realm will dye at his Country House'. Also, 'On the 23rd, a famous Buffoon of the Play-House will dye of a ridiculous Death' (p. 6); and 'that near the End of this Month much Mischief will be done at Bartholomew Fair, by the Fall of a Booth' (p. 7).
- 'on the supposed Death of Partridge, the Almanack-Maker': Full title is *A Grub-Street Elegy. On the supposed Death of Partridge, the Almanack-Maker*. 1708.

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- 'Here, five Feet deep...or Shoes;' Sadly for Partridge this is how posterity now principally remembers him; in spite of the pompous engraving on his actual tombstone, where he claims, although there is no supporting evidence for it, that he held a doctorate from Leiden. The words on his actual tombstone are: 'Johannes Partridge astrologus et medicinae doctor, natus est apud East-Sheen in comitatu Surrey 8<sup>o</sup> die Januarii anno 1644, et mortuus est Londini 24<sup>o</sup> die Junii anno 1715. Medicinam fecit duobus Regibus unigue Reginae Carolo scilicet Secundo, Willielmo Tertio, Reginaeque Mariae. Creatus medicinae doctor Lugduni Batavorum.'
- *The Accomplishment of the First of Mr Bickerstaff's Predictions*: Full title is *The Accomplishment of the First of Mr Bickerstaff's Predictions, Being An Account of the Death of Mr Partridge The Almanack-Maker upon the 29th Instant. In a Letter to a Person of Honour. Written in the year 1708*.

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- April Fool's Day: *Modern Philology*, May 1964, 'Swift's Bickerstaff Hoax as an April Fools' Joke', George P Mayhew, pp. 270-280. It would seem that *An Elegy* and *The Accomplishment* were published around 30 March 1708.
- 'there is no such Man as Isaack Bickerstaff, it is a sham Name' and 'Rogues': From a letter which is reproduced in "'There is No Such Man as Isaack Bickerstaff": Partridge, Pittis, and Jonathan Swift', John McTague, in *Eighteenth-Century Life*, Duke University Press, Volume 35, Number 1, Winter 2011, pp. 92-3. Partridge also writes: 'I dont doubt but you are Imposed on in Ireland also by a pack of Rogues about my being dead' and 'to undeceive your Credulous friends that may yet believe the death of y<sup>r</sup> Reall humble servant John Partridge.'
- 1709 Almanac, *Merlinus Liberatus*: Full title is *Merlinus Liberatus: Being an Almanack For the Year of our Blessed Saviour's Incarnation 1709*, John Partridge, London, [nd].
- 'base paper': *Ibid*, p. 1: 'I am Living, contrary to that base Paper said to be done by one Bickerstaff.'
- second Bickerstaff may appear: *Ibid*, under February 1709: 'Much lying News dispersed about this time; and also Scandalous Pamphlets. Perhaps we may have a second Bickerstaff appear.'
- 'the same Villain': *Ibid*: 'You may remember there was a Paper published predicting my Death on the 29<sup>th</sup> of March at Night 1708, and after the day was past, the same Villain told the World I was dead, and how I died; and that he was with me at the time of my death. I thank God, by whose Mercy I have my Being, that I am still alive and (excepting my Age) as well as ever I was in my Life, as I was also at that 29th of March.'
- 'an Impudent Lying Fellow': *Ibid*: 'And that Paper was said to be done by one Bickerstaffe, Esq; But that was a sham Name, it was done by an Impudent Lying Fellow. But his Prediction did not prove true: What will he say to excuse that? For the Fool had Considered the Star of my Nativity as he said.'

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- *A vindication of Isaac Bickerstaff*: Full title is *A Vindication of Isaac Bickerstaff Esq; Against What is Objected to Him by Mr. Partridge, in his Almanack for the present Year 1709*. By the said Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq., London, 1709.



- ‘Brevity, Perspicuity and Calmness’: *Ibid.*

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- ‘no man alive’: *Ibid.*: ‘At every Line they read they would lift up their Eyes, and cry out, betwixt Rage and Laughter, “They were sure no Man alive ever writ such damn’d Stuff as this.” Neither did I ever hear that Opinion disputed.’
- ‘since before the Revolution’. *Ibid.*
- *Merlinus Liberatus*: Full title is *Merlinus Redivivus: Being an Almanack For the Year of Our Blessed Saviour’s Incarnation 1714*, John Partridge, London, [nd].
- ‘in the Language of Mr Bickerstaffe, Dead’; ‘notorious Cheat’ and ‘will do Justice to Your Revived Friend, and Servant, John Partridge’. *Ibid.*

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- *Gulliver’s Travels* was true: ‘A Bishop here said, that book was full of improbable lies, and for his part, he hardly believed a word of it.’ Letter from Swift to Pope, 27 November 1726, *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, Volume III 1724-1731, Edited by Harold William, Oxford University Press, 1963, p. 189.

### Chapter Three: ‘An Extraordinary Delivery of Rabbits’

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- ‘An Extraordinary Delivery of Rabbits’ title: *A Short Narrative Of an Extraordinary Delivery of Rabbits*.
- April when five weeks pregnant: *A Short Narrative Of an Extraordinary Delivery of Rabbits, Perform’d by Mr. John Howard, Surgeon at Guildford*. Published by Mr. St. André Surgeon and Anatomist to his Majesty, London, 1727, p. 23. [Hereafter known as *Short*]. It came out on 3 December 1726, *The Evening Post*, 1-3 December, 1726.
- Desire to eat them: *Short*, p. 24.
- Guts of a pig: *Short*, p. 25.
- Rabbit’s head and foot: *Mary Toft’s 3rd Confession*, 12 December 1726.

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- ‘something in the Form of a dissected Rabbit’: *The British Journal*, 22 October 1726.
- ‘Persons of Distinction in Town’: *Short*, p. 7.
- Two letters on 6 and 9 November: *Short*, pp. 5-6.
- Fencing expert: *The Genuine Works of William Hogarth*, John Nichols, In Two Volumes. Volume 1, London, 1808, p. 469.
- Alexander Pope’s accident: *ODNB*, St André, Nathanael (1679/80–1776).
- Royal appointment, May 1723: *The Genuine Works*, p. 465.
- Midwifery and physicians: *From Hogarth to Rowlandson: Medicine in Art in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, Fiona Haslam, Liverpool University Press, 1996, p. 21.

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- Howard’s house: *Short*, p. 8.
- 15 November: This is the date stated by St André in *Short*, p. 7. However there is a newspaper report the day before which states: ‘last Friday (i.e. 11 November) Mr Andre, the King’s Surgeon and Anatomist went down thither to see them’, *Parker’s Penny Post*, 14 November 1726. Denis Todd in *Imagining Monsters: Miscreations of the Self in Eighteenth-Century England*, The University of Chicago Press, 1995, p. 275, note 28, p. 275 speculates that St André planted the story ahead of the trip.
- Entire trunk of a rabbit without fur: *Short*, p. 8.
- ‘common Dung’: *Short*, p. 11.
- small fish bones: *Short*, p. 12. In her third confession Mary Toft said that Howard had found the backbone of an eel in the guts of one of her earlier productions. She conjectured they belonged to some eels she had eaten a couple of days before. *Mary Toft’s 3rd Confession*, 12 December 1726.
- Followed by the head: *Short*, pp. 13-14.
- Royal Society: *The Daily Journal*, 14 November 1726.
- ‘like well formed, common, natural Rabbits’: *Short*, p. 16
- ‘ exactly like such Creatures as must inevitably undergo the Changes that happen to adult Animals’; *Short*, pp. 19-20.
- ‘like the Paws of a Cat’: *Short*, p. 15.
- ‘Præternatural’: *Short*, p. 21.

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- Newspapers: *Mist’s Weekly Journal*, *London Journal* and *Weekly Journal, or, British Gazetteer*, both dated 19 November 1726 and *The Daily Journal*, 14 November, 1726 all referred to John Howard as ‘an eminent Surgeon and Man-Midwife’, while *The Weekly Journal, or, British Gazetteer*, 19 November 1726 noted that a woman from Godalming had produced 14 rabbits.
- ‘a Veil should be drawn over it, as an Imperfection in humane Nature’: *Mist’s Weekly Journal*, 19 November 1726,
- ‘which I thought so extraordinary for a Woman in her Condition’: *Some Observations Concerning The Woman of Godlyman In Surrey*, Cyriacus Ahlers, London, 1726, p. 7. Published 13 December 1726 according to *The Daily Post*, 13 December 1726. [hereafter known as *Some Observations*.]
- Colleague’s findings: *Some Observations*, pp. 12-13.
- ‘unnecessary Pain’: *Short*, p. 35.
- Dryness of her deliveries: *Some Observations*, p. 19.

- Feigning a headache: *Some Observations*, p. 18.
- ‘thought fit to conceal it’: *Some Observations*, p. 13.
- Sir Richard Manningham: *ODNB*, Manningham, Sir Richard (bap. 1685, d. 1759).
- Manningham at Guildford: *An Exact Diary of what was observ’d during a Close Attendance upon Mary Toft*, By Sir Richard Manningham, London, 1726, p. 7. [Hereafter known as *An Exact Diary*.]
- Unconvinced by labour motions: *An Exact Diary*, p. 11.
- Hog’s bladder: *An Exact Diary*, p. 14.
- ‘artfully conveyed’: *An Exact Diary*, p. 17.
- A cheat: *An Exact Diary*, p. 14.
- Defer fraud: *An Exact Diary*, pp. 18-19.

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- Lacy’s Bagnio: *The Daily Journal*, 2 December 1726. Her accommodation was paid for by St André. We know this because the master of the Bagnio, Mr Lacy, later had to sue St André for failing to pay the costs of Toft’s stay there. Mr Lacy was awarded 56 l. 14 s. 10 d. in damages, *The British Journal*, 20 May 1727.
- Bagnio used for: *Gender, Pregnancy and Power in Eighteenth-Century Literature: The Maternal Imagination*, Jenifer Buckley, Palgrave Macmillan, 2017, chapter 2.
- Letter to Douglas: *An Advertisement Occasion’d by Some Passages in Sir R. Manningham’s Diary*, J. Douglas M.D., London, 1727, pp. 5-6
- James Douglas: *ODNB*, Douglas, James (bap. 1675, d. 1742).
- Bickering: *An Advertisement Occasion’d*, pp. 34-5. Douglas took issue with Manningham in suggesting that he had personally thought that some sort of production was imminent. In a rather laboured explanation he said that others might have gone along with it, that it was possible he might not have expressed dissent, but he certainly hadn’t been of that opinion.
- ‘rabbit woman’: See for instance *The Evening Post*, 8-10 December 1726.
- ‘Conversation of People of all Ranks, Ages, and Conditions’: *The Anatomist Dissected: Or The Man-Midwife finely brought to Bed. Being an Examination of the Conduct of Mr. St. Andre. Touching the late pretended Rabbit-bearer; as it appears from his own Narrative*, Lemuel Gulliver, The Second Edition, London, 1727, p. 34
- ‘now the Topic of every Conversation’: *Much ado about Nothing: Or, a Plain Refutation Of All that has been Written or Said Concerning the Rabbit-Woman of Godalming*, London, 1727, pp. 5-6.
- ‘There is one thing that employs everybody’s tongue at present’; ‘who had brought forth seventeen rabbits’: *Lord Hervey and His Friends 1726-38*, Edited by the Earl of Ilchester, London: John Murray, 1950, p. 82.

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- ‘Every Creature in town both Men & Women have been to see & feel her’ and ‘All the eminent physicians, Surgeons, and Men-midwives in London are there Day & Night to watch her next production.’: Hervey to Henry Fox, 3 December 1726, Hervey MSS 941/47/4, pp. 29-32, Suffolk Record Offices, Bury St. Edmunds, cited in cited in Dennis Todd, ‘Three Characters in Hogarth’s Cunicularii and Some Implications’, *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 1, Autumn, 1982, pp. 28-29. I have used this source, rather than *Lord Hervey and His Friends* (above note), as the capitalisation has been taken directly from the source material.
- ‘divided into factions about’: *The Works of Alexander Pope. New Edition including Several Hundred Unpublished Letters, and other new Materials*. John Wilson Croker and Rev. Whitwell Elwin, Volume VI, Correspondence - Vol. I, London, John Murray, 1871. Pope to Caryll, 5 December 1726, pp. 294.
- ‘neither believe nor disbelieve’ and ‘thoroughly examined on both sides’: *The Private Journal and Literary Remains of John Byrom*, Edited by Richard Parkinson, Vol. I - Part I., Chetham Society, 1854. Letter from Dr Deacon to John Byrom, 6 December, 1726, p. 233
- ‘far from being detected; but remains, as yet, as much in the dark as ever’: *The Daily Journal*, 7 December 1726
- Breaking of bones: *Short*, p. 28.
- ‘repugnant to the Structure of these Parts’ and ‘Romance’: *An Advertisement Occasion’d*, pp. 13-14.
- Hear it himself: *An Advertisement Occasion’d*, p. 14.
- 3 December: *The Evening Post*, 1-3 December 1726.
- Second Baron Onslow: Karen Harvey, *The Impostress Rabbit Breeder: Mary Toft and Eighteenth-Century England*, Oxford University Press, 2020, p. 18.
- Stealing fish: *Ibid*, p. 19.

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- Joshua Toft: *Ibid*, p. 11.
- Threat to land ownership. *Ibid*, p. 85: ‘Mary Toft’s rabbit births might have been a political response to poverty and social dislocation by the women in the town, rooted in women’s preeminent knowledge of the reproductive power of the female body.’
- ‘almost alarmed England’: *Portraits, Memoirs, and Characters, of Remarkable Persons*, James Caulfield, In Four Volumes. Vol. II, London, 1819, p. 199.
- ‘it would have done as well for me as a live one’: Edward Costen in *The Several Depositions of Edward Costen, Richard Stedman, John Sweetapple, Mary Peytoe, Elizabeth Mason, and Mary Costen; Relating to the Affair of Mary Toft*, London, 1727, p. 5.
- Another two: *Ibid*, John Sweetapple, p. 11 & Mary Peytoe, p. 13.
- ‘that she could not eat a Bit of a Rabbit, was she to have a Thousand Pounds for so doing’: *Ibid*, Elizabeth Mason, pp. 15-16.

- Seven delivered: *Ibid*, Mary Costen, p. 18.
- ‘concerned for his Wife’s Misfortune’: *Ibid*, Mary Costen, p. 19.

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- Porter at Lacy’s Bagnio: *An Exact Diary*, p. 25.
- ‘that more effectual Measures might be taken to come at the whole Truth’: *An Advertisement Occasion’d*, p. 17.
- Relating to what happened on 3 December 1726: ‘Information being given to the Right Hon. the Lords *Albermarle* and *Limerick*, by a Servant of the Bagnio, that the Woman had employ’d him to procure her a Rabbit clandestinely...Sir *Richard Manningham* wrote down the Information. It was not, however, thought convenient to divulge this Piece of News, till next Day, that more effectual Measures might be taken to come at the whole Truth.’
- Manningham and Sir Thomas Clarges: *An Exact Diary*, pp. 25-7.
- But Manningham still felt the fraud was not yet fully detected: *An Exact Diary*, p. 27.
- ‘other Arguments were necessary, than Anatomy, or any other Branch of Physick’: *An Exact Diary*, p. 25.
- Manningham’s part in Toft’s confessions: *An Exact diary*, pp. 31-3.
- Three confessions: Taken 7, 8 & 12 December 1726.
- King’s pardon: *The Daily Post*, 8 December 1726.

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- ‘should be ruined’: *Mary Toft’s 1st Confession*, 7 December 1726.
- Joshua 6th of 12 children: *The Imposteress Rabbit Breeder*, p. 22.
- Ann as informal mid-wife: *Ibid*, pp. 32-3.
- ‘Ann Tofts, my husband’s mother’: *Mary Toft’s 3rd Confession*, 12 December 1726.
- Ann ‘ordered’ her: *Ibid*.
- ‘to pieces’: *Ibid*.
- Mother-in-law by her side: *Mary Toft’s 2nd Confession*, 8 December 1726: ‘My M[other] was very seldome from me’.
- Howard as a confederate: In this interpretation I am going along with *Imagining Monsters*, Dennis Todd, p. 272, note 14. ‘I have assumed throughout that Howard did not connive with the Tofts’.

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- ‘must have put them up’: *Mary Toft’s 2nd Confession*, 8 December 1726: ‘She is of opinion that if the Rabbits did not breed in her that her Mother in Law and Mr Howard must have put them up for nobody else came near her.’ At the start of this confession she said that Mr Howard and her mother-in-law had ‘talked a great while’ in ‘another chamber’. She also said in the same confession that ‘When ever he [Howard] came they always talked tog[ether] in a the room where she showed all that come away.’
- Howard believed births genuine: *Mary Toft’s 3rd Confession*, 12 December 1726. ‘My feigned pains were to bring it down Now he believed it to be true.’ In *Mary Toft’s 1st Confession*, 7 December, 1726: ‘She protests and declares that Mr How[ard] that he never knew any thing about putting up these rabbits and that she was always affrayed of his finding it out.’
- ‘vile Cheat and impostor’: *Mist’s Weekly Journal*, 17 December 1726.
- ‘The learned Gentlemen, who find themselves mistaken at last in their Judgments of that Affair, are healing their Reputations as well as they can by writing of Pamphlets’: *Mist’s Weekly Journal*, 17 December, 1726.
- ‘most abominable Fraud’: *The Daily Post*, 10 December 1726.
- A full account of the discovery: *The Daily Post*, 10 December 1726 and *The Evening Post*, 6-8 December 1726.
- ‘gone distracted’: *Mist’s Weekly Journal*, 17 December 1726. Fiona Haslam writes in *From Hogarth to Rowlandson: Medicine in Art in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, p. 35, that this comment refers to St André, although his name isn’t stated in the newspaper article
- Other doctors: *Short*, p. 21: Dr Steigerthal and Dr Tessier are mentioned as being present.
- Dr Hempe: *Short*, p. 30. His rebuttal appeared in *The Daily Post*, 13 December 1726, signed as ‘J. Hampe, M.D.’. One who wasn’t deceived was a Mr Dillingham: *The Public Advertiser*, 31 October 1766: ‘Mr Dillingham, the Apothecary, who, on feeling her Pulse, pronounced that she was not in Labour, and laid a Wager with St Andre, of twenty Guineas, that in a limited Time the Cheat would be discovered. It was so, and Mr Dillingham laid out the Money on a Piece of Plate, on which he had three Rabbits engraved for the Arms’.

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- *The Anatomist Dissected*: Published *The Daily Courant*, 14 December 1726.
- *Gulliver’s Travels*: *Gulliver’s Travels* was published on 28 October 1726.
- Fallopiian tubes: *The Anatomist Dissected*, p. 13, miss numbered as p. 12.
- Lungs of foetus sink: *Ibid*, p. 11.
- Mary Toft able to walk: *Ibid*, p. 12, miss-numbered as p. 13.
- Thomas Braithwaite’s pamphlet: Full title is *Remarks on A Short Narrative of an Extraordinary Delivery of Rabbits*, Thomas Brathwaite, Surgeon, London, 1726. Published *The London Journal*, 17 December 1726.
- Examined Mary Toft: *Ibid*, p. 32: ‘I believe it will not be amiss for Mr *St Andre* to give his Reasons in his next Book, for refusing to admit Mr *Giford*, my self, and several of the Profession, to the pretended Labour of his Patient *Mary Toft*.’ He does, though, examine some of the pieces of extracted rabbits (pp. 21-2).
- ‘him almost in every paragraph’: *Ibid*, p. 31.
- *The Discovery*: *The Discovery: Or, The Squire turn’d Ferret*. By Alexander Pope and William Pulteney, 1726. First published 20 December 1726, 2nd edition on 24 December 1726 and 3rd on 26 January 1727, cited in Dennis Todd, ‘Three Characters in Hogarth’s Cunicularii and Some Implications’, *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 1, Autumn, 1982, p. 39.

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- 'less Genuine and Credible': *Much ado about Nothing: Or, a Plain Refutation Of All that has been Written or Said Concerning the Rabbit-Woman of Godalming*, London, 1727, p. 10. Published 29 December 1726, *The Evening Post*, 27-29 December 1726.
- 'pritty Gentilman' and 'plaid swetly on the Fiddil': *Ibid*, p. 15.
- 'fine-faced long-nosed Gentilman, with a Neck lik a Crain': *Ibid*, p. 16.
- 'an ugly old Gentilman in a grate blak wig': *Ibid*, p. 14. *From Hogarth to Rowlandson: Medicine in Art in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, p. 39 confirms this is a reference to Richard Manningham.
- *The Necromancer: Mist's Weekly Journal*, 17 December 1726.
- 'and raised such a Laughter as perhaps has not been heard upon any other Occasion': *Brice's Weekly Journal*, 16 December 1726.
- 'large pig': *The Genuine Works of William Hogarth; illustrated with Biographical Anecdotes*, John Nichols, and the late George Steevens, In Two Volumes, Volume II, London, 1810, p. 52. A sooterkin was also produced according to this report. The description of the show comes from three different sources; and it is possible that there was more than one theatrical production featuring a 'Harlequin Toft'. There was also a play published called *Harlequin Turn'd Imposture; or, The Guildford Comedy*, London, 1726 which might have been a variation on this after-piece. The *Daily Journal*, 23 December 1726 advertised as 'This Day is Publish'd The Surrey Wonder. An Anatomical Farce, as it was dissected at the Theatre-Royal, in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields'. The engraving, *The Surrey-Wonder*, depicts the scene in the theatre. Mary Toft, played by the blacked-up face of the Harlequin, is lying back on a chair, closely attended by John Howard. Nathaniel St André is trying to capture a rabbit emerging from her skirt. A woman is taunting Samuel Molineaux by holding a rabbit in front of him, while he turns away in disgust. Entering stage right is Maubray triumphantly holding a sooterkin in a bottle. There are a total of eleven people in the scene, so you can imagine there was plenty of action and laughs.
- *The Wise men of Godliman in Consultation: Cunicularii or The Wise men of Godliman in Consultation. Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, Vol. II, June 1689 To 1733*, Frederic George Stephens, 1873, no. 1779, pp. 638-9. Published on 22 December 1726 (*The Post-Boy*, 22-24 December 1726: 'Sold by T. Warner in Pater-noster Row, and the Printsellers of London and Westminster') cited in *Hogarth's Graphic Works*, Ronald Paulson, Yale University Press, 1965, p. 131. According to *The Genuine Works of William Hogarth*, In Two Volumes, Volume I, London, 1808, p. 37: 'a few of our principal surgeons subscribed their guinea apiece to Hogarth, for an engraving from a ludicrous sketch he had made on that very popular subject.'
- Rabbit burrow: Cunicularii also brings together 'coney' or 'cony', a colloquial term for a rabbit, with 'cunny', a slang term for vulva. One Latin translation, though, is 'burrows like a rabbit'.
- Richard Manningham: Dennis Todd, in his article 'Three Characters in Hogarth's Cunicularii and Some Implications', pp. 38-40 argues this character is an amalgam of Manningham and Samuel Molyneux.
- Toad: A toad had connotations of an imperfect creature. 'News About Bosch's "Juggler"', Steffen Taut, Dresden. Paper given at the 8th European Magic History Conference, Vienna, 24 August 2019, p. 38.

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- Sister: Identified as Margaret Toft, in 'Three Characters in Hogarth's Cunicularii and Some Implications', pp. 30-33.
- 'Man-Midwife': The gender neutral 'obstetrician' didn't come into usage until the nineteenth century. The word 'Accoucheurs' comes up in *An Advertisement Occasion'd*, p. 10.
- History-taking: *From Hogarth to Rowlandson: Medicine in Art in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, p. 50.

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- 'her Conscience' and 'touching her in the Tenderest part': *Much ado about Nothing*, p. 7.
- 'in her own words': the actual phrase used in the title of *Much ado about Nothing* is 'from her Own Mouth'.
- fumbling hands: *Ibid*, p. 14.
- Telescope: *Ibid*, pp. 14-15.
- Chimney-sweep boy: *Ibid*, p. 20.
- Monopolising the news: *The Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer*, 17 December 1726: 'The Physicians and Surgeons have monopoliz'd the Imposture of the Rabbit Woman for their own Speculations and Defence;'
- Many visitors: *The Daily Journal*, 20 December 1726: 'the infinite Crowds of People that resort to see her'.
- Mezzotint print: *Mist's Weekly Journal*, 21 January 1727: 'The pretended Rabbit Breeder, in order to perpetuate her Fame, has had her Picture done in a curious Metzeto Print by an able Hand.'
- Holding a rabbit: For a full analysis of this engraving, see *The Imposteress Rabbit Breeder*, pp. 96-100.
- Tried at the assizes: *The British Journal*, *The London Journal*, and *Mist's Weekly Journal*, 14 January 1727.
- Dangerously ill: *Parker's Penny Post*, 25 January 1727: 'Mary Tofts the pretended Rabit Breeder, is now dangerously ill in Bridewell.' This seems to be a standard occurrence for people in prison. Elizabeth Canning, Mary Squires (chapter 6) and Richard Parsons (chapter 7) were all reported to be ill while in prison.
- 'a Difficulty in the Case': *The Daily Post*, 27 March 1727
- 'What Statute she and her Confederates shall be try'd upon': *The Daily Post*, 27 March 1727. The reasons for the failure to prosecute Mary Toft are elaborated on in *The Imposteress Rabbit Breeder*, p. 102.

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- 'Order of his Majesty': *The Daily Journal*, 2 December, 1726: 'On Tuesday Night, the Woman who hath been delivered of so many Rabbits at Godalmin, was, by Order of his Majesty, brought to Town, and lodg'd in the Bagnio in Leicester-Fields.'

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- Released without charge: *The Evening Post*, 11-13 April, 1727: 'Mary Toft, the Godalming Rabbit Woman, was last Saturday [April 8th] discharg'd from her Recognizance at the Quarter Sessions, Westminster, there being no Prosecution.'
- Howard discharged: *The Evening Post*, 16-18 May 1727: 'Monday being the last Day of Term, Mr. John Howard of Guildford, Surgeon, mov'd by his Counsel to be discharg'd from his Recognizance, and (having given the usual Notice) he was accordingly discharg'd without any Prosecution.'
- 'Hand in the Imposture, but did really believe the Truth of the Production of the Rabbits': *The Daily Journal*, 19 December 1726.
- £800: *The British Journal* and *The London Journal*, 14 January 1727.
- Howard's death: *The London Evening Post*, 6-8 March 1755. It was reported that he was attacked in his bed by a villain a few months before and never fully recovered.
- Never returned to Court: *The Genuine Works of William Hogarth*, In Two Volumes, Volume I, London, 1808, p. 467.
- Consumption fell by two thirds: *The Anatomist Dissected*, p. 33: 'Warreners and Poulterers, (who complain that the Consumption of Rabbits, within this Metropolis, is become, by two thirds, less than it was formerly;)' *Mist's Week Journal*, 24 December 1726: 'Several Higglers from Cambridgeshire, Suffolk, and other Parts, affirm, they have lost above a hundred Pounds a Man by the detestable Rabbet-breeding Woman; they being under Contracts to take of the Warreners, weekly, a certain Number, which afterwards came to bad Markets, and they could not dispose of them, so that rather than she should escape Punishment, they declare they would sue her for Damage.' A higgler is a pedlar, somebody selling small items.
- 'they were not at his own table': *The Genuine Works of William Hogarth*, p. 467.
- Market woman anecdote: *Ibid*, p. 467.
- Poisoned her husband: Death of Molineux: *The Daily Post*, 15 April 1728. Accusation of poison was made in *A Letter From the Reverend Mr. M--D--N to the Hon. Lady M--n--x, on Occasion of the Death of the Rt. Hon.S---l M---n---x, Esq; who was attended by M. St. A--D--E, a Fr--ch S--g--n*. Dublin, 1730.
- 'the famous surgeon' and 'This famous Surgeon shewed his extraordinary skill at the labours of the Godamin Rabbit-breeder': *The Grub-Street Journal*, 28 May 1730.
- 96: *ODNB*, St André, Nathanael (1679/80–1776). Occasionally 'Nathanael' is spelt 'Nathaniel'.
- In early 1728 she had another daughter: Surrey History Centre: Parish Registers for Godalming (St Peter and St Paul), cited in *The Imposteress Rabbit Breeder*, note 1, p. 198. Elizabeth was baptised on 4 February, 1728.

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- April 1740: *The London Daily Post and General Advertiser*, 17 April 1740.
- Died in January 1763: *The London Evening Post*, 20-22 January 1763.
- 18 years: Joshua Toft was buried on 12 June 1745, according to the Parish Register for St Peter & St Paul in Godalming.
- 'Imposteress Rabbett Breeder': Cited in *The Imposteress Rabbit Breeder*, p. 150. Anglican Parish registers, Godalming, St Peter and St Paul.
- New full-length book on the subject: *The Imposteress Rabbit Breeder*. I am very grateful to Karen Harvey, the author, both for her insightful research that has influenced some of this chapter. But also for her personal encouragement in writing my own take on this fascinating hoax.
- 'monstrous': *Parker's Penny Post*, 28 November 1726. The heading, under which part of John Howard's letter is shown, states that it relates to 'the monstrous Births near Guildford'. The letter, without the reference to monstrous Births, is also reproduced in *The Daily Journal*, 26 November 1726.
- Several 'monstrous' births: *The British Journal* and *The London Journal*, 14 January 1727.
- 'four Children and a Monster': *The British Journal*, 1 October 1726.
- 'monstrous delivery of a Child': *Parker's Penny Post*, 12 December, 1726.

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- Births as prodigies: 'Unnatural Conceptions: The Study of Monsters in Sixteenth-and Seventeenth-Century France and England', Katharine Park and Lorraine J Daston, *Past & Present*, No. 92, August, 1981, pp. 23-4.
- Portent of God's wrath: 'and menstruous women shall bring forth monsters' from *King James Bible*, 2 Esdras, Chapter 5, Verse 8.
- *Novum Organum*: full title is *Novum Organum, sive Indicia Vera de Interpretatione Naturae* ('New organon, or true directions concerning the interpretation of nature').
- 'A compilation' and 'must be made of all monsters and prodigious births of nature'; 'with a rigorous selection': *The Works of Francis Bacon, A New Edition*, Basil Montagu, in Three Volumes, Vol. III, Philadelphia: Carey and Hart, 1844, p. 392: 'For a compilation, or particular natural history, must be made of all monsters and prodigious births of nature: of everything, in short, which is new, rare, and unusual in nature. This should be done with a rigorous selection, so as to be worthy of credit.'
- Listing names of witnesses: 'Unnatural Conceptions', pp. 47-8.
- 'their own Touch and Sight'; 'Fundamental Law' and 'to handle the subject': *The History of the Royal-Society of London*, Tho. Sprat, London, 1667, p. 83.
- St André asked Sir Hans Sloane asked to visit: Letter to Sir H Sloane, British Library: Sloane MS 4060 f. 233 (1726) cited in *An Imposteress Rabbit Breeder*, p. 58: 'I have brought the Woman from Guilford to ye Bagnio in Leicester Fields, where you may if you Please have the opportunity of seeing her deliver'd Wednesday morning.'
- Sir Richard Manningham: He was elected 10 March 1719, *ODNB*, Manningham, Sir Richard (bap. 1685, d. 1759).
- James Douglas: He was elected 4 December 1706, *ODNB*, Douglas, James (bap. 1675, d. 1742).

- St André paper published: ‘In a paper on a herniated bowel he published in *Philosophical Transactions* in 1717 he showed himself to be a knowledgeable medical thinker’, *ODNB*, St André, Nathanael (1679/80–1776).
- ‘a very distinguished Member of the *Royal Society*’: *A Review of the Works of the Royal Society of London*, Sir John Hill, The Second Edition, London, 1780, p. 5. The attribution is part of an anecdote showing how kind the Duke of Montagu was to animals.
- One theory: By the start of the eighteenth century the theory of reproduction through the egg, nurtured and nourished in the female womb, was fully accepted. The question was whether the monster was already there in the egg, put there by God, or if it was some more natural accident. For instance conjoined twins would therefore be the result of two eggs squashing together. Accidents meant Doctors could do something about it and also justified more research. See *Signs and Portents: Monstrous Births from the Middle Ages to the Enlightenment*, Dudley Wilson, London: Routledge, 1993, pp. 147 & 157.
- Book on skin diseases: *De Morbis Cutaneis, A Treatise of Diseases Incident to the Skin*, Daniel Turner, London, 1714. The relevant chapter is 12: ‘Of Spots and Marks of a Diverse Resemblance, Imprest upon the Skin of the Foetus, by the Force of the Mother’s Fancy.’
- *The Female Physician*: Full title is *The Female Physician, Containing all the Diseases incident to that Sex, in Virgins, Wives, and Widows*; John Maubray, M.D., London, 1724.

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- Turner and the Royal Society; ‘Turner began to assist in private human dissections: the reports of four dissections were published in the Royal Society’s *Philosophical Transactions* (1693–4).’ ‘However, his precise reasons for displaying this motto of London’s Royal Society, of which he was not a member, and a coat of arms which was not his by right of descent, remain unknown.’ *ODNB*, Turner, Daniel (1667–1741).
- Maubray and Sir Hans Sloane: ‘About 1724 or 1725 he set himself up in London as a teacher of midwifery. An unlicensed practitioner, he sought the patronage of Sir Hans Sloane, and such an eminent contact may have persuaded the Royal College of Physicians to ignore his lack of a licence.’ *ODNB*, Maubray, John (d. 1732).
- Maubray attended Mary Toft: *An Exact diary*, p. 24, cited as ‘Dr. Mowbray’.
- Unusual birthmark: *The Female Physician*, pp. 62-3.
- Startled by a cat: *De Morbis Cutaneis*, p. 114. A cat is also mentioned in *The Female Physician*, p. 368.
- Beggar’s stump arm: *De Morbis Cutaneis*, p. 116. Another example is given in ‘Imagination, pregnant women, and monsters, in eighteenth-century England and France’, Paul-Gabriel Boucé in *Sexual underworlds of the Enlightenment*, edited by GS Rousseau and Roy Porter, Manchester University Press, 1987, p. 89: a child born with acute rickets, supposedly the result of the mother having watched a criminal broken on the wheel.
- ‘monstrous child with two heads’ and ‘a child in the form of a lobster’: *A Short History of Human Prodigious & Monstrous Births of Dwarfs, Sleepers, Giants, Strongmen, Hermaphrodites, Numerous Births, and Extreme Old Age &c.*, James Paris, Brit Mus. ADD MS 5246, nd, pp. 4-6 and 13-14. No images are permitted to be taken of this manuscript in the British Library, so any errors are due to my poor transcription.
- ‘a longing for Rabbits’: *Short*, p. 23.
- ‘the story of my longings for the Rabbits’: *Mary Toft’s 2nd Confession*, 8 December 1726. Quote is: ‘Mr H[owar]d aske me ab[ou]t the story of my longing for the Rabbits’.
- ‘the Imagination has a most prevailing power in Conception’: *The Wonder of Wonders: Or, A True and Perfect Narrative of a Woman near Guildford in Surrey, who was Delivered lately of Seventeen Rabbits, and, Three Legs of a Tabby Cat, &c.*, Ipswich, 1726, p. 7.
- ‘that if the Force of Imagination in the Female Sex should be able to bring about such strange Effects’: *Mist’s Weekly Journal*, 7 January 1727.
- Preserving the rabbits: *The Daily Journal*, 14 November 1726. ‘Mr. Howard keeps them all in Spirits; and we hear, he intends to present them to the Royal Society.’

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- Providing the proof: Finding scientific proof of monstrosities was not easy. *Signs and Portents*, pp. 161-2 tells of Charles Ellis in 1703 being asked for 300 guilders to examine some conjoined twins. He turned the opportunity down as too expensive.
- ‘as to move the Bed-Clothes’: *Short*, p. 27: ‘Mr. Howard further related, that when she was delivered of one Rabbet, another was immediately felt in her Belly, struggling with such Violence, that the Motion thereof could be sensibly felt and seen: That this Motion has sometimes been so strong, as to move the Bed-Clothes, and that it has lasted for twenty and above thirty Hours together.’
- 23 hours: *Short*, p. 6.
- Snapping bones: *Short*, p. 28: ‘the Bones of the Animal were sensibly heard to snap, and break by the violent convulsive Motions of the Uterus.’
- ‘sudden Jerks and Risings’: *An Exact Diary*, p. 11: ‘the Motion began, which they called the leaping up of the Rabbet; it was indeed a Motion like a sudden leaping of something within the right side of her Belly, where I had before felt that particular Hardness. The Motions were various, sometimes with very strong Throws cross the Belly, especially on the right side, at other times with sudden Jerks and Risings, and tremendous Motions and Pantings, like the strong Pulsations of the Heart; and as I sat on the Bed in Company with five or six Women, it would sometimes shake us all very strongly.’
- Whining noises: *An Exact Diary*, p. 22: ‘Friday the 2d instant, she had the Motion the greatest part of the Day, towards Evening it increased extreamly, insomuch that she fell into violent Convulsions, which I never before observ’d in her, with frequent Contractions of her Fingers, rolling of her Eyes, and great Risings in her Stomach and Belly: During the Fit she would often make a whining Noise.’

- ‘from the first time that I had examined her’: *Short*, p. 9: ‘No Person but my self touch’d her, from the first time that I had examined her, to the time of her being deliver’d by me: Her Pains were pretty smart, and lasted for some Minutes.’
- ‘I constantly stood before her, nor did any Person whatsoever touch her’: *Short*, p. 13: André also wrote: ‘From that Time I did not stir from before her, nor did I withdraw my Hand, but to deliver the Skin to a stander by.’
- Her mother-in-law carried out the insertions: *An Exact Diary*, p. 35. ‘From that time *Mary Toft* did often, by the Assistance of that Woman, convey Parts of Rabbits into her Body, till at last she could do it by her self, as she had an Opportunity, and that she did continue so to do.’ This is a summary of the first confession reproduced by Richard Manningham.
- Placing pieces: *Mary Toft’s 1st Confession*, 7 December 1726. ‘I used alwayes my selfe to put up but one piece at a time and whenever that was brought away when I had time again and thought no body would see then I slipped up another.’

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- Bits of rabbit in her pocket: *Ibid*: ‘I used to keep the pieces of Rabbits that the woman brought me in my pockets being for the most p[ar]t drest when any thing was to be brought away.’
- A handkerchief or hog’s bladder: *Ibid*: ‘Some she brought in a pocket hand[erchief] and some in a hogs bladder which I commonly burnt but sometimes being in a great hurry and affrayed of being catcht I dont know but I might have put up some of the Bladders at some time or other.’
- Broken up: *Ibid*: ‘She cut it with her Scissors and screwed the bones round having cut it in two pieces only. Then she first put up one part and upon examining again found it would hold the other part also.’
- Inserting feet: *Ibid*: ‘She brought me the second that very day broke into several pieces and desired me to put up one foot at a time and then it would never be mistrusted.’
- Fur: *Ibid*: ‘She advised me alwayes to put up all the skins which as far as I remember I alwayes did.’
- ‘very coarse brown Paper was tearing from within her’: *Short*, p. 29.
- ‘We found her in exquisite Torture’: *Short*, p. 30.
- ‘while her Pains were upon her’: *An Exact Diary*, p. 25.
- uterus expanded: *An Exact Diary*, p. 35.
- fast asleep: *An Exact Diary*, p. 36.
- ‘very exactly counterfeited’, *An Exact Diary*, p. 36.
- ‘five or six Women’: *An Exact Diary*, p. 11.
- ‘she fell into violent Labour-Pains’: *Short*, p. 12.
- The opposite of this is true: One only has to read the books by James Randi and Martin Gardner to appreciate this. It is the reason why magicians are very good at detecting fraud in mediums; and scientists are traditionally bad at it. On the subject of magicians, it has been suggested that *Mary Toft*’s production of rabbits inspired the magician’s well-known trick of producing a rabbit from a hat. See, for instance, ‘if you could whisk rabbits out of a hat, why not out of a womb?’ *Hogarth: A Life and a World*, Jenny Uglow, London: Faber and Faber, p. 120. However Eddie Dawes in two articles in *The Magic Circular*, series 132 & 133 of *A Rich Cabinet of Curiosities*, ‘*Mary Toft*, The Rabbit Breeder of Godalming, and the Origin of the Rabbit in the Hat Trick: A Critical Assessment, Parts One & Two’, Vol. 81, 1987, pp. 60-62 and 85-88, proved conclusively there was no connection. This is because the first rabbit out of the hat trick didn’t take place until the mid-nineteenth century; and they didn’t have the right sort of hat (the Victorian top hat) to produce rabbits in Georgian times.

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- ‘into a Deep Sleep, and cannot be awaked till Five Days and Nights are expired’: *The Daily Courant*, 9 August 1711. Title of book is *A Full Account of the Life and Visions of Nicholas Hart: Who has every Year of his Life past, on the 5th of August, fall’n into a Deep Sleep, and cannot be awaked till Five Days and Nights are expired, and then gives a surprising Relation of what he hath seen in the Other World*, By William Hill, London, 1711. See also an article in *The Spectator*, 1 October, 1711 on Nicholas Hart. He was born on 5 August 1689 [p. 3].
- ‘declared that he was no Cheat’. *A Short History of Human Prodigious & Monstrous Births*, p. 22.
- Duping scientists: They didn’t always get it wrong. The Iris of the eye in Latin and Hebrew was condemned as a cheat in *Philosophical Transactions*, No. 286, July-August 1703, Vol. 23, p. 1418, cited in *Signs and Portents*, p. 142. See the report in *The English Post*, 23-25 December 1700: ‘There is a Child shown near Somerset house in the Strand, about four Years old, which is reported by those who have seen it, to have these words in Latin upon the Apple of one Eye, *Deus meus*, My God; and on the other, some Characters in Greek and Hebrew, that are not visible but by Candle-light. Which causes many Speculations among the Beholders.’
- Hog’s bladder with parts of rabbit: *Mary Toft’s 1st Confession*, 7 December 1726. She had been given bits of rabbit wrapped inside a pig’s pouch and had mistakenly inserted a portion of the latter.
- Wouldn’t accept evidence of fraud: *An Exact Diary*, p. 16: St André admitted that he would have thought it was all a fraud had he not earlier ‘actually deliver’d the Woman of part of a Rabbet from the very *Uterus* itself’.
- A week in total: *An Exact Diary*, p. 19: ‘*Tuesday* the 29<sup>th</sup>, we brought *Mary Toft* to *London* with us, and lodg’d her at *Mr Lacy’s Bagnio* in *Leicester Fields*”; p. 25: “In the Evening [of Sunday 4 December], *Thomas Howard*, Porter to *Mr Lacy’s Bagnio*, made an Information against *Mary Toft*”.
- ‘she was differently form’d from other Women’ and ‘imposing upon the World’: *An Exact Diary*, pp. 31-2.
- ‘get so good a living that I should never want as long as I lived’: *Mary Toft’s 1st Confession*, 7 December 1726. ‘When she [her mother-in-law] had seen all she said I need not be affrayed for she could tell me what I could do to get so good a living that I should never want as long as I lived I asked what that was and she told me that she would get a rabbit. I asked what I was to doe with it. and she told me that I should put it up into my body. I told her that such a thing could

not be done. She said it could and desired to try.’ In *Mary Toft’s 3rd Confession*, 12 December, 1726, she said: ‘She told me that if I would do it and goe thro’ I should get a good living and be ruled by her and not tell of her.’

