

Notes for *The Century of Deception*

Chapter Six: 'This Resolutely-Virtuous Creature', pp. 132-160.

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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 'salivation 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 Gipsy, 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.'
- Mountfort 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.'

- 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 Solicitor 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 Commitee 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 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*'. [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 came 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 Gypsy 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.'