State Library of NSW, Sydney; The University of Sydney, Australia

Rachel Franks

Stealing stories: punishment, profit and the Ordinary of Newgate

Abstract:

The mid-1700s witnessed, in England, the development of a standard format to tell the stories of malefactors. In this way, storytelling was simple as tales of various criminals followed a strict pattern of crime, capture and punishment. The origins of this was seen most obviously in the formula relied upon by Samuel Smith in the preceding century. Smith was the Ordinary of Newgate, a position that would be referred to today as the prison chaplain, and throughout his tenure, from 1676 until 1698, he would publish *Accounts* of criminals and their grisly ends. These *Accounts*, of which there were over 400 editions—offering over 2,500 biographies of hanged men and women—published between 1676 and 1772, were incredibly popular. With a price point of only a few pence, print runs were in the thousands and by the early 1700s the Ordinary was earning up to £200 per year for his entrepreneurial efforts. This paper argues that these biographical, and ostensibly didactic, stories were stolen: as criminals were perpetrators of a crime they were also the victims of greed. The practice of this authorised theft of criminals, their lives and exploits, clearly established the fact that penitence and profit make comfortable bedfellows, ensuring that true crime writing became a firm feature of the business landscape. That victims and villains suffered was, of course, very regrettable but no horror was so terrible that anyone forgot there was money to be made.

Biographical note:

Rachel Franks is the Coordinator, Education & Scholarship, at the State Library of New South Wales, a Conjoint Fellow at the University of Newcastle, Australia and is at The University of Sydney researching true crime. Rachel holds a PhD in Australian crime fiction and her research in the fields of crime fiction, true crime, food studies and information science has been presented at numerous conferences. An award-winning writer, her work can be found in a wide variety of books, journals and magazines.

Key words:

Biography – confession – Ordinary of Newgate – profit – punishment – true crime

Introduction

The mid-1700s witnessed, in England, the development of a standard format to tell the stories of malefactors. In this way storytelling was simple: the tales of various criminals followed a strict pattern of crime, capture and punishment. A master of this formula—a now near-standard formula that continues to be reflected in contemporary true crime narratives—was the Ordinary of Newgate, who, as the chaplain and spiritual advisor to:

> London's largest and most famous prison, enjoyed as one of the perquisites of his office the right to publish a regular serial account of the behaviour, confessions and last dying speeches of the malefactors condemned at the Old Baily (the courthouse serving the City of London and Middlesex) and hanged at Tyburn (McKenzie 2005: 55).

Before looking at the Ordinary of Newgate, and how some of the men who held this position took the stories of convicted criminals for the purposes of profit, this article explores, briefly, the now global business of true crime storytelling. In particular, how writers and readers have turned the plotline of crime, capture and punishment, as exemplified by the Ordinary of Newgate, into a major force within the publishing landscape. This article also reviews a sub-genre of the true crime tale, the biography, looking at some of the complexities that are faced by biographers who choose criminal subjects for their writing projects. These discussions of true crime and true crime biographies serve as background for a description of the profiteering of some of the chaplains—since Samuel Smith instigated the practice of publishing confessions, last speeches and the behaviour of the condemned in the late seventeenth century—of one of the world's most infamous penitentiaries.

The business of true crime

True crime writer and researcher David Schmid has noted the 'precise origins of the term "true crime" are obscure' (2010: 198). In contrast, the meaning of true crime—a genre that is recognisable under a variety of labels including fact crime, non-fiction crime, fact-based crime literature, crime narrative or murder narrative—is 'very simply', according to true crime scholar Jean Murley, 'the story of real events, shaped by the teller and imbued with his or her values and beliefs about such events' (2008: 6). A tale crafted by a writer who claims to present the truth: a truth that is, in turn, 'unchallenged by its audience' (2008: 13). These narratives, most of which are dominated by murder, focus on real crime events and the real people entangled in these events.

