From Babble to Burden: Unravelling Linguistic Threads in Historical Infanticide Trials (1750-1900)

By Lilian Jaber, University of Leeds

Introduction

This project explores the role of witness testimony, societal attitudes and narrative construction in shaping the identities of women accused of infanticide during the 18th and 19th centuries. Using a combined corpus-based, sociopragmatic approach, a collection of 119 infanticide trial transcripts have been selected from a larger online database *(The Proceedings of the Old Bailey)* to explore how historical attitudes towards childbirth, motherhood and femininity affected the linguistic narratives created of murderous mothers. By using Gale Digital Scholar Lab to inform further linguistics analysis, this study allowed for a complex, multi-dimensional exploration of the trial language, with multiple software tools used to examine linguistic patterns and semantics. This layered approach harnessed the unique strengths of multiple platforms: Gale's powerful text-mining tools offered a comprehensive overview, highlighting key themes, while AntConc, a specialised corpus linguistic software, enabled more precise lexical analysis. This paper will outline the methods used in Gale Digital Scholar Lab to identify and categorise overarching themes within the dataset, such as lexical frequency, sentiment shifts, and thematic clusters. It will also detail how these initial findings informed deeper analysis in AntConc, where keyword searches, collocation patterns, and concordances were examined to reveal insights into language use across different infanticide trials.

Background

Infanticide in Victorian England

It has been argued that infanticide is the 'most horrid, monstrous and unnatural crime' (Jones, 2009, p.77), mainly due to its violation of motherhood and maternal instinct (Forst, 2012). During the 18th and 19th centuries, there was a surge in cases of infanticide, which often became attributed to temporary insanity occurring after childbirth (Marland, 2002). The killing of babies became so commonplace that finding the dead body of a child in the street was no more shocking than a dead dog or cat (Ramser, 2006). The colloquial expression 'baby dropping' even emerged during this time to describe the act of 'disposing of an infant' (Krueger, 1997, p.271). By the 1800s, infanticide had become the predominant crime for which women faced execution, with murder methods of babies ranging from cutting throats, suffocation, drowning, strangulation, poisoning, to them even being thrown down the toilet.

Questioning 'why would a mother commit such an act' was, however, not a significant challenge in Victorian England, with unmarried mothers turning to murder instead of facing the public shame of child illegitimacy. This was largely due to the fact that if an illegitimate

pregnancy was revealed, the likelihood was that the women would 'face unemployment and social ostracism' (Francus, 1997, no pagination), with illegitimacy itself working as 'an effective metaphor for exclusion and otherness' in the Victorian period (Emery, 2009, no pagination). Unmarried mothers at the time also faced many other enormous difficulties in keeping their baby, with many of them often working as 'servants, sweated workers or factory hands' (Higginbotham, 1989, p.321) and having insufficient money or resources to maintain a family of their own. The situations of these women was also worsened by the Poor Laws, which made it deliberately difficult to claim financial support from the child's father (Barret-Ducrocq, 1992, cited in Ward, 1999, p.165). The Poor Law Act's (1834) 'Bastardy Clause' was particularly devastating for working-class women, as it made illegitimate children the sole responsibility of their mother until they were 16 years old. If they were unable to support them, they were forced to enter the workhouse (Higginbotham, 2024). However, the gravest consequence from the illegitimate birth was perceived as the moral condemnation and sin imposed upon the mother for her circumstance, wherein her child became her stigma, burden, and curse (Higginbotham, 1989). This led to a predicament where mothers felt they had one of two choices; either to kill the child or bear the burden of sin.

The 'Ideal' woman in Victorian London

During the 18th and 19th centuries, there was a strong link between 'the moral qualities of the private women, and the public good' that would result from these traits (Digby, 1992, p.202). Women were perceived as having duties stemming from their Christian obligation to serve others, with these mostly encompassing domestic responsibilities. Gender roles were also divided into 'two separate spheres' known as 'public life' and 'private life' (Gorham, 2013, p.4). The public sphere was regarded as the domain of men, encompassing areas such as business, politics and professional life. Conversely, the private sphere, which was considered the domain of women, included matters of love, emotions, and domestic life (Gorham, 2013). Along with performing these duties, the 'ideal' Victorian women's most important characteristic was to be feminine. She was expected to be 'innocent, pure, gentle and self-sacrificing' (Gorham, 2013, p.4) , with a subservient nature that called for 'meekness, general helplessness and weakness', towards men (Appell, 2012, no pagination). With barely any freedom in the patriarchal Victorian society, their lives were motivated by preparing for marriage, having children and fulfilling these domestic duties.

Motherhood was considered a woman's sacred obligation and highest honour, with it being the only respected role a woman could possess. A good mother 'provided nurturing, spiritual direction, and early education' to her children (Frost, 2014, p.45), and was loving and affectionate towards them. However, the ideals of motherhood were only limited to children born within wedlock. Unmarried mothers were stigmatised as 'fallen', marking that they had lost their moral and virtue (Logan, 1998) after having an illegitimate child. These ideals were significantly damaging not only for the mother but also the child, with rules around appropriate female behaviour determining how much financial assistance women and children received (Sheetz-Nguyen, 2012).

