

MEMOIRS Of the Right Villainous John Hall, The Late Famous and Notorious ROBBER.

Penn'd from his own Mouth sometime before his DEATH (1708, 1714)

with Excerpts from

Hell upon Earth or The most Pleasant and Delectable HISTORY OF Whittington's COLLEDGE,

Otherwise (vulgarly) called NEWGATE (1703)

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With an Introduction by Edward Jacobs

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Introduction

By Edward Jacobs

Hell upon Earth; or The Most Pleasant and Delectable History of Whittington's Colledge (1703) and *Memoirs of the Right Villa[i]nous John Hall* (1708, 1714) are two closely related and highly inventive examples of the genre of criminal journalism that from the early decades of the eighteenth century became a mainstay of popular reading.

The relations between the two titles and their publication histories are fully discussed in our "Note on the Text," but the basic facts are these. *Memoirs of John Hall* is clearly a revision and expansion of *Hell upon Earth*, most of whose text recurs (albeit often with variations in phrasing and location) in all three extant editions of *Memoirs of John Hall*, which add significant passages to *Hell upon Earth*, as discussed in more detail below with respect to questions about their authorship(s). The imprint of *Hell upon Earth* (London: Printed in the Year 1703) identifies no publisher, and we have been unable to find any advertisements in newspapers that might clarify who produced it. *Memoirs of John Hall* survives in three separate editions by three separate printers/booksellers with two separate dates: *Memoirs of the Right Villanous John Hall* (London: Printed, and Sold by *Ben. Bragg*, at the *Raven* in Pater-noster-Row, 1708) [hereafter cited as MJH 1708b]; *Memoirs of the Right Villanous John Hall* (London: Printed by *H. Hills*, in *Black-Fryars*, near the Water-side, 1708) [hereafter cited as MJH 1708h]; and *Memoirs of the Right Villainous John Hall* (London: Printed for *J. Baker*, at the *Black-Boy*, in Pater-noster-Row, 1714. Price 6d) [hereafter cited as MJH 1714]. Both MJH 1708h and MJH 1714 claim on their title pages to be "The Fourth Edition, with large Additions, and a Description of *Ludgate*, the *Compters*, and other Prisons for Debt," but none of the previous three editions appear to be

extant and we have found no advertisements for them in newspapers. Because most of the text of *Hell upon Earth* is reproduced in all three editions of *Memoirs of John Hall*, manifestly all three *Memoirs of John Hall* editions derive at least in part from *Hell upon Earth*. External evidence suggests that MJH 1708h was a pirate resetting from 1708b, since Henry Hills, Jr., was infamous in his time for illegally reprinting popular works—being in fact one of the main targets of the 1710 Copyright Act (Plomer 155-6; cf. Gaskell 183-5)—and since Hills never advertised his (presumably illegitimate) edition in newspapers, whereas Bragg did, first in the *English Post with News Foreign and Domestick* of 13-15 December 1708.¹ The large number of compositor errors in 1708h further suggests that it was a rather sloppy or hasty piracy. The fact the title pages of 1708h and 1714 contain identical claims to be the “Fourth Edition with large Additions,” whereas the title page of 1708b makes no such claim to be a revised edition, suggests that MJH 1714 was reset from the 1708h pirate resetting of 1708b, especially since, when Henry Hills died in late 1713, the 12 November *Evening Post* advertised an auction of his stock “at the Blue Anchor, Paternoster Row,” close to the shop of J. Baker, who published MJH 1714 shortly thereafter (Plomer 155-6). However, as discussed in our “Note on the Text,” historical collation suggests that the actual relations among the three MJH witnesses is more complicated, forming a “radiant” rather than “linear” descent, with MJH 1714 most likely drawing on both 1708b and 1708h and all MJH witnesses perhaps also drawing on other now-lost MJH witnesses.²

Historically, the two works are significant because they are arguably the earliest and most detailed descriptions of the interior and culture of London’s infamous Newgate prison before it was rebuilt after being burned during the Gordon Riots of 1780 and because, as early descriptions, they influenced and were quoted by later descriptions of “Old Newgate” well into

¹ See Plomer 155-6 and How 12 on Hills’ piracy reputation.

² See Tanselle, “Editing without a Copy-Text” for the distinction between radiant and linear textual relations.

the nineteenth century.³ Most immediately, these two works were major sources (and prompts) for a flurry of journalistic descriptions of “Old Newgate” that proliferated between 1715—when famous prisoners captured during the failed Jacobite rebellion were sent to (and occasionally escaped from) Newgate—and around 1724—when the famous escapes from Newgate by the housebreaker John (aka “Jack”) Sheppard and the exposure of the enormous criminal empire run by Jonathan Wild, the self-styled “Thief-Taker General of Great Britain,” brought extensive public attention to Newgate and to criminal culture broadly.⁴ *Hell upon Earth* and *Memoirs of John Hall* also influenced later, largely literary treatments of “Old Newgate,” being, for example, one of the major sources used and quoted by William Harrison Ainsworth in his wildly popular and controversial novel *Jack Sheppard* (1839), which fictionalizes the exploits of the historical Jack Sheppard (Jacobs and Mourão *Jack Sheppard* 322-34). The descriptions of Newgate in these two texts more broadly informed most of the other “Newgate Novels” that flourished in the 1830s and 40s after the success of *Jack Sheppard* and Charles Dickens’s *Oliver Twist* (1838), and in particular Dickens’s *Barnaby Rudge* (1841), which is set during the Gordon Riots that destroyed “Old Newgate.”⁵

The two texts are also in themselves significant and intriguing from a literary and cultural point of view, primarily because they simultaneously perform and subvert the cautionary

³ See Griffiths for a comprehensive history of Newgate and writing about it.

⁴ The major extant instances of this flurry of descriptions of Newgate are: *The History of the Press-Yard: Or, a Brief Account of the Customs and Occurrences...in...His Majesty’s Goal[sic] of NEWGATE in London* (London: for T. Moor, 1717), written by an anonymous Jacobite sympathizer who says he was imprisoned “upon suspicion of being the Author of certain Criminal Pamphlets” (14) and who describes Newgate in a satirical, mock heroic vein much influenced by *Hell upon Earth* and *Memoirs of John Hall*; *The Secret History of the Rebels in Newgate.... Taken from a Diary, kept by a Gentleman in the same Prison* (London: by J. Roberts, A. Dodd, and J. Harrison, [1717]), a sarcastic anti-Jacobite work that refers repeatedly to *The History of the Press Yard*, to which it is clearly a polemic response; *An Accurate Description of Newgate... Written for the Publick Good. By B. L. of Twickenham* (London: for T. Warner, 1724), which was pseudonymously written by the architect Batty Langley and published just after Sheppard’s last escape from Newgate on October 17, 1724 and whose descriptions closely parallel *Hell upon Earth* and *Memoirs of John Hall*. See Howson on Wild’s criminal enterprise and Jacobs and Mourão *Jack Sheppard* for background and sources on the historical Jack Sheppard.

⁵ See Hollingsworth and Jacobs and Mourão “Newgate Novels” on the Newgate Novel genre.

didacticism that both Faller and Gladfelder stress as the central ideological burden that eighteenth-century British culture placed upon the criminal narrative genre.⁶ Both titles are early—and arguably the foundational—examples of the sub-genre of criminal narrative that Gladfelder identifies as the “criminal anatomy,” by which he means an “anatomy” or description of a criminal culture or region, and which he argues was particularly deconstructive of moralism (Gladfelder 11, 21-32). Criminal anatomies are relatively rare compared to instances of the two dominant genres of criminal narrative, the criminal biography and the last dying speech, both of which conventionally identify causes for an individual criminal’s “fall” and end with the criminal’s repentance before a just execution, ideologically equating crime with personal sin and execution with divine retribution. Because criminal anatomies describe criminal cultures and spaces instead of narrating a particular criminal career, they lack the narrative structure around an individual life that in criminal biographies and last dying speeches foregrounds the “moral” cause of the individual criminal’s “fall” into crime and naturalizes the inevitability of the “moral” regret and institutional punishment that results from that “fall.” But even if the criminal anatomy genre was less generically equipped for or disposed toward cautionary moralism than were criminal biography and last dying speeches, *Hell upon Earth* and *Memoirs of John Hall* subvert “moral” explanations and conditions of criminals more than do other, later criminal

⁶ Faller argues that criminal narratives reinforced the British judicial system (and Christian morality) by constructing cautionary “myths” about the origins of crime in personal “sin” and about its inevitable punishment. Gladfelder (10-11, 75-77) criticizes Faller (among others) for focusing too exclusively on criminal biography and last dying speeches and instead discriminates seven different sub-genres of criminal narrative, each distinct in its narrative form, mode of publication, and ideological effect: picaresque fictions, providential fictions, anatomies of criminal cultures and places, crime reports in newspapers, trial transcripts, last dying speeches, and criminal biographies (19-92). Gladfelder argues that recognizing the differences among these seven different sub-genres of criminal narrative foregrounds the ways that the broad genre of eighteenth-century criminal narrative was in fact more ideologically fraught than Faller and others maintain, yielding “readings that conflict with the sanctioned narratives of deviance and punishment, enlisting the reader’s complicity with the breaking of cultural norms even as they undertake to reinscribe them” (10).

anatomies, such as Batty Langley's *An Accurate Description of Newgate*, and certainly far more than do most criminal biographies and last dying speeches.

Hell upon Earth and *Memoirs of John Hall* deconstruct the prevailing moralism of the criminal narrative genre primarily because the narrators of both texts adopt an ambivalent position with respect to the criminals and the place that they describe. At times they speak as outside observers who criticize and condemn the criminals they describe according to hegemonic moral norms; at other times they speak as insider participants in criminal culture who pity and champion their compatriots and correspondingly scorn the cruelty and corruption of Newgate and the British judicial system at large. Both narrators generally refer to the inmates (and criminals) in the third person—as “they” or “the felons” for example—and thereby distance themselves from their fellow prisoners, describing and judging them at times quite harshly, as in the lengthy, scornful description of the sophistic legal “Disputes” in the Cellar of Newgate, whereby “with an unparallel'd Impudence every brazen fac'd Malefactor is harden'd in his Sin, because the *Law* cann't touch his *Life*” (MJH 1714: 10, para. 43; cf. HUE 2).⁷ Yet despite this pronominal distancing of themselves from the culture they describe, both narrators also repeatedly speak in the language of that criminal culture and in doing so often endorse and even celebrate its skills and values. Most obviously, the glossaries of criminal cant and the descriptions of the various criminal professions and ploys prominent in both works speak from within the criminal culture. And these insider passages often celebrate that culture more than they condemn or warn the public against it, as the title pages to both works insist is their

⁷ Throughout this introduction we cite MJH by page number in MJH 1714, the base text for our edition and by paragraph number in our edition. We cite HUE by page number in the original 1703 edition; when HUE passages cited are original to HUE, we supplement the HUE page numbers with references to the entries in Appendix A where the cited passages occur.

purpose.⁸ For example, in its list of criminal professions, *Memoirs of John Hall* declares that “of all these Housebreakers under Three Denominations, viz., *Hoister, Dubber, and Mill-Layer*, is the most Famous and Heroick Employment of ‘em all, and in one Time exceeds that of the Highway” (MJH 1714: 7, para. 34), adopting a vernacular oral style and unconditionally stating that this “is” the “most Famous and Heroick Employment of ‘em all,” not that “they” or “the Malefactors” take it to be so.⁹ More sympathetically yet, an earlier passage original to *Memoirs of John Hall* makes the argument (perhaps mock-heroic but perhaps sincere) that a thief “is a less Nuisance in a Commonwealth than a Miser, because the Money he ingrosses by his Villany all circulate again, which the other hoards as tho’ ‘twere only to be found again at the Day of Judgment,” that “he has this Point of Honesty, that he never robs the House [i.e., public house or pub] he frequents,” and that he “never takes more than he has occasion for, which he verifies in this Way, he comes no more while that lasts” (MJH 1714: 3, para. 12). Toward its end this passage even more aggressively promotes criminal culture over hegemonic culture, saying,

Friendship is a Vertue oftner found among Thieves than other People; for when their Companions are in Danger they venture hardest to relieve them; and by a certain Compact, which needs no renewing, take care that they don’t want a suitable Subsistence while they are under Durance, and thereby incapable of helping themselves; and this the rather, because their own Turn seems to be next,

⁸ The title page of *Hell upon Earth* says it is “very Useful to all Persons, either Gentle or Simple, in shewing them the Manner of the Robberies and Cheats committed by Villains on the Nation; whereby they may be the more careful of being wrong’d by them for the Future.” Its final paragraph says “This is all the Description I can give of this Place, whose Horror I hope may so much work on irregular Persons for the future, as to make them forsake wicked Courses; and it is my Wish that honest People will be more wary of giving Opportunities to graceless Wretches, who value not the Misery of this Mansion, where Villains Breath their Discontents against *Magistracy* more securely, and have their Tongues at more liberty than abroad; and to conclude, this is a School which teaches much Wisdom, but too late, and with Danger; and it is better be a Fool, than come here to learn it” (12). *Memoirs of John Hall* title pages similarly declare it is “Truly set forth for the Good of the Publick, at the Instance of many Honest People” (MJH 1714).

⁹ *Hell upon Earth* contains no such celebration of Housebreaking as a “Famous and Heroick Employment” in its list of criminal professions (2-4). See Appendix A, [13.1 Qualities of Rogues](#)].

according to the Vicissitude of Things built upon so dangerous and fickle a Foundation. Every Man in this Community is esteemed according to his particular Quality, of which there are several Degrees; tho' it is contrary often to Publick Governments, for here a Man shall be valued purely for his Merit, and rise by it too, tho' it be but to a Halter; in which there is a great deal of Glory in dying like a Heroe, and making a Decent Figure in the Cart to the Tune of the Two last Staves of the 51st *Psalm*. (MJH 1714: 4, para. 12)

Like many passages in *Hell upon Earth* and *Memoirs of John Hall*, this one is doubly satirical and hence tonally and ideologically unstable: it initially uses the criminal "Community" to ridicule the values of "Publick Government," but it then turns that counter-cultural critique into mock-heroic satire on the criminal culture's own notion that "there is a great deal of Glory in dying like a Heroe" by "rising" on "Merit" to a hangman's "Halter." The reader is left wondering where John Hall stands: is he a repentant outsider who is mocking criminal values and defending hegemonic moral and institutions, or is he an unredeemed insider who is surreptitiously celebrating and seducing readers to the criminal "Community" and its counter-cultural values?

After such preliminary passages as the above one that anatomize and "translate" "free" criminal culture to non-criminal readers, both works focus more elaborately on describing Newgate and its inmates. And as in the opening sections that describe criminal culture outside of Newgate, the longer descriptions of Newgate itself adopt a jocular, mock heroic tone that again constructs an ambivalent insider/outsider persona for their narrators. Throughout both texts, even as the narrators ask readers to pity the prisoners subject to the inhumane conditions of Newgate described, those narrators take those sufferings as an occasion to parade their own "literary" wit,

almost clownishly delighting in obscure (and often bawdy) puns, allusions, and conceits, as in the following description of two rooms in Newgate:

When the Prisoners are disposed to recreate themselves with walking they go up into a spacious Room, call'd the *High-Hall*, where when you see them taking a Turn together, it would puzzle one to know which is the Gentleman, which the Mechanick, and which the Beggar, for they are all suited in the same Form or Kind of Nasty Poverty, which is a Spectacle of more Pity than Executions; only to be out at the Elbows is in Fashion here, and a great *Indecorum* not to be thread-bare. On the Northside is a small Room call'd the *Buggering-Hold*; but from whence it takes its Name I cannot well tell, unless it is a Fate attending this Place, that some confin'd there may or have been addicted to Sodomy. Here the Fines lye, and perhaps, as he behaves himself, an Outlaw'd Person may creep in among them: But what Degree of Latitude this Chamber is situated in I cannot positively demonstrate, unless it lyes 90 Degrees beyond the *Artick Pole*; for instead of being dark here but half the Year, it is dark all the Year round. The Company one with another there is but a vying of Complaints, and the Causes they have to Rail on the ill Success of Petitions, and in this they reckon there is a great deal of good Fellowship. There they huddle up their Life as a Thing of no Use, and wear it out like an old Suit, the faster the better; and he that deceives the Time at Cards or Dice thinks he deceives it best, and best spends it. Just by them lye the *Tangerines*, in a large Room, call'd *Tangier*, which, next the *Lower-ward*, is the nastiest Place in the Goal. The miserable Inhabitants thereof are *Debtors*, who put what sorry Bedding they enjoy upon such an Ascent where

Soldiers lye when on Guard at the *Tilt-yard*. These poor Wretches are commonly, next their Creditors, most bitter against the *Lawyers*, as Men that have had a Stroke in assisting them there; a *Bailiff* likewise they mortally hate, because he makes them fear the *Queen's* Name worse than the *Devil's*: But in this Apartment lye, besides *real Debtors*, such as are call'd *Thieving Debtors*; who having for Theft satisfy'd the *Queen*, by being Burnt in the Face, or Whipt, which is no Satisfaction to the wrong'd Subject, their Adversaries bring an Action of *Trover* against them, and keep them there till they make Restitution for Things stoln.

(MJH 1714: 16-17, para. 155; cf. HUE 7)

In some ways, such antic delight by the narrators in their own witty obscurities implicitly speaks from within criminal culture, functioning as a correlative to the obscurity and linguistic “wit” of criminal cant, as is underscored by the fact that, just before offering readers a glossary of criminal cant, both narrators subtly celebrate cant as “another Tongue...sprung up amongst us” after “the Tower of *Babel*” that functions both “to confound workmen” in the legitimate economy and to let criminals “express their Mind very significantly to one another, to the Prejudice very often of those they design to Injure” (MJH 1714: 11; cf. HUE 4-5, Appendix A 44.1). On the other hand, the narrators’ delight in their own wit tonally distances both the narrators and their readers from the inmates as objects of scorn whose sufferings in Newgate merit ridicule rather than pity, as for example in the witty digression above about the name and location of “the *Buggering-Hold*.” In contrast to the ways this highly figurative, “literary” style constructs an ambivalent “moral” attitude primarily toward the behavior and “culture” of Newgate’ s *inmates*, the description of these same rooms in *An Accurate Description of Newgate*

says almost nothing about the behavior of the inmates, focusing instead on a factual, concrete description of Newgate's unwholesome physical conditions:

Against the West-Side of this Hall [“the *Taphouse*”], is a Stair-Case which leads to a large Apartment called *High Hall*, wherein Felons only are admitted to Walk; the Dimensions whereof are in Length 33 Feet, in Breadth 28, and in Altitude about 12.

In the Middle of this Hall is a Stone, upon which is knocked off the Irons of the unhappy Persons who are under Sentence of Death, when they come down from the Chapel, in their Way to the Cart which carries them to their fatal Place of Execution.

Opposite to the Entrance leading to the *Taphouse*, is a Passage which directs you to a large (but dark and stinking) Ward, called *Tangier*, in which are divers Barracks for the Prisoners to lie on. The Air in this Ward is very bad, occasion'd by the Multitude of Prisoners in it, and the Filthiness of their Lodging.
(35-6)

Many perplexing yet intriguing questions remain about the authorship of *Hell upon Earth* and *Memoirs of John Hall* and about the relations between their authorships. As noted above, *Memoirs of John Hall* reproduces most of the text of *Hell upon Earth* but adds new material to it. The major additions to the main narrative in *Memoirs of John Hall* are a more extensive description of “the Art of Thieving in general” outside of Newgate (MJH 1714: 1-7, para. 10-40; cf. HUE 1, 2-4, Appendix A 36.1, 13.1), which begins, significantly, as a miniature criminal biography narrating not “the History of my own Life” but “the Merry Transitory Life of a Thief in general” (MJH 1714: 2-4, para. 11-12); “An Elegy upon the Death of the said Famous Mr.

John Hall, Printed before the Publication of these Memoirs” together with Hall’s “*EPITAPH*” (MJH 1714: 29-31, para. 193-262); and a final section describing “the *Compters*, and other Goals for Debt” (MJH 1714: 31-4, para. 263-7). But another major substantive difference between *Memoirs of John Hall* and *Hell upon Earth* is their prefaces, which describe two very different kinds of authors and authorship. In the mock heroic preface to *Hell upon Earth*, the pseudonymous author “Tuus Inimicus” (“your enemy”) bemoans that “ill Fate” has forced him to the present “damn’d confounded meddling with *Pen, Ink, and Paper*” and scornfully dedicates “these first Fruits of my Labour” to “the much Unworshipful *Richard P—ce*, alias, *Catch, ESQUIRE*” (the historical hangman John Price)¹⁰ and in the process uses Latin (“*Desunt multas*”) and alludes to the scholars Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540-1609) and Gerardus Vossius (1577-1649). By contrast, in “The Preface to the Reader” in all extant editions of *Memoirs of John Hall*, an unidentified “we” explains that Hall’s memoirs were “Penn’d from his own Mouth some time before his DEATH” (as all title pages claim) because “*the Author could neither Write nor Read*” (MJH 1714: iii, para. 5). The preface insists that “*the Life and Soul of what is Writ here was the Essence and Product of Mr. Hall’s Active Genius, however it has been subject to Decorum since*” and made “*fit for the Press,*” presumably by whoever “Penn’d [it] from his own Mouth” (MJH 1714: iv, para. 5).

If one takes these two prefaces at face value, it is hard to maintain that *Hell upon Earth* and *Memoirs of John Hall* were authored by the same person(s), since the dedication to *Hell upon Earth* claims to be the “first Fruits” of “damn’d confounded meddling with *Pen, Ink, and Paper*” by a highly literate individual author who evidently knows Latin and Scaliger and

¹⁰ John—not Richard—Price was the hangman for London between 1714 and 1715 (Bleackley 9-19). Price was himself executed for theft on 31 May 1718. “Jack Ketch” (or sometimes as here “Catch”) was by Price’s tenure the generic name for London’s hangman, alluding to Jack Ketch, who held the office from 1663 to 1686 (Bleackley 4-5), during the often turbulent reign of Charles II.

Vossius, whereas the preface to *Memoirs of John Hall* claims it to be an anonymously transcribed and edited oral text originally dictated by the illiterate John Hall. On the other hand, one cannot take the different authorships described by these two prefaces at face value, since in the early eighteenth century prefatory matter was regularly (and often fraudulently) used as a marketing tool. And much evidence supports the traditional attribution in most bibliographies and catalogues of both *Hell upon Earth* and *Memoirs of John Hall* to the historical criminal John Hall: nearly all of the main text of *Hell upon Earth* recurs in all editions of *Memoirs of John Hall*, and John Hall was an actual criminal whose biography correlates with the substance not only of *Memoirs of John Hall* but also of several passages unique to *Hell upon Earth*, including its preface. Thus, with respect to *Hell upon Earth*, the first record of Hall in [*The Proceedings of the Old Bailey: London's Central Criminal Court, 1674-1913*](#) is a conviction for grand larceny and sentence of branding on 15 January 1703, early in the year when *Hell upon Earth* was published. Hall's sentence of branding here correlates with the statement in the dedication of *Hell upon Earth* to the hangman Price that "I beheld your rascally Phiz, when you made the *Burnt-Offering* before me in Three most noted Places of our famous *Metropolis*" and more impersonally with the comments that "on the Mercy of the Court" felons could "escape marking with an ignominious *T*" (HUE 10; MJH 1714: 22, para. 159), the branding mark used for felons other than murderers, most often thieves.¹¹ And of course, the fact that Hall was branded rather than executed in 1703 correlates with the opening of the dedication of *Hell upon Earth*, where Tuus Inimicus defiantly says to the hangman Richard Price, "I never merited the Dishonour of ever being in your ignominious Company." With respect to *Memoirs of John Hall*, Hall, along with "Richard Low and Stephen Bunch," was sentenced to death on 10 December 1707—

¹¹ "Branding was the commutation of a capital sentence on clerk convicts, or persons allowed benefit of clergy, and it was inflicted upon the brawn of the left thumb, the letter M being using murder cases, the letter T in others" (Griffiths 146).

roughly two months before the first newspaper advertisements for MJH 1708b appeared—for “breaking open the dwelling House of Captain John Guyon of the Parish of Stepney,” he and his compatriots being “Old Offenders.” Hall was executed on 17 December 1707, correlating with the title page claims of MJH 1708h and 1708b (and MJH 1714) that they were “Penn’d from his own Mouth some time before his DEATH.” And according to the Ordinary’s Account of felons executed on 17 December 1707, Hall stated that he “could neither Read nor Write,” paralleling the statement in the preface to all editions of *Memoirs of John Hall* that “*the Author could neither Write nor Read*” (MJH 1714: iii, para. 5).¹²

But even if these details about the historical John Hall suggest that he was, on historical and biographical grounds, the plausible oral author of both *Hell upon Earth* and *Memoirs of John Hall*, that external evidence contradicts internal evidence both that the author of *Hell upon Earth* was highly literate and that the person who “Penn’d” *Memoirs of John Hall* from Hall’s “own Mouth” (MJH 1714 title page) was at least a co-author who added literate and indeed literary content to that oral text, in contradiction of the claims in the Preface to *Memoirs of John Hall* that “*the Life and Soul of what is Writ here was the Essence and Product of Mr. Hall’s Active Genius, however it has been subject to Decorum since*” and made “*fit for the Press*” (MJH 1714: iv, para. 5). With respect to *Hell upon Earth*, “*Tuus Inimicus*” in its dedication overtly claims that he used “*Pen, Ink, and Paper*” to compose it and moreover uses Latin and alludes to Scaliger and Vossius in ways that are inconsonant with oral authorship by the illiterate historical John Hall. And the many literate allusions in passages of *Hell upon Earth* not included in *Memoirs of John Hall*—such as that to “*Mr. Savage, once exalted in the Pillory, (the common Fate, that of*

¹² It is of course possible that John Hall lied about being illiterate during his confession to the Ordinary, but he had no motive for doing so, since by demonstrating literacy he could have avoided capital punishment, as alluded to the statement in *Memoirs of John Hall* that “*such as can read claim the Benefit of the Clergy*” (MJH 1714: 22, para. 159). Yet in his trial transcripts he nowhere claims or offers to prove his literacy.

late years attend *Authors, Booksellers, and Printers*) for crying about the Scurrilous Paper call'd the *Black-List*' (HUE 8, Appendix A 156.5)—also imply not only a degree of literacy but also a knowledge of print culture that are similarly inconsonant with the illiteracy of the historical John Hall. With respect to *Memoirs of John Hall*, the various allusions to classical texts within its narrative not contained in *Hell upon Earth*—such as that to “the People *Strabo* mentions to have liv'd so many Miles under Ground” (MJH 1714: 9, para. 42)—contradict the claim in its Preface that “*the Author could neither Write nor Read,*” unless one attributes such literate allusions to the anonymous person who “Penn'd” *Memoirs of John Hall* from Hall's “own Mouth” and made it “*fit for the Press*” but who according to the Preface did not alter the “*Life and Soul*” of the oral text that was “*the Essence and Product of Mr. Hall's Active Genius*” (MJH 1714: title page; iii, iv, para. 5). In short, internal evidence from *Hell upon Earth* indicates that an illiterate John Hall could not plausibly have authored it, while internal evidence from *Memoirs of John Hall* indicates that, even if the historical John Hall originally authored it orally as the *Memoirs of John Hall* preface claims, the person who “Penn'd” that oral text added literate content to it in ways that justify considering that person as at least a co-author of the work. More intriguingly yet, together this internal evidence from the two works raises the possibility that the person who allegedly “Penn'd” *Memoirs of John Hall* from John Hall's “own Mouth” was identical to the manifestly literate author of *Hell upon Earth*, who in *Memoirs of John Hall*'s preface disguised himself as John Hall's “editor” in order to exploit the public interest in Hall raised by his recent execution.

Much external and stylistic evidence points to Edward (“Ned”) Ward as a likely candidate for the anonymous (co)author of *Memoirs of John Hall* and *Hell upon Earth*, although

we can here only sketch the avenues of evidence that might upon further research support that attribution.

Perhaps the most intriguing external evidence for Ward's (co)authorship of *Hell upon Earth* and *Memoirs of John Hall* is the fact that the Victorian novelist William Harrison Ainsworth twice attributes passages from *Hell upon Earth/Memoirs of John Hall* to Ward in his 1839 historical novel *Jack Sheppard*, which fictionalizes the career of a famous thief and jail breaker executed in 1724.¹³ Ainsworth scrupulously researched his historical novels and usually cited his sources quite carefully (Jacobs and Mourão 23-9), so his attribution of *Hell upon Earth* and *Memoirs of John Hall* to Ward is puzzling, especially since at his death Ainsworth owned a copy of MJH 1714, according to the auction catalog of his library (Jacobs and Mourão 569-70). It is possible that Ainsworth simply presumed to insert his own attribution into his novel, but it is also possible that Ainsworth's copy of MJH 1714 contained some justification for that attribution. However, neither existing copy of MJH 1714 (one at the British Library and one at the Folger Library) seem to contain such grounds for attribution to Ward and hence may not be identical with Ainsworth's copy, whose provenance after its auction is unknown.