The genre of true crime can be simplified further, offered as a narrative about a criminal act, or acts, based on fact, rather than fiction. This insistence of the presentation of the truth is reflected in the way in which true crime is offered as fact and through the genre's continual 'reference to events which have actually happened, citing date, time and place' (Turnbull 1996: 181). Importantly, much true crime content is proffered as information via professional reportage, as true crime is 'a deeply news-dependent genre' (Wilson 1997: 719), rather than presenting entertainment via popular storytelling. In this way, true crime attempts to differentiate itself from crime fiction; true crime is a genre that reveals important information rather than simply offering a distraction. This point is made by Jack Miles who has written, somewhat melodramatically, that most writers of true crime:

> [D]o not identify themselves as entertainers but as unofficial intelligence agents. Ours is a

> nasty job, they imply, but someone has to do it. Someone has to stare the horror in the eye so that we may all know what it looks like. Society would be content to live in a fool's paradise were it not for the messages we bring from hell (1991: 59).

That true crime writers bring stories, to a public ready to devour such texts, from the serial killer next door or 'from hell' (Miles 1991: 59) is an issue for debate. What is clear is the demand for this genre, across a variety of formats (such as newspapers, magazines and books) and forms (such as histories, true crime collections and biographies). Indeed, as crime, and news of crime, proliferates we seek out true crime tales to experience vicariously a range of crime events, to better understand them as well as to engage with the origin and aftermath of crime in more critical ways. So, prolific is true crime that, in addition to ideas of format and form, true crime can also be, as a result of its ubiquity, considered as a mode of writing in much the same way that humour and satire are not bound by genre-based parameters (see, for example, Rosemary Jackson's argument for fantasy as a mode based on fantasy's 'infinite scope' [1981: 13]). Readers are 'interested in these moral tales because they believe that, through them, they are learning about crime in society' (Katz 1987: 58). This widespread desire for the genre has generated the production of true crime narratives on an astonishing scale as demonstrated with examples of early newspapers and magazines established to take advantage of this growing market.

This storytelling space has long proven profitable for writers. The overwhelming popularity of true crime can be seen in the coverage of the murder of William Weare, in England in 1823. This crime generated great interest and, as the trial of the accused approached, 'the newspapers had whipped themselves into a frenzy' with the *Chronicle* calculating 'that over the two days of the trial there were a hundred horses reserved to carry the reports … to feed the insatiable demand' (Flanders 2011: 27, 36). Similarly, when James Greenacre and Sarah Gale were brought to trial for the murder, and mutilation, of Hannah Brown in 1837, the public interest was unprecedented. There was a ravenous demand for printed stories on this case and, as Max Décharné notes, the live spectacle of the case unfolding:

> The clamour for tickets to the court was phenomenal, and the admission price for spectators had been specially raised from its usual rate of one shilling up to a new level of ten shillings and sixpence. Needless to say, they sold out right away, and every inch of the court was packed (2013: 217).

The persistence of this popularity is seen just over a century later, in America in 1924, with Bernarr Macfadden and his founding of a periodical titled *True Detective Mysteries*. Within a decade the magazine would boast selling 'two million copies per month' with tales of 'action and consequence, crime and retribution' (Murley 2008: 26, 23). The sheer volume of the true crime corpus, in conjunction with the longevity of this type of storytelling and the numerous forms in which these stories are expressed, has produced a rich reservoir of material for enjoyment, for instruction and, of especial interest here, for investigation into the craft of the production of true crime tales as well as the motivation for writing such stories.

Despite the vast quantities of materials available for analysis many scholars—including scholars working in the field of creative writing—have systematically ignored true crime. This is, in part, a result of the genre's 'characteristic hybridity—there is often another generic frame through which a text may be critically examined, such as history, memoir or biography' (Smith 2008: 20-21). This hybridity, a single text with multiple points of interest

for readers, is, it is suggested here, a feature that provides true crime with the foundation of its popularity. This can be seen in the numerous texts on well-known bushranger Ned Kelly, such as Paul Terry's *The True Story of Ned Kelly's Last Stand* (2012) which is true crime, biography and history while Craig Cormick's *Ned Kelly under the Microscope* (2014) is true crime, history and science. So, much like the man who is at once a friendly neighbour and a violent killer, true crime is at once a fact-based criminal narrative and any one of a number of other easily identified genres.

