

## Notes for *The Century of Deception*

### Chapter Seven: 'Miss Fanny's Theatre in Cock Lane', pp. 161-187.

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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.

#### Page 164

- '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’: *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], Vol. 10, p. 6, 2 February 1762. 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*, Vol. 10, p. 6, 2 February 1762. 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 humourous 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*, Vol. 10, p. 6, 2 February 1762. 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.