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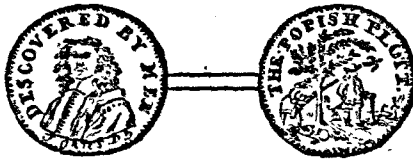
LIVES OF TWELVE BAD MEN



LIVES OF *Rare section*

TWELVE BAD MEN

ORIGINAL STUDIES OF EMINENT
SCOUNDRELS BY VARIOUS HANDS
EDITED BY THOMAS SECCOMBE



“Σοφοὶ μὲν πονηροὶ δέ.”

London

T.. FISHER UNWIN
PATERNOSTER SQUARE

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Simon, Lord Lovat,
Drawn from the life and etched in Aquafortis by Will^m Hogarth.
Published according to the Act of Parliament, August 25th 1757.

TO THE MEMORY
OF
BARRY LYNDON, ESQUIRE,
THESE MEMOIRS
ARE
PIOUSLY
DEDICATED



CONTENTS.

	PAGE
PREFACE	xvii
I. JAMES HEPBURN, <i>Earl of Bothwell</i> (1536-1578) . . .	1
By G. GREGORY SMITH.	
II. SIR EDWARD KELLEY, <i>Necromancer</i> (1555-1595) . . .	34
By A. F. POLLARD.	
III. MATTHEW HOPKINS, <i>Witchfinder</i> (d. 1647) . . .	55
By J. O. JONES.	
IV. GEORGE JEFFREYS, <i>Unjust Judge</i> (1648-1689) . . .	67
By W. A. J. ARCHBOLD.	
V. TITUS OATES, <i>Perjurer</i> (1649-1705) . . .	95
By THOMAS SECCOMBE.	
VI. SIMON FRASER, <i>Lord Lovat</i> (1667-1747) . . .	155
By J. W. ALLEN.	
VII. COLONEL FRANCIS CHARTERIS, <i>Libertine</i> (1675-1732) . . .	200
By ARTHUR VINCENT.	
VIII. JONATHAN WILD, <i>Thieftaker</i> (1682-1725) . . .	219
By ARTHUR VINCENT.	

	PAGE
IX. JAMES [✓] MACLAINE " <i>The Gentleman Highwayman</i> " (1724-1750)	246
BY G. THORN DRURY.	
X. GEORGE ROBERT [✓] FITZGERALD " <i>Fighting Fitzgerald</i> " (1748-1786)	265
BY G. LE G. NORGATE.	
XI. THOMAS GRIFFITHS WAINEWRIGHT, [✓] <i>Poisoner</i> (1794-1852)	292
BY A. G. ALLEN.	
XII. EDWARD [✓] KELLY, <i>Bushranger</i> (1855-1880)	322
BY J. W. ALLEN.	
APPENDIX	351
INDEX	363

NOTES ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS.



FRONTISPIECE.

Simon, Lord Lovat, counting the clans on his fingers. "Drawn from the life and etch'd in aquafortis by William Hogarth." Published on August 25, 1746. The original of this famous etching, a sketch in oils, is now in the National Portrait Gallery. It is said that, when the plate was finished, a bookseller offered its weight in gold for it. The impressions, sold at one shilling each, could not be taken from the copper as fast as they were wanted, though the rolling press was kept at work day and night. Hogarth received twelve pounds a day for the impressions. The description given of Lovat by a correspondent in the *Gentleman's Magazine* at the time of the trial tallies well with this remarkable likeness:—"Lord Lovat makes an odd figure, being generally more loaded with clothes than a Dutchman with his ten pairs of breeches; he is tall, walks very upright considering his great age, and is tolerably well shaped; he has a large mouth and short nose, with eyes very much contracted and down-looking, a very small forehead, almost all covered with a large periwig; this gives him a grim aspect, but upon addressing any one he puts on a smiling countenance."

TITLE-PAGE.

The illustration on the title-page is engraved from a rare gilt medal struck in 1678, and now in the British Museum. On the obverse is a portrait of "T. Oates, D.D.," and on the reverse a view of Pickering, with his "screw-gun," stalking Charles II. in St. James's Park. One of the cards in the well-known popish-plot pack of playing cards, mentioned on p. 111, has the same subject. This medal is figured in Pinkerton, and described in Hawkins's "Medallic History."

KELLEY INVOKING A SPIRIT to face p. 34

This picture of "Ed. Kelley, a magician, in the Act of invoking the Spirit of a Deceased Person," engraved by Ames, after Sibly, is from an illustration in one of Dee's works. The figure holding the book is that of Kelley, as his earless head testifies. George Cruikshank depicted the necromancer, engaged in a similar occupation, in Ainsworth's "Guy Fawkes."

PORTRAIT OF SIR EDWARD KELLEY to face p. 38

This portrait is after a mezzotint by R. Cooper, and was originally executed for Baldwyn's edition of William Lilly's *Autobiography*, London, 1822. A note states that it was prefixed to Dr. Dee's "Book of Spirits," 1659, a work which it is not easy to identify. It certainly resembles the older portraits, one of which is given in Meric Casaubon's work. There is another portrait in the Museum Print-room, subscribed "Eduardvs Kellaevs celebrus Anglus et Chymix Peritissimus. Ex collectione Frederici Rothschoitzii."

PORTRAIT OF MATTHEW HOPKINS to face p. 55

This curious woodcut forms the frontispiece to the witch-finder's "Discovery of Witches" (see p. 65). On one side sits Elizabeth Clark, who gives the names of her imps, and on the right is another witch, perhaps Helen Clark. It was reproduced in Caulfield's "Memoirs of Remarkable Persons," 1794, where it is described as "correctly copied from an extreme rare print in the collection of J. Bindley, Esq." It is similarly reproduced in the first volume of the *Anthologia Hibernica*. A rude portrait of Hopkins in a cuirass and a conical hat, as he is here represented, is prefixed to a reprint of his "Discovery" issued in 1838.

PORTRAIT OF JUDGE JEFFREYS to face p. 67

There are two engravings in the British Museum from this fine portrait by Kneller—one by Isaac Oliver, the other by E. Cooper. Both, but especially the former, are extremely rare. It is uncertain whether the title was ever actually conferred (see p. 91). It has been seriously asserted that the titles "Earle of Flint," &c. (as reproduced at the foot of the portrait), were given satirically. Another fine portrait of the judge by Kneller was engraved by R. White, who executed our portrait of Titus Oates, in 1684.

JEFFREYS TAKEN AT WAPPING to face p. 92

The original of this plate, dated December 12, 1688, and described as engraved for the "Devil's Broker," represents the Lord Chancellor surrounded by a crowd of persons, who are conducting him to a place of safe keeping, and, in the meantime, not sparing their reproaches. It is worth noting that his eyebrows are not shaved off, as Reresby states them to have been, as a means of disguise. On the right, above, is Father Petre, and at the foot is the devil issuing, amid flames, from the earth, and clawing a Jesuit's head. This print was very popular both in England and the Netherlands.

PORTRAIT OF TITUS OATES to face p. 95

This portrait of the perjurer, drawn and engraved by R. White, was executed in 1679, when Titus was at the zenith of his popularity. The verses below are fitter for reproduction than the scurrilities appended to

the uncomplimentary portraits of him "peeping through a two-inch board," or as "Oats well thresh't," which became the fashion in 1685:—

"Behold the Chief and Happy Instrument,
Whom Providence for Britain's safety sent.
Westminster (?) taught him, Cambridge bred him, then
Left him instead of books to study Men.
And these he studied with so true an Art,
As deeply div'd into the very Heart
Of Foul Conspiracy. . . ."

This is the most authentic portrait, though it is perhaps surpassed in interest by another, entitled "Bob Ferguson; or, the Raree Shew of Mamamouchee Mufty." This in reality represents Oates, his head-dress being half a Jesuit's cap, half a Turk's turban. He carries a Protestant flail in his right hand; on his left side he wears a loose cloak. The title is a reference to the notorious plotter with whom Oates is compared. Mamamouchi (*homme habillé à la Turquie*) Mufti are two cant words borrowed from the ballet in Molière's *Bourgeois Gentilhomme*. The lines below are rich in choice allusions to the more outlandish traits in Oates's character. Other portraits of him are numerous.

THE DEVIL, TITUS OATES, AND THE POPE to face p. 117

This print, which was probably published in 1678, explains itself. The partnership between those two oft-quoted functionaries, the devil and the pope, forms the subject of numerous rhymes and pictures at this period. A woodcut of "The Plot first hatched at Rome by the Pope and the Cardinals" forms the ace in the pack of playing-cards already alluded to. The devil is here represented crouching under a table at which the pope and cardinals are sitting. Another broadside, with a typical cut, was entitled, "London's Drollery; or, the Love and Kindness between the Pope and the Devil"; and in a similar vein were conceived "A Nest of Nunne's Eggs," "Rome's Hunting Match for Three Kingdoms," and "The Pope Haunted with Ghosts."

OATES, HIS DEGREES to face p. 142

This is one of a large number of satires upon Oates, examples of which are almost as numerous as the laudatory productions. The crushed eggs on the pillory are prophetic only of the artist's hopes, the mezzotint having been published two days before Oates's actual punishment. The devil perched upon the gallows behind looks wistfully at his pupil, and dangles a halter over his head.

THE BEAUTIFULL SIMONE to face p. 155

This portrait of Lovat in female attire refers to the report current at the time that he was taken disguised as an old woman, and some added that he was found spinning and smoking a short pipe (see *Westminster Journal*, June 28, 1746). The foundation for the myth is confined to the fact that Simon's hiding-place in the hollow of a tree was discovered owing to the protrusion of a few of the many yards of flannel in which his body was swathed.