Of central importance to the true crime genre, regardless of its hybrid nature, are stories of murder. Indeed, as asserted by Thomas De Quincey in his classic essay *On Murder Considered as One of the Fine Arts* (1827), there are those who 'profess to be curious in homicide; amateurs and dilettanti in the various modes of bloodshed; and, in short, Murder-Fanciers' (1). Almost 120 years after De Quincy described the Murder-Fancier, George Orwell would lament the decline of good murders and how readers were required to return to 'those murderers whose reputations had stood the test of time' and for which 'the amount of literature surrounding them, in the form of newspaper write-ups, criminological treatises and reminiscences by lawyers and police officers, would make a considerable library' ([1946]2009: 15-16).

The craft of the criminal biography

Many true crime narratives appear in the form of memoir and biography, a form that is able to trace its lineage to various oral traditions including old 'criminal biographical ballads' (Biressi 2001: 57). For a genre that exploits the connection between the crime writer and the crime event this form of production was inevitable with formats ranging from early broadsides and handbills which included snippets of biographical details as seen in *Awful Confession of Greenacre to the Murder of Hannah Brown* (1837) to expensive volumes with beautiful illustrations and elegant bindings such as the 2014 Folio Society edition of *The Surgeon of Crowthorne* (1998), by Simon Winchester. Memoirs and biographies provide insight, and a promise of proximity, into petty or rampant criminals, their victims and the men and women who intervene to resolve crime events.

One of the first great true crime memoirs is *Les vrais mémoires de Vidocq* [The Real Memoirs of Vidocq] (1828-29), the recollections of Eugène François Vidocq a criminal, turned police informant, turned criminologist, he would become famous as the founder of the Sûreté Nationale and go on to be known for founding the first private detective agency. Memoirs, can, present multiple truths. In an example of the 'always straining divisions between fact and fiction' (Biressi 2001: 15), Edgar Allan Poe created one of the world's greatest fictional detectives with C. August Dupin, 'a name which he borrowed from the heroine, Marie Dupin, of a story, "Marie Laurent", the first of a series of *Unpublished Passages in the Life of Vidocq, Minister of Police*' (Quinn [1941]1998: 310-311).

It is important to note that the biography, even those that have been obviously embellished or fictionalised, holds great power over the imagination of the true crime reader. These texts that focus on the individual facilitate the 'exploration of the criminal whose deviance is only made manifest at the moment of the crime' (Biressi 2001: 65). An important fictional example is Robert Louis Stevenson's *The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* (1886) with a classic non-fiction example being Ann Rule's *The Stranger Beside Me: The Shocking*

Inside Story of Serial Killer Ted Bundy (1980), a work that has been revised and updated multiple since its first publication. Alongside the popularity of the biography the concept of the memoir persisted and in America, George W. Walling wrote *Recollections of a New York Chief of Police* (1887). An extraordinary work the book records 'thirty-eight years as patrolman, detective, captain, inspector, and chief of the New York City police' (Borowitz 2002: 439) and consolidated the fact that the story of the criminal-catcher can be as exciting, and as sought after, as the story of the criminal.

In a major departure from the traditional biography the name of the subject can be unknown, or at least obscured within true crime. This idea of focusing on the story, rather than the individual who generated that story, is found in a variety of Australian works. Examples include *Condemned to Devil's Island: The Biography of an Unknown Convict* (1928) by Blair Niles and, more recently, June Slee's work *Crime, Punishment and Redemption: A Convict's Story* (2014). This biography of John Ward, which is based upon his diary of '155 numbered pages and eight loose leaves' a document he kept from 1 November 1841 until 21 January 1844 (2014: 4-5, 11), privileges crime and context over the criminal. This approach is one that is in sharp contrast to biographies without criminal content which traditionally feature a name, in large print on the cover, placed over an image of the subject. Such biographies reinforce the idea that true crime narratives are true crime first and while they are able to be associated with other genres, this association is traditionally a secondary concern.

