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Small Voices

Public and private perceptions of Victorian respectability — the life and times of a ‘Gentleman Lag’¹

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Introduction

In October 1877 the first edition of an anonymous book entitled *Five Years’ Penal Servitude by One Who Has Endured It* was published by Richard Bentley and Son of New Burlington Street, London.² The publishers took the unusual step of including a short ‘Prefatory Note’ which began:

The Publishers, before offering this work to the public, have satisfied themselves that the following narrative is what it purports to be — the genuine record of five years’ penal servitude by one who endured it. It is given to the public in the hope that its statements may secure the attention of the thoughtful, and bring about some of the changes suggested in its pages...

The book proved extremely popular, running to several editions. It was one of several ‘true-life’ exposés concerning life within the Victorian prison system published in the last decades of the nineteenth century. These studies have recently received a degree of scholarly literary attention from social and literary historians.³ In one such study, Frank Lauterbach states that with regard to such texts, ‘the perception of the prison as a boundary — and, more importantly, the ensuing textual subjection of the convicts to a specific group identity — emerges as a central leitmotif in writing from and about imprisonment in the Victorian period’, and that this ‘allows for textualising the differentiation between prisoners and any sort of outside authority as a means of social identification rather than personal subjection’.⁴ He further argues that in regard to the anonymous author of *Five Years’*

Penal Servitude his real name is largely irrelevant ‘not because we cannot be absolutely sure about his ‘real’ identity, or because it might have been a way to protect anonymity [...] or because the name does not mean much anyway, but because the narrative gesture behind the pseudonym is revealing: the idea that we are reading the account of someone who has actually gone through the prison system himself is, in many ways, the book’s main attraction for its potential readership’.⁵

Whilst applauding Lauterbach’s work on the social identity present in such narratives and agreeing with his point that convicted offenders were clearly and immediately socially identified by means of their time in prison, as a crime historian who has investigated the lives of several hundred individuals who passed through the Victorian convict prison system, I would however argue that the true identity of the author of *Five Years’ Penal Servitude* is important if we are to consider such narratives as both evidence of the conditions experienced by such offenders and of the social milieu within which they served their time. Hence this article, which examines the life of the author of the book in order to investigate both public and private perceptions of Victorian respectability.

The true identity of the author of *Five Years’ Penal Servitude*

Ever since the book was first published there has been a degree of uncertainty as to the name of its author. If one ‘Googles’ the book several men appear as possible authors. However, it is now possible to definitively attribute authorship to a particular individual.

In mid-2015 in a second-hand bookshop in Totnes, Devon, I came across a battered but unique 4th edition

1. The term ‘Gentleman Lag’ was Victorian prison slang for a well-educated prisoner.
2. Anon. (1877) *Five Years’ Penal Servitude By One Who Has Endured It* (4th edition). London: Richard Bentley & Son (hereafter *Five Years’ Penal Servitude*).
3. See for example, Frank Lauterbach (2005) ‘From the slums to the slums’: the Delimitation of Social Identity in Late Victorian Prison Narratives’, in Julia Wright and Jason Hadlam (eds.), *Captivating Subjects: Writing Confinement, Citizenship and Nationhood in the Nineteenth Century*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pp. 113–143; Philip Priestley (2012) *Victorian Prison Lives: English Prison Biography, 1830–1914*. London: Random House; and Ben Bethell (2017) ‘An exception too far: ‘gentleman’ convicts and the 1878–9 Penal Servitude Acts Commission’ in *Prison Service Journal*.
4. Lauterbach (2005), p. 112.
5. Lauterbach (2005), p. 112.

of the book (whose authorship had been mistakenly attributed by the bookseller to William Hamilton Thomson, a middle-class Victorian fraudster). The flyleaf contained a dedicatory inscription by Major Robert John Fayer Hickey, Governor of Dartmoor Convict Prison from 1870 to 1872 (i.e. contemporaneous with the author's incarceration there). This serendipitous event has resulted in a detailed investigation into the lives of the two individuals in order to demonstrate both how the convict system of mid-Victorian Britain operated in practice, and how it affected both those responsible for managing the system and those at the receiving end.⁶ As part of my investigations I consulted the Victorian convict licence-holders' folders held at The National Archives, and through this and other detailed biographical research have been able to prove conclusively that the author of the book was in fact a middle-class failed entrepreneur by the name of Edward Bannister Callow. The details of Edward's offence, time of incarceration and all the incidental details mentioned in his memoirs correlate exactly with the details contained within his licence folder.⁷ This validates previous speculation that Callow was the author. As Edward's recollections run to over 350 pages, this article concentrates on his implicit and explicit views on his own and others' respectability; these are an abiding theme throughout the book.