INTERIOR OF WESTMINSTER HALL to face p. 111

This admirable contemporary print is entitled, "A Perspective View of Westminster Hall with both Houses of Parliament Assembled on the Tryal of Simon, Lord Lovat." Subjoined is a key to the figures. A—Speaker, B—Members of House of Commons, C—Other members, D—Managers for the House of Commons, E—The Managers' Clerks, F—Lord Lovat, G—Witness giving evidence, H—Prisoner's counsel, K—King's box, L—Prince of Wales's box, M—Duke of Cumberland and other members of the Royal Family, N—The box where Princess Amelia sat during the trial, O—Foreign Ambassadors, P—Peers, T—Earl of Orford's gallery. The most important numbers are: 1—The King's Chair, 5—The Lord High Steward, 6—The two archbishops, 7—The bishops, 8, 9—Dukes and barons, 10—Earls and viscounts, 14—The judges, 15—Serjeant at the Mace, 16—Lord High Steward's Purse-bearer, 17—Clerks belonging to the House of Lords. The scaffoldings, we are particularly informed, were hung with red bays, except where the House of Commons sat, and that portion was covered with green bays.

PORTRAIT OF COLONEL CHARTERIS to face p. 200

This mezzotint of "Colonel Francisco," with his thumbs tied, which was executed in 1730, is fully described in the text (p. 213). Other portraits in the Print-room at the British Museum are, "To the glory of Colonel Don Francisco upon his delivery out of gaol," and "Colonel Charteris contemplating the Venus of Titian."

PORTRAIT OF JONATHAN WILD to face p. 219

The rough woodcut from which this is taken is probably the only contemporary representation of the Thief-taker in existence.

PORTRAIT OF JAMES MACLAINE to face p. 216

This, which is by far the most elaborate of the portraits of Maclaine, is reproduced in Caulfield's "Memoirs of Remarkable Persons." The face bears a decided resemblance to that of the portraits prefixed to the "Contemporary Lives," which are mentioned in the Appendix of Authorities. The names of both the original artist and the engraver are unknown.

JAMES MACLAINE AT THE BAR to face p. 259

The number of these portraits and illustrations of the close of Maclaine's career testify to the extraordinary interest which was excited at the time by this very unattractive rogue. Another engraving in the Museum represents him in Newgate surrounded by members of the fair sex, who are making a liberal use of their pocket-handkerchiefs. It is entitled, "Newgate's Lamentation; or, the Ladys last farewell of Maclean." Lady Caroline Petersham, afterwards Countess of Harrington, who is here depicted speaking on the outlaw's behalf, was satirised in some other engravings, of which we have not been able to find any trace. According to the advertisements in the contemporary papers, she was portrayed, with Miss Ashe, as one of Maclaine's "doxies," and also figured in "The presentation of the purse of gold to Maclean by the subscribers."

PORTRAIT OF G. R. FITZGERALD

to face p. 265

This likeness of Fitzgerald, which was originally engraved for the *Monthly Mirror*, has been said to exhibit great duplicity. Investigation has revealed the melancholy fact that the same block has done duty both for the duellist and for the actor, Stephen Kemble. As, however, no other portrait of Fitzgerald is known to exist, it would be rash to deny to this one the merit of resemblance.

JED KELLY IN HIS ARMOUR

to face p. 322

For permission to use this illustration from Superintendent Hare's book, "The Last of the Bushrangers," we are indebted to the courtesy of Messrs. Hurst and Blackett. A full description of the armour depicted will be found in the text.

For information respecting the authorities used in the compilation of the Twelve Lives, the reader is referred to the Appendix of Authorities at the end of the volume.

PREFACE.



THE practice of whitewashing has proved as injurious to biography as the worst taint of bigotry or partisanship in the pages of history. Of course there are no really bad men extant in England at the present day, so that the process might naturally be expected to be but little in demand. But many picturesque figures of the past have undergone this philistine disfigurement. Richard III., Henry VIII., Bloody Mary, and Oliver Cromwell, have all been rehabilitated, and the last, at least, demonstrated to be much nearer akin to a saint than a sinner. The very pirates of romance, men such as Sir Henry Morgan and Captain Kyd, have been proved to be no worse than they need have been; and as for literary characters, any unamiable traits that might have been attributed to certain members of that saintly band have long since been shown to be misinterpreted virtues. The villain has been banished to the detective story, and every deviation from the path of mere collective morality is explained by either artistic temperament or psychological eccentricity. The tendency has gone so far that one is led to ask oneself, not without the gravest apprehension, "Is there, then, no evidence to be found of extreme depravity?" For the wholesale elimination of the utter villain from history could hardly be regarded save in the light of an æsthetic calamity. Fortunately for lovers of the picturesque, as the result of careful inquiry, a few choice spirits have been found whose robust vices have defied the insidious influence of research: men whom it would certainly be premature to make any attempt at whitewashing. This work,

then, avows as its serious object the rehabilitation of the bad man in his native badness.

Society is apt to flatter itself that exceptional talents are denied to persons who indulge in the worst forms of depravity. But it can hardly be denied that some of the individuals whose exploits we have recorded, from materials which have hitherto been often completely unexplored, were men of really great ability. All of them attained to eminence in ill-doing, and if they had devoted their energies to more legitimate pursuits, would doubtless have long since found authoritative biographers. "An honest man," as Schiller says, "may be formed of windle-straws, but to make a rogue you *must* have grist."

Our first principle being the exclusion of other than unmitigated miscreants, the process of selection, though far from easy, was much simplified. To turn, albeit regretfully, from palæontological evidences of villainy was imperative. History possesses a fine mammoth criminal in King John, but the deposits in which are to be found the records of his activity are unsavoury with age, difficult of exploration, and incapable of exact exposition. The bad men of modern Britain exhaust our scheme, and ample material has been found without extending the rake to any scandal older than Queen Elizabeth. So, too, the temptation to paradox has been sternly resisted, and the task of resolving such compound characters as those of Lord Verulam and John Churchill, Eugene Aram and Leonard Macnally, has been left to the perennial ingenuity of essayists less single-minded and less modest than ourselves.

A natural succession of precedents led us almost insensibly to fix upon twelve as the number of subjects; and if, as has been affirmed, "the phrase *a bad man* has rather degenerated in England," let it be our worthy endeavour, by associating it with such men as Titus Oates and Jonathan Wild and Thomas Griffiths Wainewright, to restore to a really expressive and comprehensive term as much as possible of its native vigour. As biography, like gossip, is rather apt to be spoiled by moralising, this corroding element has as far as possible been eliminated. Nevertheless,

and in case any serious reader, after a perusal of the book, should entertain any doubts as to its precise ethical drift, we are free to maintain with the utmost sincerity that, since "George Barnwell" has been denied to the London prentices, no narratives of life and adventure have appeared more commendably moral in tendency than these; and they are frankly and freely suggested as a source whence earnest and improving divines may point their morals and enliven their pulpits. That their researches have led the writers of this volume into some exceedingly curious byways of social history is a fact which, it is trusted, will be patent to the general reader no less than to the advocates of social purity and to those specially interested in antiquarian matters.

Our contents will be found to exhibit a striking diversity in the manner of the crime as well as in the historic period and status of the criminal. Our unifying principle is pre-eminence in ill-doing. Our fit protagonist is Bothwell, a spacious villain of the bloody, bold, and resolute type. In piquant contrast figures the vulpine alchemist, Sir Edward Kelley, a rival to Galeotti in pretension, to Cagliostro in cunning, and to Casanova in profligacy. The reigns of the o'erwise author of "Dæmonologie . . . divided into Three Bookes" and his successor are appropriately represented by Matthew Hopkins, the witch-pricker; then comes a portrait of Judge Jeffreys, cramoisie from bullying witnesses adverse to the Crown, whose career (in spite of attempts to powder his visage to a semblance of refinement) remains a standing reproach to judicial history, and in its endowment with lethal properties is only approached by that of his monstrous contemporary, that upas-tree of his period, Titus Oates. The era of political vicissitudes and of the Vicar of Bray is represented by yet another historical personage, the double-faced old Jacobite fox, Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat. Him follows Colonel Francis Charteris, a valuable corrective to erroneous notions respecting the teacup times of Queen Anne, who possesses, moreover, the peculiar interest that attaches to vice-specialists. The professional rascality of the eighteenth

century is represented by that weevil among criminals, Jonathan Wild, and by James Maclaine, a robber whose fame has become clouded, but in whom the absence of redeeming qualities is really noticeable. The possibility of another injustice to old Ireland has been obviated by the selection of Fighting Fitzgerald from among a mob of meritorious countrymen and contemporaries. England reasserts its supremacy with the pseudo-Italianate scoundrel, Thomas Griffiths Wainewright, poisoner and *precioso*; and the tale is suitably completed by that too enterprising colonial, Ned Kelly, the bushranger. The picturesque achievements of this last are worthy of the best traditions, and afford welcome refutation to the charge of nineteenth-century tameness or degeneracy.

Each criminal has been given in charge of a competent and responsible person, not so much for purposes of dissection as of description *ad vivum*. If any of their crime-stained stories prove entertaining, it is well. But poverty of crime has in no case been atoned for by a wealth of biographical imagination. The following memoirs are in every case the outcome of genuine research among contemporary records, combined with reference to the most authentic of subsequent sources. So the chief authorities are given for each memoir, though a pious profusion of sepulchral stumbling-blocks—such as are interpolated references—has been carefully avoided. It has been attempted, in fine, to dissociate accuracy from its frequent concomitant, deadness; and, in the words of the worthy Lawrence Eachard, to represent culpable lives and actions “with all simplicity and fidelity, as well as all freedom and decency.”

163, HOLLAND ROAD, W.

April 5, 1894.

APPENDIX OF AUTHORITIES.

A.—NOTE ON BOTHWELL.