Anna Haebich has asserted that amidst 'the ambiguities of our postmodern world the criminal justice system remains a surviving bastion of the battle for "truth"' (2015: 2). This commitment to the 'truth' is taken up by true crime writers, with crime events, and their histories, offering a 'rich field for writers of all persuasions' (Haebich 2015: 4). The field is fraught with difficulties. The terrain of the real world—complete with real victims—brings considerable risk. This is a point that has been highlighted by Donna Lee Brien who has written of 'some of the practical and ethical challenges writers face when they draw on the power of real stories to create cultural product' (2009: online). The 'truth' that surrounds a true crime event can be reduced to facts of 'date, time and place' (Turnbull 1996: 181) with central concerns such as who and why often presenting contested truths. Indeed, there is the 'frequent impossibility of ever knowing the truth about other people' while our 'knowledge of why we do what we do will never be complete' (Jack 2012: ix, xvii). These issues are taken up by Janet Malcolm in her extraordinary work *The Journalist and the Murderer* which was first published in *The New Yorker* in 1989. The work, which documents the story of Jeffrey MacDonald (convicted for the murder of his wife and two children) and Joe McGinniss (author of a book focused on MacDonald's crime) and the lawsuit that came between the two men, continues to be controversial. The opening lines clearly articulate that this work is not a traditional, quiet, approach to discussing ethics, journalism and true crime biographical writing:

> Every journalist who is not too stupid or too full of himself to notice what is going on knows that what he does is morally indefensible. He is a kind of confidence man, preying on people's vanity, ignorance or loneliness, gaining their trust and betraying them without remorse. Like the credulous widow who wakes up one day to find the charming young man and all her savings gone, so the consenting subject of a piece of nonfiction learns—when the article or book appears—*his* hard lesson. Journalists justify their treachery in various ways according to their temperaments. The more pompous talk about freedom of speech and 'the

> public's right to know'; the least talented talk about Art; the seemliest murmur about earning a living ([1990]2012: 3).

Over three-hundred years before McGinniss presented his version of the truth in relation to MacDonald, with *Fatal Vision* (1983), the Ordinary of Newgate was offering consolation to the condemned and his journalistic services to local printers.

The Ordinary of Newgate

By the mid-1700s the format that followed the malefactor, 'through sin to crime and then the gallows' (Rawlings [1995]1998: online), was simple and standard. 'Crimes of every defcription [sic] have their origin in the vicious and immoral habits of the people' (Colquhoun [1797]2012: 32) and, as Philip Rawlings writes, 'once sin had been embarked upon, capture and punishment followed' ([1995]1998: online). The origins of this was seen most obviously in the formula relied upon by Samuel Smith in the preceding century. Samuel Smith was the Ordinary of Newgate and throughout his tenure, from 1676 until 1698, he published *Accounts* of criminals and their grisly ends. These outputs swelled the ranks of the already burgeoning market of broadsides, handbills and pamphlets. The *Accounts*—though their printed format changed over the years in size, format and layout (Linebaugh 1977: 248)—were consistent in that they continued to offer narratives of three distinct parts: 1) the sermon delivered whilst the prisoner awaited their execution; 2) a brief overview of the crimes for which the prisoner was to be punished; and 3) a reporting of the events that surrounded the execution on the day the sentence was carried out (Gladfelder 2001: 52-53), such events included the prisoner's behaviour upon the scaffold and any last words spoken.

Some of these words were apologetic, fitting very neatly into the formula produced and offered by the Ordinary. Some felons were not so cooperative. Thomas Laqueur summarises two examples:

> Francis Robinson refused to address the crowd when admonished to do so because, he said, his speech 'would signify nothing'; year after year people make last dying speeches but to no effect. Robinson died 'neither shedding a tear or appearing much dejected'. His companion at Tyburn, John Gowan, refused for an hour and a half to confess and pray despite the Ordinary's most strenuous efforts, the sheriff's objections to the long delay, and demands from the spectators that he should confess whether he had murdered his wife or not so that the hanging could proceed (1989: 320).

Such uncooperative felons did not disrupt production or interfere with the formula, one that was replicated, over and over again, with very little variation. Thus, the Ordinary's *Accounts* were simple to produce and were easy to consume by those seeking reassurance that society would be protected from those who broke legal codes and that God would forgive the penitent who had strayed. These *Accounts*, of which there were over 400 editions—offering over 2,500 biographies of hanged men and women—published between 1676 and 1772 (of which 237 different examples have been located in libraries in England and North America [Linebaugh 1977: 247]), were incredibly popular.