Respectability?

Edward was born 10 February 1825 and baptised a fortnight later at St James' Church, Piccadilly (Westminster), the son of James Callow and Elizabeth Callow (née Bannister). His father was at the time a fish mercer, and his solidly lower middle-class family could trace its origins back to the Isle of Man. In the mid-1840s Edward describes himself as being employed as 'a clerk in a leading stockbroker's office in Finch Lane, Cornhill'.⁸ Edward married Sarah Frances Smallbone in May 1846 at Dartford and their first child was christened on 2 April 1847. By this time Edward described himself as a stockbroker, living at Stockwell. However, this business venture (in which Edward was in

partnership with another stockbroker, Mark Teversham) does not appear to have been successful; the partners are listed as bankrupts by 15 December 1847. Edward received a Certificate of Bankruptcy on 5 May 1848 after having previously spent several months in Queen's Bench Debtors' Prison as an insolvent debtor.⁹ This business failure was to be the first of several in what proved to be an eventful and largely unsuccessful business life.

Despite his financial worries, in 1851 Edward was still residing at Stockwell and had become a patentee and manufacturer of a type of explosive compound at former farm buildings a mile from Dartford, Kent. The *London Evening Standard* of 3 December 1851 carried a detailed report of a huge explosion that had ripped through the main structure (a largely unaltered wooden barn), killing seven people and injured several more.

Victorian newspapers were undoubtedly less squeamish [...] when it came to describing [...] disasters ...

Victorian newspapers were undoubtedly less squeamish than their successors when it came to describing such disasters; the paper devotes considerable column inches to graphic descriptions of the horrific injuries sustained by those killed, with body parts being found at some distance from the site of the explosion, and one man's head being severed from his body by the blast. Edward was severely criticised during the ensuing coroner's inquest for failing to ensure adequate

protection for his workers — for example the floor of the manufactory was covered with wood and gravel which was a tremendous fire-risk when combined with workers' iron-nailed boots and shoes. However, in the days before the introduction of health and safety legislation, he managed to evade any more serious or criminal charges in relation to his undoubted lack in concern for the safety of his employees.

Edward and Sarah appear to have suffered a more personal tragedy in May 1853 with the death of their first child, Edward James, who was buried on 10 May in Norwood Cemetery, Lambeth. By this time Edward was living at Margaret Street, Cavendish Square, London. Almost two years later, a daughter, Frances Elizabeth was born, being baptised at St Alphege Church, Greenwich on 18 February 1855. Edward is recorded as a 'Gentleman', living at Queen Elizabeth Row,

6. See David. J. Cox, 'Parallel Experiences of the Victorian Penal System: The Governor and the Gentleman Lag', in *Law, Crime and History* (forthcoming 2018).

7. TNA PCOM3/321.

8. Edward Callow, letter to *Pall Mall Gazette*, 3 January 1894.

9. I am indebted to my colleague Professor Peter A. Walton of the Law Research Centre, University of Wolverhampton, for his help and expertise in unravelling the complex issues around Victorian insolvency and bankruptcy procedures.

Greenwich, on her baptismal record, but was actually enduring a second spell as an insolvent debtor inside Queen's Bench Debtors' Prison. He had been committed to the prison in July 1854 under his own petition as an insolvent debtor.¹⁰

Despite this second fall from financial grace, Edward once more self-recorded himself as a 'Gentleman' in the entry for his second daughter's baptism on 28 October 1857 at St John's Church, Deptford. Less than eighteen months after this event, Edward was yet again declared bankrupt, with his ship-brokering company amassing debts in excess of £20,000.¹¹

His financial woes continued into the 1860s; the *London Gazette* of 1 May 1861 records that he was back in Queen's Bench Prison, and on 31 July 1861 the *Morning Post* recorded that Edward had again appeared at the Insolvent Debtors Court. Three years later, Edward was once more declared bankrupt in July 1863.

Respectability lost?