Of the hundred best books on Bothwell we may mention but a few. First, of course, his own memoir, "Les Affaires du Conte de Boduel," printed by the Bannatyne Club in 1829, by Labanoff in 1856, and by Teulet in 1859. It is at best a studied lie; but, when its perversions have been corrected and its omissions filled in from the "Register of the Privy Council of Scotland" and all the other handsome Treasury tomes which are at the elbow of every serious student of History, its psychological value is fully established. Facts we can get in these fat books, nay a few in the partisan historians of Mary's Scotland, contemporary and modern (See *Scotland*, British Museum Catalogue), but we cannot get such a direct glimpse of the wicked Hepburn as in his own narrative from Malmoe. Of modern monographs the largest and best is by Professor Schiern, accessible in English since 1880, which is especially valuable for the Danish episodes of the Life. At St. Petersburg in 1873 Dr. Petrick published a volume on the never-ending topic of the Casket Letters, and in 1874 a book devoted to Bothwell, entitled "Zur Geschichte des Grafen Bothwell." See also Wiesener's "Marie Stuart et Bothwell," and, if variety be a care, the books of the American, J. Watts de Peyster. The latter's "Vindication of James Hepburn, 4th Earl of Bothwell, 3rd husband of Mary, Queen of Scots" (Philadelphia, 1882), and "An Inquiry into the Career and Character of Mary Stuart ('Crux Criticorum') and a justification of Bothwell ('audire est operæ pretium')," (New York, 1883), are fantastic attempts to prove our dear villain little better than an angel; but the volumes will prove of more value to an American biographical dictionary than to the seeker after Bothwell. In contrast with this high-falutin stands the accurate digest of facts in the "Dictionary of National Biography."

For other works, of a poetic or romantic character, but "founded on fact," there are the poor verses of Aytoun, Swinburne's long but

powerful twin-drama to "Chastelard," and those passages of Byron's "Corsair" which had their inspiration from the story of the Scottish freebooter. And once upon a time James Grant wrote a Bothwellian romance, which must have delighted those boys who encountered it during their Sunday reading.

No portrait is extant. In 1858 some antiquaries opened the traditional coffin of Bothwell in Faareveile Church; but Professor Schiern, with some show of common sense, refuses to believe that the grave-worn face on which they gazed was that of the Earl. A photograph of this head is preserved in the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh. Perhaps some day in some dirty packet of broad-sheets may be found one of those placards, with the portrait in rough, which raised the hue and cry for the "murderer of the King."

B.—NOTE ON SIR EDWARD KELLEY.

The materials for a biography of Sir Edward Kelley are for the most part meagre or mythical; authentic information is meagre, and more detailed accounts are mythical. There are, however, a few exceptions to this rule, and first among them comes "A True and Faithfull Relation of what passed between Dr. Dee and some Spirits," a solid folio published in 1659, with an introduction by Meric Casaubon, son of the famous scholar; it is one of the most curious and diverting books in the language, and the first edition was bought up with unexampled rapidity; a selection from it was published a few years back in the *Journal of the Psychical Research Society*. Next comes Dee's private Diary printed by the Camden Society, and no less important are the letters and reports from various persons residing in Germany and others, containing an account of Kelley's plot against Parkins, his dealings with Rudolf and Burleigh, and his last days in Bohemia; these are printed in Strype's Works but have been hitherto unaccountably neglected by Kelley's biographers. Occasional references to Kelley occur in the State Papers, Spedding's "Bacon," Lilly's "Autobiography," and Pierce's "Supererogation." This practically exhausts contemporary authorities, but the next century produced more or less trustworthy accounts in Wood's "Athenæ Oxonienses," Ashmole's "Theatrum Chemicum," Weever's "Funeral Monuments," Dr. Thomas Smith's "Vitæ Quorundam," and various MSS. in the British Museum, *e.g.*, Sloane 3645, Harleian 6485, and others in the Cotton and Lansdowne Collections. Of modern accounts the best is in Dr. Wright's "Narratives of Sorcery and Magic," (pp. 226-253); others are contained in Godwin's "Lives of the

Necromancers," Mackay's "Memoirs of Popular Delusions," Davenport Adams's "Witch, Warlock, and Magician," Cooke Taylor's "Romantic Biography," Lenglet du Fresnoy's "Histoire de la Philosophie Hermetique," Nicéron's "Memoires," and Waite's "Alchemical Philosophers": the last author has also published a translation of Kelley's works with a biographical introduction. More fragmentary notices will be found in Baines's "Lancashire," Hibbert and Ware's "Manchester," Chambers's "Worcestershire Worthies," Green's "Worcester," Nash's "Worcester," Cooper's "Athenæ Cantabrigienses," and last, but not least, concise biographies of Dee, Kelley, and others connected with them, are given in the "Dictionary of National Biography."

Kelley's career probably suggested the idea of Ben Jonson's "Alchemist," and certainly inspired many passages in that play. More recently Harrison Annsworth by a "poetic license" of anachronism has made Kelley a prominent actor in his "Guy Fawkes." References to Dee and Kelley abound in books of, and on, Elizabeth's reign, when opinions about him were as various as they are now.

C.—NOTE ON MATTHEW HOPKINS.

In addition to the contemporary accounts of the witch trials between 1645 and 1647, several of which have been quoted in footnotes, the chief authorities for Hopkins are the pamphlets of the Witch-finder himself and his confederate Stern, and Gaule's "Select Cases of Conscience touching Witchcraft," all of which are alluded to in the text. The remaining sources are those for the study of witchcraft generally, during the seventeenth century, and in England. Among these may be specified—Glanvil's "Sadducismus Triumphatus," Richard Baxter's "Certainty of the Worlds of Spirits, fully evinced by unquestionable Histories of Apparitions and Witchcrafts . . . written for the conviction of Sadduces and Infidels," Francis Hutchinson's "Historical Essay concerning Witchcraft," Lecky's "History of Rationalism," Thomas Wright's "Narratives of Sorcery and Magic," Scott's "Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft," Mackay's "History of Popular Delusions," Davenport Adams's "Witch, Warlock, and Magician," Maury's "La Magie et l'Astrologie," and some scattered notes in Buckle's Posthumous Works. A good brief notice of Hopkins is supplied by the "Dictionary of National Biography." Another appears in Gifford's edition of Ford—his "Witch of Edmonton." A well-supported Note on Witchcraft in volume i. of "Phantasms of the Living" demonstrates the total

absence of respectable evidence for all those alleged phenomena of witchcraft which cannot be accounted for as the results of diseased imagination, hysteria, hypnotism, and possibly of telepathy.

D.—NOTE ON JUDGE JEFFREYS.

The authorities for the life of Jeffreys correspond very nearly with those that are cited in Appendix *E*, in connection with the Judge's illustrious congener, Titus Oates. In addition to these must be mentioned Woolrych's "Memoirs of the Life of Judge Jeffreys," 1827, the Lives in Campbell's "Lord Chancellors," and Fosse's "Judges of England," and a number of contemporary Lives and accounts of Jeffreys' death, which have been largely utilised by Macaulay. The excellent memoir by Mr. G. F. R. Barker in the "Dictionary of National Biography," contains much that is supplementary to the more elaborate Lives in a very small space. "The Western Martyrology," Dr. Jessop's "Lives of the Norths," Sir John Bramston's "Autobiography," Inderwick's "Side Lights on the Stuarts," Mr. Ewald's "Studies Restudied," and "Magdalen College and James II.," published by the Oxford Historical Society, have also been freely consulted.

E.—NOTE ON TITUS OATES.

Of the four historical characters who figure in these memoirs, Oates alone has hitherto been spared the misfortune of meeting with a biographer. The facts of his earlier and later career are only to be found scattered hither and thither among contemporary records, and certain portions of his life will probably always remain shrouded in partial obscurity. Enough, at any rate, is known of his life to certify the inference that, at any given moment of his life, Titus, if not engaged in nameless abominations, was up to his eyes in mischief. For Oates's early history, Isaac Milles's Life, Wilson's "Memorabilia Cantabrigiana," Mayor's St. John's College Register, Wood's "Life and Times," and certain collectanea in the sixth series of *Notes and Queries* and in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1849 have proved of special value. For the central portion of his life there is certainly no lack of materials, the State Trials being supplemented by Roger North's "Examen," and the histories of Eachard, Ralph, and Rapin. The same period is illustrated by numberless pamphlets by Oates and his crew on one side and Sir Roger l'Estrange and his appren-

tices on the other. The "Western Martyrology," of which the best edition is that of 1705, contains an account of the flogging and also an eulogy of Oates's learning, generosity and services to the Protestant religion. The House of Lords' MSS. now being published by the Historical MSS. Commission, throw considerable light on the proceedings in regard to the reversal of his sentence, while scattered notes in Evelyn's Diary, Reresby's Memoirs, Dryden's Works, Burnet's "History of his own Time," "The Lives of the Norths," and Tuke's Memoirs contribute information which is often of considerable value. Among more recent writers certain of the more salient features in Oates's career are touched upon by Macaulay in his most vivacious manner. A valuable "Selection from the State Trials" has recently been published by Mr. Willis Bund, and the outlines of the plot have been briefly and well narrated in an article by Mr. R. K. Douglas in *Blackwood's Magazine* (February, 1889). The most valuable authority for the whole of Oates's career is probably the series of newspaper and other jottings supplied in Luttrell's "Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs." For some particulars the histories of Ranke and Klopp ("Der Fall des Hauses Stuart"), and Groet Van Prinsterer's "Archives de la Maison d'Orange Nassau" must be consulted, while side-lights of widely varying interest and value are thrown by the "Lives" of Calamy and Baxter, Aubrey's "Lives," the autobiography of Sir John Bramston, the Hatton Correspondence, Sidney's Diary, Tom Brown's Works, Ackerman's "Moneys Received and Paid for Secret Services under Charles II. and James II." The Roxburghe Ballads, the Bagford Ballads, the Wrenn Collection of Ballads and Broad-sides, Lemon's Catalogue of Broad-sides, and Stephens's invaluable Catalogue of Satirical Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, the medallic histories of Pinkerton and Grueber, Stoughton's "History of Religion in England," Pike's "History of Crime," and Lord Campbell's "Lord Chancellors," have all proved useful in their several departments. Crosby's "History of the Baptists" supplies some information respecting the closing years of Oates's career, but for this portion, and indeed for the whole of his life, the chief source of authority is naturally the enormous mass of pamphlet literature which is to be found catalogued according to Panizzi's "91 rules" in the British Museum Catalogue (under O., T. : Oates Titus : popish plot : plot, popish : History : L'Estrange, Roger, and many other headings), but which cannot be fully enumerated here. Many of the most valuable are to be found in the two collections of "Somers' Tracts," and in the "Harleian Miscellany." The Catholic view of certain phases of the "Conjuratio Oatiana" is fairly

put forth in the "Florus Anglo-Bavaricus," in Challoner's "Memoirs of Missionary Priests," in various articles in Gillow's Catholic Dictionary, and Foley's "Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus," and, last but not least, in Lingard's "History of England."