These embedded expectations surrounding the 'ideal' women and mother were subverted when a woman committed infanticide, and often caused horror and condemnation in society. However, this study recognises that attitudes began to change towards murderous mothers in the Victorian period, with society beginning to understand that insanity, illegitimacy and poverty were also causes of infanticide. This shift resulted in mothers being portrayed more as victims rather than perpetrators and receiving greater sympathy (Mathieson, 2020).

Research Objectives

The research questions are as follows:

- How do character representations of defendants affect the verdict in infanticide trials?

- Does the representation of these women change after the 1834 Poor Law Act is introduced, with its 'Bastardy Clause' ?

- Are women in historical infanticide trials represented as 'bad', 'mad'(Easteal et al., 2015, p.31) and 'sad' (Weare, 2016)?

Building a Dataset

My dataset was built outside of the lab using trials from the ***Proceedings of the Old Bailey (OBP)***. This is an online database with the published records of almost 200,000 criminal trials spanning from 1674 - 1913, offering fascinating insights into the lives of defendants, victims and witnesses (Hitchcock et al., 2012). The accounts vary in length, depending both on the duration of the trials, but also the editorial decisions made by the publisher (Shoemaker and Sanika-Jeet, 2008).These accounts are made up of the spoken interrogations and responses during the trial, and were initially transcribed in shorthand, then written up and published (Huber, 2007). Because these transcripts were turned into commercial publications, the content was subject to the scribe's discretion in 'word selection, censorship, and judgment' (Huggins, 2021, p.287). The depiction of the trials that occurred were, to some extent, written to 'negotiate a relationship with readers' for the financial gain of their sale (Traugott, 2011, p.72). However, according to Shoemaker (2008), the trials' proceedings are depicted as authentically as they were spoken, with the trial transcripts representing 'as near as we can get to the spoken word of the period'(Huber, 2007, no pagination). It was during the 18th century that the OBP began to be regarded as legal records of the trials, meaning that the records received much more scrutiny with the courts requiring a 'true, fair and perfect narrative' (Shoemaker and Sanika-Jeet, 2008, no pagination).

My trial corpus contained 119 infanticide trials, all of which was retrieved from the *Proceedings of the Old Bailey* (OBP). These were collected from the platform using the search function, filtering the trials between 1750 and 1900, with the crime of infanticide,. Although the OBP contains 247 infanticide trials that took place between these years, only 119 of these were deemed suitable for my analysis, as the others reported either only verdicts, were too short for analysis, or contained a large amount of missing questions from the prosecution or defence. This portion of dataset creation required manual processing, as each

trial transcript from the OBP in its original format needed to be converted into either a plain text file or a Word document to ensure compatibility with both the Gale Digital Scholar Lab and AntConc for analysis.

Gale is a platform that enables users to analyse historical archives or selected texts using text and data mining tools. It was selected for preliminary analysis in this study because of its capability in handling large corpora and customised datasets, allowing for the cleaning and input of a curated trial corpus. AntConc, a lexical analysis software, was chosen for the closer analysis of the trials because of its ability to delve deeper into individual texts through features such as keyword frequencies, concordances, and collocation analysis. These tools allowed a more detailed exploration of how language was used to construct narratives and societal attitudes about women in the trial transcripts. Its use complemented the broader insights gained through Gale, creating a more comprehensive understanding of the trial corpus.

Importing the dataset

Now that I had all trials in the appropriate format, I was able to input these into Gale Digital Scholar Lab. I used the 'build' tool to upload all 119 trial plain text files and create a new content set. I was able to add useful metadata to each trial transcript, including the defendant's name and trial date, which allowed for later comparison of language over time using the topic modelling and document clustering tools. It also then allowed me to easily filter and sort data by specific defendants and time periods, particularly in regard to language use before and after the 1834 Poor Law Act. Additionally, metadata tags made it possible to create visualisations or clusters based on time periods or defendants, allowing for clear identification of patterns that wouldn't be apparent in a manual close reading approach. These tags were also unavailable in AntConc, where I had to rely on trial file names to sort through data- a time-consuming process that made it difficult to collate information effectively by time period. By incorporating metadata in Gale Digital Scholar Lab, I could efficiently filter and group data, providing a more organised structure for comparing linguistic trends across different time periods within the trials.

Gale Research Showcase

gale.com/showcase
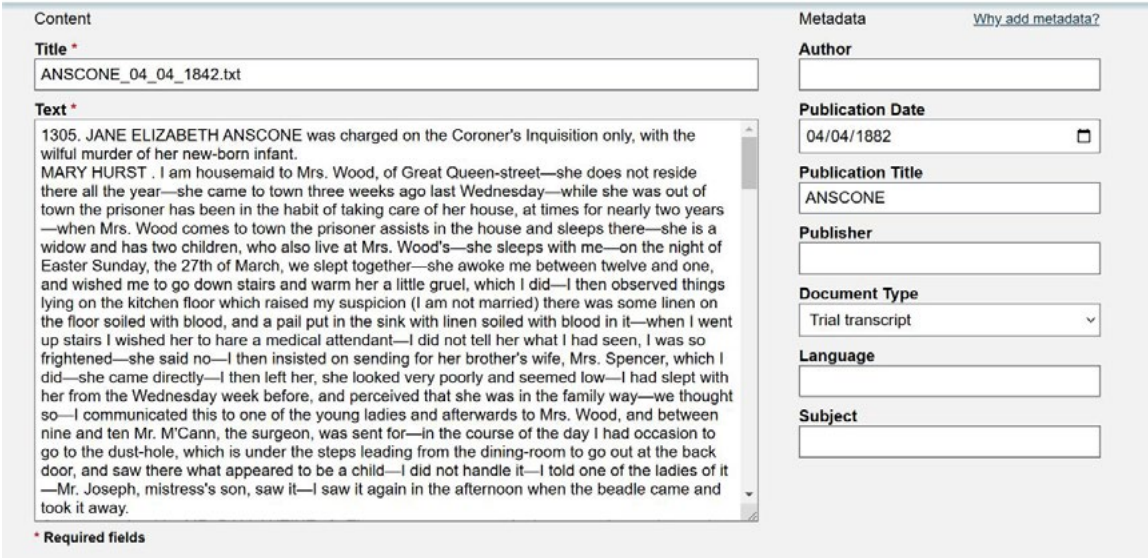
Using Gale to understand the Corpus