- ‘expect part of the Gain’ and ‘continually’. *An Exact Diary*, p. 34: ‘by the Advice of a Woman Accomplice whom she has not yet nam’d, and who told her she had now no Occasion to work for her Living as formerly, for she would put her into a Way of getting a very good Livelihood, and promised continually to supply her with Rabbits, and should therefore expect part of the Gain, or to that effect.’

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- ‘feigned a great Compassion for the Woman’s Case’; ‘pains’, ‘did not deserve them’. *Some Observations*, p. 13: ‘I feigned a great Compassion for the Woman’s Case, which gave Mr. *Howard* an Opportunity to represent to me, that I could not but observe, what pains he must have been at, and still took, and what the poor woman had suffered; and that he hoped His Majesty would be so gracious, when all was over, as to give them a Pension, there being many that had Pensions, who did not deserve them. I promised him, that I would not fail in my Report to His Majesty.’ Also in *Mary Toft’s 1st Confession*, 7 December 1726: ‘Mr Alh[ers] promised to get me a pension.’
- Those receiving pensions : *Britain in the Hanoverian Age, 1714-1837: An Encyclopaedia*, Gerald Newman et al, New York: Garland, 1997, p. 540.
- Guinea: *Short*, p. 34: ‘That at the same time he [Ahlers] gave the Woman a Guinea, expressing great Satisfaction, and promising that he would procure her a pension from his Majesty.’ *Some Observations*, p. 21: ‘I then told Mr. *Howard* of my Intention to return to *London*, and gave the Woman something.’
- Earning one penny: *Mary Toft’s 1st Confession*, 7 December 1726. ‘I had lost a penny for they workt [sic] for me’. Average pay was more like 6 pennies a day, so it is possible that Mary Toft was understating her own pay, *The Imposteress Rabbit Breeder*, p. 27.
- ‘people seem fond of sights and monsters’: *The Citizens of the World; Or, Letters From A Chinese Philosopher, Residing in London*, Volume the First, Dublin, 1762, Letter XLIV, p. 195. Richard D Altick in *The Shows of London*, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1978, p. 42 wrote: ‘The gallery of malformed human beings who were shown for money might have been painted by Hieronymus Bosch inspired by photographs of the Thalidomide babies born in the 1960s.’

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- Venues in London: *Shows of London*, p. 35.
- Price of one shilling: *The Daily Post*, 15 March 1725.
- Elizabeth French: *A Short History of Human Prodigious & Monstrous Births*, pp. 54-5.
- ‘cover’d all over his Body with Bristles like a Hedge Hog’: *The London Daily Post and General Advertiser*, 7 January 1735. Also see three undated advertisements in British Library, N.Tab.2026/25
- Dwarfs: Undated advertisement in British Library, N.Tab.2026/25: ‘For the Satisfaction of all curious enquirers into the Secrets of Nature is to be seen a Woman Dwarf, but Three Foot and one Inch high, born in *Sommersetshire*, and in the Fortieth Year of her Age.’
- Giants: *The Daily Post*, 20 November 1736. ‘To be seen any Hour from Ten in the Morning till Ten at Night, At the *Rummer in Bolt-Court, Fleet-street*, The wonderful Tall Essex Woman...She is near Seven Foot high, and proportional to her Height, tho’ not Eighteen Years of Age.’
- Conjoined twins: 1736 advertisement in British Library, N.Tab.2026/25: ‘This is to Acquaint the Curious, *That there is brought to this Place, and is to be shewn at the Rummer in Three Kings Court, Fleet-Street*, One of the greatest Curiosities in Nature, of a Boy and Girl, With two distinct Heads and Necks, and but one Body, three Arms, and three Legs, and Feet, and 1 Foot with six Toes...and is shewn by the Mother who was deliver’d of them, *June the 25th, 1736*. in the County of *Suffolk*.’
- Hermaphrodites : Undated advertisement in British Library, N.Tab.2026/25: ‘*That there is now to be seen at the King’s-Head, over against the Mews-Gate, at Charing-Cross; the greatest Wonder in the World, Being An Hermaphrodite, Eighteen Years of Age, compleat Male and Female, perfect in both Parts...Price One Shilling.*’
- Missing limb: *The Daily Advertiser*, 13 November 1742: ‘To be Seen...near *Charing Cross*...A Wonderful young Man, twenty-two Years of Age, who never had the Use of Hands, Arms, Legs, or Feet...’
- Extra appendages: *Social Life In The Reign Of Queen Anne*, John Ashton, London: Chatto & Windus, 1904, p. 191: ‘during the time of *Bartholomew Fair*, is to be seen the Admirable Work of Nature, a Woman having three Breasts...there is likewise to be seen the Daughter of the same Woman, which hath breasts of the like Nature.’
- Two shillings and six pence: The Angolan Hermaphrodite was charging this amount: however it was a particularly sexually-charged exhibit. Another hermaphrodite was charging one shilling.
- Mermaid: *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, John Nichols, Volume V, London, 1812, p. 487
- Neck with fish-scales: *Memoirs of Bartholomew Fair*, Henry Morley, London, 1859, p. 324.
- ‘with Bristles like a Hedge Hog’: Undated advertisement in British Library, N.Tab.2026/25 and also in *The London Daily Post and General Advertiser*, 7 January 1735.
- ‘Sir *Hans Sloane*, and several other Physicians’: 1736 advertisement in British Library, N.Tab.2026/25.

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- ‘wait on any Gentleman or Ladies, if desired, at their own Houses’: *The Daily Post*, 15 March 1725.
- ‘view’d and greatly admired’: Undated advertisement in British Library, N.Tab.2026/25.
- ‘the Rabbit Woman’ and ‘to sup with us’: *A Duke and his Friends*, Earl of March, Vol. I, London: Hutchinson & Co., 1911, Colonel Pelham to Duke of Richmond in letter dated 14 September 1736, p. 313.



- Twelve hours: A Woman with A Horn 'Is to be seen every Day from Ten in the Morning, till Eight at Night, without loss of Time', *The Daily Post*, 26 February 1725. While the Hedge-Hog Boy was available 'To be seen from Nine in the Morning, till Nine at Night', *The London Daily Post and General Advertiser*, 7 January 1735.
- 'a little Violently she suffers Pain': *A Short History of Human Prodigious & Monstrous Births*, p. 55.
- Hermaphrodites: The drawing in *A Short History of Human Prodigious & Monstrous Births*, p. 34, is of a hermaphrodite 'equipped with a flap to demonstrate its anatomical details, and it has been suggested that this was probably the way in which hermaphrodites were exhibited to the public at the time': *Signs and Portents*, p. 92. An Angolan hermaphrodite advert has the first half in English, the second, with more anatomical detail, in Latin, from an undated advertisement in British Library, N.Tab.2026/25. Latin is 'well known in the post-Renaissance period as the language of pornography': *Signs and Portents*, p. 134.

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- 'the detestable Rabbet-breeding Woman': *Mist's Week Journal*, 24 December 1726.
- *The Strength of Imagination in Pregnant Women*: Full title is *The Strength of Imagination in Pregnant Women Examined: And the Opinion that Marks and Deformities in Children arise from thence, Demonstrated to be a Vulgar Error*. By a Member of the College of Physicians, London, 1727. Although written anonymously it was by James Blondel.
- 'the Occasion of the Cheat of Godalming': *The Power of the Mother's Imagination Over the Foetus Examined. In Answer to Dr. Daniel Turner's Book*, James Augustus Blondel, London, 1729, p. i
- Remain calm: *The Force of the Mother's Imagination upon her Foetus in Utero, Still further considered: In the way of a Reply to Dr Blondel's Last Book, Entitled, The Power of the Mother's Imagination over the Foetus Examined*, Daniel Turner, London, 1730, p. 137: 'endeavour to quiet their Minds, and neither long nor be afraid'.
- 'with Christian Pity and Compassion': *The Power of the Mother's Imagination*, p. 58.
- 'his Mother had received no Fright': *The Philosophical Transactions (From the Year 1719, to the Year 1733)* Abridged, John Eames and John Martyn, Vol. VII, London, 1734, p. 484.
- while she was pregnant: *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of William Whiston, M.A. Part III. and Last*, The Second Edition, London, 1753, pp. 116-117: William Whiston, in a religious tract written in 1750, went so far as to claim that Mary Toft had given birth to rabbits after all, using it to confirm his prophecy that 'menstruous women should bring forth monsters'. He argued that Mary Toft had only made her confession under threat of torture and the physicians involved had changed their minds when they knew their reputations would suffer if they persisted with their true belief in preternatural productions. See also 'Mary Toft, Religion and National Memory in Eighteenth-Century England', Jane Shaw, *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 3, 2009.
- 'exact Resemblance of the Foetus to a hooded Monkey': *An Account of a monstrous Foetus, resembling a hooded Monkey: Communicated by Mr. William Gregory of Rochester*, 30 April, 1733 published in *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, Vol. 41, issue 461, p. 767. See also 'The Medical Understanding of Monstrous Births at the Royal Society of London During the First Half of the Eighteenth Century', Palmira Fontes da Costa, *History and Philosophy of the Life Sciences*, Vol. 26, no. 2, 2004, pp. 157-175.
- End of the eighteenth: 'Cheat and Impostor: Debate Following the Case of the Rabbit Breeder', Glenda Leslie, *The Eighteenth Century*, Vol. 27, No. 3, Fall 1986, pp. 269-286 shows the theory sustaining through the 18th century. *Dr Blondel confuted: or, the Ladies vindicated*, Dr John Mauclerc, 1747 was one such book espousing maternal imagination.

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- 'very stupid': *Short*, p. 23.

### Chapter Four: 'I Had Rather Relate Your Stories Than Other Men's Truths'

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- 'I Had Rather Relate Your Stories Than Other Men's Truths' title: *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, Collected and Edited by Paul Leicester Ford, Volume X, 1816-26, New York: GP Putnam's Sons, 1899, p. 121.
- Harsh sentences : Phrase used was 'Discretion was not always mixed with the sentences'. *A Social History of the American Family: From Colonial Times to the Present*, Arthur W Calhoun, Vol. I, Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1917, p. 138.
- 'women were more sternly dealt with than men'. *Ibid*, p. 138.
- *The New England History: The New England History*, Charles W. Elliott, In Two Volumes, Vol. II, New York: Charles Scribner, 1857, p. 22: 'The Court discharged her without punishment for that time, the lawyers made her presents, and her seducer afterwards married her.' This was incorporated into *A Social History of the American Family*, p. 138, which quoted it verbatim.
- *Remarkable Female Characters: Eccentric Biography; Or, Memoirs of Remarkable Female Characters, Ancient and Modern*, Worcester, 1804, pp. 22-3: 'she was discharged without punishment, and a handsome collection made for her in court. The public became interested in her behalf, and her original seducer, either from compunction, or from the latent seeds of affection which had been suppressed but never eradicated, married her shortly after.' The first edition was published in London in 1803 with the section on Polly Baker pp. 11-16. The 1804 US edition, is in pp. 18-23. This was sourced from *The Edinburgh Magazine, Or Literary Miscellany*, April 1794, p. 290: 'She was discharged without punishment, and a handsome collection made for her in court. The public became interested in her behalf; and her original seducer, either from compunction, or from the latent seeds of an affection, which had been suppressed, but never eradicated, married her shortly after.'

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- Ben. Franklin: *The New England History*, p. 22.
- ‘and induced one of the judiciary to marry her the next Day’: *The General Advertiser*, 15 April 1747.
- Apart from *The General Advertiser*: *The Daily Advertiser* didn’t publish the article, cited in *Benjamin Franklin & Polly Baker: The History of a Literary Deception*, Max Hall, The University of North Carolina Press, 1960, p. 16 [hereafter known as *Hall*]. The other daily papers, *The Daily Gazetteer* and the *London Courant* have inadequate files to check.
- Picking up the story: *The General Evening Post*, 14-16 April 1747, *The London Evening-Post*, 14-16 April 1747 and *The St James’s Evening Post*, 14-16 April 1747. As *The London Evening-Post* printer confessed: ‘every Post we copy the principal Paragraphs from the Morning Papers (without which our Evening Paper would be of no Service to the Country).’ Cited in : *London Newspapers in the Age of Walpole*, Michael Harris, Associated University Presses, 1987, p. 161.
- Two weekly papers: *The Westminster Journal. Or, New Weekly Miscellany*, 18 April 1747 and *Old England: Or, The Broadbottom Journal*, 18 April, 1747.
- *The Penny London Post: The Penny London Post, Or, The Morning Advertiser*, 17-20 April 1747.

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- *The London Magazine: The London Magazine*, April 1747, pp. 178-9.
- *The British Magazine*: Advertised in *The General Advertiser*, 1 May 1747 as containing her speech in *The British Magazine*, April 1747.
- ‘God save great George our king’: *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, October 1745, p. 552.
- *The Gentleman’s Magazine*: *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, April, 1747, pp. 175-6.
- *The Scots Magazine: The Scots Magazine*, April 1747, pp. 177-8.
- ‘it has been insinuated, that the speech publish’d in her name was entirely fictitious’: *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, May 1747, p. 211.
- No offspring: Letter from L. Americanus in *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, June 1747, p. 295. ‘...by whom he never had any children’.

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- A month to arrive: Based on an article published in 2012, ‘18th century sailing times between the English Channel and the Coast of America: How long did it take?’, <https://www.rmg.co.uk/discover/behind-the-scenes/blog/18th-century-sailing-times-between-english-channel-and-coast-america> (accessed July 2021).
- American publications: *Hall*, pp. 38-40.
- ‘groundless, vile and injurious’; ‘her great modesty, virtue, and other amiable qualities’. and ‘his malicious and gross abuse’: *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, July 1748, p. 332.
- ‘a fictitious speech’: *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, June 1747, p. 295. As far as I’m aware this is the first time that it is implied in print that the speech was made up.

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- Franklin: Biographical information about Ben Franklin comes from *ODNB*, Franklin, Benjamin (1706–1790) and *American National Biography*, General Editors John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes, Volume 8, OUP, 1999.

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- ‘a Wife, a Daughter, and a Sister’; ‘the Just, the Generous, and the Young’ and ‘only mentions three Qualifications...in the Reader’: *The New-England Courant*, 25 June 1722.
- Door of printing shop: *Autobiography of Ben Franklin*, Edited from his Manuscript with Notes and an Introduction, By John Bigelow, Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1868 p. 103.

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- ‘naughty girl’: *Ibid*, p. 106.
- An apparent Witch Trial: *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, January 1731, pp. 29-30, printed amended extracts of this, along with two other genuine witch trials.

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- ‘Flesh and Bones ... outweighed that great good Book by abundance’ and ‘naked’: ‘A Witch Trial at Mount Holly’, *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, 22 October 1730.
- ‘Old Mistresses Apologue’: although dated 25 June 1745, it was never published during Franklin’s lifetime.
- ‘diminish the violent natural Inclinations you mention’: ‘Old Mistresses Apologue’.
- ‘a small masterpiece of eighteenth-century bawdry’: *The Life of Benjamin Franklin Volume Two, Printer and Publisher 1730-1747*, J A Leo Lemay, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006, Volume 2, p. 526.

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- ‘always hit the Day of the Month’: *Poor Richard, 1737. An Almanck For the Year of Christ 1737*. By Richard Saunders, Philadelphia, p. 2.
- Ten thousand peak: *The Life of Benjamin Franklin Volume Two*, p. 185. The best selling almanac was Nathaniel Ames’s *An Astronomical Diary, Or, An Almanack*.
- Leeds’ death imminent: *Poor Richard, 1733*, p. 2.
- Leeds saying he was alive: *The Life of Benjamin Franklin Volume Two*, p. 175.
- ‘his Esteem and Affection for me was extraordinary’. *Poor Richard, 1734*, p. 3.

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- ‘to visit an old Stargazer of his Acquaintance’ and ‘was not worth a printing’: *Poor Richard, 1738*, p. 2.
- Broke her glasses: *Ibid*.

- ‘the Teachers and Supporters of Virtue and Morality’: ‘On that Odd Letter of the Drum’, *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, 7 May 1730. This was in response to the ‘Letter of the Drum’ that was posted by Franklin on 23 April 1730.

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- Fornication: *The Code of 1650, Being a Compilation; The Earliest Laws and Orders of the General Court of Connecticut, Commonly Called Blue Laws*, Hartford: S. Andrus and Sons, p. 48: ‘It is ordered by this Courte and authority thereof, That if any man shall commit fornication, with any single woman, they shall bee punished, either by injoyning to marriage, or fyne, or corporall punnishment, or all, or any of these, as the Courte or magistrates shall appoint, most agreeable to the word of God.’
- Never specifically stated: In her fictitious back story, as related in *Edinburgh Magazine, Or Literary Miscellany*, April 1794, p. 288, she is very much depicted as falling into prostitution. She was ‘reduced, by a strange kind of base necessity, to support herself and a helpless infant by illicit practices, and to tread the odious and disgusting path of filthy infamy’. However this was not, of course, written by Benjamin Franklin.
- Modern writers: *Benjamin Franklin Unmasked: On the Unity of His Moral, Religious, and Political Thought*, Jerry Weinberger, University Press of Kansas, 2005, p. 86 writes she is ‘obviously a whore’. *The Life of Benjamin Franklin Volume Two*, p. 534 writes that it is ‘the trial of a prostitute’.
- Comprehensive book: *Benjamin Franklin & Polly Baker: The History of a Literary Deception*, Max Hall, Virginia: The University of North Carolina Press, 1960.

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- ‘conceive’ and ‘miscarriage’: This emphasis of the double-entendre is apparently made by putting parentheses immediately after these words. ‘The Text, Rhetorical Strategies, and Themes of “The Speech of Miss Polly Baker”’, J. A. Leo Lemay, *The Oldest Revolutionary, Essays on Benjamin Franklin*, Edited by J. A. Leo Lemay, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1976, p. 109.
- ‘want of money’; ‘solicit’ and ‘erected’: *Ibid.* The author confesses that ‘some readers may find me straining too hard’.

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- Increase and multiply: *King James Bible*, Genesis, Chapter 1, Verse 28. ‘And God blessed them, and said unto them, ‘Be fruitful, and multiply’.’
- England and fornication: The Adultery Act of 1650 imposed three months imprisonment for fornication. At the Restoration in 1660, this statute was not renewed. Prosecution for the mere act of fornication itself was abandoned.
- What Franklin truly thought: *Benjamin Franklin Unmasked*, ‘Will the Real Ben Franklin Please Stand Up?’ pp. 287-292.

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- 1 September 1730: *Autobiography of Ben Franklin*, p. 191.
- venereal disease: *Benjamin Franklin Unmasked*, p. 106.
- ‘One good Husband is worth two good Wives’; ‘for the scarcer things are the more they’re valued.’ *Poor Richard*, 1742, July.
- *A Modest Proposal*: connection to Swift pointed out in ‘The Text, Rhetorical Strategies, and Themes of “The Speech of Miss Polly Baker”’, p. 99.

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- Inserted by a friend: *Hall*, pp. 114-20. Hall argues a man called William Strahan best fits the bill; but also puts forward other possible contenders.
- At least four: *Hall* lists the *Boston Weekly Post-Boy*, *New-York Gazette*, *New-York Weekly Journal* and *The Maryland Gazette*.
- More authentic: ‘The Text, Rhetorical Strategies, and Themes of “The Speech of Miss Polly Baker”’, pp. 91-120.
- ‘Verses on the Virginia Capitol Fire’: Printed in *The New-York Gazette*, revived in the *Weekly Post-Boy*, 1 June 1747, Supplement.
- ‘And that Fires kindled by Accident *always burn slow* / And not with half the Fury as when they *burn on purpose* you know’: quoted in *The Life of Benjamin Franklin Volume Two*, p. 551.

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- ‘expung’d for ever from your Books’: ‘The Text, Rhetorical Strategies, and Themes of “The Speech of Miss Polly Baker”’, p. 94.
- Book on history: *Histoire Philosophique Et Politique, Des Établissements et du Commerce des Européens dans les Deux Indes, Tome Sixieme*, Abbé Raynal, 1773.
- Reproduce Polly Baker’s speech: The English translation of the book, *A Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies*, Translated from the French of the Abbé Raynal by J. Justamond, 3rd Edition, Volume 5, London, 1777, omits the Polly Baker Speech as it is ‘in the hands of every English reader’, p. 200.
- ‘it must be a matter of astonishment to find that America has not yet produced a good poet, an able mathematician, or a man of genius in any single art of science’: *Histoire Philosophique Et Politique* p. 239: ‘On doit être étonné que l’Amérique n’ait pas encore produit un bon poëte, un habile mathématicien, un homme de génie dans un foud art, ou une seule science.’
- George Washington: *Retrospections of America, 1797-1811* John Bernard, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1887 pp. 91-2.
- Thomas Jefferson: *Notes on the State of Virginia, Thomas Jefferson (1781-1782* / Written in answer to ‘Queries proposed to the Author by a Foreigner of Distinction, then residing among us.’] Query VI.

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- Declaration of Independence: This anecdote is related on p. 166 of *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, Edited by Albert Henry Smyth, Volume. 1, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1905. It has not been authenticated from another source.
- 'I took the greatest care not to insert a single fact, for which I had not the most unquestionable authority'; 'Massachusetts'; 'a story of my making, on one of those occasions'; and 'had rather relate your stories than other men's truths'. *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, Collected and Edited by Paul Leicester Ford, Volume X, 1816-26, New York: GP Putnam's Sons, 1899, p. 121.
- 'whole Life has been one continued Insult to good Manners and to Decency' and 'Morality and Decorum': *Warren-Adams Letters*, Volume II 1778-1814, The Massachusetts Historical Society, 1925, John Adams to James Warren, 13 April, 1783, p. 209.

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- 'wrote and printed a Piece called the Speech of *Polly Baker*': William Franklin to Jonathan Williams, 30 July 1807, cited in *Hall*, p. 90.
- Late 1770s: First publication appears to have been in French by Voltaire, see *Hall*, pp. 127-9. Next was Philip Mazzei, an Italian, in *Recherches Historiques et Politiques sur les États-Unis de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, 1788, cited in *Hall*, p. 131. First time in English was the translation by Joel Barlow of *New Travels in the United States of America, Performed in 1788*, J. P. Brissot de Warville, Translated from the French, London: J. S. Jordan, 1792, p. 331. He calls her '*Mary Baker*', instead of Polly. Next English version was *Travels in Canada, and the United States, in 1816 and 1817*, Lieut. Francis Hall, London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, & Brown, 1818, pp. 382-3. On 4 December 1818 Jefferson sent to Robert Walsh seven anecdotes about Ben Franklin, which included this one.
- Forty years later: First reference I can find to Jefferson's anecdote in an English newspaper is in *Caledonian Mercury*, 23 January 1819. It appears in *The Percy Anecdotes*, Volume 6, London, 1822, pp. 38-9 and in *The Table Book*, William Hone, London, 1827, p. 45.
- *The Gentleman's and London Magazine*: Full title is *The Gentleman's and London Magazine: or, Monthly Chronologer*, 1771, pp. 173-5. It began in 1741 as *The London Magazine: and Monthly Chronologer*.
- 'for the entertainment of your Readers': *The Covent-Garden Magazine; Or, Amorous Repository*, April 1774, pp. 125-7. The speech was sent in by a reader who wrote: 'Thinking the following curious Speech should be preserved in your valuable Repository, I have sent it for the entertainment of your Readers. A. Z.'
- 'amusing to some curious and inquisitive persons to know something of this wonderful Lady, to whom the compliment is paid': *Evening Mail*, 1-3 July 1799. The same piece was in the *Star and Evening Advertiser*, 28 June, 1799.
- Named one of his mares '*Polly Baker*': *True Briton*, 14 May 1799 reported Mr Durand's Polly Baker finishing 4th (out of 4) in the Oak Stakes at Epsom.
- 'Interesting Reflections on the Life of Miss Polly Baker': *The Edinburgh Magazine, Or Literary Miscellany*, April 1794, pp. 288-294
- 'in New England, which has been called the Land of Saints, the Hot-house of Calvinistic Puritanism': *Ibid*, p. 289.
- *Remarkable Female Characters: Eccentric Biography; Or, Memoirs of Remarkable Female Characters, Ancient and Modern*, Worcester, 1804, pp. 18-23. The first edition was published in London in 1803, pp. 11-16.

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- *Of the Means of extending the Greatness of the Spanish Monarchie: The London Chronicle: Or, Universal Evening Post*, 11-13 August 1761, p. 147.
- Frederick II and Germanic settlements: *The London Chronicle*, 21-23 September, 1773, pp. 289-290. Franklin mentions this article in a letter to his son, stating that people were 'taken in' by it. He also regrets that it is 'stripped of all the capitalizing and italicizing, that intimate the allusions and mark the emphasis of written discourses, to bring them as near as possible to those spoken: printing such a piece all in one even small character, seems to me like repeating one of Whitefield's sermons in the monotony of a schoolboy.' Letter to William Franklin, 6 October 1773 in *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, Edited by Albert Henry Smyth, Volume VI 1773-1776, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1906, pp. 144-147.
- *Supplement to the Boston Independent Chronicle*: Part of this was published in *Parker's General Advertiser, and Morning Intelligencer*, 29 June 1782, pp. 2-3, citing the *Supplement to the Boston Independent Chronicle*, Boston, March 12. Also published in *The Rembrancer; Or, Impartial Repository Of Public Events*, London, 1782, Part II, pp. 135-6.

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- 'the grand Leap of the Whale in that Chace up the Fall of Niagara is esteemed by all who have seen it, as one of the finest Spectacles in Nature'; and 'the next Step might be a Disbelief in the well-vouch'd Accounts of Ghosts and Witches': *The Public Advertiser*, 22 May 1765.
- *Genesis* extract: *The London Chronicle*, 14-17 April 1764, p. 368.
- Two issues of *The London Chronicle: The London Chronicle*, June 23-25, and June 25-28, 1768, cited on p. 402 of 'Franklin's Deistical Indians', Alfred Owen Aldridge, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 94, no. 4, August 25 1950 pp. 398-410.
- *An Account of the Captivity of William Henry in 1755, and of his Residence among the Senneka Indians six Years and seven Months till he made his Escape from them*: published in Boston in 1766. Franklin's last hoax, 'On the Slave-Trade', was published in the *Federal Gazette* on 25 March 1790, only three weeks before he died. In replying to the pro-slavery arguments of Congressman Jackson, he put forward the argument by a fictitious Moslem writing a century before, called Sidi Mehemet Ibrahim, why the abolition of the slavery of Christians was a bad idea. See 'Humor in

## Chapter Five: 'A Common Tavern Bottle'

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- 'A Common Tavern Bottle' title: *The General Advertiser*, 11 January 1749.
- 1730: First issue of *The Daily Advertiser* was on 3 February 1730. It comprised two pages.
- *The London Daily Post, and General Advertiser*: The first issue of *The London Daily Post, and General Advertiser* was 4 November, 1734.
- Rebranded: It became *The General Advertiser* on 12 March, 1744 with Issue 2909..
- Only two London daily newspapers: The other London daily was *The London Gazetteer*. This is not to be confused with the *London Gazette*, the official government paper, which was a twice weekly paper. All other newspapers were either thrice weekly or weekly. This is information per the Burney Newspaper Collection.

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- Paid the theatres: *The English Newspaper, Between 1622 and the Present Day*, Stanley Morison, Cambridge, 1932, pp. 146-7; *From Grub Street to Fleet Street: An illustrated history of English Newspapers to 1899*, Bob Clarke, Revel Barker, 2010, p. 173: 'As it was considered that many people bought newspapers only for this purpose, newspapers paid the theatres for the privilege of printing their advertisements.'
- Half a million readers: *London Newspapers in the Age of Walpole*, p. 190. Individual newspaper sales are not known, although *The Daily Advertiser* was estimated at sales of over 2,500 copies by 1746 (p. 190). *The General Advertiser* hit 2,300 in December, 1746 (p. 57), but probably averaged around 2,000. *From Grub Street to Fleet Street*, p. 89. Annual sales of newspapers in 1750 were 7.3 million.
- 500-plus coffee shops: *Newspaper History from the seventeenth century to the present day*, Edited by George Boyce et al, London: Constable, 1978, Chapter 4, 'The structure, ownership and control of the press, 1620-1780', Michael Harris. 'In London 559 coffee-houses were in business in 1739 and most found it necessary to offer a selection of newspapers for their customers.' (p. 91). 'Contemporaries calculated that a single copy of a London daily paper could have as many as 20 readers and a popular weekly up to 40.' (p. 92).
- Five consecutive days: Advertisement appeared on 11, 12, 13, 14 & 16 January, 1749 in both *The General Advertiser* and *The Daily Advertiser*.
- 'the Conversation of every public Place': *A Letter to the Town Concerning The Man and The Bottle*, London, 1749, p. 18. Published on 27 January 1749, *The General Advertiser*. 'For a Fortnight before-hand they were the Conversation of every public Place.' It could not have been a fortnight as the first advert was only placed 5 days before the hoax took place.
- Music on walking cane: 'First, he takes a common Walking cane from any of the Spectators, and thereon plays the Music of every Instrument now in Use, and likewise Sings to surprising Perfection.'
- Enters and sings inside: 'Secondly, he presents you with a common Wine Bottle, which any of the Spectators may first examine; this Bottle is placed on a Table in the middle of the Stage, and he (without any Equivocation) goes into it in Sight of all the Spectators, and sings in it; during his Stay in the Bottle, any Person may handle it, and see plainly that it does not exceed a common Tavern Bottle.'
- Sitting on the stage: *The London Stage, 1660-1800, Part 2: 1700-1729*, Edited with a Critical Introduction By Emmett L. Avery, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1960, p. xliii 'Adjoining the stage on both left and right were boxes, and the space for acting could be contracted by placing benches or building boxes on it for special occasions'. Spectators on stage standing, and in boxes, can be seen in William Hogarth's engraving of *The Beggar's Opera*.
- Wearing a mask: 'Those on the Stage or in the Boxes may come in masked Habits (if agreeable to them) and the Performer (if desired) will inform them who they are.' A 'Habit' was used as a generic term for clothing.
- Converse with the actresses: Again this can be seen in Hogarth's engraving of *The Beggar's Opera*.
- Ticket prices: 'Stage 7s 6d. Boxes 5s. Pit 3s. Gal'ery 2s.' The Drury Lane and Covent Garden Theatres were larger venues and so they had two galleries: a First Gallery (Dress Circle) with the price of 2s and an Upper Gallery (Upper Circle) of 1s; but the cost of the Boxes and Pit tickets were the same at 5s and 3s respectively. Neither had a separate ticket price on offer that allowed the performance to be watched from the stage. Indeed the Covent Garden Theatre specifically prohibited this seating arrangement by stating in their advertisement that: 'No Persons to be admitted behind the Scenes'. This was the wording used to inform audience members that the stage was out of bounds.
- Excess of four hours: *The London Stage, 1660-1800, Part 3: 1729-1747*, Edited with a Critical Introduction By Arthur H. Scouten, Southern Illinois University Press, 1961, p. clxxxiv. Reference is made to a performance of *Macbeth* and *Harlequin Restor'd* where the writer left at 10-30 when the pantomime was still running. Cited as letter of complaint in *The Daily Journal*, 23 December 1736 but I was unable to track it down.
- 'The Performance continues about Two Hours and an Half': Scepticism about this claim is seen in the spoof advertisement inserted on 13 January [see Page 105 Note 'a surprising Dwarf'] in which Jumpedo would jump down his own throat 'after he has diverted the Spectators two Hours and a half'.
- Half past six: 'To begin at Half an Hour after Six o'Clock'. *The London Stage, 1660-1800, Part 2: 1700-1729*, p. li. Six o'clock was the usual hour of starting, put back to seven o'clock in the summer.
- Seats at the theatre: 'Tickets to be had at the Theatre'. It is unclear whether you could buy tickets in advance or only on the night.

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- Additional fee, in a separate room: 'If any Gentlemen or Ladies after the above Performance, (either singly or in Company, in or out of Mask) is desirous of seeing a Representation of any deceased Person, such as Husband or Wife, Sister or Brother, or any intimate Friend of either Sex, (upon making a Gratuity to the Performer) shall be gratified by seeing and conversing with them for some Minutes as if alive: Likewise (if desired) he will tell you your most secret Thoughts in your past life; and give you a full View of Persons who have injured you, whether Dead or Alive.'
- £5: 'These Performances have been seen by most of the Crown'd Heads of *Asia, Africa, and Europe*, and never appear'd publick any where but once; but will wait of any at their Houses, and perform as above, for Five Pounds each Time.'
- 'a *surprising Dwarf*, no taller than a common Tavern Tobacco-Pipe' and 'open his Mouth wide, and jump down his own Throat'. The spoof appeared in *The Daily Advertiser*, 13 January 1749, directly underneath the main Bottle Conjurer advertisement. 'Lately arriv'd from Italy, SIG. CAPITELLO JUMPEDO, a *surprising Dwarf*, no taller than a common Tavern Tobacco-Pipe; who can perform a many wonderful Equilibres on the Slack or Tight Rope: Likewise he'll transform his Body in above ten thousand different Shapes and Postures; and after he has diverted the Spectators two Hours and a half, he will open his Mouth wide, and jump down his own Throat. He being the most wonderfull'st Wonder of Wonders as ever the World wonder'd at, would be willing to join in Performance with that surprising Musician on Monday next, in the Hay-market. He is to be spoke with at the Black Raven in Golden-lane every Day from Seven till Twelve, and from Twelve all Day long.'
- 'There will be a proper Guard to keep the House in due Decorum': appeared in both *The General Advertiser* and *The Daily Advertiser* in the last three advertisements of 13, 14 and 16 January 1749.
- Near packed-out: There were 'prodigious Numbers' according to *The Daily Advertiser*, 17 January 1749; 'numerous Audience' stated *The General Advertiser*, 17 January, 1749; 'the Theatre was crowded (at near double prices) by five o'clock' 'Charles Adams and John Gilbert-Cooper', Alan D. Guest, *Theatre Notebook, A Quarterly Journal of the History and Technique of the British Theatre*, Volume 11, October 1956-July, 1957, Letter from Charles Adams to John Gilbert-Cooper, 17 January 1749, p. 139 (In fact the prices were the same as other theatres and the timings in this letter differ from contemporary newspaper reports). Over time the numbers appear to have increased. According to the *Handy-Book of Literary Curiosities*, William S. Walsh, Philadelphia, 1909, p. 476: 'On the appointed night the theatre was crowded to suffocation. Every box, every seat in the pit and the gallery was taken. Standing-room was at a premium.'

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- At seven: This report comes from *The Daily Advertiser*, 17 January 1749. The same report is repeated in *The London Evening-Post*, 14-17 January 1749, *The Penny London Post; Or, The Morning Advertiser*, 17 January, 1749 and *Old England*, 21 January 1749. The same report was also reproduced in the monthly journal *The London Magazine Or Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer*, January 1749, pp. 34-5. Copying copy from other papers was common policy, openly admitted at the time. *The London Evening-Post* printer later confessed on 5 April 1740, 'every Post we copy the principal Paragraphs from the Morning Papers (without which our Evening Paper would be of no Service to the Country).' Cited in *London Newspapers in the Age of Walpole*, p. 161. According to the advertisement the show was scheduled to start at six-thirty.
- Illuminating the audience: Audiences were as interested in who else was attending as much as they were in the drama itself. Theatres were well aware of potential fire hazards. The candles were placed in stands with large tin bases, so if they did topple over danger was averted. There were always containers of waters in strategic places and plenty of carpenters, scene men and servants to douse any flames
- 'a single Fiddle to keep the Audience in a good Humour'; 'a Chorus of Catcalls, heightened by loud Vociferations, and beating with Sticks' and 'from behind the Curtain': *The Daily Advertiser*, 17 January 1749. According to a later account in *The London Medical Gazette*, Volume II, June 7, 1828 to November 29, 1828, London, 1828, p. 723, it is not a representative of the theatre who tells the audience of the non-appearance of the conjurer; it is the elusive performer himself. With spectators waiting expectantly, 'the curtain slowly rose, and disclosed...a coarse, vulgar looking fellow, who informed them that he really had not been able to procure a quart bottle suited to his purpose, but that if they would come again another day he would get into a pint bottle in its stead.'
- that 'if the Performer did not appear, the Money should be return'd': *The Daily Advertiser*, 17 January 1749.
- Desired effect: *Theatre Notebook*, p. 139: 'a Person came before the Curtain, and, bowing, promis'd if Mr Conjurer did not arrive in half an Hour, their money should be return'd this they quietly submitted to; but after near a Hour, their Passions grew predominant'. Again this contradicts the newspapers version of events which states that the rioting took place almost immediately after this announcement.
- 'if the Ladies and Gentlemen would give Double prices, the Conjurer would get into a Pint Bottle': *The Daily Advertiser*, 17 January 1749. According to the *General Advertiser*, 17 January 1749 (repeated in *The Whitehall Evening Post; Or, London Intelligencer*, 17 January, 1749) the audience were 'told from behind the Curtain that the Performer had not yet appear'd; but that if they would stay until the next Night, instead of a Quart Bottle he should creep into a Pint'. It seems very unlikely that the theatre management would make such a provocative comment. So I have gone with the *Daily Advertiser* narrative.
- 'a young Gentleman in one of the Boxes seized a lighted Candle, and threw it upon the Stage': *The Daily Advertiser*, 17 January 1749.
- pick pocketed: 'Several persons of high rank being present, the pick pockets made a good booty'. *The Gentleman's Magazine*, January, 1749, p. 42.
- snuffboxes, wigs, cloaks and swords: *Theatre Notebook*, p. 139.

- mob: *The London Mob, Violence and Disorder in Eighteenth-Century England*, Robert B. Shoemaker, London, 2004: The mob comes from the Latin phrase *mobile vulgus* (the movable or excitable crowd) and first came into usage in late 17th century. It came to mean crowds, disorder and the lower classes (pp. xi-xii). Also pertinent to the Bottle Conjurer hoax: Bonfires were often associated with mobs (p. 118). The expression ‘pulling down’ a house was used to ‘leave the structure of the house intact and only destroy the windows and doors, interior fittings, and furniture; the debris was burned in the street’ (p. 125). ‘The London ‘mob’ was not composed of the dregs of society, as the meaning suggests and contemporaries often alleged’ (p. 139). ‘Rioters in the early eighteenth century rarely used weapons more lethal than stones, and those who did were soldiers and gentlemen wielding swords’ (p. 142).
- Dismantled the theatre by tearing: According to *The General Advertiser*, 17 January 1749 the tearing down took ‘Quarter of an Hour’s Time’. *Theatre Notebook*, p. 139: it took ‘less than ten Minutes’. *The London Gazetteer*, 17 January 1749 conflated the *General Advertiser* report: ‘One of the Conjuring tribe appeared on the Stage, and made a Speech, declaring, among other Things of equal Importance, That if the Gentleman did not appear in a Quarter of an Hour, they should have their Money returned’.
- Scenery and drapes: *Theatre Notebook*, p. 139: ‘an excellent Bonfire was made of the Materials of Mr. Foote’s Auction Room’. The Bottle Conjurer wouldn’t have had any scenery, so it must have all been Foote’s paraphernalia.
- ‘a mighty Bonfire’ and ‘hoisted on a Pole, by way of Flag’: *The Daily Advertiser*, 17 January 1749.
- ‘young Nobleman’s Chin’: *The Daily Advertiser*, 17 January 1749.