It is perhaps worth noting here, that ridiculous (apart from its tragic consequences) as is Oates's so-called "plot" from its palpable improbabilities and inconsistencies, its association with the then Pope, Innocent XI., is equally grotesque on account of its singular ineptitude. Benedetto Odescalchi, who became Pope as Innocent XI., was born at Como in 1611. He had entered Rome in his twenty-fifth year, provided only with his sword and pistols, with a view of entering some secular office or the military service. By the advice of a cardinal he was induced to enter into the employment of the Court, and conducted himself with such ability and rectitude that he became popular among all classes, and was after a time created cardinal. During the sitting of the conclave on the death of Clement X., the people shouted his name within the hearing of the cardinals, and when his election became known the feeling of satisfaction was general. He aimed at a reduction of the pomp and luxury of the Court, and the suppression of abuses; he was also free from the failing of nepotism, which had led to so many evils, his own nephew living at Rome during his pontificate in a private condition. But his austerity, and his dislike of the Jesuits, then very powerful, made him many enemies. The chief events of his reign were the grave quarrel with Louis XIV. about the asyla in precincts in Rome—his cold reception of Castlemaine, envoy of James II., whose extreme courses the Pope strongly deprecated, as being certain in the end to militate against the true interests of Catholicism in this country—and the great affair of the Gallican articles of 1682, in which Bossuet took part against the Pope. Macaulay speaks of Innocent as a "pontiff of primitive austerity." His pontificate covered the whole period of the "*Popish* plot."

For this concise account of Innocent XI., and also for a most careful revision of the memoir on Oates, the writer is indebted to J. T. Seccombe, Esq., M.D.

F.—NOTE ON LORD LOVAT.

Among many scattered notices and documents of value the most important authorities for the life of Simon Fraser are four. The place of honour may be assigned to his own autobiography—a work

that must be used cautiously, since comparatively few of the statements in it are wholly true. But though difficult of interpretation and often of no evidential value as to events, it is essential for the understanding of the man. As a really remarkable piece of lying it is almost comparable in ingenuity of suppression, exaggeration, and half-truths to the memoirs of Retz himself. Nor is it always wholly untrustworthy as a narrative; thus the narrative of the events of 1714-15 may be taken as substantially accurate.

In the Culloden Papers we have Simon's correspondence during 1745. Here his mendacity is seen at its best, and these letters are essential to the understanding of the part he played that year.

In Vol. xviii. of the "State Trials" we have the important depositions made at the trial, and an interesting glimpse of Simon at bay. The speeches of the lawyers throw little light on the matter. Appended is contemporary gossip concerning Simon's behaviour in the last hours: tolerably trustworthy.

Fourthly is "Major Fraser's Manuscript," of which quaint work there is a recent edition by Lieutenant-Colonel Fergusson. The Major is a shrewd and trustworthy man, now and then, perhaps, misled by vanity. His evidence is specially important on the events between the departure from Saumur and the triumphal installation in Strathern.

Apart from these authorities there is much scattered evidence. All Simon's letters are valuable, and many are partly or wholly given in Burton's "Life." Some very curious information respecting the rape and other matters may be found in vol. xii. of the "Somers' Tracts," and in King's "Munimenta Antiqua." A fairly full list of references is appended to the very accurate article in the "Dictionary of National Biography." The contemporary "Lives," three of them dating 1746-7, are worthless, being written with much animus and little knowledge.

Of modern work far the most important is Dr. T. Hill Burton's "Life"—the result of careful industry. Dr. Burton, if he has not entered very fully into Simon's mind, has collated the evidence with much accuracy and judgment. A good essay on Simon's career appeared in the *Scottish Review* for January, 1893. Of other modern works none is worth mention. Mrs. Thomson in "Memoirs of the Jacobites" fails to rise to the subject, and is not accurate.

G.—NOTE ON COLONEL CHARTERIS.

Materials for the life of Charteris are to be found broadcast by such as care to search for them, while for others there is a plenty of

monographs with the Colonel as subject, which were widely published about the times of his last trial. The aim of the compilers of the last-named works would seem to have been to offer "spicy" reading, and small attention was paid by them to fact, or even probability, if an opportunity presented itself of applying some old story with a dirty fellow as its hero to the subject in hand. Less care was given to style, and these productions are long-winded; but they afford valuable material. Among them may be named "Some Authentic Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Ch—s, Rapemaster-General of Great Britain," 1730; "Scotch Gallantry Displayed, or the Life and Adventures of Colonel Fr—nc—s Ch—rt—s," 1730; "Life of Colonel Don Francisco" (n.d.); "History of Col. Francis Ch—tr—s." Besides such fugitive works as those mentioned there are numerous histories which could not well pass over the name of Charteris. Most of these are concerned only with his command at Preston, the story of which is set out at length in Patten's "History of the Rebellion," 1715, and side-lights on which as well on other of his appearances before the world are thrown by some of the Chetham Society's publications; and in the same connection may be mentioned Rapin's "History of England." Burton, in his "Life of Duncan Forbes," is the chief trustworthy authority for Charteris's last moments, while for his trial and the incidents which followed it there is almost a superabundance of matter to be found in the newspapers of the day, and such faithful registers of events as the "Political State of Great Britain" and "Angliæ Notitia." The British Museum owns a number of pamphlets and leaflets relating to the cashiering of the Colonel, and Douglas's "Peerage of Scotland" is supreme in genealogical information. Pope and Swift make frequent use of Charteris's name as a type of most forms of immorality, and the industrious editors of these authors have not failed to give brief notices of him in their notes. Walpole in one of his letters relates that he once, when a small boy, saw Charteris himself. The *Gentleman's Magazine* would scarcely be complete if it did not contain his name, and no doubt some interesting second-hand information might be produced by a diligent search in the back volumes of *Notes and Queries*.

H.—NOTE ON JONATHAN WILD.

The scarcity of trustworthy information on the career of Jonathan Wild is touched upon at the commencement of the foregoing biography. Little reliance can be placed in the details with which the

popular histories of Wild abound. The best of them are, perhaps, "The Life of Jonathan Wild," by H. D., 1725; "An Authentic History of the Parentage, Birth, Education, Marriages, Issue and Practices of the famous Jonathan Wild" (would that this comprehensive title were a true one!); Hitchin's "Regulator," and Wild's reply are useful for the insight they give into thieves' and tavern life in London, and many solid facts may be gleaned from the newspapers. The account of Wild published by the Ordinary of Newgate is meagre and unconvincing, and the hero's Dying Speech and Confession are more than probably unauthentic. The best and most truthful accounts of Wild are to be found in some of the Newgate Calendars, the most satisfactory in this respect being Jackson's, which has been drawn on largely by the present writer. Incidental references of more or less interest are in Thornbury's "London"; the "Chronicles of Newgate"; and various MS. records preserved at the Record Office, the Guildhall, and elsewhere. Fielding's "History of Jonathan the Wild, the Great," is, with the exception of the account of his last days, purely imaginary, and the admixture of fact to fiction in Ainsworth's "Jack Sheppard" is scarcely sufficient to satisfy a pedant's canons. Wild has not infrequently done duty in the British Drama, but of later years he has found a more congenial home on the burlesque stage than on the legitimate boards. His character was one to which no form of literature could easily do justice.

J.—NOTE ON JAMES MACLAINE.

The chief sources for the history of James Maclaine are—"An Account of the Behaviour of Mr. James Maclaine, From the Time of his Condemnation to the Day of his Execution . . . By the Reverend Dr. Allen . . . London: 1750," "A Complete History of James Maclean, The Gentleman Highwayman . . .," "The Ordinary of Newgate's Account of the Behaviour . . . Of the Twelve Malefactors who were Executed at Tyburn on Wednesday the 3rd of October, 1750," "The Proceedings on the King's Commission of the Peace . . . for the City of London . . . held at the Justice Hall in the Old Bailey on Wednesday the 12th, &c., of September . . . 1750," "A Letter to the Honourable House of Commons . . . To which is added an Address occasioned by the Execution of Mr. James Maclaine, &c." Of more general sources of authority the most worthy of notice are Cunningham's edition of Walpole's Correspondence, Nichols's "Literary Anecdotes," ii. 452, Wheatley and Cunningham's "London Past and Present," and Caulfield's

"Remarkable Characters," iv. 87. Among numerous accounts in contemporary newspapers the least unsatisfactory are to be found in *The World*, No. 3, for the 19th of December, 1754, the *Whitchall Evening Post*, *General Advertiser*, and *London Evening Post*.

J.—NOTE ON "FIGHTING FITZGERALD."

The compiler of the articles on George Robert Fitzgerald in the *Dublin University Magazine*, whose account, although chiefly founded on Fitzgerald's own "Appeal to the Public," is discriminating and less favourable to him than the anonymous "Memoirs of George Robert Fitzgerald." The author of "The Case of G. R. Fitzgerald impartially considered, and his Character and Conduct Vindicated," calls himself "an uninterested spectator," but is manifestly a strong political, if not personal partisan, and we agree with the *Gentleman's Magazine* in thinking the vindication scarcely complete. He was a friend of Brecknock, whose account he accepts as veracious, and was probably a bookseller named Bingley.