N-Gram Analysis

Gale Digital Scholar Lab's primary function in this project was to help manage and interpret the large corpus, making it easier to discover broad patterns across the 119 trial transcripts. Using the N-grams tool, I created a word cloud of most frequent terms in the corpus, setting the tool configuration to single words. The prevalence of words like 'prisoner,' 'child,' 'said,' 'saw,' 'did,' 'came,' 'asked,' and 'told' showed essential elements of the testimonies and interactions that shaped perceptions of guilt and innocence. The terms 'prisoner' and 'child' highlighted the focus on the accused individuals and their relationships with the victims. The frequent use of simple past tense dynamic verbs like 'did,' 'came,' 'asked,' and 'told' demonstrated the importance of witness statements in these trials, revealing a dependence on observed actions and reported speech to construct narratives around each woman's alleged murder of her child. This language pattern reveals a discourse that appears transactional and evidence-focused, with an emphasis on the woman's actions and characteristics, rather than her personal circumstances or emotional state.
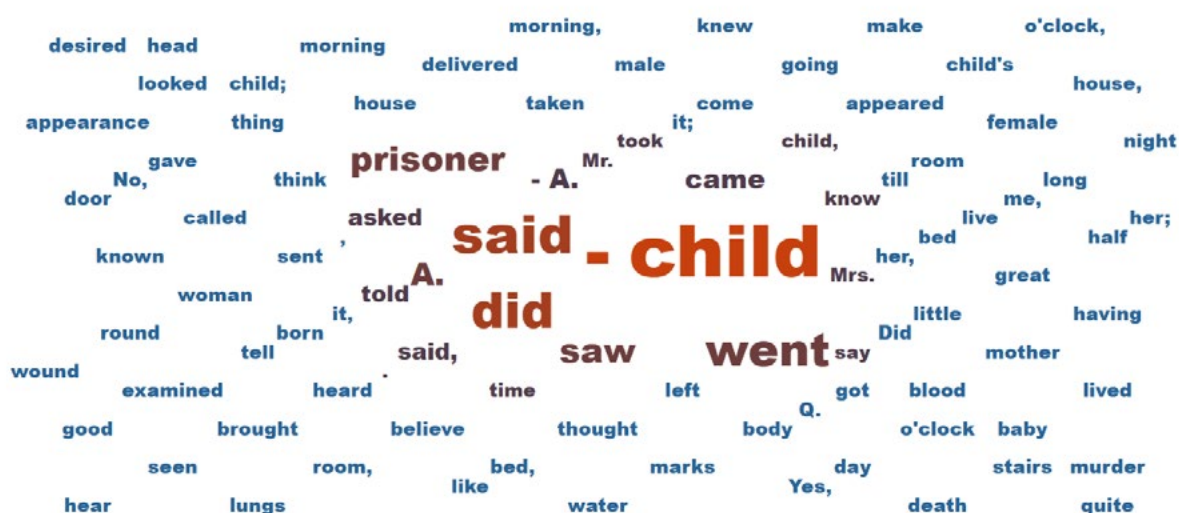
N-Gram Analysis Word Cloud of Corpus (N-Gram Size: 1-6, Occurrence Threshold: 2, Documents: 119)

In relation to one of the research questions - whether women in historical infanticide trials are portrayed as 'bad,' 'mad,' or 'sad' - these dynamic verbs prompted further analysis in AntConc, as they appeared to indicate a pattern of representation rooted in judgment rather than empathy. The focus on what each woman 'did,' 'came' to do, 'asked' of others, or 'told' reflected a legal emphasis on characterising these women through observable actions, which could predispose their portrayal as 'bad' (criminal or morally deviant) rather than considering broader psychological or social contexts that might convey 'mad' (mentally unstable) or 'sad' (victims of circumstance). This verb analysis opened pathways for further linguistic research, particularly in examining whether such verb usage was linked with specific descriptions of

defendant characteristics, such as moral judgments, mental states, or adherence to - or deviation from – the Victorian social norms of femininity and motherhood. Analysing these associations could reveal if certain descriptors were used more frequently in cases where defendants were portrayed as 'bad,' 'mad,' or 'sad,' offering insights into how language reinforced particular stereotypes or narratives around women accused of infanticide.