Another, more circumstantial piece of external evidence for Ward's role in *Hell upon Earth* and *Memoirs of John Hall* relates to the murky authorship and publication history of *Hell upon Earth* and *Memoirs of John Hall*. Ward was highly active during the years between the publication of *Hell upon Earth* in 1703 and the publication of Baker's 1714 edition of *Memoirs of John Hall*. Indeed, these years were his most active, following upon the phenomenal success of *The London Spy*, a picaresque description of (largely low-life) London that was published in eighteen monthly parts between November 1698 and April 1700 and that effectively invented the

¹³ See Jacobs and Mourão 329, n. 2; 331, n. 2 on the odd ways that Ainsworth conflates *Hell upon Earth* and *Memoirs of John Hall* in his quotations and attribution of them to Ward.

early modern practice of serial publication in parts (Troyer 29-60; Sommerville 146-8). Even after the success of *The London Spy*, Ward rarely put his name on the title pages of works (probably because of their scandalous content), preferring either anonymous publication or pseudonyms (such as “by the Author of the London Spy”) that banked on the popularity of his previous works yet disavowed (legal) responsibility for them in ways that make attribution of works to Ward especially complicated (Troyer). Most of Ward’s works during the first decade of the eighteenth century were printed and published by J. How, who printed the first six parts of *The London Spy* for J. Nutt, but thereafter printed the last twelve parts “by and for” himself as well as the first editions of many works attributed by Troyer to Ward, effectively making his name and fortune off of Ward (Troyer 227, n. 12). However, all of the three publishers of *Memoirs of John Hall* (Henry Hills, Jr., Benjamin Bragg, and John Baker) also published works that Troyer attributes to Ward. And significantly in the context of *Hell upon Earth* and *Memoirs of John Hall*, between 1706 and 1709 Hills had a steady record of pirating works by Ward first printed by and for Benjamin Bragg, just as Hills almost certainly pirated Bragg’s 1708 edition of *Memoirs of John Hall* (Troyer 239, 242, 246, 262-3; cf. our “Note on the Text”). Bragg and Hills had no known trade relations, so the question of why and how Hills so regularly pirated works by Ward first published by Bragg remains obscure. Yet the fact that Hills’ piracies of Bragg’s works by Ward cluster around the years just before and after the publication of MJH 1708b and 1708h makes it all the more likely that Hills pirated Bragg’s edition of *Memoirs of John Hall* and more remotely suggests that Ward may have been involved in *Memoirs of John Hall*, since Hills’ piracies of Bragg correlate with Ward’s authorship. This link via Bragg between Hills’ career as a pirate during the years 1706-1709 and Ward’s authorship is reinforced by the fact that John How, Ward’s most frequent publisher during this period, complained that “Hill [sic] in *Black-*

Fryars, Read in White-Fryars, Bradford, and others, are permitted to Rob the rest of the Trade of their just Rights and Properties unpunished” (12) in *Some Thoughts on the Present State of Printing and Bookselling* (London: Printed the 28th of November, 1709). External evidence from within the print trade thus indicates that Ward had connections to all known publishers of *Hell upon Earth* and *Memoirs of John Hall*, and more importantly that during the years immediately surrounding the publication of MJH 1708b and 1708h, Hills regularly pirated works by Ward first published by Bragg, raising the possibility that Hills knew (as we do not) that Ward was involved in *Memoirs of John Hall* and pirated MJH 1708b because he knew that Ward’s style of writing sold well, even if Ward rarely put his name to it. However, the evidence for that possibility is highly circumstantial and in itself is weak if intriguing grounds for attributing *Hell upon Earth* and *Memoirs of John Hall* to Ward.

The internal and stylistic evidence for attributing *Hell upon Earth* and/or MJH—at least in part—to Ward is more direct and compelling, although much remains to be done in analyzing and assessing it, especially stylometrically. Troyer does not mention *Hell upon Earth* or *Memoirs of John Hall* as candidates even for doubtful attribution to Ward. Yet Howson, widely read in the criminal narratives of the early eighteenth century, remarks that the style of *Memoirs of John Hall* is “rather similar to Ned Ward’s” (322). More specifically, we would suggest that the resemblances between Ward’s style and that of *Hell upon Earth* and *Memoirs of John Hall* should be evaluated in terms of their common syntactic and semantic predilection for elaborate and aggressively obscene mock-heroic tropes using or coining obscure slang terms. Despite Troyer’s evident disdain for his subjects style,¹⁴ he does offer a detailed (if scornful) summary of

¹⁴ Troyer’s magisterial biography and descriptive bibliography of Ward manifests considerable distaste for his subject, opening by saying “I have no apology to offer for Ned Ward” (vii) and subtitled his work “A Study of Sub-Literary London in the Eighteenth Century.” Nonetheless, no other scholar has engaged with the substance and history of Ward’s works in as much detail as Troyer has.

Ward's style that could well be applied to what we above call the "antic" delight in elaborately obscure conceits and allusions in *Hell upon Earth* and *Memoirs of John Hall*:

In Ward's own day it had been men like Sir Roger L'Estrange, Tom D'Urfrey, and Tom Brown who had given expression to their own impertinent jocularly and cynical insolence by a facile and energetic use of the colloquial in language and image. It was Ward's own distinction—if distinction it was—that he became its chief exponent in the days of Queen Anne.

Even for Ward the style is not always enviable. Too often the forward progress of the narrative is impeded by the attempt at witty innuendo and unsavory simile. The pace is monotonously regular, and the language indecently vulgar. On the other hand the style is graphic. Ward's portraits are drawn in bold and hard lines. No feature of a man's appearance or his conduct is described without drawing upon a more or less apt analogy. In the metaphors and similes, as well as in the diction itself, the slang of the street and the coffee-houses, the billingsgate of the fishmarket and brothel are all brought to bear. It is the language of the men whom he knew; it is at the same time something more. Ward consciously sought the facetious phrases; he coined his own compounds and epithets. It was a satisfying experience to him when after publication he heard his own phrases quoted in the taverns and music halls. (Troyer 208-9)

Whether or not further study may confirm our suppositional evidence that Ward authored or coauthored *Hell upon Earth* or *Memoirs of John Hall*, those two works remain historically significant for their early and detailed descriptions of Newgate and criminal culture and significant in literary and cultural terms for their creative and ideologically ambivalent approach

to the genre of criminal narrative. As such, in our estimation, these two works clearly merit what will be the first properly critical edition of their art.

Note on the Text

The Textual Witnesses:

The editors of this scholarly edition have endeavored to present two texts, *Hell Upon Earth* and *Memoirs of the Right Villainous John Hall*, for academic consideration. Textual analysis reveals that the two titles have an intricately interwoven history that demands any consideration to take the existence of both into account. This history can be seen in an examination of the four textual witnesses available to these editors at the time of publication. The MJH editions must derive from HUE even though the reproduced sections often differ in both phrasing and the order in which they are presented; however, the relationship between the editions of MJH is not as easily categorized as simple linear descent. Collation of these textual witnesses adapted from the [Juxta](#) software, an open-source cross-platform tool for comparing and collating multiple witnesses to a single textual work, yields both internal and external evidence that MJH 1708b is the earlier of the two 1708 editions with MJH 1714 relying heavily, if not perhaps exclusively, upon MJH 1708h. MJH 1708b contains no acknowledgement of an edition number, making it possible that it is not the first text to carry the MJH title; however, it is the earliest extant version.

1708h contains many accidental variations from the 1708b edition resulting in numerous misspellings and lack of spacing between words. For example, in the Preface alone, 1708h spells “to” as “te” and other misspellings such as “extraordinary,” “acquaint,” and “incomperable;” the version also printed “Honeyout” where 1708b printed “Honey out.” This suggests that the printing of the 1708h edition followed 1708b with less attention to detail, perhaps in an effort to quickly reprint a popular text, supporting Jacobs’ argument that MJH 1708h is a pirated edition (see “Introduction” 3-4). Nonetheless, 1708h may not be simply dismissed as a pirated edition of

1708b because it also contains substantive changes to at least the title page that are not present in 1708b. MJH 1708h includes a claim on its title page to be “The Fourth Edition, with large Additions, and a Description of Ludgate, the Compters, and other Prisons for Debt,” while 1708b contains no such claim. However, determining the extent to which there are substantive changes is complicated by the fact that the 1708b witness to which we had access is incomplete; the text ends mid-sentence in paragraph 188. Without the ability to cross-reference the last paragraphs, we are not able to conclude if 1708h simply added the title page reference, which was a common practice in pirated texts to add legitimacy or enhance marketability, or in fact itself added substantively to the text in the concluding paragraphs not present in the incomplete 1708b. It is possible that 1708h simply added the title page changes and does not vary substantively from 1708b in any other way, that 1708h is derived from lost second and third editions, or 1708h added unique textual content in the concluding paragraphs. The complex relationship between these two versions cannot be known with certainty, but their publication within the same year suggests an inextricable dependence.

MJH 1714b was likely reset from 1708h, since its title page contains the identical claim to be the “Fourth Edition with large Additions;” Jacobs documents external evidence which supports this proposition (“Introduction” 4). However, variations between MJH 1708h and MJH 1714 complicate this argument, demonstrating that MJH 1708b and MJH 1714 share readings which MJH 1708h does not. Within paragraph 12, for instance, there are two instances of spelling changes (common wealth, Monthes), six changes in capitalization (trades, crime, matter, companions, compact, man), and one missing comma (after “again”) which 1714 restores to the 1708b original. Baker’s regressions to 1708b force us to reconsider the circumstantial evidence present in the auction of Hills’ goods after his death. Baker may have acquired the 1708h text

which he typeset for the 1714 edition, but it is also possible that his edition utilized an unidentified text or even that the acquisition of the Hills' edition led to a review of the earlier edition for corrections. This uncertainty forces us to regard the 1714 edition as an additional radiant edition rather than a direct descendant of 1708h.

Methodology:

For transcription, collation, and editing, editors worked in four teams of two members each. The teams transcribed and proofread assigned textual witnesses using PDF copies of the original texts. These witnesses were transcribed into Word files. The completed transcriptions were uploaded to the [Juxta](#) software to generate a digital collation. Due to the high degree of variance among the witnesses, the *Juxta* collation required manual review in order to construct the historical collation.

Based upon the historical collation described above, MJH 1714 serves as the base text for editing the three MJH witnesses in keeping with Tanselle's theory of eclectic "constructive editing," as articulated in "Editing without a Copy Text." We emended MJH 1714 both for substantive and accidental variations on a case-by-case basis. Editing the HUE excerpts used Zeller's "best text" theory, reproducing HUE verbatim except for the correction of "textual faults," i.e., nonsensical readings or readings that the *Juxta* collation with MJH witnesses or internal evidence within HUE clearly identifies as unintentional. As MJH revises and supplements HUE, this "best-text" approach to the HUE excerpts supports a constructive editing of the MJH 1714 base text, acknowledging the social and historical process of composition. As a logical consequence of this approach, both HUE and MJH are presented in old spelling without

regularization of variant spellings, since regularization could inadvertently “correct” a pun or allusion.

Treatment of the Text:

The structure of the text reflects the unique composition and publication history of *Hell Upon Earth* and *The Memoirs of John Hall*. Rather than merely reproducing a best-text copy of HUE followed by an eclectic version of MJH, we have chosen to order our text in such a way that foregrounds the intertextual nature and diverging concerns of the two works in question. As such, the text begins with the original HUE dedication and preface, followed by the dedication and preface to MJH. From that point, the main body of the text is an eclectic version of MJH. The footnotes for the text include three types of references: textual notes glossing problematic readings, explanatory notes, and notes guiding the reader to Appendix A, containing sections original to HUE. The order of the HUE passages does not mirror the order of the HUE manuscript; instead, the HUE material appears in fragments, reflecting moments it diverges from MJH. As a result of this structure, we emphasize the evolution and collaborative nature of the texts’ composition, avoid redundancy both in the texts themselves and in the explanatory and textual notes, and actively demonstrate the meaningful intersections and divergences between the texts.

Due to the sociological interest of our approach to *The Memoirs of John Hall*, the notes provide contemporary readers with the context necessary to understand the text in a fashion similar to the original audiences. Explanatory notes follow Martin Battensin’s model, offering recovery notes, notes of explanation, and discursive notes. All quotations and allusions are identified unless we have been unable to trace them. Notes also explain some of the slang used in

the text; in many cases the anonymous author directly defines criminal terminology. Also included are brief notes regarding locales mentioned within the text, in an effort to situate the reader spatially. Additionally, glosses occur for instances in which certain locations are seen to have special connotations for contemporary readers. Throughout the text, hyperlinks from the notes to the original HUE material in Appendix A provide a ready means of rapidly comparing textual differences. Paragraph numbers appear in the left margin the MJH text; all citation refer to MJH by paragraph number and line number within the paragraph.

Our text concludes with three sections offering additional insight into the bibliographic and generic history of the four witnesses, and detailing specific editorial choices. Appendix A contains passages from HUE which have no correlating section in MJH or which contain a number of variants which make printing the section in its entirety preferable to listing each variant reading separately. Emendations have been made only when an obvious textual fault is present; these emendations are recorded in the footnotes. The Historical Collation within Appendix B records all substantive and accidental variants among all four textual witnesses, formatted according to Tanselle's principles. HUE is included in the Historical Collation only as a witness to local variants among the four witnesses; that is, passages wholly or largely unique to HUE are not included in the Historical Collation. Following the Historical Collation is the Line End Hyphenation List, which, using Tanselle's model, records only compound words upon whose hyphenation the witnesses agree.

Through this structure, we acknowledge the chronology of the texts' history, yet place an emphasis on the collaborative nature of the evolution of MJH. By framing MJH with HUE's original preface and drawing connections between the texts within the notes and Appendix, we

place the texts in immediate conversation, highlighting differences in purpose, genre, and sociological concerns.

hell upon Earth¹⁵:

OR

The most Pleasant and Delectable

HISTORY

OF

*Whittington's*¹⁶ COLLEDGE,

Otherwise (vulgarly) called

NEWGATE:

Giving an Account of the Humours of those *Collegians* who are strictly examin'd at the *Old-Baily*, and take their highest Degrees near *Hyde-Park* Corner.

Being very useful to all Persons, either Gentle or Simple, in shewing them the Manner of the Robberies and Cheats committed by Villains on the Nation; whereby they may be the more careful of being wrong'd by them for the Future.

LONDON,

Printed in the Year, 1703.

¹⁵ The title's Gothic-style font and lower-case "h" appear twice in the original text: in this instance and immediately following the Dedication page. This edition uses Lucida Blackletter as a font closely approximating the original in this and other instances of Gothic type. The lower-case "h" is left unemended because its original use may have been an effort to avoid the potentially blasphemous capitalization of the word hell.

¹⁶ Richard Whittington, Lord Mayor of London and Member of Parliament in the 14th century, bequeathed money both to build Whittington College and to rebuild Newgate Prison (H., T.).

To the much Unworshipful

Richard P --- ce, alias, Catch,

ESQUIRE

THO' I never merited the Dishonour of ever being in your ignominious Company, whose odious Profession is so detestable in some *European* Nations, that the Laws thereof utterly exclude Hangmen from the Conversation of Mankind, yet the Subject of this *History* claims your unfavourable Patronage But perhaps my Discovery of the several sly Practices *Thieves* use to pillage¹⁷ honest People, may incur your (not valu'd) Displeasure, because it may make them more careful for the future to preserve their Substance, and so hinder Grist from coming to your Mill so often as it does; but, upon my Word, it is no more design'd to prejudice your sanguine Occupation, than the Law against Duels was made meerly to wound the *Surgeons* Vocation, who sigh daily for that slashing Age of Sword and Buckler again. However, let my Offence be heinous to the highest Degree, I question not Forgiveness¹⁸ from your Baseness, who is an Animal of that heroick Courage, that has made many a better Man than your self tremble when they come under your destructive Talons; without Flattery do I speak it, you love as dearly to dabble in Blood, as an upstart Knight to Stain his gentility with the droppings of Ale; your Lust makes your Soul Bawd to your Body, and those that assist you in this Nature the nearest to it; your tragical Parts oblige the World to esteem you as an excellent Critick, far exceeding *Scaliger*¹⁹ or *Vossius*,²⁰ when they read those Fragments and *Desunt multa's*²¹ of yours, collected

¹⁷ pillage] pil[?]age HUE

¹⁸ Forgiveness] Forgivness HUE

¹⁹ According to the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, *Cambridge Histories Online*, and *A History of Classical Scholarship: Volume II*, Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540-1609) was a literary critic and the founder of historical criticism. As a noted scholar and religious leader, Scaliger wrote about his travels and was known for expanding classical history to include Parisian, Babylonian, and Jewish histories in his translated work *De Emendatione Temporum* (1583).

from the Relicks of Executed Persons, and hang up at the Brokers Shops in *Monmouth Street* and *Chick-Lane*; by your notorious Trade, you may think you have some Affinity to the *Heralds*, in making Blots for their Escutchions; and tho' by ill Fortune you are arriv'd to the Indignity of being Finisher of the Law, and are not so modest as to be abash'd when applauded, Reverence incites me to say, All good Qualities are below you; and the greatest Misfortune that attends your Employment, is, that tho' you are willing to pay your Debts by working them out, yet no Body gives you Credit. O! With what an inveterate Spleen I beheld your rascally Phiz,²² when you made the *Burnt-Offering*²³ before me in Three most noted Places of our famous *Metropolis*; but yet, with Submission, satisfy'd, that by the Verdict of my Country, the Law could so far reach my misfortunate Crime, as to doom Prophaneness to be publicly destroy'd by Prophaneness it self; for I cannot look upon your Affection for Religion to be any more zealous than a *Pot-Poet's* sitting in a *Bawdy-House*, to write GOD's *Judgments*. So not to please your Impatience, hoping these first Fruits of my Labour may find your unkind Acceptance, which will make me as proud as a Town Miss in a Velvit²⁴ Hood without a Smock; and wishing the greatest Poverty and Adversity, with all the Plagues of *Pandora's* Box, may be your Reward on this side Heaven; I rest your Betters;

Tuus Inimicus.

²⁰ According to the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Isaac Vossius (1618-1689) was a writer and literary critic from the Netherlands. As manuscript collector and librarian for Sweden's Queen Christina, some of the manuscripts he collected are assumed to be Prague war booty. Notable Vossius works include *De Poematum Cantu et Viribus Rhythmi* (1673), *Variarum Observationum Liber* (1685), and *A Treatise Concerning the motion of the Seas and Winds*—translated in 1677 into French and English for public use. Based upon the context in which it appears, the reference to Vossius and Scaliger as classical authors and literary critics of the period was likely intended as a derogatory allusion against Richard P---ce.

²¹ Latin: "lacks much." The phrase translates to "many things are lacking" (UMASS.edu).

²² "A face or facial expression; countenance" (*OED*).

²³ This line-end hyphenation as included in the original text is problematic, in that these words generally would not be hyphenated; thus, there is a question as to whether this was an intended compositor choice, or simply an error.

²⁴ Velvit: velvet (*OED*).

hell upon Earth, &c.

IT being my ill Fate to be born under one of those unlucky Planets, who kick such that are Vassals to their domineering Influence, for Pastime, to please that unlucky Whore *Fortune*, when she is so spiteful as to make her Bully *Inconstancy*, trip up unfortunate Peoples Heels; I must needs be one of those insipid Cullies that could not escape her intangling Snares, but must inevitably bring my self into a *Premunire*,²⁵ by my damn'd confounded meddling with *Pen, Ink, and Paper*; which in several Respects, has destroy'd more Men, than the Mischievious *Monk's* inventing of Gun-powder.

But not to tire my Reader with too tedious a Preamble; he must know my unlucky *Genius* provoked (not unjustly) one of the Reverend Seniors of honourable *Augusta*,²⁶ to send me, at the very first Examination, to *Whittington's* Colledge; To which noble Foundation I was no sooner arrived, being attended by one of those Officers, who often ventures to keep the Peace whole, by having his Head broke, but I was as curious of seeing the several Apartments thereof, as a fellow, that is troubled with the *Spanish Rage of Jealousie*,²⁷ is to know whether he's a Cuckold or not. Indeed, I must needs own, it is a very strong Mansion, but yet as strong as it is, dangerous Persons would make shift to go the way out they came not in, was it not for some convicted Wretches squeaking upon them, in hopes of being put into a free Pardon, whenever regal Mercy is graciously pleased to grant Malefactors that wish'd for Favour; which makes those that receive

²⁵ *Premunire*: Originally, an offence for a person who failed to recognize the religious authority of the monarch and its punishment, the forfeiture of all property. In this context, "A situation or condition resembling in some way that of a person who has incurred a *praemunire*; a difficulty, predicament" (*OED*).

²⁶ *Augusta*, the feminine form of *Augustus*, may refer to Queen Anne (1665-1714), whose magistrates would have been responsible for sending the author to Newgate (*Encyclopedia Britannica*). Since the passage implies either a religious or legal enforcement entity, the Queen Anne reference fits contextually. Further, the name *Augusta* was also used during the early-eighteenth century to denote a great city, referencing London (*D'Avenant*).

²⁷ May refer to the ballad "The Spanish Virgin, or Effects of Jealousy" that appeared in the folio collection of tragic ballads entitled "The Theatre of God's Judgments, by Dr. Beard and Dr. Taylor," published in 1642. The ballad tells the cautionary tale of Isabella, a woman brought to her demise by her jealousy (*Reliques*).

the benefit thereof, as joyful as an open'd Window in the Dusk of the Evening does those narrow
Soul Rascals that go on the *Hoist*.²⁸

²⁸ "Housebreaking, shoplifting. *Criminals' slang*" (*OED*).

MEMOIRS

Of the Right Villainous

John Hall,

The Late Famous and Notorious

ROBBER.

Penn'd from his own Mouth sometime before his DEATH.

Containing the Exact Life and Character of a Thief in general. As also a lively Representation of Newgate, and its Inhabitants, with the Manners and Customs observed there. The Nature and Means by which they commit their several Thefts and Robberies, and the distinctions observed in their respective Functions.

To which is added, the Cant generally us'd by those Sort of Creatures²⁹ to conceal their Villainies; and Rules to avoid being Defrauded³⁰ or Cheated by them,

Truly³¹ set forth for the Good of the Publick, at the Instance of many Honest People. Containing more than any Book of this kind, that was ever Printed.

The Fourth Edition, with large Additions, and a Description of *Ludgate*,³² the *Compters*,³³ and other Prisons for Debt.

LONDON:

Printed for *F. Baker*, at the *Black-Boy*, in *Pater-noster-Row*. 1714. Price 6 *d.*³⁴

²⁹ Creatures] MJH 1714; People MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h

³⁰ Defrauded] MJH 1714; Robb'd MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h

³¹ Truly] MJH 1714; Usefully MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h

³² Ludgate's function as a debtor's prison was established in 1585. Its prisoners were referred to as Ludgatians, which later became a slang term for debtors. The name Ludgate is a derivative of "lud geat," referring to a city's back gate (*OED*). Ludgate prisoner Marmaduke Johnson asserts the facility was built and named for King Lud in 66 B.C.; however, Walter Thornbury clarifies the prison's original name as "Flood- or Fleet-gate" during Lud's rule.

³³ Compter was the name of several small prisons in London, Southwark, and Exeter. These facilities housed prisoners convicted of civil offences, including unpaid debts, with each administered by a sheriff. According to *Compter's Common-wealth*, written by William Fennor, "compter" is an old spelling for "counter" (*OED*).

1 THE
2 PREFACE
3 TO THE
4 READER.

5 *IF a Name, (as the Time goes) has that general Influence on the Opinion of the World, to raise their Expectations of something Valuable, the following Sheets have a very promising Foundation, since they are built upon the Merit of a Person (in this Way) that has outdone the Age he lived in, and has left his Memory in great Reputation for the Excellency³⁵ of his Talent, and necessary to be handed down to Posterity, both for the Usefulness of the Subject, and the Size of his Personal Endowments. There is doubtless as much Skill in pourtraying a Dunghil, as in describing the finest Palace, since the Excellence of Things lyes³⁶ in the Performance; and Art as well as Nature must have some extra-ordinary Shape or Quality, if it come up to the Pitch of Humane³⁷ Fancy, especially to please this fickle and uncertain Age. By the same Rule a Monster has³⁸ the Ascendant of all its Fellow Creatures; for whoever gave a Groat to see the most Beautiful Woman in the World, (that is, upon the meer Condition of obliging that Sense alone,) or any other Creature, tho' of never so regular or commendable³⁹ a Proportion? Yet had they been produced with Two Heads, Four Legs, or reduc'd⁴⁰ into Monsters, like the*

³⁴ Printed for *F. Baker*, at the *Black-Boy*, in *Pater-noster-Row*. 1714. Price 6 *d.*] MJH 1714; Printed, and Sold by *Ben. Bragg*, at the *Raven* in *Pater-Noster-Row*, 1708 MJH 1708b; Printed by *H. Hills*, in *Black[-]fryars*, near the Water-side. 1708. MJH 1708h.

³⁵ Excellency] MJH 1714; Excellence MJH 1708b; Excellent MJH 1708h

³⁶ There is a possible wordplay associated with “lyes” (to consist in; have its ground or basis in) and “lies” (to tell a lie; utter falsehood), both in this instance and at other points in the text; however, this does not seem to apply to the use of “lies” in 5.21 (*OED*).

³⁷ Humane] MJH 1714, MJH 1708h; Human MJH 1708b

³⁸ Monster has] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h; ~, as MJH 1714

³⁹ commendable] MJH 1714; comely MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h

⁴⁰ reduc'd] MJH 1714; grown MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h

Lincolnshire⁴¹ Ox, or a Dutch Burgo-master's⁴² Wife, they would have been every Body's Ready Money. 'Tis the same with us,⁴³ Vice and Virtue make the Auction, where that which is scarcest and extraordinary⁴⁴ in its kind generally fetches the best Price; only the latter may be said to have the Preeminence of being put up first. For Example, ask Shelton⁴⁵ which is most apt to stick upon his Hands; Sodom,⁴⁶ with a Title Page, or some Misterious Piece of Divinity that wants his incomparable Orthodox to shove it off. Not to draw it into Comparison with other Volumes of the same Title: Let us only say, that if Instruction or⁴⁷ Diversion (as I apprehend no other) are⁴⁸ the chief Ends of Writing, it has modestly a Title to the Press, or else that Naturalist lies that says, There is Poison to be suck'd out of Roses, and consequently Honey out of Poison. There is another Thing to acquaint the Reader, something surprising too, that the Author could neither Write nor Read; yet if we consider how many Authors can but just do't, 'tis easie to conclude that is no such material Point; 'tis only a necessary Perquisite, like a Cobler's Awl, or a Taylor's Thimble, or any other Thing which in Case of Necessity may be dispenced withal; for an Idiot may be taught by Custom to Write and Read; yet no Men can be taught a Genius. And tho' it seems a plain Paradox to say, A Man may Write without being able to Write at all; 'tis certain that a good natural Wit will go a great Way, let the Goose-quil be put into whose Hands it will; 'tis no otherways than saying that it requires more a good Head to make a Secretary than

⁴¹ Lincolnshire is a county on the east coast of England.

⁴² "The chief magistrate of a Dutch or Flemish town, nearly corresponding to the *mayor* in England. Often used loosely for any member of the governing body of a foreign municipality" (*OED*).

⁴³ us,] MJH 1714; Books, MJH 1708b; Books; MJH 1708h

⁴⁴ extraordinary] MJH 1714; most ~ MJH 1708b; most extraordinary MJH 1708h

⁴⁵ According to the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, there was a Shelton family in the 16th-17th centuries known both for their tremendous wealth and for speculation that their holdings were sometimes acquired via less-than-legal means. Of these, Sir Richard Shelton (1578-1647) was a lawyer and politician, and Thomas Shelton (1600-1650) was a stenographer credited for creating an innovative shorthand system. There is another Thomas Shelton (1598-1629), an Irishman from a different family, who worked as a translator. However, there is no way to state with certainty the intended allusion, or that any of these are the man referenced in the text.

⁴⁶ In addition to the Biblical reference, Sodom is used to denote any "extremely wicked or corrupt place" (*OED*).