Sir Jonah Barrington, pre-eminent among Irish romancers, seems for once, in the case of Fitzgerald, to have lost faith in himself as a faithful biographer, and lest he "might mistake and be called a 'bouncer'" actually has recourse to his friend Martin "to give me a circumstantial detail." He considers this statement as so perspicuous and fair as almost to amount to "perfect impartiality." He does not name the other friend from whom he had learned "a few facts"; and declines himself to become Fitzgerald's "general biographer," adding "in truth, he has never, to my knowledge, had any true one."

From his tone here an inexperienced reader might be led to view Sir Jonah himself in the light of a critical biographer, a kind of model editor of a "Dictionary of Irish Biography." Mr. Sylvanus Urban appears to have had a special correspondent at Castlebar who wrote for him "an authentic account of one of the most shocking murders ever committed," and also of the trial of the murderers. The *Gentleman's Magazine* for June, 1786, also in its Review and Catalogue of New Publications mentions "the Case" in order to say that "THIS is the original, whence a compilation under the title of 'Authentic Memoirs,' hath been very unhandsomely compiled." A short review appears in the next number. It is hostile in tone, but has appended to it a note saying that accounts recently received from Castlebar had created some suspicion that the prosecution of the criminals had been rather too precipitate.

K.—NOTE ON THOMAS GRIFFITHS WAINEWRIGHT.

The biographer of Wainewright is not overwhelmed by the mass of materials that has to be consulted. Mr. W. Carew Hazlitt, when editing the collected "Essays and Criticisms," focussed to a point most of the scattered references in contemporary Letters and Diaries, and supplemented the result with a good deal of carefully compiled fresh matter. Previous short accounts are given by Mr. Thornbury in his "Old Stories Retold," and by Sir T. N. Talfourd in his "Memoirs of Charles Lamb." B. W. Procter throws some curious side-lights on the picture; and the student of *Notes and Queries* will find most of the known details about the Tasmanian portion of Wainewright's career. Mr. Oscar Wilde has contributed an Artistic Appreciation to vol. xlv. of *The Fortnightly Review*; and there does not appear to be anything else worthy of particular mention.

Wainewright's life has inspired some well-known fiction. In Lytton's "Lucretia" he appears as Varney, while Lucretia Clavering is supposed to be Mrs. Wainewright. Dickens founded his unsatisfactory and melodramatic novelette, "Hunted Down," on the same subject.

L.—NOTE ON "NED" KELLY.

Practically the whole of our information concerning the career of the Kelly brothers is derived from the book of Mr. F. A. Hare, Superintendent in the Victorian police, entitled "The Last of the Bushrangers," and from the files of *The Melbourne Argus*. Mr. Hare's book is an unvarnished and praiseworthy tale written by the man who, perhaps, knew more than any one else of the matter, and without it our knowledge would be very incomplete. He records his personal experience as one of the heroes of the story. In the columns of *The Melbourne Argus* for February, 1879, and June and July, 1880, we have not only reports by special correspondents but also statements by actual actors or sufferers in the events, as by Mr. Scott of Euroa, Mr. Tarleton of Jerilderie, Constable Bracken of Glenrowan, and others.

We have been unable to obtain files of other Australian papers than *The Melbourne Argus* for the required dates, but it is unlikely that any other would contain first-hand information.

A little book entitled "History of the Kelly Gang of Bushrangers," by D. Kinnear, published at Melbourne in 1880, appears to be compiled from gossip, and, so far as it contains any information not

contained in *The Melbourne Argus* or in Mr. Hare's book, is quite untrustworthy.

A very brief notice of the Kellys occurs in Mr. J. Henniker-Heaton's "Australian Dictionary of Dates," and a more adequate sketch in the "Dictionary of National Biography."

INDEX.

- AALBORG, CAPTAIN CHRISTIERN, 28
 Abercromby, Lieutenant, 299
 „ Helen, 299, 305; attracts attention of Wainwright, 306, 308, 309; poisoned, 310
 „ Madeleine, 299, 305; married, 313
 „ Mrs., 298, 305; murdered, 307
 Abinger, Lord, 315
 Acheson, Mr., solicitor, 311
 Aigas, Island of, 162
 Ainslie's Tavern, 19
 Albemarle, Earl of, 90, 249
 Aldgate, Oates whipped from, to Newgate, 139, 141
 Allen, Dr., Presbyterian minister, who published Maclaine's confession, 262
 Altamont, Lord, 278
 Amboise, Plot of, 4
 Amelia, Princess, 266
 Angoulême, 174
 Anne, Queen, 172, 177
 Arblay, Madame d', 319
 Arbuthnot, Dr., his poetical description of Charteris, 217
Arcades Ambo, Jeffreys and Oates, 136
 "Architectonical Scheme," 111
 Argyll, Earl of, *see* Campbell
 Arnold, Quilt, 230, 240
 Arnold, Mary, the most expert shop-lifter ever known, 245
 Arran, Earl of, 4-5, 6
 Arundel, Lord, apprehended, 118
 Ashby, Rector of St. Omer, 121
 Ashe, Miss, one of Maclaine's "doxies," 259
 Athole, Marquis of, 155, 157, 158, 162, 172, 178
 Atkins, a clerk accused of murder of Godfrey, 120
 Atwood, Oates's last victim, 133
 „ Mrs., attacked by Jeffreys, 76
Auricular Confession of Titus Oates, Pamphlet, 135
 Axe Yard, Oates lodges in, 99, 154
 BAGGS, MAJOR, duels with Fitzgerald, 268
 Ball's ginshop, 234
 Barbarities at Downie Castle, 184
 Barker, Sir Richard, 97, 104
 Barlow, Thomas, Bishop of Lincoln, 119
 Barlowe, Mr., 261
 Barnabas, Saul, 37
 Barrington, Sir Jonah, 268, 274
 Barton, Bernard, 297
 Bate, Rev. Henry, Affray of, with Fitzgerald, 269, 270
 Bates, Dr., 75
 Bavaria, Duke of, 51
 Baxter, Richard, 73; his trial, 74
 Bayard, 25
 Beaufort, Thomas Fraser of, 157, 160, 164
 Bedford, Lord, 8
 „ Duke of, 261
 Bedingfield, a Jesuit, 109
 Bedloe, his false evidence, 120, 123, 124, 125; impeached, 127; his death, 128-131, 132-134
 Beelzebub, an imp, 61
 Belcher, Sue, 244
 Bellasis, Lord, apprehended, 118

- Belted Will, 3
 Benalla, intended robbery of bank there, 341
 Bigamy of Wild, 230
 Bird, Mr. James, an attorney, 309, 316
 "Black Bastard," 110
 "Blackman," an imp, 61
 Blake, Joseph, *see* Blueskin
 Blessington, Lady, 320
 Bloomsbury, Samuel Oates retreats to, 97
 Bludworth, Sir Thomas, 70
 Blueskin, a pickpocket, 238, 239, 243
 Bobbing, Vicarage of, 99, 100, 104
 Bolton, Duke of, 146
 Bond, Anne, 212
 Bonmot, Mr. (T. G. Wainewright), 294 ; his death, 302
 Booth, Henry, afterwards Lord Delamere, 70 ; his trial, 88
 BOTHWELL, EARL OF, his life, 1-35
 Boulogne, 313
 Bracton, 145
 Braken, Constable, 343, 346
 Brecknock, Timothy, legal adviser of Fitzgerald, 282, 283, 284, 286, 287 ; his execution, 289
 Bristol, Earl of, 275
 Broil among the servants of Jeffreys, 83
 Brown, Tom, the humourist, 99, 149, 154
 Browne, Denis, 278-289
 " Lady Anne, 278
 " Lady Elizabeth, 278
 " Lady Charlotte, 278
 " Sir Thomas, 57
 " Sir Richard, 69
 " Hablot, 317
 Bruce, James, 214
 Buchanan, Thomas, 31
 Burial of Charteris, 216
 Burleigh, Lord, 48, 50 ; his nephew, 49
 Burnet, Dr., 115
 Burney, Charles, D.D., 319 ; his school, 293
 Bury St. Edmunds, Hopkins at, 60
 Busby, Dr., 68
 Byrne, Joe, associate of Ned Kelly, 325, 329, 333, 337 ; his death, 347
 " Mrs., 338, 339
- CABINET of Jesuits' Secrets opened,*
 104
 Calamy, Edmund, 116, 142
 Caldara, Polidore di, 295
 Callières, 169
 Cambo Estate, 207
 Cameron, Ewan, of Lochiel, 171, 191
 Campbell, Archibald, fourth Earl of Argyll, 9
 " Archibald, first Duke of Argyll, 166, 167, 171, 177, 179, 214
 " Colin, of Glenderule, 173
 " John, Provost 179, 186
 " Primrose, married to Lord Lovat, 186
 Campion, Jesuit, 137
 Canterbury, Archbishop of, 137
 "Cart the Ark," 96
 Castlemaine, Lord, acquitted, 132
 Cateau-Cambresis, Treaty of, 3
 Catherine, Queen of Charles II., 101, 125, 127, 128
 Chaise, Père la, 110
 Charles II., 71, 72 ; in St. James's Park, 107-124 ; alleged attempts to poison him, 125, 126 ; begins to frown on Oates, 127, 128, 135
 CHARTERIS, COLONEL FRANCIS, Life of, 200-218
 " Mrs., 209, 214
 " Janet, 209
 " Sir John, 200
 Chelmer, River, 97
 Cheops, 106
 Chesterfield, Lord, 259
 Chiffinch, Will, 69, 106
 Child, Alderman, 212
 Churcher, Elizabeth, a witch, her imps, 61
 Clark, Dr., his description of Charteris his patient, 215
 Clarke, Elizabeth, a witch, her examination, 59
 Claude, the painter, 296
 Clerk, Captain John, 31
 " Sir John, 189
 Cock Alley, 221
 Cockeril, Mr., a blink-eyed bookseller of Cheapside, 131
 Coleman, Edward, 104, 113 ; indicted