By establishing a base of high-frequency terms, the N-gram tool set the groundwork for more in-depth contextual analysis using AntConc, guiding a focused examination of how these words were situated within many different case context. This layered approach enabled a more comprehensive understanding of how legal language in the Victorian period shaped and constrained the identities of women accused of infanticide.

Named Entity Recognition

I used the Named Entity Recognition (NER) tool on Gale to find the most high-frequency topics within the infanticide trials. This analysis revealed that specific temporal references, particularly dates, times, and days of the week, were significant in shaping the narratives of these cases. Notably, mentions of 'morning,' 'night,' and specific weekdays emerged as recurring elements in the witness testimonies. These temporal markers showed the importance in establishing the chronology of events surrounding each childbirth or the infanticide itself. In Victorian court cases of infanticide, the emphasis on the order of events was particularly pronounced, as these trials often revolved around deeply embedded societal views on religion and morality, with horrific implications of childbirth outside of marriage. The court's reliance on precise timelines were essential in establishing the context of each case, where the chronology could either mitigate or exacerbate the perceived culpability of the defendant.

| Entity ⬍	Category ⬍	Documents ⬍	Count ⬇
morning	Time	72	151
night	Time	49	100
Saturday	Date	37	97
Sunday	Date	34	85
months	Date	40	75
Friday	Date	31	75
Thursday	Date	28	73
Monday	Date	32	73
evening	Time	37	63
Tuesday	Date	30	61
Wednesday	Date	25	57

Following this, I was able to use this information to conduct further analysis on AntConc about temporal markers. The software revealed references to 'morning' often coincided with the discovery of a newborn or when suspicions were first raised, showing how the timing of these events influenced the perception of the accused. Similarly, mentions of 'night' frequently appeared in the context of secretive actions, indicating the concealment of childbirth or the moments leading up to the alleged murder.

These findings were particularly relevant to my research question regarding the characterisation of women in historical infanticide trials as 'bad,' 'mad,' or 'sad'. The timing of events, as captured by these temporal markers, played a crucial role in framing the narrative around each woman's actions and motivations. A birth occurring in the early hours of the morning might have suggested desperation or secrecy, reinforcing a portrayal of the woman as 'mad' due to societal expectations of maternal behaviour and the stigma surrounding illegitimacy. Although the timing of labour was beyond the mother's control, the limited understanding of this in the Victorian period led to early morning births being symbolically or mistakenly associated with attempts to conceal the event, especially as they occurred during the quietest hours of the day. Conversely, actions taking place at night could further imply a calculated attempt to conceal the crime, aligning with the 'bad' characterisation often ascribed to women who deviated from their social norm of 'goodness' and 'piety'. The NER tool's identification and organisation of temporal references showed the crucial role of timing in shaping the narratives and characterisation of women in infanticide trials. The patterns revealed through this analysis also provided a foundation for further investigation of temporal language using additional corpus analysis software.

Sentiment Analysis

Changes in Representation: The Poor Law Act (1834)

When examining my research question on whether the representation of the women shift following the introduction of the 1834 Poor Law Act and its 'Bastardy Clause,' I used the Sentiment Analysis tools on the lab. To provide an overview of the average sentiment in the corpus and whether there were any notable shifts, I used the first visualisation on this tool to display the average emotional tone associated with each trial. Although the overall sentiment in the corpus was strongly negative at -0.866, a significant number of trials leaned towards a more positive value, with 78 transcripts classified as 'neutral'.
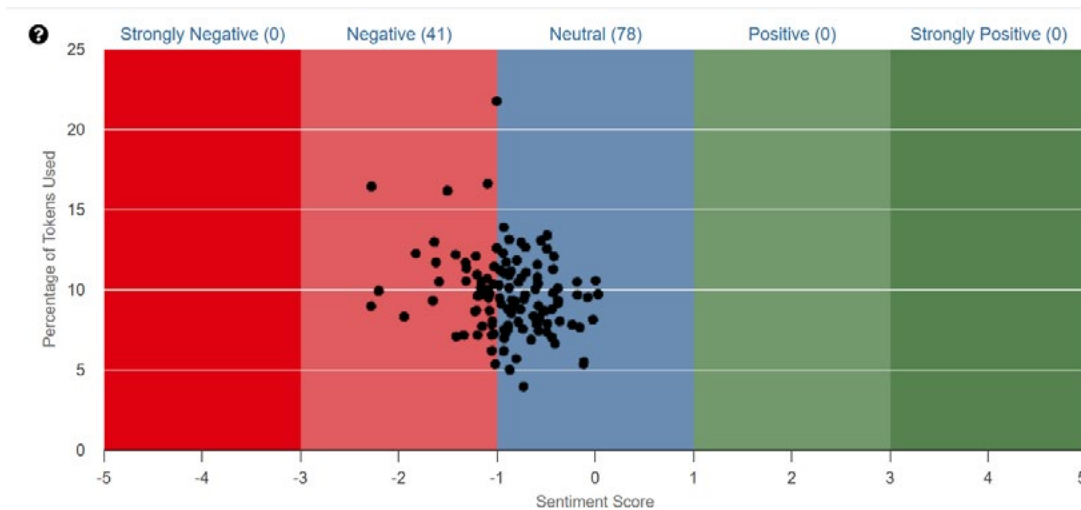
Scatter Graph of Overall Sentiment in Infanticide Trials 1750-1900, OBP (Jaber, 2024)