⁴⁷ or] MJH 1714; and MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h

⁴⁸ are] MJH 1714; be MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h

a good Hand; and we may at least challenge that Rule, when there are so many great Clerks that are feign⁴⁹ to carry Brains for their Masters. 'Tis enough that the Life and Soul of what is Writ here was the Essence and Product of Mr. Hall's Active Genius, however it has been subject to Decorum since; and being fit for the Press, and adjudged a very useful (as well as a diverting) Subject, it is now set forth under the Laudable Title of his Memoirs.⁵⁰

6 *To which in this Edition⁵¹ is added a Description of the Compters,⁵² and other Prisons for Debt; with the Characters of the Prisoners therein Entomb'd alive, and the more wretched Jewish Creditors that keep them there.*

⁴⁹ feign] MJH 1714; fain MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h. Since “feign” (to assert or maintain fictitiously; to make a show of, put on an appearance of, put on, pretend, simulate, sham; to be reluctant or afraid to do something) and “fain” (glad, rejoiced, well-pleased) are homophones, the variance between textual witnesses leaves ambiguous the author's intention (*OED*).

⁵⁰ Memoirs.] MJH 1714, MJH 1708b; Memories^ MJH 1708h

⁵¹ Edition] MJH 1714, MJH 1708b; Addition MJH 1708h

⁵² Compters] MJH 1714, MJH 1708b; compters MJH 1708h. See footnote 33.

7 MEMOIRS

8 Of the Right Villainous

9 John Hall, &c.⁵³

10 I Hope the World will no more expect Wit from me, than I did Mercy, when I languished under the Fatal Circumstances These were Penn'd in. Had I had more Time I would have endeavoured to have been more Copious, and set the Matters herein contained in a nearer Light; but as they are I hope they will atone for some Part of my Offences, by being made Serviceable to the Publick. To begin the History of my own Life would be but the least part of the Design; and the World may hear enough of that elsewhere; mine at this Time is to expatiate a little upon the Art of Thieving in general, and therein illustrate some Things that may be both diverting and useful to others, who will give themselves the Curiosity to peruse it.

11 Tho' I had so little Learning myself, as to be incapable of performing this Work without Help, yet I may without Vanity affirm I had a Genius as well as a Desire of going through it. I knew my Actions had been out of the common Road of my Profession, and that I had raised my Fame above a vulgar Pitch, and was therefore willing, as an Argument of my complying with Justice, to leave my Memory recorded for an Act of Oblation,⁵⁴ such as doing Service to *God* and my *Countrey*, by whom I was Try'd and Condemn'd; for we never take it into Consideration till that is over, and then suppose it Time enough to be serious; but not to begin where I should end, take first a Character of the Merry Transitory Life of a Thief in general.

12 He is generally Born of *Good* and *Honest* Parents, who gave him Pious and Wholesome Education, (tho' I can't say they brought him up to better Purpose,) and designed him for

⁵³ &c] MJH 1714; & c MJH 1708h; The Late Famous and Notorious/ROBBER MJH 1708b

⁵⁴ The offering of a gift as a token of respect, usually used with religious connotations (*OED*).

something extraordinary, (as indeed it often happens,) if he had not taken ill Courses; but being trained up very Idlely and Heathenishly, and being indulged in Stubbornness and Disobedience, as the Joy and Darling of his Doating Parents, he begins first with the little Sins that Youth is capable of committing, (which is Lying and Pilfering,) and for fear the poor Child should be daunted by Correction in some little witty Tricks of his, very pleasing in their Eyes, e'en let him go on, to improve himself in his dear⁵⁵ pretty Actions, till he takes the Talent as Naturally as he did the Breast, and finds it as difficult to be wean'd from it; this is the first Step to the Gallows, which in Time claims its due. With these Qualifications the Child launches out into the World, but finding the difference between the Natural Indulgence and Liberty at home, and the Restraint and Severity abroad, it makes him weary of his Condition, and therefore (if an Apprentice⁵⁶) he runs away from his Master, and when Necessity (which makes more Rogues than Inclination) presses him, he has a Trade in his Belly, and begins to put in Practice what before he had only the Theorick of. It is some Time before he arrives at any tolerable Perfection; and he is never thought worthy of being Incorporated into a Gang till he has done some responsible Piece of Villany to deserve it; and not then without passing Examination before the most Celebrated of his Companions, and conforming to the necessary Rules of their Dextrous Commonwealth, for which the having been twice in *Newgate* is the⁵⁷ main Qualification: And now being made a compleat Master of his Trade, he may live on any Ground in *England*: His Life has generally the most Mirth and the least Care in it of any Man's Breathing, and all he deals for is clear Profit: He has that Point of good Conscience, that he always sells as he buys, a good Penyworth, which is something rare, since he Trades with so small a Stock. The *Fence* and he, are like the Devil and

⁵⁵ dear] MJH 1714, MJH 1708h; clear MJH 1708b

⁵⁶ an Apprentice] MJH 1714; a Prentice MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h

⁵⁷ the] MJH 1714; a MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h

the Doctor,⁵⁸ they live by one another, and, like Traitors, 'tis best to keep each other's counsel; he has this Point of Honesty, that he never robs the House he frequents, and perhaps pays the Debts better than some others; for he holds it below the Dignity of his Employment to commit so Un-genteel a Crime, and loves to pay Nobly. He has another Quality not much amiss, that he never takes more than he has occasion for, which he verifies this Way, he comes no more while that lasts. He is a less Nuisance in a Commonwealth than a Miser, because the Money he ingrosses by his Villany all circulate again, which the other hoards as tho' 'twere only to be found again at the Day of Judgment. He is the Tythe-Pig of his Family, which the Gallows instead of the Parson claims its due. He has Reason enough to be bold in his Undertaking; for tho' all the World threaten him, he stands in fear of but one Man in it, and that's the Hangman, and with him too he is generally in Fee; however, I cannot affirm he is so valiant that he dares look any Man in the Face, for in that Point he is now and then a little Modest. *Newgate* may be said to be his Countrey-house, where he frequently lives so many Months in the Year; and he is not much concerned to be carried thither for a small Matter, if 'twere only for the Benefit of renewing his Acquaintance there. He holds a *Petit Larceny*⁵⁹ as Light as a Nun does Auricular Penance,⁶⁰ tho' the Priest has a more compassionate Character than the Hangman. Friendship is a Vertue oftner found among Thieves than other People; for when their Companions are in Danger they venture hardest to relieve them; and by a certain Compact, which needs no renewing, take care that they don't want a suitable Subsistence while they are under Durance, and thereby

⁵⁸ According to *Early English Books Online*, the phrase "devil and the doctor" appears in *The Evil Spirit Cast Out*, printed by E. Golding. The work discusses how an evil spirit is cast out of a woman by a local doctor and parish priest by using local herbs and prayer. Essentially, the phrase references how the devil and the doctor are locked in a battle over the soul of a woman. As related to this text, there are multiple potential allusions which would have been understood by early-eighteenth century readers: one possibility suggests the antagonistic, yet codependent, relationship between the criminal and his "fence"--a term defined in MJH/HUE as "one that buys stoln goods."

⁵⁹ All manners of theft, including robbery and shoplifting. As officially noted in 1729, Petty Larceny denoted thefts valued at less than 12 pence, whereas Grand Larceny denoted thefts valued at more than 12 pence (*OED*).

⁶⁰ Generally speaking, penance is a confession privately given to a Catholic priest, as part of an adherent's religious duty. As related to this text, the phrase may be intended as an anti-Catholic slur (*EEBO*; *OED*).

incapable of helping themselves; and this the rather, because their own Turn seems to be next, according to the Vicissitude of Things built upon so dangerous and fickle a Foundation. Every Man in this Community is esteemed according to his particular Quality, of which there are several Degrees; tho' it is contrary often to Publick Governments, for here a Man shall be valued purely⁶¹ for his Merit, and rise by it too, tho' it be but to a Halter; in which there is a great deal of Glory in dying like a Heroe, and making a Decent Figure in the Cart to the Tune of the Two last Staves of the 51st *Psalm*.⁶² They have their⁶³ Classes too, and a Pick-pocket is no more a Companion for a Reputable House-breaker, than an Informer is for a Justice of Peace, or a Player for a Man⁶⁴ of the first Quality. And since I have now begun with their several Qualities, I shall shew them by their distinct Titles.

13 *An Interpretation of*⁶⁵ *the several Qualities of Rogues.*

14 *Hoisters*, such as help one another upon their Backs in the Night-time to get⁶⁶ into Windows.

15 *Sneakers*, Such as Sneak into a House by Night or Day to Steal.

16 *Sneaking-Budgers*, Such as pilfer Things off⁶⁷ of a Stall.

17 *Tail-Drawers*, Such as take Gentlemens Swords from their Sides at the turning of a Corner, or in a Crowd.

18 *Clouters*, Such as take Handkerchiefs out of Folks Pockets.

19 *Files*, Such as dive into Folks Pockets for Money or Watches.

⁶¹ purely] MJH 1714, MJH 1708h; entirely MJH 1708b

⁶² According to the 1611 edition of the King James Bible, Psalm 51:18-19 reads as follows: "Do good in thy good pleasure unto Zion: build thou the walls of Jerusalem. Then shalt thou be pleased with the sacrifices of righteousness, with burnt offering and whole burnt offering: then shall they offer bullocks upon thine altar."

⁶³ their] MJH 1714; there several MJH 1708b; ~ several MJH 1708h

⁶⁴ The term player is another word for an actor--a profession considered disreputable in the eighteenth century. Plays of the period relate the two terms, noting how players have the ability to manipulate others: "The man disturb'd within, is but a player; / May act abroad, perhaps, some Hero's part, / But sinks at home, a low, uneasy slave" (Sheffield 217); and "What she means to go off with her lover, the player man, / I suppose, but I'll watch her and her consols too, / and if I catch him in my house, it shall be his last appearance this season!" (Bickerstaff 23).

⁶⁵ 13.1 [An Interpretation of](#)] See Appendix A

⁶⁶ get] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; go MJH 1708b

⁶⁷ off] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; out MJH 1708b

- 20 *Dubbers*, Such as rob Dwelling-houses, Ware-houses, Coach-houses or Stables, by
picking the Locks thereof.
- 21 *Chieving-Layers*, Such as cut the Leathers which bears up Coaches behind, and whilst the
Coachmen come off their Boxes to see what's the Matter, they take a Box or Trunk from under
his Seat.
- 22 *Waggon-Layers*, Such as wait just out of Town for Waggon coming in or going out of
Town in a Dark Morning, to take Boxes, or any Portable Bundles, out of them.
- 23 *Prad-Layers*, Such as cut Bags from behind Horses as People ride along in the Dark.
- 24 *Horse-Pads*, Such as rob in the Highway on Horseback.
- 25 *Foot-Pads*, Such as rob Foot-Passengers.
- 26 *Mill-Layers*, Such as break into Houses, by forcing Doors or Shutters open with Betties⁶⁸
or Chizels.
- 27 *Till-Divers*, Such as go into Shops with pretence to buy something, and with several
Excuses of seeing this Thing and that Thing, to make the Shopkeeper turn his Back often, they
put a small Whalebone,⁶⁹ daub'd at the End with Bird-lime,⁷⁰ into the Till of the Counter, and
draw up the Money; but this Employment is now grown something out of Date.
- 28 *Running-Smoblors*, Such as go into a Shop in the Night, where People are busie in the
Back-room, or elsewhere, and snatching something that's nearest them, they run away with it.
- 29 *Fam-Layers*, Such as go into Goldsmiths' Shops, with pretense to buy a Ring, and several
being laid upon the Counter, they Palm One or Two by means of a little Ale held in a Spoon over
the Fire, with which the Palm being daub'd, any Light Thing sticks to it.

⁶⁸ Short bar of iron used by burglars as a lever to force open doors (*OED*).

⁶⁹ Whalebone, or baleen, refers to the pliable bones of the whale used for a variety of ornamental and practical purposes, including corset stays, spectacles, and carriage springs (Stevenson).

⁷⁰ A glutinous substance spread upon twigs, by which birds may be caught and held fast (*OED*).

30 *Faggot and Stall*, Such as break into Peoples Houses, and taking away what they please,
gag all therein.

31 *Impudent Stealers*, Such as cut out the Backs of Coaches, and take Things out of them.

32 *Sweetners*, Such as drop Money before People, and taking out of Sight, inveigle⁷¹ a Man
(after a hot Dispute with some of their Accomplices, who earnestly claim halves of what they
find) into a Tavern they⁷² use, where they draw him into *Cards, Dice, or Buckle and Thong*,
which they planted in some visible Place, and win all his Money: These sort of Vermine likewise
go about the Countrey to cheat People of their Money by the *Legerdemain*⁷³ Slight of *Cups* and
Ball, and *Luck in a Bag*;⁷⁴ this is a Function too that has not flourished since the late Act for
Vagabonds.

33 *Night-Gamesters*, Such as rob Parks a Nights for Venison, which proves to be *Dear* if
they are taken.

34 But of all these Housebreakers under Three Denominations, *viz. Hoister, Dubber, and*
Mill-Layer, is the most Famous and Heroick Employment of ‘em all, and in one Time exceeds
that of the Highway.

35 Some are Ingenious at the *Lob*, which is going into a Shop to have a Guinea⁷⁵ or a
Pistole⁷⁶ changed, and the Change being given, the Bringer Palms Two or Three Shillings,⁷⁷ and
then says there wants so much, which the Shop-keeper telling over again, says ‘tis true, and very
innocently makes up the Sum.

⁷¹ “To gain over or take captive by deceitful allurement” (*OED*).

⁷² they] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ye MJH 1708b

⁷³ Sleight of hand; the performance of tricks, which by nimble action deceive the eye” (*OED*).

⁷⁴ A name for some swindling contrivance resembling a Lucky-Bag, a game by which players pay a fee and attempt to draw an article of greater value from a bag; however, the prizes were few (*OED*).

⁷⁵ English coin minted between 1663-1813 valued at 20 shillings(*OED*).

⁷⁶ Originally a Spanish gold coin, but the term came to be used in the 17th and 18th centuries to refer to any coin of a similar style. The English version of the coin was valued at a little less than 18 shillings (*OED*).

⁷⁷ Monetary unit equal to 1/20 of one pound sterling; also, the coin of that value (*OED*).

36 As for the⁷⁸ Female Proficients they consist chiefly in these.

37 *Shop-lifting*, Which almost every Body understands.

38 *Buttock* and *Twang*, Which is walking to be pick'd up, and frightening him that does it with her pretended Husband, after she has pick'd his Pocket, so that the Fool runs gladly away without his Watch or Money.

39 *Buttock* and *File*, Which is the same with the other; only this is the better-natur'd Beast of the Two, and performs her Stage before she takes her Wages, which may be some Satisfaction to the Ass she carries.

40 There are also Setters of both Sexes, that make it their Business to go about upon Information, to pry into the Disposition and Avenues of Houses, and bring notice of the Booty, of which they have a share when the Robbery is perform'd, and are generally us'd as Scouts in the Time of Action.

41 Having thus briefly⁷⁹ run thro' their several Functions, I come now to give a Description of that Famous Colledge they usually take their Degrees in, to wit *Newgate*. This Ancient Structure was Founded and Endowed by the Famous *Whittington*;⁸⁰ and as the Design was good, it cannot be said that it has not brought up many to Preferment, in which there are as many Orders to pass thro' as at any other of our Learned Universities. He that has been once at the Bar may be said to commence Batchelor, Twice at the Cart's Arse makes him Master of Arts, Three Times the Jugler's Box makes him at least Fellow of a Colledge; but to have been once under the

⁷⁸ [36.1 As for the](#)] See Appendix A

⁷⁹ 41.1 Having thus briefly] See the last paragraph of the HUE Preface for a variant of this paragraph

⁸⁰ See footnote 16

Ordinary's⁸¹ Tuition, the very Merits of a Condemn'd Sermon Institutes him Head of his Order, be it in what respective Function it will. But to return.

42 *Newgate*, So call'd,⁸² is divided into Three Parts, (*viz.*) the *Press-Yard*, *Master-side*, and *Common-side*, of which the First has the Pre-eminence. They who have the Honour to be sent thither, may in some Measure fancy themselves going into Paradise, *for narrow is the Way that leads to't*.⁸³ The Rooms according to the Modern Calculation are very Commodiously furnish'd. Those that have experienc'd it are the best Judges, and yet those who have not may give a near guess by the Price; a Man may have a Palace, and all its Apurtenances, elsewhere at an easier Rent than one individual Mansion here to swing a Cat in; but this is peculiar to Places of great Concourse and Trade.⁸⁴ The Windows of these Apartments for Decency and Humane Distinction are generally glaz'd, yet are inwardly so well fortifi'd by *Vulcan's*⁸⁵ Craft, that there is hardly any Danger of tumbling out at the Casements, when the Students either too deeply Elevated by Domestick *Nantz*,⁸⁶ or liable to Melancholly Suggestion in their Retirement. The Air they enjoy here is in a Yard that scarce out-measure a Taylor's Ell,⁸⁷ and reasonably not above the breadth of a concise Bill in *Chancery*;⁸⁸ yet here they find Room to measure out the Day, which they may do by Tale, so many Steps to an Hour. The Sun appears to them in Perspective, and is visible in this World no Time but just in its Meridian, which Transitory Hour they set apart to worship it, and then take their Sorrowful Leave of till the next Day; for as to the Rising and

⁸¹ Ordinary: The chaplain of Newgate prison. It was his duty to provide spiritual care to prisoners who were condemned to death. He also held the right to publish an account of the prisoner's last dying speeches and behaviour on the scaffold, together with stories of their lives and crimes. This was a profitable business for the Ordinary, earning him up to £200 a year in the early eighteenth century (Emsley, Hitchcock and Shoemaker, "The Proceedings - Ordinary of Newgate's Accounts").

⁸² [42.1 Newgate, So call'd](#)] See Appendix A

⁸³ Matthew 7:14 (*The King James Bible*).

⁸⁴ The price of a space in the Press-Yard was ten shillings per week plus twelve pence to pay for cleaning. Comparatively, lodging in the Master-Side cost an additional eighteen pence per diem (*History of the Press-Yard*).

⁸⁵ In Roman mythology, the god of fire and of metalworking (*OED*).

⁸⁶ "A brandy or a white wine produced in the Nantes region of France" (*OED*).

⁸⁷ "A measurement of length varying in different countries, but in England equal to 45 inches" (*OED*).

⁸⁸ "The highest court of judicature next to the House of Lords" (*OED*).

Setting of it they are utter Strangers, as the People *Strabo* mentions to have liv'd so many Miles under Ground:⁸⁹ Yet One Thing I must say, as much as they want Conveniency of fresh Air, it infallibly brings a Man to his Stomach in a very little Time after he has been there. Here are to be seen the Miserable Wrecks of several unfortunate Gentlemen, the Rocks they split on being generally *Treason, Murder, Rape, Scandal, Debt*; and some voluntary decay'd *Bankrupts*, that mistook the late Act, promiscuously jumbled together. One Thing however in their Condition is to be admir'd, that in the deepest of their Persecution they cannot chuse but prove good Christians, in that they are a kind of Martyrs, and suffer purely for the Truth. They are happy in One Thing more, that they are intitled to a Tenement which no Body will go about to take over their Heads: Their Acquaintance that visit them have this singular Convenience, that they may find them any Hour in the Day, for they are as fast Friends as any in *England*.

43 Now as concerning the Humours of the *Master-side*, when a Scholar in Iniquity comes there by Virtue of a *Mittimus*,⁹⁰ he is delivered up to the Paws of the Wolves, lurking continually in the *Lodge*⁹¹ for a Prey; where as soon as he's adorn'd with a Pair of Iron Boots,⁹² and from thence conducted (provided he has *Gilt*⁹³) over the Way to Hell, for really no Place has a nearer Resemblance of that Eternal Receptacle of Punishment than the *Master-side*; for the *Cellar* (where poor relentless Sinners are guzzelling in the midst of *Debauchery*, and New-invented Oaths, which rumble like Thunder through their filthy Throats) is a lamentable Den of Horror

⁸⁹ Strabo was a Greek geographer, philosopher, and historian who lived from 63 BC-24 AD (*Encyclopædia Britannica*). In Strabo's text, *Geographical Sketches*, he discusses the Cimmericians (see also Footnote 96) in Book V, Chapter IV, a race of people believed to live underground in perpetual darkness (Strabo).

⁹⁰ "A warrant issued to commit a person to custody" (*OED*).

⁹¹ "A place of confinement; a cell, prison" (*OED*). In this case a reference to Newgate's entry Lodge, to "which all Prisoners are first brought (and generally there Fetter'd, if their Cause of Imprisonment requires it) and from thence disposed to such Prisons [i.e. cells] as their Warrants Direct" (Langley 3).

⁹² An instrument of torture derived from Scotland to extort confessions from prisoners. The phrase also appears in Gilbert Burnet's (1643-1715) book *Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time* published posthumously in 1724 (*OED*).

⁹³ Gold or money. A second meaning, a skeleton key, is recorded Richard Head's (?1637-?1686) book *The Canting Academy, or, The Devils Cabinet Opened* published in 1673 (*OED*).

and Darkness, there being no Light but what they procure from the Help of one of that Greasie Company, whose Mystery is, by a Subtle *Metamorphosis*, to turn Night into Day with what they get from *Butcher* and *Kitchen-Wenches* industrious Savings.⁹⁴ In this *Boozing-Ken* (where more than *Cimmerian*⁹⁵ Darkness dissipates its horrible Gloom) the Students, instead of holding Disputes in *Philosophy* and *Mathematicks*, run altogether upon *Law*; for such as are committed for House-breaking swear stoutly they cann't be cast for *Burglary*, because the Fact was done in the Day-time; such as are committed for stealing a Horse-cloth, or Coachman's Cloak, swear they cann't be cast for *Felony* and *Robbery*, because the Coach was standing still, not stopp'd; and such as steal before a Man's Face swear they value not their Adversary, because they are out of the Reach of the New *Act* against *Private Stealing*.⁹⁶ Thus with an unparallel'd Impudence every brazen fac'd Malefactor is harden'd in his Sin, because the *Law* cann't touch his Life. But when Night has spun her Darkness to the length of Nine a Clock, then they are hurry'd up before their Drivers (like so many Turkish Slaves) to their Kennels, which are join'd like so many Huts, as tho' they took their Order from Martial Discipline: And as in all Places of Disorder and Confusion all Things go by Contraries, so here instead of the Men lying over the Women, the Women lye over the Men, in whose several Apartments both Male and Female are confin'd till they distil a little Oil of *Argentum*⁹⁷ for the Favour of going into the *Cellar*, to spend their ill-got

⁹⁴ Reference to grease or tallow (animal fat) candles commonly used as affordable alternative to beeswax (*OED*).

⁹⁵ In the *Odyssey*, Homer refers to the Cimmerians as people who dwell in eternal darkness (*OED*).

⁹⁶ Private stealing refers to a theft of which the victim is unaware until after the act is committed, as opposed to a theft occurring during a confrontation between criminal and victim. The reference here to the "New Act of Private Stealing" likely refers to one of two Acts of Parliament. The first could be a law passed in 1698 designed "for the better apprehending prosecuting and punishing of Felons that commit Burglary Housebreaking or Robbery in Shops Ware-houses Coach-houses or Stables or that steal Horses." The language of the Act indicates that such crimes had been "of late Yeares much increased to the great Detriment and unspeakable Loss of many of Your Majesties good Subjects" (*Statutes of the Realm*). It is possible the reference could instead denote "The Shoplifting Act" of 1699, which made the offense of "privately stealing" goods worth five or more shillings from retail premises a capital offence, further reflecting the concern at the growth in retail theft in the metropolitan area, at a time when shops had replaced peddlers and open markets for the sale of durables and semi-durables, such as cloth and clothes (Durston).

⁹⁷ "Having silver as a component" (*OED*). In context, this phrase means when prisoners were able to obtain money.

Coin with speed, to make the Old Proverb good, *Lightly come, Lightly go*;⁹⁸ or rather, *What's got over the Devil's Back is spent under his Belly*.⁹⁹

44 You are now¹⁰⁰ to take Notice, that as at First there was but One Language, till *Nimrod* projected the Tower of *Babel*,¹⁰¹ when the Earth was divided into Seventy-two Languages, to confound the Workmen; so now through the increase of Sin another Tongue is sprung up among us, as you may see by the following Alphabet, collected from the Knowledge of the chief Professors of the Canting Tongue,¹⁰² by which they express their Mind very significantly to one another, to the Prejudice very often of those they design to Injure.

45 *The Canter's Expositor.*

46 *ARD, Hot.*

47 *Band-Log, a Band-box.*¹⁰³

48 *Belly-Chit, an Apron.*

49 *Bien, Good.*

50 *Black-Arse, a Copper or Kettle.*

51 *Blater, a Calf.*

52 *Blunt, Money.*

53 *Booze, Drink.*

54 *Boozing-Ken, an Ale-house.*

55 *Buffer, a Dog.*

⁹⁸ English proverb also phrased “easy come, easy go” (*Oxford Dictionary of Proverbs*).

⁹⁹ English proverb meaning that which is improperly obtained is recklessly spent. The phrase also appears in John Ray's (1627-1705) collection *English Proverbs* published in 1670 (*Oxford Dictionary of Proverbs*).

¹⁰⁰ [44.1 You are now](#) | See Appendix A

¹⁰¹ Genesis 11: 1-9 (*The King James Bible*).

¹⁰² Those fluent in the slang of the criminal world. “Cant” means slang (*OED*).

¹⁰³ Box of thin cardboard used to hold millinery accessories” (*OED*).

- 56 *Bull's-Eye*, a Crown.¹⁰⁴
- 57 *Blunt*, Money.¹⁰⁵
- 58 *Cackler's-Ken*, a Henroost.
- 59 *Case*, a Bawdy-house.¹⁰⁶
- 60 *Casum*, Cheese.
- 61 *Chieve*, Knife.
- 62 *Clout*, a Handkerchief.
- 63 *Cly*, a Pocket.
- 64 *Countrey Harry*, a Waggoner.
- 65 *Cove*, a Man.
- 66 *Cuffin*, a Justice.
- 67 *Cute*, a Warrant,
- 68 *Darbies*, Fetters.¹⁰⁷
- 69 *Dodsey*, a Woman.
- 70 *Dose*, a Cloak.
- 71 *Dub*, a Picklock or Key.
- 72 *Duce*, Two-pence.¹⁰⁸
- 73 *Duceavil*, the Countrey.
- 74 *Dunnock*, a Cow.
- 75 *Evil*, a Halter.

¹⁰⁴ English coin valued at 5 shillings” (*OED*).

¹⁰⁵ *Blunt*, Money.] MJH 1708b; *omit* MJH 1708h, MJH 1714

¹⁰⁶ A brothel (*OED*).

¹⁰⁷ Handcuffs. The term “darbies” itself can trace its meaning to “some rigid form of bond by which a debtor was bound and put within the power of a money-lender:” It has been suggested that the term was derived from the name of some noted usurer of the 16th century (*OED*).

¹⁰⁸ Two pennies. Pence is the plural form of penny (*OED*).

- 76 *Fam*, a Ring
- 77 *Fence*, one that buys Stolen Goods.
- 78 *Flag*, a Groat.¹⁰⁹
- 79 *Fly*, a Waggon *i.e.* Countrey Cart.¹¹⁰
- 80 *Gage*, a Pot.
- 81 *Glaze*, a Window.
- 82 *Globe*, Pewter.
- 83 *Glim*, a Candle.
- 84 *Great Joseph*, a Stout Coat.
- 85 *Gruntler*, a Hog.
- 86 *Harmin*, Stocks.
- 87 *Harminbeck*, a Constable.
- 88 *Harry*, a Countrey-man.
- 89 *Havil*, a Sheep.
- 90 *Hog*, a Shilling.
- 91 *Jacob*, a Ladder.
- 92 *Jack*, a Farthing.¹¹¹
- 93 *Jig*, a Lock or Door.
- 94 *Jigger*, a Whipping-post.
- 95 *Job*, a Pound.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ An English coin, which although it had ceased being minted in 1662 remained in circulation with equivalent value to a penny (*OED*).

¹¹⁰ HUE, MJH 1708b, and MJH 1708h all have the text “Country Cant;” however, the term “Fly” was used to refer to a quick travelling carriage suggesting the 1714 reference to “Cart” as the more accurate definition (*OED*).

¹¹¹ A coin valued at a quarter of another denomination. At this time, likely referring to a copper coin valued at a quarter of one penny (*OED*).

¹¹² English denomination, at this time likely a sterling coin valued at 20 shillings (*OED*).