Despite his catastrophic financial record, Edward was appointed Secretary of the Elham Valley Railway Company on 6 September 1866. This company was created in 1864 but quickly went bankrupt. Its financial position was not improved by Edward, who was found guilty of forging and uttering a fraudulent order in the name of Elham Valley Railway Company to the value of £175 on 6 July 1868 at the Central Criminal Court (Old Bailey).¹² He originally pleaded 'Not Guilty', but upon hearing the weight of the prosecution evidence, his defence lawyer persuaded him to change his plea to 'Guilty'. Interestingly, he was recommended to mercy by the prosecutors, suggesting that he had been held in high regard until his downfall. The judge sentenced him to five years' penal servitude.

Edward was sent to Millbank Prison from Newgate on 27 July 1868 and on 10 August 1869 was transferred to Dartmoor Convict Prison. He remained there until he was released on licence on 31 May 1872. The licence (or 'ticket-of-leave') system was introduced in 1853 by the Penal Servitude Act, and was the precursor of parole. Convicts could earn weekly remission marks that would

enable them to be let out of prison before the expiration of their sentence, providing that they abided by certain rules: for example they must not commit any offence whilst on licence, nor must they associate with notoriously bad characters, lead an idle or dissolute life, and they also had to possess visible means of financial support.

During his time in Newgate he began keeping a diary (which was forbidden — Edward originally got around the issue by saving up flimsy scraps of unused toilet paper and passing them illicitly to his solicitor's clerk); his subsequent book is too detailed to have been recalled purely from memory.

From the start of his narrative account, Edward is keen to stress the unique nature of his recollections:

Has anyone, having actually been tried, convicted and sentenced to penal servitude, after working out the long years of slavery and obtaining his freedom, sat down to give the world an account of his experiences in a plain unvarnished tale? I doubt it; and as some few years ago it was my fate to have to pass through the terrible ordeal of a sentence of five years' penal servitude, I propose to give to the world what I actually suffered, saw, and experienced in two of the convict establishments of this country.¹³

Convicts could earn weekly remission marks that would enable them to be let out of prison before the expiration of their sentence ...

Perhaps unsurprisingly he glosses over the 'plain unvarnished' facts of his offence, stating simply that:

After over twenty years of commercial life in more than one large English city, I found myself, in the year 186-, drawn into the meshes of a man who was too clever for me and for the law, and who, crossing the seas to a place of safety, left me to meet a charge to which in his absence I really had no defence.¹⁴

In surviving accounts of the trial there is no mention of the involvement of another individual in Edward's forgery; here he may have simply been trying to gain the sympathy of his readers by portraying himself as an (almost) innocent dupe.

10. *London Gazette*, 8 July 1854.

11. *Morning Chronicle*, 23 March 1859.

12. Old Bailey Proceedings Online t18680706-615.

13. *Five Years' Penal Servitude*, p. 2.

14. *Five Years' Penal Servitude*, p. 3.

From the start of his confinement, his erstwhile respectability as a member of the educated literate and numerate middle-class undoubtedly played a part in his receiving better treatment than many of his fellow inmates; the Chaplain of Newgate Prison (where he was held for a short while before being tried and convicted) informed him that 'if my friends knew any of the Visiting Justices [magistrates who periodically inspected the prison], my wife or relations could get an order for a private visit instead of coming to the public grating' [a system of 'two gratings, with a space of three or four feet between them, in which stands or sits a warder'].¹⁵

Edward was fearful of the end of his period of separation, stating that he 'dreaded very much the being herded and brought into daily, hourly contact with some of the ruffians and blackguards I had hitherto been able to keep at a distance'.¹⁶ Convicts served the first nine months of their sentence in what was known as separate confinement — they worked on their own in their cells and did not associate with other convicts (except during Church services and daily exercise, where a strict rule of silence was enforced). He was transferred from Millbank to Dartmoor on 10 August 1869 by means of a journey on the Great Western Railway and stated that 'to go through the public streets in daylight in such company and such guise was too horrible to think of'.¹⁷ Edward's physical appearance is given in his prison folder as '5 feet 8¾ inches, brown hair, grey eyes, fresh complexion, crippled hand, one testicle, peculiar enlargement of both [*illegible*]'. As a result of his disabilities he was sent to Dartmoor Prison which was a male invalid prison, where he was to carry out light labour (in his case tailoring) rather than the usual hard labour such as stonebreaking.