This finding raised intriguing questions about why the infanticide trials did not use as negative language as might be expected, given the serious nature of the crimes involved. One important consideration was that while the lab focused on overall sentiment, my interest was specifically in the negative or positive characterisations of the defendants and how these might have shifted following the 1834 Poor Law Act. After adding the date of each trial as metadata in the transcripts, I was able to observe how sentiment shifted over time across the trials and assess the potential impact of the Act. This representation proved valuable, as it allowed me to visually evaluate the changes in sentiment while also providing the score for each trial when I hovered over the points on the graph. It also allowed me to calculate the average sentiment both before and after 1834 so I could compare them, enabling a direct comparison that could show any significant shifts in the portrayal of the defendants.
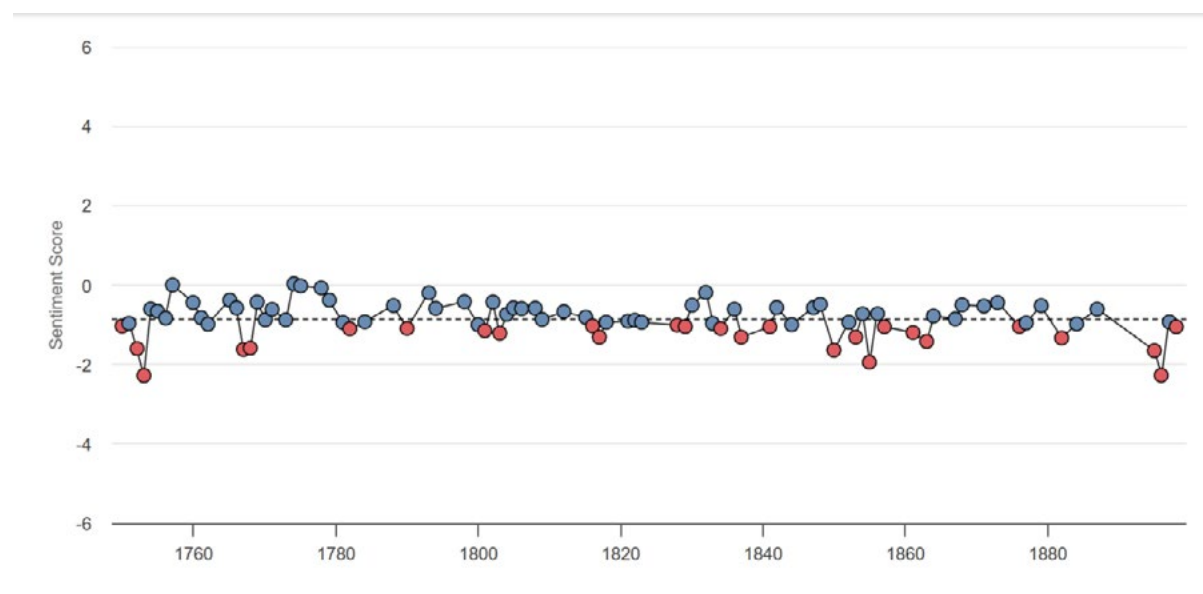
Sentiment of each Trial over Time from 1750-1900 (Jaber, 2024)

As shown on the graph above, after 1834, there appears to be an increase in the number of trial transcripts with overall negative sentiment, with many noticeably reflecting much lower values. To quantify this shift, I calculated the mean sentiment score for all trials prior to 1834 and compared it to the mean for trials from 1834 onward. This comparison indicated a slight downward shift from -0.87 to -0.96, suggesting an increasingly negative tone in the language used to describe defendants following the Poor Law Act.

These findings prompted a deeper analysis of the sentiment within each trial to examine specific negative and positive character descriptors associated with the defendants. I was able to do this using AntConc's 'wordlist' tool, finding the most frequent character descriptions used to describe the defendants, largely in witness testimonies given about them. By isolating these terms and observing the context in which they were used, I could then create two lexical sets, one with negative terms and another with positive. This was a lexicon-based sentiment analysis technique which used 'term-based matching, based on a list of words that are pre-coded for polarity' (Taboada, 2011, cited in Bae and Lee, 2012, p.2524). This approach allowed for more customisation, as I was able to tailor the word sets to capture only character references of the defendants, rather than looking at the collective sentiment expressed throughout the whole trial, which would have included the analysis of words irrelevant to my research question. Following this, I used the 'specific words' tool on Lexical Feature Marker (Woolls, 2011) to input the character reference semantic sets I had created (see Figures 1 and 2) and extract the number of positive and negative terms used in each trial transcript (see Figures 1 and 2 in Section 3). Each trial was then assigned overall sentiment values of positive or negative, depending on whether the negative or positive terms were higher. Attributed values of -1 for were used for negative words, 0 for an equal amount of both sets (neutral), and 1 for more positive terms (Liu, 2012). These values were chosen as they provide a clear and intuitive representation of sentiment polarity and enabled me to conduct further quantitative analysis to explore patterns and trends of sentiment across the trials. The values were then individually compared with the sentiment values given on Gale to assess any alignment or discrepancies. By using Gale's sentiment data for comparison, the analysis generated more detailed and reliable insights that I could take into account for the project and the methodology I had used.