- 96 *Joseph*, a Close Coat.
- 97 *Juggler's Box*, the Burning Engine.
- 98 *Ken*, a House.
- 99 *Kid*, a Child.
- 100 *Kicksey*, Breeches.
- 101 *Knapper's-Poll*, a Sheep's-head.
- 102 *Lark*, a Boat.
- 103 *Lock*, vid. *Fence*.
- 104 *Make*, a Halfpeny.
- 105 *Mill*, a Chizel, or to break.
- 106 *Mish*, a Shirt.
- 107 *Moss*, Lead.
- 108 *Mud*, a Fool, or Thick-skull Fellow.
- 109 *Naskin*, a Prison.
- 110 *Nip*, to Pick.
- 111 *Nut-crackers*, the Pillory.¹¹³
- 112 *Old*, Ugly
- 113 *Nubbing-Cheat*, the Gallows.
- 114 *Pair of Wings*, Oars.
- 115 *Pan*,¹¹⁴ a Bed.
- 116 *Panum*, Bread.

¹¹³ "A device for punishment, usually consisting of a wooden framework mounted on a post, with holes or rings for trapping the head and hands, in which an offender was confined so as to be subjected to public ridicule, abuse, or assault" (*OED*).

¹¹⁴ Pad] HUE, MJH 1708b; Pan 1708h, 1714

117 *Peter*, a Trunk, Box, or Portmantle.

118 *Poll*, a Peruke.¹¹⁵

119 *Pop*, a Pistol.

120 *Prad*, a Horse.

121 *Prancer*, a good Horse.

122 *Prigg*, a Thief or Fiend.

123 *Queer*, Small, not Good.

124 *Queer Cove*, a Rogue.

125 *Quod*, a Prison.

126 *Rattler*, a Coach.

127 *Rum*, Good, or Strong.

128 *Rumvil*, London.

129 *Ruffman*, a Hedge.

130 *Scout*, a Watchman.

131 *Scrope*, vid. *Jack*.

132 *Shap*, a Hat.

133 *Skit*, to Wheedle.¹¹⁶

134 *Simon*, Six-Pence.

135 *Slat*, Half a Crown.

136 *Stampers*, Shoes.

137 *Stickhams*, Gloves.

138 *Stockdrawers*, Stockings.

¹¹⁵ A small wig to cover the skull (*OED*).

¹¹⁶ To win over by cajoling or soft flattering words (*OED*).

- 139 *Strike*, Twenty Shillings.
- 140 *Swad*, or *Swadkin*, a Soldier.
- 141 *Swag*, a Shop.
- 142 *Tatler*, a Clock or Watch.
- 143 *Thrums*, Three-pence.
- 144 *Togge*, a Coat.
- 145 *Tumbler*, a Waggon.
- 146 *Tye*, a Neckcloth.
- 147 *Vil*, a Town.
- 148 *Wedge*, Silver.
- 149 *Wind*, a Penny.
- 150 *Wipe*, a Handkerchief.
- 151 *Wit*, Newgate.
- 152 *Yellow-Boy*, a Guinea.

153 But now passing by that Part of the *Master-side*, into which Prisoners are brought upon real Suspicion of Debt, their Talk being altogether upon an *Act of Grace*, I shall proceed to the Humours¹¹⁷ of the *Common-side*: Those Scholars that come here have nothing to depend on but the Charity of the Foundation, in which Side very exact Rules are observ'd; for as soon as a Prisoner comes into the Turnkey's Hand, Three Knocks are given at the Stair-Foot, as a Signal a

¹¹⁷ Possibly invoking a pun on the term *humours* to include the variant meanings of the term: "Humour [in comedy] is defined to be a fainter or weaker Passion, peculiar to comick Characters, as being found in Persons of a lower Degree than those proper for tragedy; or it is that which is low, ridiculous, etc." and the theory of medieval humours also defined as "Humour [Medicine] the particular Temperament or Constitution of a Person, considered as arising from the Prevalence of this or that *Humour* or *Juice* of the Body; as a *choleric Humour*, a *melancholy Humour*, a *sprightly Humour*" (Bailey, *Dictionarium Britannicum*).

Collegian is coming up; which Harmony makes those *Convicts* that stand for the Garnish¹¹⁸ as joyful as One Knock, the Signal of the *Baker's* coming every Morning, does those Poor Prisoners who, for want of Friends, have nothing else to subsist on but Bread and Water: And no sooner are the Three Strokes given, but out jump Four Trunchion Officers (who only hate Religion because it condemns their Vices) from their Hovel, and with a sort of ill-mannerly Reverence receive him at the Grate; then taking him into their Apartment, a Couple of the good-natur'd Sparks hold him whilst the other Two pick his Pockets, claiming Six-Pence apiece as a Priviledge belonging to their Office; then they turn him out to the *Convicts*, who hover about him (like so many Crows about a Piece of Carrion) for *Garnish*, which is Six Shillings and Eight Pence, which they, from an Old Custom, claim by Prescription Time out of Mind for entring in the *Society*, otherwise they strip the poor Wretch if he has not wherewithal to pay it. Then *Cook Ruffian* (that scalded the Devil in his Feathers) comes to him for Three Pence for dressing the Charity-meat, which charitably disposed Persons send in every *Thursday*, whereon Earthen Dishes, Porringers,¹¹⁹ Pans, Wooden Spoons, and Cabbage-Nets, are stirring about against Dinner-time as thick as Burnt Brandy and Brimstone Possets¹²⁰ in *Lucifer's* Kitchen, whilst the swelt' red Cook sweats in Porridging the Prisoners, who stand round him like so many poor Scholars begging at the Kitchen Door for Colledge Broth; but yet the caged Person is not clear of his Dues, for next Two other Officers, who have a Patent for being *Swabbers*, demand Three Half-pence apiece more for clearing¹²¹ the Goal of its Filth,¹²² which requires the Labour of

¹¹⁸ A fee or tip new prisoners were required to pay to guards and older prisoners upon entering the prison (*The Bee Reviv'd: Or, the Prisoner's Magazine*).

¹¹⁹ A small bowl or basin, typically with a handle, used for soup, stews, or similar dishes (*OED*).

¹²⁰ A drink made of hot milk curdled with ale or wine, often sweetened or spiced (*OED*).

¹²¹ clearing] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, HUE; cleaning MJH 1714

¹²² [153.26 of its Filth.](#)] See Appendix A

Sisiphus,¹²³ and is never to be ended. Then at the Signal of the *Grey-Pease* Woman,¹²⁴ which is between Seven and Eight, he is conducted down Stairs, with an Illumination of Links, to his Lodging, and provided he has a Shilling for Civility-Money,¹²⁵ may lye in the *Middle-Ward*, which (to give the Devils their Due) is kept very neat and clean, where he pays One Shilling and Four Pence more to his Comrades, and then he is Free of the *Colledge*, and *Metriculated*.¹²⁶

154 But the *Lower-Ward*, where the tight-slovenly Dogs lye upon ragged Blankets, spread near *Sir-Reverence*,¹²⁷ one would take to be *Old Nick's* Backside,¹²⁸ where all the Damn'd go to ease their Roasted Arses; and trampling on the Floor, the Lice crackling under their Feet, make such a Noise as walking on Shells which are strew'd over Garden-walks. To this Nasty Place is adjoining the *Stone-Hold*, where *Convicts* lye till a Free Pardon grants 'em Liberty from Tribulation; but not making good Use of Mercy, come tumbling headlong in again. This low Dungeon is a real House of meagre Looks, and ill Smells; for Lice, Drink and Tobacco, is all the Compound.

155 When the Prisoners are disposed to recreate themselves with walking, they go up into a spacious Room, call'd the *High-Hall*, where when you see them taking a Turn together, it would puzzle one to know which is the Gentleman, which the Mechanick, and which the Beggar, for they are all suited in the same Form or Kind of Nasty Poverty, which is a Spectacle of more Pity than Executions; only to be out at the Elbows is in Fashion here, and a great *Indecorum* not to be

¹²³ *Sisiphus* or *Sisyphus*: A figure of Greek mythology and notably "a famous Robber, forced to heave up a great Stone with his Shoulder to the top of a Mountain; when he was almost come to the end of his labour, it fell again to the bottom, so that he was constrained to be always beginning" (Gautruche).

¹²⁴ Hot Pease Porridge was a typical dish on the menu for the poor often distributed by charitable persons (*An Account Of Several Work-houses*).

¹²⁵ A reward claimed by bailiffs for executing their office with civility (Grose and Clark, *1811 Dictionary Of the Vulgar Tongue*).

¹²⁶ The spelling preserved from the HUE version "Metriculated" could be a pun on the word "meretricious," meaning "of, relating to, or befitting a prostitute; wher sinne is turned into an Art" (*OED*).

¹²⁷ Sir Reverence: "With all respect for, with apologies to" (*OED*).

¹²⁸ Old Nick is a humorous or familiar name for the Devil. Reference to his "backside" also contrasts with the book of Exodus 33:23 in the Bible, which refers to Moses being allowed to experience God's glory by seeing God's "back part," since no one could see God's face and survive (*OED*).

threadbare. On the Northside is a small Room call'd the *Buggering-Hold*; but from whence it takes its Name I cannot well tell, unless it is a Fate attending this Place, that some confin'd there may or have been addicted to Sodomy. Here the Fines lye, and perhaps, as he behaves himself, an Outlaw'd Person may creep in among them: But what Degree of Latitude this Chamber is situated in I cannot positively demonstrate, unless it lyes 90 Degrees beyond the *Artick Pole*; for instead of being dark here but half the Year, it is dark all the Year round. The Company one with another there is but a vying of Complaints, and the Causes they have to Rail on the ill Success of Petitions, and in this they reckon there is a great deal of good Fellowship. There they huddle up their Life as a Thing of no Use, and wear it out like an old Suit, the faster the better; and he that deceives the Time at Cards or Dice thinks he deceives it best, and best spends it. Just by them lye the *Tangerines*, in a large Room, call'd *Tangier*,¹²⁹ which, next to the *Lower-Ward*, is the nastiest Place in the Goal. The miserable Inhabitants hereof¹³⁰ are *Debtors*, who put what sorry Bedding they enjoy upon such an Ascent where Soldiers lye when on Guard at the *Tilt-yard*.¹³¹ These poor Wretches are commonly next their Creditors, most bitter against the *Lawyers*, as Men that have had a Stroke in assisting them there; a *Bailiff* likewise they mortally hate, because he makes them fear the *Queen's* Name worse than the *Devil's*: But in this Apartment lye, besides *real Debtors*, such as are call'd¹³² *Thieving Debtors*; who having for Theft satisfy'd the *Queen*, by being Burnt in the Face, or Whipt, which is no Satisfaction to the wrong'd Subject, their

¹²⁹ Tangier was a room in Newgate where debtors were confined. Hence, its inhabitants were called Tangerines. This is perhaps a toponymic analogy "drawing a sardonic parallel with the pirates of the barbary coast, on account of their holding captives for ransom, just as debtors were held until they could pay their debts, or referring to the unwholesome air and general poor hygiene" (Levin).

¹³⁰ hereof] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, HUE; thereof MJH 1714

¹³¹ A yard or enclosed space for tilts and tournaments (*OED*).

¹³² call'd *omit*] MJH 1714, HUE; call'd your MJH 1708b; MJH 1708h

Adversaries bring an Action of *Trover*¹³³ against them, and keep them there till they make Restitution for Things stoln.

156 Up one Pair of Stairs over them is *Jack Ketch*¹³⁴ his Kitchen, where, in *Pitch, Tar* and *Oil*, he boils the Quarters of those Traitors who deservedly suffer for the several Sorts of *High-Treason*. Near this Place are adjoining several Rooms which Prisoners hire that have a mind to live retir'd; and opposite to the Kitchen, where Man's Flesh is dress'd, is a lightsome Room, call'd *Debtor's-Hall*, so nam'd from such unfortunate Men lying there, where every Man shews like so many Wrecks upon the Sea, here the Ribs of 20 *l.* here¹³⁵ the Ruins of a good Estate: Doublets without Buttons, and a Gown without Sleeves. And a Pair of Stairs higher lye Women that are *Fines* and *Debtors*,¹³⁶ thinking, like their suffering Companions below them, every Year Seven till they get abroad.

157 But the Place which is most diverting to our *Collegians* (who Sin to better their Understanding) is in the *Cellar*; whose *Newgate* Fashion of having all Tables Publick all the *Alehouses* about Town now imitate; where they¹³⁷ sit in the pleasant Prospect of a Range of Buts and Barrels; and the only Grievance herein is the paying for Pipes and Candles, which are placed in Square Pyramidal Candlesticks made of Clay.¹³⁸ As for the Nature of the *Boozing-ken*, it is as unchristian as the remotest Parts of *India*, for here is no Faith, (which *St. Paul* says, *is the*

¹³³ An action at law to recover the value of personal property illegally converted by another to his own use (*OED*).

¹³⁴ HUE reads: *Jack Catch*, probably a reference to Richard P---ce, alias, Catch, Esquire. See HUE Title Page, 27. "Catch" also was used generally to mean "Serjeant or Bailiff" (Bailey, *An Universal Etymological English Dictionary*). See also footnote 10.

¹³⁵ here] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, HUE; there MJH 1714

¹³⁶ *Fines* refers to a person who has been levied a fee of compensation in a personal action. It sometimes signifies the sum of money paid for in regards to lands or an offense "against the King and his laws." *Debtors* refers to one who is being imprisoned in a civil action for a debt and is to be discharged after a short period on proof of poverty (Blount).

¹³⁷ HUE reads "we" indicating some personal experience of the author with Newgate Prison and implying that the author of *Hell Upon Earth* may also be the author of the *Memoirs of John Hall*. See "Introduction" 13-17.

¹³⁸ [157.5 made of Clay.](#)] See Appendix A

Evidence of Things not seen,¹³⁹) unless the Suttler¹⁴⁰ sees her God, which is the ready *Specie*:
However, to give her her due, she is very Pleasant and good Condition'd to her Customers,
which Qualities in a Woman of that Employment make me think *Miracles are not yet ceas'd*.
She scorns to draw in short Pots to have her Kisses excuse them; differing very much from other
Hostesses, who seldom startle at Bawdry, permitting their Lips to be their Guests Welcome, and
their Entertainment her Company, which is put into the Reckoning too, and is the dearest Parcel
in it.

158 Now if there should be any great Tumult or Uproar among the Prisoners, whose deepest
Endearment is a Communication of Mischief, then a Bell, which hangs over the *High-Hall*
Stairs, (to call the Turnkey when out of the Way, by single Ringing, to let People in and out,) is
rung double, and at the Alarm several Officers belonging to the Goal come running up to quell
the Mutiny; which being appeas'd, the Ringleaders thereof (who are such high Spirited Fellows
that would sooner accept the Gallows than a mean Trade, are conducted to a low Dungeon, as
dark as the inside of the *Devil's Arse in the Peak*,¹⁴¹ and hung all over with Spider Texture, and
are there shear'd, or put into Bilboes,¹⁴² and handcufft; but in case the Place of Punishment
should be first taken up by any factious Woman, that's given to Pattin¹⁴³ and Penknife,¹⁴⁴ then
they are punish'd in the Press-room, where Men that stand mute at their Trial are press'd to
Death,¹⁴⁵ by having their Hands and Feet extended out to Four Iron Rings fix'd to the Ground,
and a great heavy Press of Wood, made like a Hog-Trough, having a Square Post at each end,
reaching up to the Cieling, let up and down full of Weights by Ropes upon them, in which

¹³⁹ *Evidence of things not seen*: A biblical reference from Hebrews 11:1 where St. Paul defines faith.

¹⁴⁰ A person who followed an army and sold provisions or liquor to the soldiers (*OED*).

¹⁴¹ *Devil's Arse in the Peak*: a great unfathomable hole in Darbyshire (Bailey, *An Universal Etymological English Dictionary*).

¹⁴² An iron bar with sliding shackles, formerly used for confining a prisoner's ankles (*OED*).

¹⁴³ A sort of wooden shoe with a supporter of iron (Bailey, *An Universal Etymological English Dictionary*).

¹⁴⁴ A small knife for use in making and mending quill pens (now *rare*). (*OED*)

¹⁴⁵ A practice where "such prisoners as will not Pleade, are Pressed to Death" (Langley 46).

Torment he lyes Three or Four Days, or less Time, according as he is favour'd, having no Food or Drink, but Black Bread, or the Channel Water¹⁴⁶ which runs under the Goal, if his fainting Pains shou'd make him crave to Eat or Drink.

159 But now I am arrived to the Women Felons Apartment in the *Common-side*, where there are¹⁴⁷ a Troop of *Hell-cats*¹⁴⁸ lying Head and Tail together, in a dismal, nasty, dark Room, having no Place to divert themselves but at the Grate, adjoining to the Foot Passage under *Newgate*, where Passengers may with Admiration and Pity hear them swear *Extempore*, being so shamefully vers'd in that most odious Prophanation of Heaven, that Vollies of Oaths are discharg'd through their detestable Throats whilst asleep. And if any of their Acquaintance gives them *L'argent*,¹⁴⁹ then they jump into their Cellar to melt it, which is scarce so large as *Covent-Garden* Cage,¹⁵⁰ and the Stock therein not much exceeding those pedling Victuallers, who fetch their Drink in Tubs every Brewing Day. As for the Sutler there I have no more to say of her, than that her Purity consists in the Whiteness of her Linen; and that the Licenciousness of the Women on this Side is so detestable, that it is an unpardonable Crime to describe their Lewdness.¹⁵¹ Having thus given you a Character of the Place, and such as inhabit it, I think it is no more than proper now to give a short Description of a Goaler. In general, he is a Wretch mistaken in the making, for he should have been a *Tyger*, but the Shape being thought too terrible, it is cover'd with the Vizor of a Man, yet he retains all the Fierceness and Currishness of the Lion's Whelp. His Descent is very Ancient, but more Ignoble, for he comes of the Race of

¹⁴⁶ Gutter-water (*OED*).

¹⁴⁷ HUE reads "I view'd." See footnote 137.

¹⁴⁸ "Vicious, spiteful, or evil women; witches. Implying sexual aggressiveness or a heightened sexual appetite" (*OED*).

¹⁴⁹ *Fr. Money (WordReference English-French Dictionary)*

¹⁵⁰ The name Covent Garden derives from the garden of a convent of nuns, dissolved at the Reformation in the 1530s. Covent Garden is an area of London that is a tourist attraction because of its markets, but in the eighteenth century also notorious for its concentration of prostitution houses. The "cage" was a temporary lockup area likely for female prisoners, such as prostitutes (Henderson).

¹⁵¹ [159.12 describe their Lewdness.](#)] See Appendix A

Cerberus,¹⁵² or rather is *Cerberus* himself; for both have but the Charge of wretched People, and are terrible alike. His Office lyes in Misery and Cruelty, which best suit his Nature: for he stands not upon those Two Pillars, (Justice and Mercy,) that support Heaven, but upon the Two Supporters of Hell, (Wrong and Cruelty.) He is the Hangman of the Law, with a Lame Hand; and if it gave him all his Limbs perfect he wou'd strike those on whom he is glad to fawn. His Conscience and his Shackles hang up together, and are made much of the same Metal; only one is a little harder than the other, and hath one Property above Iron, for it never melts. He Distils Money out of poor Prisoners Tears, and grows fat by their Curses. His House is the Picture of Hell in little, and the Original Letters Patents of his Office stand exemplified there, a Chamber of Lowsie Beds is better worth to him than the best Acre of Corn-land in *Europe*. Two Things are very hard to him, (nay, almost impossible,) viz. to save all his Prisoners, so that none make their escape, and to be sav'd himself: He is Deaf to the Cries and Complaints of others, and Heaven will be so to his; for of his whole Bunch of Keys not one hath Wards to open that Door. Those Gates want no Porters, for they stand ever open. If it were possible for all the Creatures in the World to sleep every Night, he only and a Tyrant cannot; that Blessing is taken from them, and a Curse comes in the Room on't, to be ever fear'd, and ever hated. His Residence and Escutcheon are a perfect Medal of the Iron Age, where nothing but jingling of Keys, rattling of Shackles, Bolts and Grates, is to be heard. To conclude, *Newgate* is the Horse of *Troy*, in whose Womb are shut up all the Mad *Greeks* that were Men of Action. But now having shewn in what manner enter Students, and conform themselves in their Colledge, let us see how they take their Degrees for farther Preferment, and make their Progression out again; in which it is observ'd that few are

¹⁵² In Greek mythology, Cerberus is a three-headed watchdog who guards the entrance to the lower world, Hades. He permitted new spirits to enter the realm of the dead, but allowed none of them to leave ("Cerberus").

ever expell'd for any Irregular Demeanour: But when the Days¹⁵³ of *Oyer and Terminer*¹⁵⁴ approach, and the Gates of *Janus*¹⁵⁵ in the *Old-Bailey*¹⁵⁶ are thrown open, the whole Colledge betimes in the Morning are conducted down, making as they go along a jingling with their Fetters like so many Morrice-dancers¹⁵⁷ in the *Christmas* Holidays; and such Malefactors as will not give Half a Crown¹⁵⁸ to be in the *Bail-dock*, where Criminals, both Male and Female, are secur'd, go in a *Hold*, where they resemble so many Sheep penn'd up in *Smithfield* on a Market-day: There the eldest Prisoners claim Twelve-pence apiece of the youngest for *Hold-money*, with which Collection they make Shift to get Drunk¹⁵⁹ before they go up to the Bar to be Arraign'd or Try'd; the same odious Custom is likewise observed by the Women in their *Hold*. And if it shou'd be a Prisoner's good Luck to be acquitted, he kneels, and crys, *God bless the Queen, and all the Honourable Court*; then joyfully returning to his Comrades, they make him spend his *Quit-Shilling*¹⁶⁰ for his happy Deliverance. But when they are all Try'd, the Judge (after the Fire is made, and the Burning Engine¹⁶¹ put up) proceeds to pass Sentence on the several Offenders, then those cast for Single Felony are brought up; but such as never broke their Friends for Learning, not venturing a *Non Legit*, throw themselves on the Mercy of the Court, and escape

¹⁵³ [159.42 when the Days](#) See Appendix A

¹⁵⁴ Days of *Oyer and Terminer*: A day of "hearing and determining," in England a court of judges of assize (Harper).

¹⁵⁵ Gates of *Janus*: Ancient Italian deity, guardian god of portals, doors, and gates; patron of beginnings and endings, c.1500, from Latin *Ianus*, literally "gate, arched passageway." He is shown as having two faces, one in front the other in back. His temple in Rome was closed only in times of peace (Harper).

¹⁵⁶ "The Old Bailey, also known as Justice Hall, the Sessions House, and the Central Criminal Court, was named after the street in which it was located, just off Newgate Street and next to Newgate Prison, in the western part of the City of London" (Emsley, Hitchcock and Shoemaker, "Historical Background - History of the Old Bailey Courthouse").

¹⁵⁷ Derives from "morris dance or morrice dance, a rustic dance of the north of England that had its origin in country festivals, such as those of May Day and Whitsunday" (Chernow and Vallasi).

¹⁵⁸ See footnote 104.

¹⁵⁹ HUE reads "get some of 'em Drunk" which changes the modifier and potentially who is getting who drunk i.e., the elder prisoners getting the younger prisoners drunk rather than merely getting themselves drunk.

¹⁶⁰ A sum of money spent by a prisoner in celebration of his or her acquittal (*OED*).

¹⁶¹ Also known as the *Juggler's Box*, the engine for burning [or branding] culprits in the hand (Grose).

marking with an Ignominious T,¹⁶² by entering themselves in Her Majesties Service;¹⁶³ and such as can read claim the *Benefit of the Clergy*;¹⁶⁴ a Favour only design'd at first for Scholars, but now through long Custom claim'd by the Illiterate, are forc'd (upon the Account of clearing the Land of Villains) to save their Bacon by Listing¹⁶⁵ too. But Profligate Women (having not this Advantage) are Glimm'd for, that Villany, for which rather than leave it, they could freely die Martyrs. Next Sentence of Death is past on Malefactors; but upon this Point the Women have a great Advantage over the Men, by pleading their Bellies,¹⁶⁶ who are then search'd by a Jury of Matrons, impannell'd for that Purpose; but either for Favour or Profit some are brought in Quick with Child, when 'tis of a Church,¹⁶⁷ to the great Abuse of the Honourable Court; not but that they deserv'd for it; but as the Saying is, *No Grass grows on the Highway*.¹⁶⁸ Those cast for *Petit-Larceny* shove the Tumbler,¹⁶⁹ *i. e.* whipt at the Cart's Tail; and others are made City

¹⁶² A reference to branding with a "T" on the cheek or thumb. (Emsley, Hitchcock and Shoemaker, "Crime and Justice - Punishments at the Old Bailey")

¹⁶³ Many prisoners could avoid or mitigate punishment by enlisting in military service. By sending convicts into their majesties' service, the court not only contributed to the armed forces, but also exiled undesirable characters. This sentence was most frequently used during periods of active war (Emsley, Hitchcock and Shoemaker, "Crime and Justice - Punishments at the Old Bailey").

¹⁶⁴ Through the mechanism of benefit of clergy, many defendants found guilty of certain felonies were spared the death penalty and given a lesser punishment. Since it was difficult to prove who was affiliated with the church, convicts who claimed benefit of the clergy were required to read a passage from the Bible - usually Psalm 51, nicknamed the "neck verse" since it saved many from hanging. As literacy became more common outside the church, the practice gradually allowed all men convicted of allowable felonies to be permitted benefit of clergy if they could read the verse (Emsley, Hitchcock and Shoemaker, "Crime and Justice - Punishments at the Old Bailey").

¹⁶⁵ "Listing" in this context indicates enlisting in the King or Queen's service in order to avoid sentence as a means for escaping branding. See footnote 162 and 163 (Emsley, Hitchcock and Shoemaker, "Crime and Justice - Punishments at the Old Bailey").

¹⁶⁶ A common practice to claim pregnancy in order to avoid execution until after the baby was born. In practice sympathy for the newborn child meant that the mother was often pardoned (Emsley, Hitchcock and Shoemaker, "Crime and Justice - Punishments at the Old Bailey").

¹⁶⁷ This passage alludes to the adeptness of criminals to use the church to undermine the state court (Emsley, Hitchcock and Shoemaker, "Crime and Justice - Punishments at the Old Bailey").

¹⁶⁸ *No Grass grows on the Highway*: a proverbial saying.

¹⁶⁹ To be whipped at the cart's tail (Grose). "Offenders (mostly those convicted of theft) were sentenced to be stripped to the waist and flogged 'at a cart's tail' along a length of public street, usually near the scene of the crime, 'until his [or her] back be bloody'" (Emsley, Hitchcock and Shoemaker, "Crime and Justice - Punishments at the Old Bailey").

Surveyors, being appointed to overlook *Penance Board at Temple-Bar*,¹⁷⁰ *Cheapside Conduit*, and the *Royal Exchange*; but I cannot properly call one so exalted a Captain over Tens, Hundreds, or Thousands, because the Number of the Spectators is uncertain.

160 The Court being broke up, and by an *O Yes* appointed to begin again at another certain Time, the Prisoners not cast for their Lives return from whence they came, the Thief-takers ogling them as they trudge along (to know their shameless Faces another Time) as wishfully as a Gypsie does ignorant Country Wenches Hands to tell their Fortune: But those sentenc'd to go to the Condemn'd Hold, there being Two, One for Males, another for Females, who being relentless Wretches, unmindful of a future State, make their dark dismal Den the Rendezvous of Spittle, where they Dialogue (as in Tobacco-shops) with their Noses, and their Communication is Smoke; where being in hopes of the *Queen's* Mercy, their Words are still so many Vomits cast up to the Loathsomeness of their Hearers. In Sum, the whole Life of these Distressed Wretches is a Question, and their Salvation a greater, which Death only concludes, and then they are resolv'd.

161 To fit them for another World, they are immediately after Condemnation carried out of this into a Place, that whoever were to be convey'd thither in his Sleep, when he wak'd and look'd about him, (that is, I mean, would look if he could see any Thing,) would absolutely, without much Hesitation, conclude he had departed this Life in some Melancholy Slumber, and was arriv'd in the Gloomy Mansions of Eternity, without knowing any Thing of it. For Food here you'll conclude they have no Extraordinary Appetites; nor are they fed with any Thing but the Spoon-meat of the Gospel; and not every one of 'em has any Stomach to that neither. The Ordinary is their Dry-nurse, and gives 'em constant Attendance in this their Visitation, who, poor

¹⁷⁰ A reference to the pillory. See footnote 113. Temple Bar was one of the entrances or gates through which people and traffic had to pass. (Thornbury).