- and executed, 121; his chances to escape, 123
- Coleridge, Hartly, 294
- College, Stephen, the Protestant joiner, his trial, 72, 125, 141
- Compton, Bishop, 88
- Conolly, Miss, 267; marries Fitzgerald, 267
- Conyers, a Jesuit, 110; wagered the king would eat no more Christmas pies, 126
- Cook, Dr., 9
- "Coopers' Arms," The, 236
- Cornelius Van Vinkbooms, pseudonym of T. G. Wainwright, 294
- Cornwall, Barry, *see* Procter, B. W.
- Correggio, compared with Westall, 296
- Cottle, Captain, "All for love, and a little for the bottle," 254
- Cracow, 40-41, 44
- Craig, Andrew, "Scots Andrew," ally of Fitzgerald, 284
- „ John, minister of St. Giles, 23
- Craigie, Lord Advocate, 189
- Craigmillar, 13
- Crichton, Lady Catherine, 200
- Crofts, Captain, 269, 270, 271
- Cromarty, Earl of, 191
- Crosby, his history of the Baptists, 97
- Culloden, Highland army destroyed at, on April 16, 1746, 195
- Culloden Castle, 179
- Cumming, Mr., minister to Charteris on his deathbed, 216
- Cunningham, Alan, 294
- Curnon, Thomas, saves the police train, 343-344
- D'ALBEUF, MARQUIS, 5
- Dalgleish, George, 26
- Dalrymple, Lord, 212
- Danby, Lord, 109, 119, 146
- Dangerfield, Thomas, his trial, 87, 132
- Darnley, Henry, 9; his jealousy, 11, 12; murdered, 16, 17
- Dartmouth, Earl of, 358
- D'Artois, Comte, 267
- Dee, Dr. John, his character, 36; professes to be visited by Gabriel, 37; visited by Laski, 39; taken by Laski to Holland, 40; his experiments, 41; obtains office of Queen's Intelligencer, 44; appoints his son his skryer, 45; has his wife in common with Kelley, 46; again parts from Kelley, 47
- Defoe, Daniel, 117
- Degree of D.D. sought by Oates, 129
- Derry, Bishop of, 267
- Devil, the, Description of, by a witch, 59
- Devine, Constable, 334
- „ Mrs., 334
- Dickens, Charles, 317
- Dick's Coffee House in Aldersgate Street, a favourite resort of Oates, 133
- Dieppe, 176, 177
- Dillon, Mr., threatens Fitzgerald, 267
- Dipper, Samuel Oates becomes a, 97
- Dogmas for *Dilettanti*, 275
- Dolben, Sir William, 69, 121
- Don John, Johannes Paulus de Oliva, General of the Society of Jesus, 112
- Dorchester, Jeffreys there, 82
- Downie Castle, 155, 159, 160, 161, 184, 186; burnt, 195
- Dubois, 73
- Du Croc, Mons., 13, 24
- Dugdale, Stephen, his character and evidence, 125; evidence against Stafford, 128
- Drummond, Lord, 171
- Dun, Timothy, 232
- Dunbar, 13
- Dunblane, Bishop of, 20
- Duncannon, Lord, 259
- Dunmow, the Dipper there, 97
- Dunne, James, 79, 80, 81
- EDINBURGH, 163
- Edwards, Thomas, 239
- Eglinton, Lord, robbed by Maclaine, 258, 259
- Eglintoun, 19
- "Egomet Bonmot" pseudonym of Wainwright, 294
- Eleven Gun Creek, 323
- Elgin, 163
- Elliott, Adam, 98; attacked by Oates, 134
- Elliot, John, John o' the Park, 12

- Elizabeth, Queen, 9; her birthday, 117
 Elphinstone, Lord, 186
 Ely, Bishop of, dines with Oates, 133
England's Grand Memorial, 117
 Errol, Earl of, 169
 Euroa, Robbery of bank at, 329, 333
 Evelyn, John, his opinion of Jeffreys,
 '73, 120, 141
 Ewald, Mr., 77, 83
Examen, Roger North's, 96, 131
Extravaganza, Oates's, 114
- FAIRFAX, HENRY, 91
 Faithful Creek, 330
 Farmer, Anthony, 91
 Fell, Dr., refuses to grant degree of
 D.D. to Oates, 130
 Fenwick, Sir John, 123; executed,
 125
 Ferguson, James, astronomer, at Castle
 Downie, 184
 Fergusson, Robert, "the plotter," 173,
 184
 Fielding, Henry, 219
 ,, Sir John, 244
 Fiery Cross, The, 161
 Ffrench, Mr. Cæsar, 278, 280
 FITZGERALD, GEORGE ROBERT, Life of,
 265-291
 ,, Lionel Charles, 266
 Fitzgibbon, attorney-general, 288
 Fitzharris, Conviction of, 72
 Fitzpatrick, Constable, 324
 Fleet Ditch, 223
 Flogging of Oates, 142
 Flood, Matthew, 245
Florus Anglo-Bavaricus, 105
 Forbes, Duncan, witnesses Fraser's
 marriage, 184, 190, 192;
 defends Charteris, 210;
 legacy to, from Charteris,
 214, 216
 ,, John, 179
 Forster, Mr., 297, 304, 309, 317, 320
 Fort William, 161
 Foss, Henry, 293
 ,, Edward, 293
 Foul-brigs, 20
 Fox Hall (Vauxhall), 104
 Framlingham, 60; Hopkins there, 60
 Francis, murderer of Dangerfield, 87
- FRASER, SIMON, EARL OF LOVAT, Life
 of, 155-199
 ,, John, his death, 186; left in
 Holland, 169, 176
 ,, Major, 167, 174, 176, 183,
 185; accompanies Simon,
 176, 177; goes to Scotland,
 179
 ,, Thomas, 157, 160, 164
 ,, Alexander, 177
 ,, James, 199
 ,, Amelia, 157, 175; her death,
 181
 ,, Clan, 164, 170, 192; Lovat's
 letter to, 183
 Frederick II., 30, 31
 French, Mr., duel with Fitzgerald, 266
 Frobisher, Martin, explorer, 36
 Fryer, Sir John, 240
 Fuller, William, 125, 147, 148
 Fulton, assassin executed, 289
 Fuseli, the painter, 296
- GALLAGHER, ANDREW, apothecary,
 286
 Galloway, John, 16
 "Gangraena," Anabaptist dippings
 mentioned in, 96
 Garnet, Father, 128
 Gaule, John, Rev., his book, 55; attack
 upon Hopkins, 62; the effect of it,
 63; his description of articles, *ib.*
Gazetteer, The, 270
 Galway Cock, The, 287
Gentleman's Magazine, The, 292
 "Gentlemen of the Clan Fraser," Letter
 to, 183
 George, King, 177, 178, 180
 Geraldines, The, 264
 Gibney, Father, 348
 Gilbert, Sir Humphrey, explorer, 36
 Godfrey, Sir Edmund Berry, 104, 109;
 his murder, 115, 120
 Gortuleg, 195
 Gordon, Jean, marries Bothwell, 10;
 divorced, 22
 "Gospel, taken for," Everything Oates
 affirmed, 120
 Graham, Mr., a surgeon, 310
 Grant, Brigadier, 179
 ,, Margaret, 186; married to Fraser

- Grattan, Harriet, 308
 Greedigut, an imp, 61
 Green, Mr., Archbishop Tenison's chaplain, struck by Oates, 150
 Griffiths, Ralph, LL.D., 292, 299
 „ George, 301
 „ Mrs., 293
 „ Ann, 292
 Grove, William, Oates's victim, 108, 110, 122, 124
 Groves, Paul, 245
 Guildhall, 68
 Guilford, Lord, 73
 Gunpowder Alley, 101
 Gwynne, Mistress Nell, 107
 Gwynne, Captain Peter, 53
- HAB O' THE SHAWs, 8
 Hackabout, Kate, 209
 Hague, The, 255
 Hale, Sir Matthew, 57
 Halton, Timothy, refuses to grant degree to Oates, 130
 Hamilton, Lord, 6
 Hampton Court, 253
 Harcourt, Thomas, jesuit executed, 125
 Hare, Superintendent, 323, 338, 344, 346
Harlot's Progress, The, 217
 Harrington, Countess of, 259
 Hart, Stephen, 325, 329, 333, 337, 344; his death, 348
 Hartley, Mrs., 269, 271
 Harvey, Colonel, 212
 Hawkins, Sir John, explorer, 36
 Hay (of Tulla), 15; his share in the blowing up Darnley, *ib.*
 Hazlitt, Mr., 294, 297, 304, 318
 Henry, Mr., parson, 290
 HEPBURN, JAMES, EARL OF BOTHWELL, his life, 1-35
 "Heretic Pig," *i.e.*, Charles II., 110
 Hessey, Mr., 297
 Hewling, Mr., his murder, 83
 Hicks, a dissenting divine, 79, 80
 Hicks' Hall, Jeffreys makes his mark there, 68, 72, 88
 Higden, Josiah, 260; procures arrest of Maclaine, 248
 Hipson, 287; murdered, 288
History of King Charles I., 102
- Hitchen, Charles, City Marshal, 222, 224, 225; his pamphlet "The Regulator," 236
 Hobart Town, 321
 Hogarth, William, executes a portrait of Fraser, 196
 Holloway, Sir Robert, judge, 145
 Holmes, Colonel, plays with Charteris, 204
 Holt, Chief Justice, 145
 Holyrood, 15
 Hood, Thomas, 294
 Hopkins, James, Matthew Hopkins's father, 57, 64
 HOPKINS, MATTHEW, Life of, 54-67
 Hornby Castle, 207
 Howard William, Viscount Stafford, his trial, 128, 248
 Howell, Sir John, 69
 Hubert, Queen Mary's servitor, 16
 Hucker, Mr., his murder, 83
Hudibras, Lines from, referring to Hopkins, 64; to Kelley, 37
Hue and Cry after Dr. Oates, a pamphlet, 100, 133
 Hull, Sarah, 244; curious dispensation with regard to her husbands, 245
Hunted Down, novelette by Dickens, 321
 Huntley, Earl of, 10, 11, 12; restored to his forfeited estates, 19, 26
 „ Patrick, 203
 Hyndford, Earl of, 209
- ILEMAUZAR, an imp, 59
 Imprisonment of Oates, 135
 Inchkeith, Captain, 26
Index to the Jesuits' Morals, 104
 Ipswich, Hopkins at, 61
 Ireland, William, Jesuit, sentenced to death, 124, 136
 „ Francis, William Ireland's uncle, 124
 Islay, Lord, 177, 179, 180, 186
- JACK PUDDING, Jeffreys called a, 71
 James I., his energy against witches, 56
 „ III., the Pretender, 169
 „ Mrs., Eleanor, assaulted by Oates, 153, 154