He spent the rest of his prison sentence at Dartmoor Invalid Prison and came across convicts from all ranks of society:

As a result of his disabilities he was sent to Dartmoor Prison which was a male invalid prison, where he was to carry out light labour [...] rather than the usual hard labour such as stonebreaking.

*The very worst of characters I have been brought into contact with have generally belonged to the class known as 'roughs' and the worst of all are London roughs. This class appears to me to be almost irreclaimable, and not at all amenable to any ordinary moral influence [...]. Brutes they are, and as brutes only can they be punished and coerced, and that is by the Lash.*¹⁸

Edward twice lost remission marks whilst at Dartmoor for trifling offences and as a consequence had to appear before the Governor, who on the first occasion stated 'It is men like you that should set a good example to the others in treating the officials with respect. I shall fine you 48 marks, and you had better be careful in future'.¹⁹ This was equivalent to the loss of a week's remission and it clearly embarrassed Edward, who also felt his loss of public respectability sharply on one further occasion when he was visited in prison by an erstwhile business partner and acquaintance. He stated that:

I was very grieved to have to meet a man I had known when occupying a respectable position in the outer world. To be seen in my degraded dress, cropped and shorn, by a man I had last met under different circumstances was a trial I did

*not care for, and would have avoided if I possibly could.*²⁰

In the event, the meeting turned out to be fortuitous for Edward, as he stated that he was supervised in the meeting by the Chief Warder, who 'for the first time [...] knew I was a different class of man from the usual run of those under his charge'.²¹ The Chief Warder then 'kindly offered to do anything in his power, compatible with his duty and the prison rules, to put me in a better position'. Edward stated that 'that visit was a most fortunate thing for me, as it made the most powerful man in the whole prison my

15. *Five Years' Penal Servitude*, p. 36.
16. *Five Years' Penal Servitude*, p. 133.
17. *Five Years' Penal Servitude*, p. 137.
18. *Five Years' Penal Servitude*, pp. 208–9.
19. *Five Years' Penal Servitude*, p. 229.
20. *Five Years' Penal Servitude*, pp. 248–9.
21. *Five Years' Penal Servitude*, p. 249.

firm friend'.²² It is interesting to note that neither the Deputy Governor nor the Governor were so regarded by the majority of convicts — although they ultimately had the higher position, neither were as familiar to the convicts as was the Chief Warder.

In the last year of his penal servitude, Edward was summoned to the Governor's office, where Major Hickey asked him 'you understand accounts, I believe, and book-keeping?' Edward replied (somewhat ironically given the circumstances of his offence) 'Yes, sir, thoroughly.'²³ He was subsequently appointed as an assistant to the Clerk of the Works, who was supervising the extension of the prison, thereby earning several privileges including the (unsanctioned) reading of a newspaper that the Clerk of the Works used to leave unguarded on his desk.

Edward was discharged on licence after serving 3 years and 11 months of his sentence. He was quite categorical about the discharge process with regard to the class and former occupation of the discharge; he stated that 'a classification should be made of prisoners as to their positions prior to conviction, and the means they are about to adopt to earn a living on emerging into the world again.'²⁴ He goes on to cite a 'hypothetical' situation:

Let us take the case of a man who as a clerk has been convicted of embezzlement. He leaves the prison and has to seek a similar employment to that he has been used to. [...] His once large circle of friends give him the cold shoulder, and he finds he has to struggle with a hostile world by himself. How is he fitted to attempt this without a fair start in the shape of decent clothes?²⁵

Upon discharge from convict prisons, released offenders were given a suit of cheap material (constructed by prison tailors such as Edward) that immediately marked them out as 'ex-cons', unless they were able to join a Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society, in which case a sum of money was allowed to the Society by the prison in order for the former offender to be bought a second-hand outfit of

reasonable quality. Discharged prisoners from Dartmoor were escorted (in handcuffs) by a prison guard by train to Paddington Station, from whence they were further taken to the Queen's Bench Prison, where they awaited their imminent release. Once released on licence, they had to report to their local police station on a monthly basis. This caused a great deal of resentment amongst released offenders as such a requirement meant that they ran the risk of being discovered by their employers as being 'ex-cons', due to the fact that they had to report regularly to the police station.