Souls, may very properly be said to lye upon their Death-beds, for, generally speaking, all his Patients die upon his Hands. If they have any Thing to leave behind 'em, (tho' it be but their Dying Speeches,) they have no occasion to nominate Executors, for he Authentickly proves their Wills, and administers as Principal Creditor to a Legacy (*sic Mult*) *per Annum*.¹⁷¹ He has the Title of *Ordinary*, but in the Condemn'd Mansions you may venture to put an *Extra* to't, for he is then more than *Ordinary*,¹⁷² tho' in the Pulpit he deserves the Character again, without Addition. His Congregation may properly be call'd Saints, because they all die Martyrs, and are of the Order of the *Triple-Tree*.¹⁷³ He may be said to have the Care of Souls committed to his Charge, yet in one Respect he is but a bad Proficient, and his Doctrine not Orthodox, for he does not purely preach up Amendment of Life. He is, in fine, the Prince of Terror, and Death the King, into whose Territories he renders 'em, and *Tyburn*¹⁷⁴ is the utmost Bounds between their Two Dominions. But to return to his own Kingdom, *Newgate*.

162 Next *Sunday* following¹⁷⁵ their Fatal Doom they go to the Chapel to hear¹⁷⁶ the Condemn'd Sermon, which is so near Heaven, as to be situated¹⁷⁷ on the very top of all *Newgate*, and possibly sometimes is their *Ne plus Ultra*,¹⁷⁸ the farthest Stage they make that Way. Here Mr. *Ordinary*¹⁷⁹ expounds some useful Text of Scripture, which he applies to the Purpose in

¹⁷¹ (*sic Mult*) *per Annum*: thus or so, multiplied yearly.

¹⁷² more than *Ordinary*: a pun or allusion to the "extra" profits the Ordinary of Newgate receives by publishing their dying speeces as well as acting as "Principle Creditor," making him "Extra Ordinary." (Emsley, Hitchcock and Shoemaker, "The Proceedings - Ordinary and of Newgate's Accounts")

¹⁷³ The gallows at Tyburn were nicknamed the "*Tripple-Tree*" in reference to its three parts (*OED*). See *A Hymn To Money. A Satyr*, for a literary example of its use. The "Order of the Tripple-Tree" is a pun on the religious order to which those criminals achieve sainthood and ultimately martyrdom as a result of their last dying confession, by which it was understood that criminals could repay their debt to society and prepare themselves for salvation (Emsley, Hitchcock and Shoemaker, "The Proceedings - Ordinary and of Newgate's Accounts").

¹⁷⁴ The place (where Marble Arch now stands) where most public executions took place until 1783 when they were moved to outside Newgate Prison (Emsley, Hitchcock and Shoemaker, "Historical Background - Glossary").

¹⁷⁵ [162.1 Next Sunday Following](#)] See Appendix A

¹⁷⁶ hear] hear Mr. Ordinary preach HUE

¹⁷⁷ situated] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; fitted MJH 1708b

¹⁷⁸ Latin, "No Higher place or point"

¹⁷⁹ See footnote 81.

Hand, viz. *Holy Dying*; for to preach up Amendment of Life, as I have hinted before, would here be Eloquence thrown away. He is excellent at the former Talent, and all his Sermons collected together would make an *Extra-Ordinary* Volume, call'd, *The Kingdom of Death laid open: Or, Discourses of another World*: He is crowded more with Spectators than Auditors; and they that go thither for Curiosity are to be held excuseable, for they may properly say, *His Discourse does not concern 'em*, if it were not the Pity of seeing so many proper Persons in Jeopardy of their Lives: Yet let 'em take Care, for such a Neglect may be ominous, since Heaven knows what we may all come to. There is nothing more to be said of this Place, but that the Poor Condemn'd are sure to edifie by it; for when they come here they are really¹⁸⁰ brought out of Darkness into Light: And now after Two Hours Discipline under the Ordinary's Hands, One would think their Persecution shou'd end; but the Bell-man,¹⁸¹ who is the Prelude to the Hangman, like a Flourish before a damn'd Melancholy Tune, comes next to torture them with his Inhumane Stanzas, as if Men in their Condition cou'd have any Stomach to Unseasonable Poetry; for the Night before Execution, placing himself under their Window, he harangues them with the following Serenade, set to the Tune of the Bar-Bell at the *Black Dog*.

- 163 All you that in the Condemn'd Hold do lye,
164 Prepare you, for to Morrow you must die:
165 Think well upon¹⁸² your Sins, in Time repent,
166 Lest you are¹⁸³ Headlong unto *Satan* sent.

¹⁸⁰ really] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; freely MJH 1708b

¹⁸¹ Thornbury claims "Mr. John Dowe, citizen and merchant taylor of London, gave £50 to the parish church of St. Sepulchre's, under the following conditions:—After the several sessions of London, on the night before the execution of such as were condemned to death, the clerk of the church was to go in the night-time, and also early in the morning, to the window of the prison in which they were lying. He was there to ring 'certain tolls with a hand-bell' appointed for the purpose, and was afterwards, in a most Christian manner, to put them in mind of their present condition and approaching end, and to exhort them to be prepared, as they ought to be, to die."

¹⁸² [165.1 Think well upon](#)] See Appendix A

167 Watch then, and¹⁸⁴ Pray, that so you may be fit
168 T' appear so¹⁸⁵ soon before the Judgment-Seat;
169 And when St. *Pulcher's* Bell¹⁸⁶ to Morrow Tolls,
170 The Lord above have Mercy on your Souls.¹⁸⁷

171 In Answer to which the following Lines were penn'd by us,¹⁸⁸ *John Hall, Stephen Bunch,*
and *Richard Low*,¹⁸⁹ being a True and Genuine Copy.

172 The sad Relation of your Bell
173 Puts us in Mind of Death and Hell;
174 But while we're here we'll do our best
175 In Heaven to have Eternal Rest.
176 Eight Persons here within doth lye,
177 And Seven of us must surely die;
178 For since we can't Reprieved be,
179 To Christ for Succour we must flee.
180 Our Names are known, and Persons too,
181 Both by this World, and God Almighty too,

¹⁸³ [166.1 Lest you are](#)] See Appendix A

¹⁸⁴ [167.1 Watch then, and](#)] See Appendix A

¹⁸⁵ [168.1 T' appear so](#)] See Appendix A

¹⁸⁶ St. Sepulchre's large bell was rung on execution days, as the result of a charitable donation: "Mr. Robert Doew gave for the ringing the greatest bell in this church on the day the condemned prisoners are executed..." (Wheatley 3.236).

¹⁸⁷ In HUE, the condemnation song is followed by the final two paragraphs. See footnote 190.

¹⁸⁸ MJH 1714 and MJH 1708h provide "us;" however, MJH 1708b provides a reading of "me," perhaps implying a shift between 1708 and 1714 from transcription to collaborative authorship.

¹⁸⁹ *The ORDINARY of NEWGATE his Account of the Behaviour, Confessions, and Last Speeches of the Malefactors that were Executed at Tyburn, on Wednesday, Decemb. 17. 1707.* contains an account of John Hall, Steven Bunce, and Richard Low, each condemned for Felony and Burglary ("Ordinary's Account, 17th December 1707").

182 And this same Day we hope to rest
183 Within the Arms of our Dear Saviour's Breast.
184 Good People all that there stand by,
185 Pray have a Thought of Charity,
186 And when we in our Graves do rest,
187 Pray that we may be ever blest.

188 The next Morning¹⁹⁰ they are convey'd up to the Chapel again, where they receive the last Portion of Grace from the Ordinary,¹⁹¹ who takes 'em to Auricular Confession, and is as diligent in inquiring out the Particulars of their Lives, as tho' he were to send a Catalogue of their Sins along with 'em for a Passport. Having thus done, and compounded the necessary Ingredients for their Dying Speeches, he gives 'em the finishing Stroke, and delivers 'em over to the Secular Arm. Then they are convey'd to a Place call'd the *Stone-Hall*, where having those great Obstacles of their Liberty knock'd off, they are install'd by the Yeoman of the Halter with the Ensigns Armorial of his Office,¹⁹² and by some of his Attendants conducted down to the Cart, having, perhaps, made it the greatest of their Care to make a Decent Appearance to the Spectators; for Pride is the last Sin that leaves 'em in this World, and that bears 'em Company to the Gallows; so that one would take 'em for Bridegrooms going to Espouse their Old Mrs. *Tyburn*, being as Spruce as a Powder'd Wig, a *Holland Shirt*,¹⁹³ clean Gloves, and a Nosegay,¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁰ [188.1 The next Morning](#)] See Appendix A

¹⁹¹ HUE reads "On the morning they die, they are brought from their dark Den (a lively Type of the Grave) to Chappel, where such as are disposed receive the blessed Sacrament."

¹⁹² This mock heroic allusion to placing the condemned in chains draws a connection between the trappings of knighthood and the symbols of the condemned criminal.

¹⁹³ Holland linen was plain-woven linen fabric treated with oil and other material, typically imported from the Netherlands, and was considered fine in quality: "Who that values softness, whiteness, healthiness, and durability, and can afford such luxuries, would not spare three shillings an ell for Holland linen?" (*Brittanica; Lady's* 40).

can make 'em. The great Comfort of having it said, There goes a Proper, Handsome Man, something meliorates the terrible Thoughts of the meagre Tyrant's Death; and to go in a Dirty Shirt were enough to save the Hangman a Labour, and make a Man die¹⁹⁵ with Grief and Shame of being in that deplorable Condition. It is but saying they are *Dead by the Law*, and the Cavalcade to *Tyburn* may serve for a Funeral Procession; there is something of Magnificence in it; the lamentable Ditty from *St. Sepulchre's Wall*¹⁹⁶ is the Sum of their great Achievements, and the Doleful Knells at *St. Andrews* and *St. Giles's* is the Spiritual Musick that ushers on the Pomp. Being come to *Tyburn*, the Ordinary renews his Acquaintance with 'em, where they never part without One Lamentable Merry Hymn together; and indeed, to speak Truth, they are very loth to spoil Company; but the Dearest Friends in the World must part. The Hangman having ty'd 'em up for his greater Security, gives the Ordinary the Preheminence¹⁹⁷ of finishing his Office first, and is in the mean Time surveying their Ornaments, and putting 'em into Lots for the easier Accommodation of the Sale. Being admonished¹⁹⁸ to say something to the Spectators, it is natural enough to hear a poor shivering Malefactor come out with his last Dying Speech, as follows, (turning to the Spectators,) 'I desire you all, good People, to pray for me; I confess I have been a very wicked Offender, and have been guilty of many heinous Sins, especially Whoring, Drunkenness, Sabbath-breaking, and all the rest, which has brought me to this shameful End; therefore pray take Example by me, that you may mend your Lives.'

189 This is in Substance literally follow'd by a great many that hear it; and now their Time being expir'd, their Caps are pull'd over their Eyes, and they are turn'd off with a Sentence they

¹⁹⁴ "A bunch of flowers or herbs, esp. ones having a sweet smell; a small bouquet, a posy. Also: an imitation or representation of this" (*OED*).

¹⁹⁵ The editors have emended to "die," the spelling shared by MJH 1708b and MJH 1708h from the MJH 1714 spelling "dye;" the latter spelling may have been intended to maintain stylistic consistency with "lye."

¹⁹⁶ As the condemned passed *St. Sepulchre's*, a beadle called on those present to pray for the prisoners, exhorted the condemned to repent, and beseeched the Lord for mercy (Thornbury).

¹⁹⁷ Spelling retained from MJH 1714 as it captures the oral pronunciation present in lower class British speech.

¹⁹⁸ The MJH 1708b textual witness ends here.

hardly ever made use of in their Lives-time before, *Lord have Mercy on us*. After a few Jirks and unmerciful Thumps to dispatch 'em, they expire the Contempt, and hardly the Pity of any that behold 'em. Having hung there the Space of half an Hour, come some of their Relations with a Deal Coffin¹⁹⁹ cross the Doors of a Coach to take them away; but there is first a Bargain to be made with the Hangman for their Cloaths which they purchase at a Market Price; for having intimated to him to which Person they have the Honour to be related, he takes a careful Survey of every individual Button-hole, and being a Man of few Words, conscientiously tells 'em so much is the Price if they have him Cloaths and all; which if they disagree to, he is stript, and the Miscellany of Rags are all crowded into a Sack, which his *Valet de Chambre*²⁰⁰ carries on Purpose, and being digested into *Monmouth-Street*,²⁰¹ *Chick-Lane*,²⁰² &c. are comfortably worn by many an industrious Fellow. Others that have no Friends, or at least none that want the Grace to disown 'em, have their Length and Breadth in Unconsecrated Clay, under or near the dark Dimensions of the Gallows.

190 Thus I have given you the Character, Life, and Tragical End of a Thief; that is, one that is so much Master of his Trade as to venture his Neck for it; there being some so very diligent, that their constant Practice is to live within the Purlieus of the Law, and not to venture above a Whipping, or a Burning at most. If what I have inserted here (as I was in hopes it would) does but become serviceable to the Publick after my Death, it will answer the Design of those who advis'd me to the Publication thereof, to which I consented to give what necessary Hints I cou'd for that End,

¹⁹⁹ A cheap coffin likely made of pine or fir, as indicated by "deal" (*OED*); "his Corps should be put into a Deal-Coffin, without Hinges, Nails, or any manner of Ornament..." (Povey 298).

²⁰⁰ "Chamber -valet": A high-ranking servant typically working in close proximity to their master (*OED*). In the transcript of the case against Richard Paine, December 10th, 1735, the defendant states, "Did not I usually dress, and shave you, as Valet de Chambre?" ("December 1735, trial of Richard Paine").

²⁰¹ Monmouth Street was known for several shops that sold second-hand clothes (Wheatley 2.554).

²⁰² Wheatley describes Chick Lane as "a small and dirty street... with sliding-panels, and cellars and passages for thieves..." The area also had issues with flooding and raw sewage (1.390).

190

Your Departed Friend,

191

JOHN HALL.

192 An Elegy upon the Death of the said Famous Mr. *John Hall*, Printed before the Publication of
these Memoirs.

193 *AT last thy Roguish Reign is ended,*

194 *And thou (deservedly) Suspended;*

195 *Where art thou now, thou Reprobate,*

196 *Who jested at a Future State,*

197 *And said, the Place the Devils kept*

198 *Was Sooty, wanted to be swept?*

199 *And they consulting did agree*

200 *To send Express away for thee;*

201 *And so thou'rt gone the Tyburn Road,*

202 *The nearest Way to their Abode:*

203 *But yet 'tis thought that there are Store*

204 *Of thy Sly Trade gone there before;*

205 *Witness the Bacon, Beef, and Tongue,*

206 *Which in the Chimneys reezing*²⁰³ *hung,*
 207 *Till by thy Tribe were swept away,*
 208 *For which they now severely pay.*
 209 *Methinks I see the Sulph'rous Shore,* }²⁰⁴
 210 *Where Crowds of Thieves sent there before,* }
 211 *Thee Welcome give with Dismal Rore.* }
 212 *Didst think the Fiends there would be Civil,* }
 213 *Because they're known to love what's Evil,* }
 214 *And every Thing that's like a Devil ?* }
 215 *Make but thy Outside like appear,*
 216 *Thy Intellects already are;*
 217 *So put thy Sweeping Garments on,*
 218 *'Twill make each Devil think thee One,*
 219 *Or cause this Proverb after all,*
 220 *Ha! Like to Like says a Devil to HALL.*
 221 *If every Rogue throughout the Nation*
 222 *Should die, like HALL, by Suffocation,*
 223 *Some, now in Coaches, would in Carts*
 224 *At Triple Tree*²⁰⁵ *receive Deserts:*
 225 *Lawyers, Physicians, Courtiers, Jaylors,*²⁰⁶

²⁰³ *OED* lists two definitions common in the early 18th century. “Smoking” makes the most syntactical sense, but the alternate usage of “spoiling” might connote that the thieves are severely punished for stealing something of little of value.

²⁰⁴ MJH 1708h and MJH 1714 contain brackets in the margin each of which encompass three lines; these appear in four places within this song. Their purpose is unknown.

²⁰⁵ See footnote 173.

226 *Would March in Troops, and all the Taylors:*
 227 *Nay, I could mention too a L—d,* }
 228 *But, like his S---h,²⁰⁷ ‘twould be Absurd* }
 229 *Besides Scan. Mag.²⁰⁸ that is the Word:* }
 230 *Some Hemp should likewise be Context*
 231 *For many who pervert the Text:*
 232 *And, what is worse than Theives can do,*
 233 *Cheat you of Soul and Money too;*
 234 *Lead Scandalous and wicked Lives,*
 235 *And, like Belswagger,²⁰⁹ ride your Wives.*
 236 *The Ben’fit of the Clergy see,*
 237 *When some Poor Rogues are at the Tree,*
 238 *‘ Who ’cause they could not Read a Verse,*
 239 *‘ Are made to Sing it, and that’s worse;*
 240 *Which by the by is Charming Singing,*
 241 *They shake so well, remembring Swinging;*
 242 *Besides observe, the Fatal Line*
 243 *Makes each exactly stop in Time:*
 244 *O Foolish Custom ! (as one said)* }
 245 *For Sinners, when they’re almost Dead,* }

²⁰⁶ The spelling of “jaylor” and “taylor” reflect the tendency to match spellings for aethetic purposes, as seen earlier in “lye” and “dye.”

²⁰⁷ Potentially “Sirrah”: “A term of address used to men or boys, expressing contempt, reprimand, or assumption of authority on the part of the speaker” (*OED*).

²⁰⁸ “Scandalum magnatum, used jocularly as a word in the sense of ‘scandal’” (*OED*). Officially, it is a charge of slander or libel. In common usage, refers to any scandalous statement.

²⁰⁹ “A swaggering gallant or bully; a whoremonger, pimp” (*OED*).

246 *To have such Crotchets in the Head.* }

247 *If to this El'gy proper Tune is,*

248 *Pray howl it forth with Finis Funis.*

249 *EPITAPH.*

250 Here lyes *Hall's* Clay,

251 Thus Swept away;

252 If Bolt or Key

253 Oblig'd his Stay,

254 At Judgment Day

255 He'd make Essay

256 To get away;

257 Be't as it may,

258 I'd better say,

259 Here lyes *Jack Hall,*

260 And that is All.

261 Tho' worse might have been said, yet this was but an ill Return for the Good he design'd to do the World in Publishing his Memoirs, and to the remarkable Penitence with which he ended his Transitory Life, of which I shall say no more.

262 Having done with *Newgate*, and its Inhabitants, we come now to what, for want of Room, we omitted in former Editions, that is, to give an Account of those other Tenements of Misery,

which are naturally the Sequel of it, *viz.* the *Compters*, and other Goals for Debt,²¹⁰ where the Inhabitants, instead of having the kindly Office bestow'd on them of being hang'd out of their Pain, are more inhumanely kept starving in it for Life, a worse Condition far than Hanging; till the unmerciful Creditor has Bones for his Money, and a wretched meagre Corpse²¹¹ to stare him in the Face at the Day of Judgment, and frighten him out of all hopes of Salvation; as what can he expect but to be tormented in the other World, who in this is a Tormentor of the wretched? To define him, he is one of *Deucalion's*²¹² Sons, begotten of Stone, and the Marble Images that lye cross-legg'd in the *Temple Church*²¹³ do very much resemble him. He says the Lord's Prayer backward; or to speak more naturally of him, he has a *Pater Noster* by himself; and that said Article, *Forgive us our Debts as we forgive others*,²¹⁴ he leaves quite out, being a dangerous Rub in the Alley of his Conscience. He is the Bloodhound of the Law, and hunts²¹⁵ Counter²¹⁶ rarely well; yet he never opens till he bites, and then does it to purpose. He is a Lawyer's Mule, and the only Beast on which he Ambles to *Westminster*, where they Stable together at some neighbouring Tavern, and drink the Hearts-blood of a Poor Debtor: A Scrivener²¹⁷ is his Farrier,²¹⁸ helps to recover all his Founder'd and Maim'd Obligations.

²¹⁰ Compters and other jails intended only for those in debt, rather than more heinous felonies, were notorious for their poor living conditions. Such institutions remained in use for a long time, as seen in this example from 1787: "It is said the daily Allowance to Prisoners confined or Debt in both Compters, the Marshalsea, and the King's Bench, will soon be augmented to six-pence" (Harrop). See footnotes 32 and 33.

²¹¹ Originally "Corps," the spelling has been modernized to "Corpse" to prevent implying a large multitude.

²¹² In Greek mythology, Deucalion, like Noah, is saved from a deluge: "Deucalion, with his wife and their family, were saved to re-people the earth; to whom the gods shewed mercy on account of his piety. His preservation was thus effected: he put his family into a large ark" (*Lady's* 73).

²¹³ Wheatley describes the scene engraved on the Temple Church: "Entrance doorway (very fine); two groups of monumental effigies, in Round Church, of Knights Templars, cross-legged (names unknown, at least very uncertain)..." (3.351).

²¹⁴ The Lord's Prayer, "the prayer taught by Jesus to His disciples" (OED). Matthew 6:12; Luke 11:4.

²¹⁵ MJH 1714 provides the alternate reading "haunts," which makes syntactical sense. However, this reading has been rejected in favour of "hunts" from MJH 1708h in consideration of the hunting terminology used within the sentence.

²¹⁶ In addition to the definition of "one who counts," a hunting term which describes the opposite direction from which the game ran. (OED)

²¹⁷ "A professional penman; a scribe, copyist; a clerk, secretary" (OED).

²¹⁸ "One who shoes horses; a shoeing-smith; hence, also one who treats the diseases of horses" (OED).

263 From the beginning of *Hilary*, to the End of *Michaelmas* Term,²¹⁹ he does nothing but trot to Council, then to his Attorney, to the *Chancery*, *Exchequer*, *Queen's-Bench*, and *Common-Pleas*,²²⁰ and in this Employment he Rises and Sets with the Sun, for he is indefatigable in the Ruin of his Debtors.

264 If he were to be hang'd, unless he could be sav'd by his Book, he cannot for his Heart call for a Psalm of Mercy. In fine, he is a Law-Trap, baited with Parchment and Wax, and the Vermin he catches are poor Bankrupts, with whom scratching Attorneys, like Cats, play a good while, and then mouze 'em. *Lye there and Rot*, is his Dialect of Charity; being relentless to the Tears of a poor Prisoner; for his Heart is so obdurate, that he can no more feel Remorse than the Marble Statue in *Stocks-Market*.

265 *Lord have Mercy upon us*, may well be written over these Doors; for Debt is a most dangerous and incurable Pestilence. It should be *Christ's-Hospital*,²²¹ for most of our²²² Wealthy Citizens are good Benefactors to it; and yet it is so curs'd a Piece of Land that the Son is asham'd to be his Father's Heir in it. If you ask under what Horizon this Climate lyes, the *Bermudas* and it are under one and the same Height; and whereas some suppose this Island, like that, is haunted with Devils, I say 'tis otherwise, for those Devils so talked of and feared are none but devouring Creditors, Gripping Attornies, Unmerciful Serjeants, and Cruel Churlish Goalers. Hither you need not Sail, for it is a Ship of itself; the Master-Side is the Upper Deck; they on the Common-Side lye under Hatches, and help to ballast it; Actions are the Tackling; Executions the

²¹⁹ Hilary term begins in January; Michaelmas ends in November (Rose).

²²⁰ This list describes the various courts of the British judicial system. The Chancery was "the highest court of judicature next to the House of Lords;" the Exchequer oversaw the collection of taxation and other revenues; the Queen's Bench (so called during the rule of a female monarch) handled cases between the crown and a subject; the Common-pleas handled cases between subjects (*OED*).

²²¹ "A hospital for fatherless orphans recently renovated in 1680-1 by endowments from wealthy benefactors" (Wheatley 1.394).

²²² our] MJH 1714; your MJH 1708h

Anchors; Capiasses²²³ the Cables; Chancery-Bills the Huge Sails; a Long Term the Main-mast; Law the Helm; a Judge the Pilot; a Council the Purser; an Attorney the Boatswain; his Clerk the Swabber; Bonds are the Waves; Outlawries the Winds; Verdict their Compass to steer by; and Extents the Rocks that splits all in pieces. And if it be not absolutely a Ship, yet they differ but little, for the one is a moving Goal, and the other a standing one. If he be a Gentleman that is sent hither, he alters his Arms as soon as ever he enters; few here carry *Fields*²²⁴ or *Argent*;²²⁵ for whatsoever they bear before, they here give only Sables.²²⁶ While he lyes by it here, he is travelling o'er the *Alps*, and the Hearts of his Creditors are the Snows that lye unmelted in the middle of the Summer. He is an Almanack out of Date, none of his Days speak of Fair Weather. He is one that has lost his Way in this World and being benighted, has strayed into a Wood of Wolves, where he must never expect to get away without being devoured. The Chirurgeons²²⁷ may if they will beg him for an Anatomy, for his is a kind of dead Carcase; an excellent Lecture may be read upon his Body. Creditors peck out his Eyes, Lawyers flea off his Skin, and lap him in Parchment, and Goalers are the *Promethean* Vultures that gnaw upon his Liver till Death, only Death rids him of all Human Plagues at once. If any one asks of what Distemper he died; they may be answered Poverty, which is the most Grievous and Languishing of all the Catalogue of Infirmities; and a Halter in some Measure is perferrable to it. He is gone where there is an Equitable Court of Conscience to summon his Creditors to; but 'tis thought they'll hardly appear there, for of all Conditions that ever were offered them, they never could endure to hear that of—

²²³ “A writ or process commanding the officer to take the body of the person named in it, that is, to arrest him” (*OED*).

²²⁴ “The ground of a picture, design, etc., as distinct from the more prominent figures or motifs” (*OED*). In heraldry, the “field” refers to the background color of a coat of arms.

²²⁵ “The metal silver” (*OED*).

²²⁶ “*Sable*,...the colour sables, or blacke, in Blason” (Cotgrave). The implication is that all prisoners are made equal, regardless of previous social status, signaled by black clothing.

²²⁷ “One whose profession it is to cure bodily diseases and injuries by manual operation; A surgeon” (*OED*).

Christ pay you; and may be when they come to that Bar the Prisoner's Case will appear much the best of the Two,

Appendix A: Original Passages from *Hell upon Earth*.

This Appendix contains all passages after the Title Page, Dedication, and opening four paragraphs of *Hell upon Earth* that are not contained in *Memoirs of John Hall* or that vary so widely from parallel passages in *Memoirs of John Hall* as to constitute “original” material. The Title page, Dedication, and opening four paragraphs of *Hell upon Earth* are entirely original and appear in this edition before the start of the text of *Memoirs of John Hall*.

Entries in this Appendix are keyed to the paragraph and line numbers and opening three words of passages in the *Memoirs of John Hall* text where they are omitted or of which they are significant variants. Footnotes in the *Memoirs of John Hall* text refer to entries in this Appendix using the same paragraph and line numbers and three words. Page numbers from *Hell upon Earth* are given in parenthesis at the end of each Appendix entry.

[13.1 An Interpretation of \]](#)

As for the Male Students which come here, some are very dext’rous for the *Hoist*; that is, two, three or more idle Sparks going together, one of them leans his Head against a Wall, just as Boys do when they Play at *Jack on Nags Tail*,²²⁸ and another standing upon his Back, he climbs into a Window, and throws what he lays Hands on (for all’s Fish that comes to Net) out to his Confederates; then jumping out, away the successful Villains trudge (as fast as a Deserter running from his Colours) to a *Fence*, who is one of those honest Persons who gets a livelihood by buying stoln Goods, giving not above one Third in value for every thing they buy. Some are very expert for the *Sneak*; which is, sneaking into Houses by Night or Day, and pike off with that which is none of their own.²²⁹ Some are very acute for the *Running-Smobble*; which is a Lay

²²⁸ A child’s game in which players climb upon each others’ backs (*Every Boy’s Book*).

²²⁹ own] [o?]wn HUE

Two²³⁰ or Three have together, one of 'em running into a Shop, when People are in a Back-Room, or busie behind a Counter, snatching up something, conveys it to one of his nimble Comrades, and trip it away as fast as a Race-Horse over *New-Market-Heath*.²³¹ Some are very good for the *Sneaking-Budge*; which is, privately stealing any thing off of a Stall. Some are very ingenious at *Tail-drawing*; which is, taking a Gentleman's Sword from his Side at the turning of a Corner, or in a Crowd. Some are good Workmen at *Clouting*; which is, taking Handkerchiefs out of Folks Pockets: But those call'd *Files*, dive into Folks Pockets for Money, or any thing else that happens to come betwixt their Roguish Fingers. Some are well vers'd in the *Dub*; that is, Robbing Dwelling-Houses, Out-Houses, Ware-Houses, Coach-Houses, or Stables, by picking the Locks thereof. Some are for the *Chieving-Lay*; that is, cutting the Leathers which bear up the Coach behind, so falling down, the Coach-Man comes off of his Box to put it up again; in the mean time, an industrious Rogue for Thieving, takes away a Trunk that's ty'd under his Seat. Some are skillful at the *Waggon-Lay*; that is, the gainful Employment of waiting in a dark Morning or Night, at St. *Giles* his Pound, *White-Chappel*, *Knights-bridge*, or *Islington*, or any other place,²³² which the Devil puts into his Imps Heads, for the Waggon coming in, or going out of Town, and take Boxes, Trunks, or other portable Bundles out of them. Many come here for the *Foot-Pad*; and since the 40. *l.* Act²³³ is pass'd, the *Horse-Pads* too, come in pritty thick; and swing for those scaring Words, *Stand and Deliver*.²³⁴ Some are very sharp at the *Prad-Lay*; which is cutting Bags from behind Horses, as People ride along in the Dark. Some are good at

²³⁰ Two] Tw[o?] HUE

²³¹ New Market, also known as Clare Market, is located near Newgate and consists of clusters of narrow, dirty streets lined with butchers and grocers (Wheatley).