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- ‘Principals’ and ‘fell into the Hands of the Audience’: *The Whitehall Evening Post: Or, London Intelligencer*, 17 January 1749. A private letter dated 23rd January, 1749 stated that ‘the man disappeared, after he had got about 200 pounds’. *The Lyon in Mourning Or A Collection of Speeches Letters Journals etc. Relative to the Affairs of Prince Charles Edward Stuart by the Rev Robert Forbes, 1746-1775*, Edited by Henry Paton, In Three Volumes. Vol. II, Edinburgh, 1895, Letter from Mrs Clerk to Mrs Houston, p. 226.
- Non-existent Conjurer: *The Daily Advertiser*, 17 January 1749.
- Theatre proprietors: *The Scots Magazine*, January 1749, p. 50.
- Eight days: *The Daily Advertiser*, 24 January 1749. Unfortunately we don’t know the artist behind this amusing print.
- *The Bottle Conjurer, from Head to Foot, without Equivocation: Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, Vol. III, Part I*, March 28, 1734, to c. 1750, Frederic George Stephens, 1877, no. 3026, p. 742. The phrase ‘without Equivocation’ is taken from the original advertisement where it was claimed that the person would climb into the bottle ‘without any Equivocation’.
- Celebrating: The scene of the three men in the tavern and the man swinging the cat is taken from William Hogarth’s *Hudibras Encounters the Skimmington*, 1726 [BM 1847.0508.19].
- ‘large Party of the Guards were sent for, but came Time enough only to warm themselves round the Fire’: *The Daily Advertiser*, 17 January 1749. *Theatre Notebook*, p. 139: ‘A Party of Guards were sent for, and came just Time enough to solace themselves with the Ale, which they drank as they stood warming them by the Fire.’
- Nearby army garrison: *Policing and Punishment in London, 1660-1750*, J. M. Beattie, Oxford University Press, 2001, p. 128. In 1710 rioting in support of Henry Sacheverell could not be quelled by the constables or watchmen. So the Government turned to ‘the soldiers guarding St James’s Palace’. Also in common with this riot was that the mob burnt furniture from ransacked houses on a bonfire.
- Sitting in a tavern: The figure hanging off the yardarm is Bacchus, representing the God of Wine. Hence we know it’s a tavern, see AM Broadley, ‘The Rariora of the Tavern’, *Country Life*, Vol. 33, 29 March 1913.
- Poem in *The London Evening Post: The London Evening-Post*, 19-21 January 1749. Poem is called ‘*On the late Action at the Theatre in the Hay-market*’. It starts: ‘When Conjurers the Quality can bubble, And get their Gold with very little Trouble, By putting giddy Lyes in publick Papers, – And jumping in Quart-Bottles, — such like Vapours;’ And concludes with: ‘no let me speak in brief, The Audience Fools, the Conjurer a Thief.’
- Six pennies: This was the standard print price and 1s for coloured, see *The Daily Advertiser*, 24 January 1749: ‘(Price 6d. plain, 1s. colour’d)’. No hand coloured versions of the print survive.
- *A Letter to The Town, concerning The Man and the Bottle: A Letter to The Town, concerning The Man and the Bottle*, London, 1749. Advertised in *The Daily Advertiser*, 23 January 1749.
- ‘By Himself’: *A Modest Apology for the Man in the Bottle*. By Himself. London, 1749. Advertised in *The Daily Advertiser*, 13 February 1749.
- ‘Spoof notices’: For example, *The Daily Advertiser*, 20 January 1749, reprised in *The London Magazine Or Gentleman’s Monthly Intelligencer*, January 1749, p. 35: ‘*This is to inform the Publick*, That notwithstanding the great Abuse that has been put upon the Gentry, there is now in Town a Man, who, instead of creeping into a Quart or Pint Bottle, will change himself *into a Rattle*; which he hopes will please both young and old. If this Person meets with Encouragement to this Advertisement, he will then acquaint the Gentry where and when he performs.’ Also *The General Advertiser*, 21 January 1749 has one about ‘*Lately arrived from Ethopia*, The most wonderful and surprising Doctor Benimbe Zammampoango, Oculist and Body Surgeon to the Emperor of Monoemungi, who will perform on Sunday next, at the Little P — in the Haymarket, the following surprising Operations, viz.’

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- ‘which never was heretofore, nor ever will be here after seen’: *The General Advertiser*, 27 January, 1749. Full advertisement was: ‘Don John de Nasaquitine, sworn Brother and Companion to the Man that was to have jumped into the Bottle at the Little Theatre in the Hay-Market on Monday the 16th past; hereby invites all such as were then disappointed, to repair to the Theatre aforesaid on Monday the 30th, and that shall be exhibited unto them, which never was heretofore, nor ever will be hereafter seen. All such as shall swear upon the Book of Wisdom that they paid for seeing the Bottle-Man, will be admitted gratis; the Rest at Gotham Prices.’

- 'for he never advertised he would go into two Bottles at one and the same time': *Love at First Sight; Or, The Gay in a Flutter. Being a Collection of Advertisements, Chiefly Comic*. London: F. Noble, 1750, p. 76. Advertisement for this pamphlet in *Old England*, 11 November 1749. Next seen in *Kirby's Wonderful And Scientific Museum: Or Magazine, Of Remarkable Characters; Including All The Curiosities Of Nature And Art, From The Remotest Period To The Present Time, Drawn from every authentic Source*. Volume II, London, 1804, pp. 17-8. In *The Life and Uncommon Adventures of Capt. Dudley Bradstreet. Being The most Genuine and Extraordinary, perhaps, ever published*, Dublin, 1755, p. 323, there is a reference to a gentleman who said that 'when you got into the Bottle he would cork it'.
- Lin: First reference to Rich performing as Lin was on 22 April 1717. *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses etc. In London, 1660-1800. Volume 12: Pinner to Rizzo* by Philip H Highfill et al., Southern Illinois Press, 1987, John Rich, p. 339
- *Beggar's Opera: Ibid*, p. 343. 'The work opened on 29 January 1728 for an unprecedented uninterrupted run of 32 nights and then a continued run that lasted a total of 62 nights.' Although it was said to have made 'Rich Gay' and 'Gay Rich', 'Gay wrote Swift on 20 March 1728 that he had earned between £700 and £800, and Rich had cleared nearly £4000.'
- Covent Garden Theatre: Theatre opened on 7 December, 1732, *Ibid*, p. 344.

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- *Apollo and Daphne*: Full title was *Apollo and Daphne; Or, The Burgo-Master Trick'd*. Advertised in *The General Advertiser* 25 January 1749.
- Ongoing role for Phillips: *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors. Volume 11*, pp. 296-7.
- 'the Escape of Harlequin into a Quart Bottle': *The General Advertiser*, 26 January 1749. 'In which will be Introduc'd, An Additional Scene of the Escape of Harlequin into a Quart Bottle.'
- *An Apology to the Town, for Himself and the Bottle: An Apology to the Town, for Himself and the Bottle*, By J.\* Nick-all \* N.B. Mr P--tt--r was mistaken in the name. This is a reference to John Potter claiming that William Nicholls was the instigator of the hoax. More on this below. *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, Vol. III, Part I*, no. 3025, pp. 740-2.
- Creating the illusion: Some idea of what the vanish might have looked at can be garnered from Jackson recalling Rich's presentation of the Harlequin hatched from an egg by the heat of the sun in *Harlequin a Sorcerer. The History of the Scottish Stage*, John Jackson, Edinburgh, 1793, p. 368: 'From the first chipping of the egg, his receiving motion, his feeling the ground, his standing upright, to his quick *Harlequin* trip round the empty shell, through the whole progression, every limb had its tongue, and every motion a voice.'
- 'an exact Representation of Harlequin's Escape into the Bottle'; 'to crouded and polite Audiences': Full wording is 'The above Print is an exact Representation of Harlequin's Escape into the Bottle; introduc'd in the Pantomime Entertainment of Apollo and Daphene, or the Burgo-Master Trick'd, acted at the Theatre Royal in *Covent-Garden*, to crouded and polite Audiences.'
- *The Royal Chace*: Full title is *The Royal Chace; Or, Merlin's Cave*. It opened on January 23 1736 and was an extensively revised version of *Jupiter and Europa; Or, the Intrigues of Harlequin*. Information from 'The Tricks of Lun: Mimesis and Mimicry in John Rich's Performance and Conception of Pantomimes', Marc Martinez, *Theatre history studies*. Vol. 29, 2009, pp. 148-170. My thanks to Marc Martinez who assisted me in my research in an email he sent to me in September 2016.
- 'Don Jumpedo in the Character of *Harlequin*, will Jump down his Own Throat': *The General Advertiser*, 17 March 1749. This is the first time that I have come across it being advertised. But there was a report on 13 March 1749 in *The General Advertiser* that the Harlequin on 11 March made 'his first Essay of *Jumping down his own Throat*, and was universally applauded'.
- Jumpedo: The name is reprised in the print *Jumpedo and Canning in Newgate, or the Bottle and the Pitcher met*, where the Bottle Conjurer and Elizabeth Canning are both in Newgate prison together. This print is discussed in the chapter on Elizabeth Canning.
- *A Companion to the Bottle: A Companion to the Bottle; or, Don Jumpedo in the Character of Harlequin Jumping down his own Throat*. It states that 'The above Print is an exact Representation of Harlequin's Escape, introduc'd in the Pantomime Entertainment of the *Royal Chace, or Merlin's Cave*, now Acting at the Theatre Royal, in *Covent-Garden*, with great Applause.' The print was published on 20 March 1749, per *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, Vol. III, Part I*, no. 3024, pp. 739-40.
- *Apollo and Daphne* reprised 23 March: *The General Advertiser*, 23 March 1749: 'In which will be Introduc'd, The Escape of Harlequin into a Quart Bottle. Also the Last New Scene of Don Jumpedo, Jumping down His Own Throat.'
- Jumping up again afterwards: *The General Advertiser*, 13 April 1749: 'In which will be Introduc'd, the Escape of Harlequin into a Quart Bottle. Also Don Jumpedo (*Tho' Not the Original*) Will Jump down His Own Throat; And (as a New Addition) afterwards Jump Up Again.' Thanks to Marc Martinez for alerting me to this advertisement.
- Dancing a hornpipe: *The London Gazetteer*, 8 April 1749. 'Signor Capitello Jumpedo; Who, after entertaining the Audience with Dancing a *Hornpipe*, will Jump Down His Own Throat.'

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- John Wilkes: *The Two Jacks. Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires, Vol. V, 1711-1783*, Mary Dorothy George, 1935, no. 5245, pp. 177-8. John Wilkes, as Mayor, is inside a funnel on top of a bottle, facing off Lord Bute, depicted as the devil, who is inside a boot.
- *Corsican Bottle Conjurer: Britannia Blowing up the Corsican Bottle Conjurer*, 1803. *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires, Vol. VIII, 1801-1811*, Mary Dorothy George, 1947, no. 10069. The British Museum copy of the engraving has 'Cruikshanks' written on, suggesting it was done by Isaac Cruikshank, the father of George.



- Lord Mayor of London: *Smoak Jack the alarmist, Extinguishing the Second Great Fire of London, a la Gulliver!!!* 12 October 1819. *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires, Vol. IX, 1811-1819*, Mary Dorothy George, 1949, no. 13272, pp. 927-8.
- *Italian bottle-conjuror: My-Joke-O!! the Italian Bottle-Conjuror*, August 1820. *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires, Vol. X, 1820-1827*, M. Dorothy George, 1952, no. 13828, p. 87, a reference to an Italian valet called Theodore Majocchi who lied under oath at the trial of Queen Caroline of Brunswick for adultery. See *A Queen on Trial: The Affair of Queen Caroline*, E. A. Smith, Gloucestershire: Alan Sutton, 1993; and *Rebel Queen: How the Trial of Caroline Brought England to the Brink of Revolution*, Jane Robins, London: Pocket Books, 2007.
- *The Bottle Conjurers Arms*: This is a very simplified summary of a complex print. A copy is in Dublin City Library and Archive, Folio 04/06 - Date c. 1810-1830. It is almost certainly dated 1823. The image is reproduced in *Celebrations of Curious Characters*, Ricky Jay, San Francisco: McSweeney's Books, 2011, p. 88.

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- *The Theatrical Bubble: The Theatrical Bubble; being a new specimen of the astonishing Powers of the Great Politico-Punchinello, in the Art of Dramatic-Puffing -- Vide. New method of Raising the Wind.* 7 January 1805. *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires, Vol. VIII*, no. 10459.
- *The Rivals, The School for Scandal, The Critic*: *The Rivals* was first performed in 1775, *The School for Scandal* in 1777 and *The Critic* in 1779.
- Harlequin: First time Gillray depicted Sheridan with a Harlequin coat was in his 4 February 1802 print *Blowing up the Pic Nic's: - or - Harlequin Quixotte attacking the Puppets*. *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires, Vol. VIII*, no. 9916.
- Owner of Drury Lane Theatre: Sheridan purchased a half share from David Garrick in 1776 and two years later became the sole owner. *ODNB*, Sheridan, Richard Brinsley (1751–1816).
- 3,500 people: The first time he filled it was with the play *Vortigern* on 2 April 1796, see chapter 10.
- Performing animals: 'Why do they take my horses?' asked the owner of Astley's Amphitheatre, famous for its performing fillies, 'I never tried to engage Mrs Siddons.'
- William Betty: The thirteen year old first appeared at the Drury Lane Theatre in 1804. *ODNB*, Sheridan, Richard Brinsley (1751–1816). Betty is in Highland dress in the engraving in the role of Norval, a character in the play *Douglas*, written by John Home and first performed in 1756.
- 'a great General lost his Sword in the Quarrel': *The London Gazetteer*, 17 January 1749.

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- 'and no Questions asked'. *The Daily Advertiser*, 17 January 1749. Advert repeated on 18 & 19 January except the wording from 'Lost last Night' was changed to 'Lost last Monday Night'.
- Stolen valuables: *The General Advertiser*, 6 October 1748: 'LOST On Friday Sept. 30, between Six and Seven in the Evening, A Rose Diamond Side Drop of an Ear Ring, supposed to be dropt near Mr. Vernon's in Grosvenor Street, or the Countess of Stafford's in Albermarle-Street. Whoever will bring it to Mrs Chenevix's Toy-Shop, near the Haymarket, shall have Five Guineas Reward.' *The General Advertiser*, 19 February 1748: 'A Gold Watch Chain, with two Ring Seals, and a Triangular one of Brown Chrystal, having a coat of Arms on one Side...Whoever will bring the same to Mrs Chenevix's Toy-Shop, near Charing Cross; shall have Five Guineas Reward and no Questions ask'd. No greater Reward will be given'. The shop was quite a tourist attraction, famous for its high prices. *Walpole*, 15 September 1746, Vol. 19, p. 308.
- 30 guineas: *The Daily Advertiser*, 20 January 1749. It was repeated in the same paper on Saturday 21 January with the final insertion on 23 January. The owner of the loss sword and the reward for its recovery were linked in the January 1749 edition of *The Gentleman's Magazine*, p. 42: 'a great general's rich sword was lost, for the recovery of which a reward of 30 guineas was advertised'.
- 'Peace was well restored / Before the G—L lost his *Cutting Sword*': *The London Evening-Post*, 21-24 January 1749.
- 'Gold hilted Sword'; 'found entangled in the slit of a lady's demolished smock-petticoat'; 'supposed to have been stolen from the plump side of a great General'; and 'the Quart Bottle and Musical Cane, in Potter's-row'. *Old England*, 28 January, 1749. Full advert was as follows: '*Found entangled in the slit of a Lady's demolish'd Smock-Petticoat, a Gold-hilted Sword of martial Length and Temper, nothing worse for Wear, with the Spey curiously wrought on one Side of the Blade, and the Scheld on the other; supposed to have been stolen from the Plump-Side of a great General in his precipitate Retreat from the Battle of Bottle Noodles, at Station-Foot. Enquire at the Quart-Bottle and Musical Cane, in Potter's-Row. N. B. Every Word of a certain late Advertisement is true, except — all the Advertisement.*' As well as the clear sexual innuendo of the spoof, the 'Spey' is a river in East Scotland, so reminding the readers about the Duke's activities in Scotland; whilst the town of Ghent, one of the towns the Duke lost following his defeat at the Battle of Fontenoy, stands on the river Scheld. It also cleverly incorporates Samuel Foote ('Station-Foot') and John Potter ('Potter's Row') into the notice, as well as reminding the reader about the proposed performance ('Quart-Bottle and Musical Cane') laid out in the original advertisement.
- 'I have lost my head': The headless man actually says 'no I have lost my Head' in *The Bottle Conjuror, from Head to Foot, without Equivocation*.
- *The Bottl'd Heroes*: Full title is 'The Bottl'd Heroes, Or, Madness and Folly A La Mode. Being a full Description of those Animals, that, by their *Biting*, occasion that contagious Disorder now so common in *Great Britain*; with a Receipt to cure the same. Humbly Inscrib'd To Mr. H\*G\*\*\*H, and Mr. G\*\*\*\*\*K. By *Anglicanus*, M. D.' Copies are owned by the Library of Congress (PC 3 - 1749 - Bottl'd heroes) and the Princeton University Library (Oversize PR3291.A6 A53f). Engraving advertised for sale in *The Daily Advertiser*, 25 January 1749.
- *English Credulity; or Ye're all Bottled*: *The Daily Advertiser*, 30 January 1749. It had been pre-advertised in *The Daily Advertiser*, 28 January 1749. *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, Vol. III, Part I*, no. 3022, pp.

737-8. A preliminary pen & ink drawing was done for this print. It is titled *The Spiritualists* and can be found in the Yale Centre for British Art, accession no. B1977.14.6017, the engraver being Anthony Walker.

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- 'if people want to be deceived, let them be deceived': Latin text is *Si Populus vault decipi Decipiateur*.
- *The Beggar's Opera*: The slogan *Veluti in Speculum* ('as in a mirror') can also be seen on the overhanging banner in William Hogarth's *The Beggar's Opera, Act III*. On the right hand side of this same print can be seen a large statue of a satyr.
- *Masquerades and Operas*: This engraving includes the image of a satyr holding a bag of money, along with the figure of the fool, encircling a crowd with a piece of rope to bring them into see a masquerade.
- At the top of the engraving, there is an angelic nymph chasing after a flying sword, while crying out 'Stop or I loose 30 guineas'. A label is attached to the sword with the words 'Thirty guineas reward'.
- None of the references name: *Kirby's Wonderful And Scientific Museum* in 1804, p. 13 is the earliest citation that I can find to the Duke of Cumberland being unequivocally stated as the 'great General' who lost his sword.

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- William Augustus: Information about the Duke of Cumberland has principally come from *William Augustus Duke of Cumberland and The Seven Years' War*, The Hon. Evan Charteris, London: Hutchinson & Co., 1925; *William Augustus Duke of Cumberland A Life*, Rex Whitworth, London: Leo Cooper, 1992; and *ODNB*, William Augustus, Prince, duke of Cumberland (1721–1765).
- Treatment of the Jacobites: *Walpole*, 24 June, 1746, Vol. 9, p. 34: 'The Scotch...are loud in censuring the Duke for his great severities in the Highlands'.
- Butcher of Culloden: Earliest citation is in *Walpole*, 1 August, 1746, Vol. 19, p. 288, when Horace Walpole wrote: 'It was lately proposed in the City, to present him with the freedom of some company; one of the aldermen said aloud, 'Then let it be of the *Butchers* !''
- War of Austrian Succession: Second defeat was at the Battle of Lauffeld on 2 July 1747. First was at Fontenoy on 11 May 1745. War of Austrian Succession finished with the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle signed on 18 October 1748.
- Sadistic taskmaster: According to Horace Walpole, during the time of the rebellion some men who had enlisted for three years had gone home when their term had expired without receiving the proper papers. 'The Duke of Cumberland ordered them to be tried and shot for desertion', *Walpole*, 16 February 1748, Vol. 19, p. 464, n. 10. Walpole also wrote that the Duke's 'savage temper increases every day'. He recounted how a young man had received two hundred lashes. But that the Duke 'who loves blood like a leech, insisted that it was not enough' and had administered more. *Walpole*, 20 July, 1749, Vol. 9, p. 93.
- Private life: Thomas Gray wrote in September 1746: The Duke 'is here at his Lodge [in Windsor Great Park] with three Whores & three Aide-de-Camps.' *Correspondence of Thomas Gray*, Edited by the late Paget Toynbee and Leonard Whibley, In Three Volumes, Volume I. 1734-1755, Oxford, 1971, p. 239. 'All the letters are full of the Duke's humanity and bravery: he will be as popular with the lower class of men, as he has been for three or four years with the low women.' *Walpole*, 24 May 1745, Vol. 19, p. 52.
- Overweight appearance: 'I could not get the fat sides of him to go out of the way. He stared at me and spoke. I bid him go out of the way and let people pass.' *The Lyon in Mourning*, Letter from Mrs Clerk, dated 23 January 1749 to Mrs Houston, p. 226, with regard to meeting the Duke at a masquerade she attended. *Walpole*, 11 July, 1743, Vol. 18, p. 268, 'he is gross'; *Walpole*, 3 September, 1748, Vol. 9, p. 73, 'The Duke is fatter, and it is now not denied that he has entirely lost the sight of one eye'; and *Walpole*, 3 May, 1749, Vol. 20, p. 49, he 'was so immensely corpulent, that he looked like Cacofofo, the drunken captain in *Rule a Wife and have a Wife*', a comedy by John Fletcher. It is unfortunate that we don't have Walpole's take on the Bottle Conjurer hoax, but his letter is missing. He clearly had written about it, as one correspondent replied to him saying: 'I could not help laughing at some many hundreds being deceived by the man and his quart bottle, but I blushed at their folly', *Walpole*, 8 March, 1749, Vol. 20, p. 29.
- Commanding the house should be tore down: *The Lyon in Mourning*, Letter from Mrs Clerk, dated 23 January 1749 to Mrs Houston, p. 226. 'Cumberland was the first that flew in a rage, and called to pull down the house, which in ten minutes was done'. Another questionable report of the Duke's involvement is in *The Poetical Works of Charles Churchill with Copious Notes and a Life of the Author*, W. Tooke, Volume III, London: William Pickering, 1844, p. 120: 'Among the spectators was William Duke of Cumberland, who in the *melé* lost his diamond-hilted sword, on which the Jacobite portion of the crowd set up a cry of Billy the Butcher has lost his knife, and this formed the *refrain* of the veritable ballad of the Bottle Conjurer, written on the occasion.' This anecdote was repeated in *Caricature History of the Georges*, Thomas Wright, London: John Camden Hotten, 1876, p. 232: 'The Duke of Cumberland lost his diamond-hilted sword; and on this being known, some in the crowd shouted, 'Billy the Butcher has lost his knife!'' We know Wright used Toole for his sources, as later in his *Caricature History* (p. 300) Wright repeats an anecdote which he admits came from 'Mr Tooke, from whose notes to Churchill this fact is taken'. It is also reprised in *The Way of the Montagues: A Gallery of Family Portraits*, Bernard Falk, London: Hutchinson & Co, 1947, p. 271: 'The Duke of Cumberland, "hero" of Culloden, endeavouring to extricate himself from the infuriated crowd, had his diamond-hilted sword snatched away from him, and on remonstrating with the rioters was answered by the taunt that Billy the Butcher had lost his knife'. *The Secret History of Magic: The True Story of the Deceptive Art*, Peter Lamont and Jim Steinmeyer, New York: TarcherPerigree, 2018, p. 54 cites Wright in this passage about the hoax: 'He had earned the nickname of 'Billy the Butcher' because of his merciless execution of the Jacobites after the battle [of Culloden]. In the commotion that followed, Cumberland lost his diamond-hilted sword. As they destroyed the theatre, the crowd were heard to shout, 'Billy the Butcher has lost his knife!'. I have found no contemporary reference to the refrain 'Billy the Butcher has lost his knife'; so can only conclude that Tooke invented the taunt some 100 years after the event. And we

know from the advertisement (*The Daily Advertiser*, 17 January 1749) that the Duke posted, it was a gold, not diamond, hilt sword that he lost.

- 'pulled the sword out of his hand': *The Lyon in Mourning*, Letter from Mrs Clerk, dated 23 January 1749 to Mrs Houston, p. 226.
- 'Monster of Nature!' *Ibid*.
- Instigator of the rioting: A couple of other examples of the Duke of Cumberland being blamed for starting the rioting. *Epistles for the Ladies*, Vol. II, London, 1750, Epistle XCIII 'From Apamia to Euphrosine in the Country, on the pretended Conjurer that was expected to shew Wonders at the Theatre in the Hay-market'. p. 88: 'a certain very Great Person, who had come to Town for no other Purpose, as it proved, than to be disarmed, been so much incensed at the Disappointment, that he resolved Revenge on the poor Scenes, and without any Consideration of the Fright he might give the Ladies, ordered the Doors to be opened to the Mob, who broke in like a Torrent, driving all before them, plucking up Benches, Boxes, and Orchestra, in their Way to the Stage, which, with their heroic Leader at their Head, they soon demolished.' *A Book of the Play*, Dutton Cook, Third and Revised Edition, London, 1881, Chapter 35: 'At the Haymarket Theatre, in 1749, the audience enraged at the famous Bottle Conjurer hoax, were incited by the Culloden Duke of Cumberland to pull down the house!'

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- Publicly stated: Duke is mentioned a couple of times in the aftermath of the hoax. *The Whitehall Evening Post Or, London Intelligencer*, 17-19 January 1749: 'Yesterday the Duke of Cumberland presented the Rev. Mr Drake to the Rectory of Blitching in Devonshire.' *The Remembrancer*, 21 January 1749: 'We are assured, that his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland having heard such various Accounts of the Strength and Forces at Gibraltar and Port-Mahon, is determined next Summer, to visit both these Fortresses himself, in order to give Directions for their better Regulation.'
- 'purify me after the bad air and humour I contracted in London': *The Life and Correspondence of Philip Yorke Earl of Hardwicke Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain*, Philip C. Yorke, Volume II, Cambridge, 1913. Letter to Joseph Yorke, 10 April 1740, p. 167. He goes on to write about passing the controversial passing of the Mutiny Bill, so he might have been referring more to that.
- Opera: *The General Advertiser*, 4 May 1749: 'We hear that his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland and several of the Nobility, were at the New Theatre in the Haymarket on Tuesday last, to see *L'Opera du Gueux*, and express'd great Satisfaction at the Performance.'
- 'services': *Walpole*, 20 July 1749, Vol. 9, p. 94. 'You heard I suppose of his other armour with the Savoyard girl: he sent her to Windsor, and offered her a hundred pound, which she refused because he was a heretic; he sent her back on foot.'
- Hurdy-gurdy: Sounds are produced by turning a crank that rubs wheels against strings, similar to a bow of a violin. Melodies are played on a keyboard that presses small wedges, typically made of wood, against one or more of the strings to change their pitch.
- Marian: 'From *Savoy* came *Marian* this Conquest to win;' *The London Evening-Post*, 25-27 July 1749. Reproduced in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, July, 1749, p. 327 with the title of 'A New Court Ballad.'
- 'a poor mean-dressed wench, but pretty enough if she was dressed out': *The Private Journal and Literary Remains of John Byrom*, Edited by Richard Parkinson, Vol. II - Part II, Printed for the Chetham Society, 1857. John Byrom to Mrs Byrom, 3 August 1749, p. 504. 'The Savoyard girl has made some noise and some pictures; she is a poor mean-dressed wench, but pretty enough if she was dressed out.'
- *John of Gant in Love: John of Gant in Love, or Mars on his knees*. This Day is publish'd, *The London Evening-Post*, 13-15 July 1749. *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, Vol. III, Part I*, no. 3037, pp. 750-1.
- Throwback to John of Gaunt: Article in, *The Remembrancer*, 20 May 1749 connects the two.
- 'more humour than I almost ever saw in one of that sort': *Walpole*, 20 July 1749, Vol. 9, p. 94. "Enclosed is a new print on the subject, which I think has more humour than I almost ever saw in one of that sort". However perhaps the representation of the Savoyard Girl was not especially accurate, as she is 'not at all like the picture in the print where the Duke kneels', *The Private Journal and Literary Remains of John Byrom*, p. 504.
- Other prints: *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, Vol. III, Part I*. 1) *Solomons Glory Or the Rival Mistresses*, no. 3040, pp. 752-3; 2) *The Cropper*, 3034, p. 747. This relates to the Duke of Cumberland ordering his soldiers' uniforms to be cut shorter. This was inspired by a notice which appeared in *The London Evening-Post*, 1-3 June 1749: 'The Dress of the Foot Forces having been found inconvenient and burdensome on Marches, occasion'd by the Length of their Coats, &c. his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland has been pleased to give Orders for shortening the Cloaths of the three Regiments of Foot Guards from their usual Size, and many more Alterations are order'd to be made in their Cloathing, especially as to their Shoes and Buckles, obliging them all to wear the uniform Reigimentals now provided for them.' As well as seeing the soldiers having their tunics cropped overseen by the Duke, the print has the Savoyard in the background saying, 'He wanted to crop my Virginity'. 3) *The agreeable Contract between the formidable John of Gant and Don Carlos of Southern Extraction*, July, 1749, no. 3042, pp. 753-4. This shows Britannia expressing her support for Bonnie Prince Charlie, while the print of John of Gant in Love lies on the floor. It is a re-working of a previous pro Duke of Cumberland print called *The agreeable Contrast between the British Hero, and the Italian Fugitive*, no. 2832, pp. 626-7.

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- Seditious libel: 28 September 1749 the Duke of Newcastle issued a warrant for the apprehension of the author, engraver, printers and publishers of four 'seditious & treasonable Prints', cited in *Political Prints in the Age of Hogarth*, Herbert M Atheron, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974, p. 77. A notice appeared in the *Penny London Post; Or The Morning Advertiser*, 29 September-2 October 1749. 'On Friday last a Printseller near the Crown Tavern, on Ludgate-

Hill, was taken into Custody by his Majesty's Messengers for selling Prints reflecting on a very great Personage'. Clearly a reference to the Duke of Cumberland. It went on: 'The same Day several others of the same Profession were seiz'd for selling the said Prints; and we hear that Informations are lodged against divers Printsellers for selling and exposing to Sale privately very obscene Prints and Pictures, which greatly tend to the corrupting the Morals of Youth.'

- *The Savoyard Girl*: Painting is owned by The Huntington Library, Art Collections, having been purchased from a London Auction House in 1991. An engraving was made of the print in 1798 by George Sherlock. Hogarth also depicted a Savoyard Girl in *Southwark Fair*, where she can be seen in her natural environment outside, looking at a peep show. The analysis of this painting is thanks to Elizabeth Einberg, 'Music for Mars, or the Case of the Duke's Lost Sword', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 56, 1993, pp. 181-9. Einberg thought the painting was a pre-cursor to an engraving (p. 186). But Paulson questions this in *Hogarth, Volume 3, Art and Politics, 1750-1764*, Ronald Paulson, Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 1993, p. 136: 'there is no similar shape or composition among Hogarth's engravings. More likely he painted it for a friend.'
- A picture of innocence. Fanny Burney talking about her friend Hetty going to a masquerade in January, 1770, 'Hetty went as a Savoyard, with a *hurdy gurdy* fastened round her waist. Nothing could look more simple, innocent, or pretty.' *The Early Diary of Frances Burney 1768-1778*, Edited by Annie Raine Ellis, Vol. 1, London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1913, p. 71.
- Dutch tiles: *Hogarth, Volume 3, Art and Politics*, p. 136. 'The Dutch tiles on the fireplace may refer to Cumberland's military defeat at Fontenoy in May 1745'.
- Erotic: *Ibid*. 'Certainly the "lost" sword, the *cracked* mirror, and the *cocked* hat establish beyond question the sexual content.'
- Tricorn hat: The Duke of Cumberland is seen wearing the tricorn hat in the print *English Credulity; or Ye're all Bottled*.
- George Hay: *Hogarth, Volume 3, Art and Politics*, p. 136.

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- *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding: Essays Concerning Human Understanding*, [David Hume], London: A. Millar, 1748. Hume questions the existence of miracles.
- 'greatly disappointed by the Conjurer's Non-Appearance in the Bottle': *The Daily Advertiser*, 17 January 1749.

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- 'you are doubtless impatient to know how all this came about': *Epistles for the Ladies*, 1750, p. 89.
- John Potter: information about Potter comes from *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses etc. In London 1660-1800, Volume 12*, Potter, John.
- Twelve o'clock: *The General Advertiser*, 2 May 1747. 'Mr Foote takes the Liberty to inform his Friends, that the Waiter is well, so that Chocolate may be had as usual, at the little Theatre in the Hay-Market, this Day, exactly at Twelve o'Clock.'
- 6-30: *The General Advertiser*, 2 June 1747. 'Friends are desired to Drink a Dish of Tea with him, at Half an Hour after Six in the Evening.'
- *Mr Foote gives Tea*: Advertised in *The General Advertiser*, 1 February, 1748.
- *A Sale at his Auction Room*: Advertised in *The General Advertiser*, 18 April, 1748,
- Picture frames: *The General Advertiser* 14 January 1749. 'At his Auction Room, late the *New Theatre in the Haymarket*, Mr. FOOTE will exhibit some entire new Lots, consisting of a *Poet*, a *Beau*, a *Frenchman*, a *Miser*, a *Taylor*, a *Sot*, two *Young Gentlewomen*, and a *GHOST*. Two of which are Originals, the rest Copies from the best Masters.'
- Fiftieth performance: *The British Magazine for the Year 1749*, Vol. IV, London, February 1749, 'Some Observations on the Performances of the Auctioneer in the Hay-Market; and his new Lots of the Characters in Lethe. In a Letter to the Author'. pp. 55-59. This was a full review of the Foote show.

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- 'Rent of the House'; 'no real Imposition'; and 'obliged to fly to save their Lives': *The General Advertiser* and *The Daily Advertiser*, 18 January 1749.
- 'upwards of Four hundred Pounds': Knowing John Potter, this was doubtless an exaggerated figure. *Report on the Manuscripts of The Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry, K.G., K.T., Preserved at Montagu House, Whitehall*, 2 Vols. in 1, London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1899, pp. 371-2. Letter from M. Procace to the Duke of Montagu, 17 May 1722 calls John Potter a 'cunning rogue' in extracting 42 guineas from him in order to remove some of his belongings from the new theatre in the Haymarket. Letters from Aaron Hall, also to the Duke, question Potter's integrity (pp. 369-371).
- 'make me a reasonable Satisfaction': *The General Advertiser* and *The Daily Advertiser*, 18 January 1749.
- William Nicholls: *The General Advertiser* and *The Daily Advertiser*, 19 January 1749 and repeated 20 January 1749. 'N.B. The Person who took the House was a Man of genteel Appearance, said his Name was *William Nicholls*, and directed Letters to be left for him at the Bedford Coffee-house, Covent-Garden.'
- Renege on his: Suggested in *Theatre Notebook*, p. 139: 'others imagine Foote himself is at the Bottom of it, to elude the Performance of his Promise in granting a Benefit to his Company.' This was not true as the benefit for the performer did go ahead on 18 February 1749: *The London Stage, 1660-1800, A Calendar of Plays etc., Part 4: 1747-1776*, Edited by George Winchester Stone, Jr., Southern Illinois Press, 1962, p. 98. 'Benefit for a performer. Tickets for the 11th [postponed due to Foote going hoarse] will be taken.'
- Go ahead: *The General Advertiser* and *The Daily Advertiser*, 18 January 1749. Foote had to make a correction the following day about who he spoken to in this matter. He originally claimed it was Mr Lewis, John Potter's attorney. Turned out to be his clerk, who was also John Potter's nephew. *The General Advertiser* and *The Daily Advertiser*, 19 and 20 January 1749.

- Foote attended the performance: *The General Advertiser* and *The Daily Advertiser*, 18 January 1749. Foote said he ‘told a Gentleman near me in the Boxes, who was clamorous for his Money, the Measures I had taken for his Security.’ A *Modest Apology for the Man in the Bottle*, although a satirical pamphlet, makes a couple of references to Foote being there on the night: ‘That I was to have been in the *Bottle*, was as evident as Mr F-’s being in the House.’ (p. 7) and: ‘When I intended either to go into my *Bottle*...a certain *Foote* fellow, in one of the Boxes...very modestly took upon him to assert, That the audience should have their Money returned; and he truly was seconded by another Conjuror on the Stage’ (p. 22). In *Mr Foote’s Other Leg*, Ian Kelly, London: Picador, 2012 no mention is made of the *Bottle* Conjuror hoax. It also seems to suggest that Foote was not even in London in January 1749: ‘Foote left London in 1748, first for Dublin and then for Paris. Though he was back in London briefly in April 1749, and in 1751, he did not base himself there for several years’ (p. 133). Apart from this surprising omission, the book is excellent.
- ‘so ruinate a Place never did my eyes behold’: *Theatre Notebook*, p. 139. The writer correctly predicted that it would ‘put a [Pe]riod to the Auction, till the Theatre can be refitted’.

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- ‘Managers of both Play Houses contriv’d it to hinder Foote’s going on’: *Theatre Notebook*, p. 139
- End of his run: In *The General Advertiser* 11 & 14 January 1749 the advertisement for Foote’s show states ‘Being positively the last Time of performing it this Season’. His actual final performance was on 18 February 1749. Prior to that he did shows on 25, 27 January and 4 February. *The London Stage, 1660-1800, Part 4*, pp. 93-98.
- *The Life and Uncommon Adventures of Capt. Dudley Bradstreet: The Life and Uncommon Adventures of Capt. Dudley Bradstreet. Being The most Genuine and Extraordinary, perhaps, ever published*, Dublin, 1755
- Appears to be true: *Memoirs of Laetitia Pilkington*, Edited by A. C. Elias, Jr, The University of Georgia Press, 1997, p. 204. She writes, in 1748, about her encounter with ‘one Mr. *Bradstreet*, famous for being a Spy for the Duke of *Cumberland*’. State papers from the Duke of Newcastle also mention Bradstreet.

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- ‘there was not nine Men’: *The Life and Uncommon Adventures of Capt. Dudley Bradstreet*, p. 143.
- Lottery scheme: *Ibid*, p. 244. ‘But to return to my Lottery I must inform you that Fortune declared against me; I lost above twenty Pounds by it.’
- ‘introduced the noisy and famed *Bottle* Conjuror to the World, in *January* one thousand, seven hundred and forty seven-eight’: *Life and Uncommon Adventures*, p. 244. Bradstreet’s entry in the *ODNB*, Bradstreet, Dudley (1711–1763) repeats this incorrect year: ‘His last show was as a ‘*bottle conjuror*’, which he performed in *January 1748*.’ In Georgian England, *January 1749* dates were often referred to as 1748-9, so maybe we can overlook that lapse; or assume it was a misprint.
- ‘fly to the Moon in the People’s Presence’; ‘teach *French* and *Cooking* perfectly well in an Hour’ and ‘hereafter explained’: *Ibid*, p. 246. In his play (p. 254), the two schemes are expanded upon. He states that although people might believe he has flown to the moon, he wasn’t sure how to get their money upfront for ‘they wou’d not give you a Shilling after’.
- ‘an Historical Comedy’ and ‘extraordinary Oddities’. *Ibid*, p. 247. For dramatic purposes he has confined ‘the Business of ten Days to twenty four Hours, which the Rules of the Stage require’ (p. 248).
- ‘great Success’: *Ibid*, p. 248.
- No existing record of any performances: Part of the reason why it was never staged may be explained by the stage directions near the end, *Ibid*, p. 329. ‘*Enter several Ladies and Gentlemen from the Boxes, Pit, and Galleries, in great Disorder, some without Hats, Wigs, Caps, Loss of Swords, Watches, &c.* And: ‘*The Confusion continues, the Mob break in, ransack the House, carry Benches and Boards across the Stage, buzzaing as they go along, the Curtain, by way of Triumph, carried as Colours, and all made a Fire of in the Street, from whence loud Huzzas are heard; the Guards come, but too late.*’ Bradstreet has clearly copied all of this from the newspaper reports of the day without giving any thought to the practical constraints of a dramatic reconstruction.
- ‘restore Youth to old Age’, *Ibid*, p. 246. Later he claims that an advertisement was inserted in the papers *after* the hoax which again caught people out. ‘It might well be expected this Affair would reform the Town, but alas! immediately after, a Man who kept an Ale-house at the *Raven* in *Golden-lane* advertised, that *Don Quevedo de Jumpedo* was just arrived from *Italy*, and would in five Nights jump down his own Throat at his House: An incredible Number went to see this Performer, and were all disappointed, except the Man who promised it’ (p. 334). Bradstreet seems to be referencing the spoof advertisement [see Page 105 Note ‘a *surprising Dwarf*’] that was posted *before* the hoax took place. There is no evidence that anyone was taken in by the latter.

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- ‘Lawyer in *London* in a low Way’: *Ibid*, p. 246.
- ‘paid before-hand’: *Ibid*, p. 261.
- New Theatre in the Haymarket: *Ibid*, p. 264.
- ‘shall send this Afternoon to all my Friends in *Cumberland*, to hasten to Town’: *Ibid*, p. 284.
- child and tickets: *Ibid*, p. 334. ‘The first Suspicion that I was the *Bottle-Conjuror*, was occasioned by a Child’s taking, unperceived, to Mr. *H-low*’s, my next Door Neighbour, a Parcel of Tickets for the *Hay-market* before the Night of Performance.’ This is a sentence that seems to contradict itself: if the child was unperceived, how could it arouse suspicion?
- ‘receive the Money for Tickets, and take it away when the House is full’: *Ibid*, p. 297.
- loot: *Ibid*, p. 328. ‘*Liewell gathers the Gold in the Box, puts it in his Pockets, and gives the Keepers the flip, who are kept in Discourse by Spy and Front, who likewise go off.*’
- 300 Guineas: *Ibid*, p. 334. *The Whitehall Evening Post: Or, London Intelligencer*, 17 January, 1749, stated £115 was stolen.

- He publicly confessed: *Ibid*, p. 334. ‘soon after it was publickly known, and confessed by myself.’
- ‘as the real *Bottle-Conjurer*’ and ‘a vast many Subscribers’: *Ibid*, p. 356.
- ‘I hope my *Magician* or *Bottle Conjurer* will please, for it has neither Nature nor Reason to support it’: *Ibid*, p. Preface, v. He follows that by writing ‘tho’ every Word true.’