> In accordance with the custom, the prison chaplain, known as the Ordinary of Newgate, not only preached to the condemned men in their final days, but also noted down their stories, and published them at 8 am on the day following their execution (Décharné 2013: 110-111).

The titles of these works were, in keeping with storytelling practices of the day, detailed and quite long. An example being:

> The True Narrative of the Confession and Execution of Francis Nicholfon who was Executed this prefent Wednefday, being the 27th of this inftant October, 1680. And Hang'd up in Chains at Hownflow-Heath, for Murthering of one John Dimbleby at Hampton-Court. This being his own true Confeffion both to the *Ordinary* of *Newgate*, and feveral other Miniffers and others who came to him whilft he continued in Prifon, and have hereunto fubfcribed their Names to atteft the Truth of this Relation [sic] (Smith 1680).

The overt claims to truth, referenced here three times within a single title, are especially important as such claims were critical to contemporaneous readers and the notion of truth, as a motif within the true crime category, continues to be a standard sought by readers today. With a price point of only a few pence print runs were in the thousands and by the early 1700s the Ordinary was earning up to £200 per year (Emsley, et al. n.d.: online), for his entrepreneurial efforts, supplementing his official base salary of £35 (Rumbelow 1982: 99). This practice clearly established the fact that penitence and profit make comfortable bedfellows, ensuring that true crime writing became a firm feature of the business landscape. That victims and villains suffered was regrettable but no horror was so terrible that anyone forgot there was money to be made.

As the works of the Ordinary were consumed by many they were also criticised by some. Andrea McKenzie noting some of the complaints included: it was an 'incoherent Magazine of Trash and Scandal'; it was 'such a wretched paper' and 'slovenly'; it was an 'ignorant gross ungrammatical' work; and it was 'hard to pay six pence' for it (2005: 55). Yet pay, people did. There was significant journalistic activity surrounding executions with it considered that the 'best were generally written by the Ordinary' in part because he had 'unlimited access to prisoners awaiting trial or execution and he used this to advantage' (Rumbelow 1982: 98).

Some stories were offered willingly, by prisoners, to the Ordinary. Many of these contain exaggerations about lives of crime though the accounts are, remarkably, reliable and their details able to be tested against official documentation (Linebaugh 1977: 27; Rumbelow 1982: 103). Some who refused to cooperate, unwilling to implicate others or shame their families, had their stories told anyway (Rumbelow 1982: 103). Yet others refused to 'talk to the Ordinary for religious reasons' while some, including Charles Brown, refused to confess his crimes 'on the grounds that the Ordinary would profit by their publication'. Interestingly, some would cooperate on the condition that they saw their life, and their death, in print *before* they were hanged (Linebaugh 1977: 255-258).

That the Ordinaries practiced extortion, including withholding of the sacrament, was well known. Some were outspoken about the abuses of office including Dr Bedford of Hoxton who complained to Viscount Percival (later Earl of Egmont) about:

> The scandalous practice of the Ordinaries of Newgate and other prisons in obliging the prisoners to auricular confession, or declaring them damned if they refuse, which is only to extort from them an account of their lives, that they may afterwards publish the same to fill their printed papers and get a penny (Egmont [1730-1733]1920: 11).

This article argues the notion of obligation can be taken further; that—purely for pecuniary gain—the Ordinary of Newgate stole the stories of the incarcerated and condemned. Thus,

punishment became profit; the biographer blatantly ignoring any ethical considerations that might surround the writer and the subject. This practice of stealing confessions fits in neatly with Janet Malcolm's twentieth-century idea of: 'the old game of Confession, by which journalists earn their bread and subjects indulge in their masochism' ([1990]2012: 8). Though, of course, some prisoners would have been tempted by the promise of immortalisation. Yet others may have liked the idea of their tale being captured for posterity; forming part of a, yet to be constructed, true crime canon. Miriam Markowitz has written, in her work on Malcolm and the ideas of theft and the criminal biography, of the 'real robbing of a life story from its subject' (2011: online). In this way, Markowitz works to reinforce the association of biography and 'grave-robbing' (2011: online). Though not all prisoners indulged their masochism, or pursued other goals, through the act of confession; many did and the Ordinary of Newgate certainly 'earned [his] bread' ([1990]2012: 8).