²³² Each location listed here refers to a suburban parish with a reputation for criminal activity (Wheatley).

²³³ 40 shillings was the value that would make the theft non-clergyable, and so punishable by death (Friedman). See footnote 96.

²³⁴ Exclamatory demand used by highway robbers, implying that one must deliver his money (Harper).

the *Mill-Lay*; which is breaking into Houses, by forcing Doors or Windows open with Betties²³⁵ and Chizels. Some are expert at *Till-Diving*; which is, going into a Shop with pretence to buy something, and with several Excuses of seeing this thing and that thing, to make the Shop-keeper turn his Back often, they put a small Whale Bone, dawb'd at the end with Bird- Lime,²³⁶ into the Till of the Counter, and draw the Money up. Some are acute for the *Lob*;²³⁷ which is, going into a Shop to have a *Guinea*²³⁸ or *Pistole*²³⁹ chang'd, and the Change being given, the bringer of the Gold telling it over, Palms Two or Three Shillings,²⁴⁰ then returning the Money, says there wants so much, which the Shop-keeper telling over again, and finding short, very innocently crys 'tis true, and makes up the Summ. Some are dext'rous at the *Fam-Lay*; which is, going into a *Goldsmith's Shop*, with pretence to buy a Ring, and several being laid upon the Counter, the Subtle Thief Palms one or two, by means of a little Ale held in a Spoon over the Fire, till it congeals thick like a Syrup, with which the Palm being dawb'd, any light thing sticks to it. Some are good Artists at *Faggot and Stall*; which is, breaking into Peoples Houses, then Binding and Gagging all therein, Rob them. Some are Ingenious at the *Avoirdupois-Lay*;²⁴¹ which is, going into a Shop under pretence of buying some small Matter, or else, if they have no Money, with pretence to write a superscription on a Letter, which has nothing inscribed; and by clapping a Glove, Handkerchief, or Sleeve over Brass Weights, convey them away. Some are acute at *Impudent stealing*; which is cutting out the Backs of Coaches, and taking things from under the Seats. Several Villains come in here upon other Accounts, as some for *Sweet'ning*; which is

²³⁵ See footnote 68

²³⁶ See footnote 70

²³⁷ *Lob*] *L[o?]b*

²³⁸ See footnote 75

²³⁹ See footnote 76

²⁴⁰ See footnote 77

²⁴¹ Avoirdupois: Standard system of weights used in Great Britain for all goods except precious metals, precious stones, and medicines (OED).

dropping Money before People, and taking it up in their sight, inveigle²⁴² a Man (after a hot Dispute with some of their accomplices, who strongly claim halves of what they find) into a House they use, where they draw him into *Cards, Dice, or Buckle and Thong*, which lie planted on the Chimney-Piece, or some other visible Place, and win all his Money; this sort of Vermin likewise go about the Countrey to cheat People out of their Money, by the *Legerdemain*²⁴³ flight²⁴⁴ of *Cups and Ball*, or *Luck in a Bag*.²⁴⁵ Some are expert at *Night-gaming*, or *Venison-stealing*; which is a Sport that proves often *Dear*. Some take great delight in *Lamech's*²⁴⁶ Sin of *Polygamy*; endeavouring to raise their Fortune by the Plurality of Wives. Some tickle their Fancies with Rapes; some are dext'rous at *Kidnapping*; some at *Coyning*;²⁴⁷ some at *Pyrating*;²⁴⁸ some for counterfeiting *Stamp'd Paper*, forging *Bank-Bills, Bills of Exchange, Exchequer Notes, Malt-Tickets, Perjury, Subornation, and Libelling*; and others are very lucky at finding Money, which is the frivolous Excuse of those addicted to put off bad Coyn: But above all, the greatest Crime for which a Man comes here, is *Murder*; a Sin so odious, that our *Creator* expressly says, because it is a defacing of his sacred Image, *Blood requires Blood*.²⁴⁹ (HUE 3)

[36.1 As for the \]](#)

Now this is an *University*, whose Rules and Orders are of an unusual Constitution; for here Women are sent for an unhappy Education as well as Men: Some of the Female Sex come hither for the *Buttock* and *Twang*; that's, going upon the Lay of being pick'd up, and when the *Cully*²⁵⁰ is groping *Fist* in a Dark Ally with his Breeches down, she picks his Pockets, and then

²⁴² See footnote 71

²⁴³ See footnote 73

²⁴⁴ flight] [fl?]ight HUE

²⁴⁵ See footnote 74

²⁴⁶ First polygamist mentioned in the Bible, Book of Genesis (*The King James Bible*).

²⁴⁷ "To make money by stamping metal" (*OED*).

²⁴⁸ The practice of piracy (*OED*).

²⁴⁹ Genesis 9:6 "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed" (*The King James Bible*).

²⁵⁰ "One who is cheated or imposed upon (e.g. by a sharper, strumpet, etc.); a dupe, gull" (*OED*).

crys out her (pretended) Husband is coming, who stands lurking hard by, and rescues the Strumpet,²⁵¹ with *God damn you Sir, What have you to do with my Wife?* Whose frightful Oaths, and drawn Sword, make the deluded *Loggerhead* run away, with the loss of his Money, to save his Life. Some come hither for the *Buttock* and *File*; that is, such as go abroad in a good borrow'd Habit, with a pretended Maid, who catching some senseless *Woodcock*²⁵² in their wheedling Snare, bring him home, where, after a good Treat for Buttocking, they retaliate his Favour, by diving into his Breeches for the remainder of his Cash. And some Strumpets are very industrious Devils at *Shop-lifting*; which is going into a Shop, with pretence to buy something, and as opportunity offers, privately take Goods, and clap them under their Scarves, under their Petticoats, or betwixt their Legs. (HUE 2-3)

[42.1 *Newgate, So call'd* \]](#)

Now you must know, that this ancient Goal is divided into three Parts; to wit, the *Press-yard*, *Master-side*, and *Common-side*; as for the Manner of the *Press-yard* Building, tho' there are glaz'd Windows to the several Chambers thereof, yet are they well fortified inwardly by *Vulcan's*²⁵³ Craft, for fear any of the Students therein shou'd, when they get drunk and mad, tumble out at the Casements; for those Sinners who lie there, having well lin'd their Pockets, by their several Vices and Irregularities²⁵⁴ committed in contempt of the *Law*, are pritty often elevated with outlandish Liquors, taking more delight by half to spend their Time in Tipling,²⁵⁵ than spare an Hour in a Day to pray for their Deliverance from the Burden of Affliction.

²⁵¹ Strumpet] Strmpet HUE

²⁵² "In allusive use (from the ease with which the woodcock is taken in a snare or net), in reference to capture by some trickery, or as a type of gullibility or folly; hence applied to a person: a fool" (*OED*).

²⁵³ See footnote 85

²⁵⁴ Irregularities] Irreg[e?]larities HUE

²⁵⁵ "To drink freely or hard" (*OED*).

The only Air they enjoy here is in a Yard, whose length is scarce so much as one may swing a Cat in it; and as for the breadth 'tis but indifferent, being not much wider than one of the Bulks under the Church, on the West end whereof stand two wooden Images, which has more Fools gazing at their artificial striking every Quarter, than are standing at *London-Bridge* Grates, to see Watermen shoot the Arches at a deep Fall.²⁵⁶ But to make amends for this close Confinement, they have another Conveniency above the rest of their Fellow Students secur'd in the other side of the Prison; for in case it shou'd Rain, they have a small *Piazza* to walk under, where they strut about in as great State as a *Beadle*²⁵⁷ before a Poor Harlot (who is not able to hire a Coach) to *Bridewell* or *New-Prison*.²⁵⁸

When the Wind sits North, blustering *Boreas*²⁵⁹ blows strongly through the Gate Entrance, where if any Swordsman comes to speak with a confin'd Friend, he must deform himself, by leaving his Tail with one of the Keepers, who looks as terrible as an *Irish Bull-beggar*:²⁶⁰ Holding in his Hand (as he leans over the Hatch, or sits on the Bench, under the *Dog-Tavern* Window) a Key, almost as big as that put up for a Weather-Cock on St. *Peter's* Church in *Cornhill*.²⁶¹ (HUE 1-2)

[44.1 You are now \]](#)

Now you are to take notice, that at the first beginning of the World, as there was but one Language, but through *Nimrod's* sinful and most audacious Attempt in Building a Tower, whose

²⁵⁶ "Shooting the arches refers to the dangerous practice of attempting to cross under London Bridge through the arches by boat during high tide where the fall of water on the other side could be as much as five feet, often leading to loss of life and merchandise" (*Encyclopædia Britannica*).

²⁵⁷ "The crier or usher of a law-court; a town-crier" (*OED*).

²⁵⁸ Bridewell Prison and Hospital was established in a former royal palace in 1553 with two purposes: the punishment of the disorderly poor and housing of homeless children in the City of London. Located on the banks of the Fleet River in the City, it was both the first house of correction in the country and a major charitable institution (reflecting the early modern definition of a "hospital") ("Bridewell Prison and Hospital").

²⁵⁹ The Greek god of the north-wind; also the personification of the north-wind. (*OED*).

²⁶⁰ A bull beggar is an imaginary monster or ghost used to frighten children (*OED*).

²⁶¹ St. Peter's Cathedral is located on the highest point in the city of London at the corner of Cornhill and Gracechurch Street (Wheatley).

aspiring Height shou'd reach the Throne of GOD, the Earth was divided into Seventy Two Languages to confound the presumptuous Workmen;²⁶² so now, through the increase of Sin, another Tongue is sprung up among the Wicked, whereby they are able to express their Minds very significantly, to the great prejudice of them they Design to Damage; as you may see by the following Paragraph, the *English* whereof, is inserted under it.

Stoe you bien Cove, cut benean Wids, bien weder Rumvet, and nip a Bung, then we shall have Loure for the boozing Ken; when we bien back in the Duceavil, then we will flesh some Duds off the Ruffmans, or Mill a Ken.

Hold your Peace good Man, speak better Words, we will go to London, and pick a Pocket, then we shall have Money for the Alehouse; when we go back to the Countrey, then we will steal some Cloaths off the Hedges, or break a House.

It is a broken sort of Speech, but daily more and more refin'd; and for the good of Travellers and other People, who may oftentimes save their Money and Lives too, by knowing the *Cant*,²⁶³ I have underneath set down the most necessary Words used by dishonest persons; which I have with great Pains and Labour, as well as Charges, collected from the Knowledge of the chief Professors of the *Canting-Tongue*, now residing in this most noted *Academy* of Sin in *London*; the several Words (as in Dictionaries) being Alphabetically digested. (HUE 4-5)

[153.26 of its Filth \]](#)

Dirt, and poking now and then with an Iron-Rod, in the House of Offices,²⁶⁴ to clear the Vaults, if choak'd with Filth. (HUE 9)

[157.5 made of Clay. \]](#)

²⁶² A reference to the Biblical Tower of Babel. See footnote 101

²⁶³ See footnote 102

²⁶⁴ House of Offices: An outhouse, latrine or toilet. (*OED*)

made of Clay, by the worthy Mr. *Savage*, once exalted in the *Pillory*,²⁶⁵ (the common Fate, that of late years attends *Authors, Booksellers, and Printers*) for crying about the Scurrilous Paper call'd the *Black-List*,²⁶⁶ (HUE 11)

[159.12 describe their Lewdness. \]](#)

describe their Lewdness; which Sex, when bad, exceeds the prophaneness of Man, and thereupon incited my Muse, after a View of their hellish Residence, to compose the following Lines, set to the Tune of *Heaven gave to Man in Paradise, &c.*

SONG.

I.

WHen Subtle Serpent did decieve,

The Woman with Temptation,

Th' ambitious, too believing Eve,

Entail'd on Man Damnation;

And worse and worse their Sex does grow,

As to all Vices given,

Which make them know, which make them know, which make them know,

No Heaven.

II.

Their golden Promises invade

The Province of Man's Reason;

²⁶⁵ See footnote 113.

²⁶⁶ Black-List: a famous title given to a published list of names of those members of Parliament represented as “betraying their country” and being “scandoulously Vitious themselves, both in their Morals and Religion, lewd in Life, and erroneous in Doctrine, having publick Blasphemers, and impudent Deniers of the Divinity of our Blessed Saviour amongst them” (Mackworth). This title was also used to publish such notices to the public of those persons who have been legally prosecuted and convicted of lewd and scandalous crimes. See also *A Black List*.

*And when the rebellious Conquest's made,
They triumph in the Treason:
'Tis their conspiracy to Shake
Poor Man's celest'al Station,
Thus they forsake, thus they forsake, thus they forsake
Salvation.*

III.

*But for the future cursed be
The Man that does adore them;
And, for the quenching Lechery,
VVould any ways implore them.
Adieu, Adieu to VVomankind!
My Heart from them I'll sever;
Then Bliss we'll find, then Bliss we'll find, then Bliss we'll find
For ever. (HUE 12)*

[159.42 when the Days\]](#)

But when the Time's approach'd, that by a Commission of *Oyer and Terminer*,²⁶⁷ a Goal Delivery is made, then the Prisoners are betimes in the Morning conducted down to the *Sessions-House* in the *Old-Baily*, making as they go along a jingling with their Fetters. (HUE 12-13).

²⁶⁷ See footnote 154.

[162.1 Next Sunday Following \]](#)

Next *Sunday* following their fatal Doom, they go to Chappel, to hear Mr. *Ordinary* preach the Condemnation Sermon; which is full of strangers, to see more the miserable Wretches sit round the condemn'd Table, than to hear what is piously deliver'd from the Pulpit: The other Prisoners being separated from the Congregation by such wooden Grates, which the *Lions*²⁶⁸ peep through at the *Tower*; but in such Apartments put, as *Fines* are distinguish'd from *Debtors*,²⁶⁹ and *Debtors* from *Felon*. And after the *Report* is made to the *Queen*, by the Right Worshipful the *Recorder*,²⁷⁰ and the *Dead-Warrant*²⁷¹ sign'd, and sent to the *Sheriffs*, and the Day appointed for their dying, a *Bell-Man*, at dead of Night rings his Bell under *Newgate*, and then with a dismal Voice calls the condemn'd Persons to hear the following Speech. (HUE 11)

[165.1 Think well upon \]](#)

Watch all and pray, the Hour's drawing near, (HUE 11)

[166.1 Lest you are \]](#)

That you before th' Almighty must appear: (HUE 11)

[167.1 Watch then, and \]](#)

Examine well your selves, in time repent, (HUE 11)

[168.1 T' appear so \]](#)

²⁶⁸ A reference to caged animals at the Tower of London: "The Lions Tower, so called from it's being used as a Royal Menagerie, is said to have been first built by Henry I." ("Tower")

²⁶⁹ See footnote 136.

²⁷⁰ A judge having jurisdiction over a particular city or borough. (*OED*)

²⁷¹ "VV" emended to "W." The original lettering was likely the result of a shortage of "W"s for the typeset.

That you may not t' eternal Flames be sent; (HUE 11)

[188.1 The next Morning \]](#)

On the morning they die, they are brought from their dark Den (a lively Type of the Grave) to Chappel, where such as are disposed receive the blessed *Sacrament*; then brought into the *Stone-Hall* (where formerly Charity has been begg'd in old Shoes, hanging out at the Grates)²⁷² their Irons are knocked off, and the Yeoman of the Halter, there adorns them with a hempen Garment, which is to espouse them to a better World, according as their Contrition is sincere in this: Which solemn Ceremony performed, they are conducted down Stairs to the Cart, in which being seated and ty'd, a *Subaltern*,²⁷³ with a white Wand, and Guard of *Serjeants* (who respite a Man in no Place but a *Sponging-House*,²⁷⁴ where they sell their Minutes dearer than a *Watchmaker*) conveys them to the *World's end*; but in their final Voyage, they stop near the West-end of St. *Pulcher's* Church, where a Fellow leans over the Wall, tingling a small Bell, and makes a short *Harangue*, putting them in mind of their latter end; which ended, they proceed onwards again, the Bell tolling at St. *Andrew's* Church, as they ride backwards up the Hill, the same solemnity being likewise observed at Saint *Giles* his Church; where by the *Pound* they may perhaps make another stop at the *Crown*, to enliven their drooping Hearts with a Glass of *Canary*;²⁷⁵ then away they ride again, sometimes looking on the *Mob*, among whom they may chance to espy some of their ill Consorts following them to pick Pockets at *Tyburn*; other times

²⁷² Grates] ~^ HUE

²⁷³ "A junior officer, i.e. one below the rank of captain." Eighteenth-century usage lacks contemporary connotation of oppression (*OED*).

²⁷⁴ "A house kept by a bailiff or sheriff's officer, formerly in regular use as a place of preliminary confinement for debtors" (*OED*).

²⁷⁵ A sweet red wine from the Canary Islands, often of high quality. "Let's water th' Royal Plants with Tears/ Of rich, divine Canary:/ Drink on, Cav'liers, t' all Loyal Peers,/ Then end with Charles and Mary" ("Nedham's").

casting up their Eyes (if endur'd²⁷⁶ with so much Grace) towards that sacred Place, against which they have too often offended; next, with great earnestness throwing up their Hands (which are commonly deck'd with white Gloves, Book in one, and Nosegay or Orange in t'other) in commiseration of the untimely end they've brought on themselves, and Disgrace to their Friends; then being arriv'd to the *Triple-Tree*, consecrated by the Romish Church, for several of their *Martyrs* dying thereon, they declare their perplexed minds to Mr. *Ordinary*,²⁷⁷ and make a short speech to the People, whilst Mr. *Catch* ogles their Habit, and gives instructions to his Man, who waits upon him with a Bag, in which he crams the Hats, Perukes,²⁷⁸ Neckcloths, and rest of the Cloaths of the executed Persons; but penitential Psalm being sung, and Night-cap pull'd over the Eyes, the Cart's drawn away, and with Dismal Screeches they bid the World adieu.

After swinging an Hour between Heaven and Earth, as unworthy of either, they are cut down, stript, and tumbled into a *Highway-grave* together, against *Hide-Park Gate*;²⁷⁹ unless their Friends (who sometimes ride in Coach with Deal Coffin²⁸⁰ cross²⁸¹ the Doors) buy them for interment, or Chyrurgeons²⁸² beg their Carcasses for Anatomizing Operations. This is all the Description I can give of this Place, whose Horror I hope may so much work on irregular Persons for the future, as to make them forsake wicked Courses; and it is my Wish that honest People will be more wary of giving Opportunities to graceless Wretches, who value not the Misery of this Mansion, where Villains Breathe²⁸³ their Discontents against *Magistracy* more securely, and have their Tongues at more liberty than abroad; and to conclude, this is a School

²⁷⁶ endur'd] MJH 1714, MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h; endu'd HUE

²⁷⁷ See footnote 81.

²⁷⁸ A wig (*OED*).

²⁷⁹ Hyde Park Gate: "name given not only to two adjacent streets opening out of the south side of Kensington Road, but also to the whole south-side frontage of that road between Queen's Gate and De Vere Gardens" (Thornbury).

²⁸⁰ See footnote 199.

²⁸¹ Coffin cross] Coffin-cross HUE

²⁸² See footnote 227.

²⁸³ Breathe] Breath HUE

which teaches much Wisdom, but too late, and with Danger; and it is better be a Fool, than come here to learn it.

FINIS.

(HUE 11-2)

Appendix B: Historical Collation

This Appendix collates variant readings among the four textual witnesses described in our “Note on the Text.” In each entry, the lemma—the text to the left of the right bracket—gives the reading adopted for our edition, cited (except for title page variants) by paragraph and line number in our edition. The stemma—the text to the right of the right bracket—records variants from all relevant textual witnesses. In each stemma entry, the variant reading is followed by the sigla abbreviation for the witness defined in our “Note on the Text.” Stemma entries are separated from each other by a semi-colon. In the stemma entries, the symbol ~ denotes repetition of a word from the lemma; the symbol ^ denotes the absence of punctuation present in lemma; and the entry “*omit*” indicates that the witness does not contain the lemma reading when used alone and denotes the absence of a word present in lemma when used with contextual words. If no witness sigla/siglum directly follow the lemma entry bracket, then we have adopted a reading not present in any textual witness, as indicated by the subsequent stemma. These emendations are for the most part discussed in a textual footnote to the lemma phrase where it appears in our edition.

As explained in our “Note on the Text,” the historical collation does not include long passages from HUE that are wholly original to that witness or that differ so extensively from parallel passages in the MJH witnesses as to constitute “original” material. Instead, we have collected such “original” passages from HUE in Appendix A.

Title Page 2. Villanous] MJH 1714; Villanous MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h

Title Page 5. ROBBER.] MJH 1714; ~, MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h

Title Page 6. own] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; *omit* MJH 1708b

Title Page 6. sometime] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; some time MJH 1708h

Title Page 6. DEATH] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Death MJH 1708b

Title Page 7. Life] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~, MJH 1708b

Title Page 7. Thief] MJH 1708h, MJH 1708b; theif MJH 1714

Title Page 7. general] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; General MJH 1708b

Title Page 9. distinctions] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Distinctions MJH 1708b

Title Page 11. Creatures] MJH 1714; People MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h

Title Page 11. Villainies] MJH 1714; Villanies MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h

Title Page 12. Defrauded] MJH 1714; Robb'd MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h

Title Page 12. them,] MJH 1714; ~. MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h

Title Page 14. Truly] MJH 1714; Usefully MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h

Title Page 14-15. Containing more than any Book of this kind, that was ever Printed.] MJH 1714; *omit* MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h

Title Page 17. and] MJH 1708h; *omit* 1708b; and and MJH 1714

Title Page 17-18. The Fourth Edition, with large Additions, and a Description of *Ludgate*, the *Compters*, and other Prisons for Debt.] MJH 1714; ~ Edition^ ~ Debt^ MJH 1708h; *omit* MJH 1708b

Title Page 21. Printed for *F. Baker*, at the *Black-Boy*, in *Pater-noster-Row*. 1714. Price *6 d.*] MJH 1714; Printed, and Sold by *Ben. Bragg*, at the *Raven* in *Pater-Noster-Row*, 1708. MJH 1708b; Printed by *H. Hills*, in *Black-fryars*, near the Water-side. 1708. MJH 1708h

5.1 *Time*] MJH 1714; time MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h

5.3 *built*] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; Built MJH 1708h

5.4 *Excellency*] MJH 1714; Excellence MJH 1708b; Excellent MJH 1708h

- 5.6 *Endowments*] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Endowment MJH 1708b
- 5.6 *is doubtless*] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~, ~, MJH 1708b
- 5.6 *Skill*] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; skill MJH 1708b
- 5.7 *Palace,*] MJH 1714; ~^ MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 5.7 *Things lyes*] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; things lye MJH 1708h
- 5.8 *extra-ordinary*] MJH 1714; extraordinary MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 5.8 *Quality,*] MJH 1714; ~^ MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 5.9 *Humane*] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Human MJH 1708b
- 5.9 *please*] MJH 1714; please in MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 5.9 *fickle and uncertain*] MJH 1714; Fickle omit Uncertain MJH 1708b; Fickle, Uncertain
MHJ 1708h
- 5.9 *Monster has*] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h; ~, as MJH 1714
- 5.10 *its*] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h; it's MJH 1714
- 5.10 *Creatures;*] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~, MJH 1708b
- 5.10 *whoever*] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; who ever MJH 1708b
- 5.10 *to*] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; te MJH 1708h
- 5.11 *(that*] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ^~ MJH 1708b
- 5.11 *alone,)*] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~^ MJH 1708b
- 5.12 *commendable*] MJH 1714; comely MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 5.13 *reduc'd*] MJH 1714; grown MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 5.14 *Ox,*] MJH 1714, MJH 1708h; ~^ MJH 1708b
- 5.14 *Burgo-master's Wife,*] MJH 1714; *Burgomaster's* ~^ MJH 1708b; *Burgo master's* ~,
MJH 1708h

- 5.14 *Ready Money*. 'Tis] MJH 1714; ~^ Tis MJH 1708h; ready ~ MJH 1708b
- 5.15 *us*,] MJH 1714; Books, MJH 1708b; Books; MJH 1708h
- 5.16 *extraordinary*] MJH 1714; most ~ MJH 1708b; most extraordinary MJH 1708h
- 5.18 *Hands*; Sodom,] MJH 1714; ~, ~^ MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 5.18 *Page*,] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; ~; MJH 1708h
- 5.18 *Misterious*] MJH 1714; Mysterious MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 5.19 *incomparable*] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; incomperable MJH 1708h
- 5.19 *off. Not*] MJH 1714; ~; ~ MJH 1708h; ~; not MJH 1708b
- 5.20 *Title*:] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~. MJH 1708b
- 5.20 *or*] MJH 1714; and MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 5.20 *are*] MJH 1714; be MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 5.21 *chief*] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h; cheif MJH 1714
- 5.22 *Poison*] MJH 1714; Poyson MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 5.22 *Honey out*] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; Honeyout MJH 1708h
- 5.22 *Poison*] MJH 1714; Poyson MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 5.23 *Thing*] MJH 1714; thing MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 5.23 *acquaint*] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; acquaint MJH 1708h
- 5.23 *Reader, something surprising too*,] MJH 1714; ~^ (~ ~ ~)^ MJH 1708b; ~, ~ ~ ~,) MJH 1708h
- 5.23 *could*] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; cou'd MJH 1708b
- 5.24 *can*] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [ca?]n MJH 1708b
- 5.24 *do't*,] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; ~^ MJH 1708h
- 5.24 *conclude*] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~, MJH 1708b

- 5.25 *that*] MJH 1714; [th?]at MJH 1708b; that that MJH 1708h
- 5.25 *material Point;*] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Material ~, MJH 1708b
- 5.26 *Thimble*] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; thimble MJH 1708b
- 5.26 *Thing*] MJH 1714; thing, MJH 1708b; thing MJH 1708h
- 5.26 *in Case*] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; ~ a ~ MJH 1708h
- 5.27 *Read;*] MJH 1714; ~, MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 5.27 *Men*] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Man MJH 1708b
- 5.27 *a Genius*] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; *omit* Genius MJH 1708b
- 5.28 *Paradox to*] MJH 1714; ~ [to?] MJH 1708b; Paradoxto MJH 1708h
- 5.28 *Man*] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; man MJH 1708h
- 5.29 *natural*] MJH 1714; Natural MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 5.29 *Goose-quil*] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [?]ose-quil MJH 1708b
- 5.29 *Hands*] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; hands MJH 1708h
- 5.30 *'tis*] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [a?]s MJH 1708b
- 5.30 *saying*] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~, MJH 1708b
- 5.30 *Head to*] MJH 1708b; head ~ MJH 1708h; ~ no MJH 1714
- 5.30 *Secretary*] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; Sactetary MJH 1708h
- 5.31 *good*] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; goad MJH 1708h
- 5.31 *that*] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [?] MJH 1708b
- 5.31 *Clerks*] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [cle?]rks MJH 1708b
- 5.32 *feign*] MJH 1714; fain MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 5.32 *carry*] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; caray MJH 1708h
- 5.32 *Writ*] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; writ MJH 1708b

- 5.34 Decorum] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; De[cor?]um MJH 1708b
- 5.34 *diverting*)] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~^ MJH 1708b
- 5.35 Memoirs.] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; Memories^ MJH 1708h
- 6.1 *Edition*] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; Addition MJH 1708h
- 6.1 Compters] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; compters MJH 1708h
- 6.2 *Characters*] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; Character MJH 1708h
- 6.2 *alive*] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; Alive MJH 1708h
- 7.1 MEMOIRS] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; Memoirs MJH 1708h
- 8.1 Of] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; of MJH 1708h
- 8.1 Villainous] MJH 1714; Villanous MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 9.1 &c] MJH 1714; & c MJH 1708h; The Late Famous and Notorious/ROBBER MJH 1708b
- 10.2 in.] MJH 1714; ~: MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 10.2 Time] MJH 1714; time MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 10.4 are] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; ~, MJH 1708h
- 10.4 Serviceable] MJH 1714; serviceable MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 10.6 Time] MJH 1714; time MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 10.7 Things] MJH 1714; things MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 10.8 others,] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~^ MJH 1708b
- 11.1 myself] MJH 1714; my self MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 11.1 be] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [be?] MJH 1708b
- 11.2 Help] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; help MJH 1708b
- 11.2 affirm] MJH 1714; ~, MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h