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- Credible motive for the hoax: One writer who seems to endorse Bradstreet is *Performing Dark Arts A Cultural History of Conjuring*, Michael Mangan, Bristol: Intellect, 2007, p. 74. I must disagree with Mangan's statement that ‘What is certain is that Bradstreet gives us a detailed and sustained contemporary insight into this notorious hoax.’ I would also dispute his statement that ‘no alternative culprit has been identified with any certainty’. Mangan repeats a misquote from *The London Stage, 1660-1800, Part 4: 1747-1776*, in stating that the cost of damages to the theatre was estimated at £4,000 (p. 71) - it was £400 (this error is repeated in several other books). He is also wrong in claiming that the Duke of Cumberland and the 4th Earl of Sandwich were ‘rumoured to have perpetrated the scam’ (p. 72). The confusion over the 4th Earl of Sandwich comes from *The Illustrated History of Magic*, Milbourne Christopher, New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1973, pp. 83-4 where the author thinks the 2nd Duke of Montagu is also the Earl of Sandwich: they were two different men.
- ‘the reports of the Town and the three Kingdoms, was that a certain Duke contrived it’: *Life and Uncommon Adventures*, p. 244.
- ‘Presence of some Noble Contributors’ and ‘put into neat Order’: *The Daily Advertiser*, 23 January 1749. ‘Note, It is humbly hoped on the Part of the Person who is to expect the Charity of the Town on this Occasion, that those Gentlemen and Ladies who already have Tickets, will not look on the Play’s being *deferr’d* as a Disappointment, because the House could not before that Time be made so decent as the Presence of some Noble Contributors will require; but they may depend on its being then put into neat Order.’ *The London Stage, 1660-1800, Part 4: 1747-1776*, p. 94 wrote that the play had been ‘postponed because of damage to the theatre until a nobleman paid for some repairs’.
- Twenty-three years had passed: The first nobleman to be suggested as the hoaxer was 21 years afterwards. It was the Earl of Chesterfield. *The Drivers: A Dialogue*, Cambridge, 1770, p. 30. ‘The man who was to have got into a Quart-Bottle, &c. An experiment made by Lord Chesterfield upon English Credulity’. The possibility of Chesterfield's involvement is also suggested by his name appearing in the print, underneath the perpetrators, in *The Bottle Conjurer, from Head to Foot, without Equivocation*. However no further evidence or support that I have found links the Earl of Chesterfield to the hoax. For instance *Letters of Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield*, Edited by Lord Mahon, In Four Volumes, Vol. III, London, 1845, pp. 316-18 sees The Earl writings a letter to Solomon Dayrolles on 20 January 1749 but there is no mention of the hoax. *Thoughts on the Conduct of the Understanding*, Basil Montagu, 1820, p. 184 connects the Duke of Montagu & the Earl of Chesterfield together: ‘The Duke of Montagu said, that “if a man advertised the most improbable thing in the world, he would find fools enough to fill a play-house.” “Surely,” said Lord Chesterfield, “should a man say he would jump into a quart-bottle, nobody would believe it”. On 17th [sic] January, 1749, an advertisement accordingly appeared, that “the next day a person at the theatre in Haymarket would play on a common walking-cane...”’ Another nobleman thrown into the mix was Lord Portland. *Handy-Book of Literary Curiosities* William S. Walsh, Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1909 pp. 475-6: ‘Early in the year 1749 a distinguished company of Englishmen were discussing the question of human gullibility. Among them were the Duke of Portland and the Earl of Chesterfield. “I will wager,” said the duke, “that let a man advertise the most impossible thing in the world, he will find fools enough in London to fill a play house and pay handsomely for the privilege of being there”.’ In *The Romance of London*, John Timbs, Vol. II, London: Frederick Warne and Co., [1890], p. 177, it is The Duke of Montagu and Lord Chesterfield connected with the hoax: ‘The Duke of Montague being in company with some other noblemen, proposed a wager, that let a man...in earnest. “Surely,” said Lord Chesterfield, “if a man should say that he would jump into a quart bottle, nobody would believe that!”’ Yet another variation on the noblemen involved is in *A History of Advertising*, Henry Sampson, London: Chatto and Windus, 1874, pp. 365: ‘At the close of the year 1748, or in the beginning of 1749, the Duke of Montague, Lord Portman, and some other noblemen were talking about the gullibility of the people, and the Duke offered to wager that, let a man advertise the most impossible thing in the world, he would find fools enough in London to fill a playhouse, and pay handsomely for the privilege of being there. “Surely,” said the Earl of Chesterfield, “if a man should say that he would jump into a quart bottle, nobody would believe that.” The Duke was somewhat staggered at this, but for the sake of the jest determined to make the experiment. Accordingly the following advertisement was inserted in the papers.’
- *The Town and Country*: Full title is *The Town and Country Magazine; Or Universal Repository Of Knowledge, Instruction and Entertainment*.
- Mrs O—b—n and L—d G— : *Memoirs of the Tête-à-Tête annexed; or, the History of L—d G— and Mrs. O — b—n*. (No 25, 26.), *The Town and Country Magazine*, September 1772, p. 457.

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- Mrs Osbern; Granville Leveson-Gower: Their true names were revealed in *Notes and Queries*, Tenth Series, Volume IV, October 28, 1905, p. 843. Also in *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires, Vol. V, 1711-1783*, Mary Dorothy George, 1935, no. 4982, p. 70. Granville Leveson-Gower was also known as Viscount Trentham. Leveson-Gower is pronounced Lurson-Gore, an example of a counter-intuitive pronunciation of a surname.
- Milkmaid: *The Town and Country Magazine*, September 1772, p. 458. ‘She was a foundling, and after attaining the age at which the hospital usually dismisses them, she was apprenticed to a milk woman near Red-Lyon Square.’
- Bitterly fought election: *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol. 11, no. 2, Winter, 1977-1978, ‘Fielding, Bedford and the Westminster Election of 1749’, M. C. with R. R. Battestin, pp. 154-5
- Disrupt the play: Reported in *The Daily Advertiser*, 16 November 1749, cited in *The London Stage, 1660-1800, Part 4: 1747-1776*, p. 152: ‘On Tuesday night there was a great Disturbance...at the French Play, it being the Night of Opening;

the first Act was very much disturbed and some Persons were wounded'. *The London Evening-Post*, 14-16 November 1749: 'Tuesday Night the Campaign open'd at the Little Theatre in the Hay-market...and several others of as great Honour and Rank, attack'd the Gallery Sword in Hand (occasion'd by a few unpolite English attempting to interrupt them in their Performance) with such great Success, that, be it spoken to their immortal Fame; they entirely defeated ten Gentlemen, some of whom were run through the Arms; Face, Eyes, and Body: Three of the valiant Heroes beat a Boy almost to Death! after which they made a most gallant Retreat.'

- Vehemently denied: *The General Advertiser*, 27 November 1749: 'Whereas it has been maliciously reported...that I was active in the Disturbance at the French Playhouse last Tuesday Se'venigh...I was neither in the Pit nor Gallery where the Disturbance happened during the Time of the Performance, nor drew my Sword, nor made use of any Weapon, either to strike or terrify any of the Spectators.'
- 'a scheme planned by the late duke of Montagu, in company with the duke of Richmond'; and 'if an advertisement was published, setting forth that on such a day a man would get into a quart bottle, the inhabitants of this metropolis would flock to pay for being spectators of an impossibility.' *The Town and Country Magazine*, September, 1772 p. 457.
- Attended coffee houses: 'Struensee in Britain: The Interpretation of the Struensee Affair in British Periodicals, 1772', Merethe Roos, *Library of the Written Word*, The Handpress World, Editor-in-Chief, Andrew Pettegree, Volume 42, 2015, pp. 89-90.
- Remarkably accurate: 'The Tête-à-Têtes in *The Town And Country Magazine* (1769 - 1793)', Eleanor Drake Mitchell, *Interpretations*, Vol. 9, no. 1, 1977, p. 18: 'A careful examination of the facts given in the Tête-à-têtes reveals amazing accuracy and faithful representation. One or two factual inaccuracies do occur, and of course, many of the anecdotes cannot be proved, but the dates, names, places of most of the incidents are verifiable in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and other standard works.' Email from Cindy McCreery (author of 'Keeping up with the Bon Ton: the Tête-à-Tête series in the Town and Country Magazine' in *Gender in Eighteenth-Century: Roles, Representations and Responsibilities*, Edited by Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus, London: Routledge, 1997) to author dated 30 January 2017: 'My guess, though, is that it IS likely to be true – not only because I do think that in general the t-a-ts are fairly accurate (at least about some aspects of their subjects' careers!) but because the hoax appears to have involved such big names – major Whig figures and families like the Lennoxes and Montagus with their close association not only with the Whig establishment but also George II. It would seem odd for such big names to be associated with a hoax if there wasn't a shred of truth to it.' [[Check permission](#)]

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- 'the late facetious Duke of Montague (the memorable author of the scheme of the bottle-conjuror, at the Theatre in the Hay-market)...': *Lloyd's Evening Post*, 3-5 November, 1779, reproduced in *The Public Advertiser*, 9 November 1779 would seem to be this earliest reference. The next 'new' citation, that I have found, to the Duke of Montagu is in *The New, Complete, and Universal History, Description, and Survey of The Cities of London and Westminster, The Borough of Southwark, And the Parts adjacent*, William Thornton, London, 1784, p. 289: 'A humorous incident happened about this time, which greatly diverted the attention of the people, and was ascribed to a contrivance of the duke of Montague to ridicule the public credulity.' An earlier edition of a similar book, *A New and Compleat History and Survey Of the Cities of London and Westminster*, Henry Chamberlain, London, 1770, pp. 328-9 refers to the hoax but doesn't mention the Duke of Montagu. Which presupposes that it was the 1772 or 1779 reference that was picked up in the later edition.
- John Montagu: Primary information about the Duke was obtained from *ODNB*, Montagu, John, second duke of Montagu (1690–1749); and *Estate Letters from the Time of John, 2nd Duke of Montagu 1709-39*, Transcribed by Alan Toseland, Edited by Peter McKay and David Hall, Northampton, Northamptonshire Record Society, 2013, xvi-xxv.
- Married Mary Churchill: *John and Sarah, Duke and Duchess of Marlborough, 1660-1744*, Stuart J Reid, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914, p. 429. Sarah Churchill wrote a letter on 17 November 1739 saying she had 'married [Mary] to the chief match of England in all respects'. Otherwise she would have 'been married to some country gentleman with £1,500 or £2,000 a year, which for ought I know might have been better both for her and for me'.
- 'carnage': *The Way of the Montagues: A Gallery of Family Portraits*, Bernard Falk, London: Hutchinson & Co, 1947, p. 267. *Private Correspondence of Sarah Duchess of Marlborough, Illustrative of the Court and Times of Queen Anne*, In Two Volumes, Vol. 1, London, 1838, Duke of Marlborough to the Duchess of Marlborough, 6 May 1706, pp. 18-9: 'Lord Monthermer has pressed Lord Halifax and myself that he might return for England, saying that he could have no happiness whilst he stayed abroad.'
- Active fighting: In a revealing letter to Henry Pelham (or possibly his brother, the Duke of Newcastle) on 6 November 1748, Montagu wrote as follows: 'I have had my desire for some years in being Master of the Ordnance and having the Command of Regiment of artillery and of a Regiment of Dragoons, but the number of unreasonable pretensions and a thousand other disagreeable things that have been the consequence of those Commands have made me heartily tired of all military matters, and if it was not for two vices, ambition that makes me not care to loose the Rank of Cabinet Councilor, and interest that makes unwilling to loose the income of my employment I would desire to quit the works.' Keeper of the Manuscripts and Special Collections, The University of Nottingham, Ref: Ne C 861/1-2. Montagu's apparent love of money was also hinted at in *Memoirs of the Reign of George the Second*, Lord John Hervey, In Two Volumes, Vol. I, Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1848, p. 229 when he was appointed Governor of the Isle of Wight in 1733: 'a man of little more consequence than his being a Duke...took this opportunity to sell himself for as much as he was worth, by getting the income of this employment increased to 1500l. a year.' Despite his lack of fighting, he did seem to have a knowledge of military matters. *Stukeley's journal*, 5 July 1749, Bodleian. MS Eng. misc. e. 126, f.76, cited in *Boughton and Beyond: An investigation of the local, national and global estate interests and activities of John, 2nd Duke of Montagu, 1709-1749*, Helen Bates, PhD, 2018

[https://leicester.figshare.com/articles/thesis/Boughton\\_and\\_Beyond\\_An\\_investigation\\_of\\_the\\_local\\_national\\_and\\_global\\_estate\\_interests\\_and\\_activities\\_of\\_John\\_2nd\\_Duke\\_of\\_Montagu\\_1709\\_-1749/10228052/1](https://leicester.figshare.com/articles/thesis/Boughton_and_Beyond_An_investigation_of_the_local_national_and_global_estate_interests_and_activities_of_John_2nd_Duke_of_Montagu_1709_-1749/10228052/1), Accessed July 2021), p. 188, where she writes: ‘This conflicts with the eulogy that Stukeley composed on the occasion of the Duke’s death in 1749 which stated that he had ‘a very quick apprehension in every thing of gunnery incampments & military operations’ and that he had a ‘talent in every part of the military.’

- Sarah Churchill never warmed to him: *The Opinions of Sarah Duchess-Dowager of Marlborough*, 1788, p. 59. ‘He is not a man that has any demand on account of services done by sea or land’. She made other digs at her son-in-law. *Memoirs of the Reign of George the Second*, Lord John Hervey, In Two Volumes, Vol. II, London: John Murray, 1848, pp. 347-8. The Duke replaced Lord Westmoreland as Captain of the Horse-Guards. Sarah said that ‘the Court had taken away a troop of Horse-Guards from Lord Westmoreland, who never had anything in the army but what he had bought, to give it to the Duke of Montague, who never had anything but what he had sold’. Sarah might have been envious of his wealth. In *Report on the Manuscripts of The Duke of Buccleuch*, p. 360, the Duke of Montagu pays an outstanding debt for the Duchess of Marlborough.
- Trustee of his will: *The Way of the Montagues*, p. 268.
- Standing up when eating: *Bishop Burnet’s History of his Own Time*, Vol. V, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1823, p. 147: ‘He affected eating alone, which the duke of Montague (who had married one of his daughters) was to countenance by standing at his meals.’
- Chief Mourner at his funeral: *The Military History Of the Late Prince Eugene of Savoy, And of the Late John Duke of Marlborough*, Volume II, Claude Du Bosc, London, 1787, p. 333: ‘His Grace the Duke of Montagu Chief Mourner’.
- Boughton House in Northampton: *Boughton and Beyond*, Helen Bates, p. 28 shows the ‘Main estates owned by John, 2nd Duke of Montagu, 1709-1749’.
- Montagu House : *The Russells in Bloomsbury 1669-1771*, Gladys Scott Thomson, London: Jonathan Cape, 1940, p. 356. ‘During the seventeen-thirties the second Duke of Montagu began to contemplate the possibility of getting rid of his mansion in Great Russell Street.’ It was bought in 1753 and became the British Museum.
- London: *Boughton and Beyond*, Helen Bates, p. 25: ‘Although Boughton was considered the ancestral seat, Duke John spent little time there. He appeared to favour other properties and spent considerable time at Montagu House, London.’ Another reason why Montagu was well placed to carry out the hoax
- £17,000: *The Way of the Montagues*, p. 264.
- Wayward wife: *The Wentworth Papers 1705-1739*, London, 1883, p. 197, May 1711 letter. ‘The Dutchess of Montague had told her she was a fool. Lady Harvey in return in a whole assembly of Ladys told her that might be, but she was honest and had lain with nobody but her own Lord. Her Grace had lain with the Duke of Grafton and the Marchal, so they call Lord Villars.’ Also p. 230, Lady Strafford in 21 December 1711 letter. ‘The Duke of Montague and Lord Jersey are the dearest friends that ever was, which is a great Jest to the town, because the Duchess and Lord Jersey had been so a great while.’ It might not have been one-way. *Report on the Manuscripts of The Duke of Buccleuch*, p. 357: Suggestion of some sort of liaison with Miss Dela Manley writing to the Duke on May 29, c. 1710: She ‘Desires pecuniary aid in her misfortunes, an “execution” having seized all her goods’. In later life husband and wife seemed to make it up. *Letters of a Grandmother 1732-1735*, Edited by Gladys Scott Thomson, London: Jonathan Cape, 1943, Letter dated 15 October 1734 from Sarah Marlborough, p. 147: ‘I was told your aunt Montague and her Duke are grown excessive fond of one another, which is quite new on one side.’

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- Two year lease: A copy of the lease is held at Northampton Record Office (Box X8654). The main points of the lease are: lasts 2 years from 10 February 1721; payment of six pounds & six shillings for every performance with a minimum of £100 rental per year; no Balls, Masquerades or Gaming to be held at the theatre; Potter can use the premises for six nights in the year; Potter reserves the rights to sell ‘Oranges Fruits and Books in the said theatre during the time of acting’. A copy of the final accounts (held at Boughton House) between the two parties in 1723 shows the rental payment of £200 to John Potter. It did not appear to be a profitable venture for Montagu. I am indebted to Crispin Powell for tracking down both the lease itself and the accounts, the former being a remarkable document previously not know about relating to the history of the New Theatre in the Haymarket, now the Theatre Royal Haymarket. I must thank Paul Cato and John Field for assisting me with the transcription.
- Five months: *The London Stage, 1660-1800, Part 2: 1700-1729*, p. 637. Aaron Hill tried to lease out the theatre during the same period; but was turned away by Montagu.
- Dog Harlequin: *Estate Letters from the Time of John, 2nd Duke of Montagu*, p. 243. Montagu to Booth (n/d - 1726-8) ‘Tell Rearen or the housekeeper to take great care of my dog Harlakkin’.
- Curious: *The Impostress Rabbit Breeder*, p. 68. ‘He was intrigued by the curious. On a trip to Europe he reported back to his wife details of the curious appearance of a woman he saw, attaching two sketches.’ Reference on p. 181, note 45: Northampton County Record Office (NCRO): Montagu to the Duchess of Montagu, Montagu, Volume 5 - letters of the Montagu family (Vol. III), 1673-1758, f23;

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- ‘and twenty such pretty fancies like these’: *The Opinions of Sarah Duchess-Dowager of Marlborough*, 1788, p. 58.
- Wonky mirrors: *Reminiscences of Henry Angelo*, London: Henry Colburn, 1828, p. 405.
- Stammerers: *Notes and Queries*, 3rd Series, Vol. VI., 15 October 1864, p. 308. ‘The late Duke of Montague was a man of great and peculiar humour. He was used to invite eight or ten people who all squinted, to dine with him at the same time. Once he invited as many who stammered, and they thought that they all mimicked each other, and fell a fighting.’ Horace Walpole refers to a similar story in *Walpole*, letter to Lady Ossory, 21 January 1787, Vol. 33 p. 554. ‘In truth I thought the whole congregation, had it met, would have been so distressed and awkward, that it would have been like a dinner that the late Duke of Montagu made at Bath of all the people he could find there that stuttered.’



- Poured over his head: *Memoirs of the Political and Private Life of James Caulfield, Earl of Charlemont*, London, 1810, p. 34.
- All sank: *The Cabinet of True Attic Wit: Or Aldermen's Jokes*, London, 1783, pp. 63-4.
- 'a couple of great earthen pots': *Richardsoniana: Or, Occasional Reflections on the Moral Nature of Man*, By the late Jonathan Richardson, London: J. Dodsley, Pall-Mall, 1776, pp. 160-1. The actual phrase used of what was dumped on the garden seat is 'house of office', which is interpreted as 'sewage' in perhaps the best summary to date of the Bottle Conjuror hoax: *Factotum, Newsletter of the XVIIIth century STC*, No. 37, September 1993, British Library, pp. 26-7. Dr Misaubin is featured in Plate 5 of William Hogarth's *Harlot's Progress*.
- A gourmet was given a very tough steak to consume, *The Lounger's Common-Place Book*, The Third Edition, In Three Volumes, Vol. 1, London: Longman Hurst, 1805, pp. 326-7.
- 'he had been carrying a legion of devils, for he had counted eighteen of them, and they were coming out still.' *The Scots Magazine*, June 1780, p. 305.

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- *God Save the King and Charley over the Water: Lloyd's Evening Post*, 3-5 November 1779. This is the first time the story is told that I have been able to find. The story was repeated in *Biographical Anecdotes of William Hogarth*, John Nichols, The Second Edition, Enlarged and Corrected, London, 1782, pp. 136-9. The first edition, dated 1781, does not have the anecdote.
- No date: From the *ODNB*, Heidegger, Johann Jakob (1666–1749) puts it anytime between 1715 and 1743. There is no indication whether it was George I or II involved. 'Advertisements for and references to masquerades in the capital start about 1711... However, no evidence associates him with them until about 1715 or 1716. Heidegger's masquerades flourished into the 1730s; his last known advertisement for one was in February 1743, by which time they had fallen out of fashion.'
- Mary Toft: *An Exact Diary of what was observ'd during a Close Attendance upon Mary Toft*, By Sir Richard Manningham, London, 1726, p 20. 'The same Day I told the Story of the Hog's Bladder to his Grace the Duke of Richmond, Duke of Montague, Lord Baltimore, and Mr Molyneux, but did not declare it publicly for the Reasons I have given' (p. 20). She was 'exhorted by his Grace the Duke of Montague, Lord Beltimore, Dr Douglas, and myself, to make a free and open Confession' (p. 32). The Duke of Richmond was also involved in Mary Toft's hoax but neither him, nor of course the Duke of Montagu, appear to have corresponded about it at all. This fact is noted in *The Imposteress Rabbit Breeder*, p. 69; and the same lack of correspondence by the two men would seem to be true for the Bottle Conjuror hoax.
- 'odd' and 'great goodness to me, and his incomparable understanding, far overpaid me for all the inconveniences': *Memoirs of the political and private life of James Caulfield*, p. 34.
- Kindness: His kindness didn't just apply to humans but also to animals. In *The British Magazine*, October 1749, p. 432 it relates how he saved a dog from drowning; that he captured a wild cat and ordered it to be caged – but wouldn't look at it himself as he hated seeing animals in 'an uneasy state'; and that he directed in his will that all his horses and animals should be looked after. And on p. 433 that he couldn't bear to see even harmed, once letting out of a window a swarm of flies. *Anecdotes, Observations, and Characters of Books & Men*, Rev. Joseph Spence, London, 1820, p. 328: 'The Duke of Montague has an hospital for old cows and horses; none of his tenants dare kill a broken-winded horse: they must bring them all to the reservoir.— The Duke keeps a lap-dog, the ugliest creature he could meet with: he is always fond of the most hideous, and says he was at first kind to them because nobody else would be.' *Walpole*, 20 July 1749, Vol. 9, pp. 94-5: 'There are two codicils, one in favour of his servants, and the other of his dogs, cats and creatures.' 'As he was making the codicil, one of the cats jumped on his knee; "What," says he, "have you a mind to be a witness too! You can't, for you are a party concerned".' *A Review of the Works of the Royal Society of London*, The Second Edition, Sir John Hill, London, 1780, p. 5: 'The noble Personage alluded to here, is the late Duke of Montagu, famous, among a thousand other amiable Qualities, for his Love to the whole animal Creation, and for his being able to keep a very grave Face, when he was not in the most serious Earnest. Mr. B—r [Dr Henry Baker], a very distinguished Member of the *Royal Society*, had one Day entertained this Nobleman, and several other Persons, with the Sight of the Peristaltic Motion of the Bowels in a Louse by the Microscope; when the Observation was over, he was going to throw the Creature away; but the Duke, with a Face that made him believe he was perfectly in earnest, told him, it would be not only cruel but ungrateful, in return for the Entertainment that Creature had given them, to destroy it. He ordered the Boy to be brought in, from whom it was procured, and after praising the Smallness and Delicacy of Mr. B—r's Fingers, persuaded him carefully to replace the Animal in its former Territories, and to give the Boy a Shilling not to disturb it for a Fortnight.' *William Stukeley, An Eighteenth-Century Antiquary*, Stuart Piggott, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950, p. 146: 'A flock of sheep happened to cross us, the Duke admired the prettiness, the simplicity, the innocence of the animal and how sorry he was when by chance he saw 'em killing one, he turn'd away his head, and could not bear to look at it'. Finally in *Boughton and Beyond*, Helen Bates, p. 31, Note 44: 'The Duke gave specific instructions for the care of his blind, toothless lion', while his kindness towards horses is detailed on pp. 220-1.
- Generosity: *Boughton and Beyond*, Helen Bates, pp. 31-2: 'The Duke has also been traditionally linked to the foundation of the Foundling Hospital although his act of kindness in offering the Hospital, Montagu House in Bloomsbury, has been interpreted by Gillian Wagner as being less philanthropic than has traditionally been thought and rather intended as a means to solve his financial problems by offloading the burden of a huge repair bill from himself to the Hospital's Governors.' Note 49 cites *Thomas Coram, Gent. 1668-1751*, G Wagner, 2nd edn Woodbridge, 2004, pp.136-37.
- £3,000 : *Walpole*, Vol. 20, p. 79, July 24 1749 put the figure at 'no less than £2,700.' *Boughton and Beyond*, Helen Bates, p. 31: 'There is evidence to confirm that annuities were paid to widows and retired servants in the Montagu estate accounts together with provision for the education of poor children.'

- Private pensions: *The Impostress Rabbit Breeder*, pp. 68 and 181, note 47 cites helping a man called Thomson ‘with the character of an honest but unfortunate man, and I believe is a very Great object of charity’: John Montagu, 2nd Duke of Montagu: Letter to Lord Macclesfield, 27 June 1726, BL: Stowe MS 750, f. 420.
- Pockets full of money: *The British Magazine*, October 1749, ‘On Benevolence. *Some Anecdotes of a Nobleman lately deceas’d*’, p. 433. The author was Sir John Hill who was heavily involved in the Elizabeth Canning case, see chapter 6.
- Ignatius Sancho: *Letters of the late Ignatius Sancho, An African To which are prefixed, Memoirs of his Life*, The Third Edition, London: J Nichols, 1784, pp. vi-vii.
- He pardoned a man sentenced to death for stealing from him: *Policing and Punishment in London, 1660-1750*, p. 452: ‘He wanted to get him pardoned on condition of transportation – though he also wanted him to remain ignorant of the pardon until the morning of the execution “in hopes that the apprehension of dyeing may make him confes the fact”.’
- Bought books: *The British Magazine*, October 1749, p. 433.
- Curate with same name: ‘A remarkable Anecdote concerning the late Duke of M—’, *The Town and Country Magazine*, October, 1778, pp. 528-9. The story concludes: ‘Why then get a presentation to the living, bring it to me, and I will sign it.’

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- ‘as composedly as if he had done nothing’: *The British Magazine*, October 1749, pp. 433-4. Later related in *Gentleman’s and London Magazine*, March 1756, pp. 110-11, where the story is rather crueller, with the officer informed that a lady ‘long had a particular regard for him’; and that was the reason for the dinner.
- ‘He was your friend and the friend of mankind’: *Elizabeth Montagu, The Queen of the Blue-Stockings, Her Correspondence from 1720 to 1761*, In Two Volumes - Vol. I, London: John Murray, 1906, pp. 266-7
- ‘as his grace’s humanity and benevolence was universal, so his loss is irreparable’: *The British Magazine*, July, 1749, p. 306.
- ‘he was a most amiable man, and one of the most feeling I ever knew’. *Walpole*, 24 July 1749, Vol, 20, p. 79.
- Paying for the repairs: *Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont, Vol. II, 1734-1738*, London, 1923, p. 264: ‘I saw a great profusion of fine clothes. The Duke of Montague’s cost 400l.’ This was the same amount as the estimated repairs of the theatre and shows what a comparatively small sum it was to the Duke. The Duke’s love of clothes is seen here. *Lyme Letters 1660-1760*, By the Lady Newton, London: William Heinemann, 1925, Letter from Lady Anne Carew about a masked ball given by the Duke of Montagu, p. 282: ‘The Duke himself had 5 changes of Cloathes and said nothing vexed him soe much as being disapoynted of the sixth’. I did check to see if there was any records of money paid from the Duke’s accounts to John Potter. However the amount of money passing through his bank accounts was such that one could easily envisage Potter being paid in cash. At the Norfolk Record Office there are account books for both the Duke prior to his death and his Estate afterwards. In the latter there is an amount of £539 in cash found at Whitehall upon his death; and £31, also in cash, found in his water closet.
- Montagu was good friends: *Report on the Manuscripts of The Duke of Buccleuch*, p. 413 Duke of Cumberland to the Duke of Montagu, 1748, March, Hague, writes asking that a number of pontoons be sent for the ‘ensuring campaign’. Ends it with ‘I am your affectionate friend, William’. In *Boughton and Beyond*, Helen Bates, p. 177, there is an illustration of The Duke dressed as ‘The Great Master’ of the Order of the Bath with William, Duke of Cumberland, 1725.
- ‘Raise the Infernals to teach me Fireworks’: *English Credulity; or Ye’re all Bottled*. Evidence that it is the Duke of Montagu saying these words is supported by the physical appearance of the drawing. The 2nd Duke was known to be a tall, thin man with a prominent nose and chin. Hogarth’s print, the *Conquest of Mexico*, shows the Duke standing against a wall on the left hand side watching a show, displaying similar features. The illustration on page 126 also confirms the likeness.
- Organising the fireworks: *The General Advertiser*, 21 November, 1748. ‘We hear, that his Grace the Duke of Montagu will present to his Majesty a Plan of the intended Fireworks.’
- Two men attended the event: *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, April, 1749, p. 186: ‘His majesty and the duke of Cumberland, attended by the dukes of Montagu, Richmond, and Bedford, and several others of the nobility, were at the library to see the fireworks’. See also *The London Evening-Post*, 27-29 April 1749. They were also together when testing out the firing capacity of new canons; as reported in *Old England*, 8 April 1749. And in reviewing ‘the Train of Artillery in the Green Park’ as noted in *The General Advertiser*, 20 April 1749
- ‘to keep a very grave Face, when he was not in the most serious Earnest’: *A Review of the Works of the Royal Society of London*, p. 5. ‘The noble Personage alluded to here, is the late Duke of Montagu, famous, among a thousand other amiable Qualities, for his Love to the whole animal Creation, and for his being able to keep a very grave Face, when he was not in the most serious Earnest.’
- Admitted his part: *The Way of the Montagues*, p. 271: ‘The Duke, on whom, naturally enough, suspicion fell, disclaimed all responsibility, and his death that summer automatically terminated any effort to bring home to him the authorship of the costly hoax. The fact that the management were careful not to bring his name into the affair rather suggests that he may have privately compensated them.’ I have found no evidence that the Duke ever wrote or spoke about the hoax, or that he ‘disclaimed all responsibility’. The Duke of Cumberland lived for another 16 years after the Duke of Montagu died. You can imagine the family would have been reluctant to talk about his participation while the Duke was still alive.
- Died of pneumonia: *Boughton and Beyond*, Helen Bates, p. 223. ‘When the Duke died at Whitehall, ten weeks after the fireworks on 5 July 1749, Stukeley described the cause of death as due to ‘a nervous fever’ and that ‘he had languished under nervous disorder for 6 weeks before’ which suggests that his demise began around a month after the fireworks fiasco.’ ‘The stress of the Duke’s military appointments took a toll and...It is arguable that they eventually contributed to his death.’ There seems to be some dispute about his date of death. ‘Last Wednesday Morning, One o’clock,

died...the Most Noble John Duke of Montagu', *The London Evening-Post*, 6-8 July 1749, which would be 5 July.  
 'Yesterday Morning died...the Most Noble John Duke of Montagu', *The General Advertiser*, 7 July 1749, which would be 6 July.

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- William Nicholls: *The Quarterly Review*, Volume 34, June & September, London: John Murray, 1826, p. 232. Speculation was made by Walter Scott about the identity of Nicholls. 'It may be now spoken out, that the contriver of this notable *hoax* was the Duke of Montagu, eccentric in his humour as well as in his benevolence. The person who appeared was a poor Scotchman who had some office about the India-house.' There is no other evidence that substantiates this statement.
- Pseudonym: *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors. Volume 11*, p. 20: 'One hardly knows how to style William Nicholls, but perhaps impresario will serve, since Nicholls (if that was his real name) engaged the Haymarket Theatre for the evening of 16 January 1749.'
- Curate at Scaldwell: According to *Northampton and Rutland Clergy from 1500*, Rev. Henry Isham Longden, Northampton, 1941, Nicholls, William, he was curate from 17 March 1727-8. However according to *Bishop's Transcripts, Scaldwell*, he was curate in 1726. 'This is a true copy of Scaldwells Register for the year 1726 Witnessed by Wm Nicholls Curate.'
- Rector at Little Oakley: *Parish Register, Little Oakley*: 'Memorandum: Wm Nicholls Rector Inducted September 23rd, 1728'. According to *Northampton and Rutland Clergy*, it was 17 September, 1728.
- Livings: The Duke of Montagu had many livings that were under his control, varying in value. The Rectory at Scaldwell was valued in the King's Book at £14 and 10 pennies. St George's, Queen's Square, at £250. The latter was given by the Duke to William Stukeley. The value of the livings and the number owned (of which I have found at least 14) by the Duke can be found in *Thesaurus Ecclesiasticus*, Rev. John Lloyd, London 1788: Scaldwell, p. 299; St George's, p. 226. Little Oakley does not seem to be listed. The granting of the living to William Stukeley is in *The Family Memoirs of the Rev. William Stukeley*, Volume 1, Surtees Society, London, 1882, pp. 56-7.
- Nicholls earned sufficient: Letter from Samuel Quincy to William Folks, 12h June 1756 stating that the living of Oakley was 'small'. Unpublished Stewart's Correspondence, M(B) 2/3/2/237, courtesy of Crispin Powell. Compare with some of the other Duke's livings. *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century*, John Nichols, Volume II, London, 1817, p. 787. Montagu to William Stukeley, 12 November 1747 offering him 'the living of St George, Queen-square, also, which is in my gift. In the valuation of my living, it is called two hundred pounds a year; but I am assured, by those who should know, that it is considerably more.' Also see *William Stukeley, An Eighteenth-Century Antiquary*, p. 153.
- Six daughters: Of his six daughters, three survived to adulthood. His wife died giving birth to his sixth daughter, who died soon after.
- Charles Lamotte: *Northampton and Rutland Clergy*, Charles Lamotte became Rector of Scaldwell on 15 October 1722. From the *Parish Register, Scaldwell*, 'Charles Lamotte DD Chaplain to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, Rector of this Parish. Died at his other living of Warkton January the 11 [1742] and was there Buried.'
- Falling out: *Estate Letters from the Time of John, 2nd Duke of Montagu*, pp. 59-60. Letter between March and September 1728 from Lamotte to the Duke of Montagu. 'I find, by the by, that Mr Nichols is likely to enter into a law affair with you about Oakley, which gives me much uneasyness. I beg you would remember I was not the person that recommended him to you for the living.' On pp. 50-53 correspondence between Lamotte and the Duke with the former asking not to be appointed as Rector of Scaldwell. But the Duke insists.
- Parsonage house built: *Parish Register, Little Oakley*, 'The foundation Stone of the Parsonage House was lay'd by William Nicholls Rector July the Second 1730. His Grace John Duke of Montagu gave both Stone & Timber towards the Building.'
- William Nicholls went to Oxford University: 'William Nicholls son of Richard Nicholls Gentleman of Welton in Northamptonshire, born at Welton, aged 17 was admitted Servitour into Lincoln College, Jan, 23rd, 1718/19.' From the *Matriculation Register* for William Nicholls. Received from Lindsay McCormack, Archivist, Lincoln College, sent in email dated 24 November 2016.
- Bond of resignation: 'Mischievous snares': bonds of resignation', William Gibson, *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, Vol. 10, No 1, January 1989. I am indebted to Mr Gibson for his assistance on both this issue and his thoughts on the likelihood of Nicholls being involved in the Bottle Conjurer.
- Two positions in 1749: See *Northampton and Rutland Clergy*, Nicholls, William. Also, *Bishop's Transcripts, Scaldwell*: 'This is a true Copy of the Register of Scaldwells for the year 1749. Witness our Hands Wm Nicholls Minister (and Church Wardens)'. For *Parish Register, Little Oakley*, there is a sign off by Nicholls for the year 1747. Nicholls died 10 June 1756. Letter from Frances Nicholls, Scaldwell to William Folkes, 10 June 1756 Queen Square: 'Lost the best of fathers who went out riding in fields and suddenly dropped from his horse.' Unpublished Stewart's Correspondence, M(B) 2/3/2/236, with thanks to Crispin Powell.
- 'a Man of genteel Appearance' and 'directed Letters to be left for him at the Bedford Coffee-house': *The General Advertiser* and *The Daily Advertiser*, 19 January 1749 and repeated 20 January 1749. 'N.B. The Person who took the House was a Man of genteel Appearance, said his Name was *William Nicholls*, and directed Letters to be left for him at the Bedford Coffee-house, Covent-Garden.' Repeated 20 January, 1749. For 'The Bedford Coffee-House, in Covent Garden'' *Club Life of London*, John Timbs, In Two Volumes, Vol. II, London: Richard Bentley, 1866, pp. 76-82. The Bedford was a particular favourite of Samuel Foote. Its walls were papered with playbills and it was well-known for dramatic criticism.

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- One likely candidate is Philip Sone: *Parish Register, Scaldwell*: 'Philip Sone M.A. Rector of Scaldwell Inducted May 22, 1742. Chaplain to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and to his Grace the Duke of Montagu.' Also *Northampton and Rutland Clergy*, Sone, Philip
- Chaplains to Frederick Prince of Wales: From correspondence with Daniel Reed, 19 January 2017, who at the time was doing research at the Royal Archives: 'At Prince Frederick's death in 1751, a list of his former chaplains was drawn up to inform decision made about who would be continued in the household of Augusta, Dowager Princess of Wales (RA/EB/EB/30, ff. 51-52). This list gives the year of appointment for each chaplain, and their whereabouts in 1751. The relevant extracts are as follows: '1732 - Charles Lamotte - dead; 1741 - Phillip Sone - living in Hampshire.'
- They were good friends: *A Duke and his Friends, The Life and Letters of the Second Duke of Richmond*, Earl of March, Vol. II, London: Hutchinson & Co., 1911, pp. 431-3 is letter from Duke of Montagu to Richmond complaining amusingly about a fox in his grounds. In Vol. I, p. 298 he receives a letter of congratulation from Montagu when he was made Master of the Horse in January, 1735. *Report on the Manuscripts of The Duke of Buccleuch*, p. 385 John Chardin to the Duke of Marlborough, 1 May 1735: 'I shall be for ever grateful to my highly honoured and beloved friends Magnifico and Clarissimo the two Dukes of Richmond and Montagu for having lately at each of their houses recommended me to your acquaintance and friendship'. *Boughton and Beyond*, Helen Bates, p. 25 states they were 'close friends'. *The Daily Post*, 6 December 1731: 'Some Days ago the Duke of Richmond, the Duke of Montagu, and many persons of quality were at the Rehearsal of a new Comedy, call'd, The MODISH COUPLE, written by Mr. BODENS, and were very much diverted, desiring some of the Scenes to be rehearsed over again.' Cited in *The Imposteress Rabbit Breeder*, pp. 69 and 182, note 51 is reference to Richmond requesting Montagu's support in lobbying the Bishop of London in 1723: Charles Lennox, 2nd Duke of Richmond to Montagu, 4 June 1723 NCRO: Montagu Volume 2, Original Letters (Vol. III) 1681-1765, f76.
- Residences close: *The Way of the Montagues*, p. 272. 'The Dukes of Montagu and Richmond were neighbours in Privy Gardens.' *Boughton and Beyond*, Helen Bates, p. 199: 'The revival of his fortunes and public profile appears to have been boosted by the relocation of his main residence in 1733 from his great mansion at Bloomsbury to a new 'plain and simple' house at Privy Garden which overlooked the Thames and abutted the properties of other 'noblemen'. These neighbours included the Duke of Richmond, Duke of Portland, Earl of Pembroke and Lord Loudoun.' Ref in note 687: J. Motley, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster*, London, 1735, p. 655.
- Practical jokes: *A Duke and his Friends*, Vol. I, pp. 264-70 relates a pretend highway robbery orchestrated by Richmond, which Montagu enjoyed hearing about. *Notes & Queries*, 3rd Series, VI, October 29, 1864, p. 353: The Duke of Montagu himself was involved in a genuine highway robbery; but he paid a reward for the return of a valuable watch and then asked the villain to dine with some friends afterwards. After he had gone, they enquired who was the agreeable person. "'I'm sure I don't know,'" said the Duke: "all I know of him is, that he stopped me on Finchley Common last night and robbed me of all I had about me".
- Ridiculous bets: Both the Duke of Richmond and the Duke of Montagu were members of White's. The original Betting Book survives, *The Betting Book of White's from 1743 to 1878*, Vol. II. Part I, London, 1892, and lists many absurdist bets, although there are no examples of any bets made by the Duke of Montagu. An amusing wager is recounted by Horace Walpole with regard to one of those involved in the Bottle Conjurer hoax. *Walpole*, Vol. 20, pp. 208-9, 19 December, 1750. A man bet that he could find someone who weighed twice as much as that of the Duke of Cumberland. 'When they had betted, they recollected not knowing how to desire the Duke to step into a scale. They agreed to establish his weight at twenty stone'. Edward Bright, considered to be the largest living man was pitted against him, but died before the wager could be completed. See also *The History of Gambling in England*, John Ashton, London: Duckworth & Co., 1898, pp. 155-58 and 171-2 for other examples of ridiculous bets, including more mentioned by Horace Walpole.
- Serious historians: *Boughton and Beyond*, Helen Bates, p. 1: 'Many of his [John, 2nd Duke of Montagu] activities have escaped the historical record, overshadowed by an inordinate focus on his love of hoaxing and practical jokes.'

## Chapter Six: 'This Resolutely-Virtuous Creature'

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- 'This Resolutely-Virtuous Creature' title: From print of *Elizabeth Canning At the House of Mother Wells at Enfield Wash*, where it uses the phrase 'this resolutely-virtuous Creature'.

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- 'wretched Condition': *The London Daily Advertiser*, 31 January 1753. The paper stated at the end: 'She left several unhappy young Women in the House, whose Misfortune she has providentially escaped.' This was the only reference that is made to other women being held at the house against their will. Later it would be used by those sceptical about the story as a discrepancy in the original, and subsequent, retelling.
- Warrant: A copy of the warrant issued by Alderman Chitty on 31 January 1753 was reproduced in *Canning's Magazine: Or, A Review of the whole Evidence*, London, 1753, p. 69. The warrant, dated 31 January 1753. is for the arrest of Mother Wells 'for violently assaulting her, and stripping her of a Pair of Stays, Value 20s'. There is no mention of Mary Squires. There were about fifty supporters of Elizabeth Canning pressing for the warrant on Chitty. The warrant is also reproduced, when Chitty is giving his testimony, in 'The Trial of Elizabeth Canning', p. 376, from *A Complete Collection of State Trials*, compiled by T. B. Howell, In Twenty-One Volumes, Vol. XIX, London, 1816.
- 'no more than a Quartern [quarter of a] Loaf and about a Gallon of Water': *The London Daily Advertiser*, 1 February, 1753.

- Sent to New Prison: *The London Daily Advertiser*, 2 February 1753. There was no police force to detain suspects, this had to be done privately by the accusers.
- Magistrate. Fielding took the oath for the Westminster magistracy on 25 October 1748. *Henry Fielding at Work, Magistrate, Businessman, Writer*, Lance Bertelsen, New York: Palgrave, 2000, p. 11
- Bow Street: *Henry Fielding*, Donald Thomas, London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1990, p. 364.
- Mr Salt: His first name is never revealed.