Conclusion

John Allen, Ordinary at the beginning of the eighteenth century, also benefited through running 'a small funeral business on the side and used his position to pressurize prisoners and their families into buying items from him' (Rumbelow 1982: 103-105). Allen would be 'dismissed for extortion and "undue practices"' (Linebaugh 1977: 248); just one of several scandals to befall Newgate and the office of the Ordinary (and their profiteering ways).

The eventual decline of the *Accounts* would, however, be a result of changes in reading habits and the conception of the criminal: these narratives, of stolen stories, reduced in popularity in the 1740s and disappeared in the 1760s (McKenzie 2005: 56).

> Often imitated, occasionally parodied by more talented pens and constantly threatened by those wishing to get a piece of a lucrative market, the Ordinary's *Account* nevertheless held its own amid the burgeoning forms of "low" literature of the first three decades of the eighteenth century (Linebaugh 1977: 256).

This paper has briefly explored the business of true crime, the craft of the criminal biography and the Ordinary of Newgate: a position of spiritual consolation and trust in which those in office engaged in the extortion of confessions and the making of vast sums of money at the expense of those they were charged with comforting. This paper has, too, suggested that as many thieves ended their days in the harsh penal system of England in the eighteenth century the man who heard the confessions of robbers, and other malefactors, was, in his own way, a man who stole – the Ordinary taking the stories of others for his personal gain.

Acknowledgements

The author offers her sincere thanks to Peter Kirkpatrick for valuable comments on an early draft of this paper. The author acknowledges the support of the State Library of NSW to attend the AAWP Annual Conference and The University of Sydney for awarding travel funding under the Postgraduate Research Support Scheme.

List of works cited

na 1837 *Awful Confession of Greenacre to the Murder of Hannah Brown*, London: np

Biressi, Anita 2001 *Crime, Fear and the Law in True Crime Stories*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

Borowitz, Albert 2002 *Blood and Ink: An International Guide to Fact-Based Crime Literature*, Kent: Kent State University Press

Brien, Donna Lee 2009 '"Based on a True Story": The Problem of the Perception of Biographical Truth in Narratives Based on Real Lives', *TEXT: Journal of Writing and Writing Courses* 13:2, online, at http://www.textjournal.com.au/oct09/brien.htm (accessed 8 July 2016)

Colquhoun, Patrick [1797]2012 *A Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Cormick, Craig (ed.) 2014 *Ned Kelly under the Microscope: Solving the Forensic Mystery of Ned Kelly's remains*, Collingwood: CSIRO Publishing

Décharné, Max 2013 *Capital Crimes: Seven Centuries of London Life and Murder*, London: Arrow

De Quincey, Thomas [1827]2015 *On Murder Considered as One of the Fine Arts*, London: Penguin

Egmont, Earl of [1730-1733]1920 *Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont: Diary of Viscount Percival, afterwards Earl of Egmont*, Vol 1, London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, at https://ia902701.us.archive.org/7/items/manuegmontvisc01greauoft/manuegmontvisc01greauoft.pdf (accessed 27 July 2016)

Emsley, Clive, Tim Hitchcock & Robert Shoemaker nd 'History of the Old Bailey Courthouse', *Old Bailey Proceedings Online*, at https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/static/The-old-bailey.jsp (accessed 2 July 2016)

Emsley, Clive, Tim Hitchcock & Robert Shoemaker nd 'The Proceedings – Ordinary of Newgate's Accounts', *Old Bailey Proceedings Online*, at https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/static/Ordinarys-accounts.jsp (accessed 2 July 2016)

Flanders, Judith 2011 *The Invention of Murder: How the Victorians Revelled in Death and Detection and Created Modern Crime*, London: Harper Press

Gladfelder, Hal 2001 *Criminality and Narrative in Eighteenth-Century England: Beyond the Law*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press

Haebich, Anna 2015 'Somewhere Between Fiction and Non-Fiction: New Approaches to Writing Crime Histories', *TEXT: Journal of Writing and Writing Courses* Special Issue 28, online, at http://www.textjournal.com.au/speciss/issue28/Haebich.pdf (accessed 8 July 2016)