- 11.2 Genius] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; genius MJH 1708h
- 11.3 Actions] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; actions MJH 1708h
- 11.3 common] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Common MJH 1708b
- 11.6 *Coutrey*] MJH 1714; Country MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 11.7 over,] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~^ MJH 1708b
- 11.7 Time enough] MJH 1714; time *omit* MJH 1708b; time ~ MJH 1708h
- 11.8 a] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [the?] MJH 1708b
- 11.8 a] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [a?] MJH 1708b
- 12.4 Heathenishly,] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~^ MJH 1708b
- 12.6 committing,] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~^ MJH 1708b
- 12.6 Pilfering,] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~^ MJH 1708b
- 12.6 should] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; shou'd MJH 1708b
- 12.8 improve] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [im?]prove MJH 1708b
- 12.8 dear] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; clear MJH 1708b
- 12.8 till] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [that?] MJH 1708b
- 12.9 is as] MJH 1714; it ~ MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 12.9 Step] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; step MJH 1708b
- 12.10 Time] MJH 1714; time MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 12.10 its] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [its?] MJH 1708b
- 12.10 launches] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [?]nches MJH 1708b
- 12.12 Condition] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; C[?]g[?]tion MJH 1708b
- 12.12 an Apprentice] MJH 1714; a Prentice MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 12.13 (] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ^ MJH 1708b

- 12.15 Time] MJH 1714; time, MJH 1708b; time MJH 1708h
- 12.16 Gang] MJH 1714; ~, MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 12.17 it;] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~, MJH 1708b
- 12.18 Dextrous] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Dexterous MJH 1708b
- 12.18 Commonwealth] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; common wealth MJH 1708h
- 12.19 the] MJH 1714; a MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 12.20 compleat] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Compleat MJH 1708b
- 12.21 Profit] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Pr[?] MJH 1708b
- 12.22 Conscience, that] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~, omit MJH 1708b
- 12.22 sells] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Sells MJH 1708b
- 12.22 buys] MJH 1714; Buys MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 12.22 Penworth,] MJH 1714; Penniworth MJH 1708b; Penniworth, MJH 1708h
- 12.23 rare,] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~^ MJH 1708b
- 12.23 Trades] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; trades MJH 1708h
- 12.23 like] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; as MJH 1708b
- 12.24 one] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [one?] MJH 1708b
- 12.24 keep] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [?] MJH 1708b
- 12.24 counsel] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Counsel MJH 1708b
- 12.25 Honesty] MJH 1714; honesty MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 12.25 frequents,] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~^ MJH 1708b
- 12.26 others;] MJH 1714; ~, MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 12.27 Un-genteel] MJH 1714; ungentel[el?] MJH 1708b; Ungenteel MJH 1708h
- 12.27 Crime] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; crime MJH 1708h

- 12.28 which] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; w[hich?] MJH 1708b
- 12.28 while] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; w[?] MJH 1708b
- 12.29 Money] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; M[?] MJH 1708b
- 12.30 again,] MJH 1714; gain, MJH 1708b; ~^ MJH 1708h
- 12.30 only] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [only?] MJH 1708b
- 12.31 Tythe-Pig] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~^^ MJH 1708b
- 12.31 the] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [the?] MJH 1708b
- 12.32 its] MJH 1714; as [?] MJH 1708b; as ~ MJH 1708h
- 12.32 enough] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; anough MJH 1708h
- 12.32 Undertaking;] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Undertakings, MJH 1708b
- 12.34 with] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [with?] MJH 1708b
- 12.34 however, I] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; howeve[r I?] MJH 1708b
- 12.34 dares] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; d[?] MJH 1708b
- 12.35 any] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; auy MJH 1708h
- 12.35 Point] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; P[?] MJH 1708b
- 12.36 Countrey-house,] MJH 1714; Country-Ho[use,?] MJH 1708b; country-House, MJH 1708h
- 12.36 Months] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; Monthes MJH 1708h
- 12.36 in] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [?] MJH 1708b
- 12.36 Year;] MJH 1714; ~, MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 12.37 Matter] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; matter MJH 1708h
- 12.37 ‘twere] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [?]were MJH 1708b
- 12.38 Acquaintance] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [?]quaintance MJH 1708b

- 12.38 *Petit*] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; *Peti*[t?] MJH 1708h
- 12.38 *Larcenary*] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; *Larce*-[?]y MJH 1708b
- 12.39 *compassionate*] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; *Compassionate* MJH 1708b
- 12.39 *Character*] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; *Chracter* MJH 1708h
- 12.39 *is*] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [*is*?] MJH 1708b
- 12.40 *People*;] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~, MJH 1708b
- 12.40 *Companions*] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; *companions* MJH 1708h
- 12.40 *Danger*] MJH 1714; ~, MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 12.41 *them*;] MJH 1714; ~, MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 12.41 *Compact*] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; *compact* MJH 1708h
- 12.41 *no*] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [*no*?] MJH 1708b
- 12.42 *a*] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [*a*?] MJH 1708b
- 12.42 *Durance*] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [?]rance MJH 1708b
- 12.43 *their*] MJH 1714; *they're* MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 12.44 *Vicissitude*] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; *vicissitude* MJH 1708b
- 12.44 *Things*] MJH 1714; *things* MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 12.45 *Community*] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; *community* MJH 1708b
- 12.46 *Governments*] MJH 1714; *Government* MJH 1708b; *Goverments* MJH 1708h
- 12.47 *purely*] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; *entirely* MJH 1708b
- 12.47 *tho' it*] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~ [?] MJH 1708b
- 12.47 *Halter*;] MJH 1714; ~, MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 12.49 *their*] MJH 1714; *there several* MJH 1708b; ~several MJH 1708h
- 12.49 *Pick-pocket*] MJH 1714; *Pickpocket* MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h

12.50 Reputable House-breaker] MJH 1714; ReputableHouse-[Br]eaker MJH 1708b; ~
Housebreaker MJH 1708h

12.50 Peace] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [P?]eace MJH 1708b

12.51 Man] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; man MJH 1708h

14.1 get] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; go MJH 1708b

16.1 off] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; out MJH 1708b

18.1 Handkerchiefs] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; Hankerchiefs MJH 1708h

20.1 Ware-houses] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Warehouses MJH 1708b

20.1 Coach] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; Choach MJH 1708h

21.1 Chieving] MJH 1714; Cheiving MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h

21.1 Leathers] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Leather MJH 1708b

25.1 Passengers] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; Pessengers MJH 1708h

27.2 seeing] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h; see[i?]ng MJH 1714

27.2 Thing, to] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~, [?] MJH 1708b

27.3 they] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [th?]ey MJH 1708b

27.3 End] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [en?]d MJH 1708b

29.1 Fam] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h; [P?]am MJH 1714

29.1 Goldsmiths'] Goldsmith's MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h; Goldsmiths MJH 1714

29.1 pretense] MJH 1714; pretence MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h

30.2 therein] MJH 1714; therin MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h

31.1 cutout] MJH 1714; cut out MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h

32.3 they] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ye MJH 1708b

32.5 Countrey] MJH 1714; Country MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h

- 32.6 Legerdemain] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Leger-demain MJH 1708b
- 32.7 for] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; of MJH 1708b
- 38.1 frightening] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; frightening MJH 1708h
- 41.3 Structure] MJH 1714; Stucture MJH 1708b; Structere MJH 1708h
- 41.7 Arse makes him] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~, makes him a MJH 1708b
- 41.7 Times the Jugler's] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; times in the Jugler's MJH 1708b
- 42.1 viz] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; to wit HUE
- 42.2 Pre-eminence] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Preeminence MJH 1708b
- 42.3 thither] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; hither MJH 1708b
- 42.4 *to't.*] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h; ~^ MJH 1714
- 42.4 the Modern] MJH 1714; Modern MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 42.4 Calculation] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; Calcution MJH 1708h
- 42.5 that] MJH 1714; who MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 42.5 experience'd] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; experinc'd MJH 1708h
- 42.8 and] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; of MJH 1708b
- 42.8 of] MJH 1714; to MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 42.10 fortifi'd] MJH 1714; fortify'd MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 42.11 either] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; are either MJH 1708b
- 42.11 Nantz] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Nants MJH 1708b
- 42.12 Suggestion] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Suggestions MJH 1708b
- 42.13 out-measure] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; outmeasures MJH 1708b
- 42.19 under Ground] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h; underGround MJH 1714
- 42.20 his] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h; a MJH 1714

- 42.22 split] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; spilt MJH 1708h
- 42.31 decay] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Delay MJH 1708b
- 42.23 Bankrupts] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; Baukrupts MJH 1708h
- 42.23 promiscuously] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; promicuously MJH 1708b
- 42.29 them] MJH 1714; ‘em MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 43.1 Scholar] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Schollar HUE
- 43.2 there] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; to Newgate HUE
- 43.2 Virtue] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Vertue HUE, MJH 1708b
- 43.2 Mittimus, he] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Mittimus, which word sounds as terrible in his Ears, as God-damn-me in the hearing of a good Christian HUE
- 43.2 delivered] MJH 1714; deliver’d HUE, MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 43.3 as soon] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h; as soon as a Scribler records him for a Villain HUE; assoon MJH 1714
- 43.6 guzzelling] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; guzling HUE; guzzling MJH 1708b
- 43.6 midst] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; mid[st?] MJH 1708b
- 43.7 filthy] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; fil[t?]hy MJH 1708h
- 43.9 by] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; but MJH 1708b
- 43.10 Butcher] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Butchers HUE, MJH 1708b
- 43.10 Kitchen] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Kitchin MJH 1708b
- 43.11 Wenches] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; VVenches HUE
- 43.13 and] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; or HUE
- 43.14 cann’t] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; can’t HUE
- 43.15 cloth] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Cloath HUE

- 43.15 Cloak] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Clo[ak?] MJH 1708b
- 43.16 cann't] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; can't HUE
- 43.17 not] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [or?] MJH 1708b
- 43.17 stopp'd] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; stop'd HUE
- 43.17 Man's] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; Man MJH 1708h
- 43.19 unparallel'd] MJH 1714; unparallel'd MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 43.19 brazen fac'd Malefactor] MJH 1714; brazen'd Face Rascal HUE; brazen'd Face Malefactor MJH 1708b; brazen-fac'd malefactor MJH 1708h
- 43.20 cann't] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; can't HUE, MJH 1708h
- 43.20 Nine] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [N?]ine MJH 1708b
- 43.21 then they are] MJH 1714; then are they MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 43.22 join'd] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; joyn'd HUE
- 43.22 like so many Huts] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; in the same manner HUE
- 43.22 tho] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; [t?]ho MJH 1708h
- 43.22 tho' they took their Order from Martial Discipline] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; the Soldiers Lousie Beds, in the Barracks of Portsmouth or Plymouth Garrison HUE
- 43.22 Order] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [O?]rder MJH 1708b
- 43.23 Things go] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~ [?] MJH 1708b
- 43.24 instead] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; inste[a?]d MJH 1708h
- 43.24 lying] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [ly?]ing MJH 1708b
- 43.24 lye] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; lie HUE
- 43.25 distil] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; di[stil?]l MJH 1708b
- 43.25 Oil] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Oyl HUE

- 43.26 got] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [go?]t MJH 1708b
- 43.26 Coin] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Coyn HUE
- 43.27 Old] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; O[l?]d MJH 1708h
- 44.1 Language] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; L[a?]nguage MJH 1708h
- 44.2 projected] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; prejected MJH 1708h
- 44.2 into Seventy] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h; inSeventy MJH 1714
- 44.4 is sprung] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [?] ~ MJH 1708b
- 44.6 to the] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [?] ~ MJH 1708b
- 44.6 Prejudice] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; Prejudic MJH 1708h
- 48.1 Apron] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; Aporn MJH 1708h
- 54.1 Boozing-Ken, an Ale-house] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; *omit* HUE
- 55.1 Buffer] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Bu[ff]er MJH 1708b
- 56.1 *Blunt*, Money.] MJH 1708b; *omit* MJH 1708h, MJH 1714
- 58.1 Cackler's] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Cacklers HUE, MJH 1708b
- 58.1 Henroost] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Hen-roost HUE; Hen roost MJH 1708b
- 59.1 Case] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Cafe HUE
- 61.1 Knife] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; a ~ HUE
- 64.1 Countrey] MJH 1714; Country HUE, MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 66.1 Cuffin] MJH 1708h; Cu[?]an MJH 1708b; Cu[ff?]in MJH 1714
- 67.1 Cute, a Warrant.] MJH 1708h; C[?]e, a Warrant. MJH 1708b; Cute, a Warrant, MJH 1714; *omit* HUE
- 73.1 Countrey] MJH 1714; Country MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 79.1 Countrey Cart] MJH 1714; Country Cant HUE, MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h

- 84.1 Stout] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Satout HUE, MJH 1708b
- 88.1 Countrey] MJH 1714; Country HUE, MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 95.1 Job, a Pound] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; *omit* HUE
- 97.1 Juggler's] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Jugler's HUE
- 97.1 Burning] HUE, MJH 1708b; Bu[m?]ing MJH 1708h; Bumming MJH 1714
- 101.1 Knapper's] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Knappers HUE, MJH 1708b
- 101.1 Sheep's] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Sheeps HUE, MJH 1708b
- 104.1 Halfpeny] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Half-penny HUE; Half-peny MJH 1708b
- 108.1 skull] HUE, MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h; scul MJH 1714
- 113.1 Nubbing-Cheat] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Nubbing-Chit HUE
- 113.1 Wings] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; VVings HUE
- 115.1 Pad] HUE, MJH 1708b; Pan 1708h, 1714
- 126.1 Rattler] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Ratler HUE
- 132.1 Hat] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; Hap MJH 1708h
- 133.1 Wheedle] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; weadle HUE, MJH 1708b
- 134.1 Simon] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; Smon MJH 1708h
- 135.1 Slat] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; S[!?]at MJH 1708b
- 138.1 Stockdrawers] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Stockdrawders HUE, MJH 1708b
- 141.1 Swag] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Swagg HUE
- 145.1 Waggon.] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Waggon, best word. HUE
- 147.1 Vil] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Til MJH 1708b
- 148.1 Wedge] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; VVedge HUE
- 149.1 Wind, a Peny.] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; VVind, a Penny, HUE

150.1 Wipe] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; VVipe HUE

150.1 Handkerchief] HUE, MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h; Handkercheif MJH 1714

151.1 Wit] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; VVit HUE

152.1 Yellow] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; Yello[w?] MJH 1708h

153.1 passing] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714, HUE; Passing MJH 1708h

153.1 Part] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; part HUE

153.2 Suspicion] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; suspicion HUE

153.2 Talk] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; talk HUE

153.3 *Common-side*: Those] MJH 1708b, HUE; ~, ~ MJH 1708h; ~; those MJH 1714

153.3 Scholars] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Schollars HUE

153.3 here] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~, HUE

153.4 Side] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [hi]de HUE

153.5 a] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, HUE; the MJH 1714

153.5 Hand,] ~^ MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Hands^ MJH 1708b; Hands, HUE

153.5 Three Knocks] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; three knocks HUE

153.6 at] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714, HUE; [a?]t MJH 1708b

153.6 Stair-Foot] MJH 1708b; Stair foot MJH 1708h; Stair-foot MJH 1714; Stair Foot HUE

153.6 Signal] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; signal HUE

153.6 is] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; i[s?] HUE

153.6 up;] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~, HUE

153.7 Garnish] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~, HUE

153.7 One] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; one HUE

153.8 Signal] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; signal HUE

153.8 Baker's] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, HUE; Bakers MJH 1714

153.8 Morning,] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, HUE; ~^ MJH 1714

153.8 Poor Prisoners who,] MJH 1714; poor Prisoners who, MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h; poor Prisoners, who HUE

153.9 Strokes] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; stroaks HUE

153.10 only] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714 HUE; o[nly?] MJH 1708b

153.11 Vices] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714, HUE; Vice[s?] MJH 1708b

153.11 ill-mannerly] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ill[-?]mannerly MJH 1708b; ill mannerly HUE

153.11 Reverence] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714, HUE; Reverance MJH 1708h

153.12 Grate] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714, HUE; Gra[?] MJH 1708b

153.12 a] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714, HUE; [a] MJH 1708b

153.12 Couple] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; couple HUE

153.12 good-natur'd] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; Goodnatur'd MJH 1708h; good natur'd HUE

153.13 him] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~, HUE; [h?] MJH 1708b

153.13 Two] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; two HUE

153.13 Six-pence] MJH 1714; Six Pence MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h; Six pence HUE

153.14 apiece] ~, MJH 1708b; *omit* MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; a piece HUE

153.14 Priviledge] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714, HUE; Privilege MJH 1708h

153.14 to] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714, HUE; *omit* MJH 1708b

153.15 so] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714, HUE; *omit* MJH 1708b

153.15 Piece] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; piece HUE

153.15 Carrion] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714, HUE; Carrin MJH 1708h

153.15 for] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714, HUE; *omit* MJH 1708b

153.16 Pence] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; pence HUE

153.16 Old] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; old MJH 1708b, HUE

153.16 Prescription] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; prescription MJH 1708h; ~, HUE

153.17 Mind] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~, HUE

153.17 entring in] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; entering into HUE

153.18 to] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714, HUE; [to?] MJH 1708b

153.18 it. Then] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; it; then HUE

153.18 the] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714, HUE; t[he?] MJH 1708b

153.19 for] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714, HUE; [for?] MJH 1708b

153.19 Pence] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~, HUE

153.19 Charity-meat,] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Charity Meat, HUE; Charity Meal^ MJH 1708b

153.19 charitably disposed] HUE; charitable disposed MJH 1708b; Charitable-disposed MJH 1708h, MJH 1714

153.20 Earthen] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; earthen HUE

153.20 Porringers] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714, HUE; Porrigers MJH 1708b

153.21 Wooden Spoons] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Wooden-Spoons HUE

153.21 Cabbage-Nets] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714, HUE; Cabba[ge?] Nets MJH 1708b

153.21 Dinner-time] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Dinner-Time HUE

153.21 as] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714, HUE; [as?] MJH 1708b

153.21 Burnt Brandy and Brimstone Possets] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Burnt Brandy and Brimstone Po[ss?] MJH 1708b; Plate HUE

153.22 *Lucifer's Kitchen*,] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; a great Lord's Kitchin on a Festival; HUE

153.22 swelt'red Cook sweats] MJH 1714; sweltred Cook sweats HUE; sweltred Co[ok sweats MJH 1708b; sweltred Cooksweats MJH 1708h

153.22 Porridging] MJH 1714; Porrying MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, HUE

153.23 Scholars] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Schollars HUE

153.23 Kitchen] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Kitchin MJH 1708b, HUE

153.24 Colledge Broth; but] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; College Broth [.] But MJH 1708b

Colledge Broth: But HUE

153.24 Dues,] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Dues; HUE; [d?]ues, MJH 1708b

153.24 next] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~, MJH 1708b, HUE

153.24 Two] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; two HUE

153.24 other] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714, HUE; o[t?]her MJH 1708h

153.26 Halfpence] MJH 1708h; MJH 1714; Half-pence MJH 1708b, HUE

153.26 apiece] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; a piece HUE

153.26 more] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~, HUE

153.26 clearing] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, HUE; cleaning MJH 1714

153.26 Filth, which requires the Labour of *Sisiphus*, and is never to be ended] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; *omit* H

153.27 *Sisiphus*] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; *isisphus* MJH 1708b; *omit* HUE

153.27 at the Signal of the *Grey-Pease* Woman] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; at the Signal of the *Grey Pease* Woman] MJH 1708b; after the *Gray-Pease-Woman* HUE

153.28 is] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714, HUE; *omit* MJH 1708b

153.28 Seven] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714, HUE; Sev[e?]n MJH 1708h

153.28 Eight,] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Eight at Night HUE

153.29 to] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714, HUE; *omit* MJH 1708b

153.29 Civility-Money,] MJH 1714; Civility Money, MJH 1708b; ~ ^ MJH 1708h; civility
Money, HUE

153.29 lye] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; lie HUE

153.30 *Middle-Ward*] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; *Middle Ward* MJH 1708b, HUE

153.30 (to give the Devils their Due)] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ^~ ~ ~ ~ due,
HUE

153.30 clean, where] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; clean; Where

153.31 he] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714, HUE; He MJH 1708b

153.32 One] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; one HUE

153.32 he] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; *omit* HUE

153.32 Free] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; free HUE

153.32 Colledge] MJH 1714, HUE; College MJH 1708b; MJH 1708h

153.32 *Metriculated*] MJH 1708b, HUE; *Matriculated* MJH 1708h; MJH 1714

154.1 *Lower-Ward*] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; *Lower Ward* MJH 1708b; *Lower ward* HUE

154.1 tight-slovenly] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; tight slovenly MJH 1708b, HUE

154.1 lye] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; lying MJH 1708b; HUE

154.1 Blankets] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Blanckets HUE

154.2 *Sir-Reverence*] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714, HUE; *Sir Reverence* MJH 1708b

154.2 Backside] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Back-yard HUE

154.3 Damn'd] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; damn'd HUE

154.3 Roasted] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; roasted HUE

154.3 crackling] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714, HUE; cracking MJH 1708b

154.4 their] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; *omit* HUE

154.4 Noise] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~, MJH 1708b; noise, HUE

154.4 Garden-walks] MJH 1714; Garden-walks MJH 1708b; Garden walks MJH 1708h;
Garden-Walks HUE

154.5 Nasty] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; nasty MJH 1708b, HUE

154.5 adjoining] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; adjoyning HUE

154.5 *Stone-Hold*] MJH 1714, HUE; *Stone Hold* MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h

154.5 *Convicts*] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714, HUE; *convicts* MJH 1708h

154.5 lye] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; lie, HUE

154.5 Free] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714, HUE; free MJH 1708b

154.6 Use of Mercy,] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714, ~^ MJH 1708b; use of Mercy, HUE

154.6 come] MJH 1714, HUE; [c?]ome MJH 1708b; MJH 1708h

154.7 low] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714, HUE; Low MJH 1708h

154.7 meagre] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714, HUE; meager MJH 1708h

154.8 Drink] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~, HUE

154.8 is] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714, HUE; [i?]s MJH 1708b

155.1 walking,] MJH 1708b, HUE; ~^ MJH 1708h, MJH 1714

155.2 Room,] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~^ HUE

155.2 *High-Hall*,] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; *High Hall*, MJH 1708b; ~; HUE

155.2 you] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714, HUE; ~, MJH 1708h

155.3 puzzle] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714, HUE; puzzel MJH 1708h

155.4 or Kind of Nasty] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; of a kind of nasty MJH 1708b, HUE

155.5 Executions;] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714, HUE; ~^ MJH 1708b

155.5 at] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714, HUE; *omit* MJH 1708b

155.6 here,] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714, HUE; ~^ MJH 1708b

155.6 threadbare] MJH 1708b, HUE; thread-bare MJH 1708h; MJH 1714

155.6 Northside] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; North side MJH 1708h; North-side, HUE

155.7 Room] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714, HUE; ~, MJH 1708b

155.7 *Buggering-Hold*] MJH 1714; *Buggering Hold* MJH 1708b, 1708h, HUE

155.7 takes] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714, HUE; take MJH 1708h

155.8 there] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~, HUE

155.9 Sodomy. Here] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Sodomy; here HUE

155.9 Fines] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714, HUE; fines MJH 1708h

155.9 lye] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; lie HUE

155.9 perhaps,] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714, HUE; ~^ MJH 1708b

155.9 an] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714, HUE; and MJH 1708h

155.9 Outlaw'd] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; outlaw'd HUE

155.10 situated in] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; scituated in, HUE

155.11 demonstrate] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; demonstate HUE

155.11 lyes 90] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; lies Ninety HUE

155.11 *Artick Pole*] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; *Artick-Pole* HUE

155.12 the Year,] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~^ MJH 1708b; a Year, HUE

155.13 there] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~, HUE

155.13 a vying] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714, HUE; avying MJH 1708h

155.13 have] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~, HUE

155.13 Rail] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714, HUE; rai[l?] MJH 1708b

155.14 Success] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; success HUE

155.15 Fellowship. There] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Fellowship: There MJH 1708b, HUE

155.15 Thing of no Use,] MJH 1714; thing of no Use, MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h thing of no use;
HUE

155.16 Suit] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714, HUE; suit MJH 1708h

155.16 faster] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~, HUE

155.16 Cards or Dice] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Cards, or Dice, HUE

155.16 thinks] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714, HUE; think[s?] MJH 1708b

155.17 lye] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; lie HUE

155.17 Room,] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~^ HUE

155.18 which,] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; ~^ MJH 1708h, HUE

155.18 to] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, HUE; *omit* MJH 1714

155.18 *Lower-Ward*] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; *Lower Ward* MJH 1708b; *Lower-ward* HUE

155.18 nastiest Place] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; Nastiest Place MJH 1708h; nastiest place HUE

155.18 Goal. The miserable] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Goal.' The Miserable MJH 1708b; Goal;
the miserable HUE

155.19 hereof] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, HUE; thereof MJH 1714

155.19 Debtors] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714, HUE; debtor MJH 1708h

155.20 Ascent] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~, HUE

155.20 lye] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; lie, HUE

155.20 *Tilt-yard*. These] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; *Tilt-yard*: These HUE

155.21 commonly] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, HUE; ~, MJH 1714

155.21 Creditors,] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714, HUE; ~^ MJH 1708h

155.22 Stroke] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; great Stroak HUE

155.22 likewise] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; like-wise, HUE

155.23 Name] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~, HUE

155.23 lye] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; lie HUE

155.24 call'd *omit*] MJH 1714, HUE; call'd your MJH 1708b; MJH 1708h

155.25 Burnt] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; burnt HUE

155.25 Whipt] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; VVhipt HUE

155.25 Satisfaction] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; satisfaction HUE

155.26 there] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~, HUE

155.1 one] MJH 1714, HUE; One MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h

156.1 Pair] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; pair HUE

156.1 them] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~, HUE

156.1 Ketch] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Catch HUE

156.1 Kitchen] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Kitching HUE

156.2 Oil] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Oyl HUE

156.2 Traitors who] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Traytors that HUE

156.2 several] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714, HUE; Several MJH 1708b

156.3 Sorts] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; sorts HUE

156.3 *High-Treason.*] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; *High Treason.* MJH 1708h; *High-Treason:*
HUE

156.3 are] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, HUE; is MJH 1714

156.3 adjoining] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; adjoyning HUE

156.3 Rooms] MJH 1714; ~, MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, HUE

156.3 hire] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~, HUE

156.4 mind] MJH 1714; Mind MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, HUE

156.4 Kitchen] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Kitchin HUE

156.4 Flesh] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; flesh HUE

156.5 dress'd] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, HUE; dressed MJH 1714

156.5 Room] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714, HUE; room MJH 1708h

156.5 *Debtor's-Hall*] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714, HUE; *Debtors Hall* MJH 1708b

156.6 there,] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~; HUE

156.6 Sea,] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714, HUE; ~; MJH 1708b

156.6 Ribs] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, HUE; Rib MJH 1714

156.6 here] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, HUE; there MJH 1714

156.7 Ruins] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Relicks HUE

156.7 Estate:] HUE; ~, MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714

156.7 Buttons,] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~; HUE

156.8 Sleeves.] HUE; ~: MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714

156.8 And a Pair] MJH 1708h; And Pair MJH 1708b; Andjone Pair MJH 1714; And a pair
HUE

156.8 lye] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; lie HUE

156.9 Seven] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~, HUE

157.1 Sin] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; sin HUE

157.2 Understanding] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, HUE; Understandings MJH 1714

157.2 Publick] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; publick, MJH 1708b, HUE

157.3 Alehouses] MJH 1708b, HUE; Ale-houses MJH 1708h; MJH 1714

157.3 they] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; we HUE

157.3 sit] MJH 1708h, HUE; [f?]it MJH 1708b; fit MJH 1714

157.3 pleasant] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714, HUE; Pleasant MJH 1708h

157.4 Buts] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, HUE; Butts MJH 1714

157.4 Barrels;] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~, HUE

157.4 Grievance herein] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; grievance herein, HUE

157.5 Candles,] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714, HUE; ~^ MJH 1708b

157.5 Square] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; square HUE

157.6 remotest] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; most remote HUE