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- She was eighteen years of age: Elizabeth Canning was born on 17 September 1734.
- 'plain, and short of stature': *An Appeal to the Public in Behalf of Elizabeth Canning; In which the material Facts in her Story are fairly stated, and shewn to be true, on the Foundation of Evidence*, Daniel Cox, M.D., The Second Edition, London, 1753, p. 11.
- Maid to John Lyon: *Genuine and Impartial Memoirs of Elizabeth Canning, Containing A complete History of that unfortunate Girl*, London: G. Woodfall, 1754 (c. August, 1754), p. 3. Prior to that she worked for as a servant for 'near two Years' for Mr Wintlebury, who ran an Alehouse in Aldermanbury. She left, because as 'she advanced towards Maturity, she could not avoid some Freedom from the Multitude of Company who resorted to her Master's House, that were offensive to her Modesty, and which she feared might be injurious to her Reputation: From hence she went to Mr. Lyon, a Carpenter, in the same Neighbourhood'.
- Ten weeks: *Ibid*, p. 3. One of the arguments against Elizabeth Canning planning her elopement for purposes of a 'salvation or a delivery' was that it was her mistress who informed her when she could take the holiday. See *A Refutation of Sir Crisp Gascoyne's Address to the Liverymen of London: By a Clear State of the Case of Elizabeth Canning*, Nicholas Crisp, London, 1754, p. 2.
- Walk to Aldgate: 'The Trial of Mary Squires and Susannah Wells', p. 263 from *A Complete Collection of State Trials*, compiled by T. B. Howell, In Twenty-One Volumes, Vol. XIX, London, 1816. 'My uncle and aunt came with me as far as Aldgate, where we parted'.
- Walking through Moorfields: *A Clear State of the Case of Elizabeth Canning*, Henry Fielding, Dublin, 1753 [hereafter known as *A Clear State*], p. 26. 'That upon her Return home, about Half an Hour after Nine, being opposite *Bethlehem-gate* in *Moorfields*, she, this Informant, was seized by two Men.' 'The Trial of Mary Squires and Susannah Wells', p. 263: EC: 'I was then alone, so came down Houndsditch, and over Moorfields by Bedlam wall; there two lusty men, both in great-coats, laid hold of me.' 'The Trial of Elizabeth Canning', p. 374, Chitty's statement: 'as she came along by the dead wall against Bedlam, in Moorfields...' 'and forced her along Bishopsgate-street, each holding her up under her arms'.
- Three shillings: *A Clear State*, p. 26. 'Three Shillings in Silver'. 'The Trial of Elizabeth Canning', p. 374: Chitty: 'three shillings. and a halfpenny'. Mr. Davy. 'Are you sure she said a halfpenny?' Alderman Chitty. 'I am sure she did'.
- Blows she received: 'The Trial of Mary Squires and Susannah Wells', p. 263. 'after which one of them gave me a blow on the temple and said, Damn you, you bitch, we'll do for you by and bye.'
- 'Bawdy-house': *A Clear State*, p. 27
- A gypsy: 'The Trial of Elizabeth Canning', p. 375. 'Did she describe any gypsey, or any remarkable woman?' Chitty: 'I asked her, whether she should know the woman again? she said, she believed she should; but she did not make mention of any extraordinary woman doing this'. *A Clear State*, p. 27: 'and there this Informant saw, in the Kitchen, an old Gipsy-woman, and two young Women.'
- 'go their Way': *A Clear State*, p. 27.
- A prostitute: As well as Canning's own affidavit, this also came out in the trial of M Squires and S Well, in evidence given by Virtue Hall at 'The Trial of Mary Squires and Susannah Wells', p. 267: 'She asked E. Canning, whether she would go her way?' 'What did she mean by that?' 'She meant for her to turn whore.'
- Her stays: Exactly where EC's stays were cut off would prove controversial. 'The Trial of Elizabeth Canning', p. 374: 'and then a woman forced her up stairs into a room, and, with a case-knife she had in her hand, cut the lace of her stays, and took her stays away, and told her there was bread and water in the said room.' With her testimony to Fielding and at the Old Bailey, it took place 'in the Kitchen'. *A Clear State*, p. 27: 'the said old Gipsy-woman took a Knife out of a Drawer, and cut the Lace of the Stays of her.' Pointed out in: *Genuine and Impartial Memoirs of Elizabeth Canning*, p. 250: 'Could she have forgot whether her Stays were cut off above Stairs or below? – Before the Alderman she swore she was robbed in the Room in which she was afterwards confined; but before Mr. *Fielding*, and at the *Old Bailey*, this Robbery was said to be committed in the Kitchen.'
- Hay loft: 'The Trial of Elizabeth Canning', p. 374. Chitty's testimony: 'she had no stool all that time, only made a little water; and said, there was an old stool or two, an old table, and an old picture over the chimney'. p. 375: 'During the time of this examination, did she mention any hay?' 'She said, there was nothing in the room but those things she had mentioned; not one tittle of hay, neither do I remember what she said she lay upon.' 'The Trial of Mary Squires and Susannah Wells', p. 264: 'What did they call the name of the place where they put you in?' EC: 'They call it the hayloft...there was a fire-place and a grate in it, no bed nor bedstead, nothing but hay to lie upon'. *A Clear State*, p. 28: 'pulled her into a back Room like at Hay-loft, without any Furniture whatsoever in the same'.
- 'a large black Jug with the Neck much broken, wherein was some Water': *A Clear State*, p. 28: 'And this Informant saith, That when it grew light, upon her looking round to see in what a dismal Place she was, she, this Informant, discovered a large black Jug with the Neck much broken, wherein was some Water.' 'The Trial of Mary Squires and Susannah Wells', p. 264: EC: 'There was a black pitcher not quite full of water.' According to Virtue Hall's testimony at 'The Trial of Mary Squires and Susannah Wells', p. 268, 'about three hours after the young woman was put up, Mary Squires filled the jug with water, and carried it up'. In her statement to Henry Fielding, Virtue Hall said, in *A Clear State*, p. 34: 'That about two Hours after a Quantity of Water in an old broken mouthed large black Jug was carried up

the said Stairs, and put down upon the Floor of the said Workshop at the Top of the Stairs'. 'The Trial of Elizabeth Canning', p. 374: Chitty: 'and then a woman forced her up stairs into a room, and, with a case-knife she had in her hand, cut the lace of her stays, and took her stays away, and told her there was bread and water in the said room.'

- Several pieces of bread: Another point of contention. 'The Trial of Elizabeth Canning', p. 375: Chitty: 'I am sure she said four or five, or five or six pieces'; 'The Trial of Mary Squires and Susannah Wells', p. 264: EC: 'and about twenty-four pieces of bread'. 'How much in quantity do you think these twenty-four pieces of bread might be?' 'I believe about a quarter loaf'. *A Clear State*, p. 28: 'upon the Floor, several Pieces of Bread, near in Quantity to a quarter Loaf, and a small parcel of Hay'. Pointed out in *Genuine and Impartial Memoirs of Elizabeth Canning*, p. 250: 'and have mistaken five or six Pieces of Bread, which she swore at Guildhall was the whole Number, for Four or Five-and-twenty, to which she deposed at the *Old-Bailey*'.
- Small mince pie: *A Clear State*, p. 9: 'except one small Minced-pye which she had in her Pocket which she was carrying home as a Present to her little Brother.'

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- Mother, Wells: *A Clear State*, p. 28: 'altho' she often heard the Name of Mrs and Mother *Wells* called upon, whom she understood was the Mistress of the House.' 'The Trial of Elizabeth Canning', p. 376: Chitty: 'I asked the girl, whether that [Wells] was the mistress of the house or no? she said, she could tell nothing of the woman's name.'
- Consumed all the bread and water: Again another point of contention. Alderman Chitty at 'The Trial of Elizabeth Canning', p. 375: 'She said, a little water was left when she made her escape'. *A Clear State*, pp. 28-9: 'That on *Friday*, the twenty-sixth Day of *January* last past, she, this Informant had consumed all the aforesaid Bread and Water, and continued without having any Thing to eat, or drink, until the *Monday* following'. 'The Trial of Mary Squires and Susannah Wells', p. 267: 'When did you drink all your water?' EC: 'I drank all that about half an hour before I got out of the room'. 'Did you eat all your bread?' EC: 'I eat it all on the Friday before I got out; it was quite hard, and I used to soak it in the water'. *Genuine and Impartial Memoirs of Elizabeth Canning*, p. 69: 'the Time of finishing her Allowance of Water: Of this she has given no less than three different Accounts, each of which is directly contradictory of the other. Before Alderman *Chitty* she swore, she left some of the Water behind her; before Mr. *Fielding*, that she had consumed all her Water, and had nothing to drink three Days before she made her Escape; and, in Presence of the Court, that she drank the last Part of it about *half an Hour* before she got out of the Window.'
- Broke out of a window: 'The Trial of Elizabeth Canning', pp. 374-5: 'she made a hole by removing a pane, and forced part open, and got out on a small shed of boards or pent-house, and so slid down and jumped on the side of a bank on the backside of the house, and so got into the road'. *A Clear State*, p. 29: she 'broke out at a Window of the said Room, or Place'. 'The Trial of Mary Squires and Susannah Wells', pp. 264-5: 'How did you get out?' EC: 'I broke down a board that was nailed up at the inside of a window, and got out there.' 'How high was the window from the ground?' (She described it by the height of a place in the Sessions-house, which was about eight or ten feet high). 'First I got my head out, and kept fast hold by the wall, and got my body out; after that I turned myself round, and jumped into a little narrow place by a lane, with a field behind it.'

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- Pass by her window: *The London Daily Advertiser*, 10 February 1753. 'she had been confined in a House on the Hertfordshire road, which she knew, by seeing the Coachman who drove her mistress into that County pass by, through a hole of the window.'
- Robert Scarrat: 'The Trial of Elizabeth Canning', p. 495. In his testimony, Scarrat said he had said to EC that 'I'll lay a guinea to a farthing, she has been at Mother Wells's'. Also see *Some Account of the Case between Elizabeth Canning and Mary Squires; As it now stands upon the Foot of the Evidence given on both Sides, upon the late Trial at the Old-Bailey*, E Biddulph, London, 1754, p. 22. Published May 1754, see *The Public Advertiser*, 23 May 1754. *The Monthly Review*, May, 1754, p. 394: 'An impatient curiosity, that is unwilling to wait the publication of the trial at large, may be agreeably enough gratified in the perusal of this pamphlet; which contains a succinct and, as we believe, a genuine account of the evidence offered against and for *Elizabeth Canning*, at her late trial for perjury: the author's observations on which are for the most part sensible, pertinent, and striking.'
- Canning's affidavit: *A Clear State*, pp. 26-29.
- Prevaricate: *A Clear State*, pp. 30-1.
- Virtue Hall's statement: *A Clear State*, pp. 32-6. Although she agreed to make a statement on 8 February, it wasn't actually drawn up until 13 February and signed on 14 February. Questions that were raised about what happened in those six days are considered in *Genuine and Impartial Memoirs of Elizabeth Canning*, pp. 72-4.
- Significant discrepancy: Already noted above is the different statements as to when Canning received her sustenance. Daniel Cox in *An Appeal to the Public in Behalf of Elizabeth Canning*, p. 35 tried to explain this away by suggesting Canning had fallen asleep when she was first put in the hayloft. So had only noticed the jug when she woke up: 'which circumstances Virtue Hall might certainly know, but which Canning might not know, if supposed to have fallen asleep after the fatigue of the night, which a small portion of charity towards her might induce any one to suppose.'
- Hall noticed the escape: *A Clear State*, pp. 34-5: 'the said *Elizabeth Canning*, was not missed or discovered to have escaped out of the said Workshop until *Wednesday* the 31st Day of the same Month of *January*, as she this Informant verily believes; for that to the best of this Informant's Recollection and Belief, she was the Person that first missed the said *Elizabeth Canning* thereout.'

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- Windows never broken: *A Clear State*, pp. 35-6: 'That on the Day on which it was discovered that the said *Elizabeth Canning* had made her Escape out of the said Workshop, by breaking down some Boards slightly affixed across the Window-Place, the said *Sarah*, Daughter of the said *Susannah Wells*, nailed up the said Window-place again with Boards, so that the said Window place might not appear to have broke open.'

- Couple moved upstairs: *A Clear State*, p. 35: ‘That *Fortune Natus* and *Sarah* his Wife...have lodged in the House...and lay on a Bed of Hay spread in the Kitchen at Night...and continued lying there, when at home, until *Thursday* the first Day of *February*, when before the said Mr. *Tyshemaker*, all except the said *Susannah Wells* and *Mary Squires* were discharged, and then that Evening the said *Fortune Natus* and *Sarah* his Wife laid up in the said Workshop where the said *Elizabeth Canning* had been confined, so that, as this Informant understood, it might be pretended that they had been in the said Workshop for all the Time they had lodged in the said *Susannah Wells*’s House.’ It was subsequently pointed out that this subterfuge didn’t make sense. According to *Virtue Hall*, *Fortune Natus* and *Judith* (named as *Sarah* by *Hall*) first moved up to the hayloft on the evening of 1 *February*. But this was after *Mother Wells* and *Mary Squires* had already been arrested, so the contrivance came too late. This was noted in both *Canning’s Magazine: Or, A Review of the Whole Evidence*, London 1753, p. 46; and *Genuine and Impartial Memoirs of Elizabeth Canning*, p. 78.
- Certain of what she was saying: *A Clear State*, p. 37. In *An Address To The Liverymen Of The City of London from Sir Crisp Gascoyne*, 1754, p. 15, the Lord Mayor asks the question why *Fielding* believed *Virtue Hall* rather than *Judith Nash*. ‘What reason there was to prefer the account of *Canning*, improbable and unconfirmed as it was, to the probable account first offered by *Virtue Hall*, and confirmed by *Judith Natus*, I cannot comprehend.’ *Judith* never did give evidence at the first trial. In *Genuine and Impartial Memoirs of Elizabeth Canning*, p. 37, it was claimed that this was due to ‘the exasperated Mob’ preventing ‘their [*Fortune Natus* and his wife] Admission into the Sessions-House’. *Judith* said at ‘The Trial of *Elizabeth Canning*’ that she had been subpoenaed at *Mary Squires*’s trial ‘but they would not let me come in’ (p. 405). This contrasted with her husband, *Fortune Natus*, who when he was asked what prevented him coming to court to give evidence at *Mary Squires*’s trial, replied: ‘Because I was not called; none of the witnesses were called, never a one’ (p. 402).
- ‘as a Person traditionally and hereditarily versed in the ancient Egyptian Cunning’ and ‘damn the young bitch’. *The London Evening-Post*, 15-17 *February* 1753. *Fielding*’s own report of this meeting is rather more circumspect, *A Clear State*, p. 38.
- Articles in newspapers: *The London Daily Advertiser*, 1 *February* 1753.
- A reward: *The Public Advertiser*, 15 *February* 1753 and *The London Evening-Post*, 15-17 *February* 1753 offered £10 for the conviction of *John Squires*. It was common at this time to offer rewards to apprehend miscreants as there was no police force to carry out this role.
- Appeals made for money: *The Public Advertiser*, 17 *February* 1753.
- Money: Although it was agreed that money couldn’t have been the initial reason for *Elizabeth Canning* to have make up her story, it was argued that it could have proved an incentive for her to keep to it. *Canning’s Magazine: Or, A Review of the whole Evidence*, p. 47: ‘And though the Hope of Money might not be her primary Motive, it may not be unnatural to assign it as a Reason for her subsequent Perseverance and Inflexibility.’

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- The trial of *Mary Squires* and *Susannah Wells*: A transcript of this trial is given in *A Complete Collection of State Trials*, compiled by *T. B. Howell*, In Twenty-One Volumes, Vol. XIX, London, 1816, pp. 261-274. Information relating to the trial comes from this source.
- Confused about dates: This was easier to prove as the Gregorian calendar had recently been adopted, advancing the calendar by 11 days. 2 *September* 1752 was followed by 14 *September*. Many were therefore confused exactly what they were doing on 1 *January* 1753.
- *Susannah Wells*: ‘The trial of *Mary Squires* and *Susannah Wells*’, p. 274. ‘*Wells* being called upon to make her defence, said, As to her character, it was but an indifferent one; that she had an unfortunate husband, who was hanged; and added, she never saw the young woman (meaning *El Canning*) till they came to take us up; and as to *Squires*, she never saw her above a week and a day before they were taken up.’

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- ‘immediately inflicted, with an uncommon Severity, to the Great Satisfaction, and with the loud Applause, of a numerous Crowd of incensed Spectators’: *Genuine and Impartial Memoirs of Elizabeth Canning*, pp. 36-7. ‘at the same Time *Wells* received her Sentence, which was, to be branded in the Hand, and afterwards to suffer six Months Imprisonment in *Newgate*. The former Part of this Sentence was, as I am told, immediately inflicted, with an uncommon Severity, to the great Satisfaction, and with the loud Applause, of a numerous Crowd of incensed Spectators’. There is no mention in the newspapers of the branding at the time of the sentencing. She was presumably branded with the letter ‘F’ for felon. From ‘The Proceedings of the Old Bailey, Punishment Sentences at the Old Bailey, Branding’: ‘Convicts who successfully pleaded benefit of clergy, and those found guilty of manslaughter instead of murder, were branded on the thumb (with a ‘T’ for theft, ‘F’ for felon, or ‘M’ for murder), so that they would be unable to receive this benefit more than once (see <https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/static/Punishment.jsp#branding>, accessed July 2021).
- *Mary Squires*, for the crime of grand larceny: From ‘The Proceedings of the Old Bailey, Crimes Tried at the Old Bailey, Grand Larceny’: ‘This is the most common offence found in the Proceedings. It involves the theft of goods of the value of 1 shilling or more, but without any aggravating circumstances such as assault, breaking and entering, stealing ‘privately’, or taking from a series of specified locations such as a house. Occasionally juries used their discretion to find people accused of such thefts guilty of the lesser crime of petty larceny with a partial verdict. By finding the defendant guilty of the theft of goods worth less than one shilling, the jury ensured the defendant would receive a lesser punishment, most notably a punishment other than death. Grand Larceny was abolished in 1827 when a new offence of (simple larceny) removed the distinction between grand and petty larceny.’ (see <https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/static/Crimes.jsp#grandlarceny>, accessed July 2021). See also *Crime and Punishment in Eighteenth-century England*, *Frank McLynn*, London: Routledge, 1989, p. 91.
- Hanged: *The London Daily Advertiser*, 23 *February* 1753.

- Three men beaten up: *The London Daily Advertiser*, 23 February 1753: ‘When those Witnesses went out of Court, the Mob who were waiting in the Yard, beat, kicked them, rolled them in the Kennel, and otherwise misused them before they suffered them to get from them.’
- Mary Squires’s shaky alibi: *The London Evening-Post*, 1-3 March 1753.
- Warrant for George Squires: *The London Evening-Post*, 24-27 February 1753.
- John: No explanation is ever given as to why Virtue Hall called George & Lucy Squires, John & Katharine, in her testimonial evidence from *A Clear State*, p. 32.
- ‘in a most cruel manner’; ‘Barbarity’ and ‘rooting these Villains out of their Dens’: *Old England’s Journal*, 3 March 1753.
- ‘who was so cruelly confined and almost starved’: *The London Daily Advertiser*, 5 March, 1753.

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- *Elizabeth Canning at the House of Mother Wells at Enfield Wash*: Does not seem to be catalogued in *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, Vol. III, Part II, 1751-c. 1760*, Frederic George Stephens, 1877. But see *London 1753*, Sheila O’Connell, Trustees of The British Museum, 2003, p. 82, Catalogue 1.59. The print is dated 3 March, 1753. See also *The Public Advertiser*, 5 March, 1753, ‘*This Day is Published*’. Print states incorrectly that Mary Squires is called Elizabeth Squires.
- ‘notorious old bawd Susannah Wells’; ‘an old travelling gipsey’; ‘mouldy crusts and stinking water’: *The Public Advertiser*, 5 March 1753. *This Day are published, Price 3d. The Life and Actions of that notorious old bawd Susannah Wells; and Mary Squires, an old travelling Gipsey, who were both convicted Last Sessions at the Old-Bailey, for a Felony and Robbery on Elizabeth Canning, who was Confined in the House of the said Wells, at Enfield Wash, and almost starved, having nothing to support her for Twenty-nine days, but mouldy Crusts and stinking Water*. Printed for F. Clifton, in Fleet Lane. I haven’t read the pamphlet but the title gives sufficient flavour to know what it is about. The British Library don’t have a copy but there is apparently one in the National Library of Australia.
- Sir Crisp Gascoyne: One of his direct heirs is Bamber Gascoigne, the first presenter of the highbrow television quiz show *University Challenge*.
- Letter sent to vicar: *An Inquiry of Sir Crisp Gascoyne, Knt. Late Lord-Mayor of the City of London, Into the Cases of Canning and Squires*, Dublin, 1754, pp. 8-9. It was published 12 July 1754, *The London Evening-Post*, 9-11 July 1754.

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- ‘too honest Men to give a false Evidence’: *An Inquiry of Sir Crisp Gascoyne*, p. 14.
- Posterity not fair to Hill: For a reassessment see *The Notorious Sir John Hill, The Man Destroyed by Ambition in the Era of Celebrity*, George Rousseau, USA: Lehigh University Press, 2012,
- Quack Doctor and unsuccessful playwright: Hence David Garrick’s famous epigram about Hill. ‘For physics and farces, his equal there scarce is; his farces are physic; his physic a farce is.’
- Mountefort Brown attacking Hill: On 6 May 1752 according to *The Covent-Garden Journal*, Sir Alexander Drawcansir (Henry Fielding), Edited by Gerard Edward Jensen, Volume 1, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1915, pp. 72-3.
- ‘that nothing against the Honour of Mr Brown appeared before the Justice’. *The Covent-Garden Journal*, 12 May 1752.
- ‘unworthy of its author’: cited in *The Notorious Sir John Hill*, p. 142.
- ‘poultry Dunghill, and had long been levelled with the Dirt’: *The Covent-Garden Journal*, Saturday, 11 January 1752.
- Question Virtue Hall: *The London Daily Advertiser*, 9 March 1753.
- Gatehouse prison: *An Inquiry of Sir Crisp Gascoyne*, p. 17: ‘*Virtue Hall*, upon whose Oath the Robbery had been confirmed, a poor, illiterate, ignorant Girl, was then in the *Gatehouse*, not under Confinement as a Prisoner, but supported there by *Canning’s* Friends’.
- Hill’s delight: *Genuine and Impartial Memoirs of Elizabeth Canning*, pp. 42-3 sums up well what people thought generally of John Hill and his Inspector column. However it argues that on this occasion their antagonism is misdirected.
- Admittance of false testimony: *The Public Advertiser*, 9 March, 1753. ‘Yesterday Virtue Hall, the Girl who was Evidence against Mother Wells, and Mary Squires in the Affair relating to Elizabeth Canning, swore before the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, that all she had sworn upon the Tryal was false.’
- Gascoyne interviews: *An Inquiry of Sir Crisp Gascoyne*, p. 19. ‘I determined, however, I would not be with her alone, and therefore directed Sir *John Phillips*, a Gentleman, whose Name is sufficient to sanctify what passed, to accompany me.’
- Public examination: *Ibid*, pp. 19-20.

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- Two key questions: *A Refutation of Sir Crisp Gascoyne’s Address to the Liverymen of London by A Clear State of the Case of Elizabeth Canning*, London, 1754, p. 10 puts forward the counter argument that Virtue Hall’s first testimony was correct.
- She had ‘therefore swore falsely to save her own Life’: *An Inquiry of Sir Crisp Gascoyne*, p. 20.
- True cause: *The London Daily Advertiser*, 9 March 1753. ‘On being asked what it was that induced her to swear to such a Chain of Falsehoods at the Trial, and to be the Means of taking away the Life of a Person who had not injured her; she declared the true Cause: What that was *will appear hereafter*; it is not yet the Time for it.’
- Visiting Susannah Wells: *An Inquiry of Sir Crisp Gascoyne*, p. 21.
- Gypsy dangerously ill *The London Daily Advertiser*, 12 March 1753.
- Stay of execution on 10 April: *The London Evening-Post*, 10-12 April 1753.
- ‘we are assured that there is very strong Evidence of the contrary discovered within these few Days’, and ‘King of the Gypsies’: *The Public Advertiser*, 19 March 1753. It never was revealed who was the ‘King’ but *The Canning Enigma*,



John Treherne, London: Jonathan Cape, 1989, p. 48, states that all readers would have known it was Sir Crisp Gascoyne.

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- 'Egyptians commonly called Gypsies': *The London Evening-Post*, 31 March-3 April 1753.
- had been severely beaten up by a tall lusty man dressed in a great rug coat: *Gazetteer*, 24 April 1753, cited in *Genuine and Impartial Memoirs of Elizabeth Canning*, pp. 100-1. The paper referred to is presumed to be *The Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser*; but there don't seem to be any existing copies.
- Set on fire: *The Public Advertiser*, 11 May 1753.
- that Myles was forced to publicly state that as several persons had doubted its truth, 'Affidavits of the Facts are in my Hands, and may be seen': *Gazetteer*, 16 May 1753, cited in *Genuine and Impartial Memoirs of Elizabeth Canning*, p. 102.
- Threw them all out: *The Public Advertiser*, 4 May 1753.
- 'that the Gipsy was neither at Abbotsbury or Endfield': *The London Daily Advertiser*, 5 May 1753.
- 'I can be at Abbotsbury & Enfield-Wash, both at one Time': *A T(ru)e Draught of Eliz: Canning, with the House she was confined in, also the Gypsies flight, and Conversing with the Inspector General of Great Britain*. This print has five panels, two showing Mother Wells' house, a portrait of Elizabeth Canning, Mary Squires talking to John Hill and, the one relevant here, Mary Squires on a broomstick depicted as a witch. *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, Vol. III, Part II*, no. 3211, pp. 864-7.
- Visiting Mother Wells's house: *The Public Advertiser*, 30 March, 1753. Also in *The Public Advertiser*, 16 March 1753 the headline 'A Case much stranger than Elizabeth Canning's' was used to promote the sale of a pamphlet about the execution of John Perry and his sons for the supposed murder of William Harrison.

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- Double that number: Over 20 were produced between March and September 1753. 'Elizabeth Canning in Print', Lillian Bueno McCue, pp. 223-232 in *Elizabethan Studies and Other Essays*, University of Colorado Studies, Vol. 2, No. 4, October, 1945 lists at least 43 in total.
- 'too much eclipsed to be rightly discern'd': *The Case of Elizabeth Canning Fairly Stated*, London, 1753, p. 28. 'This Day is published': *The Public Advertiser*, 13 March 1753.
- 'we are threatened with an inundation of pamphlets on this subject': *The Monthly Review*, March 1753, p. 231. *The St. James's Chronicle; Or The British Evening-Post*, 11-14 July 1761. 'We all remember to have seen the whole Nation, at such a Period, split into Parties concerning the Possibility of a Servant Girl's subsisting for a Month on a few Crusts of Bread and a Pitcher of Water, while the Wits of the Age drew their Pens, and were ready to spill their last Drop of Ink on each Side of the Question.'
- Information previously stated: *The Monthly Magazine*, March, 1753, p. 232: 'The writer of this pamphlet ... knows nothing of the matter', in a review of *The Truth of the Case; Or Canning and Squires Fairly Opposed. Being an Impartial Examination of the Merits of this surprising Cause*. London, 1753. *The Monthly Review*, April, 1753, p. 315: 'This pamphlet contains very little, if any thing, more than what the world had been before apprized of' is the complete review of *The Evidence of Elizabeth Canning fully confuted*. By Britannicus.
- Promising what they couldn't deliver: *The Monthly Review*, June, 1753, p. 467, in a review of *The Imposture Detected; Or, The Mystery and Iniquity of Elizabeth Canning's Story, Displayed*, London, 1753, wrote: 'Tho' this author does not write in the poor strain of our Common catch-penny scribblers, yet he is equally criminal with them, in imposing upon the public, by his fallacious title-page; which is meer empty puff and parade, calculated to draw in unwary purchasers. He has neither detected any imposture, nor displayed the mystery, &c. of Canning's story.' 'This Day is published', *The Public Advertiser*, 2 June, 1753.
- Henry Fielding: *A Clear State of the Case of Elizabeth Canning*, Henry Fielding, Dublin, 1753. First advertised in *The Public Advertiser* on 16 March 1753, published on 20 March, 1753, *The Public Advertiser*, 20 March 1753.
- 'Wretches very little removed, either in their Sensations or Understandings, from wild Beasts': *A Clear State*, p. 12.

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- 'wit': *A Clear State*, p. 18. Actual word is 'witty'. 'Again as the Girl can scarce be supposed wicked enough, so I am far from supposing her witty enough to invent such a Story;'

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- Speed of his response: *The Story of Elizabeth Canning Considered*, Dr. Hill, Dublin, 1753. First mentioned in *The Public Advertiser*, 27 March 1753 and published two days later: *The London Daily Advertiser*, 29 March, 1753.
- Notice on 6 January 1753: The first advertisement was actually on 4 January 1753 in *The Daily Advertiser*. The second was on 6 January, 1753 in the same paper; with an added part about hearing her shriek out from a hackney coach. Cited in *A Refutation of Sir Crisp Gascoyne's Address to the Liverymen of London*, p. 40, Appendix Number III, p. 2.
- 'ridiculous Story': *The Story of Elizabeth Canning Considered*, p. 9.
- 'witty': *The Story of Elizabeth Canning Considered*, pp. 14-15. 'That you do not suppose her witty enough to have invented the story. I give you Joy, Sir, of your own Wit for thinking so! I am very far from entertaining an high Opinion of the Girl's Intellects; but such as they are, I think the Story tallies with them: none but a Fool could have derived so bad a one. You say 'tis worthy of some Writer of Romances. I love to hear Men talk in Character: no one knows better how much Wit is necessary for the writing of such Books; and, to do Justice to your last Performance, no Man has proved more fully, with how small a Share of it, they may be written.' Here Hill is having a dig at Fielding's final book *Amelia*.
- Allan Ramsay This Day is. *A Letter to the Right Honourable the Earl of -- concerning the affair of Elizabeth Canning*. By a clergyman [Allan Ramsay], London, 1753. Published: *The Public Advertiser*, 26 June 1753. *The Monthly Review*,

Appendix Jan to June, 1753, p. 510 wrote that ‘We have here one of the best pieces that have yet appeared on this subject.’

- ‘persons, places, or particularities’: *A Letter to the Right Honourable the Earl of*, p. 12.

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- officers of justice: *A letter to the Right Honourable the Earl*, p. 9. To my mind one of the most significant points against Elizabeth Canning’s story. Why would Mary Squires remain at Mother Wells when she knew Elizabeth had escaped and would likely raise the alarm?
- ‘lie-in’: *A letter to the Right Honourable the Earl*, pp. 19-20 conjectures about this possibility.
- Daniel Cox MD: *An Appeal to the Public in Behalf of Elizabeth Canning; In which the material Facts in her Story are fairly stated, and shewn to be true, on the Foundation of Evidence*, The Second Edition, Daniel Cox, M.D., London, 1753. Published: *The London Evening-Post*, 9 June, 1753.
- Never had a child: *Ibid*, p. 23. ‘Mrs Frances Oakes, first midwife to the lying-in hospital in Brownlow-Street... declared it to me as her positive judgement and opinion, that Elizabeth Canning has never had a child. I was then desired by Mrs. Oakes to examine her breasts and belly, which with much reluctance the girl submitted to; and, according to my judgement in this case, I verily believe she never has had a child.’
- Syphilis: *Ibid*, p. 22. Diagnosis was based on whether she had had a ‘salivation’.
- Abortion: *Canning’s Magazine: Or, a Review of the Whole Evidence*, London 1753, p. 55. ‘For supposing her to have bestowed herself with a Lover, or that she was shut up for the Convenience of procuring an Abortion’. *The Monthly Review*, August, 1753, p. 146 wrote that this is: ‘One of the best pamphlets that hath yet appeared against Canning. The author’s examen of Fielding’s, Hill’s, Dodd’s and Cox’s pamphlets, is spirited and entertaining, and his own observations on the evidence in support of this young woman’s story, are acute and sensible.’ Pamphlet was published 26 July, 1753, *The Public Advertiser*.
- Missed her periods: *An Appeal to the Public in Behalf of Elizabeth Canning*, p. 19. ‘I enquired [of EC] whether before her going from home on new-years day she had been regular in her courses? She replied without any kind of hesitation, that she had not had them for about five months before’. A cold had caused the cessation. ‘This is no uncommon case with servants who are obliged to dabble in cold water.’
- Virgin: *Canning’s Magazine: Or, a Review of the Whole Evidence*, p. 54: ‘They do not pretend to be of Opinion, that Elizabeth Canning continued a Virgin, or that she had never been pregnant; but only declare their Belief, that she never had a Child.’
- Canning’s fasting: *Physical Account of the Case of Elizabeth Canning*, James Solas Dodd, London, 1753, pp. 31-2. ‘When all the above is consider’d, I doubt not but many of my Readers will say with me, it is not only within the Bounds of Possibility, but Probability and Reason, that she could subsist and endure Life on that Quantity of Bread and Water she relates she did.’ Advertised in *The Public Advertiser*, 14 April 1753.
- Twenty-one witnesses: *Gazetteer*, 22 May, 1753, cited in *Genuine and Impartial Memoirs of Elizabeth Canning*, p. 105
- Full pardon: *The London Daily Advertiser*, 12 May’ 1753. ‘The Attorney and Soliciter General, have made their Report to his Majesty concerning the Affair of Elizabeth Canning, viz., that after the most impartial Examination, they are of Opinion, that the Weight of Evidence is in Favour of Mary Squires, and that she is a fit Object of his Majesty’s Mercy’. *The London Daily Advertiser*, 21 May 1753: ‘We hear that Mary Squires, the Gypsey, who was cast for robbing Elizabeth Canning, at Mrs Well’s at Endfield Wash, will be set at Liberty next Week.’
- Release of Susannah Wells: *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, August 1753, p. 390.
- True bills: *Read’s Weekly Journal, Or British-Gazetteer*, 16 June 1753.
- The men’s trial: ‘The Trials of John Gibbons, William Clarke, and Thomas Greville’, *A Complete Collection of State Trials*, compiled by T. B. Howell, In Twenty-One Volumes, Vol. XIX, London, 1816, pp. 275-283.

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- ‘wisely withdraw[n] themselves from a trial which would involve them in ruin’: *Ibid*, p. 282.
- Small pox: *The London Evening Post*, 18-20 June, 1754. His sister died of the same cause after giving evidence on behalf of Mary Squires in Elizabeth Canning’s trial for perjury.
- Proclamations: See notices in *The Whitehall Evening Post: Or, London Intelligencer*, 12-15, 19-22, 22-24, 26-29 January and 31 January-2 February, 1754.
- Bail was at £400: *The London Evening-Post*, 26-28 February, 1754.
- ‘By which Means’ and ‘this most stupendous Scene of Darkness will now, in all probability, be brought to light, to the Honour of the Innocent, to the Terror of the Guilty, and to the Satisfaction of the Public in general.’: *The London Evening Post*, 9-12, 1753. Although this was written nearly 10 months before Elizabeth Canning’s trial, it was after her indictment and therefore the start of the legal process of getting her to trial.

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- ‘I shall ask you a great many questions you have not heard yet’: ‘The Trial of Elizabeth Canning’, p. 337.
- ‘rather more stupid than her brother’: ‘The Trial of Elizabeth Canning’, p. 342.
- Forty-one witnesses: *The Canning Enigma*, p. 94.
- At the same time. This was pointed out in the pamphlet *Some Account of the Case between Elizabeth Canning and Mary Squires*, pp. 65-6. The writer thought that the defence deliberately chose their witnesses to ensure they wouldn’t contradict one another ‘either in Regard to the Days on which they saw her, or some other material Circumstances’.
- Toast buttered: ‘The Trial of Elizabeth Canning’, p. 476. ‘Was the toast buttered on both sides, do you think? Here have been a great many questions asked in order to force a stool.’ Samuel Foote had great fun sending up this comment about the toast, and emphasising the word ‘stool’ in one of his shows.

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- ‘Why, is not Sunday the *seventh* Day?’ *Some Account of the Case between Elizabeth Canning and Mary Squires*, p. 40. In the cross examination of Hannah Fensham in ‘The Trial of Elizabeth Canning’, p. 577, this amusing response by the witness is not recorded.
- Mother. ‘The Trial of Elizabeth Canning’, p. 638. This comment is made in the summing up but doesn’t appear when John Ford gives his own evidence, pp. 353-4.
- ‘he was so intolerably drunk, when he appeared to give his Evidence, that he was bid to go about his Business’: *Genuine and Impartial Memoirs of Elizabeth Canning*, p. 155. According to ‘The Trial of Elizabeth Canning’, p. 354, Mr Davy said: ‘You are drunk now, and ought to be ashamed of yourself’.
- Jury withdrew: *Ibid*, p. 669. ‘The Jury withdrew at twenty minutes after twelve o’clock in the morning to consider of their verdict, and returned at fifteen minutes after two, and brought in their verdict, Guilty of perjury, but not wilful and corrupt.’
- ‘they must either find her guilty of the whole indictment, or else acquit her’: *Ibid*, p. 669. This was not true, an incorrect interpretation of the law as it stood – see *Ibid*, p. 672. Friends of Elizabeth Canning later got a legal opinion with regard to this point of law.
- Guilty of wilful and corrupt perjury: *Ibid*, p. 669.
- Eight Aldermen: *Ibid*, p. 673.
- ‘rather a diversion than a punishment’: *Ibid*, p. 673: ‘Then L. C. J. Willes told them, he had observed that collections had been made for her amounting to considerable sums of money; and if her sentence was only to remain in Newgate, there would be such sums collected, and such assemblies of an evening, as would render her sentence rather a diversion than a punishment.’
- *Jumpedo and Canning in Newgate, or the Bottle and the Pitcher met: Jumpedo and Canning in Newgate, or the Bottle and the Pitcher met. Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, Vol. III, Part II, no. 3279, pp. 924-5. ‘This Day was published’: The Whitehall Evening Post: Or, London Intelligencer, 25-27 July, 1754.*

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- Seven years: ‘The Trial of Elizabeth Canning’, pp. 673-5.
- A reward of £20: *The Public Advertiser*, 15 May 1754.
- ‘threatening the life of Sir Crisp Gascoyne, in relation to Canning’s Affair’: *The London Evening-Post*, 16-18 May 1754.
- Delirious: *The London Evening-Post*, 18-21 May 1754.
- Prosecuted for theft: *The Whitehall Evening Post: Or, London Intelligencer*, 30 May-1 June 1754.
- Evidence at the trial: *The Public Advertiser*, 5 June, 1754.
- Delaying tactics were used to postpone her transportation: *The Public Advertiser*, 25 June 1754: ‘It is generally believed, that Elizabeth Canning will be transported in a few Days.’
- Petition rejected: *The Whitehall Evening Post: Or, London Intelligencer*, 27-29 June 1754.
- More money requested: *The Public Advertiser*, 25 June 1754.
- Confession of perjury false: *The Public Advertiser*, 26 June 1754.
- Dangerously ill: *The Daily Advertiser*, 28 June, 1754.
- Friend to travel with her: *The Whitehall Evening Post: Or, London Intelligencer*, 27-29 June 1754.
- Deferring her voyage: *The London Evening-Post*, 29 June -2 July 1754: ‘Elizabeth Canning continuing very ill in Newgate, her Embarking for America is deferr’d.’

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- Waiving contract: *The Whitehall Evening Post: Or, London Intelligencer*, 16-18 July 1754.
- Canning released: *The London Evening-Post*, 20-23 July 1754.
- Lost track: *The Whitehall Evening Post: Or, London Intelligencer*, 1-3 August 1754: ‘The Public are greatly at a Loss to know where Elizabeth Canning is now; but we hear, that a Gentleman of Doctors Commons has contracted for the Transportation of her, pursuant to her Sentence.’
- *Myrtilla*: *The Whitehall Evening Post: Or, London Intelligencer*. 27-29 August 1754: ‘The Myrtilda [would seem to be a typo], Capt. Buden for Philadelphia, on board which it is said Elizabeth Canning is, sailed from the Downs on Monday last.’ According to ‘*Elizabeth is Missing*’ *Or, Truth Triumphant: An Eighteenth Century Mystery*, Lillian de la Torre, London: Michael Joseph, 1947, p. 223, Canning sailed on 7 August.
- ‘a poor, honest, innocent, simple Girl’: *A Clear State*, p. 44.
- ‘under-lip of a prodigious size’: *An Address To The Liverymen Of The City of London*, p. 5
- Three prints: *A T(ru)e Draught of Eliz: Canning, Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, Vol. III, Part II, no. 3211, pp. 864-7; Behold the Dame, whose chironmatic Pow’r*, c. April 1753, *Ibid*, no. 3212, pp. 867-8; and *The Gypsy’s Triumph*, dated 21 May 1753, *Ibid*, no. 3214, p. 869.
- ‘not by the Truth but by your Might’: *The Commite of Ald—mn, Ibid*, no. 3210, pp. 863-4.

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- ‘the knotty Case of *Squires and Canning*, and the Pleadings of their respective Advocates’ and ‘Fortieth’: *The Protester, On Behalf of the People*, 2 June, 1753. A more recent book stated: ‘Read the evidence on one side, and it is impossible to refuse our assent to it. Read that on the other, and it is equally conclusive’. *Paradoxes and Puzzles, Historical, Judicial, and Literary*, John Paget, Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1874, p. 335.
- Thomas Chitty’s Notes: Chitty’s statement, which he read out in court, (see ‘The Trial of Elizabeth Canning’, pp. 373-6), was written up from notes which he had taken at the time. So some of what he thought he heard originally might have been corrupted by later comments. See *The Appearance of Truth: The Story of Elizabeth Canning and Eighteenth-*

*Century Narrative*, Judith Moore, Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1994, p. 52: 'It would appear that the paper which Chitty produced in court...is not quite what it claims to be but rather a later version of some personal notes now evidently no longer in existence.'