Using this generated sentiment data, I was then able to calculate the overall sentiment each ten year period from 1750 -1900 and plot these values on a line graph to assess whether the Poor Law Act (1834) had any impact on the character descriptions of defendants.

## Sentiment of Trials before and after Poor Law Act
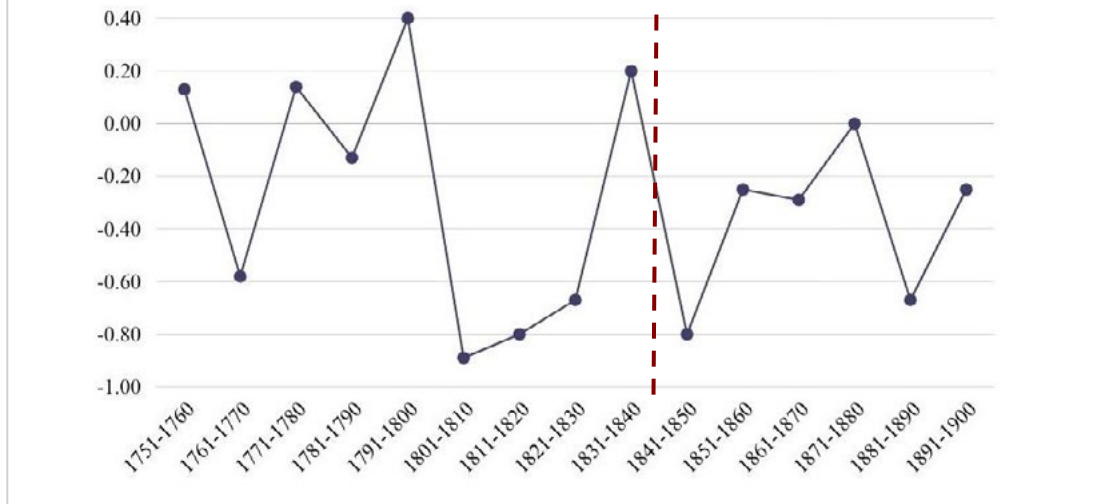
On the graph above, the red dotted line represents the date when the Poor Law Act with its Bastardy Clause was enacted in 1834. It is evident that there are noticeable fluctuations in sentiment scores over time, particularly around the enactment of the Poor Law Act in 1834. Prior to this period, sentiment scores appear to vary without a clear trend. However, from 1801 to 1830, there is a notable decrease in sentiment, with consistently negative sentiment, which may be explained by a few trials where defendants were found guilty of murder and therefore sentenced to death. After the Poor Law Act's enaction in 1834, there is initially a small positive spike in sentiment that is followed by a period of 60 years where the overall sentiment of trials was largely negative. This means that after the law's enactment, more negative character descriptions on average were used to describe defendants than before the introduction of the law.

It is also evident from chart graph that the overall sentiments of the 18th century character descriptions were more positive than in the 19th century, with a specific positive spike in the period of 1791-1800. The correlation with Gale's findings reinforces these observations, suggesting that the shift toward more negative sentiment over time may reflect both changing legal standards and a harsher societal view of defendants. It also highlights the influence of legal frameworks and societal values on the language used in historical infanticide trials, with the Poor Law Act serving as a key inflection point in the shift towards more negative sentiment in character descriptions.

Sentiment and Verdicts

This sentiment data was also useful in determining whether there was a correlation between character witness testimonies and trial verdicts (in relation to my first research question). I used the sentiment values I had found for each trial and was able to investigate any potential relationship between the character descriptions of defendants and the outcome of their trials. To find out the overarching relationship between the two I used the 'MEAN' function on Microsoft Excel find an overall average of sentiment for 'guilty' and 'not guilty' trials. The graph below displays the results. It is evident that most trials contained negative character descriptions, as the overall sentiment NER for both verdicts were negative values. This shows that an overall unfavourable sentiment is associated with the descriptions of defendants across all of corpus. However, there is clearly a stronger negative sentiment associated with 'guilty' verdict trials in my corpus, with the value more than twice as negative as that for 'not guilty' verdicts. This indicates that there is degree of contrast between the negative and positive character references in the trials and that they do potentially affect verdict outcomes.
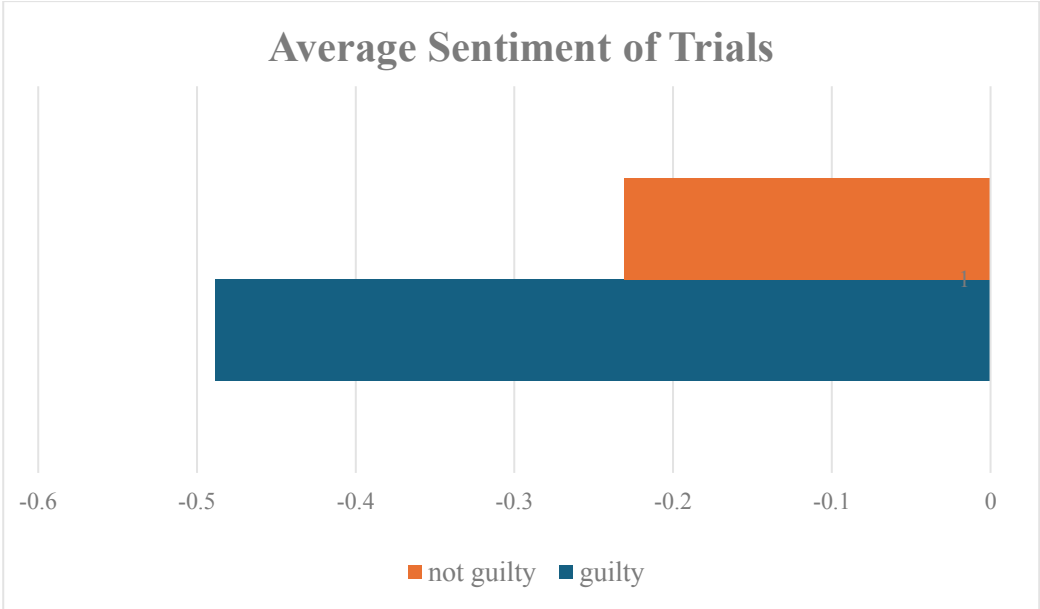
Conclusion