Edward (or his immediate family) must have been financially solvent on his release from prison as he states how he avoided this requirement:

In my case I obviated all difficulty about the matter. On obtaining my liberty I went as fast as a four-wheeler could carry me to where I had appointed decent clothes to be sent to me. These I put on, glad to get once more into the habits of civilisation. I then walked straight to the chief [police] office in Whitehall Place — not the Scotland Yard entrance — reported myself and stated my intention to leave England. In a few days the Channel was crossed, and when my twelvemonths ticket was expired I had the satisfaction of tearing it up and dropping it overboard as I returned again to England to endeavour to resume my place among friends and society. A monthly report to the police in my case meant absolute ruin, and I took good care to avoid it.²⁶

Upon discharge from convict prisons, released offenders were given a suit of cheap material [...] that immediately marked them out as 'ex-cons' ...

It has proved impossible to verify Edward's movements immediately post-release, but Edward's wife Sarah supported herself and her family during his enforced absence by running (with the help of her two daughters) an establishment for the education of 'the daughters of gentlemen' near Wisbech, Cambridgeshire between 1872 and 1876, placing advertisements in local newspapers in order to attract potential students.

22. *Five Years' Penal Servitude*, p. 249.

23. *Five Years' Penal Servitude*, p. 333.

24. *Five Years' Penal Servitude*, p. 354.

25. *Five Years' Penal Servitude*, pp. 354–5.

26. *Five Years' Penal Servitude*, p. 362.

Respectability regained?

In the concluding chapter of *Five Years' Penal Servitude* entitled 'Observations, Reflections and Suggestions', Edward reflects on his particular situation:

*To the man in a good position, it is moral death, accompanied with ruin and disgrace to his family and relatives. The actual punishment to men in my position is not the confinement [...] it is the terrible fall in social position, the stigma that clings to a man not only all his life, but, after his life is ended, to his children.*²⁷

He goes on somewhat bitterly to state (and it is pertinent at this point to remember that the book was published half-a-dozen years after his release, strongly suggesting that he had personal experience of such attitudes):

*So eminently charitable are Christians in this present age, that they can seldom or ever forgive detected crime even after it is expiated by long years of slavery and imprisonment. They delight in pointing the finger of scorn at the man, and the children of the man, not who has merely sinned, but who has been detected sinning, and has been legally punished for it.*²⁸

He also discusses his own past and present situation with considerable candour (though it has to be remembered that the contemporary reader would have been unlikely to know Edward's chequered business history):

One thing that is required is that a man's first offence and punishment should not be made to last through his whole life in its consequences. A man becomes a bankrupt, he undergoes all the punishment, I may almost call it, of that position. He receives a certificate and resumes his place in the world. The world welcomes him, and, provided he is successful and makes money, is actually kind enough, if not to entirely forget he was ever bankrupt, at least to become oblivious of the ugly fact so far as never to allude to it. Society will readily tolerate a man becoming bankrupt

*twice or even thrice, so long as he rises again after each successive fall. Why cannot society be equally as tolerant with the man who has made on false step or become entangled in matters that have brought him into a criminal court, and who has suffered his punishment — has got his certificate of discharge — equally with the bankrupt?*²⁹

Edward clearly differentiates (at least in his own mind), 'the one consisting of those who have deliberately and in cold blood [...] set to work to rob or defraud and those who have been led astray by others, or who have given way to a strong temptation in a moment of difficulty'.³⁰ He goes on to state that 'my impression is that men convicted and punished for crimes that may be termed 'commercial lapses' — say, embezzlement, forgery, and breach of trust — are seldom if ever, guilty a second time'.³¹ Perhaps significantly he doesn't mention any of the possible serious repercussions to the victims of such 'commercial lapses'.

Edward's post-release life supports his point in his particular case; he was never again to appear before a criminal court. It is obviously impossible to know how many of his former friends and business acquaintances continued to associate with him (and the majority must have known of his offence as it was widely reported at the time), but he was clearly able to function to a certain extent in 'respectable' society, albeit out of the metropolis; in *Kelly's Post Office Directory of Lincolnshire, 1876* he is listed as a metals broker and commissioning merchant operating as Callow and Co, but this company went into voluntary liquidation soon afterwards.³²

He originally published *Five Years' Penal Servitude* in 1877 and this appears to have been something of a turning point in his life. His anonymous 'plain unvarnished tale' was an instant hit with the literate public, and also caused a considerable stir within the penal system. In the book's conclusion he expressed a wish to see 'a Royal Commission appointed to thoroughly investigate the whole convict system with a view to its reformation'.³³ In the following year the Kimberley Committee was commissioned to do just that and its report, published in 1879 contains numerous references to *Five Years' Penal Servitude* by almost a dozen witnesses to the Committee, including Sir Edmund Du Cane, the Chairman of the Board of

27. *Five Years' Penal Servitude*, p. 363.