- Incarcerated in a hayloft: 'The Trial of Elizabeth Canning', p. 374. Chitty's testimony: 'she had no stool all that time, only made a little water; and said, there was an old stool or two, an old table, and an old picture over the chimney'. p. 375: 'During the time of this examination, did she mention any hay?' 'She said, there was nothing in the room but those things she had mentioned; not one tittle of hay, neither do I remember what she said she lay upon. 'The Trial of Mary Squires and Susannah Wells', p. 264: 'What did they call the name of the place where they put you in?' EC: 'They call it the hayloft...there was a fire-place and a grate in it, no bed nor bedstead, nothing but hay to lie upon'. *A Clear State*, p. 28: 'pulled her into a back Room like at Hay-loft, without any Furniture whatsoever in the same'. See also *Some Account of the Case between Elizabeth Canning and Mary Squires*, p. 56. [Some repetition of the note on page 134].

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- Mother Wells: *A Clear State*, p. 28: 'altho' she often heard the Name of Mrs and Mother *Wells* called upon, whom she understood was the Mistress of the House.' 'The Trial of Elizabeth Canning', p. 376: Chitty: 'I asked the girl, whether that [Wells] was the mistress of the house or no? she said, she could tell nothing of the woman's name.' [Repetition of the note on page 135].
- Gypsy woman: 'The Trial of Elizabeth Canning', p. 375. 'Did she describe any gypsey, or any remarkable woman?' Chitty: 'I asked her, whether she should know the woman again? she said, she believed she should; but she did not make mention of any extraordinary woman doing this'. *A Clear State*, p. 27: 'and there this Informant saw, in the Kitchen, an old Gipsy-woman, and two young Women'. [Repetition of the note on page 134].
- Stays were cut off: Exactly where EC's stays were cut off would prove controversial. 'The Trial of Elizabeth Canning', p. 374: 'and then a woman forced her up stairs into a room, and, with a case-knife she had in her hand, cut the lace of her stays, and took her stays away, and told her there was bread and water in the said room.' With her testimony to Fielding and at the Old Bailey, it took place 'in the Kitchen'. *A Clear State*, p. 27: 'the said old Gipsy-woman took a Knife out of a Drawer, and cut the Lace of the Stays of her'. Pointed out in: *Genuine and Impartial Memoirs of Elizabeth Canning*, p. 250: 'Could she have forgot whether her Stays were cut off above Stairs or below? – Before the Alderman she swore she was robbed in the Room in which she was afterwards confined; but before Mr. *Fielding*, and at the *Old Bailey*, this Robbery was said to be committed in the Kitchen.' [Repetition of the note on page 134].
- Meagre provisions: *A Clear State*, p. 28. 'And this Informant saith, That when it grew light, upon her looking round to see in what a dismal Place she was, she, this Informant, discovered a large black Jug with the Neck much broken, wherein was some Water.' 'The Trial of Mary Squires and Susannah Wells', p. 264: EC: 'There was a black pitcher not quite full of water.' According to Virtue Hall's testimony at 'The Trial of Mary Squires and Susannah Wells', p. 268, 'about three hours after the young woman was put up, Mary Squires filled the jug with water, and carried it up'. In her statement to Henry Fielding, Virtue Hall said, in *A Clear State*, p. 34: 'That about two Hours after a Quantity of Water in an old broken mouthed large black Jug was carried up the said Stairs, and put down upon the Floor of the said Workshop at the Top of the Stairs'. 'The Trial of Elizabeth Canning', p. 374: Chitty: 'and then a woman forced her up stairs into a room, and, with a case-knife she had in her hand, cut the lace of her stays, and took her stays away, and told her there was bread and water in the said room.' [Repetition of the note on page 134].
- Escape: 'The Trial of Elizabeth Canning', pp. 374-5: 'she made a hole by removing a pane, and forced part open, and got out on a small shed of boards or pent-house, and so slid down and jumped on the side of a bank on the backside of the house, and so got into the road'. *A Clear State*, p. 29: she 'broke out at a Window of the said Room, or Place'. 'The Trial of Mary Squires and Susannah Wells', pp. 264-5: 'How did you get out?' EC: 'I broke down a board that was nailed up at the inside of a window, and got out there.' 'How high was the window from the ground?' (She described it by the height of a place in the Sessions-house, which was about eight or ten feet high). 'First I got my head out, and kept fast hold by the wall, and got my body out; after that I turned myself round, and jumped into a little narrow place by a lane, with a field behind it.' [Repetition of the note on page 135].
- quarter loaf: 'The Trial of Elizabeth Canning', p. 375: Chitty: 'I am sure she said four or five, or five or six pieces'; 'The Trial of Mary Squires and Susannah Wells', p. 264: EC: 'and about twenty-four pieces of bread'. 'How much in quantity do you think these twenty-four pieces of bread might be?' 'I believe about a quarter loaf'. *A Clear State*, p. 28: 'upon the Floor, several Pieces of Bread, near in Quantity to a quartern Loaf, and a small parcel of Hay'. Pointed out in *Genuine and Impartial Memoirs of Elizabeth Canning*, p. 250: 'and have mistaken five or six Pieces of Bread, which she swore at *Guildhall* was the whole Number, for Four or Five-and-twenty, to which she deposed at the *Old-Bailey*'. [Repetition of the note on page 134].
- To Henry Fielding; *A Clear State*, pp. 28-9: 'That on *Friday*, the twenty-sixth Day of *January* last past, she, this Informant had consumed all the aforesaid Bread and Water, and continued without having any Thing to eat, or drink, until the *Monday* following'. [Repetition of the note on page 135].
- Trial of Mary Squires; 'The Trial of Mary Squires and Susannah Wells', p. 267: 'When did you drink all your water?' EC: 'I drank all that about half an hour before I got out of the room'. 'Did you eat all your bread?' EC: 'I eat it all on the Friday before I got out; it was quite hard, and I used to soak it in the water'. [Repetition of the note on page 135].
- Chitty: Alderman Chitty at 'The Trial of Elizabeth Canning', p. 375: 'She said, a little water was left when she made her escape'. [Repetition of the note on page 135].
- 'subject to convulsion-fits': 'The Trial of Mary Squires and Susannah Wells', p. 263.
- Mother Wells: Mother Wells said they had only been acquainted for 8 days prior to their arrest. 'The trial of Mary Squires and Susannah Wells', p. 274. 'Wells being called upon to make her defence, said, As to her character, it was but an indifferent one; that she had an unfortunate husband, who was hanged; and added, she never saw the young woman

(meaning El Canning) till they came to take us up; and as to Squires, she never saw her above a week and a day before they were taken up.' *An Inquiry of Sir Crisp Gascoyne*, p. 21: Wells said 'that *Squires* and her Family had come there but eight Days before she was apprehended'.

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- 'she was extremely low and weak': 'The Trial of Mary Squires and Susannah Wells', p. 271.
- 'I'll lay you a guinea to a farthing, she has been at Mother Wells's': 'The Trial of Elizabeth Canning', p. 502.
- Several occasions: *Ibid*, pp. 502-3. Under cross examination Scarrat's confession of how many times he had been to Mother Wells's house went from 'once or twice' to approaching eight.
- Never with a Woman, *Ibid*, p. 498.
- 'very familiarly': *Ibid*, p. 498.
- 'a String of leading Questions to the Girl': *Genuine and Impartial Memoirs of Elizabeth Canning*, p. 203.

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- married, 'The Trial of Elizabeth Canning', p. 502. At the trial he said he had been married more than eleven months.
- *The Appearance of Truth: The Appearance of Truth: The Story of Elizabeth Canning and Eighteenth-Century Narrative*, Judith Moore, Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1994, p. 259.
- Theory: Also forward by John Treherne in *The Canning Enigma*, pp. 145-7. Rebutted by *The Appearance of Truth*, pp. 257-9.
- Bribes: *The Appearance of Truth*, p. 257.
- 'an honest eighteen-year-old girl was virtually a contradiction in terms': *The Appearance of Truth*, p. 259.

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- Fictitious name: *The London Evening Post*, 20-23 February 1762: 'She had lived at the above Place and six Months, and went by a fictitious Name. She died in great Agony, her Limbs being so much distorted that her Coffin was made much deeper than usual. It is imagined she died worth a considerable Sum.'
- Death: *The St. James's Chronicle; Or, The British Evening-Post*, 23-25 February 1762: 'On the 26th past Mary Squires...was buried at Farnham in Surry: There were near 100 Lights, and 40 of the Gypsey Sort were Mourners.'
- Despite newspaper reports to the contrary she never returned to England: *St James's Chronicle*, 26-28 November 1761 stated she had returned to England after getting married 'to see her Friends here'; *The St. James's Chronicle; Or, The British Evening-Post*, 5- 8 December 1761 said that the report of her coming to England 'is without Foundation'; *The London Evening-Post*, 11-13 December 1764 speculated about her coming to England with her husband 'in order to pay a visit to their friends and relations in this part of the world'.
- Died: *The London Evening Post*, 12-14 August 1773, giving the date of 'June 22'. *The Gentleman's Magazine*, August 1773, p. 413 has the date of her death as 22 July.

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- 'where she had concealed herself during the time she had invariably declared she was at the house of Mother Wells.' *Ibid*, p. 413.
- *The Conjurors 1753: The Conjurors 1753, Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, Vol. III, Part II*, No. 3213, pp. 868-9. Dated 1753, but there is no clear cut reference to it in any newspapers of the date of publication. However there is a notice of 'The conjurors and the gypsy, 6d', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, April, 1753, p. 203, which might be it.
- Shadowy woman: Kristina Straub, 'Heteroanxiety and the Case of Elizabeth Canning', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 3, Spring 1997, p. 300, suggests that the woman could be Canning's mother and is perhaps symbolically removing her stays. Another interpretation is that she could be Elizabeth Canning herself in her 'black' condition when she returned to her mother. Or, most likely, she could just be some anonymous person lending her support.
- Lady Fanny Killigrew: This comes from the British Museum copy where it is hand written 'Draw from the Life by the Right Honorable the Lady Fa—y K——w.' I have not been able to find anything out about Fanny Killigrew, if that is indeed who she is. I have my own copy of the print and there is no name written on it. See also *Henry Fielding at Work, Magistrate, Businessman, Writer*, p. 121 and note 73, p. 213, where he suggests the reference may be to Anne Killigrew, the poet and painter. 'The Practice of Caricature in Eighteenth-Century Britain', David Francis Taylor, University of Warwick, published 9 May 2017, p. 7 cites *The Satirical Gaze: Prints of Women in Late Eighteenth-century England*, Cindy McCreery, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004: 'A number of upper-class women are known to have practiced [caricature], at least in the privacy of their own homes.'

## Chapter Seven: 'Miss Fanny's Theatre in Cock Lane'

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- 'Miss Fanny's Theatre in Cock Lane' title: from Print *The Cock Lane Uproar*. Sub-title: 'At Miss Fanny's New Theatre in Cock Lane'.
- October 1852: *The Thought Reader Craze: Victorian Science at the Enchanted Boundary*, Barry H. Wiley, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, 2012, p. 11.
- Three years earlier: *Ibid*, p. 11.
- 'be consulted for the Cure of Diseases', *The Illustrated London News*, 23 October 1852.
- 'the wonderful Phenomena' of 'Spiritual Manifestations, or Rappings': *The Illustrated London News*, 30 October 1852. In the paper PHENOMENA, SPIRITUAL MANIFESTATIONS and RAPPINGS were all in capitals.

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- Disembarked: *In Search of Maria B. Hayden: The American Medium Who Brought Spiritualism to the U.K.*, Sharon DeBartolo Carmack, Salt Lake City: Scattered Leaves Press, 2020., pp. 83 and 109.
- 'rapped at the door of the house in which the knocker lived': 'The Ghost of the Cock Lane Ghost', *Household Words. A Weekly Journal*. Conducted by Charles Dickens, 20 November 1852, p. 219. The article was written by Henry Morley and William Wills, although they went under the pseudonyms of Brown and Thompson. All *Household Words* articles were published anonymously.
- 'Your Medium sits at the table, and the ghosts rap on it?' *Ibid*, p. 220.
- 'five guineas for a party of ten', *Ibid*, p. 220.
- Twenty-eight years old: *In Search of Maria B. Hayden*, p. 17. She was born on 16 November 1824, not 1826, as was inscribed on her gravestone.
- 'a pleasant, intelligent, and well mannered woman': 'Spiritualism Unmasked, Professor T. H. Huxley, *Pall Mall Gazette*, 1 January 1889.
- 'mobile, not undesirable face'; 'a quiet smile' and 'Silence': *The New Quarterly Review*, For the Year 1853, Vol. II, London: Hookham and Sons, p. 308
- Dead relative: *From Matter to Spirit, The Result of Ten Years' Experience in Spirit Manifestations*, By C.D., London: Longman Green, 1863, pp. 12-3.
- She sat down: *The Spiritual Telegraph*, Edited by S. B. Brittan, New Series, Vol. III, New York: Partridge & Brittan, 1854, p. 36. On p. 37, the naivety of the writer is shown when Mrs Hayden in stating that a man has died is conflated with her somehow knowing *how* he died. 'My Bayard asked, "Can you tell me who gave me this ring?" "Your son," replied the Spirit. "Quite true; where is my son?" "In heaven," replied the Spirit. This was considered marvellous, for the young man had died at Naples, after having suffered amputation of his arm in consequence of an injury he had sustained from a blow received from a white-hot stone emitted from the crater of Mount Vesuvius during an eruption.'

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- Firm believers: See 'The Rappites Exposed' by in *The Leader*, 12 March 1853, by G H Lewes, for another sceptical report.
- Timock ('an odd Christian name for an English lady'): *Household Words*, p. 221.
- Two pennies a copy: *Dickens' Journalism Volume 3 'Gone Astray' And Other Papers from Household Words 1851-59*, Edited by Michael Slater, London: J. M. Dent, 1998, p. xi.
- 'The Ghost of the Cock Lane Ghost': Letter to WH Wills, dated 5th November, 1852: *The Letters of Charles Dickens*, ed. by Madeline House and Graham Storey [et. al], Oxford: Pilgrim Edition, 1965, Vol. 6., p. 799.

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- 'who make it their peculiar habit to live always under a table'. *The New Quarterly Review*, p. 308.
- 'industrious Shoemaker'. *The St. James's Chronicle; Or, The British Evening-Post*, 23-26 January 1762. I must acknowledge that although, whenever possible, I have gone back to contemporary references, much of my original knowledge about this case was found in *The Cock Lane Ghost*, Douglas Grant, London: Macmillan, 1965 and *The Cock Lane Ghost: Murder, Sex and Haunting in Dr Johnson's London*, Paul Chambers, Sutton Publishing, 2006. Given that the former is a full-length book, the latter's claim, p. x, 'that I am telling this story in its entirety for the first time in over two centuries and possibly for the first time ever in print' seems a little disingenuous.

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- 'not altogether approving their Conduct', *The Mystery Revealed*, p. 7. *The St. James's Chronicle; Or, The British Evening-Post*, 25-25 February 1762.
- Ten years old: *The Cock Lane Ghost: Murder, Sex and Haunting in Dr Johnson's London*, Paul Chambers, Sutton Publishing, 2006, p. 219, note 6. Elizabeth Parsons was baptised on 25 January 1749 according to St Sepulchre's parish registers. Her younger sister, Anne, was baptised on 10 June, 1753.

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- £12: *The Mystery Revealed; Containing a Series of Transactions and Authentic Testimonials Respecting the supposed Cock-Lane Ghost*; [Oliver Goldsmith], London: W. Bristow, 1762, p. 8. Much of this book was reproduced in the issue of *The St. James's Chronicle; Or, The British Evening-Post*, 25-27 February 1762.
- 'very drunken man'. *Tales from the Newgate Calendar*, Rayner Heppenstall, London: Constable, 1981, p. 183. 'Scratching Fanny' is the chapter in the book, which is essentially the Trial Transcript of the case against Richard Parsons et al., that began on 10 July 1762 at the Guildhall. The original transcript of the trial had, at the time of my research in 2019, gone missing from the London Metropolitan Archives. Fortunately this chapter, although not a verbatim transcript of the trial, appears to have most of the relevant details.
- Bartlett Court: *Ibid*, p. 172.
- 'prognosticated a confluent small-pox, of a very virulent nature'. *The Mystery Revealed*, p. 11
- Died on 2 February 1760: *The Mystery Revealed*, p. 11. 'The foregoing is a true Relation of the Case of F— —, which we, who attended her in her illness, are ready to attest: as witness our hands, Tho. Cooper, M. D. Northumberland-street, Charing-Cross. Ja. Jones, Apothecary, Grafton-street, Soho. Feb. 8, 1762.'
- 'wept for some time over the body', *Ibid*, p. 16.
- 'as if they had been actually married': *Ibid*, p. 16.
- Pretending to be married, *Ibid*, p. 15.

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- 'seemed to him like knuckles knocking against the wainscot': *Tales from the Newgate Calendar*, p. 175.
- and 'saw pass by him something in white, seemingly in a sheet': *Ibid*, p. 175.

- 'So did I': *Ibid*, p. 175.
- 'for the second Mrs Kent he heard lay at that time dying': *Ibid*, p. 175.

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- December 1761: *The Cock Lane Ghost: Murder, Sex and Haunting in Dr Johnson's London*, p. 58.

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- 'With her nails, and her knuckles, she answer'd so noice! For yes she knock'd once, and for no she knock'd twice!' *The Dramatic Works of David Garrick*, Vol. II, London, 1798, 'The Farmer's Return', p. 270
- 'in a familiar manner': *The London Chronicle: Or, Universal Evening Post*, 19-21 January 1762, extracted from 'Public Ledger, Jan. 20.'
- 'would be pleased': *The London Chronicle: Or, Universal Evening Post*, 19-21 January 1762, extracted from 'Daily Gazetteer, Jan. 20.' Questions noted were 11, 12, 13, 20 & 36.
- Esther Carlisle: *Tales from the Newgate Calendar*, p. 176.

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- 'could not speak some days before she died': *Ibid*, p. 176.
- 'tell the truth': *Ibid*, p. 177.
- 'carried before a magistrate': *Ibid*, p. 176.
- 'Are you my mistress?' 'Are you angry with me, madam?' and 'I am sure, Madam, you may be ashamed of yourself, for I never hurt you in my life': *Ibid*, p. 177.
- 'You must observe one knock is an affirmative and two a negative, for so Parsons and I have settled it': *Ibid*, p. 174.
- 'long made her the Object of my Attention and Study, and have such an influence and Command over her, as to be obeyed in almost every Thing I can propose.'; 'caused her to flutter and clap her Wings like a Dove'; and 'round the Bed like a Kitten'. *The St. James's Chronicle; Or, The British Evening-Post*, 28-30 January 1762 in an article entitled 'Miss Fanny's Ghost'.
- Sundry questions: *Ibid. The St. James's Chronicle; Or, The British Evening-Post*, 19-21 January 1762 from an article headed Postscript. London. 'Journal of the Proceedings of the Ghost at St. Sepulchre's, continued from the last.'

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- Prayers: *The General Evening Post*, 21-3 January 1762, under the heading of 'Some more Particulars concerning the extraordinary Phenomenon at Cock Lane' and 'Would this knocking cease if they should go to prayers? He was answered, yes, for a time.'
- Material discovery: *The St. James's Chronicle; Or, The British Evening-Post*, January 21-23 January 1762.
- 'thought he had puzzled the ghost or the ghost had puzzled him.' *Tales from the Newgate Calendar*, p. 182.
- *The Public Ledger*: There are no existing copies of *The Public Ledger* during this period.
- Never married Fanny: *Tales from the Newgate Calendar*, p. 173.
- 'Thou art a lying spirit, thou art not the ghost of my Fanny. She would never have said any such thing.': *Ibid*, p. 174. Also in attendance were Mr Broughton (who like Moore was of Methodist leanings), Doctor Cooper, John Moore and Jones, the apothecary at the time of Fanny's death.
- 'the whole town of London think of nothing else': *Walpole*, 2 February 1762, Vol. 10, p. 6. Walpole went on to write: 'Elizabeth Canning and the rabbit-woman were modest impostors in comparison of this'. This is the only mention by Walpole of Elizabeth Canning.

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- 'only to divert the people': *Tales from the Newgate Calendar*, p. 180.
- 'the narrow Avenue of Cock-Lane' and 'a Sort of Midnight Rendezvous, occupied by a String of Coaches from one End to the other': *The St. James's Chronicle; Or, The British Evening-Post*, 28-30 January 1762 in an article entitled 'Miss Fanny's Ghost'.
- 'wretchedly small and miserable'; 'When we opened the chamber, in which were fifty people, with no light but one tallow candle at the end, we tumbled over the bed of the child to whom the ghost comes': *Walpole*, 2 February 1762, Vol. 10, p. 6. He wrote 'it is not an apparition, but an audition'.
- 'a puppet-show': *Ibid*.
- *English Credulity or the Invisible Ghost: English Credulity or the Invisible Ghost, Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, Vol. IV, 176- c. 1770, no. 3838, pp. 45-6. This print is advertised as appearing in *The Universal Museum; or, Polite Magazine of History, Politics and Literature* for February 1762 described as 'a most humorous Print of the Ghost in Cock-Lane, representing its Grotesque Group of Visitants', cited in *The London Evening Post*, 25-27 February 1762.

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- In the *English Credulity or the Invisible Ghost* print one man is looking under a bed with a candle. This would seem to be taken directly from a newspaper report in *Daily Gazetteer*, 20 January 1762, reproduced in *The London Chronicle: Or, Universal Evening Post*, 19-21 January 1762: 'Here a gentleman took up a candle to look under the bed to examine, but saw nothing.'

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- suspicion of Methodism: *The Cock Lane Ghost: Murder, Sex and Haunting in Dr Johnson's London*, p. 87.
- When he died: *The London Chronicle: Or, Universal Evening Post*, 21-23 January 1762. Numerous questions asked of Fanny are listed here.

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- 'right to place myself in any part of the room' and 'some little altercation': *Lloyd's Evening Post, And British Chronicle*, 20-22 January 1762 under the heading of 'Some further Particulars concerning the extraordinary Phenomenon at Cock-lane'.
- Visitor stood up: *Daily Gazetteer*, 20 January 1762 reproduced in *The London Chronicle: Or, Universal Evening Post*, 19-21 January 1762.
- 23 January meeting: *Tales from the Newgate Calendar*, p. 180.
- 'in very rude Terms, "That his Daughter should go no where"': *The Public Advertiser*, 23 January 1762.
- 'affirmed to be *unconnected*, and *not to have been with her*': *The St. James's Chronicle; Or, The British Evening-Post*, 23-26 January 1762, under the heading 'Postscript. London. To the Public'.
- Mary Fraser: Her role is made clear in *Tales from the Newgate Calendar* p. 173, where it is stated she ran around the room summoning the ghost.

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- Middle of a large room: *The St. James's Chronicle; Or, The British Evening-Post*, 23-26 January 1762, under the heading 'Postscript. London. To the Public'
- 'denied, in the strongest Terms, any Knowledge or Belief of Fraud': *The St. James's Chronicle; Or, The British Evening-Post*, 30 January-2 February 1762.

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- 'were produced by...even against the Sheet.'; 'proceeded from that Part of the Bed where the Child lay'; 'which best enabled her to use her Hands under the Bed-Cloaths'; 'Knuckles were remarkably hard'; 'Operation of answering for Miss Fanny'; and 'her Arms were pulled from under the Bed-Cloaths, and kept exposed to Sight': *The St. James's Chronicle; Or, The British Evening-Post*, 6-9 February 1762 under the heading 'Critical Remarks upon the very extraordinary Phenomenon of Miss Fanny's declining Ghost'. This is by far the best analysis of how Betty Parsons carried out her subterfuge.
- 'from some snug Corner, as well as from the Bed'; 'some proper Persons...Entertainment of the Night.' *Ibid*.
- Lack of sleep: *Walpole*, 2 February 1762, Vol. 10, p. 6. Walpole and his companions were informed that the 'puppet-show...would not come that night till 7 in the morning.' *The St. James's Chronicle; Or, The British Evening-Post*, 27 February-2 March 1762, under the heading of 'Journal of the Proceedings of the Ghost, since its Removal from Cock-Lane': 'Monday Night she was examined and put to Bed, as before; and the Gentlemen, who had agreed to meet, waited till Twelve o'Clock; but no Noises were heard. She was then put into another Bed, in the Room where the Gentleman of the House and his Wife lie; and on Tuesday Morning, about Seven o'Clock, the Knockings and Scratchings began.'
- Widely disseminated: Samuel Johnson's report was reproduced in several newspapers including *The St. James's Chronicle; Or, The British Evening-Post*, 30 January-2 February 1762; *The General Evening Post*, 30 January-2 February 1762; and *Lloyd's Evening Post, And British Chronicle*, 1-3 February 1762. Also in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, February, 1762, p. 81.
- 'the child has some art of making or counterfeiting particular noises': Conclusion of Samuel Johnson's report. *The Gentleman's Magazine* has 'noise' rather than 'noises'.

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- Resting place: 'The 18th of January, 1762, Kent, Aldrich, Selman, Jones and several others went again to the child, and after the usual knockings and scratchings, among other questions she was asked if she would knock upon the coffin of Fanny, to which she answered in the affirmative, and many went, expecting to have heard the knocking in the vault, but there wasn't any.' *Tales from the Newgate Calendar* p. 174.
- 'this Phantom has solemnly signified...she lies buried': *The St. James's Chronicle; Or, The British Evening-Post*, 28-30 January 1762, under the heading of Miss Fanny's Ghost. Taken apparently from 'a Paragraph in one of this Morning's Papers.'
- 'her Daddy, who must needs be ruined and undone, if their Matter should be supposed to be an Imposture': *The St. James's Chronicle; Or, The British Evening-Post*, 21-23 January 1762.

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- Supernatural in origin: *Tales from the Newgate Calendar* pp. 174-5. This came from the Testimony of Mr Bray, Miss Bray and Bray's servant.
- 'The Knockings and Scratchings were also heard there for several Days after the Child was taken away': *The St. James's Chronicle; Or, The British Evening-Post*, 27 February-2 March 1762, under the heading of 'Journal of the Proceedings of the Ghost, since its Removal from Cock-Lane'.
- Newgate prison: *Ibid*.
- Tea kettle: *Ibid*. 'She concealed a Board, about four Inches broad, and six long, under her Stays. This Board was used to set the Tea Kettle upon.' A slightly different type of board is described in the trial. See *Tales from the Newgate Calendar* p. 179: 'they saw the girl get out of bed and go to the chimney and take a part of the chimney board to bed, that his servants told him what they had seen, and they went and found the board in the bed.'

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- 'she began to knock and scratch upon the Board'; 'caught in a Lie'; and 'not the least Likeness to the former': *The St. James's Chronicle; Or, The British Evening-Post*, 27 February-2 March 1762, under the heading of 'Journal of the Proceedings of the Ghost, since its Removal from Cock-Lane'.
- Return home. 'The Child was brought away that Day, and replaced among her Friends.' *Ibid*.
- 'The coffin was opened before Mr. K—, and a very awful shocking sight it was': *The London Chronicle: Or, Universal Evening Post*, 25-27 February 1762.



- 'ease the mind': *Tales from the Newgate Calendar* p. 183.
- 'knockings and scratching were the effects of some artful, wicked contrivance': *Lloyd's Evening Post, And British Chronicle*, 1-3 March 1762, 'Signed Feb. 25, 1762. JOHN MOORE.'
- Set free: *The St. James's Chronicle; Or, The British Evening-Post*, 10-13 July 1762. 'Yesterday came on at Guildhall, before the Right Hon. Lord Mansfield, a Trial on an Indictment against two other Persons, relating to the Affair of the Cock Lane ghost; when they were both found guilty.' Reference to £50 compensation to William Kent is in *The Cock Lane Ghost: Murder, Sex and Haunting in Dr Johnson's London*, p. 201. Kirby's *Wonderful And Eccentric Museum; Or, Magazine Of Remarkable Characters*. Volume III, London, 1805, p. 86 notes they 'made their peace with the prosecutor'.

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- 'much merriment to the very numerous audience assembled': *The London Evening-Post*, 10-13 July 1762.
- 'whence the noises proceeded': *Tales from the Newgate Calendar* p. 180.
- Guilty: *Ibid*, p. 180.
- £60,000: *The St. James's Chronicle; Or, The British Evening-Post*, 10-12 February 1763.
- 'ordered to stand in the Pillory at the End of Cock-Lane, and at Change, once each, within the Month'; and 'given with a Mallet': *Ibid*.

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- 'a great mob was assembled'; 'had prepared every offensive ingredient in order to make a sacrifice of that unhappy and ruined man'; and 'were obliged to shut up their shops': *The London Evening-Post*, 19-22 February 1763.
- 'examined in regard to the Deception': *The Public Advertiser*, 17 March 1763.
- Ten guineas: *Lloyd's Evening Post, And British Chronicle*, 14-16 March 1763.
- Two appearances incident: *Lloyd's Evening Post*, 28-30 March 1763 for the 2nd appearance and *The London Chronicle; Or, Universal Evening Post*, 7-9 April 1763 for the 3rd and final appearance.
- 13 February 1765: *Lloyd's Evening Post*, 15-18 February 1765.
- Rector of St Bartholomew-the-Great: *The Cock Lane Ghost: Murder, Sex and Haunting in Dr Johnson's London*, p. 208.
- Died in July 1768: *The Gentleman's Magazine*, July 1768, p. 350. 'Well known by the friends of the Cock-lane ghost.'
- 'it was by the same means that she amused her credulous attendants at Cock-lane': *Being a Complete Guide to the British Capital*, John Wallis, Third Edition, London: Sherwood, Neely, and Jones, 1810, p. 267. 'This woman, the daughter of Parsons, after being twice married, died about four years ago, the wife of a gardener near Chiswick.'
- 'Pomposo...Vain idol of a scribbling crowd'; and 'expedition 'gainst a Ghost': 'The Ghost. In Four Books, Book II', *The Poetical Works of Charles Churchill*, In Three Volumes, Vol. II, London, 1807, pp. 42 & 44.
- Johnson's response was 'that he thought Churchill a shallow fellow in the beginning, and had seen no reason for altering his opinion'.

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- 'weak enough to pay serious attention to a story about a ghost': *The Miscellaneous Writings and Speeches of Lord Macaulay*, A New Edition, London: Longmans, Green, Reader, & Dyer, 1871, from an essay on Samuel Johnson, dated December 1856, p. 385.
- 'Foolish Doctor!': *Sartor Resartus: The Life and Opinions of Herr Teufelsdröckh*, Thomas Carlyle, New York: A. L. Burt Company, nd, p. 261.
- 'he showed his displeasure': *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL. D, Including a Journal of a Tour of the Hebrides*, James Boswell. New Edition, John Wilson Croker, Complete in four Vol. III, New York: Derby & Jackson, 1858, p. 156.
- *The Annual Register*: 'A Summary account of the proceedings in regard to some strange noises, heard the beginning of the year, at a house in Cock-lane West Smithfield', *The Annual Register, or a View of the History, Politicks, and Literature*, Of the Year 1762, London, 1763, pp. 142-7. *The Annual Register* is a long-established reference work, written and published each year, which records and analyses the year's major events, developments and trends throughout the world. It was first produced in 1758 under the editorship of Edmund Burke.
- Kirby's *Museum*: 'Full and authentic Detail of the Circumstances which occasioned the notorious imposture, known by the name of the Cock Lane Ghost, with an Account of the Detection, and the Punishment of the Persons concerned in it', Kirby's *Wonderful And Eccentric Museum; Or, Magazine Of Remarkable Characters*. Volume III, London, 1805, pp. 67-88.
- *Our Mutual Friend*: Chapter 39. 'Here! lend a hand, Wegg,' said Mr Boffin excitedly, 'I can't get out till the way is cleared for me. This is the Annual Register, Wegg, in a cab-full of wollumes. Do you know him?' 'Know the Animal Register, sir?' returned the Impostor, who had caught the name imperfectly. 'For a trifling wager, I think I could find any Animal in him, blindfold, Mr Boffin.' 'And here's Kirby's Wonderful Museum,' said Mr Boffin, 'and Caulfield's Characters, and Wilson's. Such Characters, Wegg, such Characters!'
- *Nicholas Nickleby*; Chapter 48.
- 'until Mrs Pipchin knocking angrily at the wall, like the Cock Lane Ghost revived': *Dombey and Son*, Chapter 8, 'Paul's Further Progress, Growth and Character'.

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- Crude techniques: *The Thought Reader Craze: Victorian Science at the Enchanted Boundary*, p. 205, n. 5 suggests that her husband might have produced the requisite raps some of the time.
- Delicate for a child: Various rapping techniques by this method are discussed in: 'Extract from the deposition of Mrs Norman Culver, taken at Arcadia, N.Y., April 17, 1851', *Modern Spiritualism*, E. W. Capron, Boston, 1855, pp. 421-2; *Mediums, Mystics and the Occult*, Milbourne Christopher, New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1975, pp. 8-9: 'Three

doctors had volunteered to study the movement of Margaret's foot. They agreed that the sounds were made by the snapping "action of the first joint of her large toe". *The Death-Blow to Spiritualism: Being the True Story of the Fox Sisters*, Reuben Briggs Davenport, New York, 1897, pp. 89-90: Mrs Margaret Fox talks about producing 'very loud raps by the actions of the toe joints'. *A Magician Among the Spirits*, Harry Houdini, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1924, pp. 7-8: 'The rappings are simply the result of perfect control of the muscles of the leg below the knee, which govern the tendons of the foot and allow action of the toe and ankle bones that is not commonly known. With control of the muscles of the foot, the toes may be brought down to the floor without any movement that is perceptible to the eye. The whole foot, in fact, can be made to give rappings by the use only of the muscles below the knee.'

- 'Fraud is often genius out of place...for Mrs Hayden': 'Spiritualism Unmasked, Professor T. H. Huxley, *Pall Mall Gazette*, 1 January 1889. Huxley refers to Mrs Hayden as Mrs X. The article also explains Huxley's interpretation of the toe rappings: 'I have merely to bend the toe and then suddenly straighten it; the result is a sharp rap on the sole of my shoe, which by practice may be repeated very rapidly, and rendered forte or piano at pleasure.' He also perhaps gives a reason why Maria Hayden wasn't suspected: 'The suggestion that the particularly quiet woman, who sat easily talking at the head of the table, could be all the while making these wonderful noises seemed at first sight outrageous.' It is argued *In Search of Maria B. Hayden*, p. 17 that it would not be possible to sustain the snapping of joints in your toes over the extended period of a two to three hour séance; and therefore this could not have been the method Maria Hayden used to produce the raps.
- 'evidently came with the intention of having every thing wrong, and they nearly succeeded to their mind': *Spiritual Telegraph*, Vol. 2, 7 May 1853.
- 'stupid and silly article which appeared in Dickens' Household Words': *Spiritual Telegraph*, Vol. 2, no. 24, 15 October 1853, p. 95.

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- New York: *Spiritual Telegraph*, Vol. 2, No. 26, 29 October 1853, p. 103. I am grateful to Sharon DeBartolo Carmack for tracking down these references in the *Spiritual Telegraph*.
- *Credulity, Superstition and Fanaticism: Credulity, Superstition and Fanaticism. A Medley, Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, Vol. II, June 1689 To 1733*, Frederic George Stephens, 1873, no. 1785, pp. 644-8. It was published on 15 March 1762.
- William Kent and Fanny Lynes: *The Cock Lane Ghost: Murder, Sex and Haunting in Dr Johnson's London*, p. 161.
- *The Times Plate II: Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, Vol. IV*, no. 3972, pp. 195-7.

### Chapter Eight: 'Invisible Agent'

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- 'Invisible Agent' title: *The London Evening Post*, 9-11 January 1772: 'same invisible agent'
- Refuse: 'Now I don't doubt that Anne Robinson was the source of the phenomena, in some way. But the conclusion we are asked to accept is that she necessarily had to be faking the whole thing...In any event, the fact that the activities stopped when Miss Robinson was dismissed does not prove that the phenomena were not genuine.' From [https://michaelprescott.typepad.com/michael\\_prescotts\\_blog/2019/08/ghost-stories.html](https://michaelprescott.typepad.com/michael_prescotts_blog/2019/08/ghost-stories.html) [accessed July, 2021]
- 'quite unconcerned the whole time': *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 11 January 1772.

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- 'not the hundredth part of what happened': *Ibid*.
- Longer version: *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 13 January 1772. It was repeated verbatim in *The Public Advertiser*, on 14 January 1772.
- *An Authentic, Candid, and Circumstantial Narrative, of the Astonishing Transactions at Stockwell: An Authentic, Candid, and Circumstantial Narrative, of the Astonishing Transactions at Stockwell, In the County of Surry, On Monday and Tuesday, the 6th and 7th Days of January, 1772, Containing A Series of the most surprising and unaccountable Events that ever happened, which continued from first to last, upwards of Twenty Hours, and at different places. Published with the Consent and Approbation of the Family and other Parties concerned, to Authenticate which, the original Copy is signed by them.* London: J Marks, 1772.
- Anonymous author: *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 13 January 1772 calls him 'another correspondent.'
- Impressive: *Poltergeist Over England: Three Centuries of Mischievous Ghosts*, Harry Price, London: Country Life, 1945, p. 145: 'But perhaps the outstanding feature of the Stockwell ghost affair is the way in which the case was recorded. The report was drawn up immediately after the cessation of the activities – I almost wrote hostilities – and the report would do credit to a modern investigator. Few accounts of such things published today are so well presented and witnessed.'
- Booksellers: *The Daily Advertiser*, 17 January 1772: 'This Morning at Eleven will be published'.
- 'a young woman, about twenty years old': *Astonishing Transactions*, p. 6.
- 'aged fifteen years, or thereabouts': *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 13 January 1772. There is no record of her true age.

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- 'no person was in that room': Contrast between the two reports. *Astonishing Transactions*, p. 8. 'On Monday, January the 6th, 1772, about ten o'clock in the forenoon, as Mrs. Golding was in her parlour, she heard the china and glasses in the back kitchen tumble down and break; her maid came to her and told her the stone plates were falling from the shelf; Mrs. Golding went into the kitchen and saw them broke. Presently after, a row of plates from the next shelf fell down likewise, while she was there, and nobody near them;' *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 13 January 1772: 'At

the house of one Mrs. Goulding, a single gentlewoman, at Stockwell, in the parish of Lambeth in Surry, about eleven o'clock in the forenoon of Monday last, there being no person except herself and servant (*Anne Robinson*, aged fifteen years, or thereabouts) several earthen plates and one dish of what is called the Queen's-ware, which were placed on a shelf in one of the kitchens, fell down, and all broke except the dish, without any visible cause; in a little time after several candlesticks, and other things, the furniture of a mantle-piece in the back-kitchen, were thrown into the middle of the floor, though no person was in that room;

- 'As soon as the blood was cold in the bason, it flew out on the floor': *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 11 January 1772.
- 'worth about five pounds': *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 13 January 1772.

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- 'pot of jelly': *Ibid*.
- 'for fear of being troublesome': *Astonishing Transactions*, p. 8.
- 'dance'; 'and tumble about': *Ibid*, p. 14.

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- 'nails and strings': *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 13 January 1772.
- 'all the tables, chairs, drawers, &c., were tumbling about': *Astonishing Transactions*, p. 8. There is a typo in the text of 'where' instead of 'were'.
- 'the same things would follow': *Ibid*, p. 20.
- 'no person near it': *Ibid*, p. 22.

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- 'Her mind was one confused chaos': *Ibid*, p. 12.
- 'not altogether so unconcerned as she appeared to be': *Ibid*, p. 18.
- 'the maid is the suspected person, it is a little extraordinary that by no means were used to detect her': *The Lady's Magazine; Or Entertaining Companion for the Fair Sex*, Printed for John Wheble, Vol. III, January 1772, p. 31.
- 'small Hint of the Girl' and 'it gives us not the least idea of by what Means such a Scene could be carried into Execution'. *The Westminster Journal: and London Political Miscellany*, 18-25 January, 1772. 'The said Narrative gives indeed some small Hint of the Girl, Mrs *Golding's* Servant being the Cause, but it gives us not the least Idea of by what Means such a Scene could be carried into Execution.' 'Methinks, Sir, a Narrative should have continued the Scene; it should have made a minute Enquiry of what could be the Reason, what the Cause that produced such strange Effects.'
- 'affair may be unravelled': *Astonishing Transactions*, p. 23.

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- 'An impertinent attempt to impose upon the credulity of the public': *The Critical Review*, January 1772, p. 88 in this one line review of *Astonishing Transactions*.
- 'a new edition of the Cock-lane Ghost....with additions, but no amendments': *The Gentleman's Magazine*, February 1772, p. 84. 'A new edition of the Cock-lane Ghost, altered from the original of Miss Fanny, with additions, but no amendments'. *The Monthly Review*, January 1772, p. 78 was even more succinct: 'The resurrection of the Cock-lane Ghost.'
- 'jumped up, and turned bottom upwards': *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 16 January 1772. *Craftsman; or Say's Weekly Journal*, 18 January, 1772, states it was a farmer involved, and that was the profession of Mr Pain.
- 'calumnies': *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 1 February 1772; also reported in *The Middlesex Journal: Or, Chronicle of Liberty*, 28-30 January 1772. A couple of days before it was reported that his oath had been refuted, *Ibid*, 30 January 1772. This was now corrected, possibly as now 'a Noble Earl' had taken an interest in the affair.
- 'by an agent unknown to them, and unseen by them': *The Westminster Journal: and London Political Miscellany*, 25 January-1 February 1772: 'The account from Stockwell stands much as it was in our last: Some cry out it is a fiction, and yet the people are sensible of the loss of their goods, and that the destruction wrought, was by an agent unknown to them, and unseen by them. This they have affirmed, and this they stand to, and their reputation in life appears to such, as no one has a Right to call in question.'
- 'the effects of the Hounslow explosion': *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 14 January 1772.