In conclusion, Gale Digital Scholar Lab's tools deepened my understanding of the corpus and enabled a more focused exploration of my research questions. Tools like the N-gram feature and Named Entity Recognition (NER) provided useful insight into frequent linguistic patterns and key entities, helping me to identify the most relevant keywords and phrases for further analysis. By highlighting recurring terms and significant topics within the corpus, these tools enabled a more targeted exploration of language patterns with other linguistic software like AntConc and Lexical Feature Marker.

This combined approach provided valuable insights into legal and social attitudes toward infanticide from 1750 to 1900. By correlating my sentiment calculations with those generated

by Gale, I was able to identify trends and shifts in how defendants, particularly women accused of infanticide, became more negative after the Poor Law Act's enactment in 1834. This act, particularly its 'bastardy clause' removed the financial responsibility of fathers for children born out of wedlock, placing the entire burden on unmarried mothers and casting them as solely responsible. This policy change may have reinforced social stigma around single motherhood, leading to more judgmental and negative language toward women accused of infanticide, as they were increasingly viewed through a lens of moral failure and social deviance. Such framing in historical trials reflects the broader societal condemnation of the time and the influence that moral standards had on the characterisation of women at the time.

Looking ahead, the potential for future research on infanticide trials using Gale Digital Scholar Lab is vast. Conducting a project entirely within Gale's platform, with its extensive collection of historical documents on Victorian trials, could open up new avenues for examining or comparing language use between different types of criminal trials, such as those involving infanticide, murder, or theft. By analysing how language, sentiment, and characterisations of defendants evolved over time, researchers could gain deeper insights into the shifting social and legal attitudes toward women, motherhood, and crime. A similar study could also explore the portrayal of character witness testimonies in infanticide trials by analysing newspapers and other trial records from the Victorian era. Newspapers of the period, notably 'the Times,' had significant influence over public opinion, serving as a framework through which individuals could contextualize their place within society (Goc, 2013). These newspapers frequently covered sensational criminal cases, presenting narratives of trial proceedings, witness testimonies, and public responses. Examining newspaper articles alongside court records could offer a broader perspective on how character representations were depicted and perceived by the public and media outlets. Additionally, exploring other trial records beyond official court transcripts, such as personal diaries, letters, or legal correspondence, could provide valuable insights into the societal views of infanticidal women. By incorporating a diverse range of historical sources, rather than just trial transcripts, future research could enhance our understanding of the social, cultural, and legal contexts of infanticide cases during the Victorian period and provide invaluable insights into the complexities of witness testimonies, gender roles and criminalisation.

References

Appell, F. 2012. Victorian Ideals: The Influence of Society's Ideals on Victorian Relationships. *McKendree University Journal of Undergraduate Research*. **18**, [no pagination].

Anthony, L. 2022. *AntConc* (Version 4.2.0) .[Computer Software]. Tokyo, Japan: Waseda University. Available from https://www.laurenceanthony.net/software [Accessed 20 January 2024].

Bae, Y. and Lee, H. 2012. Sentiment analysis of twitter audiences: Measuring the positive or negative influence of popular twitterers. *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology*. **63**(12), pp.2521–2535.

Digby, A. 1992. Victorian values and women in public and private. *Proceedings of the British Academy*. **78**, pp.195- 215.

Emery, C. 2007. *Narrative patterns of illegitimacy and infanticide in the nineteenth century novel*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Cardiff.

Forst, C. 2012. Creators, Destroyers, and a Judge: Infanticide and Puerperal Insanity in Victorian English Courts. *Historical Perspectives*. **17**(7), pp.1-23.

Francus, M. 1997. Monstrous Mothers, Monstrous Societies: Infanticide and the Rule of Law in Restoration and Eighteenth-Century England. *Eighteenth Century Life*. **21**(2), pp.133-165.

Frost, G. 2014. "Your Mother Has Never Forgotten You": Illegitimacy, Motherhood, and the London Foundling Hospital, 1860-1930. A*nnales de démographie historique*. **1**, pp. 45-72.

Goc, N. 2013. *Women, Infanticide and the Press, 1822-1922 : News Narratives in England and Australia*. Oxford: Taylor & Francis Group.