- Janus Weatherbound, pseudonym of
T. G. Wainwright, 294
- Jarmara, an imp, 59
- Jarvis, Mr., 237
- Jedburgh, 13
- JEFFREYS, JUDGE, Life of, 67
- „ Judge, 121, 126, 139; at
„ trial of Oates, 136, 137
- „ John, father of the Judge,
67
- „ John, "The Great Smoaker,"
69
- Jenkins, Mr., 83
- Jennison, his evidence, 125
- Jerilderie, 333
- Jerrold Douglas, 314
- Jessopp, Rev. Dr., 95
- Jewell, John, Bishop of Salisbury, 55
- Johnson, Roger, 237, 239
- „ Dr. Samuel, 49, 270
- Jones, Mrs., marries Jeffreys, 70
- „ Sir Thomas, snubbed by Jeffreys,
87
- „ Sir William, 121
- „ Mr. Thomas, 249
- Jones's Hotel, 345
- Jonson, Ben, 56
- KAAS, CONSTABLE, 31
- Kearney, 135
- KELLEY, SIR EDWARD, Life of, 34-53
- KELLY, EDWARD, Life of, 323-350
- „ Dan, 324, 325, 327, 329, 333;
his brutal conduct, 330,
331; surprises Tarleton in
his bath, 335; murders
Sherrit, 342; his death,
348
- „ Mrs., 324; arrested, 325
- „ Kate, 338, 349
- „ Bridget, 338, 348
- „ Jim, 349
- „ John, 323
- „ Henry, steals at instigation of
Wild, 341
- Kennedy, Sergeant, 325; murdered,
328
- Ketch, John, hangman, 141
- Killala, 280
- King, Mr., 310
- Kinloch, Sir Francis, 200
- Kinneil, Conspiracy of, 8
- Kirk, Mr. Thomas, 309, 316
- Kirkaldy, 25, 27
- Kirkby, Christopher, an associate of
Tonge and Titus Oates, 106, 107, 109
- Kirk Hill Church, Fraser wishes to be
buried at, 198
- Kirk o' Field, 6
- Knapp, Mrs., murdered, 232
- Kneller, Sir Godfrey, 91
- Knox, John, 6, 9
- „ Mrs., scandaliser of Oates, 130
- LA CHAISE, PÈRE, 114, 122
- La Frezelière, Marquis, 175
- Lamb, Charles, 294, 297, 299
- Landguard Fort, 59
- Lane, Mr., 130
- Langhorne, Richard, executed, 125
- Lauderdale, Earl of, 148
- Lawrence, Sir Thomas, 296
- Laski, Albert, comes to England, 38;
commanded by the spirits to take
Kelley to Holland, 40; his re-
sources begin to fail, 41
- Law passed against witches, 55
- Lediard, Mr., 258, 261
- Leest, Mr., 308, 316
- Le Ferrier, 114
- Lennox, 17; requested to indict Both-
well, *ib.*; postpones the case, 18,
31
- "Le Shee," Father (Père La Chaise),
110
- L'Estrange, Sir Roger, 133; his share
in trial of Baxter, 73, 74
- „ Sir Hamon, 102
- Lethington, 7, 13
- Letter of Fraser to his son, 197
- Lewkenor's Lane, Establishment in,
221
- Liddesdale, Lord, 10
- „ The thieves of, 8
- Liège, 105
- Lilly, William, 43
- Lisle, John, 78; his murder, 83
- „ Lady Alice, 78, 80, 81; her
trial, 79
- "Lo, a damned crew," anagram of
Edward Coleman, 104
- Loader, Mr., shopkeeper, 258

- Locke, Mr., 292
 Locock, Doctor, 309, 310
London Packet, The, 270
London Magazine, The, 294
 Lonergan, Captain, murdered, 327
 Loudoun, Lord, takes Fraser prisoner, 194
 Louis XIV., 114, 124; his Scottish scheme, 170
 Lovat, Hugh Fraser, Lord, his death, 157
 „ Lady, 159, 167; outraged, 162
 Lovelace, Lord, takes Oates to Woodstock, 129
 Lowes, Rev. John, his confession under torture, 59
 Lower, Dr., 94
 Lunn, a pickpocket, 231
 Lytton, Tom, 270
 Lytton, Bulwer, 321
- MACGLEGNO, MISS**, 250
 Macgregor, Laird, 171
 MacAulay, Mr., 330, 333
 MacDonnell, Alexander, 285
 „ Patrick, 282, 288
 MacDougall, Mr., 336
 MacIntyre, Constable, 327
 Mackenzie, Alexander, married, 175; obtains the Lovat estate, 176; declares for the rebels, 178, 180, 181
 „ Hugh, 181
 „ Roderick, 175
 MacLaine, Anne Jane, 246, 255
 „ Archibald, 246, 247, 255; intercedes for his brother, 261
MACLAINE, JAMES, Life of, 246-264
 „ Lauchlin, 299, 304
 Macleod, Sybilla, 155
 Macshimi, title of chief, 181
 Madimi, a spirit, 39, 45, 47
 Manningtree, the town where Hopkins lived, 57, 64, 65.
 Mansfield, Lord, 283
 Mar, Earl of, 179
 „ Countess of, 186
 Marlborough, Duke of, 201
 Martin, Anne, incident at dipping, 96
 „ Doctor Richard, 374
- Martin, Mr. Richard, 281; wounded by Fitzgerald in duel, 282
 Marischal, Earl, 169
 Marshall, tried along with Wakeman, 127
 Mary of Guise, her reconciliation with Earl Patrick Hepburn, 2; her betrothal, 3; death, 4
 „ Stuart returns to Scotland, 5; resolves to marry Darnley, 9; liking for Bothwell, 11; rides to visit Bothwell, 13; visits her husband, 14; her conduct at murder of Bothwell, 17; rides to Stirling to visit her son, 20; married to Bothwell, 23; accompanies him to Edinburgh, 23; escapes from the court, 24; expostulates with the Lords, 24, 25, 31
 „ of Modena, 169, 172
 Mastiff at the door of Oates's cell poisoned, 135
 Maxwell, Master of, 5
 Maynard, Serjeant, 121, 132
 Mayo, Catholic, 276
Melbourne Argus, 333
 Melvil, Sir James, 16, 20
 Mendez, Abraham, "Clerk of the northern road," 230
 Merchant Taylors' School, 98
 Middleton, Lord, 169, 170, 171
 Miles, Captain, 269, 270
 Miller, An Edinburgh, mutilated by Charteris, 206
 Milliner, Mary, 221; Wild slices her ear off, 229
 Milton, Lord, 216
 Mistle, 64
Mithridates, Dryden, his, 103
 Mohun, Lord, 129
 Monaghan, 248
Monas Hieroglyphicus, 43
 Monck, General, 97
 Monmouth, Duke of, 71; prisoners executed for aiding him, 82, 120, 142
 Monson, Richard, 37
 Montague, Lady Mary Wortley, 265, 289
Monthly Review, The, 293

- Montrosé, Duke of, 178
 Moody, Mr., the player, 271
 Moore, George, Oates's patron, 99
 Morar Loch, 195
Morning Chronicle, The, 269
Morning Post, The, 269, 270
 Morocco, Emperor of, 134
 Morton, Lord, 11; gets possession of silver casket, 26
 Mostyn, Sir Roger, 204
 Mountford, Lord, 259
 Muily Loch, 195
 Murphy, Margaret, 241
 Murray, Earl of, 8, 9, 10; pardoned, 12, 13
 " James, offers to fight Bothwell, 25
 " Lord, 155, 156, 159, 165
 " Lord Mungo, 160, 162; captured, 165
 " James, spy on Fraser, 170
 " Captain John, 170, 172, 191, 197

 NAZIANZENUS, St. Gregory, 105
 Needham, Mother, 144, 209
 Neesham, Sarah, marries Judge Jeffreys, May, 1667, 69
 Nelthorp, Richard, 80
 Newgate, 87, 139, 141, 142, 146, 213, 214, 230, 236, 241, 242, 243, 261, 263, 264, 317
 Newton House Lane, 230
 Nicholson, Mr., 310
 Norfolk, Duke of, 402
 North, Roger, 96, 131
North British Review, 297
 Norriſ, Miss, 266
 Norwich, Dean of, 94
 Nun, Judith, 230
 Nuttall, Dr., 318

 OAKEY, RICHARD, 245
 OATES, TITUS, Life of, 95-154
 " Titus, his suggestion about Jeffreys, 72; reference to, by Jeffreys, 74; trial of, 77
 " Mrs., mother of Titus, her dream, 96; referred to, 151
 " Samuel, father of Titus, 95; "dipping" in the provinces, 97