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- 'About the time the explosion was felt at London, some families at Stockwell were terrified with the rattling and breaking of their china': *The Gentleman's Magazine*, January 1772, p. 41. It carried on by stating 'which they attributed to a preternatural cause'.
- Reporting of the damage: The excessive detail of the household items in *Astonishing Transactions* was pointed out in 'Broken China and Flying Teapots: The Stockwell Ghost and the Spectacle of Fear', Paweł Rutkowski, Uniwersytet Warszawski in *From Queen Anne to Queen Victoria. Readings in 18th and 19th century British Literature and Culture*, Vol. 5, 2016, Edited by Emma Harris, Grażyna Bystydzińska, p. 383: 'Devastation of domestic possessions was certainly a central theme in the pamphlet, which in many places reads not like a ghost story at all but rather like a catalogue or inventory of tangible objects kept (and lost) in Stockwell houses.'
- Two: First reports varied between one and three mills being blown up. *The Daily Advertiser*, 8 January 1772: 'It was one of the Powder-Mills at Hounslow which blew up.' *Caledonian Mercury*, 11 January, 1772: 'there never was an instance known of three mills blowing up so regularly in succession after each other.'
- Of nine: *Journals of the House of Commons. From November the 13th, 1770 to November the 17th*, Reprinted by Order of the House of Commons, 1804, p. 755, 13 May 1772. 'Mr Hill is Owner of Seven Pestle Mills now at work upon the Gunpowder Business'. 'That what is left of the Two Mills lately blown up, is not now worth more than £5.'
- Nearby warehouses: *The London Evening-Post*, January 4-7 1772.

- Separate explosions: *The Daily Advertiser*, 8 January 1772: ‘there were seven distinct Explosions.’
- From three: *The Kentish Gazette*, 7 January 1772: ‘Three shocks were felt on Monday morning during the explosion...’
- ‘in so gradual manner’: *Ibid.*
- At breakfast, *The London Evening Post*, January 4 - 7, 1772. The same reports are often repeated in sundry newspapers. I have cited the first time I’ve found the relevant reference
- Three were wounded. *The Daily Advertiser*, 8 January 1772. Another report stated that ‘that none of the workmen received the least injury’, *Caledonian Mercury*, 18 January 1772.
- Buried in the ruins: *The Kentish Gazette*, 7 January 1772. ‘The Husband and Wife were much bruised also, but escaped with Life.’
- Run over by his plough: *Ibid.*
- Five thousand pounds: *The Kentish Gazette*, 11 January 1772.
- George III ordered £200: *Bingley’s London Journal*, 4-11 January 1772.
- Lifted up three times: *The Kentish Gazette*, 7 January 1772.
- Mr Thomas: *Middlesex Journal: Or, Chronicle of Liberty*, 7-9 January, 1772.

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- Storage compartment: *The Public Advertiser*, 9 January, 1772.
- Miscarried: *Jackson’s Oxford Journal*, 11 January 1772.
- Parlour window: *The Caledonian Mercury*, 15 January 1772.
- Painted glass: *Jackson’s Oxford Journal*, 11 January 1772. Repeated in *The Reading Mercury*, and *Oxford Gazette*, 13 January 1772 and *The Caledonian Mercury*, 15 January 1772.
- Three letters: *Walpole*, Vol. 32, pp. 73-8, Lady Ossory, 6-8 January 1772; Vol. 39, pp. 152-3, Conway, 7 January 1772; and Vol. 23, pp. 363-6, Mann, Tuesday 14 January 1772.
- ‘came from the northwest, the China Closet was not touched, nor a cup fell down’: *Walpole*, 7 January 1772, vol. 39, pp. 152-3.
- ‘massacred’: *Ibid.*, p. 153.
- Richmond: *Jackson’s Oxford Journal*, 11 January 1772.
- ‘when the concussion of the earth was felt’. *The Kentish Gazette*, 7 January 1772 and *Caledonian Mercury*, 13 January, 1772.
- ‘much alarmed’: *The Daily Advertiser*, 8 January, 1772.
- Brentford: *Bingley’s Journal*, January 4-11 1772.
- Greenwich: *The Reading Mercury*, and *Oxford Gazette*, 13 January, 1772.
- Houses themselves: *The Northampton Mercury*, 13 January, 1772.
- China thrown down: *The Reading Mercury*, and *Oxford Gazette*, 13 January, 1772.
- Hype Park Corner: *Jackson’s Oxford Journal*, 11 January 1772.
- Sydenham: *The Reading Mercury*, and *Oxford Gazette*, 13 January, 1772.

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- Deptford in Kent: *Jackson’s Oxford Journal*, 25 January 1772.
- Stanmore: *The London Evening-Post*, January 4-7 1772.
- Alton, Godalming and Haslemere: *The Derby Mercury*, 17 January 1772.
- Interior parts of Essex. *Middlesex Journal: Or, Chronicle of Liberty*, 7-9 January 1772.
- ‘the Noise was heard very distinctly ten Miles below Bristol’: *Jackson’s Oxford Journal*, 18 January 1772. This made London news in *The Westminster Journal: And London Political Miscellany*, 11-18 January 1772.
- Close by: *The London Evening-Post*, January 4-7 1772. ‘The explosion was so great as to shake the houses in different parts of London, and it was supposed to be an earthquake, and the people thought they felt four shocks’.
- Dartford: *The Caledonian Mercury*, 15 January 1772: ‘At Dartford, in Kent, it was taken for the shock of an earthquake.’
- Guildford: *The Derby Mercury*, 17 January 1772. *Extract from a Letter from Guildford, Jan 8* ‘The inhabitants of this Town were yesterday Morning greatly alarmed with two or three Tremblings of the Earth, which were very great, and shook several Houses, and was imagined by some People to be an Earthquake.’
- ‘as plainly as if a gun had been discharged near them’: *The London Evening-Post*, 4-7 January 1772.
- ‘that the blowing up of the mills near Hounslow was occasioned by an earthquake’: *Oxford Journal*, 25 January 1772.
- ‘three mills blowing up so regularly in succession after each other’: *The Caledonian Mercury*, 11 January 1772.
- More serious: *The Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, 30 January 1772: ‘I believe I am as free from Superstition as any Man living; but I cannot help lamenting the Blindness of Mankind who deceive themselves by attributing *that* to Accident, which too surely was the Effect of something much more serious.’
- ‘was done by such villains as set Portsmouth dock-yard on fire’: *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 9 January 1772. First reported in *The Kentish Gazette*, 7 January 1772.
- Thirty war vessels: *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, July 1770, p. 343

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- Many limbs broken”: *Ibid.* ‘Mr. Eddowes’s house keeper died of the fright.’
- Three thousand men: *The Middlesex Journal: Or, Chronicle of Liberty*, 28-31 July, 1770 under the heading ‘Extract of a Letter from Portsmouth, July 29’.

- Burning four days later: *The Middlesex Journal: Or, Chronicle of Liberty*, 31 July-2 August 1770, under the heading of 'Extract of a Letter from Portsmouth, Aug. 1': 'The fire in the Dock-yard is at last happily extinguished by the help of three chain pumps.'
- £130,000: *The Public Advertiser*, 3 August 1770.
- Thousands of rope makers: *The Middlesex Journal: Or, Chronicle of Liberty*, 28-31 July 1770. It seemed to have succeeded in this respect. *The General Evening Post*, 28-31 July 1770 reported that orders had been given 'to take into pay an extraordinary number of sail-makers, riggers, rope-makers, &c. for the more speedy and effectual repair of the damages'.
- Suspects: *The General Evening Post*, 28-31 July 1770: 'wilfully set on fire by some of our foreign enemies.'
- 'two wan, long-nosed, slim fellows with bag-wigs and swords': *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 2 August, 1770. Also in *The Public Advertiser*, 1 August 1770.
- 'a certain foreigner of rank': *The General Evening Post*, 2-4 August 1770.
- Joshua Dudley confessed: *The Whisperer*, no. 44, 30 November 1771, pp. 592-6.
- Invented the story: *The Middlesex Journal: Or, Chronicle of Liberty*, 3-5 December 1771: 'We are well assured that Dudley, now in the King's Bench Prison...declares that he knows nothing whatsoever of that memorable conflagration.'
- Prison: *Craftsman; or Say's Weekly Journal*, 11 July 1772: 'I had no other intent but to extricate myself from the distresses of a Spunging-house, where I was at the time I first wrote to the Earl of Rochford.'
- prosecuted for wilful perjury: *The London Evening-Post*, 10 December 1771. His claim to be 'at Portsmouth on July the 14th and 24th, in 1770, the contrary of which was fully proved by some reputable gentlemen at that place'.
- Pleaded guilty: *The London Evening Post*, 22-25 February 1772: 'he immediately pleaded Guilty, and begged for transportation.'
- Transportation: *The Middlesex Journal: Or, Chronicle of Liberty*, 7-9 July 1772. 'Dudley...was shipped amongst the other felons.'
- *The Public Advertiser: The Public Advertiser*, 14 January 1772. 'We hear that two or three People have been sent for to London from the Dock-yard here, relative to the Fire of the Dock.' *The Middlesex Journal: Or, Chronicle of Liberty*, 18-21 January, 1772 reported that the men were 'the boat-builder and purveyor of Portsmouth-yard'.
- 'curious Account from Stockwell'; 'Fire at Portsmouth, and the late Explosion at Hounslow' and 'occasioned by the same invisible Agent': *The Public Advertiser*, 14 January 1772: 'We can assure the Public from the very best Authority, that the above curious Account from Stockwell is not only literally true, but that the Ministry have discovered that the Fire at Portsmouth, and the late Explosion at Hounslow, were both occasioned by the same invisible Agent.'

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- *The Gazetteer: The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 14 January 1772.
- 'the Spoils of Stockwell Witchcraft': *The Derby Mercury*, 24 January 1772.
- *The Night Side of Nature: The Night Side of Nature; Or, Ghosts and Ghost Seers*, Catherine Crowe, In Two Volumes, Vol. II, London: T. C. Newby, 1848, p. 238.
- 'ghost haunts; a Poltergeist infests': *Poltergeist Over England*, p. 1.
- 'they throw things, or cause things to be thrown': *Ibid*, p. 19.
- 'would unhesitatingly single out the case': *Ibid*, p. 145.

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- *Astonishing Transactions*: The pamphlet is reproduced in *The Night Side of Nature*, pp. 240-256. As was pointed out by Charles Dickens in his review of the book in *The Examiner*, 26 February 1848, p. 131, Crowe fails to note the later confession of Ann Robinson as reported in *The Every-Day Book Or, The Guide to the Year*, William Hone, London: Printed for William Hone, 1825, p. 34-5.
- Drummer of Tedworth: *A Blow at Modern Sadducism In Some Philosophical Considerations about Witchcraft*, Jos. Glanvill, London, E. Cotes, 1668.
- 1 December 1716: Much of this account is based on John Wesley's own write up in *The Arminian Magazine, for the Year 1784*, Volume VII, London, J. Paramore, pp. 548-550, 606-8 and 654-6.
- 'the gobbling of a turkey-cock': *Ibid*, p. 548.

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- 'it seemed as if a very large coal was violently thrown upon the floor and dashed all in pieces': *Ibid*, p. 655.
- 'Jeffrey is coming: it is time to go to sleep': *Ibid*, p. 655.
- More intermittent: *Original Letters By The Rev. John Wesley, And His Friends*, Joseph Priestley, Birmingham: Thomas Pearson, 1791, 'My Sister Emily's account to Jack', p. 157.
- 'might have done it for her, and saved her the trouble': *The Arminian Magazine*, p. 654.
- Rat or dog be the cause: *Original Letters*, 'Letter from Mr. S. Wesley to his Mother', Letter III, 19 January 1717, p. 123.
- 'the truth will be still more manifest and undeniable, if it is grounded on the testimony of two senses': *Ibid*, 'Mr. S. Wesley to his Mother', Letter VII, 12 February 1717, p. 132.
- Wrote to his father: *Ibid*, 'Mr S Wesley to his Father', Letter VIII, 12 February 1717, pp. 132-3.
- 'we are now all quiet': *Ibid*, 'From old Mr. Wesley to his Son Samuel', Letter X, 11 February 1717, p. 134
- 'No: let the devil flee from me: I will never flee from the devil.': *The Arminian Magazine*, p. 656.

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- Samuel's preaching: *Original Letters*, 'Miss Emily Wesley to her brother Samuel', Letter XI, nd, p. 138: 'I believe it to witchcraft, for these reasons. About a year since, there was a disturbance at a town near us, that was undoubtedly witches; and if so near, why may they not reach us? Then my father had for several Sundays before its coming,

preached warmly against consulting those that are called cunning men, which our people are given to; and it had a particular spite at my father.’

- ‘a badger, only without any head that was discernible’ and ‘like a white rabbit, which seems likely to be some witch’. *Ibid.*
- References to the supernatural: An example is given in his relating of a story about a woman who communicated with the spirits of the dead in *The Works of the Rev. John Wesley*. In Ten Volumes, Volume III, New York, J. & J. Harper, 1827, pp. 246-253.
- Satanic manifestations: See ‘Methodism, the Clergy, and the Popular Belief in Witchcraft and Magic’, Owen Davies, *History*, Vol. 82, no. 266, April, 1997, p. 252-265 and ‘Witches, Demoniacs and Ghosts: John Wesley’s Methodism in Defence of Real Christianity’, Paweł Rutkowski, *From Queen Anne to Queen Victoria. Readings in 18th and 19th century British Literature and Culture*, Edited by Emma Harris and Grażyna Bystydzieńska, Vol. 1, 2009, pp. 387-396. Both have plenty of citations of cases that Wesley quoted about examples of witchcraft.
- ‘giving up witchcraft, is, in effect, giving up the Bible’: *The Works of the Rev. John Wesley*, p. 245.
- ‘punctually true’: *Ibid.*, p. 246.
- Preternatural appearances: *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 17 February 1772.
- Mere 25,000: ‘Methodism, the Clergy, and the Popular Belief in Witchcraft and Magic’, p. 259. By 1830 numbers had reached 286,000.

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- Witchcraft Act of 1736: Sometimes dated 1735.
- Anglican Church: *Witchcraft, Magic and Culture 1736-1951*, Owen Davies, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999, p. 1.
- ‘she is pinching me to death’: *Lloyd’s Evening Post*, 12-15 March, 1773. The story was also reported in local newspapers such as *The Reading Mercury*, and *Oxford Gazette*; *Leeds Intelligencer* and the *Stamford Mercury*. The incident took place at the village of Seend in Wiltshire.
- case until the mid-nineteenth century: ‘Methodism, the Clergy, and the Popular Belief in Witchcraft and Magic’, p. 260: ‘Popular belief in witchcraft was so widespread during the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, that it would have been difficult to raise the belief any higher.’
- Blame the Methodists: *Witchcraft, Magic and Culture 1736-1951*, p. 15. One indication of their success is illustrated by James Boswell who relates, in *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson*, James Boswell, London, 1785, p. 449, Diary entry Monday 25 Oct, 1773 that when ‘I made some remark that seemed to imply a belief in *second sight*. The duchess [of Hamilton] said, “I fancy you will be a *Methodist*”.’
- Embrace witchcraft: *Witchcraft and Its Transformations, c. 1650 - c. 1750*, Ian Bostridge, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997, pp. 158-9.
- ‘reputable situations and good circumstances’: *Astonishing Transactions*, p. 6.

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- ‘for which providence was determined to pursue her on this side the grave’: *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.
- ‘a lady of an independent fortune’: *Ibid.*, p. 6.
- Samuel Johnson: *The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, with Samuel Johnson*, James Boswell, Sixth Edition, London: T. Cadell, 1813, Entry for 16 August 1773, pp. 33-4. ‘No, sir, witchcraft had ceased; and therefore an act of parliament was passed to prevent persecution for what was not witchcraft. Why it ceased, we cannot tell, as we cannot tell the reason of many other things.’
- ‘her conscience was quite clear’: *Astonishing Transactions*, p. 21.
- ‘invisible agent’: The term is first used in the initial report in *The London Evening Post*, 9-11 January 1772. But it is repeated several times in subsequent newspaper articles.
- ‘no witchcraft in the matter’: *The Lady’s Magazine; Or Entertaining Companion for the Fair Sex*, Vol. III, January 1772, p. 31: ‘And all we can infer from the story, is that though there be no witchcraft in the matter, it is likely there is a great imposture.’
- The newspapers: One example was in the *Newcastle Courant*, 1 February 1772: ‘Mr. F. Being asked what he thought of the necromantic affair at Stockwell, replied, he had heard of French dancers and Italian dancers, morris dancers, dancing monkies, and dancing bears; but as for dancing plates, cups and saucers, they were entirely of the growth of Stockwell.’
- ‘The superstitious belief the vulgar entertain of the witchcraft at Stockwell’: *The General Evening Post*, 30 January-1 February 1772.
- ‘animated furniture’: *The London Evening-Post*, 28-30 January 1772.
- *Harlequin Skeleton*: The *Harlequin Skeleton* was not new, having made its first appearance in December 1746. Its predecessor was *The Royal Chace; or, Merlin’s Cave* which first appeared on 23 January, 1736 at the Covent Garden theatre: *The London Stage, 1660-1800, Part 3: 1729-1747*, Volume 1, Edited with a Critical Introduction by Arthur H. Scouten, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1961, p. 546. On 26 December, 1746, it was called *The Royal Chace; or, Harlequin Skeleton: The London Stage, 1660-1800, Part 3, Volume 2*, p. 1274. From then on it was either called by this title or simply just *Harlequin Skeleton*: for instance *The London Stage, 1660-1800, A Calendar of Plays etc., Part 4: 1747-1776*, Volume 1, Edited by George Winchester Stone, Jr, Illinois: Southern Illinois Press, 1962, 22 December, 1753, p. 399.
- ‘the wonderful and surprizing feats lately performed at Stockwell’: *The Theatrical Review; Or, New Companion to the Play-House*, In Two Volumes. Vol. II, London: S. Crowder, 1772, p. 85.

- 31 January 1772: *The London Stage, 1660-1800, A Calendar of Plays etc., Part 4: 1747-1776*, Volume 3, Edited by George Winchester Stone, Jr, Illinois: Southern Illinois Press, 1962, 31 January 1772, p. 1604.
- *The Busy Body*: Described by one critic in the *Theatrical Review*, Vol. 1, pp. 196-7 as having 'some pretensions to Originality, though several hints are borrowed from the Comedy of the *Devil's an Ass* by Ben. Jonson. It cannot be considered as a first rate Performance, either with respect to Plot, Incident, Sentiment, or Language.'

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- Cracked into pieces: *The General Evening Post*, 30 January-1 February 1772.
- Columbine: *The Manchester Mercury*, 18 February 1772.
- 'was received with the greatest applause': *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 1 February 1772.
- Female ballad singer: *The Theatrical Review*, Vol. 2, p. 93.
- 'occasioned much Laughter' and 'a universal Encore'. *The Public Advertiser*, 8 February 1772
- 'A sweet girl was the cause, and girls wonders are rich-in / For we all know sweet girls – are extremely bewitching'. *The General Evening Post*, February 22-25, 1772.
- 'From such Poetry, Heaven deliver us!': *The Theatrical Review*, Vol. 2, p. 93 after reproducing the ballad.
- 'Stockwell Scenes': First mention, as the Stockwell Scene, was in *The Public Advertiser* as a puff notice on 29 May and 1 June, 1772: 'The Theatre Royal in Covent-Garden will close the Season this Evening, with the Tragedy of Macbeth; To which will be added (by particular Desire) the Pantomime of Harlequin Dr. Faustus, in which will be introduced the Stockwell Scene.' *The Public Advertiser*, 21 October and 2 November 1772 advertised *Mother Shipton. With The Stockwell Scenes*. Later adverts from the same paper, 30 November, 1 & 4 December 1772, advertised it as: *The Royal Chace; Or, Harlequin Skeleton. With the Stockwell Scenes*.
- *All up at Stockwell; or, The Ghost no Conjuror: The London Stage, 1660-1800, A Calendar of Plays etc., Part 4: 1747-1776*, Edited by George Winchester Stone, Jr., Volume 3, Illinois: Southern Illinois Press, 1962, 21 April, 1772, p. 1626. Also see *The Public Advertiser*, 20 April 1772. I have found no evidence that this title was reprised
- 'the late wonderful transactions at Stockwell': *The Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, 12 March, 1772. *Harlequin at Stockwell* was mentioned again in the same paper on 23 April 1772 and 17 September 1772. This Theatre Royal is not the present Theatre Royal in Bath, which was built in 1805; but an older one.
- Dress up his family: *The General Evening Post*, 1-4 February 1772 and *The Public Advertiser*, 5 February, 1772, where the nobleman was referred to as a 'Genius of Fashion'.

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- 'meet with encouragement' and 'prevent that mysterious affair making improper impressions on the minds of the Ignorant and Superstitious'. *The Theatrical Review*, Vol. 2, p. 85.
- 'more than one person's contrivance': *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 17 February 1772.
- *Every-Day Book or, The Guide to the Year: The Every-Day Book Or, The Guide to the Year*, William Hone, London: Printed for William Hone, pp. 31-5.
- 'the whole to witchcraft' and 'the animation of the inanimate crockery and furniture': *Ibid*, p. 34.

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- 'quick in her motions' and 'terrors at the time, and their subsequent conversations magnified many of the circumstances beyond the facts': *Ibid*, p. 35.
- 'sheer invention, and there is no evidence to support it': *Poltergeist Over England*, p. 153
- 'the greatest conjurer living could not produce the Stockwell effects by means of wires, etc'; 'the look-out for tricks' and 'I know what can, and cannot, be done in this way': *Ibid*, p. 153.

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- 'there was a love story connected with the case': *The Every-Day Book Or, The Guide to the Year*, p. 35
- 'to have a clear house, to carry on an intrigue with her lover': *Memoirs of Extraordinary Popular Delusions And The Madness of Crowds*, Charles Mackay, Vol. II, London: Office of the National Illustrated Library, 1852, p. 235.
- 'beyond her original purpose for mere amusement' and 'from one thing to another': *The Every-Day Book Or, The Guide to the Year*, p. 35.
- 'the only magic in the thing was, her dexterity and the people's simplicity': *Ibid*.

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- Where was she now: *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 17 February 1772. Also similar questions were asked in *The Westminster Journal: And London Political Miscellany*, 18-25 January 1772: 'This Narrative Writer [of *Astonishing Transactions*] should moreover have made Enquiry, (as the Girl is the only Person supposed to have any Hand in the Mischief) from whence she came, and to what Place she is gone;'
- 'the clerk of Louisham parish': *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 14 January 1772.
- No trace of Mr Robinson: My thanks to Sally Eaton, Archivist at the London Borough of Lewisham, for investigating this on my behalf. There is no record of a Mr Robinson being a parish clerk in this period.
- 'the dancing furniture sold at very extravagant prices': *The Environs of London: Being an Historical Account of the Towns, Villages, and Hamlets, Within Twelve Miles of that Capital*, Rev. Daniel Lysons, Volume the First, London: A. Strahan, 1792, p. 329.
- 'partly a fraud' and 'not a fraud, and in reality a Poltergeist': *Poltergeist over England*, p. 192. A distinction between the Stockwell and Cock-Lane ghost was made in a letter in *The Westminster Journal: And London Political Miscellany*, 18-25 January 1772.
- Ghosts and poltergeists: *Four Modern Ghosts*, Eric J. Dingwall and Trevor H. Hall, London: Gerald Duckworth, 1958, p. 11: 'Among all the queer phenomena which engage the attention of psychical researchers, ghosts and poltergeists are some of the most troublesome.'

- ‘absolutely helpless in the matter’: *Poltergeist Over England*, p. 145.

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- Book: *This House Is Haunted: An Investigation of the Enfield Poltergeist*, Guy Lyon Playfair, London: Souvenir Press, 1980.
- Television series: Sky Living, *The Enfield Haunting*, which was broadcast from 4–17 May 2015.
- BBC Radio 4: *The Reunion*, BBC Radio 4. First broadcast on 8 April 2018.

### Chapter Nine: ‘A Chinese Temple Rising Out of The Clouds’

#### Page 213

- ‘A Chinese Temple Rising Out of The Clouds’ title: *The Morning Herald, and Daily Advertiser*, 23 August 1784: ‘represented a Chinese Temple rising out of the clouds,’
- ‘Grand and Magnificent Air Balloon, the Chinese Temple’: *The Morning Post, and Daily Advertiser*, 4 August 1784.
- ‘filled in an instant’: *Ibid.*

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- ‘inflammable air’: *An Account of the First Aërial Voyage in England, In a Series of Letters to His Guardian*, Chevalier Gherardo Compagni, Vincent Lunardi, London, 1784, pp. 11-12: ‘There are two methods of filling a Balloon for ascension; and it is remarkable, that the method first discovered and executed by Messrs. Montgolfier, is the most hazardous and difficult to apply to use. It is effected, as a chimney is heated, by a common fire; and a Balloon of this kind is a moving chimney, closed at the top, made of light materials, and raised by the elasticity which is always given to air by fire. This requires a constant application of fire to the contents of the Balloon, which is a difficult operation; and the least error in the application may be the occasion of consuming the apparatus, and endangering the lives of those who trust to it. I have chosen inflammable rather than elastic air for my guide. It is a substance produced by the action of vitriolic acid on metals or semi-metals, and is similar to that vapour which takes fire in mines, and carries terror and destruction wherever it approaches. This you will say is changing one hazardous instrument for another, but the chances of setting fire to the elastic Balloon, or of not applying the heat so equally as to answer the purpose of ascension, are numerous; those of exploding an inflammable Balloon, arise only from thunder clouds; and if proper attention be paid to the weather, they are not numerous or difficult to be avoided; besides inflammable air being *seven* times lighter than atmospherical air, and rarified air not more than *three* times lighter, the Machine must of course be proportionally larger in the use of the latter than in that of the former.’
- Buy an engraving: *The Morning Post, and Daily Advertiser*, 4 August 1784.
- Image sold: *New Aerostatic Machine, Being 65 Feet High, and 120 in Circumference, in which M. Le Chev. de Moret will go up*. Reproduced as Plate 37 in *Aeronautical Prints & Drawings*, With text by Lt-Col. W. Lockwood Marsh, London: Halton and Truscott Smith, Ltd., 1924. Text on p. 20: ‘There is some reason for believing that the extraordinary looking object in Plate 37 really does represent the appearance of a balloon which was built by Count Moret, and announced to ascend from a garden in Chelsea on 11 August, 1784, the date given on the print being incorrect’. ‘The reason for believing that the balloon may actually have been constructed in the curious shape is that Herr E. Fuld, in his “Uit de Eerste Jaren der Luchtvaart in Nederland, 1700-1808,” reproduces a Dutch print of a *Lucht-bal* launched in Holland on 11 December, 1783, which bears a very remarkable resemblance to Moret’s balloon.’
- Accurate representation: *The Public Advertiser*, 12 August 1784 described it as having ‘the Appearance of a Temple, with a Cupola’.

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- ‘to pay for seats at the balloon’ and ‘in less than a minute they who gaze at a mile’s distance will see all that can be seen’: *The Life of Samuel Johnson including a Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides by James Boswell*, A New Addition with Numerous Additions and Notes by John Wilson Croker, In Two Volumes II, New York: George Dearborn, 1837, p. 417, Letter to Mr Hoole dated 13th August, 1784.

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- First fine day afterwards: *The Whitehall Evening-Post*, 12 August, 1784 refers to his ‘apology’. *The Morning Post, and Daily Advertiser*, 11 August 1784 gives notice of rescheduling the flight due to bad weather.
- 30,000: *The St James’s Chronicle; Or, British Evening-Post*, 10-12 August 1784.
- £50 or £80, *The London Chronicle*, 10-12 August 1784: ‘about one hundred of the most inquisitive and liberal paid their money to have admission to the garden, where the machine was preparing, from whom the Chevalier might receive in guineas, half-guineas, and crowns, about 50l.’ *The General Evening Post*, 10-12 August, 1784: ‘The Second part of the Bottle-Conjurer was played off yesterday at the Bowling-green, Chelsea, by the Foreigner who advertised to go up with the Air Balloon. It is said he collected near 80l. from the spectators, with which he got clear off.’
- Charles James Fox: *The St James’s Chronicle; Or, British Evening-Post*, 10-12 August 1784. ‘The Company were admitted into the Ground at One o’Clock, led by Lord North, Mr Fox, and the principal Appendages of the *unfortunate Coalition*.’
- Bear the weight of the air: *The London Chronicle*, 10-12 August 1784.

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- Burning cork and straw: *The St James’s Chronicle; Or, British Evening-Post*, 10-12 August 1784. ‘Three hours were spent in Preparations, and in expanding the Balloon by Means of Fire made with Cork and Straw.’
- Strain on the cords: *The Whitehall Evening Post*, 10-12 August 1784.
- Contraption rising: *The Morning Herald, and Daily Advertiser*, 23 August 1784.
- ‘three tedious hours of preparation’: *The Whitehall Evening Post*, 10-12 August 1784.



- Panting for breath: *The London Chronicle*, 10-12 August 1784.
- ‘found more attractions in the earth than the air, and immediately came to the ground’: *The Morning Herald, and Daily Advertiser*, 12 August 1784.
- Compassion towards Moret: *The Whitehall Evening Post*, 10-12 August 1784.
- ‘the mob’: *The Whitehall Evening Post*, 10-12 August 1784.
- The gates: *The Morning Herald, and Daily Advertiser*, 12 August 1784: ‘and that part of the audience who are not remarkable for their philosophy, resolved to have satisfaction of the deceiver, and for that purpose pulled down the gates, burst into the garden, and, with the rapacity of hounds tore their prey into a thousand pieces;’
- Burst through the fences: *The Whitehall Evening Post*, 10-12 August 1784: ‘the mob which were scrambling on the tops of the hedges and trees which surrounded the place, burst through the fences, and in three minutes the balloon was turned into a bonfire.’
- Trophies: *The Morning Herald, and Daily Advertiser*, 12 August 1784: ‘content with marching off with pieces of the Balloon, as trophies of their victory.’
- Fire: *The Morning Post, and Daily Advertiser*, 12 August 1784: ‘the rest of the balloon, together with the benches, furniture, &c. was consigned by the irritated and disappointed mob to a still more inflammatory element.’ *The Morning Herald, and Daily Advertiser*, 12 August 1784: ‘the seats, pales, and everything they could lay hold of that was consumable, were committed to the flames.’

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- Limbs and watches: *The Public Advertiser*, 12th August 1784.
- Escaped serious injury: *The John Marsh Journals: The Life and Times of a Gentleman Composer (1752-1828)*, Sociology of Music No. 9, USA: Pendragon Press, 1998, p. 323: ‘On the next day (...) we left Greenwich & went to Kensington to stay a few day’s with Harvest’s, in our way to which, having heard of a balloon to be launch’d near Chelsea by the Chevalier de Morét we took it in our way & waited about 2 hours whilst it was filling to see it but at length we were disappointed the machine being too weighty & clumsily made to ascend in consequence of w’ch the mob broke in & demolished it, the Chevalier (after being as much exhausted in blowing the fire etc. & superintending the process of filling the balloon as was the patience of the mob) making his escape by a backway to a saddle horse there reserved for him in case of failure, or he might have been demolish’d too...’
- meteorologist: *The Whitehall Evening Post*, 10-12 August 1784.

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- Foreigner: *The Morning Herald, and Daily Advertiser*, 12 August 1784. He was called French – ‘this celebrated Frenchman’ – when he was in fact Swiss.
- Flight never intended: *Ibid.* ‘thus concluded the first boasted flight into the English air, and which, although it did not answer what was expected, by floating with, the cavalier beyond the clouds, and which perhaps was never intended.’
- Bottle Conjurer: *The General Evening Post: The General Evening Post*, 10-12 August, 1784: ‘The second part of the Bottle-Conjurer was played off yesterday at the Bowling-green, Chelsea, by the Foreigner who advertised to go up with the Air Balloon.’
- ‘bubbled’: *The Morning Herald, and Daily Advertiser*, 16 August 1784: ‘at the expense of a credulous and easily bubbled people’.
- *The Whitehall Evening Post: The Whitehall Evening Post*, 10-12 August 1784.
- ‘the old trade of bumming the people’: *The Morning Post, and Daily Advertiser*, 17 August 1784.
- *The Morning Post and Daily Advertiser: Ibid.*, 18 August 1784: ‘The abortive and ignominious attempt of the former was treated by them with every mark of contempt and indignation, and life itself must have atoned for his presumption, had he not escaped’.
- *The Public Advertiser: The Public Advertiser*, 27 August 1784: ‘You have already been duped by one Frenchman, the Chevalier de Moret; and now Mess. Blinkard and Booby hope for another dive into your pockets.’
- *The New Mode of Picking Pockets: The New Mode of Picking Pockets, Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires, Vol. VI*, no. 6652, pp. 166-7. Also Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, Call Number: PC 1 - 6652-X, published August, 1784.

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- *The Chevelere Morret taking a French Leave: English Credulity or the Chevelere Morret taking a French leave, Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires, Vol. VI*, no. 6652, pp. 165-6, published 17th August, 1784. Also Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division: LC-DIG-ds-13368.
- ‘inflammable air’: *The Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, 13 August 1784.

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- Montgolfier brothers: *An Account of the First Aërial Voyage in England*, p. 14. According to *Histoire des ballons Et Des Aéronautes célèbres 1783 - 1800*, p. 106 Gaston Tissandier, Paris: H. Launette & Cie, Éditeurs, 1887, ‘Un Français nommé Moret, qui avait lancé à Paris quelques petits ballons libres...’ (A Frenchman named Moret who had launched a few small free balloons in Paris...). Also *Aeronautical Prints & Drawings*, p. 20: ‘it appears that Moret had in fact had some experience with hot-air balloons in Paris.’
- ‘weather prediction, telescope observation of the stars, geographical exploration, military reconnaissance and heavy cargo carrying’: *Falling Upwards, How We Took to the Air*, Richard Holmes, William Collins, 2013.
- ‘genius’: *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 12 January 1784.

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- 20 January, *Ibid.*
- ‘incomprehensible infinity of space’: *The Morning Herald, and Daily Advertiser*, 6 February 1784.

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- candlelit vigil: *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 17 February 1784.
- Print of balloon: *The Morning Herald, and Daily Advertiser*, 23 February 1784.
- Six-pence: *The Morning Herald, and Daily Advertiser*, 1 March 1784.
- Dr Alexandre: *The Morning Chronicle, and London Advertiser*, 15 March 1784.
- Last week: *Ibid.*
- Closed on 26 March: *The Morning Herald, and Daily Advertiser*, 26 March 1784.
- 'to execute some machinery of his own invention': *The Morning Herald, and Daily Advertiser*, 5 April 1784.

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- Selling tickets: *Ibid.*
- Number of subscribers: *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 6 April 1784.
- Previously known: *The Morning Herald, and Daily Advertiser*, 14 April 1784.

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- Weight of twenty men: *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 11 May 1784.
- Tickets to see the construction: *The Morning Herald, and Daily Advertiser*, 9 July 1784. An advert is also reproduced, undated, in *An Account of the First Aërial Voyage in England*, p. 8. This states that the balloon will be 'finished in about a fortnight'.
- Two weeks later: *The Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, 26 July 1784.
- Design and building: *An Account of the First Aërial Voyage*, p. 6. There were 'innumerable exhibitions, which are always open in London, and which are means of circulation, convenience, information and utility, almost unknown in every other country'. To pay for his 'design, I have been obliged to adopt this custom'.

#### Page 227

- *The Morning Herald, and Daily Advertiser: The Morning Herald, and Daily Advertiser*, 4 August 1784.
- In his advertisements: There were at least ten advertisements, with this note, inserted by de Moret in various newspapers between 4 and 9 August, 1784. 'The money collected shall remain in the above hands, and the Chevalier de Moret will take it only after fulfilling of his engagement.'

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- One shilling: *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 9 August 1784.
- *Breslaw's Last Legacy: Breslaw's Last Legacy; Or, The Magical Companion...A real Book of Knowledge in the Art of Conjuraton. In which is displayed, the Way to make the Air Balloon And Inflammable Air*, London: T. Moore, 1784.
- Frontispiece: Between the 2nd and the 4th Editions, an addition of a basket with a man inside, would be added to the balloon. See *Breslaw's Last Legacy: The Thomas Moore Editions*, James A Smith, 2013, pp. 106-7.
- 'launched and navigated at Chelsea Garden by Chevalier De Moret': *Scrapbook of Early Aeronautica*, William Upcott, Smithsonian Library, p. 4 <https://archive.org/details/Scrapbookearlya2Upco> [accessed July 2021].
- De Moret replaced by Lunardi: *The Morning Herald, and Daily Advertiser*, 22 September 1784. This is reproduced in *Breslaw's Last Legacy: The Thomas Moore Editions*, p. 109 (incorrectly cited as 'The Whitehall Evening Post').

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- 'when he made that experiment at Chelsea, which in the event proved so unfortunate': *The Morning Herald, and Daily Advertiser*, 23 August 1784.

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- 'rectitude and purity of his intentions': *Ibid.*
- Planted by de Moret: *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 24 August 1784.

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- £200: *The Public Advertiser*, 25 September, 1784.
- 'swindler' and 'successless though honest experimenter': *Ibid.*
- 'charlatan': *The Aeronauts A History of Ballooning 1783-1903*, L. T. C. Rolt, London: Longmans, Green & Co Ltd, 1966, p. 66: 'It should have been obvious to the most gullible that the so-called Chevalier was a charlatan.'
- 'fostering incredulity': *The History of Aeronautics in Great Britain*, J. E. Hodgson, London: Oxford University Press, 1924, p. 113: 'His disastrous attempt can have had no other result than that of fostering incredulity, and tending to associate all such endeavours in the public mind with fraudulent intentions.'

### Chapter 10: 'When This Solemn Mockery is O'er'

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- 'When This Solemn Mockery is O'er' title: *Vortigern; An Historical Play*, p. 51: 'And when this solemn mockery is o'er'.
- 'Give me another sword! I have so clogg'd, / And badged this with blood and slipp'ry gore, / That it doth mock my gripe. A sword, I say!': *Vortigern; An Historical Play; With An Original Preface by W.H. Ireland. Presented at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, on Saturday April 2, 1796. As a Supposed Newly-Discovered Drama of Shakspeare*. London: Joseph Thomas, 1832, Act 5, Scene IV, p. 53.
- 2 August 1775: *ODNB*, Ireland, William Henry (1775–1835).

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- Samuel Junior: *Reforging Shakespeare: The Story of a Theatrical Scandal*, Jeffrey Kahan, Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 1998, p. 119. Samuel was born 15 June 1773, according to the family bible (which also dated the birth of William-Henry).
- Probably Mrs Freeman: *The Farington Diary by Joseph Farington*, Edited by James Greig, Vol. I, July 13, 1793 to August 24, 1802, 3rd Edition, London: Hutchinson & Co, p. 145.
- Maternal instincts: *Ibid*, p. 133. Passing off her children ‘as her nieces’.
- Samuel not his father: *The Boy Who Would Be Shakespeare, A Tale of Forgery and Folly*, Doug Stewart, Da Capo Press, 2010, chapter 1, loc. 217: ‘Several times, for no good reason, she took William-Henry aside and told him that Samuel didn’t think he was the boy’s father.’ *Records of My Life; by the late John Taylor, Esquire*. In Two Volumes, Vol. I, London: Edward Bull, 1832, p. 245: ‘His mother, according to an entry in the Diary, was Mrs. Freeman, who lived with Ireland’s father.’
- Belonged to Mrs Freeman: *The Farington Diary*, p. 133: ‘A fortune of £12000’.
- Anna Maria de Burgh Coppinger: *The Boy Who Would Be Shakespeare*, chapter 1, loc. 248.
- Happiest period of his life: *The Confessions of William-Henry Ireland. Containing The Particulars of his Fabrication of the Shakespeare Manuscripts; Together with Anecdotes and Opinions of Many Distinguished persons in the Literary, Political, and Theatrical World*, London, 1805, [known hereafter as *The Confessions*], p. 4. He spoke fluent French and when he returned his English conversation was sprinkled with Gallicisms.
- Articled clerk with Mr Bingley: *The Confessions*, p. 5. Of Bingley’s two other employees, one died and one was discharged, leaving William-Henry on his own.

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- Good living: Prior to that he had been a failed Spitalfields weaver. See *The Farington Diary*, p. 145.
- Writing travel books: His first publication, *A Picturesque Tour Through Holland, Brabant, and Part of France*, appeared in 1790. He continued the successful series with *Picturesque Views on the River Thames* and *Picturesque Views, on the River Medway*.
- Norfolk Street: *The Boy Who Would Be Shakespeare*, chapter 1, loc. 248.
- Famous people: These included a blue ribbon worn by James the Second at his Coronation, Joseph Addison's pocket fruit knife, and a buff leather jacket belonging to Oliver Cromwell. Auctioneers inserted the phrase ‘supposed to have been’ in respect of the latter at the auction of Samuel’s property at his death in 1801. See *A Catalogue of the Books, Paintings, Miniatures, Drawings &c. The Property of the late Samuel Ireland, Esq. Which will be Sold by Auction, By Leigh, Sotheby and Son*, On Thursday, May 7, 1801, pp. 2 & 3.
- William Shakespeare: *Reforging Shakespeare*, p. 25. Thanks partly to David Garrick, the production of Shakespeare plays increased enormously. For instance in the period 1776 to 1800 the three tragedies most often staged in London were all by the Bard, *Hamlet*, *Macbeth* and *Romeo and Juliet*.
- Original papers: People thought there must be papers languishing somewhere. James Boaden, who would be one of the first to embrace William-Henry’s forgeries, wrote that it was of ‘infinite surprise’ that all ‘the effusions’ that must have poured from his pen were somehow lost to posterity. *Memoirs of The Life of John Philip Kemble*, James Boaden, Philadelphia: Robert H. Small, 1825, p. 349. Samuel Ireland had his own interest piqued by a supposed discovery of some papers at an attorney’s office near Measham: *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century*, John Nichols, Volume V, London, 1828, p. 463. The reasons why people wouldn’t have kept Shakespeare’s papers are given in *The Boy Who Would be Shakespeare*, chapter 3, locs. 706-725.
- Accompanied by his son: This trip, according to William-Henry, would be the catalyst for his subsequent fraudulent activities. *The Confessions*, p. 18.
- *Picturesque Views on the Upper, or Warwickshire Avon: Picturesque Views on the Upper, or Warwickshire Avon*, Samuel Ireland, London: R. Faulder, 1795.
- John Jordan: *The Confessions*, p. 19. William-Henry called him a ‘very honest fellow’.
- Profession of Faith: *Reforging Shakespeare*, p. 38.
- Shakespearian credentials: One of these was Edmond Malone who included the poem in his 1790 Edition of Shakespeare, see *Ibid*, p. 38. Malone subsequently did have doubts about it, p. 228, note 90.
- Samuel’s purchases: *The Confessions*, p. 20. An enterprising shop-keeper did a good trade from carving tobacco stoppers, water seals and busts from a Mulberry Tree which Shakespeare had supposedly planted. William-Henry referred to them as ‘*bagatelles*’ and commented that he didn’t think that a ‘dozen full-grown mulberry tree’s would have been sufficient to produce the ‘innumerable mementoes’ on offer. Samuel Ireland did buy a goblet which William-Henry thought might possibly have been carved from the original tree.
- Anne on his knee: *Ibid*, p. 33.
- Manuscripts burnt: *Ibid*, pp. 27 and 31-2. Several baskets of letters and papers had been moved from New Place to Clopton House following a fire. Mr Williams was the owner of Clopton House and claimed to have burnt them. To make it worse, Mr Williams’ wife confirmed the story and that she had told her husband not to proceed with the bonfire as the documents ‘might be of consequence’. Mr Williams enjoyed tormenting his credible visitor, as evidenced by a MS note in the BL copy of William-Henry Ireland’s *An Authentic Account of Shakesperian Manuscripts*, cited in Note 73, p. 579 of *Shakespeare’s Lives*, New Edition, S. Schoenbaum, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991. Schoenbaum’s contention that ‘Grebaniar’s suggestion that Jordan had a share in the deception is unsupported’ is questionable, given the letter John Jordan wrote to Samuel Ireland on 15 November 1793 [BL MS Folio 39347, 23]. In this letter he reassures Samuel that should Mr Williams ‘make any discovery relative to Shakespeare you shall certainly have it’. He also informs Samuel that he would personally go round to the house and have a further look himself – and that Samuel would be the first to know if anything was discovered.