Gorham, D. 2013. *The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal*. [Online].London: Routledge. [Accessed 6 April 2024]. Available from: https://taylorfrancis.com/books/mono/10.4324/9780203104095/victorian-girl-feminine-ideal-deborah-gorham

Higginbotham, A.R. 1989. "Sin of the Age": Infanticide and Illegitimacy in Victorian London. *Victorian Studies*. 32(3), pp. 319-337.

Higginbotham, P. 2024. The New Poor Law. [Online]. [Accessed 13 April 2024]. Available from: https://www.workhouses.org.uk/poorlaws/newpoorlaw.shtml#TOP

Hitchcock, T., Shoemaker, R., Emsley, C., Howard, S. McLaughlin, J. et al., 2012. The Old Bailey Proceedings Online, 1674–1913. [Online]. [Accessed 4 March 2024]. Available from: https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/

Huber, M. 2007. The Old Bailey Proceedings, 1674 -1834: Evaluating and annotating a corpus of 18th- and 19th-century spoken English. In: Solin-Meurman, A., and Nurmi, A.

eds. *Studies in Variation, Contacts and Change in English: Annotating Variation and Change*. [Online]. [no place]: [no publisher], no pagination.

Huggins, L. 2021. 'I'll Vamp it and Tip you the Cole': Poverty, Pawning and Prosecutions in London. Evidence from the Old Bailey, 1750–1799. *The London Journal*. **46**(3), pp. 284-299.

Jaber, Lilian. Infanticide Trials 1750-1900, OBP. Gale Digital Scholar Lab [distributor]. October 2024. [https://go.gale.com/ps/myContentSets?method=manage&contentSet=1730206225793&u=leedsuni&p=DSLAB&authType=Google

Jones, A. 2009. *Women who kill*. New York: The Feminist Press.

Kreueger, C.L. 1997. Literary Defenses and Medical Prosecutions: Representing Infanticide in Nineteenth-Century Britain. *Victorian Studies*. **40**(2), pp. 271-294.

Liu, B. 2012. *Sentiment Analysis and Opinion Mining*. San Rafael: Morgan and Claypool.

Logan, D.A. 1998. *Fallenness in Victorian Women's Writing Marry, Stitch, Die, Or Do Worse*. Missouri: University of Missouri Press.

Marland, H. 2002. Getting away with murder? Puerperal insanity, infanticide and the defence plea. In: Jackson, M. ed. *Infanticide: Historical Perspectives on Child Murder and Concealment, 1550–2000*. Oxfordshire: Taylor and Francis.

Mathieson, P. 2020. Bad or Mad? Infanticide: Insanity and Morality in Nineteenth-Century Britain. *Midlands Historical Review*. **4**, pp. 1-44.

"Named Entity Recognition", Gale Digital Scholar Lab, accessed October 29, 2024, [https://go.gale.com/ps/textAnalysisTools?p=DSLAB&jobId=102947&method=analysisResults&u=leedsuni&authType=Google&type=NER&contentSet=1730206225793&triggerTool=treeView&result=treeView&toolVersion=2]

"N-Grams", Gale Digital Scholar Lab, accessed November 2, 2024, [https://go.gale.com/ps/textAnalysisTools?p=DSLAB&jobId=102957&method=analysisResults&u=leedsuni&authType=Google&type=NGRAM&contentSet=1730206225793&triggerTool=wordCloud&result=wordCloud&toolVersion=2]

Ramser, D. 2006. South Shields Local History Group: A 19th Century History of Infanticide. [Online]. [Accessed 3 April 2024]. Available from: https://southshieldslocalhistorygroup.co.uk/index.php/history/19th-century/a-19th-century-epidemic-of-infanticide/

"Sentiment Analysis", Gale Digital Scholar Lab, accessed October 29, 2024, [https://go.gale.com/ps/textAnalysisTools?p=DSLAB&jobId=102950&method=analysisResults&u=leedsuni&authType=Google&type=SENTIMENT&contentSet=1730206225793&triggerTool=timeSeries&result=timeSeries&toolVersion=2]

"Sentiment Analysis", Gale Digital Scholar Lab, accessed October 29, 2024, [https://go.gale.com/ps/textAnalysisTools?p=DSLAB&jobId=102950&method=analysisResults&u=leedsuni&authType=Google&type=SENTIMENT&contentSet=1730206225793&toolVersion=2&triggerTool=overTime&result=overTime]

Sheetz-Nguyen, J.A. 2012. *Victorian Women, Unwed Mothers and the London Foundling Hospital*. London: Continuum International Publishing Group.

Shoemaker, R.B. 2008. The Old Bailey Proceedings and the Representation of Crime and Criminal Justice in Eighteenth-Century London. J*ournal of British Studies*. **47**(3), pp. 559-580.

Shoemaker, R and Sanika-Jeet, D. 2008. The Value of the Proceedings as a Historical Source. [Online]. [Accessed 5 April 2024]. Available from: oldbaileyonline.org/about/value

Traugott, E.C. 2011. Constructing the audiences of the Old Bailey Trials 1674–1834. In: Pahta, P., and Jucker, A.H. eds. Communicating Early English Manuscripts. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 69-83.

Ward, T. 1999. The Sad Subject of Infanticide: Law, Medicine and Child Murder, 1860-1938. *Social & Legal Studies*. **8**(2), pp.163-180.

Woolls, D. 2011. *CFL Lexical Feature Marker*. (Version 1.6.0). [Computer Software]. [Accessed 21 March 2024].