 Oates, William, the horse stealer, 98
 Ogilvie retainers, The, 6
 Old Bagnio, The, 253
 Oliva, Johannes Paulus de, General of the Society of Jesus, 112
 O'Mealey, magistrate, 286
 Omer, St., 105, 121, 313
 Orange, Prince of, 144
 Ormiston, Laird of, 3; carried off by Bothwell, 6; knighted, 23
 Ormiston, 15, 18
 Osmond, death of, 91
 Oxburgh, Colonel Henry, fights due with Charteris, 204
 Oxe, Peter, 30
 Oxford University refuses degree to Oates, 129
 Oxford Town Pulpit, Oates at, 129

 PAGEZ, his marriage, 15
 Pain, Sarah, her evidence against Ireland, 124
 Palmer, William, the Rugeley poisoner, 311
 Pamphlet, Hopkins's, 65, 66
 Parker, a Papist, 91
 " William, 100
 Parkins, Doctor Christopher, victimised by Kelley, 49, 50
 Partridge's Almanack, 142
 Patrick, Bishop of Moray, 2
 " Earl, father of Bothwell, 2; his divorce, *ib.*
 Parrot, Mr., his murder, 83
 Payne, Roger, 300
 Pechell, Doctor, 90; suspended, 91
 "Pecke in the Crowne," an imp, 59
 Pembroke, Lord, 92
 Penderells of Boscobel, 124
 Penruddock, Colonel, 81
 Pepys, Mr., 120, 153
 Perth, Duke of, 169
 Petre, Lord, apprehended, 118
 " Father, 92
 Peveril of the Peak, 123
 Pickering, Thomas, 101, 108, 122, 124
 Pirglitz, 52
 Pitt, Mr., a bookseller, 88
 Player, Sir Thomas, 116
 Pluckley, 104

- Plunkett, 250 ; he and Maclaine set up as highwaymen, 251 ; their first robbery, 252, 253, 254, 260
 ,, Archbishop, 72
 Pollexfen, Counsellor, 79
 Pope's warehouse, 130
 "Popish Plot," Oates's description of, 130
 Portsmouth, Duchess of, 69
 Petersham, Lady Caroline, Countess of Harrington, 259
 Powell, Arnold, thief, 233
 Power, Mr. Baron, 288
 ,, the Bushranger, 324
 Powis, Lord, apprehended, 118
 France, Miles, 120
 Prague, 52
 Prestonhall, Lord, 176
 Prestonpans, Battle of, 191
 Pretender, The, 195 ; lands in Scotland, 189
 Pretty, an imp, 61
 Prideaux, Ransom of, 86
 Pride, Colonel, 97
 Primrose Hill, 115
 Procter, B. W., Mr., 294, 297, 298, 299, 300, 327
 Pryme, Abraham de la, 141
 Pucci, Francis, 44
 Puyney, Mr., Ordinary of Newgate, 243
 Pyewackett, an imp, 59
- QUEENSBERRY, DUKE OF, 171, 172, 202
 Queensberry, Duchess of, plays cards with Charteris, 202
 Quin, Ellen, 323
 Quincey, De, Thomas, 294, 302
- RANDOLPH, the English agent, 7, 8
 Rann, Jerry, Wild's man, 237, 238
 Raymond, Lord, 242
 Read, Mary, 230
 Reading, Nat, 141
 "Red Cow," The, 92
 Reresby, Sir John, 133
 Reynolds, Hamilton, 294
 Riccarton, Laird of, 9
 Riccio, David, his murder, 11
 Richards, Constable, 334
 Richmond, Duke of, 270
 Roes, 85
 Rosebery, Earl of, 52
 Rosenberg, 41, 48, 52
 Rosencrantz, Eric, 29
 Rosewell, Mr., 73
 Rotheram, 75
 Rowan seconds Fitzgerald, 268
 Rudolph, 51, 52
 Ruthven murders Riccio, 11
- SACKE AND SUGAR, an imp, 59
 Sadler's Wells, 296
Salamanca Wedding, The, 149
 Salisbury, Jeffreys at, 81
 Saltoun, Lord, 160, 161
 Sancroft, Archbishop, 119
 Santander, 103
 "Saviour of the Nation," 98
 Scanlan, Constable, murdered, 327
 Scarven, 274
 Schiern, Professor, 31
 Scottish Rebellion, 177, 183, 187, 195
 Scoto, an Italian rival of Kelley, 51
 Scott, Dr., 94
 ,, Mr., manager of Bank at Euroa, 331, 332
 Scroggs, Chief Justice, 121, 123, 137 ; charged with bribery, 127
 Sedlescombe School, 98
 Selden, 57
 Sellets, Sarah, 210
 Sentence upon Oates, 139
Sentimentalities on the Fine Arts, 295
 Shaftesbury, Lord, 128, 137
 Sharp, John, Archbishop of York, 119
 Sharpe, Dr., 88
 Sharpus, Mr., money-lender, 307
 Shepherd, Dr., his chapel, 88
 Sheppard, Jack, 239
 Sheriffmuir, 180
 Sidney, Algernon, trial of, 73
 Somerset House, 101, 120
 Spruce-prigs, The, 231
 Stafford, Lord, apprehended, 118 ; his death, 129
 Steele, Sergeant, captures Kelly, 347
 Stern, John, Hopkins's assistant, 57-59 ; his defence of Hopkins, 64
 St. Germain's, 166, 168, 169, 170, 172
 Stillingfleet, Edward, 119

- St. John's College, Cambridge, 98
 St. Margaret's Hill, fire at, 111
 Stoney Hill, 216
 Stothard, the artist, 296
 Strathbogie, 26
 Stratheric Estate, 158, 159, 166, 167 ;
 Fraser escapes thither, 194
 Stretham, Catherine, 241, 242
 St. Stephen's boots, 131
 Stuart, Lord James, 4
- TAAREVEILE, 32
 Tait, Archibald, 230
 Talfourd, Mr. Serjeant, 304, 315
 Tarleton, Mr., bank manager, 335
 "Tatnam Court Road," 296
 Taylor, Mr., 297
 Temple, Lord, 281
 Teniers, David, and Wilkie compared,
 296
 Thompson, Mr., fights and wounds
 Fitzgerald, 266
 Thronndsson, Ann, 7, 29
 Thornbury, Mr., 312
 Thrift, John, hangman, 263
 Throckmorton, his opinion of Bothwell,
 5
 Tillotson, Archbishop, 119
 Tinellan, Tower of, 160
 Tithe-pig, Metropolitan, 75
 Tonge, Dr. Israel, 104, 108, 109, 113,
 119 ; supposed attempt to
 murder him, 124
 ,, Simpson, son of Dr. Tonge,
 committed to Newgate, 132
 "Topping horse," King Charles's, 113
 Torcy, Marquis de, 169
 Tory Tom, Incident of, 78
 Townley, James, incumbent of Hendon,
 270
 Treby, Sir George, 71
 Trenchard, John, his reports of Jeffreys,
 71
 Trevor, Sir John, 91
 Trimmer, Mr., 93
 Trinity College, Cambridge, Jeffreys at,
 68
 Trullibub, an imp, 61
 Tuam, Archbishop of, 103
 Tullibardine, Earl of, 27, 128, 157
 Turner, Jesuit, executed, 125
- Turner, the painter, 295, 296
 Turnham Green, 293
 Tyburn, 139, 140, 146, 230, 232, 243,
 257, 263
 Tylys, 85
- UTAH, 45
- VALLADOLID, 103
 Vaughan, Miss, 278
 Veronese, Paul, 295
 Vinegar Tom, an imp, 59
 Vrytings, 4
- WADE, GENERAL, 182
 WAINEWRIGHT, THOMAS GRIFFITHS,
 his life, 292-321
 Wakeman, Sir George, 108, 110, 113,
 122 ; his trial 125, 126 ; acquitted,
 127
 Walker, Daisey, 271
 Wallop, Mr., counsel for Baxter, 74,
 75, 139
 Walpole, Horace, 37, 253 ; robbed by
 Maclaine, 257
 Walpole, Sir Robert, 214, 216
 Wapping, 152, 153
 Ward, Frances, marries Wainewright,
 298, 299, 308
 ,, Mr., 298
 ,, Sir Patience, 68
 Waring, Paul, accomplice of Kelley, 35
 Watkins, Sir Francis, 139
 Watson, Dr. Thomas, Oates's tutor, 98,
 99
 "Weathercock steadfast for lack of
 oil," 294
 Wells, Margaret, married to Oates in
 August, 1693, 149
 Wemyss, Earl of, 209, 214
 ,, Lady, 216
 Westall, Richard, the painter, 296, 299
Western Martyrology, The, 83
 Weston, Baron, 70
 Webb, an English agent despatched to
 the Emperor by Queen Elizabeth,
 52
 Wells, Jeffreys' "work" at, 84
 Westminster School, Jeffreys at, 67
 Wheatley, Mr., 313

- Whitebread, a Jesuit, 101, 123; executed, 125
- Whitehall, 107; the Red Room at, 108; Oates confined to, 129
- White Hart Inn, 196
- „ Horse Tavern, 110, 136
- Wild, Andrew, 245
- WILD JONATHAN, Life of, 219-245
- “ Wild tacking of the Court,” 70
- „ Mrs., 236
- Wilde, Justice, 121
- Wilkie, Sir David, 299
- Wilkins, Sarah, 209
- William III., 144, 151, 166, 167
- Willis, Joan, a witch, 61
- Wilmot, Sir John Eardley, Lieutenant-Governor of Van Dieman's Land, 318
- Wilson, Captain, 9
- Winchester, Jeffreys at, 78
- Windsor, 108
- Withins, Sir Francis, 108, 139, 145
- Wood, Anthony à, 98, 131, 144
- Wood Street Church, 129
- Wood Street Compter, Wild's detention in, 221
- Wolverhampton, 220
- Woolrych, 68
- Woolston, Thomas, 211
- Worcester, Dean of, 79
- „ 62
- Wright, Sir Robert, Judge, 72, 78
- YELVERTON, BARON, 287
- York, James, Duke of, 70, 71, 109, 111, 114, 120, 131, 133, 135
- Young, Brigham, 45