- Read his plays aloud: *The Confessions*, p. 6
- Preoccupied with the playwright: He was also obsessed by Thomas Chatterton, *The Confessions*, p. 11. Thomas Chatterton in his teenage years had created the works of a fifteenth century monk called Thomas Rowley. It was original antique verse but written with aged ink on old vellum. Feted in his short life for these and other works, the accepted story was that Chatterton had committed suicide at the age of seventeen in 1770. It is more likely that he died from an accidental overdose of arsenic and opium.
- 'a similar fondness and veneration for every thing that bore a resemblance to the mighty father of the English stage': *The Confessions*, p. 7.

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- Shakespeare's plays: *The Farington Diary*, p. 145.
- Around about this period: According to *The Confessions*, p. 37, the first forgery happened in the summer of 1794. Pierce in *The Great Shakespeare Fraud: The Strange, True Story of William-Henry Ireland*, Patricia Pierce Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2004 dates it to the Autumn of 1794, p. 235. However Kahan in *Reforging Shakespeare*, p. 51, thinks it took place before Samuel and William-Henry did their trip to Stratford in the summer of 1793. It's possible Kahan arrives at this conclusion due to *An Authentic Account of the Shaksperian Manuscripts, &c.*, W. H. Ireland, London, 1796, pp. 3-5. Here William-Henry seems to chronologically write about the forgeries before his Stratford visit.
- 'the book to Mr. Ireland, who had no doubt as to its authenticity': *The Confessions*, pp. 37-40.
- Actual signature: *The Confessions*, p. 43. William-Henry said that the resemblance was purely by chance. Kahan in *Reforging Shakespeare*, p. 50 argues this is nonsense, and that he must have seen and practised copying out the original signature.
- Abraham Simon, *The Confessions*, pp. 42-3.

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- 1773 *The Plays of William Shakespeare: The Plays of William Shakespeare. In Ten Volumes. With The Corrections and Illustrations of Various Commentators*; To which are added Notes by Samuel Johnson and George Steevens, London, 1773.
- 'in order the better to conceal it as being from the same pen': *The Confessions*, pp. 47-8.
- coal ashes: *Ibid*, pp. 48-9.
- In his diary: British Library MS Folio 30346, 6-9.
- Mr Mitchell: In the diary he is just referred to as Mr M. His identity is revealed in *Shakespeare's Lives*, p. 138. In *The Confessions*, p. 62, Ireland states that the meeting took place in a 'coffeehouse'.
- Mr H: *Ibid*, p. 128.
- 1610 lease. Apparently William-Henry handed it to Mr H who gave it back saying that he was very welcome to it – and to anything else of the kind. An alleged reason why Mr H was so generous at giving the papers to William-Henry was that the latter had found among the papers a deed which brought about an end to a long legal dispute that the owner was entangled in. In gratitude, he allowed William-Henry whatever papers he wanted. William-Henry furthermore hinted that maybe the philanthropist's father had illegally obtained the papers and therefore wouldn't want to go public on his ownership of them. See *An Authentic Account*, pp. 12-13.
- Edmond Malone: *An Inquiry into the Authenticity of certain Miscellaneous Papers and Legal Instruments published Dec. 24, 1795. And Attributed to Shakspeare, Queen Elizabeth and Henry, Earl of Southampton*, Edmond Malone, London, 1796, pp. 265-276. It is noteworthy that the earliest critique of Samuel's published Shakspearian papers, *A Letter to George Steevens, Esq. Containing A Examination of the Papers of Shakespeare; published by Mr. Samuel Ireland to which are added Extracts From Vortigern*, James Boaden, 1796, doesn't even attempt a critical analysis.
- Five known signatures: Three signatures are on Shakespeare's Last Will and Testament. Two of them, discovered in 1768, are on the house sale of a property in Blackfriars, London. It is signed in two places by Shakespeare, one on the conveyance, the other on the mortgage. A sixth was discovered by Charles William Wallace in 1909 and relates to a lawsuit where Shakespeare was called as a witness
- Half his library: *The Confessions*, p. 45: 'he would frequently assert, that such was his veneration for the bard that he would willingly give half his library to become possessed even of his signature alone.'

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- 'It is impossible for me to express the pleasure you have given me': *The Confessions*, p. 51. Samuel insisted on giving William-Henry a valuable book from his library in exchange.
- He consulted Sir Frederick Eden, an authority on heralds: According to *Shakespeare's Lives*, p. 139, Samuel consulted the Herald's Office first who authenticated the seals but couldn't identify the seals. It was then that he sent for Eden. In *The Confessions*, p. 52, it was the very next day that Samuel sent for Eden.
- Looked at the impression: *Ibid*, p. 53.
- Promissory note: It had many faults. It was in a contemporary format, 'Stratford' was mis-spelt as 'Statford' and the Globe Theatre was built 10 years later in 1599. Samuel Ireland would later unconvincingly address the latter point in *An Investigation of Mr. Malone's Claim to the Character of Scholar, or Critic, Being an Examination of his Inquiry into the Authenticity of the Shakspeare Manuscripts, &c.*, Samuel Ireland, London, 1797, p. 38.

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- Numerous 'e's': *The Confessions*, p. 60.
- 'Chickenne': *Ibid*.
- Repeated twice a day: Cited in *Shakespeare's Lives*, p. 143.

- 'distanced': *The Confessions*, p. 68. William-Henry attributes the words to Dr Parr; but in *An Authentic Account*, p. 16, he just writes 'one of them'.
- Shakespeare received and paid; *A Descriptive Catalogue of a Collection of Shakspeariana; Consisting of Manuscripts, Books and Relics, Illustrative of the Life and Writings of Shakespeare, In the Library of William Harrison, Esq.*, London, 1866, pp. 4-14, pp. 22-36 and pp. 38-41.
- Richard Cowley; *Ibid*, pp. 14-20 and 36-37.
- William Holmes; *Ibid*, pp. 42-4.

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- Letter from Queen Elizabeth: *Ibid*, pp. 44-6.
- Margin notes: *The Confessions*, p. 194. One of the margin notes demonstrates the Bard's compassion as he refuses to attend the execution of Guy Fawkes as he did not like to behold sights of that kind, p. 197.
- 'a giddy thoughtless young man, incapable of producing the papers': *An Authentic Account*, p. 23.
- Output: One paper said there was a danger of 'finding too much!', *Herald*, 17 February 1795, Folio 30349, 7.
- Further materials discovered: BL MS Folio 30346, 23.
- Properly evaluate: For instance the handwriting of Southampton was nothing like the genuine article and there is no circumstance in which Queen Elizabeth would have sent a personal letter to a lowly actor like Shakespeare.
- Tearing off part of the paper: *The Confessions*, pp. 101-2 suggests that William-Henry had acted alone in this regard. However in an unpublished version, William-Henry claimed that his father was party to this deception.
- 'whymyscalle conceyte': The letter, to Richard Cowley, is in *Miscellaneous Papers, and Legal Instruments Under the Hand and Seal of William Shakspeare: Including the Tragedy of King Lear, and a Small Fragment of Hamlet, from the Original Mss. In the Possession of Samuel Ireland of Norfolk Street*, London, 1796. See also *The Confessions*, pp. 72-3.

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- 'I could never perceive any thing like a resemblance to the name in question': *The Confessions*, p. 111.
- Mr Warburton: *The Confessions*, pp 181-2.

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- Two John Heminges: *The Confessions*, pp 86-93.
- Dissenting voices: Newspapers also supported Samuel Ireland in the early days. *Telegraph*, 17 February, 1795, Folio 30349, 7: 'The internal evidence of those papers is sufficient to convince the most incredulous.'
- James Boswell: *Mr Ireland's Vindication of his Conduct, Respecting The Publication of the supposed Shakespeare MSS, Being a Preface or Introduction to A Reply to the Critical Labors of Mr Malone, In His "Enquiry Into The Authenticity Of Certain Papers. &c. &c."*, London, 1796, p. 21. Not everybody was so enamoured. Richard Porson, classical scholar and frequent contributor to *The Morning Chronicle*, when asked to put his name to the declaration, refused on the grounds that he detested subscriptions of all kinds, especially those to Articles of Faith. See *A Biographical Essay*, M. L. Clarke, Cambridge, 1937, p. 72. Joseph Ritson, a scholar of Shakespeare who had taken issue with George Steevens' 1773 *The Plays of William Shakespeare*, wrote a private letter in May 1795 saying he had carefully examined the Shakespearian papers and found them to be 'a parcel of forgeries, studiously and ably calculated to deceive the public'. But this never appeared in the public domain. See Letter dated 19 May 1795 to Mr Paton, *The Letters of Joseph Ritson, Esq. In Two Volumes, Vol. II*, London: William Pickering, 1833, p. 75.
- 'authentic and important documents respecting the private and public life of this wondrous man' and 'instantly have his subscription returned': *Shakspeare Prospectus*, dated 4 March 1795, issued by Samuel Ireland in BL MS Folio 30347, 32-35, pp. 1 & 3.
- House of Lords: *The Confessions*, pp. 97-8.
- 'the most remarkable circumstance' and 'that the parchment and seals of the deeds are indisputably ancient and authentic': Letter dated 21 July 1795 to Mr Paton in *The Letters of Joseph Ritson*, p. 93.

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- chosen not to inspect: *Records of My Life*, p. 245: 'Mr Malone had given him an advantage in refusing to look at these alleged remains of our great Bard, and Mr. Isaac Reed also declined to inspect them.'
- Never publicly expressed: Postulated in Jonathan Bate, 'Faking it: Shakespeare and the 1790s', *Literature and Censorship*, Edited by Nigel Smith, Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1993, p. 74, that Ritson didn't expose Samuel as he saw him as another outsider, not an establishment figure.
- 'anachronisms and inconsistencies' and 'ignorance and gullibility of the Shakspearian connoisseurs': Letter dated 21 July 1795 to Mr Paton in *The Letters of Joseph Ritson*, p. 93.
- Accepted the terms: *The Confessions*, pp. 183-5.
- 24 December 1795: *The Gentleman's Magazine*, May 1826, p. 421.
- 'making interpolations where I conceived they would answer my purpose'; *The Confessions*, p. 116.
- 'ribaldry': *Ibid*, p. 118'
- Playhouse copies: *Ibid*, pp. 118-9.
- *Hamlette*: Script was published in *Miscellaneous Papers, and Legal Instruments Under the Hand and Seal of William Shakspeare*.
- 'weary of this plodding business': *The Confessions*, pp. 119.
- First negative response: It is hard to know the initial critical response to Samuel Ireland's *Miscellaneous Papers* as most reviews of it were written alongside the published attacks on it. 4 January 1796, *Oracle*, 30349, 27. 'Our Readers will perceive the necessity of refraining, at present, to comment upon the papers of Mr Ireland', until the pamphlets of Mr Boaden and Malone are out.

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- *A Letter to George Steevens: A Letter to George Steevens, Esq. Containing A Examination of the Papers of Shakespeare; published by Mr. Samuel Ireland to which are added Extracts From Vortigern*, James Boaden, 1796. 'This day is published', *The Morning Chronicle*, 16 January 1796. Its publication was heralded in *The Morning Chronicle*, 6 January 1796.
- *A Comparative Review of the Opinions of Mr James Boaden: A Comparative Review of the Opinions of Mr. James Boaden. (Editor of The Oracle), in February, March, and April 1795; And of James Boaden, Esq. (Author of Fountainville Forest, and of a Letter to George Steevens, Esq.) In February 1796, Relative To The Shakspeare MSS, By A Friend to Consistency*, London, [n.d]. Published 3 February 1796, *The Gentleman's Magazine*, May 1826, p. 422.
- *Shakspeare's Manuscripts, in the Possession of Mr. Ireland: Shakspeare's Manuscripts, in the Possession of Mr. Ireland, Examined, Respecting The Internal and External Evidences of Their Authenticity*, By Philalethes [Francis Webb], London, 1796. Published 28 January 1796, *The Gentleman's Magazine*, May 1826, p. 421.
- 'The official defender of the Pseudo Shakspeare is a Mr. Webb. – It is feared he is inextricably entangled': *The Oracle, Public Advertiser*, 5 February 1796. *The Oracle, Public Advertiser* was the full title of the paper.
- Make use of them: *Shakspeare's Manuscripts, in the Possession of Mr. Ireland*, pp. 9-10.
- Legal instruments: *Ibid*, p. 11.
- The rightful heir: Mr H had himself priced the papers at £20,000, BL MS Folio 30346, 24.
- River Thames: Another paper William-Henry produced was a deed of trust from Shakespeare to John Heminges requesting him to carry out certain obligations, including the distribution of papers to named persons. It appeared that Heminges had not carried out these duties. Conveniently it was hinted at that Mr H might be a descendant of Heminges and felt obliged to correct the wrong of his predecessor by giving the papers to their rightful owner, none other than William-Henry Ireland. See *The Confessions*, pp. 235-7.
- Gift to William-Henry: *Ibid*, pp. 228-235.
- Unlikely tale: *The St. James's Chronicle; Or, British Evening-Post*, 12-14 April 1796. 'Many people, and even Mr Malone himself, in some degree, seem surprised that any man should have forged such a vast quantity of papers, and in a manner so clumsy as to lead to immediate detection. Nay, some have even gone so far as to plead this very circumstance in favour of the authenticity of the MSS.— A very strange argument, and which leads to very strange conclusions!'
- 'Imposture, in general, keeps within bounds of probability: *Shakspeare's Manuscripts, in the Possession of Mr. Ireland*, p. 16.
- Writing consistent: *Ibid*, p. 24.
- Ultimately credulous: *The Monthly Review*, July 1796, p. 345.

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- 'intended for theatrical representation': *Shakspeare Prospectus*, dated 4 March 1795, issued by Samuel Ireland in BL MS Folio 30347, 32-35, p. 3.
- 26 December 1794: BL MS Folio 30346, 23
- *King Lear*: BL MS Folio 30346, 28, dated 3 January 1795.
- 'the literary world will have enough to talk of for seven years to come': *The London Packet; Or, New Lloyd's Evening Post*, 6-9 February 1795.
- 'The idea of seeing an original Play of our great Poet brought upon the Stage in these times, fills the mind with a mixed emotion of wonder and delight': *The St. James's Chronicle; Or, British Evening-Post*, 10-12 February 1795.
- 'their surprise and rapture at the discovery of such a literary treasure', *Ibid*.
- Two months: *The Confessions*, p. 133.
- March 1795: Estimated date according to *Reforging Shakespeare*, p. 124
- It was overly long: Sheridan said 'there were two plays and a half, instead of one', *The Confessions*, p. 136.
- Suggest Amendments: *Records of My Life*, pp. 244-5.

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- Very young: *The Confessions*, p. 139. Sheridan also admitted to not being a huge fan of Shakespeare on p. 138.
- First sixty nights: *Ibid*, p. 139.
- Sheridan's wind-fall: This was badly needed. Sheridan's financial problems are mentioned by the actress Sarah Siddons, the sister of John Kemble, in *Life of Mrs Siddons*, Thomas Campbell, Vol. II, London: Effingham Wilson, 1834, pp. 198-9, letter dated May 1796.
- 'a few minutes conversation': *The Clubs of London; With Anecdotes of Their Members, Sketches of Character, And Conversations. In Two Volumes, Vol. II*, London: Henry Colburn, 1828, p. 107.
- Audience to determine provenance: *The Oracle, Public Advertiser*, 23 September 1795. 'It is for the Town to say, whether they will adopt it.'
- 'Thee cheesesse youe sentte mee werree tooe sweatttie, ande tooe rankee inn flavouure': *Telegraph*, 14 January 1796, BL MS Folio 30349 34.
- 'wee shalle drinke Tea withe thee bye Thames Tomorrowe, thou Monarche offe the Globe.' and 'not then built': *The Oracle, Public Advertiser*, 23 January 1796.
- 'Shakespear, it has been said, never blotted a word' and 'Where is the wonder, when he wrote with such apparent eeeee!': *The Oracle, Public Advertiser*, 29 March 1796.
- *Vortigern* at the Drury Lane: It was known that the Drury Lane theatre had an interest in the play much earlier from *Observer*, 4 October 1795, BL MS Folio 30349 21. 'The Manuscript Play of *Vortigern*, which is attributed to the divine pen of *Shakespear*, is committed to Mr Sheridan's care, for revision and alteration.'

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- 'The Manuscript of the Play of Vortigern being now placed by Mr. Ireland in the hands of the Manager, will be speedily brought forward, with appropriate Scenery and Decorations': *The Morning Post And Fashionable World*, 4 January 1796. By this stage a large part of a production's budget was spent on the scenery. 'In Garrick's time, most of Drury Lane's running costs went to paying the actors. Now two-thirds of that expense went into scenery'. *The Boy Who Would be Shakespeare*, chapter 9, loc. 2163.
- Kemble: *The Tomahawk! Or, Censor General*, 7 January 1796. 'Why does not Mr Kemble say, Shakespere's Vortigern, in his advertisement of that play?'. See also *Ibid*, 17 February 1796: 'Mr Kemble, with much prudence, will not affirm The Vortigern, so long in preparation, is Shakespeare's!'
- Sheridan: *The Oracle, Public Advertiser*, 5 February 1796. 'Why does not Sheridan advertise this play as Shakspeare's?'
- 'an offensive indifference': *The Star*, 31 March 1796. *The Oracle, Public Advertiser*, 29 March 1796 defended Kemble. 'Kemble has no blame whatever. His opinion was distinctly declared at the rehearsals to the possessor of the play.'
- Sarah Siddons: *The Oracle, Public Advertiser*, 23 March 1796. 'Mrs Siddons continues indisposed. The part of *Rowena* in the Vortigern tragedy falls therefore to the lot of Mrs. Powell.'
- Claiming ill-health: *Life of Mrs Siddons*. Thomas Campbell, Vol. II, London, 1834, pp. 196-7. Writing to a friend in March 1796, she said that she was 'studying for *Vortigern*', so it could be that her illness was genuine.
- Respond in print: Malone wrote that his perusal of the Shakespearian papers had convinced him that they were 'direct and palpable forgeries'. 'Letter from Malone to Charlemont, 29 December, 1795', *The Manuscripts and Correspondence of James, First Earl of Charlemont*. Vol. II - 1784-1799, London, 1894, p. 267. One newspaper regretted his over eagerness. *The True Briton*, 29 December 1795: 'Mr Malone's intended Publication respecting the Shakspeare MS. is announced so rapidly after the publication of these curious reliques, that we fear his friends will think that such *impetuosity of criticism* hardly promises the *elaborate and patient* research which the subject demands. It would be unfair to arraign Mr. Malone of want of candour, before we know what his work may contain; but we wish for his own sake, that he had not displayed so much *eagerness* to commence the *attack*.' On 2 January 1796 he announced his intended publication in the *Chronicle*, 2 January 1796, BL MS Folio 30349, 33: 'In the press and speedily will be published.'
- *An Inquiry into the Authenticity of certain Miscellaneous Paper: An Inquiry into the Authenticity of certain Miscellaneous Papers and Legal Instruments published Dec. 24, 1795. And Attributed to Shakspeare, Queen Elizabeth and Henry, Earl of Southampton*, Edmond Malone, London, 1796
- Eventually came out: As time dragged on, reports were occasionally made about the slow progress of his book. *The St. James's Chronicle; Or, British Evening-Post*, 4-6 February 1796: 'Mr Malone's Detection of the Shakspeare Forgery is delayed only by the Plates, which are numerous. They are expected, however to be ready by the middle of this month. Alas, poor Vortigern!' One newspaper suggested that it was being deliberately delayed until the '*first of April*'. *True Briton*, BL MS Folio 30349, 55. Malone would not be hassled, writing that he shall not be induced 'to publish his Detection of this Forgery sooner than suits his own convenience'. *The Gentleman's Magazine*, February 1796, p. 92. He claims it would be published 'about the 8th or 10th March', which proved overly optimistic.
- 30 March 1796: *The Gentleman's Magazine*, May 1826, p. 422.
- Handwriting of the period: *The Oracle, Public Advertiser*, 1 April 1796.
- Authenticate the works: *An Inquiry into the Authenticity of certain Miscellaneous Paper*, p. 7.
- Already in existence: *Ibid*, p. 100.
- Consonants and vowels: *Ibid*, p. 34.
- Arabic numbers: *Ibid*, p. 126.
- Titles of noblemen: *Ibid*, p. 129.
- Young actors; *Ibid*, p. 132.
- Double Christian names: *Ibid*, p. 230.
- Malone's book: 'The complete damnation of the Play of Vortigern was certainly wholly independent of any faction that might have been raised against it; and yet, we cannot help observing, that Mr Malone's publication against the authenticity of the Play only two days before it was to be represented, was a very unfair proceeding and extremely illiberal.' *The Times*, 4 April 1796.
- 2 April: *The Morning Post And Fashionable World*, 29 March 1796 announced its date of staging, the day before Malone's publication.

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- 'most illiberal and unfounded assertions in Mr Malone's Enquiry: BL MS Folio 30349, 140. Marked as the handbill that was distributed at the theatre on 2 April 1796. In *The Times*, 2 April 1796, this appeared in the paper beneath the notice for the play on its opening night. Two days later the theatre itself denounced the placement as it seemed to imply it was part of the theatrical advertisement: *The Morning Chronicle*, 4 April 1796.
- 'heard with that *Candour* that has ever distinguished a *British Audience*': BL MS Folio 30349, 140.
- Filled twice over: *The Times*, 4 April 1796.
- Centre of the house: *The Confessions*, p. 144.
- 'in the green-room: *Ibid*, p. 149.
- 'as apparently to deprive him of all recollection': *Lloyd's Evening-Post*, 1-4 April 1796.

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- 'very excellent play': Samuel's diary, 28 December 1795, BL MS 30346, 159: 'I found he had nearly finished reading it. I asked him what he thought of it, he replied that he thought it a very excellent play.'

- 'shall be worthy the name of Shakespeare': *Ibid*: 'I then renewed my request that he wd exert himself, in a prologue, to which he reply'd with much energy – that I will do directly by endeavour to produce one, that shall be worthy the name of Shakespeare.'
- 'I must lower my tone a little': *Ibid*: 'I have seen Mr Kemble since I read the play, and find that in Consequence of it, I must lower my tone a little with regard to your Prologue.'
- The first three acts went fine: *The Farington Diary*, p. 145. *The Morning Post And Fashionable World*, April 4 1796: 'Whether it was that we mistook the candour and patience of the Audience for approbation, or that the play fell off in the two last acts, we cannot exactly say. We believe both were the fact.'
- Nervous William-Henry: *The Confessions*, p. 149: 'On the important night which was to seal the fate of my long-expected Vortigern and Rowena, I spent the greater part of the time of its representation in the green-room of the theatre; where I conversed for the most part with Mrs. Jordan; who, at the commencement of the third act (at which period not a dissenting voice had been heard) congratulated me on the success of the piece, and gave it as her opinion that it would succeed.'
- 'bellow on': *Ibid*, p. 152.
- Legs exposed: *Ibid*, pp. 153-4.
- 'And when this solemn mockery is o'er': *The Confessions*, p. 157. *The Times*, 4 April 1796 and *Lloyd's Evening-Post*, 1-4 April 1796 had it slightly different: 'I would this solemn mockery were over'. *The Morning Post And Fashionable World*, April 4 1796 didn't actually quote this line but rather quoted the two lines before and after it. 'Thou clap at thy rattling fingers to thy sides; [And when this solemn mockery is o'er] With icy hand thou takest him by the feet', It wrote: 'The "rattling fingers" and "icy hand", produced such loud and long laughter...'
- 'most sepulchral tone of voice possible'; 'with even more solemn grimace than he had in the first instance': *The Confessions*, pp. 157-8.
- *A School for Scandal: Lloyd's Evening-Post*, 1-4 April 1796. 'Mr. Barrymore, at the close of the Play, exerted himself to procure a second representation, but in vain; and after many unsuccessful efforts he retired, and Mr Kemble came forward to announce the *School for Scandal* in its room.'

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- 'hardly qualified to be candle-snuffers'; 'most execrable acting' and 'both would be prevented from ever appearing again upon the stage': *The Star*, 4 April, 1796. Same review appeared in *The True Briton*, 4 April, 1796.
- 'Shakespeare in Masquerade' and 'they will never wish to see him again': *The General Evening Post*, 2-5 April 1796.
- 'in the exercise of his usual Faculties' and 'is remarkable, in seldom borrowing from himself': *The St. James's Chronicle; Or, British Evening-Post*, 2-5 April, 1796.
- 'but alas we found not even the shadow of one': *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 4 April 1796.
- 'We are persuaded...*Vortigern* has experienced.' *The True Briton*, 4 April 1796.
- Long evening: *The Farington Diary*, p. 145. 'Prologue spoken at 35 minutes past 6: Play over at 10.' And then the afterpiece, *My Grandmother*, would have followed that.
- 'retired to bed, more easy in my mind than I had been for a great length of time, as the load was removed which had oppressed me': *The Confessions*, pp. 159-160.
- 'acknowledge that he has been deceived' and 'he must take the consequences': *The St. James's Chronicle; Or, British Evening-Post*, 12-14 April 1796. Two months later he was duly castigated in *The Oracle, Public Advertiser*, 9 June 1796: 'the trash published by Mr. Ireland has been long plainly stigmatized, not only as forged by impudence, but containing also the deepest marks of ignorance.'
- Montague Talbot: *The Confessions*, p. 120.

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- Promised not to tell: *Ibid*, p. 123.
- He had met Mr H: *Ibid*, p. 128.
- Loyal and schtum: *Ibid*, p. 241.
- Albany Wallis: *Ibid*, p. 246.
- 'stating that it was his opinion, as a professional man, that the supposed gentleman was not exactly safe in committing his name to the public': *Ibid*, p. 247.
- 'manuscripts of Shakspeare' and 'unacquainted with the source'. *Ibid*, p. 256.
- Tell all in a letter: *Ibid*, p. 259.
- Could not have produced them: *Ibid*, p. 260.
- To go public. *Ibid*, p. 261.
- *An Authentic Account of the Shaksperian Manuscripts: An Authentic Account of the Shaksperian Manuscripts, &c.*, W. H. Ireland, London, 1796.
- 'the literary merits of the pamphlet now before us': *Herald*, 22 December 1796, BL MS 30349, 107.
- 'not a single spark of genius, talent' and 'the smallest portion of that *feeling*': *The True Briton*, 22 December 1796.

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- 'Young Vortigern certainly might have written the Shakspeare MSS, as they are now called – But who composed the play that he copied': *Gazetteer*, 27 December, 1796, 30349 – 110.
- 'if it be true'; 'goes to prove that the writer is a great liar'. *The Morning Chronicle*, 24 December 1796. Full quote is: 'A young Literary Adventurer has lately published a pamphlet respecting himself, which, if it be true, goes to prove that the writer is a great liar.' This is slightly misquoted in *The Confessions*, p. 269: 'W. H. Ireland has come forward and announced himself author of the papers attributed by him to Shakspeare; which, if *true*, proves him to be a *liar*'.



- *Mr Ireland's Vindication of his Conduct: Mr Ireland's Vindication of his Conduct, Respecting The Publication of the supposed Shakespeare MSS, Being a Preface or Introduction to A Reply to the Critical Labors of Mr Malone, In His "Enquiry Into The Authenticity Of Certain Papers. &c. &c."*, London, 1796
- Second: *An Investigation of Mr. Malone's Claim to the Character of Scholar, or Critic, Being an Examination of his Inquiry Into The Authenticity of the Shakspeare Manuscripts, &c*, Samuel Ireland, London, 1797.
- Leicester: *Ibid*, p. 24.
- Handwriting: *Ibid*, p. 11.
- Letter 'r': *Ibid*, p. 64.
- Hen and chicken: *Ibid*, p. 116.
- Blooming or blossoming: *Ibid*, p. 105: 'He insinuates that Shakspeare was too good a naturalist not to know, that a bud first blooms, and then blossoms. And so it may be in Ireland, but in England, we are accustomed to say, that a tree first blossoms, but continues in bloom.'
- The papers were fake. *Ibid*, pp. 28-9. Malone had stated that if it could be proved that just one word in the papers could not have existed in Elizabethan times, then everything else must be a forgery. Ireland argues that if a witness accuses someone of a crime, despite many others giving him alibis, then we shouldn't necessarily believe the truth of the single person.
- 'by far the best written book we have seen since the commencement of the dispute': *The Monthly Mirror*, 1797, p. 99.
- Left him his watch: *ODNB*, Ireland, William Henry (1775–1835).
- Prolific author: 'William Henry Ireland: Catalogue of Works', *Notes And Queries*, 14 May, 1932, pp. 347-350.
- Major confession: *The Confessions of William-Henry Ireland. Containing The Particulars of his Fabrication of the Shakespeare Manuscripts; Together with Anecdotes and Opinions of Many Distinguished persons in the Literary, Political, and Theatrical World*, London, 1805.
- 'the whole taken together will excite pity from some, indignation from others, and great astonishment from all': *The British Critic*, July 1805, p. 93.
- *Vortigern: Vortigern; An Historical Play; With An Original Preface by W.H. Ireland. Presented at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, on Saturday April 2, 1796. As a Supposed Newly-Discovered Drama of Shakspeare*. London: Joseph Thomas, 1832.

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- Letter to Anne Hathaway: 'William Henry Ireland's Authentic Forgeries', Jack Lynch, *The Princeton University Library Chronicle*, Vol. 66, No. 1, Autumn 2004, p. 89.
- Confession: Debate over this took place at the time as well. There was a public debate held in the Assembly Rooms in Brewer Street asking the question: 'Do the Shakespearean Manuscripts, the Play of Vortigern and Rowena, and the Apology of Mr. Ireland Jun. exhibit stronger Proofs of Authenticity, flagrant Imposition, or the Credulity of Persons of Genius?' Playbill dated 9 January 1797 in BL MS 30349 112.
- 'no person will admit you into their house': Cited in *Reforging Shakespeare*, p. 198, and note 77, p. 249, as letter from Samuel to William-Henry, as 16 June, 1796, BL MS 30346, 249v.
- Dubious provenance: *Ibid*, p. 121.
- 'Shakspeare humbug' and 'determined not to be outdone': *Gazetteer* 5 January, 1797, 30349 109.
- 'literary impostor': *The Morning Chronicle*, 6 January 1797.
- *The Oaken Chest or the Gold Mines of Ireland: The Oaken Chest or the Gold Mines of Ireland a Farce, Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires, Vol. VII, 1793-1800*, Mary Dorothy George, 1942, no. 8884, pp. 297-8.

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- *Notorious Characters. No. 1: Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires, Vol. VII*, no. 9064, p. 378. The engraving is referred to in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, November 1797, p. 931. Same article also states that *The Oaken Chest*, by Mr Nixon, 'made their appearance above a year ago'.

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- 'This declaration, therefore, totally exculpates the father Mr S Ireland, from all share or participation in the forgeries, if forgeries they can be called.' BL MS 30347 36.
- 'gross libel': BL MS 30347 37, Opinion of Mr Tidd, 6 December 1797.
- 'perfectly absurd and unadvisable': BL MS 30347 39, Opinion of Mr Erskine, 23 June 1798, going along with William Garrow's opinion.
- 'pretended quarrel': Letter from George Steevens, 26 December 1796 in *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century*, John Bowyer Nichols, Volume VII, London, 1848, p. 9.
- 'concerned in devising'; 'fabrication' and 'the story of his son': *Records of My Life*, p. 245.

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- 'thoroughly believed his son's honesty': *The Farington Diary*, p. 145. Henry Angelo was another man who absolved Samuel of culpability, although in his case retrospectively. *Reminiscences of Henry Angelo*, London: Henry Colburn, 1828, p. 126: 'The late Samuel Ireland, of Shakspearean renown, though certainly acquitted by posterity of any share in the memorable hoax connected with that abused name, was an able hand in detecting pretenders and quacks.'

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- Less than bright: Samuel always thought his son was stupid. *The Boy Who Would be Shakespeare*, chapter 2, loc. 330 states he had a reputation as a 'blockhead'. Great Ealing School was, just one of a number of educational establishments in England he attended: he was given a letter from the headmaster stating that he shouldn't bother returning after the holidays as trying to teach him was a waste of money, see *The Confessions*, p. 3. Taken on a trip up the Thames, Samuel pointed out Alexander Pope's residency to his son and informed him that he would never achieve such literary

fame as the great poet: 'I fear you will never shine such a star in the hemisphere of literary fame'. Anecdote appears in MS Note (1834) in *Ireland's Shaksperian Fabrications* in Harvard College Library (TS 680.23.5F), cited in *Shakespeare's Lives*, p. 135 and p. 579, note 74.

- 'forbad you to trust him': *The London Review*, 27 October 1860, p. 395, written by Charles Mackay. But see *Notes and Queries*, p. 275, April 16, 1932 for a caveat about Mackay who only 'having met him in business, as he knew nothing at first-hand of his character or home life'.
- Kick out of lying: Jack Lynch believes him to be a serial liar. 'William Henry Ireland's Authentic Forgeries', pp. 79-96.
- Wealthy woman: BL MS Folio 30346 206.
- William the Conqueror: BL MS Folio 30346 225.
- Mental breakdown: *The Fourth Forger, William Ireland and the Shakespeare Papers*, John Mair, London: Cobden-Sanderson, 1938, cited in *Reforging Shakespeare*, p. 202. 'Mair's opinion is that William-Henry might have gone temporarily insane.'
- 'brain was affected': BL MS Folio 30346 225.

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- £60: *The Confessions*, p. 140.
- Obtaining money: *Ibid*, p. 140.
- Shakespearian papers are worth: BL MS Folio 30346 24 & 34.
- Paid 1,000 guineas: *The Confessions*, pp. 163-4.
- 'prove a source of benefit': *Ibid*, p. 183.
- 'occasion a little mirth': *An Authentic Account*, p. 3.
- 'men of superior genius' and 'I knew how far the credulity of mankind might be imposed upon.' *The Abbess, A Romance*, W. H. Ireland, The Avowed Author of the Shakspear Papers, &c. &c. In Four Volumes, Vol. 1, London, 1799, Preface x.
- 'own vanity': *An Authentic Account*, p. 9.

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- 'being scarcely seventeen years and a half old': *The Confessions*, p. 301.
- 'My boyhood should have in some measure screened me from the malice of my persecutors': *Ibid*, pp. 301-2.
- 'considerably under the age of eighteen when I wrote the play of Vortigern': *Ibid*, p. 135.
- 'thoughtless impulse of a head-strong youth, under seventeen years of age': *Vortigern; An Historical Play*, Preface, p. iii.
- Nineteen years old: *An Authentic Account*, p. 21. 'At the time of it's [sic - Vortigern] completion, I was about nineteen years of age.' It was finished around April 1795.
- True age: He was born on 2 August 1775.
- 'a boy of seventeen years of age' and 'boyish folly': *The Confessions*, p. 315.
- 'to afford pleasure to a parent': *Vortigern; An Historical Play*, Preface, p. iii.
- 'permanent gratification': *Ibid*, Preface, p. xiii.
- 'my father's enthusiasm' and 'the happiest of human beings': *Ibid*, Preface, p. ii.
- Walter Raleigh: BL MS Folio 30346 173, dated 12 April, 1796.

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- 'the enormous crime you committed against the divinity of Shakspeare'; 'nothing short of sacrilege' and 'sample of mingled pedantry and folly': *Vortigern; An Historical Play*, Preface, p. xiii.
- 'injured no one': *Ibid*, Preface, p. vii.

## Epilogue

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- Major hoaxes: Check out for instance <http://hoaxes.org/archive/display/category/1700s/> [accessed July, 2021] which lists eighteenth century hoaxes. Rather surprisingly they do not include the Cock Lane Ghost and Elizabeth Canning; nor, less surprisingly, the Stockwell Ghost and Chevalier de Moret. The other six are all listed.
- Literary Hoaxes: A couple of notable examples are Schoolmaster James Macpherson's claim he had discovered the text of an ancient epic poem written by a Scottish bard named Ossian: he almost certainly wrote it himself. And Thomas Chatterton producing a group of poems he claimed were the work of a 15th century priest named Thomas Rowley. See *Practice to Deceive*, Joseph Rosenblum, Delaware: Oak Knoll Press, 2000; *The House of Forgery in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, Paul Baines, Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999; and *Deception and Detection in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, Jack Lynch, Ashgate, 2008, all of which concentrate particularly on literary hoaxes.
- Detecting them. *The Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser*, 30 May 1763: 'It may be asked, is the understanding of the public more opened now than when these stories gained such credit? I answer, no; it is owing to the distance of time, and those who once believed them, can now without danger of being *detected*, swear they never believed a syllable of either.'

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- 'a lady of an independent fortune': *Astonishing Transactions*, p. 6.

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- All four hoaxes: There is also an example in a newspaper of ‘Elizabeth Canning’, ‘the rabbit breeder’, ‘scratching Fanny’, ‘bottle conjurer’ & the ‘Stockwell ghost’ all linked together, *The Morning Chronicle, and London Advertiser*, 27 October 1780.
- ‘the grossest credulity’; ‘the rabbit-woman’ and ‘the adventure of the quart-bottle’: *The Imposture Detected; or, The Mystery and Iniquity of Elizabeth Canning’s Story, Displayed*, London, 1753, pp. 3-4. Another linkage that predates the Cock Lane Ghost is in *The St. James’s Chronicle; Or The British Evening-Post*, 11-14 July 1761: ‘We all remember to have seen the whole Nation, at such a Period, split into Parties concerning the Possibility of a Servant Girl’s subsisting for a Month on a few Crusts of Bread and a Pitcher of Water... At such a Period a Rabbit-Woman, or a Fortuneteller, a Quack, or a Bottle Conjurer, engages the Attention and engrosses the Conversation of the whole Town.’

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- ‘Mary Tofts, who conceived’; ‘Elizabeth Canning, who lived a whole Month’; ‘Pint Bottle’. *The St. James’s Chronicle; Or The British Evening-Post*, 11-13 February 1762.
- ‘the Scratching of the Cock-Lane Ghost is scarce out of our Ears’; ‘Wonders’ and ‘will never cease’: *The St. James’s Chronicle; Or The British Evening-Post*, 6-8 September 1764.
- ‘famous Bottle Conjurer’; ‘the scratching Ghost of Cock-Lane’ and ‘the supernatural Power of being in two Places at once’: *The St. James’s Chronicle; Or The British Evening-Post*, 6-8 November 1766.
- ‘famous Water Walker from Lyons’: *The St. James’s Chronicle; Or The British Evening-Post*, 2-4 October 1787.
- ‘bottle-conjurer himself would not have calculated so grossly’: *The Morning Chronicle*, 4 April 1796, 30349 - 67.
- ‘Bet Canning’, ‘a Cock-lane ghost’, ‘bottle conjuror’; ‘the rabbit woman’ and ‘the period is probably at hand, when we may expect such impositions’: *The Town and Country Magazine; Or Universal Repository Of Knowledge, Instruction and Entertainment*, September, 1775, p. 484.
- ‘ghosts are out of date, no Bet Cannings can arise; all the Bottle Conjuror’s are flown, and not a rabbit woman to be met with’: *Ibid*, July, 1776, p. 359.
- ‘English Credulity’: See the Prologue for plentiful examples of the use of this phrase.

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- Commentators were wrong: A comparable thesis is put forward in *The Secret History of Magic: The True Story of the Deceptive Art*, Peter Lamont and Jim Steinmeyer, New York: TarcherPerigee, 2018 when it comes to the eighteenth-century public, and earlier, understanding the difference between magicians performing tricks for entertainment, as opposed to those claiming to have supernatural powers.

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- ‘Politics made a Halt, and Scandal held her Tongue, all to make Way for the Conversation of the Bottle’: *A Letter to the Town Concerning The Man and The Bottle*, p. 18. ‘For a Fortnight before-hand they were the Conversation of every public Place; Poetry, Physic, and Politics made a Halt, and Scandal held her Tongue, all to make Way for the Conversation of the Bottle.’
- ‘now the Topic of every Conversation’: *Much ado about Nothing: Or, a Plain Refutation Of All that has been Written or Said Concerning the Rabbit-Woman of Godalming*, pp. 5-6.
- ‘minds are fertile in inventing’ and ‘confirm their credulity’: *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 23 September 1769. The correspondent gave an example of someone boldly insisting the ‘Rabbit Woman’ was a fact by quoting ‘a prophecy of Isaiah’.
- ‘the Bottle Conjuror, Rabbit Woman, Cock-Lane Ghost’; ‘some villainous Scheme’ and ‘the Government’: *The Public Advertiser*, 4 January 1777.