28. *Five Years' Penal Servitude*, p. 363.

29. *Five Years' Penal Servitude*, pp. 368–9.

30. *Five Years' Penal Servitude*, p. 373.

31. *Five Years' Penal Servitude*, p. 373.

32. *London Gazette*, 26 December 1876.

33. *Five Years' Penal Servitude*, p. 384.

Directors of Convict Prisons.³⁴ Edward was certainly not liberal in his suggestions for the punishment of recidivists, stating that the Government should consider reintroducing transportation to 'New Guinea, for instance'.³⁵ Whilst against hanging (though not through humanitarian views, rather that it served no useful deterrent purpose), Edward was also in favour of penal servitude for life meaning exactly that. His book was generally regarded by contemporaries as being serious and fair-minded with regard to its account of the convict system.

In 1881 he is listed in the census as a newspaper editor, living with his wife and family in Marylebone, and in 1882 he followed up his anonymous success as an author with the first of his books on the legends and mythology of the Isle of Man.³⁶ Despite these literary achievements he was declared an undischarged bankrupt in 1888.³⁷ In 1891 he is recorded in the census as a journalist and author, living at 11 Grove Park Terrace, Chiswick. Eight years later he published a second book on the history of the Isle of Man (by this time he was Vice President of the London branch of the Manx Society, founded in 1895), together with a book entitled *Old London Taverns*.³⁸ He died on 23 May 1900 at his family home, The Lawn, Hanwell, aged 75.

'No man's history can be written until he is dead'³⁹

From the available written record, Edward clearly considered himself to be respectable throughout his life, despite thrice being incarcerated as an insolvent debtor, his numerous bankruptcies (at least four) and

his serious criminal offence. To modern eyes however, his most shocking character lapse from public respectability is possibly the callous lack of concern shown for the health and safety of his employees in his poorly regulated explosives factory, and he appears to have been fortunate to escape more severe repercussions from his failure. His serial insolvency and bankruptcy would no doubt also cast serious doubts over his financial probity — witness the recent furore over the selling of British Home Stores to a thrice-bankrupted individual — but during his lifetime he appears to have had little difficulty in forming new business ventures despite his poor record.⁴⁰

In many ways Edward Bannister was an unremarkable man: a serially unsuccessful businessman, he was found guilty of a fraudulent act and served time in prison. He never offended again, and died in his own home at an advanced age, surrounded by his family; his wife stuck by him throughout his various travails.

However, in one particular aspect, he **was** remarkable. He is one of the handful of convicts to have left an autobiographical and largely accurate account of his time as an inmate of a Victorian convict prison. The majority of convicts left very little written evidence of their lives apart from the rare find of a self-penned letter either to or from them preserved in their prison folders.⁴¹ Therefore, the existence of *Five Years Penal Servitude* and the life of its author is worthy of comment, especially, as this article has argued, for what it tells us about private and public respectability during the Victorian Age.

34. *Kimberley Commission Report into the working of the Penal Servitudes Act (1879 [C.2368] [C.2368-I] [C.2368-II] Penal Servitude Acts Commission. Report of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the working of the penal servitude acts. Vol. I. — Commissions and report).*

35. *Five Years' Penal Servitude*, p. 379.

36. Edward Callow (1882) *The Phynodderree and other legends of the Isle of Man*. London: J. Dean & Son.

37. *London Gazette* 25 May 1888.

38. Edward Callow 1899 *From King Orry to Queen Victoria; a short and concise history of the Isle of Man*. London: Elliot Stock; and Edward Callow (1899) *Old London Taverns. Historical, Descriptive and Reminiscent, with Some Account of the Coffee Houses, Clubs Etc.* London: Downey.

39. *Five Years' Penal Servitude*, p. 358.

40. Imprisonment for debt was finally abolished by the 1869 Debtors Act.

41. For brief life stories of such convicts of the Victorian period, see Helen Johnston, David J. Cox and Barry Godfrey (2016) *Victorian Convicts — 100 Criminal Lives*. Barnsley: Pen and Sword.