157.7 Faith,] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Faith^ MJH 1708b, HUE

157.7 says,] MJH 1714, HUE; says^ MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h

157.7 *Evidence*] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; *evidence* HUE

157.7 *Things*] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714, HUE; *Thing[s?]* MJH 1708b

157.7 *seen,*)] MJH 1714; *seen,* MJH 1708b; *seen^*) MJH 1708h

157.7 Suttler] MJH 1708h; MJH 1714; Sutler MJH 1708b, HUE

157.8 God,] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714, HUE; God^ MJH 1708b

157.8 her] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; *omit* HUE

157.9 good Condition'd] MJH 1714, HUE; Good-condition'd MJH 1708b; Good Condition'd MJH 1708h

157.10 Employment] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~, HUE

157.10 think] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; think, HUE

157.10 *ceas'd.* She] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; *ceas'd.* She HUE

157.10 short] MJH 1714, HUE; Short MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h

157.11 Pots] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Pot[s?] HUE

157.12 their] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; the HUE

157.13 Entertainment^] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Entertainment, HUE

157.13 put] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; pu[t?] HUE

158.1 Tumult] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714, HUE; Tumul[u?] MJH 1708h

158.1 the Prisoners] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; thePrisoners HUE

158.3 *High-Hall*] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714, HUE; High Hall MJH 1708h

158.3 Stairs,] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~^ HUE

158.3 Turnkey] MJH 1714; ~, MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, HUE

158.3 Way] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; way HUE

158.3 Ringing] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ringing HUE

158.4 out,] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~^ MJH 1708b, HUE

158.4 double,] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; double; HUE

158.4 Alarm several] MJH 1714, MJH 1708h; Alarm Several MJH 1708b; Alarm, several
HUE

158.5 Goal come] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Goal, come HUE

158.5 Mutiny;] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Mutiny,

158.6 high Spirited] HUE; High-spirited MJH 1708b; Highspirited MJH 1708h; high-spirited
MJH 1714

158.6 Fellows] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~, MJH 1708b, HUE

158.6 accept] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714, HUE; except MJH 1708h

158.6 Gallows] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~, HUE

158.7 Trade,] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Trade^ MJH 1708b, HUE

158.7 *Devil's*] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; *Devils* HUE

158.8 Spider] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; spider HUE

158.8 are] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; *omit* HUE

158.8 there] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714, HUE; [h?]ere MJH 1708b

158.8 shear'd,] MJH 1714; Shear'd^ MJH 1708b; Shear'd, MJH 1708h, HUE

158.8 into Bilboes] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h; intoBilboes MJH 1714; into Bilb[u]es HUE

158.9 handcufft] MJH 1714; Handcufft MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, HUE

158.10 factious] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Factious MJH 1708b; Fractious HUE

158.10 they are] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; are they MJH 1708b, HUE

158.11 Press-room] MJH 1714; Press-Room MJH 1708b, HUE; Press Room MJH 1708h

158.11 Trial] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Tryal, HUE

158.11 press'd] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Press'd HUE

158.12 Ground] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ground HUE

158.13 Wood,] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Wood^ HUE

158.13 Square Post] MJH 1714; square post MJH 1708b; square Post MJH 1708h, HUE

158.14 Cieling] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714, HUE; Ceiling MJH 1708b

158.14 Weights] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~, HUE

158.14 upon them] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; them upon HUE

158.15 lyes] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; lies HUE

158.15 Time, according] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; time,according

158.15 he is] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; *omit* HUE

158.15 favour'd,] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [fa?]vour'd, MJH 1708b, favour'd; HUE

159.1 Women] MJH 1708b, HUE; Woman MJH 1708h; MJH 1714

159.1 Apartment] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; ~, MJH 1708h, HUE

159.1 *Common-side*,] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; *common-side*, MJH 1708h, *Common-side*; HUE

159.2 there are] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; I view'd HUE

159.2 *Hell-cats*] MJH 1714; *Hell[-]Cats* MJH 1708b; *Hell-Cats* MJH1708h; *Hell-Cats*, HUE

159.2 together,] MJH 1714, HUE; ~^ MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h

159.3 Room, having] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Room: Having HUE

159.3 themselves] MJH 1708b, MJH1708h, MJH 1714; ~; HUE

159.3 adjoining] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; adjoyning HUE

159.3 Foot Passage] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, HUE; Foot-passage MJH 1714

159.5 swear *Extempore*,] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Swear Extempore; MJH 1708b;
extempory HUE

159.5 odious Prophanation] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; odiousProphanation HUE

159.6 that Vollies] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; that Vallies MJH 1708b; thatVollies HUE

159.7 asleep] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; a sleep HUE

159.8 Cellar] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~, HUE

159.8 it,] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~; HUE

159.8 *Covent-Garden*]MJH 1708b, MJH 1714, HUE; *Covent Garden* MJH 1708h

159.9 peddling] MJH 1714, HUE; peddling MJH 1708b; MJH 1708h

159.9 fetch] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714, HUE; serch MJH 1708h

159.9 Drink in Tubs^] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Drink[s] in Tubs^ MJH 1708b; Drink in Tubs,
HUE

159.10 Brewing Day] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; brewing Day; HUE

159.10 Sutler there] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Sutler there, HUE

159.11 Whiteness] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714, MJH 1708b; whiteness HUE

159.11 Linen] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Linnen HUE

159.11 Licentiousness] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Licentiousness HUE

159.11 Women] MJH 1708b, HUE; Woman MJH 1708h, MJH 1714

159.11 Side] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; side MJH 1708h, HUE

159.12 Lewdness.] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; Lwedness. MJH 1708h; Lewdness; HUE

159.13 inhabit] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; inhabite MJH 1708h; *omit* HUE

159.15 *Tyger*,] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; *Tyger*; MJH 1708b

159.20 suit] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h; suits MJH 1714; *omit* HUE

159.20 for] MJH 1714, For MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h; *omit* HUE

159.20 Pillars,] MJH 1714, MJH 1708h; ~^ MJH 1708b; *omit* HUE

159.20 Mercy,] MJH 1714, MJH 1708h; ~^ MJH 1708b; *omit* HUE

159.21 support] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; Support MJH 1708h; *omit* HUE

159.23 is] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h; was MJH 1714; *omit* HUE

159.23 Conscience] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Consciences MJH 1708b; *omit* HUE

159.23 hang] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; [h?]ang MJH 1708h; *omit* HUE

159.25 He] MJH 1708b, *omit* MJH 1708h, MJH 1714, HUE

1598.25 Distils] MJH 1714; distils MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h; *omit* HUE

159.26 little] MJH 1714, MJH 1708h; Little MJH 1708b; *omit* HUE

159.27 stand] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; stands MJH 1708b; *omit* HUE

159.28 Lowsie] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h; Lowlie MJH 1714; *omit* HUE

159.28 Corn-land] MJH 1714, MJH 1708h; Corn-Land MJH 1708b; *omit* HUE

159.30 escape] MJH 1714, MJH 1708h; Escape MJH 1708b; *omit* HUE

159.30 Deaf] MJH 1714; deaf MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h; *omit* HUE

159.34 Room] MJH 1714; room MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h; *omit* HUE

159.35 on't] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [?] MJH 1708b

159.36 of] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [?] MJH 1708b

159.36 where] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; were MJH 1708h; *omit* HUE

159.36 of] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [?] MJH 1708b

159.37 is] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [?] MJH 1708b

159.38 up] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [?] MJH 1708b

159.38 now] MJH 1714; ~, MJH 1708b; *omit* MJH 1708h

159.38 manner] MJH 1714; Manner MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h; *omit* HUE

159.39 their] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [t?] MJH 1708b

159.39 in] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [?] MJH 1708b

159.39 Colledge] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; College MJH 1708b; *omit* HUE

159.40 make] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ma[ke?] MJH 1708b; *omit* HUE

159.41 Irregular Demeanour] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [Ir?]regular Demeanor MJH 1708b; *omit*
HUE

159.41 Days] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Time's approach'd, that by a
Commission HUE

159.42 approach, and the Gates of *Janus* in the *Old-Bailey*] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; approach,
and the G[] of *Janus* in the *Old-Bailey* MJH 1708b; a Goal Delivery is made, then the
Prisoners HUE

159.42 thrown open, the whole Colledge] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; thrown ope[n] the whole
College MJH 1708b; *omit* HUE

159.43 are] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [?] MJH 1708b

159.44 a] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714, HUE; [?] MJH 1708b

159.44 many] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714, HUE; m[any?] MJH 1708b

159.45 Holidays] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Holy-Days HUE

159.46 go] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714, HUE; [g?] MJH 1708b

159.46 in a] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; a into the HUE

159.47 Sheep] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714, HUE; Sh[ee?p?] MJH 1708b

159.47 Market-day:] MJH 1714, Market[-]Day, MJH 1708b; Market-Day: MJH 1708h; Market Day; HUE

159.47 eldest] HUE; *omit* MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714

159.48 Twelve-pence] MJH 1714; Twelvecence MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, HUE

159.48 apiece] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; api[ece] MJH 1708b; a piece HUE

159.48 *Hold-money*] MJH 1714; *Hold-Money* MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h; *Hold Money*, HUE

159.48 Collection] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, HUE; Collections MJH 1714

159.49 Shift] MJH 1714; MJH 1708h; shift MJH 1708b, HUE

159.49 Drunk] MJH 1714, HUE; drunk MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h

159.49 Bar] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~, HUE

159.49 Arraign'd] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; arraign'd, HUE

159.49 Try'd] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; try'd HUE

159.50 observed] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; observ'd HUE

159.51 Prisoner's] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Prisoners HUE

159.51 Luck] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; luck HUE

159.51 be] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714, HUE; [b]e MJH 1708b

159.51 crys] MJH 1708b, HUE; cries MJH 1708h, MJH 1714

159.52 *Honourable Court*;] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; honourable Court, HUE

159.53 *Quit-Shilling*] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Quit Shilling MJH 1708b; quit Shilling, HUE

159.53 when] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; after HUE

159.54 the] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; *omit* HUE

159.54 Engine] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714, HUE; Engin MJH 1708h

159.54 put] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714, HUE; [sh?]ut MJH 1708b

159.55 Offenders] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; offenders HUE

159.55 Single] MJH 1714; single MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, HUE

159.56 Friends] MJH 1714, MJH 1714, MJH 1708h, HUE; friends MJH 1708b

159.56 *Legit*] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714, HUE; *le[g?]it* MJH 1708b

159.57 Ignominious *T*] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ignominous T HUE

159.57 entring] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; entering HUE

159.58 Majesties Service] MJH 1714, MJH 1708h; Majesties service MJH 1708b; Majesty's service HUE

159.58 *Clergy*;] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; *Clergy*, HUE

159.58 Favour] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; favour HUE

159.59 Scholars] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Schollars HUE

159.59 Custom] MJH 1706b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~, HUE

159.60 Account] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; account HUE

159.61 Listing] Lifting MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714, HUE

159.61 Profligate] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; profligate HUE

159.61 Advantage] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714, HUE; Adventage MJH 1708h

159.61 Glimm'd] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Glim'd HUE

159.62 which] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~, MJH 1708b, HUE

159.62 Next Sentence] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Next, Sentence HUE

159.64 search'd] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714, HUE; ssearch'd MJH 1708h

159.65 impannell'd] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; impanell HUE

159.65 Purpose;] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Purpose, HUE

159.65 Favour] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; favour HUE

159.65 Profit] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; profit HUE

159.66 tis of a Church] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; tis of Church MJH 1708b; they are not gone an
Hour HUE

159.66 Abuse of the Honourable Court] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; abuse of the
honourable Court HUE

159.67 for] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714, HUE; or MJH 1708b

159.67 Saying] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; saying HUE

159.68 Tumbler] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714, HUE; Thumbler MJH 1708h

159.68 and] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; And HUE

159.69 Surveyors] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Surveyers HUE

159.69 *Penance Board*] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; *Penance-Board* HUE

159.70 *Cheapside*] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714, HUE; *Cheap-side* MJH 1708h

159.70 Exchange;] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~, HUE

159.70 exalted] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~, HUE

160.1 *Yes*]yes MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; yes, HUE

160.2 Time] MJH 1714, HUE; time MJH 1708b; time MJH 1708h

160.3 Thief-takers] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Thieftakers HUE

160.4 Time] MJH 1714; time MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, HUE

160.4 wishfully as] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; *omit* HUE

160.4 Country] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, HUE; Countrey MJH 1714

160.4 Hands] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~, HUE

160.5 sentenc'd] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Condemn'd HUE

160.5 to] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; *omit* MJH 1708b; HUE

160.5 Condemn'd] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714, HUE; Codemn'd MJH 1708h

160.5 Two, One] MJH 1714; ~, one MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h; two^ one HUE

160.6 Females,] MJH 1714; ~; MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h; ~: HUE

160.6 who] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Who HUE

160.7 Rendezvous] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1704; rendezvous HUE

160.7 Dialogue] MJH 1714, HUE; dialogue MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h

160.8 Smoke] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Smoak HUE

160.10 Loathsomeness] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; loathsomness HUE

160.10 Sum] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; summ HUE

160.10 Distressed] MJH 1714, MJH 1708h; distressed MJH 1708b, HUE

160.11 Question,] MJH 1714, MJH 1708h, HUE; ~^ MJH1708b

160.11 greater,] MJH 1714, MJH 1708h; ~; MJH 1708b, HUE

161.1 them] MJH 1714; 'em MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h; *omit* HUE

161.3 Thing] MJH 1714; thing MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h; *omit* HUE

161.4 conclude] MJH 1714, MJH 1708h; ~, MJH 1708b; *omit* HUE

161.5 Slumber,] MJH 1714, MJH 1708h; slumber, MJH 1708b; *omit* HUE

161.6 Thing] MJH 1714; thing MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h; *omit* HUE

161.6 For] MJH 1714, MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h; *omit* HUE

161.6 Extraordinary] MJH 1714; extraordinary MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h; *omit* HUE

161.7 fed] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [fe?]d MJH 1708b; *omit* HUE

161.7 Thing] MJH 1714; thing MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h; *omit* HUE

161.7 Spoon-meat] MJH 1714, MJH 1708h; spoon meat MJH 1708b; *omit* HUE

161.8 'em] MJH 1714, MJH 1708h; 'em that MJH 1708b; *omit* HUE

161.8 Stomach] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; stomach MJH 1708b; *omit* HUE

161.8 Dry-nurse] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Dry Nurse MJH 1708b; *omit* HUE

161.9 Souls,] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; souls, MJH 1708b; *omit* HUE

161.10 to] MJH 1714; *omit* MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, HUE

161.10 upon] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h; on MJH 1714; *omit* HUE

161.10 Death-beds] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; Deathbeds MJH 1708h; *omit* HUE

161.11 Thing] MJH 1714; thing MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h; *omit* HUE

161.11 Dying] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; D[y?]ing MJH 1708h; *omit* HUE

161.12 Speeches,] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Speeches^ MJH 1708b; *omit* HUE

161.12 they] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; t[h?]ey MJH 1708h; *omit* HUE

161.12 proves] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; oves MJH 1708b; *omit* HUE

161.13 administers] MJH 1714; Administers MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h; *omit* HUE

161.13 Principal] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Princi-[?]l MJH 1708b; *omit* HUE

161.14 Condemn'd] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; Condem'd MJH 1708h; *omit* HUE

161.14 put] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; *omit* MJH 1708b, HUE

161.15 to't,] MJH 1714; ~; MJH1708b; ~^ MJH 1708h; *omit* HUE

161.15 Character] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; character MJH 1708b; *omit* HUE

161.17 Order] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [or?]der MJH 1708b; *omit* HUE

161.17 *Triple-Tree*] MJH 1714; *Tripple-Tree* MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h; *omit* HUE

161.18 to] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; in MJH 1708b; *omit* HUE

161.18 Charge,] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; charge, MJH 1708b; *omit* HUE

161.18 Proficient] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [?]ficient MJH 1708b; *omit* HUE

161.19 does] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; do's MJH 1708b; *omit* HUE

161.20 Terror] MJH 1708b; Terrors MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; *omit* HUE

161.1 Fatal Doom] MJH1708b, MJH 1714; Fatal Doom, MJH 1708h; Fatal doom, HUE

162.1 the Chapel] MJH 1714, MJH1708b, MJH 1708h; Chappel, HUE

162.1 hear] MJH1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; hear Mr. Ordinary preach HUE

162.2 Condemn'd] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Condemn[?] MJH 1708b; Condemnation HUE

162.2 Heaven] MJH1714; ~, MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h

162.2 situated] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; fitted MJH 1708b

162.3 possibly] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; po[?]ibly MJH 1708b

162.3 farthest] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [?]thest MJH 1708b

162.4 Mr.] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [?] MJH 1708b

162.4 Text] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h; Texts, MJH 1714

162.4 applies] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; appl es MJH 1708h

162.5 Hand,] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Ha[?] MJH 1708b

162.6 would] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; wo[uld] MJH 1708b

162.8 *of*] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [of] MJH 1708b

162.8 *open*: Or,] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~, or^ MJH 1708b

162.8 *Woman*] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; *Wo[man]* MJH 1708b

162.9 crowded] MJH 1708b; crowned, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714

162.9 Auditors;] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~, MJH 1708b

162.9 Curiosity] MJH 1714; Curio[sity] MJH 1708b; Curiosity MJH 1708h

162.10 excuseable] MJH 1708b , MJH 1708h; excusable MJH 1714

162.10 'em] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; 't[hem] MJH 1708b

162.11 proper] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; p[ro]per MJH 1708b

162.11 let] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [?] MJH 1708b

162.12 ominous] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [?]minous MJH 1708b

162.12 all] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [?] MJH 1708b

162.13 of] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [?] MJH 1708b

162.13 are] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; a[?] MJH 1708b

162.14 edifie] MJH 1714; [?]idfie MJH 1708b; Eidfie MJH 1708h

162.14 here] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [?] MJH 1708b

162.14 really] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; freely MJH 1708b

162.11 into] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; in[to] MJH 1708b

162.15 Discipline] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h; Disclipine, MJH 1714

162.15 Hands,] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; ~^ MJH 1708h

162.15 One] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; one MJH 1708b

162.17 torture] MJH 1714; Torture MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h

162.18 Stanzas] Stanza's MJH 1708b, MJH1708h, MJH 1714

162.20 harangues] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; haragues MJH 1708h

162.20 Serenade] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h; Senerade, MJH 1714

162.20 Bar-bell] MJH 1714; Bar Bell MJH 1708b; Bar-Bell MJH 1708h

163.1 All] MJH1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ALL HUE

163.1 Hold] MJH1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Holds HUE

163.1 lye] MJH1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; lie HUE

163.1 die] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, HUE; dye MJH 1714

168.1 Judgment-Seat;]MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~: MJH 1708b

169.1 Bell] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~, HUE

169.1 Morrow] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; morrow, HUE

169.1 Tolls] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; tolls HUE

171.1 us] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; me MJH 1708b

171.2 Low] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Law MJH 1708b

174.1 we're] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; we'er MJH 1708h

177.1 die] MJH 1708h, MJH 1708b; dye MJH 1714

181.1 World,] MJH 1714; ~^ MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h

181.1 too,] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~; MJH 1708b

183.1 Breast] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; Brest MJH 1708h

185.1 Thought] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; Tought MJH 1708h

185.1 Charity,] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~; MJH 1708b

187.1 ever blest] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h; everblest MJH 1714

188.1 the Chapel] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; omit Chapel MJH 1708b

188.1 again] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; [?]gain MJH 1708b

188.3 inquiring] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h; enquiring MJH 1714

188.4 Having] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; having MJH 1708h

- 188.6 delivers 'em] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; delievers 'm MJH 1708h
- 188.7 *Stone-Hall*] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; *Stone[-?]Hall* MJH 1708b
- 188.10 Decent] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h; decent MJH 1714
- 188.10 Espouse] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h; espouse MJH 1714
- 188.10 Old] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; old MJH 1708b
- 188.11 clean] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Clean MJH 1708b
- 188.13 as] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; a MJH 1708h
- 188.14 Nosegay,] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Nosegay[,] MJH 1708b
- 188.14 Comfort] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; comfort MJH 1708h
- 188.15 Tyrant's] MJH 1708h; Tyrants MJH 1708b; Tyrant MJH 1714
- 188.16 make] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h; makes MJH 1714
- 188.16 die] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h; dye MJH 1714
- 188.19 it;] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; ~, MJH 1708b
- 188.19 Ditty] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Di[r]ty MJH 1708b
- 188.20 great] MJH 1708h, MJH 1714; Great MJH 1708b
- 188.20 Achievements] MJH 1708b; Archievements MJH 1708h; Atcheivements MJH 1714
- 188.21 ushers] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; [us]hers MJH 1708h
- 188.22 Acquaintance] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; Acquaitance MJH 1708h
- 188.22 One] MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h; one MJH 1714
- 188.23 together;] MJH 1714; ~, MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 188.26 Time] MJH 1714; time MJH 1708b, MJH 1708h
- 188.26 their] MJH 1708b, MJH 1714; rheir MJH 1708h²⁸⁴

²⁸⁴ MJH 1708b textual witness ends at para. 188, line 27. See footnote 198.

188.33 Lives.'] ~.^ MJH1708h, MJH 1714

189.3 Sentence] MJH 1714; sentence MJH 1708h

189.3 they] MJH 1708h; that MJH 1714

189.3 before] MJH 1708h; b-fore MJH 1714

189.3 Mercy] MJH 1714; mercy MJH 1708h

189.5 Pity] MJH 1714; ~, MJH 1708h

189.5 half] MJH 1714; Half MJH 1708h

189.10 conscientiously] MJH 1714; conscienciously MJH 1708h

189.13 *Monmouth-Street*] MJH 1708h; *Monmouth-street* MJH 1714

189.13 *Chick-Lane*]MJH 1708h; *Chick-lane* MJH 1714

189.13 comfortably] MJH 1714; Comfortably MJH 1708h

190.1 Life,] MJH 1714; ~^ MJH 1708h

190.1 Thief] MJH 1708h; Theif MJH 1714

190.4 a] MJH 1714; o MJH 1708h

190.4 at most] MJH 1714; as mo[s]t MJH 1708h

190.5 hopes] MJH 1714; Hopes MJH 1708h

190.5 End,] MJH 1714; ~. MJH 1708h

196.1 thou] MJH 1714; though MJH 1708h

211.1 Crowds] MJH 1708h; Crouds MJH 1714

216.1 Make] MJH 1708h; Mak MJH 1714

220.1 this] MJH 1714; thie MJH 1708h

222.1 every] MJH 1714; ev'ry MJH 1708h

227.1 March] MJH 1714; march MJH 1708h

228.1 mention] MJH 1714; minton MJH 1708h

231.1 Context] MJH 1714; context MJH 1708h

232.1 pervert] MJH 1708h; prevert MJH 1714

233.1 than Thieves] MJH 1708h; then Theives MJH 1714

235.1 wicked] MJH 1714; Wicked MJH 1708h

240.1 it,] MJH 1708h; ~^ MJH 1714

242.1 shake] MJH 1714; shakes MJH 1708h

245.1 !] MJH 1714; I MJH 1708h

246.1 Sinners,] MJH 1708h; ~^ MJH 1714

248.1 Tune is] MJH 1714; Tuneis MJH 1708h

255.1 Judgment Day] MJH 1714; Judgment-Day MJH 1708h

262.1 Return] MJH 1714; return MJH 1708h

263.1 Newgate,] MJH 1714; ~^ MJH 1708h

263.1 and] MJH 1714; an MJH 1708h

263.2 omitted] MJH 1708h; omitted MJH 1714

263.4 Inhabitants,] MJH 1708h; ~^ MJH 1714

263.7 wretched] MJH 1714; wretch'd MJH 1708h

263.7 Corpse] Corps MJH 1714, 1708h

263.8 he] MJH 1708h; be MJH 1714

263.9 wretched] MJH 1714; Wretched MJH 1708h

263.10 begotten] MJH 1708h; begotten MJH 1714

263.10 Stone] MJH 1714; a ~ MJH 1708h

263.12 cross-legg'd] MJH 1708h; cross^legg'd MJH 1714

263.12 naturally] MJH 1708h; natural MJH 1714

263.13 Debts] MJH 1714; ~, MJH 1708h

263.14 is] MJH 1708h; Is MJH 1714

263.14 hunts] MJH 1708h; haunts MJH 1714

263.17 Hearts-blood] MJH 1714; Hearts blood MJH 1708h

263.18 Maim'd] MJH 1714; his ~ MJH 1708h

264.1 beginning] MJH 1714; beginning MJH 1708h

264.1 of Michaelmas] MJH 1714; ^ Micha[e]lmas MJH 1708h

265.3 Wax] MJH 1714; wax MJH 1708h

265.4 Rot,] MJH 1714; ~^ MJH 1708h

265.6 Market] MJH 1714; Merket MJH 1708h

266.1 *us*,] MJH 1714; ~^ MJH 1708h

266.1 written] MJH 1714; Written MJH 1708h

266.2 Christ] MJH 1714; Chrst MJH 1708h

266.2 our] MJH 1714; your MJH 1708h

266.3 curs'd] MJH 1714; Curs'd MJH 1708h

266.3 Piece] MJH 1708h; Peice MJH 1714

266.4 Heir] MJH 1708h; Hei[r] MJH 1714

266.5 lyes,] MJH 1714; ~^ MJH 1708h

266.8 Sail] MJH 1714; sail MJH 1708h

266.8 Ship] MJH 1714; ship MJH 1708h

266.8 itself] MJH 1714; it self MJH 1708h

266.9 Master-Side] MJH 1714; Master's side MJH 1708h

266.9 Deck;] MJH 1714; Deck, MJH 1708h

266.9 Common-Side] MJH 1714; Common Side MJH 1708h

266.10 it;] MJH 1714; it, MJH 1708h

266.10 Actions] MJH 1714; Action MJH 1708h

266.10 Tackling;] MJH 1714; Tackling, MJH 1708h

266.10 Anchors;] MJH 1714; Anchors, MJH 1708h

266.11 Cables;] MJH 1714; Cables, MJH 1708h

266.11 Sails;] MJH 1714; Sails, MJH 1708h

266.11 Long] MJH 1708h; long MJH 1714

266.11 the Main-mast;] MJH 1714; a ~, MJH 1708h

266.11 Helm;] MJH 1714; Helm, MJH 1708h

266.11 a Judge] MJH 1708h; Judge MJH 1714

266.12 Pilot;] MJH 1714; Pilot, MJH 1708h

266.12 Purser;] MJH 1714; Purser, MJH 1708h

266.12 Boatswain;] MJH 1714; Boatswain, MJH 1708h

266.12 Swabber;] MJH 1714; Swabber, MJH 1708h

266.13 Outlawries] MJH 1708h; Outlawries; MJH 1714

266.13 Waves;] MJH 1714; Waves, MJH 1708h

266.13 Winds;] MJH 1714; Winds, MJH 1708h

266.13 by;] MJH 1714; by, MJH 1708h

266.14 Ship] MJH 1714; ship MJH 1708h

266.16 hither,] MJH 1714; ~^MJH 1708h

266.16 his Arms] MJH 1708h; hisArms MJH 1714

266.18 travelling] MJH 1714; travilling MJH 1708h

266.18 and] MJH 1714; an[e] MJH 1708h

266.19 the summer] MJH 1714; *omit* summer MJH 1708h

266.20 Weather] MJH 1714; weather MJH 1708h

266.20 Way in this World] MJH 1714; way in this world, MJH 1708h

266.21 Wood of Wolves] MJH 1714; wood of wolves MJH 1708h

266.22 his] MJH 1714; he MJH 1708h

266.23 an] MJH 1714; and MJH 1708h

266.27 Human] MJH 1714; Humane MJH 1708h

266.27 died; they] MJH 1714; died? They MJH 1708h

266.29 to] MJH 1714; [?] to MJH 1708h

266.33 Two,] MJH 1714; ~. MJH 1708h

Appendix C: Line-end Hyphenation Readings for Compound Words

This Appendix lists authoritative readings for compound words that are hyphenated in the original witnesses at line-ends in ways that create ambiguity about whether their hyphenation was intended (by the author and/or compositor) or merely accidental to the line-break. We have included in this list only compound words on whose hyphenation all witnesses agree, irrespective of whether or not the word occurs at a line-end in the witnesses. The readings are cited by paragraph and line number in our edition. By not justifying the right margin in our edition, we have avoided creating further ambiguities for readers about whether or not compound words should be hyphenated when quoted.

28.2 Back-room

35.3 Shop-keeper

153.1 *Master-side*

153.21 Cabbage-Nets

161.17 *Triple-Tree*

189.13 *Chick-lane*

264.3 *Common-Pleas*

265.2 Law-Trap

266.2 *Christ's-Hospital*

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