Jack, Ian 2012 'Introduction' *The Journalist and the Murderer*, London: Granta Publications, ix-xvii

Jackson, Rosemary 1981 *Fantasy: The Literature of Subversion*, London: Methuen

Katz, Jack 1987 'What Makes Crime "News"?', *Media, Culture and Society* 9: 47-75

Laqueur, Thomas W 1989 'Crowds, Carnival and the State in English Executions, 1604-1868' in AL Beier, David Cannadine & James M Rosenheim (eds) *The First Modern Society: Essays in English History in Honour of Lawrence Stone*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 305-355

Linebaugh, P 1977 'The Ordinary of Newgate and His Account' in JS Cockburn (ed.) *Crime in England 1550-1800*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 246-269

McKenzie, Andrea 2005 'From True Confessions to True Reporting?: The Decline and Fall of the Ordinary's Account', *London Journal* 30:1, 55-70

Malcolm, Janet [1990]2012 *The Journalist and the Murderer*, London: Granta Publications

Markowitz, Miriam 2011 'Trials: On Janet Malcolm', *The Nation* 18 May, online, at https://www.thenation.com/article/trials-janet-malcolm/ (accessed 2 July 2016)

Miles, Jack 1991 'Imagining Mayhem: Fictional Violence vs "True Crime"', *The North American Review* 276:4, 57-64

Murley, Jean 2008 *The Rise of True Crime: 20th Century Murder and American Popular Culture*, Westport: Praeger

Niles, Blair 1928 *Condemned to Devil's Island: The Biography of an Unknown Convict*, New York: Grosset & Dunlap

Orwell, George [1946]2009 *Decline of the English Murder*, London: Penguin

Quinn, Arthur Hobson [1941]1998 *Edgar Allan Poe: A Critical Biography*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press

Rawlings, Philip [1995]1998 'True Crime' in Jon Vagg & Tim Newburn (eds) *The British Criminology Conferences: Selected Proceedings, Volume 1: Emerging Themes in Criminology*, London: British Society of Criminology

Rule, Ann [1980]2009 *The Stranger Beside Me: The Shocking Inside Story of Serial Killer Ted Bundy*, New York: Pocket Books

Rumbelow, Donald 1982 *The Triple Tree: Newgate, Tyburn and Old Bailey*, London: Harrap

Schmid, David 2010 'True Crime' in Charles J. Rzepka & Lee Horsley (eds) *A Companion to Crime Fiction*, Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 198-209

Shoemaker, RB 2008 'The Old Bailey Proceedings and the Representation of Crime and Criminal Justice in Eighteenth-Century London', *Journal of British Studies* 47:3, 559-580

Slee, June 2014 *Crime, Punishment and Redemption: A Convict's Story*, Canberra: National Library of Australia Publishing

Smith, Rosalind 2008 'Dark Places: True Crime Writing in Australia', *Journal of the Association for the Study of Australian Literature* 8, 17-30

Smith, Samuel 1680 *The True Narrative of the Confession and Execution of Francis Nicholfon*, London: D Mallet

Stevenson, Robert Louis 1886 *Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde*, London: Longmans, Green & Co

Terry, Paul 2012 *The True Story of Ned Kelly's Last Stand: New Revelations Unearthed about the Bloody Siege at Glenrowan*, Crows Nest: Allen & Unwin

Turnbull, Sue 1996 'Review Essay: Too True? The Representations of True Crime', *The Australian Feminist Law Journal* 6, 179-184

Vidocq, Eugène François 1828 *Mémoires de Vidocq, Chef De La Police De Sureté*, Paris: Tenon, Libraire-Éditeur

Walling, George W 1887 *Recollections of a New York Chief of Police*, New York: Caxton Book Concern Ltd

Winchester, Simon 1998 *The Surgeon of Crowthorne: A Tale of Murder, Madness and the Love of Words*, London: Viking

Wilson, Christopher P 1997 'True and True(r) Crime: Cop Shops and Crime Scenes in the Late 1980s', *American Literary History* 9:4, 718-743